

THE SOUTH AVALON PLANTERS, 1630 TO 1700:
RESIDENCE, LABOUR, DEMAND AND EXCHANGE
IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEWFOUNDLAND

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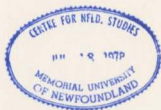
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**The South Avalon Planters, 1630 to 1700: Residence, Labour,
Demand and Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Newfoundland**

by

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Abstract

English settlement of Ferryland and other south Avalon communities, 1630 to 1700, is considered within the context of the early modern West Country migratory cod fishery at Newfoundland. The planter economy diversified but fishing remained the staple resource. In 1638 Sir David Kirke expropriated Ferryland from Sir George Calvert, who had invested in a permanent fishing station there. The Kirkes were wine merchants with commercial connections in London, Spain, the Atlantic Islands, New England and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Archaeology at Ferryland suggests that Kirke and his partners invested as much as his predecessor. The Kirkes profited from their Newfoundland investment and remained important planters until 1696.

The over-wintering population of the English Shore reached about 1500 by 1660 but did not grow much beyond 1700 for the rest of the century. Documents suggest the 1620s and 1640s were important for settlement in the study area. Demography and mobility rates indicate that heads of households were no more transient than in many communities elsewhere. The society of the English Shore can be understood as consisting of servants, planter employers and a planter gentry of literate merchants. The relation of planters and gentry was a form of clientage. The roles of women and religion are briefly considered.

Fishermen's incomes in seventeenth-century Newfoundland were not as low as often assumed nor did payment by wages replace shares in this period. Comparative statistical analysis of archaeological assemblages confirms documentary indications that wine and tobacco were major components of demand. These preferences were related to contemporary consumption patterns and terms of exchange at the fishing periphery. These little luxuries functioned as symbols of warmth and sociability. Both supply and restriction of these goods can be understood as forms of social control. Retarded development c. 1700 had as much to do with devastation of the English Shore by the French, as it did with economic factors such as wage levels or socio-cultural factors such as consumption preferences.

Acknowledgements

Many people and several institutions assisted the present study. I am particularly grateful to my supervisor Ralph Pastore for his sensible and generous guidance during a long project, to Daniel Vickers for introducing me to American colonial records and for sharing unpublished research, to James Tuck for involving me in the Ferryland project and to all three for their thoughtful review of my work and the many helpful suggestions they made. The Archaeology Unit and the Maritime Studies Research Unit provided institutional support. Jack Martin and Chris Hammond of MUN Photographic Services reproduced many of the black and white illustrations, always with professional care. Special thanks are due Heather Wareham and the staff of the Maritime History Archive, who found documents, desk space and computer time for me. In many respects they were the institutional base of this dissertation.

I would also like to thank Alison Grant, Todd Gray, Gordon Handcock and Jake Rice for drawing my attention to relevant documents and for discussions which broadened my research interests. The latter debt I also owe Jean-Christophe Agnew, Robin Craig, Laurens Hacquebord, Marcel Mousette, Adrian Oswald, David Starkey, Laurier Turgeon, Lorna Weatherill, Anne Yentsch and the archaeologists who guided my comparative research in material culture: John Allan of the Royal Albert Museum, Exeter, Henry C. Miller of

Historic St. Mary's City, Maryland, and Françoise Neillon of the Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, Quebec. Dr. Handcock and Patricia Thornton made useful comments on a chapter in draft, Robert Sweeney of another, as did Philip Buckner of yet another, which he went so far as to publish. My wife, Sharon Gray Pope, cheerfully waded through the whole, pulling as many weeds as possible. None are responsible, of course, for any misapplication of the ideas they shared.

I must also thank the archivists and librarians of the various other institutions where I was fortunate enough to work, particularly those at the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the British Library, London; the Centre for Newfoundland Studies at MUN; the Devon Record Office, Exeter; the Essex Institute, Salem; the West Devon Record Office, Plymouth; the Public Record Office, Kew and especially the staff of the Round Room, in the PRO at Chancery Lane. Memorial University of Newfoundland, its Institute of Social and Economic Research, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada each assisted my research financially and I am very thankful for this support.

Flatrock, Newfoundland, October 1991

Preface

Although this study is self-consciously exclusive in time and space, it is methodologically inclusive, attempting to make the most out of various kinds of evidence. Any study proposing to attempt, in part, historical archaeology must face a methodological quandary: this is a discipline without an accepted research paradigm.¹ The usual pattern is to review regional history, catalogue the results of excavation and then use the latter as illustrations of the former, so that history and archaeology are made rhetorically contiguous. Even when issues are raised the whole is not often more than the sum of its parts.

Archaeology in the Old World has been understood as an approach to history, in the New World as anthropology. When the study of European archaeological sites in the Americas emerged as a discipline there was, not surprisingly, a tug of war between those who saw historical archaeology as a kind of history and those who saw it as anthropology.² It is, inevitably, both; that is, historical archaeology is a kind of historical anthropology and must come to grips with both historical explanation and anthropological hypotheses.³

1. J.F. Deetz, "Scientific Humanism and Humanistic Science: A Plea for Paradigmatic Pluralism in Historical Archaeology", Geoscience and Man 23 (1983), 27-34.

2. For contributions to this debate, presented so as to support the claims of anthropology, see R.L. Schuyler (ed.), Historical Archaeology: a Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions (Farmingdale, N.Y., 1978).

3. K.A. Deagan, "Neither History nor Prehistory: the Questions that Count in Historical Archaeology", HA 22(1) (1988), 7-12.

Three aspects of the relationship between archaeology and history will be particularly important from this perspective. First, since archaeological data are most useful in understanding longterm patterns of behaviour rather than specific events, the results of archaeological research are more likely to articulate constructively with the socio-economic study of the longue durée rather than with the political history of élites. Second, historians must observe a "Rule of Least and Best", gathering the least amount of best evidence needed to solve the questions at hand - thus material history in general and the history of demand in particular are areas in which history may well turn to archaeology.⁴ Third, and this point follows from the others, historical archaeology has the potential to illuminate the lives of the illiterate and the ignored, among whom we must count most of the inhabitants of the early modern fishing periphery.⁵

In the course of the present research several scholars assisted me in the formulation of interpretations which in some manner contradict their own published positions: Dr. Tuck on the dating of Ferryland locus B; Dr. Vickers on the

4. C. Carson, "Doing History with Material Culture", in I. Quimby (ed.), Material Culture and the Study of American Life (New York, 1978), 41-64; cf. R. Hodges, Primitive and Peasant Markets (Oxford, 1988).

5. H. Glassie, "Archaeology and Folklore: Common Anxieties, Common Hopes", in L. Ferguson (ed.), Historical Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things, SHA special publication no. 2 (1977), 23-35; B.G. Trigger, Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered (Montreal, 1985), 168.

question of whether New England or Newfoundland fishermen were better paid; Dr. Handcock on the relative transience of planters. The main point is not yet whether anyone agrees with me (on these issues I think I have one convert), the point is that they helped me to attempt to advance the debate on substantive issues, despite the fact that my position was not their own. This is, as I understand it, one of the functions of graduate studies. Not all reinterpretations are correct (perhaps not many) but in a poorly documented period few novel hypotheses will be fully-enough documented to stand or fall immediately. They must be examined tentatively, to see if research strategies can be devised to test their explanatory sense. A policy of nipping new hypotheses in the bud will result in a well-trimmed garden of knowledge but not much growth. Care must be taken, of course, to avoid letting a weakly-supported hypothesis somehow become, over time, accepted fact. Hence another major function of graduate studies, as I understand them, is to examine accepted wisdom and to dare to doubt some of the conclusions or even emphases of widely-respected scholars. I have been encouraged to assume this is what such scholars would wish. To make any other assumption is to make the idea of the university a fraud.

Please note the following conventions, used in the text and references. Citations of documents follow the requirements of the National Library and give author, title and date when known, as well as the source. The practice of

citing only the fonds is a bit like citing biblical chapter and verse: one is left without the context necessary to evaluate the evidence. Early PRO papers are not consistently numerated. The editors of the Calendar of State Papers assigned numbers to documents, indicated in the present study by brackets, e.g. "CO 1/5 (27)". Folio numbers are also supplied, where possible, e.g. "CO 1/5 (27), 75." The folio number "75v" means the reverse or "verso" of folio 75, facing folio 76. The folio number "75,v" means 75 and its verso. In the references names of authors of documents are spelled as in the document, hence they will sometimes be inconsistent. A single version of such personal names has been selected for use in the text. Dates are cited in the old style Julian calendar, except that the year is taken to have begun on January 1, rather than March 25. Transcription follows the principles set out by Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton.⁶ The most important of these are that "y" used for the sound "th", initial "ff" used as "F", interchangeable "u" and "v", and common contractions are transcribed in modern form. For exchange rates the study relies throughout on John McCusker and for measures on Lester Ross.⁷

6. G.E. Dawson and L. Kennedy-Skipton, Elizabethan Handwriting 1500-1650: a Guide to Reading of Documents and Manuscripts (London, 1981).

7. J.J. McCusker, Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775: A Handbook, Institute of Early American History and Culture (Chapel Hill, 1978); L.A. Ross Archaeological Metrology: English, French, American and Canadian Systems of Weights and Measures for North American Historical Archaeology, Parks Canada History and Archaeology, no. 68 (Ottawa, 1983).

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Abbreviations

Add ms	Additional manuscript
ADM	Great Britain, PRO, Admiralty
<u>ANL</u>	<u>Archaeology in Newfoundland and Labrador</u> , Newfoundland Museum, Historic Resources Division, Annual Reports. St. John's, Nfld.
<u>APC Col</u>	W.L. Grant, J. Munro, and A.W. Fitzroy (eds), <u>Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series</u> , vol. 1, <u>A.D. 1613-1680</u> (London, 1908).
<u>Aspinwall Records</u>	<u>A Volume Relating to the Early History of Boston, Containing the Aspinwall Notarial Records from 1644 to 1651</u> . Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, no. 32. (Boston, 1903).
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
<u>Baxter Mss</u>	J.P. Baxter (ed.), <u>Documentary History of the State of Maine</u> , vols 4 and 6, <u>The Baxter Manuscripts</u> (Portland, Maine, 1889 and 1900).
BL	British Library
Bristol RS	Bristol Record Society
Cell, <u>Newfoundland Discovered</u>	G.T. Cell (ed.), <u>Newfoundland Discovered, English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610-1630</u> , Hakluyt Society (2nd series) vol. 160, (London, 1982).
<u>CHR</u>	<u>Canadian Historical Review</u>
CO	Great Britain, PRO, Colonial Office.
CNS	Centre for Newfoundland Studies, MUN
<u>CSP Col</u>	W.N. Sainsbury and J.W. Fortescue (eds), <u>Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series, America and West Indies, 1574-1660, 1660-1668, 1669-1674, 1675-1676, also Addenda, 1574-1674, 1677-1680, 1681-1685, 1685-1688</u> , (London, 1860-1899).

- CSP Dom J. Bruce and M.A.E. Green (eds), Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series, Reign of Charles I, 1649-1660, Reign of Charles II, (London, 1858-1909).
- CTP Council of/for (Foreign) Trade and Plantations
- DCB, vol. 1 G.W. Brown and M. Trudel (eds), Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 1, 1000 to 1700 (Toronto, 1979).
- vol. 2 D.M. Hayne and A. Vachon (eds), Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 2, 1701 to 1740 (Toronto, 1982).
- Devon & Cornwall RS Devon and Cornwall Record Society
- de Vries, Voyages David Peterzoon de Vries, Short Historical and Journal Notes of Several Voyages Made in the Four Parts of the World, Namely, Europe, Africa, Asia, and America [1655], trans. H.C. Murphy, Collections of the New York Historical Society (2nd series) vol.3, part 1 (New York, 1857).
- DHS Maine Documentary History of the State of Maine
- DNB L. Stephen and S. Lee (eds), Dictionary of National Biography, 22 vols (Oxford, 1917-).
- DNE G.M. Story, W.J. Kirwin and J.D.A. Widdowson (eds), Dictionary of Newfoundland English (Toronto, 1982).
- diss. dissertation
- DRO Devon Record Office (Exeter)
- E Great Britain, PRO, Exchequer
- EcHR Economic History Review
- Essex IHC Essex Institute Historical Collections
- Firth and Rait C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait (eds), Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660, 3 vols (London, 1911).
- GA Amsterdam NA Gemeente Archief Amsterdam, Notarial Archives

HCA	Great Britain, PRO, High Court of Admiralty
<u>HS/SH</u>	<u>Histoire Sociale/Social History</u>
<u>IJMH</u>	<u>International Journal of Maritime History</u>
<u>JEH</u>	<u>Journal of Economic History</u>
Kupp, NAC, MG 18 012	Jan Kupp, "Dutch Documents taken from the Notarial Archives of Holland Relating to the Fur Trade and Cod Fisheries of North America", NAC MG 18 012, 12 vols.
Maryland HS	Maryland Historical Society
<u>Mass. HSC</u>	<u>Massachusetts Historical Society Collections</u>
Matthews, <u>Constitutional Laws</u>	Keith Matthews, <u>Collection and Commentary on the Constitutional Laws of Seventeenth Century Newfoundland</u> (St. John's, 1975).
MHA	Maritime History Archive, MUN
MUN	Memorial University of Newfoundland
NAC	National Archives of Canada
NDRO	North Devon Record Office (Barnstaple)
<u>OED</u>	Simpson, J. A., and E. S. C. Weiner, eds. <u>Oxford English Dictionary</u> . 20 vols. (2nd edition, Oxford, 1989).
<u>P&P</u>	<u>Past and Present</u>
<u>PMA</u>	<u>Post-Medieval Archaeology</u>
PRO	Great Britain, Public Record Office
PROB	Great Britain, PRO, Prerogative Court of Canterbury
rev. ed.	revised edition
<u>RFOC Essex Co</u>	G.F. Dow and M.G. Thresher (eds) <u>Records and Files of the Quarterly Court of Essex County, Massachusetts</u> . 9 vols. Essex Institute. (Salem, Mass, 1911-1975).
<u>RHAF</u>	<u>Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française</u>
<u>RT Devon</u>	<u>Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association</u>

<u>SH</u>	<u>Social History</u>
SHA	Society for Historical Archaeology
<u>Southampton Examinations</u>	R.C. Anderson (ed.) <u>Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1601-1602</u> , Southampton Record Society, vol. 26 (Southampton, 1926); <u>Book of Examinations and Depositions 1622-1644</u> , vol. 1 1622-1627, vol. 2 1627-1634, vol. 3 1634-1639, vol. 4 1639-1644, Southampton Record Society, vols 29, 31, 34, 36 (Southampton, 1929-1936).
SP	Great Britain, PRO, State Papers
SPMA	Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology
Stock	L.F. Stock (ed.), <u>Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America</u> , vol. 1, 1542-1688.
<u>Trelawney Papers</u>	J.P. Baxter (ed.), <u>Documentary History of the State of Maine</u> , vol. 3., <u>The Trelawny Papers</u> , (Portland, Maine, 1884).
<u>TRHS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u>
unpub.	unpublished
WDRO	West Devon Record Office (Plymouth)
Whitbourne, <u>Discourse</u>	R. Whitbourne, <u>A Discourse and Discovery of New-found-land</u> [1622], in G. Cell (ed.), <u>Newfoundland Discovered, English Attempts at Colonization, 1610-1630</u> , Hakluyt Society 2nd series no. 160 (London, 1982), 101-206.
<u>WMO</u>	<u>William and Mary Quarterly</u>
Yonge, "Journal"	James Yonge, "Journall", Plymouth Athenaeum, in F.N.L. Poynter (ed.), <u>The Journal of James Yonge (1647-1721): Plymouth Surgeon</u> (London, 1963).

CHAPTER 1

PLACE AND PERIOD

There is besides a Colony of English settled upon the Eastern Coast of Newfoundland without Government Ecclesiastical or Civil who live by catching Fish.

-- "An Account of his Majesties Plantations in America" [c. 1680]¹

1. Newfoundland and North America

The European inhabitants of seventeenth-century Newfoundland were few in number. The over-wintering population along the English Shore was never much more than 2000, while the French around Placentia numbered less than one third that.² These early inhabitants of Newfoundland are sometimes overlooked, in the interest of emphasizing a perfectly valid generalization: the early modern Newfoundland cod fishery was predominantly a seasonal, migratory adventure. There were, nevertheless, people who considered themselves and were considered inhabitants of Newfoundland long before the island underwent its major wave of settlement c. 1800.

1. BL, Add ms 15898, 129-131v.

2. On the English see Chapter 5, below; on the French, A.F. Williams, Father Baudoin's War: D'Iberville's Campaigns in Acadia and Newfoundland 1696, 1697 (St. John's, 1987), 7.

These people are, surely, no more to be forgotten than the Beothuk native population, who probably numbered about 1000 at European contact c. 1500, or the Norse, several dozen of whom resided briefly, at the tip of the Great Northern Peninsula, five centuries earlier.³ The early residents of the English Shore are of interest because they lived by catching fish, because they often lived without formal government and because they were one of the first ripples in the tidal wave of European migration to North America.

Thanks to several fine studies, early settlement is known to specialists. Newfoundland was the subject of a lively Victorian national history by Judge Prowse. Despite an unexamined premise that settlement was inevitably opposed by migratory fishermen and their merchant backers, this remains useful as a political history and as an introduction to Colonial Office sources.⁴ Until recent decades much scholarly work on Newfoundland centred on administrative history, returning frequently to the effects of merchantilism on settlement policy.⁵ A broader approach to the Island's history is evident in Gillian Cell's work on early

3. Estimates of pre-contact Beothuk population range between 500 and 1100; see R.T. Pastore, The Newfoundland Micmacs (St. John's, 1978), 9n; I. Marshall, "Disease as a Factor in the Demise of the Beothuk Indians", Culture 1(1) (1981), 71-77. On the Norse see B.L. Wallace, "The L'Anse aux Meadows Site", in G. Jones, The Norse Atlantic Saga (2nd edition, Oxford, 1986), 285-304.

4. D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records (1895, rep. Belleville, Ontario, 1972). Prowse's abstracts of documents are not, unfortunately, completely trustworthy.

5. For a review of this literature see K. Matthews, "Historical Fence Building: A Critique of the Historiography of Newfoundland", Newfoundland Quarterly 74 (1978), 21-30.

English enterprise in Newfoundland.⁶ She examines the proprietary experiments of John Guy, Sir George Calvert and others, and offers a brief account of settlement after 1630, on the traditional premise of invariable migratory/settler conflict. In his important dissertation on the West Country fishery at Newfoundland, the late Keith Matthews challenges this *idée fixe* and interprets the various sectors of the fishery, planters included, as components of an interdependent system.⁷ This revisionist interpretation of the relationship between the fishery and settlement is a cornerstone of the present study. Matthews recognizes settlement, but the subjects of his study are not planters but the migratory fishermen who went annually to Newfoundland "to win a living which would enable them to remain still in England", as he puts it.⁸ Like James Davies' later dissertation, his is primarily an examination of policy and trade.⁹ Matthews discusses settlement as a secondary topic, of interest as an aspect of the trade.¹⁰

C. Grant Head's detailed historical geography of eighteenth-century Newfoundland reviews the beginnings of

6. G.T. Cell, English Enterprise in Newfoundland, 1577-1660 (Toronto, 1969); "Introduction", Newfoundland Discov-ered and her many biographical notices in DCB, vol. 1.

7. K.M. Matthews, "A History of the West of England-Newfoundland Fisheries", unpub. D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford (1968), 4 (abstract), 164ff.

8. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 3. For brief comments on settlement, see *ibid.* 20, 31, 120ff.

9. J.G. Davies, "England and Newfoundland: Policy and Trade, 1660-1783", unpub. Ph.D. diss., University of Southampton, 1980.

10. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 20, 24, 31, 53, 99-122, 134-144, 150-155, 172-181, 197-239.

year-around habitation in the previous century but, like Cell, he finds the mid-seventeenth century "obscure" and he moves from the decline of Calvert's Colony of Avalon c. 1630 to a brief review of the situation reflected in census records of c. 1680.¹¹ Gordon Handcock's research on the long-term process of settlement shows how the migration of permanent residents flowed in channels established by seasonal migration.¹² His introductory review of seventeenth-century settlement is important to the present study because it recognizes the establishment of planter lineages in this period, although in the last analysis Handcock does not see early settlement as successful: "effective permanent settlement was not achieved for nearly two centuries."¹³ Work by these and other historical geographers on the early exploitation of the Atlantic littoral is concisely presented in volume 1 of the Historical Atlas of Canada.¹⁴

Despite such scholarship, in the context of the early British North American colonies (among which it surely constitutes a distinctive area) Newfoundland is one of the least intensively studied and most often over-looked by North American scholars.¹⁵ One current regional classifica-

11. C.G. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland: a Geographer's Perspective (Toronto, 1976); cf. Cell, English Enterprise, 117.

12. W.G. Handcock, Soe longe as there comes noe women: Origins of English Settlement in Newfoundland (St. John's, 1989).

13. Handcock, English Settlement, 17, cf. 35.

14. R.C. Harris and G.J. Matthews (eds), Historical Atlas of Canada, vol. 1, From the Beginning to 1800 (Toronto, 1987).

15. J.J. McCusker and R.R. Menard, Economy of British America, 1607-1789 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 111-116.

tion of colonies omits it.¹⁶ American surveys typically treat Atlantic Canada as "offshoot colonies" of New England, a generalisation which does not fit Newfoundland well until the late seventeenth century.¹⁷ The early settlement of Newfoundland is so completely overlooked by Canadian historians that a research survey can equate studies of Canada before 1763 with studies of New France.¹⁸ An introductory text devotes several chapters to the seventeenth-century development of the latter, making but passing reference to the former.¹⁹ In popular works, in some older specialist literature, and even in some recent scholarly treatments the early English occupation of Newfoundland is remembered only vaguely. Conditions in different periods are confused and the failure of the proprietary colonies and institutional opposition to settlement c. 1675 and c. 1775 are stressed.²⁰ Such discussions strain the evidence and assume an effectiveness for colonial legislation that was normally ignored. As Matthews pointed out in an important historiographic essay, they suppose by default an ahistorical Newfoundland whose socio-economic life was static for hundreds of years

16. J.P. Greene and J.R. Pole, "Reconstructing British-American Colonial History: an Introduction", in Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era (Baltimore, 1984), 1-17.

17. See Chapter 4, below.

18. Canadian Historical Association, "Register of Post-Graduate Dissertations in Progress in History and Related Subjects", survey form, (Ottawa, c. 1986).

19. R.D. Francis, R. Jones and D.B. Smith, Origins, Canadian History to Confederation (Toronto, 1988).

20. E.g. P. Neary and P. O'Flaherty, Part of the Main: An Illustrated History of Newfoundland and Labrador (St. John's 1983), 33; G.M. Sider, Culture and Class in Anthropology and History: a Newfoundland Illustration (Cambridge, 1986), 15.

and then erect, across this featureless background, a series of political "fenceposts".²¹

The present study is a conscious attempt to take up Matthews' challenge to operate between the fenceposts and to expand Newfoundland's early history beyond the political, that is to say, beyond the conceptions of a small literate élite. These pages are not intended as a political or administrative history of the period nor do they discuss in detail settlement policy, for this has been done and done well.²² This study examines social and economic life. Although it is not the first to do so, significant issues in the early history of Newfoundland settlement are, surely, still open.²³ Some are economic, like the extent of diversification and local specialization, the origins of inter-colonial trade and shifts in regional ties with the Old World. Others relate to settlement. Was it, in some sense, necessary for the fishery? If so, how? What was the extent of settlement? Was settlement permanent or were planters typically transient? Did these settlements have their own class structure? What were the social origins of planters? Of servants? Were the latter well or poorly paid? And how were they paid? What was the role of women? How significant was indebtedness? How was debt related to patterns of consumer demand? How did consumption patterns affect

21. Matthews, "Historical Fence Building".

22. For an introduction to these matters consult Prowse, History; Cell, "English Enterprise"; Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries" and "Historical Fence Building".

23. Cf. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, xiii.

economic development? This is an issue which is given special attention in the present study.

The problem of "delayed development" is a theme which pervades much work on early modern Newfoundland. The norm of development is usually not discussed but often seems to be, implicitly, New England - a "norm" which historians are coming to see as a special case.²⁴ From the point of view of dependency theory one particular explanation for underdevelopment will suggest itself: i.e. the normal economic domination of satellite by metropole.²⁵ Whether or not we accept this as a given, we can surely agree that the history of a periphery of the world-economy is fully comprehensible only in context of the history of the core.²⁶ The significant post-medieval development for trans-Atlantic regions like Newfoundland was technological as much as economic: the refinement of weatherly ships that could not only cross the ocean but reliably return.²⁷ This technology had profound economic effect, permitting Europe to "digest" the rest of the world, as Braudel puts it. The problem of identifying what forces triggered this episode of digestion,

24. E.g. Innis, Cod Fisheries, 95ff. On New England as a poor historical model for other colonies see J.P. Greene, "Recent Developments in the Historiography of Colonial New England", Acadiensis 17(2) (1988), 143-176.

25. E.g. A.G. Frank, World Accumulation, 1492-1789 (New York, 1978); Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment (New York, 1979).

26. I. Wallerstein, The Modern World System, vol. 1, Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century (New York, 1974).

27. J.A. Williamson (ed.), The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII, Hakluyt Society (2nd series), vol. 120 (Cambridge, 1962), 4.

i.e. the emergence of the modern, capitalist, world-system, is surely the central question in the history of the early modern period.²⁸ Whether or not the periphery was profitable enough to have been the main source of the primary accumulation that made the eighteenth-century industrial revolution possible is still open to debate.²⁹ The important point here is that Newfoundland was discovered and developed (or "under-developed") within the context of an emerging, extractive Euro-centred world system.

In the end, domination is of people rather than of regions. Mechanisms of domination are not always self-evident. Consider the organization of labour. Many modes of control exist: slavery, peonage, servitude, wage labour and so on, perhaps explicable in terms of regional resource base, perhaps not.³⁰ Part of what is distinctive of modern capitalism is the way in which workers participate in social control by accepting certain consumption priorities. Consumption patterns are thus of interest to the historian or anthropologist not simply as images of class structure but

28. Wallerstein, Modern World System, vol. 1; F. Braudel, Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century, vol. 3, The Perspective of the World, (New York, 1984), 21-70.

29. P. O'Brien, "European Economic Development: the Contribution of the Periphery", ECHR (2nd series) 35 (1982), 1-18; I. Wallerstein, "European Economic Development: A Comment on O'Brien" and P. O'Brien, "European Economic Development: A Reply", ECHR (2nd series) 36 (1983), 580-585.

30. R.E. Baldwin, "Patterns of Development in Newly Settled Regions", Manchester School of Economics and Social Studies 29 (1956), 161-179; E.E. Rich, "Colonial Settlement and its Labour Problems", in E.E. Rich and C.H. Wilson (eds), Cambridge Economic History of Europe, vol. 4, The Economy of Expanding Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Cambridge, 1967), 302-373; E. Domar, "The Causes of Slavery or Serfdom: a Hypothesis" JEH 30 (1970), 18-32.

as indications of economic modernization. Imports to the periphery may tell us something about how the core managed the extraction of staples from the rest of the world economy.³¹ This is another respect in which the early English inhabitants of Newfoundland may be of wider interest.

We have, fortunately, a solid body of evidence about planters and their servants, c. 1675 to 1684, in the form of censuses, naval commodores' reports and a few court cases. Like most Colonial Office papers, many of these sources have been used before.³² Socio-economic data for earlier decades, on the other hand, must be reconstructed from a patchwork of references in county records, court documents and port books.³³ The epic legal struggle which followed the expropriation of Sir George Calvert's Avalon Colony by Sir David Kirke generated a level of documentation relating to the Ferryland region unmatched elsewhere in Newfoundland in this period. Furthermore, the area's close relations with New England are reflected in American colonial records. This makes the region a useful place to start, if we wish to work towards an understanding of the early social life of English Newfoundland.

31. See Chapter 8, below.

32. Prowse, History, 134-209; Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 181ff; Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, 35ff; Hancock, English Settlement, 25-46.

33. Cf. Cell, English Enterprise, Davies, "Policy and Trade".

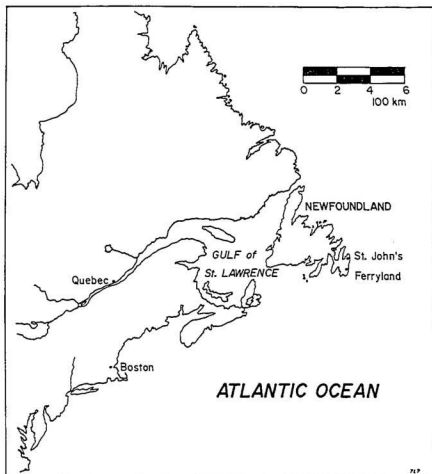


Figure 1.1 Location of Newfoundland.

Newfoundland was once part of a fishing periphery that stretched along the Atlantic littoral northward from Cape Cod.³⁴ (Figure 1.1, p. 10, is a map showing the location of Newfoundland.) Although the Island lies in the same latitudes as England, its climate is subarctic, essentially because its shores are washed by the Labrador Current rather than the Gulf Stream.³⁵ It was almost completely glaciated by the last (Wisconsinan) ice sheet to c. 13,000 B.P.³⁶ Most of the Island's soils are therefore youthful and shallow, because they have not had much time to develop under the cool maritime climatic regime. Soils derived from glacial materials are deeper but are limited in extent.³⁷ Cool climate and poor soils restrict biomass and the accidents of insular geography have set the scene for a relatively simple ecosystem.³⁸ There are only fourteen mammals indigenous to the Island, nine of which are predators. This produces boom and bust cycles in populations of prey, for example caribou.³⁹ James Tuck and Ralph Pastore argue that such instability, exacerbated by erratic weather fluctuations,

34. Cf. C.O. Sauer, Seventeenth Century North America (Berkeley, 1980), 69ff.

35. C.E. Banfield, "Climate", in G.R. South (ed.), Biogeography and Ecology of the Island of Newfoundland (The Hague, 1983), 37-106.

36. A.S. Dyke and V.K. Prest, "Late Wisconsinan and Holocene History of the Laurentide Ice Sheet", Géographie physique et Quaternaire 41(2) (1987), 237-263, map 1702A.

37. B.A. Roberts, "Soils", in South, Biogeography, 107-163.

38. R.J. Mednis, "Indigenous Plants and Animals of Newfoundland: their geographical affinities and distributions", in A.G. Macpherson and J.B. Macpherson (eds), The Natural Environment of Newfoundland, Past and Present (St. John's, 1981), 218-250.

39. A.T. Bergerud, "Prey Switching in a Simple Ecosystem", Scientific American 249(6) (1983), 130-141.

fatally affected prehistoric human populations at times.⁴⁰ The same environmental trap would await any inhabitants of the Island who relied completely on terrestrial resources. Climate and soil limit economic agricultural production to livestock and vegetables and these have, historically, been supplements to subsistence, rather than staples.

Europeans were not, however, attracted by Newfoundland's agricultural potential but by Atlantic cod. They could exploit this relatively stable resource, while the native people of the island did not, because they had hooks and lines, had developed a process of salt preservation, and could rely on European markets to transform their catch of one species of fish into the goods they perceived as necessary for the life they expected to live. Cod were present along the coasts of the Island in huge quantities until recent decades, which have seen the development of large, all-season, deep-water trawler fleets.⁴¹ Gadus morhua occupies an ecological niche near the top of the marine food-chain, preying on caplin and crustaceans, which graze in turn on plankton.⁴² Given the sensitivity of cod to temperature and the fact that plankton blooms can be expected near upwellings of colder, nutrient-rich waters, inshore concentrations of cod can be predicted in summer,

40. J.A. Tuck and R.T. Pastore, "A Nice Place to Visit, but....Prehistoric Human Extinctions on the Island of Newfoundland", Canadian Journal of Archaeology 9(1) (1985), 69-80.

41. W. Templeman, Marine Resources of Newfoundland, Fisheries Research Board of Canada Bulletin, no. 154 (1966).

42. W.B. Scott and M.G. Scott, Atlantic Fishes of Canada (Toronto, 1988), 266-270.

downcurrent from upwelling of the Labrador Current at promontories, shoals and islands.⁴³ Head projected a distribution of the inshore cod resource, based on this hypothesis and his results agree very closely with the actual distribution of fishing stations and settlements in the seventeenth century.⁴⁴ On ecological grounds, concentrations of cod could be expected on the north shore of Conception Bay and on the southeastern shore of the Avalon. In terms of human exploitation, the latter region was actually bifurcated culturally in the seventeenth century. The St. John's area, from the mouth of Conception Bay to Petty Harbour, became more important commercially and politically than the south Avalon. These two regions, with Conception Bay, were the cradles of settlement on the eastern coast of the Avalon Peninsula, known in the seventeenth century, as the English Shore. (Figure 1.2, p. 14, is a map of the Avalon Peninsula, showing the harbours and settlements of the south Avalon and St. John's regions.) It is the south Avalon that is the subject of this study.

The study area comprises, essentially, Sir George Calvert's Province of Avalon, from Bay Bulls to Aquaforte, plus the harbours between Fermeuse and Trepassey. James I gave

43. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, 21-23; Scott and Scott Atlantic Fishes of Canada, xxiv-xxvi.

44. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, Figure 1.4.

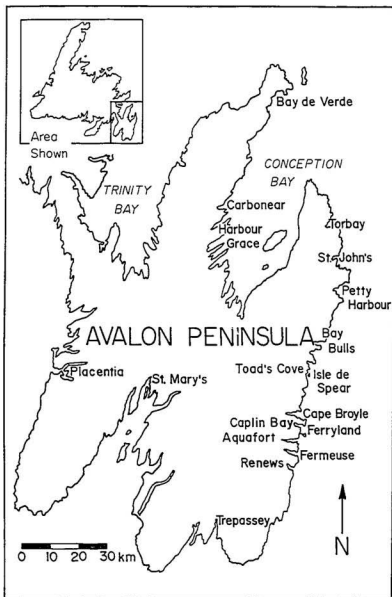


Figure 1.2 The Avalon Peninsula, with harbours and settlements of the south Avalon.

his Undersecretary of State a proprietary patent in 1621 and Calvert, who became First Baron Baltimore in 1626, organized the permanent settlement of Ferryland, hitherto a seasonal fishing station.⁴⁵ Calvert lost interest in Newfoundland after a year's residence in 1628/29. Although the family secured the proprietorship of Maryland, his son Cecil made persistent claims to recover control of the northern colony from Sir David Kirke and his heirs, who expropriated Ferryland and the Colony of Avalon in 1638 under a patent given by Charles I to Kirke and a group of court favourites. Sir David Kirke died in 1654, but his wife Sara and his four sons George, David II, Philip and Jarvis remained in Newfoundland, operating large fishing plantations in the study area until these were devastated by the French in 1696.⁴⁶ (Figure 1.3, p. 16 is James Yonge's map of Ferryland c. 1663, showing the location of "Lady Kirk".) The Kirkes were, without doubt, unusually well-connected: they were literate and litigious; relatively wealthy and long-lived. They cannot be taken, by any stretch of the imagination, as representative planters. These distinctions also mean we know more about them than we do about other planters. Their lives are at the centre of this study, as they must have been at the centre of the economic and social experience of those who once dwelt in the study area.

45. On Calvert's Avalon Colony see Cell, English Enterprise, 92-96; Newfoundland Discovered, 45-59, 250-302.

46. Prowse, History, 141ff.; Cell, English Enterprise, 115-117; Handcock, English Settlement, 35.

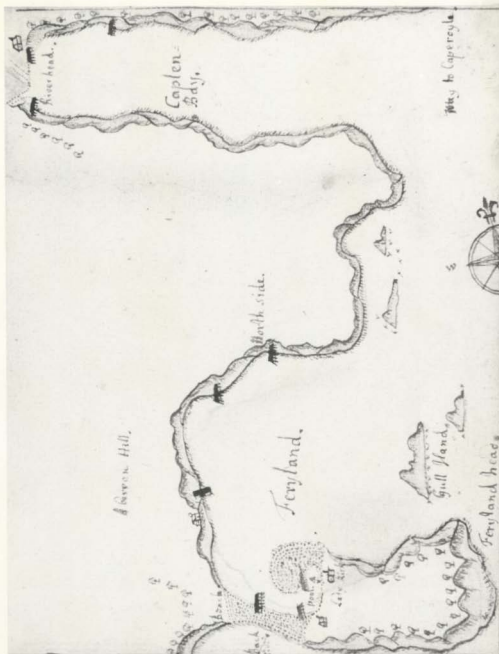


Figure 1.3 James Yonge, "Feryland", c. 1663, from "Journal", courtesy Plymouth Atheneum, showing the Pool and "Lady Kirk".

Fortunately, an extensive and substantially undisturbed archaeological site has survived at Ferryland. In the English Pilot of 1689, Henry Southwood says that in "Ferryland-Port or Harbour" the mariner will find:

the Pool which is a place on the Larbord-side (going in) within a point of Beach, where you ride in 12 Foot Water at low-Water, and there the Admiral Ship generally rides (the Stages being near, several Planters Inhabitants live in this place).⁴⁷

This was the site of Calvert's establishment, which Kirke appropriated and which became known as the Pool Plantation. It was exploratory excavation of this site by the Memorial University of Newfoundland Archaeology Unit, under the direction of James Tuck, that provided the occasion, as it were, to look at the social history and historical anthropology of a seventeenth-century Newfoundland community.⁴⁸

This is, in short, an interdisciplinary study growing out of the historical archaeology of Ferryland, to date. The aim here is not to insist on a particular interpretation of seventeenth-century settlement in Newfoundland. What is intended is the examination of a particular case, Ferryland, in the context of the neighbouring communities of the south

47. Southwood, Henry, "A True Description of...Newfoundland", in The English Pilot (London, 1689) vol. 4, 13.

48. On excavations see J.A. Tuck, "Looking for the Colony of Avalon", in J. Sproull Thomson and C. Thomson (eds) ANL 1984, no. 5, (1985), 378-397; J.A. Tuck and D. Robbins, "A Glimpse at the Colony of Avalon", in J. Sproull Thomson and C. Thomson (eds) ANL 1985, no. 6, (1986), 237-249; J.A. Tuck, "Excavations at Ferryland, Newfoundland - 1986", in J.C. Thomson and J. Sproull Thomson (eds) ANL 1986, no. 7 (1989), 296-303.

Avalon. The period examined is 1630 to 1700, in the context of the period of contested English domination of the study area, c. 1570 to 1713. The point of this study is to put the social history or historical anthropology of one part of Newfoundland's seventeenth-century English Shore on the record so that generalisations that have been offered may be tested and, if found wanting, reformulated.⁴⁹ When alternative interpretations are proposed this is done with the clear, if sometimes tacit, understanding that they are based on limited evidence and must remain hypotheses, pending research on other contemporary communities such as St. John's, Carbonear or Bay de Verde.

The model for this study is the type of community social history that has predominated in recent research on early modern New England.⁵⁰ Fruitful as this community-oriented approach has proved to be, it raises three potential problems. First, particularly with reference to the seventeenth century, local documentation may be intermittent. It is therefore necessary, at times, to widen the geographic scope of discussion in order to make a best approximation for the study area and this is certainly true of the south Avalon. Second, is the community in question to be considered one of a range of possibilities in the larger region or as a paradigm for that region? In the case of Ferryland there

49. For some thoughts on the distinction between social history and historical anthropology, see I. McKay, "Historians, Anthropology, and the Concept of Culture", Labour/Le Travailleur, 8-9 (1981-82), 185-241. Cf. Deagan, "Neither History nor Prehistory".

50. See McCusker and Menard, Economy, 102ff.

are reasons to suspect that this community does not reflect the mode but rather one limit of social organization in seventeenth-century Newfoundland. Finally, local studies tend to treat particular communities in isolation from international or even regional context.⁵¹ An attempt is made in the present study to avoid this by devoting several chapters to the international economic context within which settlement on the south Avalon developed. Regional comparisons are provided, where possible, with the St. John's area. St. John's was a central early settlement, which rapidly became, in the study period, the most important harbour both for settlement and for the migratory fishery. It constitutes therefore a useful local comparison, pending detailed research on Conception Bay, research which is generally beyond the scope of the present study.

Comparison is needed to make sense of fragmentary socio-metric data, whether archaeological or documentary. Ralph Lounsbury concluded his widely-cited study of the British fishery at Newfoundland with the assertion that:

The history of Newfoundland to 1763, at least, must be approached from an entirely different standpoint, and appraised according to totally different standards from those that are used in interpreting the history of other parts of pre-Revolutionary British America.⁵²

It is a premise of these pages that this is mistaken, that early modern Newfoundland was less peculiar than this kind

51. Cf. McCusker and Menard, *Economy*, 106.

52. R.G. Lounsbury, *The British Fishery at Newfoundland, 1634-1763* (1934, rep. Hamden, Conn., 1969), 336.

of interpretation supposes and best understood economically, socially and culturally, in comparative context.

2. The period 1630 to 1700

Fenceposts persist. Once erected they define space around them; replacements tend to perpetuate rather than to obliterate delimitation. Eventually, when a series of fenceposts has outlived its usefulness, subterranean remnants endure. This is so, likewise, with the historical turning-points we use to turn the continuum of time into discrete periods. In other words, to ignore the fenceposts and attend the territory between them, we must first locate what we wish to see beyond.

To see 1630 to 1700 as a period in Newfoundland's history is to propose the terminal decades as turning points. What counts as a turning point depends on preconceptions. Prowse organized his history into chapters divided by reign, an approach we might reject while accepting, for example, that colonial policy was affected by the accession of Charles I in 1625.⁵³ Each turning point can be examined from various vantages, of course. Cell sees Calvert's 1629 decision to abandon his fisheries-based settlement as a failure which marked the end of an early era of organized attempts at colonization.⁵⁴ Calvert's efforts through the

53. Prowse, History; cf. J.G. Reid, Acadia, Maine and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (Toronto, 1982), 37ff; K.R. Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630 (Cambridge, 1984), 303.

54. Cell, English Enterprise, 94-96.

1620s to set up a settlement-based fishery could, on the other hand, be seen as a foundation on which self-sustaining plantation would, in time, be based. If the rationalizations for periodization are not limitless, they are many. The decades 1630 to 1700 make sense as a period in the history of Newfoundland to the extent that they can be related to events over a longer term, in a wider context.⁵⁵

The meteorological historian H.H. Lamb finds the seventeenth century the coldest in the last millenium.⁵⁶ Karen Kupperman's analysis of New England weather records suggests that there were two major climate fluctuations in northeastern North America in the seventeenth century: a warming in the 1650s from the cold winters of the 1630s and 1640s, followed by a cooling in the mid 1670s to the extremely harsh winters of the 1680s and 1690s.⁵⁷ There were, in fact, consistent reports from Newfoundland in the 1670s of wet summers and extensive sea ice.⁵⁸ The European evidence also supports the New England data. Temperatures in Iceland, the Faroes and Scotland fell in the 1670s and

55. For a different periodisation, emphasizing change c. 1660, see K.M. Matthews, Lectures on the History of Newfoundland (St. John's, 1988), 12-17.

56. H.H. Lamb, Climate, History and the Modern World (Methuen, 1982), 201-231.

57. K.O. Kupperman, "Climate and Mastery of the Wilderness in Seventeenth-Century New England", in D. Hall and D. Allen (eds), Seventeenth-Century New England, Colonial Society of New England (Boston, 1984), 3-37.

58. J. Pocock, Letter to J. Hickes, 17 September 1670, SP 29/278 (179); [W. Hurt], Letter to J. Hickes, 4 November 1672, SP 29/316 (41); both in CSP Dom; [?] Page, Letter [to J. Williamson?], 20 September 1675, CO 1/35 (21), 166,v.

remained very cold until the early 1700s.⁵⁹ General cooling over the North Atlantic provoked a complete failure in the Icelandic and Faroese cod fisheries in the late seventeenth century.⁶⁰ Cooling at Newfoundland would not have the same effect, since the Island is not at the northern limit of the cod's range.⁶¹ Ocean temperature changes do, however, affect reproduction, recruitment and the local distribution of cod stocks.⁶² It is possible that poor catches (e.g. c. 1663 to c. 1671) were climate-related.⁶³ An inspection of eighteenth-century catch rates for the study area suggests that catches could fluctuate from less than 50 to almost 200 percent of the expected 200 quintals per boat and that poor seasons often occurred in runs, for example 1723 to 1725 or 1753 to 1755.⁶⁴ When such periods of depressed catches

59. Lamb, Climate History, 207, 210, 214, 221; cf. J. de Vries, The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis (Cambridge, 1976), Figure 1, 13.

60. Lamb, Climate History, 207, 210.

61. Scott and Scott, Atlantic Fishes, 268.

62. A.V. Taning, "Long Term Changes in Hydrography and Fluctuations in Fish Stocks", International Commission for North West Atlantic Fisheries, Annual Proceedings, vol. 3 (1953), 69-77; K.T. Frank, R.I. Perry, K.F. Drinkwater, W.H. Lear, Changes in the Fisheries of Atlantic Canada Associated with Global Increases in Atmospheric Carbon Dioxide: A Preliminary Report, Canadian Technical Report of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences (Ottawa, 1988).

63. On poor catches in 1663 and 1664 see Yonge, "Journal", 56, 67; on 1668 to 1671 see G. Pley, Letter, c. 1671, SP 29/295 (76), in CSP Dom; on 1671 see W. Davies, Letter [to Mr. Wren], 16 September 1671, CO 1/27 (27), 74, v.

64. R. Forsey and W.H. Lear, Historical Catches and Catch Rates of Atlantic Cod at Newfoundland During 1677-1833, Canadian Data Report of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences, no. 622 (Ottawa, 1987), Table 18. (This report does not actually include useful seventeenth-century data.)

occurred they were often widespread.⁶⁵ Periods of transition to new climate patterns are typically characterized by increased weather variability and variability is as risky for fishermen as it is for other predators.⁶⁶

We often discuss the economic climate as if it were, like the weather, simply part of our environment. Although this is, strictly speaking, untrue, it is a reasonable approximation for individuals, communities and even single industries. For early modern Newfoundland the key economic indicator was the price of fish. Table 1.1 (p. 24) presents the intermittent evidence available for the price of merchantable cod at Newfoundland in the seventeenth century, together with contemporary prices of New England spring merchantable cod. This series indicates that the price of cod at Newfoundland was reasonably stable through the study period, or at least that there was no secular trend in prices after the late 1630s. The low prices at Newfoundland in the 1620s and early 1630s may actually represent a trough, since the European price of cod fell about 13 percent from 1602 to 1623, before rising to new highs in the 1630s. Long-term price stability for cod in the study

65. Both periods saw St. Malo withdraw from Labrador to the Gaspé, possibly for climatic reasons. See J-F. Brière, "Le trafic terre-neuvier malouin dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle," *HS/SH* 11 (1978), 356-374; "Le reflux des terre-neuviers malouins sur les côtes du Canada dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle: réponse à un changement du climat?", *HS/SH* 12 (1979), 356-374. Cf. L. Turgeon, "Pour une histoire de la pêche: le marché de la morue à Marseille au XVIII^e siècle", *HS/SH* 14 (1981), 295-322.

66. Hunt, *Climate History*, 256-260. There may be theoretical reasons for variability at transitions: see J. Gleick, *Chaos: Making a New Science* (New York, 1987).

Table 1.1 **Prices of Newfoundland merchantable cod
New England spring merchantable cod
and merchantable cod in Spanish markets
1602-1702**

YEAR	SHILLINGS per QUINTAL		SPAIN
	NEWFOUNDLAND	NEW ENGLAND	
1602			24.4
1623	7.2		18.6
1630	7.0		
1633	8.9		
1637			25.8
1638	12.0		
1639	10.0		
1650			51.0
1657	8.9		
1659		12.8	
1663	14.0	13.9	
1672	12.9	12.4	
1675		15.3	
1676		11.6	
1677	13.6	12.5	
1679	11.8	11.7	
1680	13.5	11.9	
1681		11.0	
1684	11.5	10.4	
	10.9		
1689		11.1	
1691	12.0		
1693	10.8	9.6	
1699	13.5		
1701		9.0	
1702	7.8		

SOURCES: Please see next page.

NOTES:

Figures are expressed in shillings and decimal parts of a shilling sterling. Where two figures are available, their mean is used here. The figure for 1663 is calculated from other figures that Yonge gives. The figure for 1693 assumes that Buckley kept his accounts in Massachusetts tenor.

Table 1.1 **Prices of Newfoundland merchantable cod**
sources **New England spring merchantable cod**
 and merchantable cod in Spanish markets
 1602-1702

SOURCES: J. Coq and M. Bishart, Examination, 14 October 1602, in Southampton Examinations, 1601-1602, 45,46;
 R. Newall, Letter to Mr. Wills, 24 October 1623 and Letter to J. Plumleigh, 26 July 1626, Bodleian Library, Malone mss 2, 6v and 4; J. Melmoth, Examination, 28 May 1631, HCA 13/49, 371v,372; H. Pieters, Letter to D. Joosten, 17 September 1633, GA Amsterdam NA 694, 64, in NAC MG 18 012/20; T. Hollis, Examination in Kirke vs Jennings, 4 August 1638, HCA 13/71, 210,v; R. Hall, Examination in Kirke, Barnes et al. vs Jennings et al., 6 October 1638, HCA 13/54, 244; W. Hapgood, Deposition, 12 February 1639, in Southampton Examinations 1634-1639, 73-75; James, Marquis of Hamilton et al., Petition to Charles I, 25 January 1640, SP 16/403, 78,v; J. Heyward, Examination in Hill et al. vs owners of the HOPEGOOD, 17 August 1654, HCA 13/71, 664,v; R. Plumleigh, Letter [to Admiralty?], 14 October 1657, SP 18/172, 134; C. Williams, Deposition, 16 January 1658, in P. McGrath (ed.), Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth-Century Bristol, Bristol R.S., no. 19 (Bristol, 1955), 248; J. Yonge, "Journal" (1663), 54-60; N. Osborne, Letter to J. Hickes, 5 October 1672, SP 29/316 (53), in CSP Dom; J. Downing, "...Concerning the following Particulars"; 14 December 1676, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 564; J. Wyborn; "...Shipp's Fishing Betweene Trepasse and Bay of Bulls", 7 December 1676, CO 1/38 (79), 218-220; W. Poole, "Answers...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62i), 149-152v; J. Shower, Bill of exchange, 14 September 1679, in "1676 Protests", DRO Exeter, Moger CC 181/18/16; E. Hickman, Deposition (in Cotton vs Hickman and Brooking), 27 September 1681, DRO Exeter, Moger CC 181/18/8; F. Wheler, "Expence of fitting out 10 Boats and the Charge of a Shipp..." and "Charge for fitting out two Boats", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (561i and iii), 249v,250 and 251v,252; C. Hawkins, "Answers...", 6 December 1691, CO 1/68 (92i), 259-260; J. Buckley, "Leager 1693", Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, Acc,16,100; A. Leake, "Answers...", 17 September 1699, CO 194/1 (150), 333-345; S. Salter, Bill of exchange, 6 October 1702, in "1676 Protests", DRO Exeter, Moger CC 181/18/16. The Massachusetts figures are from D. Vickers, "'A known and staple commoditie': Codfish Prices in Essex Country, Massachusetts, 1640-1775", Essex IHC 124(3) (1988), 186-203

period is striking, in the context of falling prices for other regional staples like wheat, sugar and tobacco.⁶⁷

At a macro-economic level the seventeenth century was a period of European economic crisis.⁶⁸ Eric Hobsbawm sees the initial slump c. 1620, the nadir c. 1640 to 1680, followed by oscillation and final recovery c. 1720.⁶⁹ Fernand Braudel sees the initial crisis a little later; Jan de Vries uncovers the roots of a more general demographic crisis a little earlier, c. 1600.⁷⁰ Keith Wrightson sees the whole half century preceeding 1630 as a period of gathering crisis in England and the following half century as a period of gradual stabilization. England was wealthier, more complex and more integrated in 1680, he argues, but also more polarized. National economic integration went hand in hand with increasingly marked local social differentiation.⁷¹ Newfoundland and its fishery were part of these processes.

Recently, scholars have realized that European commerce in what is now Canada was greater in the sixteenth and early

67. F.P. Braudel and F. Spooner, "Prices in Europe from 1450 to 1750", in Rich and Wilson, Economy of Expanding Europe, 464, Figure 11; R.S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, the Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713 (New York, 1973), 203; R.R. Menard, "The Tobacco Industry in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1617-1730: an Interpretation", Research in Economic History, 5 (1980), 109-177.

68. For a historiography see I. Wallerstein, The Modern World System, vol. 2, Merchantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750 (New York, 1980), 3-9.

69. E. Hobsbawm, "The General Crisis of the European Economy in the 17th Century", P&P 5 (1954), 33-53.

70. Braudel, Perspective of the World, 76ff; de Vries, Age of Crisis.

71. K. Wrightson, English Society, 1580-1680 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1982), 142-148; "Aspects of Social Differentiation in Rural England, c. 1580-1660", Journal of Peasant Studies 5(1) (1977), 33-47.

seventeenth centuries than previously recognized. As Laurier Turgeon points out, trade in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in this period is comparable in volume with trade in the Gulf of Mexico, usually seen as the American centre of gravity of early trans-Atlantic commerce.⁷² The Gulf of St. Lawrence, including Newfoundland, is close to Europe, relative to the rest of North America. On locational grounds, this region was likely to be one of the first parts of the New World exploited by Europeans, given the presence of economically valuable staples: fish, whale oil and furs. Early exploitation may have been facilitated, as well, by low population density and the attitudes of the aboriginal peoples. The Montagnais of the Strait of Belle Isle were willing to trade with or even work for Basque seasonal visitors; the Beothuk of the Island were at best willing to trade, at worst wanted to withdraw from face-to-face contact with Europeans and resort to sporadic pilfering.⁷³

Newfoundland was first mapped by a series of Anglo-Azorean expeditions in the early sixteenth century; the Island was probably "discovered" by Cabot's English expedition of 1497; its waters may even have been exploited

72. L. Turgeon, "Pour redécouvrir notre 16e siècle: les pêches à Terre-Neuve d'après les archives notariales de Bordeaux", *RHAF* 39 (1986), 523-549; for emphasis on the fabled bullion see Frank, "Dependent Accumulation", 44.

73. S. Barkham, "A Note on the Strait of Belle Isle during the Period of Basque Contact with Indians and Inuit", *Etudes Inuit Studies* 4, 51-58; R.T. Pastore, "Fishermen, Furriers, and Beothuks: the Economy of Extinction", *Man In the Northeast* 33 (1987), 47-62.

previously by a small group of Bristol fishermen.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the extent of early English presence in the region has often been exaggerated.⁷⁵ As Matthews points out, it was the Azoreans and Portuguese who persisted with efforts to exploit the fishery in the early sixteenth century and Iberian and French records suggest a scale of effort by the Basques, the Bretons and the Normans, unmatched by the vessels of English ports like Southampton and Plymouth until the 1570s.⁷⁶ If the English trade from Newfoundland was "laid aside many years", as Nathaniel Crouch admitted in his seventeenth-century history of The English Empire in America, we are left to account for increased participation after 1570.⁷⁷

Until 1580 the Basques, Normans and Bretons, each under the crown of France, the Basques under the crown of Spain and the Portuguese dominated the Newfoundland fishery. In 1620, when the Dutch master David de Vries visited the Island, the English fished "on the middle coast", their com-

74. Williamson, Cabot Voyages; S.E. Morison, The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A.D. 500-1600 (New York, 1971), 157-251.

75. E.g. Board of Trade, Letter to Earl of Dartmouth, 13 January 1713, BL, Add ms 35913, 4.v.; A. Anderson, An Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce, vol. 1 (London, 1764), 347, 379, 417; D.B. Quinn, North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements: the Norse Voyages to 1612 (New York, 1977), 353-357.

76. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 34-46; C. de la Morandière, Histoire de la pêche française de la morue dans l'Amérique septentrionale, des origines à 1789, vol. 1, 215-270; R. Bélanger, Les Basques dans l'estuaire du Saint-Laurent 1535-1635 (Montreal, 1971); Turgeon, "Notre 16e siècle"; cf. Cell, English Enterprise, "Introduction".

77. [Nathaniel Crouch], The English Empire in America, (5th edition, London, 1711), 60.

petitors to the south and north.⁷⁸ The three nations of western France and the English West Countrymen dominated the fishery, with failing participation by Basques and Portuguese under the onerous weight of the Spanish crown. In other words, as Innis and Matthews have shown, the English did not expand a well-established fishery, they displaced an Iberian one.⁷⁹ France, politically preoccupied with a religious civil war, maintained a share but did not open markets in southern Europe, as the English did.⁸⁰

English expansion might be explained, as Innis implies, by the decline of Spain.⁸¹ Certainly the Spanish (i.e. Spanish Basque) and Portuguese fisheries were disrupted by Bernard Drake's attack on their Newfoundland ships in 1585.⁸² Philip II (from 1581 King of Portugal as well as Spain) pressed Basque and Portuguese fishing and whaling vessels into the service of the great Armada in 1588 (others hired on as freighters) and subsequent losses cannot have helped the prospects of either fishery.⁸³ The decline was not, however, simply military. The Spanish crown also weakened the commercial strength of the Basque region with new taxes.⁸⁴ At a macro-economic level, the inflationary

78. de Vries, Voyages [1655], 7.

79. Innis, Cod Fisheries, 30-51; Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 34-58.

80. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 46, 47, 54, 57.

81. Innis, Cod Fisheries, 30, 45.

82. Innis, Cod Fisheries, 39; e.g. S. Damiskette et al., Libel, 20 September 1585, BL, Add ms 11405, 243-246.

83. M. Barkham, "Spanish Ships and Shipping", in M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado (ed.), Armada 1588-1988, (London, 1988), 151-163.

84. J-P. Proulx, Whaling in the North Atlantic From Earliest Times to the Mid-19th Century, (Ottawa, 1986), 22, 25.

pressure of precious metals from South and Central America drove a price-wage spiral that left the Iberian trans-Atlantic fishery uncompetitive compared to the "backward" English.⁸⁵ Within this environment the latter entered the Newfoundland trade, using force when necessary. seizing, for example, three Portuguese ships at Renew's in 1582 and turning back fifteen Basque whaling ships in 1613.⁸⁶

Matthews suggests other factors, besides the decline of Spain: increased victualling requirements consequent on war in the Netherlands and a general expansion of English commerce, as well as fluctuations in French participation in the New World fisheries.⁸⁷ Turgeon has recently uncovered evidence for an increased French emphasis on the banks fishery after c. 1575 and a serious slump in Basque outfitting for the fishery at Bordeaux c. 1585.⁸⁸ Whether causes or effects of the expansion of the English dry fishery, these changes are unlikely to be simple coincidence. The fundamental question remains of how England was now able to take advantages of such opportunities.

85. H.A. Innis, "The rise and fall of Spanish fishery in Newfoundland", in Essays in Canadian Economic History (Toronto, 1956), 43-61.

86. F. Fernando, Petition to Elizabeth I, 1579, SP 12/165 (38); T. Pyres, Examination in Fernandez vs Oughtred, 25 April 1583, HCA 13/24, 332-333; J. Sanford, Letter to W. Trumbull, c. 1614, Papers of William Trumbull the Elder, in HMC, Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire, vol. 4 (London, 1940), 197. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 49, gives other examples.

87. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 45.

88. L. Turgeon, "Basque Whalers and the Beginnings of the Fur Trade in the St. Lawrence during the Sixteenth Century", unpub. paper, Canadian Archaeological Association conference, St. John's, 1991.

In the mid-sixteenth century England had been, in effect, a client state of Spain. From her marriage in 1554 until her death in 1558 Queen Mary shared her throne with her husband Philip, who was thus King of England before he became King of Spain in 1556. With the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis between France and Spain in 1559, Mary's death marks an important turning point in European history. Until then diplomatic reality was the Hapsbourg/Valois struggle, England being a peripheral ally of the former. After reconciliation of the two major Catholic powers, conflict emerged between Catholic, Mediterranean Spain and a rising Protestant north.⁸⁹ The expansion of England's cod fishery at Newfoundland was part of a general rise in English maritime activity, which was in turn an aspect of a shift in the economic centre of gravity of the European-centred world-economy from the Mediterranean to the North Sea.⁹⁰ Throughout most of the seventeenth century the Netherlands was the centre of this growing economy.⁹¹ Until 1652 Britain played second fiddle and then became, with France, a belligerent challenger until their predominance at the end of their joint wars with the Netherlands in the 1670s (Anglo-Dutch hostilities 1672 to 1674, Franco-Dutch hostilities 1672 to 1678).⁹² Each of these shifts in the

89. Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, 223-255; C.R. Boxer, The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800 (London, 1973), 1-33. For another view of the effect of this treaty on the fishery, see Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 44.

90. R. Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries (London, 1962), 1-21.

91. Wallerstein, Modern World-System, vol. 2, 36-73; Braudel, Perspective of the World, 207-276.

92. Wallerstein, Modern World-System, vol. 2, 74-127.

European economic balance of power was reflected in the international arena of the cod fishery.⁹³

The West of England fishery at Newfoundland, like the fisheries of other nations, was a vernacular industry. The term is intended to draw attention to the local and traditional character of the industry.⁹⁴ It arose gradually and locally rather than having been, in any sense, planned. Late Elizabethan and early Stuart England saw the rise (and fall) of a variety of commercial and industrial projects consciously intended to build new and distinctly non-vernacular industries.⁹⁵ Newfoundland was not immune from the projectors, as they were called. (Today we would call them developers.) The London and Bristol-based Newfoundland Company, which underwrote John Guy's Cupids colony in 1610, was one of a number of contemporary commercial colonization projects and may have been in part a project for the monopolization of the fishery.⁹⁶ Calvert's Avalon Colony was a fisheries project and Kirke certainly intended to use his patent to centralize the Newfoundland fish trade.⁹⁷ Seen from this point of view the fishery projects which boomed c. 1610 to 1640 in both Newfoundland and New England were simply one kind of joint-stock company typical of an

93. See Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 146ff, 240-249; Lounsbury, British Fishery, 182-203.

94. For further discussion see Chapter 9, below.

95. J. Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects, The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England (Oxford, 1988).

96. Cell, English Enterprise, 56.

97. See Chapter 4, below.

outward-looking, innovative economy.⁹⁸ In the end, however, the projected monopolies did not succeed; the West Country ports persisted in their local endeavours and the trans-Atlantic industry remained vernacular.⁹⁹ The grant of the first "Western Charter" in 1634, to the English ports involved severally in the Newfoundland trade, legitimized the right of the western ports to order their own affairs on the Island, according to a brief set of customs, repeated in the second and third charters of 1661 and 1676.¹⁰⁰

Between the plague and harvest failures of the late 1620s and the economic contraction of the late 1630s, economic setbacks must have made new investments look more doubtful. By 1640 those with the wealth and power to challenge existing commercial networks, like that of the western adventurers at Newfoundland, were absorbed with the politico-religious conflict that culminated in the English Civil War (1642 to 1648). Political considerations continued to take precedence over strictly commercial ones for some time in the 1650s and even after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 many of those involved in the Newfoundland fishery were preoccupied with returning things to political normality. Contemporaries agreed that the Interregnum (1649 to 1659) and the Spanish War (1655 to 1660) saw a decline in the migratory fishery, a decline which may well

98. Cf. T.K. Rabb, Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575-1630 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

99. Cf. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 60-68.

100. For the charters see Matthews, Constitutional Laws; for discussion, "Newfoundland Fisheries".

have begun during the Civil War.¹⁰¹ It is, surely, no coincidence that the permanent settlement of Newfoundland, previously the preserve of migratory fishermen and a few sponsored colonists, began in earnest in the 1640s.¹⁰² This period of English political preoccupation, c. 1640 to 1670, also left an opening for the French to expand their presence in Newfoundland, just as French preoccupations had left an opening for the English a century earlier. In 1662 the French fortified Placentia and began to over-winter on the Island, as they did until being forced to withdraw in 1713, under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht.¹⁰³

The new colonial order, sponsored by James, Duke of York, following the British victory over the Netherlands in 1674 was, in part, a response to earlier Dutch imperial pretensions, although it was now the French who were the major military and economic threat to British hegemony. This was recognized in official policy after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 installed the Protestant Statholder of Holland, William III, on the British throne, displacing James, the last of the Stuart pensioners of France. France responded by declaring war in 1689 and, until 1713, the northern Anglo-American colonies, including Newfoundland,

101. T. Horwood (Mayor of Barnstaple) et al., Petition to the Council of State, c. 1653, SP 18/40 (13); A. Thorold, Letter to J. Williamson, 15 October 1677, SP 29/397 (41), both in CSP Dom; J. Houblon, Letter to R. Southwell, 20 March 1675, CO 1/65 (23), 97ff. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 146 cites the latter, but misattributes it.

102. See Chapter 5, below.

103. J-P. Proulx, The Military History of Placentia: a Study of the French Fortifications (Ottawa, 1979), 12-52.

suffered terribly. The end of the century also saw a reorientation of Newfoundland's commerce to New England, the beginnings of new fisheries that would flourish when hostilities ended and, in the wider economic arena, the beginnings of recovery from a long cycle of depression.

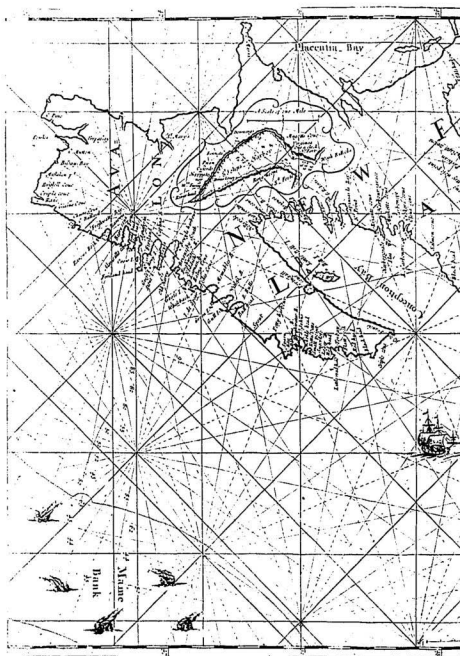
The period 1630 to 1700 brackets the first effective colonization of the south Avalon. In 1630, when Sir George Calvert wrote off his investment, most of his colonists (although not all) were gone. The subjects of this dissertation are the men and women who became planters on their own account. By 1680, the Committee for Trade and Plantations had accepted the settlement of the English Shore, after reconsideration of a regulatory challenge in the mid 1670s, mythologized in Newfoundland historical consciousness as a general and permanent ban on settlement.¹⁰⁴ King William's Act of 1699 "to Encourage the trade to Newfoundland", although in part a reformulation of the Western Charters, was itself a political turning point. Not only would it be the legal framework for the following century but it recognized the rights of planters, at least to their holdings as of 1685.¹⁰⁵ Figure 1.4, p. 37, is John Thornton's 1675 map of "the trading part of Newfoundland", showing the intensive occupation of the English Shore which had occurred by this time. Most of these settlements were eclipsed during the wars with France at the end of the century. The censuses of

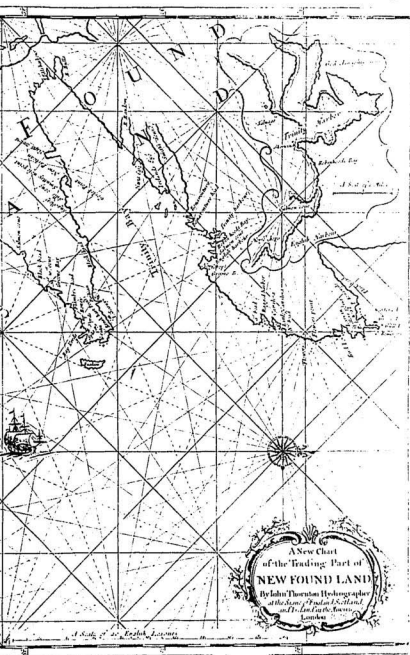
104. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 200-239.

105. For the Act, see Matthews, Constitutional Laws, 198-218; for discussion see "Newfoundland Fisheries", 252-264.

the preceeding decades report a population of planters and their servants along the English Shore, between Trepassey in the South and Bonavista in the North, about a quarter of them in the south Avalon study area. Who were these people? Where, how and when had they settled? And why?

Figure 1.4 John Thornton "A New Chart of the Trading Part of New Found Land", 1675, showing the intensive occupation of the English Shore which had developed by this time. CNS map 21.





CHAPTER 2

THE FISHERY AS THE MATRIX OF SETTLEMENT

By Reason of Inhabitants and by[e] Boats which carry away all our choise men Wee have not One third of the number of Ships on this Employment as formerly."

-- John Parrett, "The disadvantages to this Kingdome by Inhabitants...", 1675.¹

The social life of the English Shore can be properly understood only within the context of the regional staple industry. Like most early modern industries, the Newfoundland fishery was constrained by natural forces to an annual cycle no less than to long-term change in the climatic, economic and diplomatic environments.² This web is too complex to untangle with one tug. Setting aside overseas ties for consideration in Chapters 3 and 4, below, let us examine here the relationship among the English inhabitants of seventeenth-century Newfoundland and those with whom they shared the island: the French, the Beothuk and England's own migratory fishermen. To understand the place of the inhabitants within the context of the cod fishery we must

1. CO 1/65 (27), 103.

2. Cf. B.A. Holderness, Pre-Industrial England: Economy and Society, 1500-1750 (London, 1976), 1-4.

ask why a resident population came to exist in a region exploited primarily by a migratory industry, what the local population did to supplement its limited share in the fishery, and whether the small settlements of the English Shore had any significant relationships among themselves or were merely separate dependencies of the various West Country ports engaged in the cod trade. First, however, we must understand the fishery itself.

1. "The Manner of Catching and Making Fish"

The actual process of catching cod fish and making them into a lightly-salted, dried, preserved food suitable for ocean transport to distant markets like the Iberian and Mediterranean ports, is at least as old as the European fishery at Newfoundland. The Basques preferred this to a wet or green cure, and they were fishing at Newfoundland from the 1530s. Many Breton and Norman fishermen used the same techniques.³ The English seventeenth-century fishery developed its own idiosyncratic modes of production but the technology was similar. As C. Grant Head emphasizes, the British fishery at Newfoundland in the seventeenth century was an inshore industry.⁴ This point is sometimes ignored

3. de la Morandière, La pêche française, 244, 252-8, 308-11, cf. N. Denys, Histoire Naturelle Des Peuples, des Animaux, des Arbres & Plantes de l'Amerique Septentrionale, & de ses divers Climats, vol. 2 [1672], in W.F. Ganong (ed.), The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia) by Nicholas Denys (1908, rep. New York, 1968), 526. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 42, underestimates the French dry fishery.

4. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, 63.

or even denied, to the detriment of sound analysis.⁵ Lewes Roberts explained in his Marchants Mapp of Commerce of 1638 how fishermen would "unrigge their shippes, set up boothes and cabanets on the shore in divers creeks and harbours" and then "begin their fishing in shallops and boats".⁶ As late as 1693 this is evident in Augustine Fitzhugh's map of the fishery (Figure 2.1, p. 42). It was only after 1713 that British ships entered the offshore bank fishery.

The work was not unskilled but required small boat seamanship and familiarity with the habits of Gadus morhua, preferably on a particular stretch of shore.⁷ Each crewman baited two hooks on two or three lines. The Plymouth surgeon James Yonge, who worked for several seasons on the south Avalon, tells us that "boats' masters, generally, are able men, the midshipman next, and the foreshipmen are generally striplings."⁸ In other words, although every man was not necessarily fully skilled, each crew was. In typical early modern fashion, the passing-on of skills was built into the employment structure of the industry. Yonge reported that boat crews "row hard and fish all day". In the evening, while the foreshipman boiled up a supper, the

5. E.g. F.G. Titcomb, "The Economic Rivalry for Newfoundland and the Banks Fisheries to 1783", unpub. M.A. thesis, Columbia University (1935), 89; Davies, "Policy and Trade", 12,250,270.

6. L. Roberts, The Marchants Mapp of Commerce (London, 1638), 57,58

7. E.g., in the 1660s Barnstaple men preferred to fish at Fermeuse; see Yonge, "Journal" (1663), 56. Cf. Handcock, English Settlement, 67.

8. Yonge, "Journal", 57-60. For another analysis of this source see Head, Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland, 3-6.

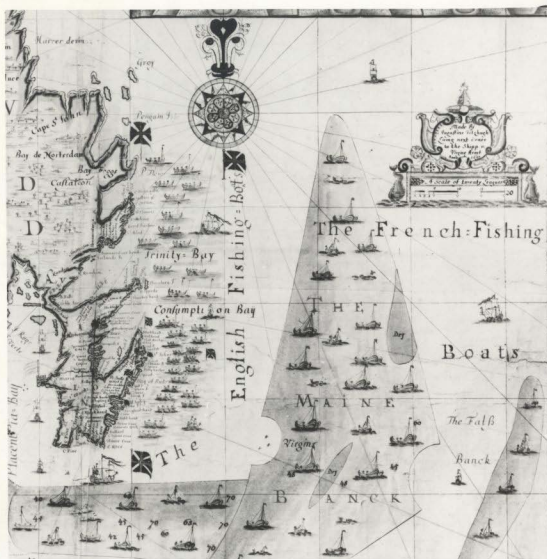


Figure 2.1 Augustine Fitzhugh, "New Found Land", 1693, detail of "The English Fishing Boats" and "The French Fishing Boats". BL, Add ms 5414, 30.

boat master and mate would off-load and the catch would become the responsibility of the shore crew.⁹

The shore crews began the task of making fish right on the stage, the combination wharf and processing plant where the fish was unloaded.¹⁰ The header gutted and decapitated the fish "with notable dexterity", setting aside the cod livers in a train vat, where the oil rendered out in the sun. The splitter opened the gutted fish and removed the spine, with a speed that amazed Yonge. Two shore men could handle the catch of a three-man boat, so that when numbers of men and boats are reported for the dry fishery they usually occur in a ratio of about 5:1.¹¹ Untrained boys moved the split fish in hand barrows and piled it up for salting. The salter himself was "a skillful officer", as Yonge stressed. After a few days in salt, the youngsters rinsed the fish in seawater and piled it up for a day or two before spreading it out to dry on a cobble beach or on wooden flakes.¹² "A temperate Windy season is best", as John Collins observed in his 1682 treatise on Salt and Fishery, and such conditions are typical of summers on the

9. Cf. Denys, Histoire Naturelle, 544, 548.

10. On underlined terms in this section, see DNE.

11. Whitbourne, Discourse [1622], 179; T. Burr, "Acco. of the Several Harbours", 3 March 1675, CO 1/34 (191), 37.

12. J. Collins, Salt and Fishery (London, 1682), 93-101, cf. comments on Iceland fishery, 82-90; J. Downing, "The maner of catching and makeing drie fishe in Newland", 1676, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 565-6; Denys, Histoire Naturelle, 554.

east coast of the Avalon Peninsula.¹³ The work of making the fish was skilled, although the production of competitively priced salt fish - and, in fact, the reproduction of the whole system - required untrained apprentices too.

For both shore and boat crews the work was hard, and sometimes meant going with little sleep. The St. John's planter John Downing observed that crews rested only Sundays and might sleep "in ther beds onlie Saturday night".¹⁴ Such continuous labour exacted a toll on the younger members of the crew.¹⁵ Jean-François Brière has noted that constraints on the timing of commercially-viable operations condemned crews in the eighteenth-century French dry fishery to a rigid schedule and intensive labour and this was just as true of the English fishery in the preceeding century.¹⁶ Since Sundays were the sole break enjoyed by crews on the English Shore, it is not surprising that tension developed around the issue of whether those days were to be passed in prayer or with a cup of wine.¹⁷

There were other tasks. Some fell to carpenters, smiths and surgeons, but most to the fishermen themselves. Through the fishing season, they deployed herring or caplin seines

13. Collins, Salt and Fishery, 93; C. Banfield, "The Climatic Environment of Newfoundland", in Macpherson and Macpherson, Natural Environment, 83-153. Collins was namesake (and relative?) of a planter merchant of c. 1700; see C.P. MacFarland, "Collins, John", DCB, vol. 2.

14. Downing, "Making fish".

15. Yonge, "Journal", 60.

16. J-F. Brière, La pêche française en Amérique du Nord au XVIIIe siècle (Quebec, 1990), 59, 261, 262.

17. See Chapters 8 and 9, below.

for bait.¹⁸ Downing estimated that 15 men in 2 or 3 boats could keep 30 boats and 150 men supplied with caplin. His example suggests this may often have been a cooperative effort by crews working in a particular harbour. Yonge reported crews working herring seines every second night. At the end of the season, if the so-called fishing ship was going herself to market, she would have to be loaded with the processed catch, including a few quintals of late-season wet-cured corfish and barrels of train oil rendered from the fish livers. From the early seventeenth century, specialized cargo vessels, the sack ships, called late in the season to take fish to market and the crews of these vessels were normally responsible for loading their own cargoes.¹⁹ The crews of "fishing" ships had a more onerous task at the beginning of each season, when they might spend a month reproducing the infrastructure of their industry: the boats, train vats, stages, flakes, cookrooms and cabins.²⁰ These are shown in a little sketch of Yonge's made in Fermeuse or Renewes in 1663 (Figure 2.2, p. 46). Parallel tasks awaited the crew at season's end, when they recycled their shore structures as firewood for the return journey, the brewing of beer for the voyage home and even for sale in England.²¹

18. Cf. Head, Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland, 5.

19. E.g. J. Oort and H. Schram, Charterparty re DE CON-INCK DAVID, 1 April 1624, GA Amsterdam, NA 631, 68-70v, in NAC MG 18 012/35; E. Milbery, Deposition, 22 November 1630, in Southampton Examinations, 1627-1634, 72-75.

20. Cf. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 20; Head, Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland, 3.

21. J. Berry, Letter to J. Williamson, 24 July 1675, CO 1/34 (118), 240-241. Berry clearly implies that they used fuel in the brewing of beer.



Figure 2.2 James Yonge, sketch of a stage, c. 1663 probably at Renew or Fermeuse, from his "Journal", courtesy Plymouth Atheneum. The key reads:

- A: The Stage Roof
- B: the Stage Head
- C: A fishing boat
- D: A cooke room
- E: A flake to dry fish over

Of these structures, the stage was the largest and most costly. This was, essentially, a rough wooden quay projecting up to 60 m from shore, with a partially-closed structure at its seaward end.²² Cabins, cookrooms and the stage head work space were of wattle: fir posts, woven with what Yonge calls "a frythe of boughs", sealed on the inside with fir rinds and roofed with rinds and turf or a sail.²³ Sometimes the crews' lodging was simply a tilt, a tent of fir poles and a canvas sail. The "fishing" ship itself might be careened and used as the centre-piece of an extended tilt, like those David de Vries saw at St. John's in 1620.²⁴ New England ships were still doing the same thing at Ferryland in 1708.²⁵ The light construction of shore structures and the frequency with which they were recycled suggests that they will usually have very low archaeological visibility.²⁶ The archaeological survival of a number of seventeenth-century features at the site of the Pool Plantation in Ferryland reflects the fact that these carefully-laid foundations were not the temporary structures

22. Denys, Histoire Naturelle, 532,533; Yonge, "Journal", 56.

23. Cf. Denys, Histoire Naturelle, 531-534. OED defines "fruz" as a collection of small branches.

24. de Vries, Voyages [1655], 6.

25. B. Pickering, Deposition in Marston vs Holmes, 29 January 1709, Essex County, Mass., Court of Common Pleas, Essex Institute, 3530, 14. Careening is rarely mentioned, but may have been taken for granted. The Basque master de Castmayle careened his ship at Trinity in 1638; see W. Hill, Examination in Castemayle vs (Lewis) Kirke, 18 April 1642, HCA 13/58, 9-10.

26. A. Faulkner, "Archaeology of the Cod Fishery, Damariscove Island", HA, 19 (2), 57-86.

of a migratory venture but part of the infrastructure of a well-capitalized resident industry.²⁷

2. Variations in scale and base

By 1660 others had joined the West Country "fishing" ships to fish either on a completely different scale, or from a different base of operations, or both. Major planters, like Sir David Kirke, operated on the same scale as the West Country merchants who provisioned and manned ships with boat crews to fish at Newfoundland.²⁸ Such planters owned or freighted ships bringing crews and supplies to Newfoundland and owned permanent fishing premises and fleets of fishing boats. In 1675, Kirke's widow, Lady Sara Kirke, and their son Phillip of Ferryland each operated five boats, just as the TRUE LOVE, DIMOND and LYON, all of Biddeford, manned four, five, and six boats, respectively at nearby Capelin Bay. The various branches of the Kirke family manned 17 boats with crews totalling 81 at Ferryland in 1675. The largest ship operations in 1675 were those of the REAL FRIEND of Plymouth at Witless Bay and the DARIUS of Dartmouth at St. John's, each with nineteen boats.²⁹ In the early 1650s David Kirke had operated a minimum of thirty boats, George Calvert at least as many in the late 1620s.³⁰

27. See Chapter 4, below.

28. Cf. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 175.

29. J. Berry, "...Planters..." and "...Ships making Fishing Voyages", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (171i,i), 150-156, 136-148.

30. Anon., "Upon the severall petitions...", 24 April 1654, CO 1/12 (20v), 59; J. Slaughter, Examination, 31 August 1652 and A. Taylor, Examination, 24 August 1652, Maryland HS, Calvert mss 174/200, in L.D. Scisco, "Testimony Taken at Newfoundland in 1652", CHR 9 (1928), 239-251.

Planters operating on this scale were, in effect, Newfoundland-based merchants, with kin and commercial ties to trading houses in London or the West Country.³¹ The Kirkes' Ferryland operations, for example, were originally based on ties with William Barkeley, John Kirke and company in London and their factors in Spain, Dartmouth and New England.³²

Smaller operations emerged as well. Precisely because the seventeenth-century fishery at Newfoundland was an inshore fishery, it was possible to enter it as the owner of just one or two boats, employing a few other men and relying on sack ships to buy the catch. Most of these small employers were inhabitants but some, known as bye-boat keepers, took passage out and back on "fishing" ships and left their boats in Newfoundland every winter, under the care of cooperative planters.³³ This mode of production became common after the Restoration, particularly around St. John's, and the bye-boats accounted for an increasing proportion of catches. Contemporaries often considered bye-boat men and planters in the same breath and sometimes even equated them under the rubric of "boatkeeper", a term which is adopted in this study to comprise both these two types of employers.³⁴ In fact, a few planters did not own their own boats, like "one poore woman" of Petty Harbour in 1677,

31. See Chapter 6, below.

32. See Chapters 3 and 6, below.

33. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 162-171.

34. Yonge, "Journal" (1669), 119 lists boat-keepers as "planters" and "interlopers"; cf. C. Talbot, "Answers...", 15 September 1679, CO 1/43 (121), 214-217.

"which cannot follow the fishery but lets out her House and stage for yearly rent".³⁵

With a few such exceptions, all planters kept boats. In 1677 they operated 337 of them. This sector of the Newfoundland fishery was thus comparable to the New England boat fishery, for which 440 vessels of about 6 tons were reported in 1675.³⁶ Two boats is the modal scale of operation for planters in censuses of the period and Captain Talbot observed in 1679 that "Few of the Colony Keepe above 3 boats".³⁷ Nevertheless, the average size of plantations varied considerably from place to place. Table 2.1 (p. 51) reports the mean number of boats and male servants per plantation, by harbour in the south Avalon and St. John's regions in 1677. The planters of Ferryland, on the average, owned more boats and employed more servants than most planters in the region, by a margin of about 50 percent. Only nearby Caplin Bay and Toad's Cove, each with a single large plantation, matched Ferryland in mean plantation size. Table 2.2 (p. 52) reports south Avalon and St. John's planters with three or more boats. It indicates that the relatively large mean plantation size at Ferryland is not the statistical result of one or two very large plantations.

35. W. Poole, "...Inhabitants", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62iv, vi, vii), 157-166. Non-boat-keeping inhabitants reported range between two in 1677 and eleven in 1681, see Berry, "Planters" (1675); J. Story, "...Shippes Planters &c", 1 September 1681, CO 1/47 (52i), 113-121v.

36. Anon., Report, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 522.

37. Talbot, "Answers to Enquiries" (1679). The distribution of planters by number of boats owned is discussed in further detail in Chapter 6, below.

**Table 2.1 Mean number of boats and male servants
with number of planters, by harbour,
south Avalon and St. John's regions,
Newfoundland, 1677.**

HARBOUR	PLANTERS	Mean No. BOATS	Mean No. SERVANTS
Trepassey	4	2.8	8.5
Renews	6	2.2	6.5
Fermeuse	9	1.2	4.9
Ferryland	8	3.4	13.6
Caplin Bay	1	5.0	20.0
Brigus S.	3	2.3	11.0
Bauline S.	3	1.7	6.3
Toad's Cove	1	4.0	12.0
Witless Bay	3	2.0	6.3
Bay Bulls	6	2.5	9.5
Petty Harbour	8	1.3	5.5
St. John's	27	1.7	5.9
Torbay	2	1.0	1.0
ENGLISH SHORE	163	2.1	8.2

SOURCE:

W. Poole, "...Inhabitants and Planters...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62iv, vi, vii), 157-166.

NOTES:

There are reasons to suspect that the numbers of servants for Trepassey and Renewes under-report the true totals by excluding some servants, perhaps of French origin. (See below.) Jonathan Hooper of Renewes, for example, reports only 12 male servants to operate 6 boats.

**Table 2.2 Planters with three or more boats
south Avalon and St. John's regions
Newfoundland, 1677**

PLANTER	BOATS	HARBOUR
Thomas Perriman	4	Trepassey
Richard Perriman	4	Trepassey
Jonathan Hooper	6	Renews
Lady Francis Hopkins	3	Ferryland
Lady Sara Kirke	4	Ferryland
George Kirke	5	Ferryland
David Kirke II	6	Ferryland
William Robinson	3	Ferryland
William Toms (as "Tommes")	3	Ferryland
Christopher Pollard	5	Caplin Bay
Nicholas Coombe (as "Koone")	3	Brigus South
John Roulston (as "Rolson")	4	Toad's Cove
Arthur Mahone	3	Witless Bay
Robert Dentch (as "Dench")	5	Bay Bulls
John Dale	3	Bay Bulls
John Peirce	3	Bay Bulls
John Downing	5	St. John's
Thomas Oxford	3	St. John's
William Matthews	3	St. John's
Richard England	3	St. John's
Widow Loney (as "Lony")	3	St. John's

SOURCE:

W. Poole, "...Inhabitants and Planters...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62iv, vi, vii), 157-166.

Ferryland in fact had more large plantations in 1677 than any other harbour in the region, the much more populous St. John's included. The aptly named Petty Harbour was a kind of counterfoil to Ferryland: its eight planters in 1677 operated only ten boats among them. The censuses suggest that the south Avalon was a region of large plantations, in contrast to the St. John's area.

The census figures also suggest that most bye-boat operations were on the same scale as those of the average planter. In 1675, for example, the 116 plantations with boats on the English Shore operated a mean of 2.4 each, employing a mean of 10.8 men; while the 28 non-resident bye-boat men (almost all at St. John's) operated a mean of 2.2 boats with 9.8 men.³⁸ It is not difficult to see how bye-boat men found an economic niche in the competitive world of the fishery. The "fishing" ships came to Newfoundland more or less in ballast and the emergence of sack ship market transports meant many of the "fishing" ships would return to England laden only with relatively small cargoes of train oil.³⁹ This was incentive for fishing masters to carry passengers at competitive rates.⁴⁰ In the 1670s each one-way passenger paid 30s to £2.⁴¹ By making it possible for bye-boats to market their catches in Newfoundland, the sack

38. Berry, "Planters" and "Ships". Although the mean numbers of boats kept are similar, the variance in number kept by the migratory bye-boat keepers is much greater.

39. F. Wheler, "Answers...", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56), 239-246v; see 242.

40. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 165.

41. Berry to Williamson, 24 July 1675.

ships made it profitable for some "fishing" ships to carry competitors to the fishery. Bye-boat keepers thus escaped the unpredictable shipping overheads of the ship fishery, or paid a fraction of this overhead in the predictable form of passage money. This sector of the fishery therefore attracted those with moderate capital.⁴²

Ralph Lounsbury asserts that bye-boat keeping was introduced by Sir David Kirke.⁴³ He offers no evidence for this speculation and the evidence we have about Kirke's commercial practice suggests it is mistaken.⁴⁴ Yonge perceived bye-boat keepers as new-comers in the 1660s, for he refers to them as "interlopers". Furthermore, he notes them only at St. John's (in 1669) but not at Renew's (in 1663).⁴⁵ In 1699 Commodore Leake reported ten bye-boats at Aquaforte and Ferryland.⁴⁶ This suggests a different situation in the south Avalon at the very end of the century, possibly because of wartime disturbance to planters. In the censuses of the 1670s and 1680s bye-boat keeping is limited essentially to the St. John's area.⁴⁷ There were many independent units of production competing with one among the "fish-

42. Cf. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 166. A hull might cost only £6, but fitting out each boat with salt, lines etc. would cost £60 to £70, plus wages. See W. Poole, "Answers...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (621), 149-152; F. Wheler, "Charge of fitting out two Boats...", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56iii), 251v-252v.

43. Lounsbury, British Fishery, 110.

44. See below, Chapter 7.

45. Yonge, "Journal", 55, 119, 120. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 169 dates bye-boat-keeping from c. 1660.

46. A. Leake, "Answers...", September 17, 1699, CO 194/1 (150), 334-345.

47. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 165.

ing" ships and bye-boat keepers in that major harbour. The marginal cost in reduced catches to any one ship of introducing yet another bye-boat competitor was probably smaller than the profit to be earned from passage-money.

Like bye-boat keepers, most planters avoided shipping overheads by bringing in crews as passengers on "fishing" ships and by exporting catches on sacks. The planters, however, had to shoulder the cost of over-wintering. The economic niche occupied by the inhabitants of seventeenth-century Newfoundland is less obvious than the smaller niche occupied by their cousins, the bye-boat keepers.

3. The economic logic of Newfoundland settlement

As Keith Matthews emphasizes, the inhabitants of Newfoundland faced a new challenge after 1660, not merely to "settled government" but to settlement itself.⁴⁸ In the late 1670s the Committee for Trade and Plantations decided, in the end, to accept settlement. The arguments of a vocal anti-planter faction among the West Country fishing interests have, nevertheless, enjoyed a rhetorical after-life.⁴⁹ Some historians, for example Gillian Cell, continue to argue that "the successful exploitation of the Newfoundland fishery did not require settlement", or as J.G. Davies puts

48. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 200-239.

49. On these factions see Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 210-211, 218, 236-237.

it: "the fishery...had no place for a settled population".⁵⁰ Disinterested contemporaries thought otherwise. Furthermore, contemporary arguments suggest an economic logic to settlement which accords well with our current understanding of the fishery as a common-property resource.

The pro-settlement position was pressed from the early 1670s on.⁵¹ Sir John Berry defended settlement after his experience as naval commodore in 1675, and his humane "Observations" of 1676 are summarized by Matthews, stressing Berry's criticism of the migratory fishermen and his presumed impartiality.⁵² As John Crowley has recently argued, however, we might doubt that the gentlemen in command of the Royal Navy were truly impartial, for their class origins and naval professionalism may have alienated the commodores from the world of trade.⁵³ It is therefore worth

50. G.T. Cell, "The Cupids Cove Settlement: A Case Study of the Problems of Early Colonisation", in G.M. Story (ed.), Early European Settlement and Exploitation in Atlantic Canada, (St John's, 1982), 97-114, see 111; Davies, "Policy and Trade", 365.

51. Newfoundland Planters, "...Reply to the West-country owners", c. 1670, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 668-669; J. Gould, Letter to R. Southwell, 3 March 1675, CO 1/65 (22), 95; Berry to Williamson, 24 July 1675; W. Poole, Letter to CTP, 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62), 147-148; C. Martin, Deposition, 28 January 1678, CO 1/42 (20), 54; Talbot, "Answers" (1679); J. Carter [Mayor of Poole] et al., "Severall Reasons offered for not Removing the Planters...", c. 1680, CO 1/46 (77), 151.

52. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 219, 220, citing J. Berry, "Observations...", 18 August 1676, CO 1/35 (81), 325-326 as "Berry's Report Aug. 1675".

53. J.E. Crowley, "Empire versus Truck: the Official Interpretation of Debt and Labour in the Eighteenth-century Newfoundland Fishery", CHR 70(3) (1989), 311-336. Crowley's arguments would appear to apply as well to late seventeenth-century commodores like Sir John Berry.

examining the cogent case for Newfoundland settlement made two years later by a more junior naval officer, Nehemiah Troute, a Plymouth man experienced in the migratory fishery, who had returned to Newfoundland in 1675 as purser of HMS SWANN and who was asked for his opinions by the Committee for Trade and Plantations in 1678.⁵⁴ Troute was then, as he put it, "a person indifferent" and uncommitted to either the merchant adventurers or the inhabitants.

Whether or not Troute's defence of settlement is more objective than Berry's, it is interesting in its own right because he made a somewhat broader argument than his former senior officer. Like Berry he stressed ways in which the inhabitants benefitted the migratory fishery:

1. In spring, ships sent boat crews ahead to claim fishing rooms. (From as much as 30 leagues offshore according to Berry.) They depended on inhabitants for shelter.⁵⁵
2. The inhabitants cut timber and produced lumber, boats and oars for the migratory fishery.
3. The inhabitants were "possessors of the Country for his Majestie". If Newfoundland were taken by France, it would prejudice the fishery and the West India trade.

Troute added an important argument:

54. N. Troute, Deposition, 1 February 1678, CO 1/42 (22), 58-59v. This interesting document is given only a one-line summary in CSP Col (1677-1680), 215.

55. Presumably this would happen when ships were becalmed or fighting prevailing westerlies.

4. The inhabitants acted as care-takers for boats left to over-winter by migratory fishermen. (Troute's employers had paid £2 for the care of 20 boats.)⁵⁶

Troute and Berry agreed that the planter fishery was as useful to Britain as was the West Country fishery:

5. Inhabitants trained proportionately as many men as the ships and were thus also "a nursery of seamen".⁵⁷
6. The inhabitants spent their earnings on English agricultural produce and manufactures.

Finally, as Berry had done, Troute refuted two of the charges most often made against the planters, that they destroyed fishing rooms in the off season and that they pre-empted rooms that were needed by migratory fishermen:

7. It was fishing masters who destroyed fishing rooms, by selling their own stages off, shipping the timber home, or by dismantling competitors' stages.
8. Disputes over fishing rooms happened because the Admiral, or first migratory master to arrive in each harbour, would take as much territory as he could, in order to eliminate competitors.

Troute omitted two arguments to justify settlement proposed, respectively, by Berry and James Houblon:

56. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 219, attributes this view to Berry, who does not mention it.

57. For a critique of this argument see D.J. Starkey, "The West Country-Newfoundland Fishery and the Manning of the Royal Navy", in R. Higham (ed.), Security and Defence in South-West England Before 1800 (Exeter, 1987), 93-101.

9. The inhabitants of Newfoundland were poor and unskilled in any trade but the fishery and would therefore burden any English parish to which they were returned.⁵⁸
10. The inhabitants could produce fish cheaper and of better quality than the migratory fishermen.⁵⁹

The latter was a questionable argument. Even proponents of "settled" government admitted that the cost of overwintering inhabitants equalled the transit costs of the "fishing" ships, unless the inhabitants could be kept fishing most of the year.⁶⁰ The positive justifications for Newfoundland settlement were those Troute stressed: accommodation of early or marooned crews, access to timber for boats and other wood products, care-taking and finally, protection of British sovereignty. Accommodations or lumber may have become important components of the planter economy but one doubts that their marginal benefits could have themselves triggered settlement. It is the two remaining arguments, micro and macro versions of a single rationale, that convincingly explain why the settlement of Newfoundland was, in Robert Hayman's phrase, "a business honorable, profitable, feasible, facill and opportune".⁶¹ From the earliest proposals for settlement to the protracted late

58. Berry to Williamson, 24 July 1675.

59. J. Houblon, Letter to CTP, 20 March 1675, CO 1/65 (23), 97ff.

60. Anon., "Some Modest observations", 25 March 1675, CO 1/34 (32), 69-72. Cf. Poole, "Answers" (1677); Wheler, "Answers" (1684).

61. R. Hayman, "A Proposition of Profit & Honor", c. 1620, BL, Egerton ms 2541, 162-169v.

seventeenth-century debate on the need for government, the settlement of Newfoundland was justified, in great part, as a means of protecting the infrastructure of the British fishery.⁶² Why was such protection necessary?

The fishery is, notoriously, a common property resource, that is, one which is difficult to enclose. Consequently, the territories of fishermen are not protected from interlopers by conventional property rights.⁶³ Extra-legal competition among fishermen over access to the resource is therefore normal and this was as true of the seventeenth-century fishery as it is today. There is a vein of Newfoundland historiography rich with conflicts between migratory and settled fishermen.⁶⁴ Seventeenth-century observers often saw such conflicts as examples of a wider phenomenon: competition common among fisherman in general.⁶⁵ Nor was such conflict peculiar to Newfoundland, it was widespread in coastal Maine and Massachusetts.⁶⁶ The French

62. A. Parkhurst, "Commodities to growe by frequenting of Traficq to new found Land", 1578, BL, Landsdowne ms 100, 95-97; Whitbourne, Discourse, 132; [E. Wynne], "The British India", c. 1628, BL, Royal ms 17 A LVII, 3-36; D. Kirke, Letter to Privy Council, 12 September 1640, CO 1/10 (77), 196; and the later sources cited above.

63. H.S. Gordon, "The Economic Theory of a Common-Property Resource: the Fishery", Journal of Political Economy 62 (1954), 124-142; R. Ommer, "'All the Fish of the Post': Resource Property Rights and Development in a Nineteenth-Century Fishery", Acadiensis 10 (1981), 107-123.

64. E.g. Prowse, History; Cell, English Enterprise. For a critique, see Matthews, "Fence Building".

65. Poole, "Answers" (1677); Trout, Deposition (1678); Talbot, "Answers" (1679); Collins, Salt and Fishery, 96.

66. C. Heyrman, Commerce and Culture, The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690-1750 (New York, 1984), 36ff, 214; C.E. Clark, The Eastern Frontier, The Settlement of Northern New England, 1610-1763 (1970, rep. Hanover, N.H., 1983), 29ff. Heyrman ascribes the unruly behaviour of the West Country immigrants at Gloucester and

had to deal with similar problems.⁶⁷ Fishing crews were capable of destroying each others stages and stealing each others boats, as the reiteration of regulations against such practices suggests.⁶⁸ It was the economic logic of competition that led fishermen to do such things.

A migratory master who could depend on a resident to protect his boats, reserve fishing rooms and preserve his stages would have a competitive advantage, even if he had to pay for it.⁶⁹ Payment often took the form of rent during Sir David Kirke's administration of the south Avalon in the 1640s and the practice continued there and around St. John's.⁷⁰ Once one fishing master in an area had a winter care-taker, such care-takers became necessary for his com-

Marblehead to cultural incompatibilities, but the culture of New England's West Country immigrants was rooted in the economics of the fishery; see D. Vickers, "Work and Life on the Fishing Periphery of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1675", in D. Hall and D. Allen (eds) Seventeenth Century New England, (Boston, 1985), 83-117.

67. Cf. French legislation of 1613, designed to control the destruction of stages, cited in H.P. Biggar, The Early Trading Companies of New France (1901, rep. St. Clair Shores, Michigan, 1972), 198.

68. Prowse, History, 99n; Charles I in Council, Charter, 10 February 1634, DRO Exeter, DO 62571; Council of State, "Laws, rules and ordinances...", June 3, 1653, CO 1/38 (33iii), 74-75v; Charles II in Council, Charter, 26 January 1661, CO 1/15 (3); the latter in K.M. Matthews (ed.), Collection and Commentary on the Constitutional Laws of Seventeenth Century Newfoundland (St. John's, 1975), 71-75, 123-126, 131.

69. Cf. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 20; Lectures, 20; S. Ryan, Fish out of Water: the Newfoundland Saltfish Trade 1814-1914 (St. John's, 1986), 32.

70. R. Parker, Deposition, 27 November 1667, WDRO, Plymouth W360/74; W. Swanley et al., "An act made by the tenants of Avalon", 30 August 1663, Maryland HS, Calvert mss 174/210; Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 240.

petitors. Fishermen whose equipment was left unprotected were at the mercy of those whose boats and rooms were secure.⁷¹ Even the relationship between French and English fishermen in Newfoundland can be seen in this light. If the French were to continue fishing in proximity to the permanent English settlements which developed in the mid seventeenth-century it was, in some sense, inevitable that they would set up their own colony of resident fishermen to protect their seasonal stations, as they did at Placentia in 1662.⁷² Conversely, the existence of French settlement became a strong argument for the maintenance of the English fishing settlements.⁷³ After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 settlement could hardly be said to be "necessary" for the migratory French fishery, since it was no longer officially possible. However, as Brière notes, French metropolitan fishermen continued to regard English settlement as an immense competitive advantage, which they sought to limit in the political forum.⁷⁴

The earliest organized colonies were made for a variety of motives, which usually included securing access to the fishery.⁷⁵ Initial informal settlement may have been encouraged by an economic pressure on the Newfoundland

71. J. Cull, N. Luce, T. Pitcher, Depositions, 27 November 1667, WDRO, Plymouth W360/74; R. Hooper and T. Gearing, "Answer from the Mayors [of Barnstaple and Bideford]", 30 March 1675, CO 1/34 (38), 87-38v.

72. Proulx, Military History of Placentia, 12ff.

73. E.g. Martin, Deposition (1678).

74. Brière, La pêche française, 219-246.

75. Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 1-59.

fishery which has only recently been recognized. This pressure was exerted by Newfoundland's native people, the Beothuk, who treated seasonally-abandoned fishing premises as stores of iron, particularly nails. Early-modern forged nails were easily reworked into useful tools, like the well-fashioned projectile points excavated at Boyd's Cove, Notre Dame Bay.⁷⁶ Each fishing boat would contain about 1200 nails plus other iron work, a fishing stage thousands of nails.⁷⁷ The easiest way to obtain these would be to burn the equipment in question. The Beothuks' pilfering relationship with Europeans thus annually threatened the infrastructure of the fishery and occasionally led to open conflict.⁷⁸ There is little evidence that these people regularly exploited the Avalon Peninsula south of Trinity Bay. The recovery of a worked stone biface (Figure 2.3, p.64) in an aboriginal context of a hearth and lithic debris, sandwiched between late sixteenth-century European contexts at Ferryland, suggests that the Beothuk may have scavenged there, as they would a century later in their northern refugium in the no man's land between the English and French shores.⁷⁹ In the late sixteenth century the Beothuk

76. R. Pastore, "Fishermen, Furriers, and Beothuks: The Economy of Extinction", Man In the Northeast (33), 1987, 47-62; L.A. MacLean, "The Beothuk Adoption of Iron Technology", unpub. M.A. thesis, MUN, 1989.

77. J. Downing, "...Concerning the following Particulars", 14 December 1676, BL, Egerton 2395, f.564.; Whitbourne, Discourse, 174.

78. D. Kirke, "Reply to the Answere to the description of Newfoundland.", 29 September 1639, CO 1/10 (38), 97-114; Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 244v.

79. Tuck, "Excavations at Ferryland, 1986", 302; Pastore, "Economy of Extinction", 55,66.

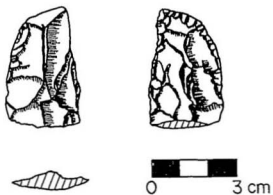


Figure 2.3 Stone biface (CgAf-2: 3527), from the Ferryland Waterfront (Area C, stratum 7), excavated below a European context of c. 1600 and above a European context, probably dating before 1580.

subsistence environment had not yet changed from that of the pre-contact period, except for the presence of iron-using Europeans at seasonal stations like Ferryland. It therefore seems reasonable to suspect that what had drawn them beyond their traditional range was the presence of these interlopers and the new materials they brought with them.

The documentary record shows that Beothuk damage to boats and other infrastructure was a factor in encouraging initial settlement after the settlement frontier had moved northwards. In 1680 the Mayor of Poole explicitly recognized the threat of aboriginal scavenging as one of the "Reasons for not Removing the Planters", just when many of his constituents were beginning to fish north of Bonavista: "The Indians having beene so bold this Last yeare, As to come into our harbor & doe mischeife".⁸⁰ We might reasonably suspect that earlier Beothuk scavenging would have constituted a significant incentive for initial settlement in various southern areas also, as the settlement frontier moved northward in successive periods. Ralph Pastore has pointed out that avoidance by the Beothuk of reciprocal economic relations with Europeans left their small bands open to eventual economic eclipse when the coast was appropriated by permanent residents of European origin.⁸¹ What might be added to this dismal scenario is that a long-

80. Carter et al., "Reasons for Planters" (c. 1680). William Carter's son was a planter at Old Perlican; see Matthews, Lectures, 70.

81. Pastore, "Economics of Extinction" and "The Collapse of the Beothuk World", Acadiensis 19(1) (1989), 52-71.

term scavenging relationship with the migratory fishery, in combination with the economic logic of a common-property resource, would constitute a particularly fateful feedback loop - a loop which may have linked the Beothuk world with the origins of English settlement in Newfoundland.

Given the failure of reciprocal economic relations between Beothuk and English and the fact that northern woodland peoples generally lacked concepts of territorial property, Native scavenging at seasonally-abandoned fishing premises was virtually inevitable. Such scavenging must have been a significant factor in the destruction of fisheries equipment left unattended within the Beothuk fall and winter range. Whether or not the perpetrators were correctly identified, the migratory owners of damaged equipment would regard such acts as outrages. The obvious solution to the problem was the stationing of over-wintering caretakers. Because of the intense and often violent competition among fishermen, the existence of one resident in an area created an economic incentive for further settlement. Once settlement was established, other factors contributed to growth and persistence, which eventually drove the Beothuk inland, away from the diverse coastal resources upon which their survival had for centuries depended.⁸² On this interpretation Beothuk presence at European sites would be expected in archaeological contexts just older than the earliest signs of permanent English occupations at those sites

82. Pastore, "Collapse of the Beothuk World", 67.

first occupied by the English in various regions, in successive periods. This hypothesis can be tested as early modern sites on the Island are located and excavated.

The view, expressed by Cell and Davies, that settlement was not economically "necessary" is, on this interpretation, mistaken. Their position rests on a view of the fishery abstracted from the human context into which it had intruded and from the harsh realities of competition in a capitalist industry operating outside the effective jurisdiction of a distant and often uninterested administration. The many arguments against the European settlement of Newfoundland would not affect the economic logic of the feedback mechanism presented here as an hypothesis about initial settlement. Such arguments simply posed questions about how the settled population was going to survive.

4. The planter economy

That the Newfoundland cod fishery operated on a seasonal cycle is a commonplace, although discussions of this cycle are not often documented.⁸³ April 1 was, in the early seventeenth century, the official date for setting out on the Newfoundland voyage and the "fishing" ships in fact often sailed about this date.⁸⁴ As the century wore on

83. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 20 (without documentation), Matthews, Lectures, 56-58. The discussion of schedules c. 1700 in I.K. Steele, The English Atlantic 1675-1740 (Oxford, 1986), 78-85, is well documented.

84. Privy Council, "Orders to Devon, Cornwall and Western Ports", 28 February 1628, in APC Col; Cull, Deposition (1667). The days and months discussed here are in the old-style Julian calendar, about 10 days behind the modern calendar. April 1 was what we would call April 10.

ships tended to leave earlier for Newfoundland, probably as a result of competition for fishing rooms. By the 1670s the official sailing date was March 1 and ships were, in fact, sometimes sailing in February.⁸⁵ The voyage usually took about five weeks, so that ships arrived in Newfoundland in April or May.⁸⁶ Ships going via Portugal or the Cape Verdes for salt or via the Canaries or Azores for wine left earlier.⁸⁷ The sack ships, which did not expect to pick up their ladings of fish until July or August, could afford to leave later.⁸⁸ In the early decades of the seventeenth century the actual fishing seems to have been over by the end of July.⁸⁹ In 1684 Captain Wheler thought "the Best of the Sport is Over the twentieth of August".⁹⁰ The sacks and "fishing" ships going to market sailed a few at a time or, if seriously threatened by war, together under naval convoy

85. H. Hatsell, Letter to Admiralty, 30 March 1660, SP 18/220 (49); J. Blackborne, Letters to J. Hickey, 26 February 1671 and 17 March 1671, SP 29/287 (263) and /288 (82); W. Hurt, Letter to J. Williamson, 4 February 1678, SP 29/400 (222); A. Mudd, Letter to J. Williamson, 5 February 1678, SP 29/401 (9), all in CSP Dom; Merchants trading to America, Petition, 1 March 1667, SP 29/193 (2,21), 2-4; W. Downing, Petition, 2 April 1679, CO 1/43 (40), 64.

86. Steele, English Atlantic, 82. Cf. O. Wheeler et al., Depositions, 23 September 1630, in Anderson, Examinations and Depositions, vol. 2, 66,67.

87. Steele, English Atlantic, 81; S. Salvemant and C. Jacobsen, Charterparty, 31 December 1609, GA Amsterdam NA 118, 66-67, in NAC MG 18 012/13; G. Haresonep, Examination, 16 July 1651, HCA 13/65, n.p.

88. E.g. E. Ricart, S. Farwell and J. Bunne, Depositions, 3 June 1640, in Southampton Examinations 1639-1644, 9,10; D. Kirke, Petition, 5 May 1652, Maryland HS, Calvert mss 174/199, in L.D.Scisco, "Kirke's Memorial on Newfoundland", CHR 7(1) (1926), 47-51; F. Bellott, Letters to J. Williamson, 1 July 1678 and 8 July 1678, SP 29/405 (5 and 56), in CSP Dom.

89. Cull, Deposition (1667).

90. Wheler, "Answers" (1684).

in August or early September.⁹¹ The first ships to reach the Iberian and Mediterranean ports got the best prices for their cargoes, and would "venture all to get the first market", in late September or October.⁹² The ships that had taken fish to a European market could be home in England by late November or December.⁹³ The voyage home from Newfoundland for the "fishing" ships that did not go to market often took only three weeks; in the West Country September 15 to October 5 was "time for the Newfoundland men to come in".⁹⁴

The annual seasonal cycle of the English settlements in Newfoundland inevitably paralleled the seasonal cycle of the migratory fishery. In a sense, the latter drove the former. But the nine months between August and June were not, in seventeenth-century Newfoundland, the period of indolence that opponents of settlement feared or that historians have sometimes, too hastily, assumed.⁹⁵ The planters took advantage of the possibility of a longer fishing season.

91. Wheeler et al., Deposition (1630), Ricart et al., Depositions (1643); [W. Davies], Letter [to Mr. Wren], 16 September 1671/ 9/16, CO 1/27 (27), 74,v; Merchants, Petition, 20 September 1672, SP 29/315 (112), in CSP Dom.

92. T. Allin, Letter to J. Williamson, 23 October 1669, SP 29/266 (175), in CSP Dom.

93. W. Wakeman, Letter to J. Hickes, 29 November 1672, SP 29/318 (78), in CSP Dom.

94. R. Blake, Letter to Admiralty, 25 October 1655, SP 18/101 (81), in CSP Dom.; on the east-bound voyage see Steele, English Atlantic, 82.

95. Merchants of West Country Ports, Reply to Capt. Robert Robinson, c. 1668, CO 1/22 (71); J. Child, A New Discourse of Trade (London, 1693), 201; Cell, English Enterprise, 79,96 and "Cupids Cove Settlement". Cf. CTP, Report, 15 April 1675, CO 1/65 (32i), 114-119v, discussed in Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 214-216, as "CO 1/67.114 et seq....5 May 1675".

The nine month season envisaged by some proponents of settlement was actually impossible for an inshore fishery on the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula, for the cod simply were not there to be caught before June.⁹⁶ The inhabitants did, however, fish in the fall.⁹⁷ Furthermore, like seasonal workers in other new trades, planters and migratory crews developed dual employments.⁹⁸

Non-piscatorial components of the early Newfoundland economy are often ignored or slighted, but they were important to the inhabitants.⁹⁹ Although these sectors were overshadowed by the fishery, they should be of historical interest, particularly from the point of view of staple theory, to the extent that they shed light on how a particular export industry shaped a nascent economy.¹⁰⁰ Most sectors of the seventeenth-century Newfoundland economy had a direct relationship to the fishery. They include lumbering, boat-building, agriculture and what today would be called the "hospitality industry". Even sectors not linked to the fishery, for example the trade in furs and skins, were structured by this staple industry, simply because it dominated the economy. Some nascent industries exhibit backward linkage, *i.e.* the incentive to invest in local pro-

96. Anon., "Modest observations" (1675); Templeman, Marine Resources, 40; cf. Steele, English Atlantic, 83.

97. Poole, "Answers" (1677).

98. Cf. Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects, 110, 155.

99. Only Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland and Davies, "Policy and Trade", pay much attention to these.

100. McCusker and Menard, Economy, 23-34. See Chapter 9, below, for a brief discussion of development theories.

duction of inputs used to produce the staple export. Others exhibit final demand linkage, the incentive to invest in domestic production of consumer goods.¹⁰¹ There are no obvious cases in seventeenth-century Newfoundland of forward linkage to industries using the staple product as an input and adding value by further processing.¹⁰²

Transport systems for staple collection are, historically, the prime example of backward linkage.¹⁰³ Boats for the seventeenth-century Newfoundland fishery were "Built in the Country...of the Country Wood".¹⁰⁴ Thus two local industries, boat-building and lumbering, were linked in series to the requirements of staple production. These industries were of long standing. John Guy in the 1610s and George Calvert in the 1620s had boats built for their respective fishing operations.¹⁰⁵ Migratory crews took it for granted that they would be able to buy boats or the lumber to build them in Newfoundland.¹⁰⁶ In his defence of

101. M.H. Watkins, "A Staple Theory of Economic Growth", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 29(2) (1963), 141-158.

102. Watkins, "Staple Theory", 153, proposes a "shift" from the wet or green cure to the dry cure as an example of forward linkage. This questionable idea probably arises from the unsubstantiated theory that the dry fishery displaced a pre-existing green fishery, in Innis, Cod Fisheries, 21. The wet and dry cures are alternatives; neither wet nor dry fish are ready for the pan.

103. Watkins, "Staple Theory", 145.

104. Downing, "Concerning Particulars" (1676).

105. Cell, English Enterprise, 64; A. Love, Examination, 31 August 1652; Slaughter and Taylor, Examinations, in Scisco, "Testimony".

106. E.g. B. Marston, Instructions to R. Holmes, 20 April 1708, Essex Co. Court of Common Pleas, Essex Institute, 3530.F.14. Merchants did not supply planters with boats, pace Matthews, Lectures, 21.

settlement, Nehemiah Troute emphasized that lumbering by the inhabitants made possible the building of boats, a "privilege" the English enjoyed in Newfoundland, while the French brought their boats from France, "they having not the advantage of his Majesties Forest".¹⁰⁷ By the later seventeenth century these related wood industries had become important off-season activities for the planters.¹⁰⁸

The bare hulls of these shallops were worth £6 to £8, the completed boat £20 to £25.¹⁰⁹ A Newfoundland boat was about 24 feet long on the keel, hence 30 to 35 feet overall, the size of their lineal descendants, the bully boats and trap-skiffs.¹¹⁰ Figure 2.4 (p. 73) is an early seventeenth-century illustration of boats of this type. Downing reported that they could carry two sails on two masts. At least one was a sprit sail, like those used on small Newfoundland sailing craft to c. 1950.¹¹¹ According to Yonge, crews often relied on the oars.¹¹² If we recall that these

107. Troute, Deposition (1678).

108. Poole, "Answers to Inquiry" (1677).

109. Trout, Deposition (1678); Downing, "Newfoundland Particulars" (1676); A. Wood, "A true Accot of the Vallue of the Shallop Hopewell", Deposition in Wood vs Chantrell, 30 October 1672, in Records of the Suffolk County Court 1671-1680, part 1, Colonial Society of Massachusetts Collections, vol. 29 (Boston, 1933), 160, 161.

110. Downing, "Concerning Particulars" (1676). On twentieth-century inshore boats see D. Taylor, Boat Building in Winterton, Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, no. 41 (Ottawa, 1982), 56-82. On seventeenth-century New England fishing shallops see W.A. Baker, "Vessel Types of Colonial Massachusetts", in Seafaring in Colonial Massachusetts (Boston, 1980), 3-29.

111. H.I. Chapelle, American Small Sailing Craft, Their Design, Development and Construction (New York, 1951), Fig. 87, 224.

112. Yonge, "Journal", 57.



Figure 2.5 Boats, from De Veer, Waerachtighe (1605), reprinted in D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records (London, 1895), 173. The boat in the foreground matches descriptions of early modern Newfoundland fishing shallops. Note the double-ended construction and sprit rig.

boats were made of softwoods, were probably unpainted and were not made by specialists, we might estimate their average working life at five to eight years.¹¹³ The planters were operating about 300 boats in the 1670s, the migratory fishermen about 900. These figures imply a demand for about 200 boats a year, in a period when there were only about that many planter households. Boat-building must have been an important activity for many of these households for several months every year. In a period when the value of fish produced annually by the inhabitants was in the order of £42,000, the boat-building industry was worth only something like 4 percent of this or about £1700.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, this would have been something like 20 percent of planters' income. Similar conjectural estimates could be made regarding the production of oars or timber for stages, cookrooms, train-vats and flakes. There is statistical evidence for timber exports to the West Country in the early eighteenth century, but there is no need to belabour the point: wood industries were a small but not insignificant part of the early modern Newfoundland economy.¹¹⁵

113. Some biased estimates in the 1640s put the useful life of a Newfoundland fishing boat at three years, but rental rates in the 1680s suggest greater durability; see W. Hill, *Examination in Baltimore vs Kirke*, 15 February 1653, HCA 13/67, n.p.; Wheler, "Charge for two Boats" (1684). About 1800, Lloyds classified Newfoundland ships of fir and juniper as first class risks for seven years and those of fir and black birch for 4 years; see [Lloyds], *New Register Book of Shipping for the Year 1800* (London, n.d.).

114. Total recorded value of planter fish production in 1680 was £42087; see Anon., "Abstract of the Newfoundland Fishery...", 1680, CO 1/46 (78), 152, 153.

115. On exports see Davies, "Policy and Trade", 244ff.

The value of the agricultural sector is even harder to quantify. Newfoundland's agricultural limitations impress visitors from more agriculturally-favoured regions and seventeenth-century visitors were no exception.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, the northern vegetables and grains and the suite of domestic animals that have followed northern Europeans since the Bronze Age can be raised without much difficulty. Products answered specific local needs, although their total commercial value was not high. As Head has sensibly observed, the seventeenth-century settlements of Newfoundland were sited to access marine resources but where good soils were available, they were exploited.¹¹⁷ Although most historians have admitted as much, some have also exhibited an unreflective skepticism about evidence of agriculture in early Newfoundland.¹¹⁸ Gerald Sider's claim that agriculture was systematically discouraged as part of a strategy of class domination is implausible.¹¹⁹ This is not simply because his evidence is weak, nor because he ignores that agriculture which actually flourished, but because there is no need for a complex explanation of why Newfoundland's agricultural development was limited in the early modern period. It could not compete with the fishery. As Sir Robert Robinson put it in 1680, it was possible to create arable and pasture "but tis not done by Reason the Fishing

116. Handcock, English Settlement, 39.

117. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, 45.

118. E.g. Cell, English Enterprise, 96 and 79.

119. G.M. Sider, "The Ties that Bind: Culture and Agriculture, Property and Propriety in the Newfoundland Village Fishery", SH 5 (1980), 1-39; Culture and Class, 112ff.

Trade is more profitable".¹²⁰ Labour was not available for agriculture in the English mode. "Servants wages are soe excessive, that clearing ground, & sewinge corne will not be to profit", Captain Talbot argued.¹²¹ The point is well taken: Newfoundland fishermen could earn much more than contemporary farm labourers.¹²² These reports somewhat exaggerated, however, the preponderance of the fishery.

Newfoundland's seventeenth-century inhabitants did, in fact, engage in agriculture, raising in particular turnips and other brassica, as well as pigs and cattle. Captain William Poole's comprehensive census of 1677 reported, for example, that 80 percent of the planter households in St. John's kept gardens, some of them more than one garden, so that there were actually more gardens than households.¹²³ The crops were likely those raised in the early years of the proprietary plantations: oats, barley, peas, beans, lettuce, radish, carrots, turnips and cabbage.¹²⁴ Since grains ship well and could be produced more cheaply in England itself, vegetables took precedence, as the experienced Conception Bay planter Nicholas Guy indicated in 1626, when he recommended, to those intending to settle, "Seede for all sortes

120. R. Robinson, "Inquiries Made", 11 October 1680, CO 1/46 (8x), 33-34v; cf. Colonel Gibson, Letter to Board of Trade, 28 June 1697, CO 194/1 (81), 159-160.

121. Talbot, "Answers" (1679).

122. See Chapter 7, below.

123. There were 28 gardens and 27 households. See Poole, "Inhabitants". Poole's report lacks figures for gardens in the south Avalon, unfortunately.

124. E. Winne, Letters to George Calvert, 28 July 1628 and 17 August 1628 in Whitbourne, Discourse, 195-198 and 200-204; cf. Poole, "Answers to Inquiry" (1677).

of garden herbes and rootes for the kitchen".¹²⁵ Early colonists soon realized that vegetables were important in control of scurvy.¹²⁶ Although they had no clear idea of what it was that anti-scorbutics provided, contemporaries with an interest in settlement understood that a staple diet of bread, peas and salt meat put health at risk.¹²⁷ Gardens therefore filled an important health function in the seventeenth-century Newfoundland subsistence economy.

Livestock played a larger role in the commercial economy. In the St. John's and south Avalon areas most planters kept swine; in fact, planters in these regions averaged seven or eight hogs each in 1677.¹²⁸ That this was already taken to be the norm in the 1640s is suggested by the annual rent Sir David Kirke imposed on planters: £3 6s 8d "& a fatt hogg or 20 shillings in lew thereof".¹²⁹ Swine husbandry is an efficient sideline for fish-processors, since swine can be fed on fish offal. More than half the planters in 1677 kept more than five hogs. Keeping five hogs might, conceivably, be construed as a subsistence activity, but the thirty swine Edward Haine kept at Petty Harbour or the

125. J. Poyntz, [Advice on settlement] "given to Sir Henry Salusbury...", 1626, National Library of Wales, 5390 D, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 246-249.

126. W Colston, Letter to J. Slany, 29 July 1612, in Samuel Purchas (ed.) Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrims (1625, Glasgow, 1906), vol. 19, 417-424; H. Crout, Letter to P. Willoughby, Nottingham University, Middleton Mss, Mi X 1/23, 59, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 79-89.

127. W. Vaughan, The Newlanders Cure, (London, 7th edition, 1630), 51, 67ff.

128. Based on Poole, "Inhabitants".

129. T. Cruse, Deposition, 27 November 1667, WDRO Plymouth W360/74.

twenty David Kirke II kept at Ferryland were clearly commercial ventures. Almost a quarter of St. John's and south Avalon planters in 1677 kept more than ten hogs.¹³⁰ Cattle were even more clustered in distribution. Most planters did not keep cows, but of the thirty percent who did only a few kept one or two. Not all herds were as large as John Downing's 35 head at St. John's but the average herd consisted of 8 cattle. This is enough to suggest something verging on commercial agriculture, in which context we might note export of hides to the West Country, for example to Barnstaple in 1664.¹³¹

Cattle and swine were probably both kept primarily as sources of fat. This was another nutritional requirement lacking in a diet based on fish taken from the sea and the import of peas, bread and malt. Butter could be imported from the British Isles, of course, and there is little doubt that it was. The baluster-shaped tall pots produced in North Devon for the shipment of butter are the most common ceramic form recovered from seventeenth-century archaeological contexts at Ferryland (Figure 2.5, p. 79).¹³² On the other hand, in the mid-seventeenth century, butter was "under a bad Repute" as a commercial commodity because of abuses in packing, over-salting and weighing - a situation

130. Poole, "Inhabitants".

131. Barnstaple Customer, Port Books 1664, E 190/954/2.

132. A. Grant, North Devon Pottery: The Seventeenth Century (Exeter, 1983), 91-96; P.E. Pope, Ceramics from Seventeenth Century Ferryland, Newfoundland (CgAf-2, locus B), M.A. thesis, MUN, Canadian Theses on Microfiche (1986), 188, Table 11.

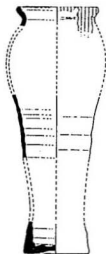


Figure 2.5 North Devon coarse earthenware tall pot, of a form produced c. 1550-1720 and used for storage and shipment of butter. Ferryland Forge Room, fill (CgAf-2, Locus B, stratum 2b), c. 1660-1700 (scale 1:4).

which affected maritime victualling in particular.¹³³ There was an incentive, then, in seventeenth-century Newfoundland, to keep cattle for dairy products, as they were generally kept at this time in England itself.¹³⁴ Early modern swine were certainly valued for roasting when they were small, but "great pigges" or "fatt hoggs" were, essentially, ambulatory stores of fat.¹³⁵ Like the cattle of the bigger planters, the hogs that the great majority of planter households kept were animal mechanisms for transforming available resources into fat, something that was otherwise an expensive import. This might be seen as subsistence, since the product would probably be used almost entirely within planter households. On the other hand, these households were themselves commercial production units. In the end it might be fair to count this form of agriculture as commercial, insofar as it was linked to final demand. The average numbers of cattle and pigs kept were far in excess of numbers kept by peasant households in the West of England.¹³⁶

Final demand linkage lies behind another local industry. Proponents and opponents of settlement stressed different aspects of the local hospitality industry, in which the inhabitants functioned as hosts to the migratory fishing crews. Those with pro-settlement views, like Nehemiah

133. Collins, Salt and Fishery, 137.

134. C.A. Wilson, Food and Drink in Britain: from the Stone Age to Recent Times (Harmondsworth, 1984), 150.

135. Cf. Crout to Willoughby, 13 April 1613, 82.

136. A. Everitt, "Farm Labourers", in J. Thirsk (ed.), Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. 4, 1500-1640 (Cambridge, 1967), 396-465; see Table 7, 415.

Troute or the Mayor of Poole, emphasized the succouring of marooned seamen or boat crews separated from their ships early in the season.¹³⁷ The anti-settlement lobby made much of the fact that planters' homes functioned as tippling houses, providing fishermen with their preferred luxuries, tobacco and alcohol.¹³⁸ In seventeenth-century England temporary accomodation and alcohol were provided to working people by a single institution, the alehouse.¹³⁹ It is not surprising, therefore, that Newfoundland planters operated tippling houses which combined the functions of the modern boarding house and tavern. The boarding function grew in importance and in the eighteenth century the term dieter evolved to describe fishermen who over-wintered with planters who were not their masters.¹⁴⁰ The retailing of wine and tobacco were relatively more important earlier. A similar symbiosis between transient seamen and settled purveyors of alcohol had developed in early Stuart Ireland.¹⁴¹ Chapter 8, below, will argue that this was a crucial aspect of the local economy. It is enough here to note that it was only the service function itself which suggests final demand

137. Trout, Deposition (1678), Carter et al., "Reasons for Planters" (c. 1680).

138. R. Gybbes [Mayor of Plymouth] et al., "Petitions of Plimouth agt. Sr. Da. Kirke", c. 1650, in Winthrop Papers, vol. 3, Mass. HSC (5th series), vol. 1 (Boston, 1871), 499-450; Gentry of Exeter, Dartmouth, Totnes, etc., Petition, 25 March 1675, CO 1/65 (25), 100.

139. P. Clark, The English Alehouse: a Social History 1200-1830 (London, 1983), especially 128ff.

140. DNE, "Dieter".

141. J.C. Appleby, "A Nursery of Pirates: the English Pirate Community in Ireland in the Early Seventeenth Century", International Journal of Maritime History 2(1) (1990), 1-27.

linkage; tobacco and alcohol were imports, requiring a flow of earnings out of the local economy.

A final economic activity, the exploitation of wildlife, straddles the distinction between subsistence and commerce. Accounts of Newfoundland by early colonists stress the availability of "deer", i.e. woodland caribou.¹⁴² This emphasis reflects, in part, a contrast with the class-based legal restrictions on the hunt in the home country.¹⁴³ In the south Avalon and on the Bay de Verde peninsula caribou were said to be common in the early seventeenth century.¹⁴⁴ They remained part of the subsistence economy, with bear, beaver, arctic hare, otter, seal, seabirds, geese, pigeons and partridge.¹⁴⁵ Beaver and otter were also hunted commercial for furs, as were muskrat, fox, ermine, marten and lynx.¹⁴⁶ Early residents were certainly aware of the presence of these animals and their potential value.¹⁴⁷ In the 1640s there was a trade in such furs.¹⁴⁸ An incidental result of Beothuk economic isolation was the development in

142. D. Dodds, "Terrestrial Mammals", in South, Biogeography, 509-549.

143. P.B. Munsche, "The Gamekeeper and English Rural Society, 1660-1830", Journal of Peasant Studies 20(2) (1981), 82-105; Wilson, Food and Drink, 75,85.

144. J. Guy, Letter to J. Slaney, 16 May 1611, in Prowse, History, 125-127; Crout to Willoughby, 13 April 1613.

145. Commodore Graydon, "Answers to the Heads of Enquiry", 20 September 1701, CO 194/2 (20), 176-178v; Yonge, "Journal", 40. On seabirds see W. Threlfall, "Seabirds", in South, Biogeography, 467-496.

146. Cf. Dodds, "Terrestrial mammals".

147. Poyntz, "Advice on Planting" (1626), 248.

148. D. Kirke, "A Narrative made by the Latt Governor", c. 1652, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 259-261.

Newfoundland of furriers, that is fur trappers of European origin.¹⁴⁹ Since it was over-winterers that went "with their Trapps & gunns a furring", this gave yet another impetus to settlement, although in the short term providing the Beothuk with further opportunities for scavenging.¹⁵⁰

It is difficult to say how extensive this trade was. Davies has uncovered eighteenth-century evidence for significant imports of skins from Newfoundland to the West Country.¹⁵¹ This could be misleading if sealskins, for example, were not distinguished from other "skins". There was a limited seventeenth-century trade in furs from Newfoundland. Mark Bickford imported 25 "catts skinns", 20 beaver, 69 otter and 13 "ordinary Fox skinns" on the *UNITY* of Dartmouth in October 1666.¹⁵² In 1684 Captain Wheler thought the fur trade significant, but confined to the north.¹⁵³ Earlier references to beaver in the south Avalon suggest that furring had been more common there as late as the 1660s.¹⁵⁴ A pair of related civil and criminal cases in 1680 may mark the decline of southern furring. They are worth looking at in some detail, because they raise issues germane to the complex theme of this chapter. They centre

149. Pastore, "Collapse of the Beothuk World", 57.

150. Anon., "Modest observations" (1675).

151. Davies, "Policy and Trade", 245ff.

152. Dartmouth Customer, Port Books 1666, E 190 954/10.

153. Wheler, "Answers to Inquiries" (1684).

154. Yonge, "Journal" (1663), 60; J. Mathews, "Concerning the French", BL, Egerton ms 2395, 471. Calvert's men took furs; see G. Calvert, Letter [to F. Cottingham], 18 August 1629, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 292-294.

on an unusual prosecution for a common occurrence: the theft and vandalism of fishing equipment.¹⁵⁵

5. The case of the furriers' boats

In mid-September 1679 John Wallis, a Fermeuse servant, visited John Roulston's plantation at Toad's Cove. There he met four old friends and they talked:

about going to the Wward part of this Island a Furring ... as most years tis Usuall for some of the English to goe that way in the winter & have made good voyages of itt & turn to good profit...

Roulston agreed to fit out a sixth man, his own servant Samuel Wood, with provisions and ammunition for the expedition, "upon hopes of a good voyage" and on the understanding that he was to have Wood's share on his return. He provisioned Wallis and his mates as well, on credit. The men then went to Caplin Bay and obtained "an old French shalloway" from Christopher Pollard, the planter there.¹⁵⁶ They later claimed to have rented the vessel for £5. They agreed that if they lost her they would pay Pollard £15 or find a replacement. This last option was probably the actual intent of the agreement, as subsequent events suggest.

^{155.} S. Wood, Examination, 22 August 1680; J. Wallis, Examination, 24 August 1680; J. Ducarrett, Power of attorney to G. Perriman, 31 July 1680; G. Perriman, "Paper concerning Damage", 31 August 1680; C. Pollard and J. Rolson, Bond, 30 September 1680; A. Browning and R. Fishley, "Declaration", 27 September 1680; R. Robinson et al., Sentence of F. Knapman, J. Wallis, W. Couch and S. Wood, 30 September 1680; all in CO 1/45 (68i-iv), 252-6.

^{156.} "Shalloway" seems to have designated a decked boat, somewhat larger than a shallop; see Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, 80.

After ten days coasting in Pollard's shalloway, the six arrived in St. Mary's Bay, "where the French fish". They were reluctant to meet their competitors, for reasons Wallis frankly admitted under examination:

...being in a French shalloway they would not put in there least [the French] should take their boat from them it being usuall for the English that went that way a Furring if the boat they carried out with them proved defective to take a better of the Frenches shalloways ...where they could best light of her & supposing [their own vessel] had formerly been taken upon that acct they would not put in there...

So instead they went to Colinet, "a place likewise where the French Fish".

Landing at Colinet they "staved their boat", which was a quite a coincidence, since the French had left four shalloways and ten shallops at that very spot. They launched a "new" French shalloway, put their remaining provisions into it and anchored it with two killicks.¹⁵⁷ The next day four of them took one of the French shallops and headed up a creek to hunt. They shot a few birds and an otter and found more French gear hidden in a pond. A gale came up and it was days before the hunters could return to camp, where their mates had not been able to prevent the shalloway moored with their provisions from destruction in the storm. So they launched yet another French shalloway and left the shallop to the mercy of the waves. After a month at Colinet they headed for St Mary's, taking with them about twenty fir

157. A killick is an elongated stone in a frame of sticks (DNE). This is an early use of the term.

rinds, probably from the roof of a cabin. Jean Ducarret, the Frenchman whose premises they had looted, would accuse them of burning his cabin, but they swore they had done "no other mischief", besides the theft of the rinds and vessels.

At St. Mary's they covered a train-vat with the rinds, "to make themselves a little shelter in the dead time of winter". (It was mid-December by the modern calendar.) They lived in this cod liver oil-impregnated box for three weeks, subsisting on shorebirds. Wood and Wallis later swore that they "did noe damage to anything of the French concerns" but admitted that they did take 400 to 500 lbs (180 to 225 kg) of spikes and nails. These, they claimed, they had "cut out of drift timber which came from stages". On December 31, after a difficult voyage, they arrived back in Caplin Bay, where they delivered the new shallowway to Christopher Pollard. They shared out the scavenged iron; their backer, John Roulston, taking Wood's share, as well as the furs the expedition had managed to bag: thirteen fox, seven otter and four beaver.¹⁵⁸

Late the following July, Jean Ducarret came to Trepacsey, the English settlement closest to St. Mary's Bay, to complain to the fishing admirals there that an English crew had destroyed two new shalloways, three shallops and his cabin. Aaron Browning and Robert Fishly, masters of the EXCHANGE of Bideford and the STANDERBAY of Barnstaple agreed

¹⁵⁸. Wallis and Wood, Examinations.

to look into the case. Ducarret gave power of attorney to George Perriman, a major planter in Trepassey, to retrieve the stolen vessel from Christopher Pollard. In late August, Perriman wrote George Kirke of Renewes (then the major planter on the south Avalon) extending power of attorney to retrieve the stolen shalloway. Before acting, Kirke awaited the legal decision of the two fishing admirals.¹⁵⁹

By late September, the decision had been made. Pollard and Roulston bound themselves to repay Ducarret for the damages, estimated at £50 to £60. The exact figure was to be negotiated with the fishing admiral at Trepassey acting as "umpire". This bond was probably signed at Trepassey; at any rate it was witnessed by a Frenchman, Daniel Darmelly, as well as George Kirke. The Trepassey fishing admirals Browning and Fishly filed a report with the naval commodore Sir Robert Robinson at Bay Bulls, as did Kirke.¹⁶⁰ On September 29 1680, a year after the whole affair began, Browning, Fishly, Robinson and another naval officer held criminal court on board H.M.S. ASSISTANCE, and passed sentence on four of the furriers to be "duck att the Maine yard Arme of the Shipp".¹⁶¹

The case of the furriers' boats is full of suggestive details. It is interesting that fishermen hid gear in ponds. It says something about their usual room and board

159. Ducarret, Power of attorney; Perriman, "Damage".

160. Pollard and Rolson, Bond; Browning and Fishley, "Declaration".

161. Robinson et al., Sentence.

that they were willing to live in a wooden box on a diet of shore-birds. It is politically significant that the English actually acted on Ducarret's complaint. More generally, there are at least two major topics on which this case sheds light: the planter economy and face-to-face relationships with the French. A brief commentary on the case will provide a conclusion to the discussion, above, of the former and serve to introduce a brief consideration of the latter, as an aspect of regional structure on the English Shore.

This case underlines the fact that successful planters, like John Roulston and Christopher Pollard, did more than fish. On the other hand, it is clear that the fishery structured other activities, like furring: the whole expedition is conceived of as a "voyage" and the servants are provisioned and supplied as a boat crew would be. The repeated thefts and casual vandalism underline the fact that extra-legal conflicts were not simply an internal problem among sectors in the English fishery, but part of a larger pattern of physical competition in the cod fishery. Wallis' frank testimony suggests strongly that thefts of boats were common and planned in advance. The scavenging of iron from French stages, even supposing these had already been damaged by weather, was or at least became, an important goal of the expedition. Given that the limited bag of furs would have been worth about £15, while the iron was worth something like £10 and the new shalloway at least £20, it appears that

the plan to go "a furring" was, in this case, no more than a cover for a scavenging expedition.¹⁶²

The resolution of the case is instructive too. The sentence calls the punishment "a publick Example to all others in this Island". This may have been an attempt to remedy a previous, more tenuous, rule of law: it is clear from Wallis' examination that scavenging, at least on French rooms, had been considered a legitimate winter activity by the English inhabitants.¹⁶³ George Kirke's function in this case as a sort of justice of the peace, or at least as a notary and representative of south Avalon planter interests, suggests that the Kirke family continued to function as a local gentry a quarter of a century after the death of Sir David Kirke. Finally, it is significant that Ducarett took his complaint to Trepassey. This harbour and, to a lesser extent, Renews functioned as an interface between French and English Newfoundland. Edward Wynne had obtained salt in these southern harbours for the Avalon Colony in 1621.¹⁶⁴ In 1684 Wheler reported French families at Trepassey "where our Nation and theirs Fish without disagreeing".¹⁶⁵ Censuses of this period suggest that several planters in this area, particularly the Perriman brothers

162. Furs estimated from A.J. Ray and D.B. Freeman, 'Give Us Good Measure': an Economic Analysis of Relations between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company before 1763 (Toronto, 1978), Table 1, 64, Figures 3 and 25, 88, 149; on ironwork: Downing, "Concerning Particulars" (1676).

163. Cf. Prowse, History, 174, 174. Prowse's quotation is inaccurate, even considered as an abstract.

164. Wynne to Calvert, 17 August 1622.

165. Wheler, "Answers", 244; J. Downing, "Breif Narrative...", 24 November 1676, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 560-563.

and Jonathan Hooper in Renewes employed French servants, for the numbers of their reported (presumably English) servants would not have been nearly sufficient for the numbers of boats operated.¹⁶⁶ Even after war broke out between France and England in 1689, at least one planter in Renewes, William Roberts, went on employing French servants.¹⁶⁷

6. The internal structure of the south Avalon

Because the settlements of the English Shore were small and closely linked to particular West Country ports, it has sometimes been mistakenly assumed that they lacked relationships among themselves.¹⁶⁸ Despite their limited size, there was already a regional structure among the settlements of the south Avalon by the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁹ They were not homogeneous, as Trepassey's ethnic make-up and the clustering of agricultural activity and large plantations at Ferryland suggest. The latter clearly functioned as a central place. Sir David Kirke held courts there, as in fact Cecil Calvert's deputies continued to do in the early 1660s.¹⁷⁰ Planters from other, smaller, settlements would trade there, like Henry Cooke of Renewes, who in 1646 obtained six jars of oil and twenty yards of

166. Poole, "Inhabitants" (1677).

167. W. Roberts and T. Dibble, Depositions, 2 December 1703, CO 194/3 (22i), 70, v.

168. Davies, "Policy and Trade", 40.

169. Matthews thinks not; see Lectures, 19, 46.

170. J. Shawe (of Boston), Power of attorney to R. Love (of Ferryland), 1648, in Aspinwall Records, 130; J. Mathews, "Concerning the French" (1671).

linen from the HOPTON of Bristol.¹⁷¹ Other harbours had other specialized functions. Trepassey and Renew's functioned as an interface with "our friends the enemy".¹⁷² The protected harbour of Bay Bulls was used for the assembly of convoys in which the "fishing" and sack ships went to market, whether or not they had managed to obtain naval protection.¹⁷³ No doubt this helped support the tippling houses that planters like Thomas Cruse operated there.¹⁷⁴

St. John's became increasingly important after the Restoration, an instance of the general rule that British colonial administrators favoured the development of a centrally-located port in each colony. After 1675, when the commanders of the naval convoys began to act as governors and to remain in Newfoundland for weeks or even months rather than days, it was at St. John's that they established themselves, even if they might issue orders, late in the season, from Bay Bulls.¹⁷⁵ The relative importance of the

171. S. Hartnall, Deposition, 3 March 1648, in H.E. Nott (ed.), Deposition Books of Bristol, vol. 1 (1643-1647), Bristol RS, vol. 6 (1935), 190, 191.

172. Cf. J. Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis: les marchands Acadiens et le Massachusetts à la fin du 17^e siècle", Les Cahiers de la Société Historique Acadienne, 7(4) (1976), 161-170.

173. J. Denye, Examination in Delabarre vs. crew of the WILLIAM AND JANE, 11 October 1633, HCA 13/50, 412; T. Newcomen, Interrogatories in Newcomen vs Johnson and Goodsonne, 1651, HCA 23/17 (137), n.p.; R. Plumleigh, Letter to Admiralty, 12 November 1657, SP 18/172 (72), 134; and the Royal Navy captains' journals cited below.

174. Cruse, Deposition (1667).

175. L. Harris, "Journal" (HMS SUCESS), 1674, Admiralty, ADM 51/3981 (6); J. Berry, "Captain's Log" (HMS BRISTOLL), 1675, ADM 51/134 - part 2, n.p.; W. Poole, "Journal" (HMS LEOPARD), 1677, Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepys Library, PL 2813; L. Wright, "Journal" (HMS RESERVE), 1679, ADM 51/4119; "Journal" (HMS ASSURANCE), 1680, ADM 51/4119.

future capital grew with fortification and the stationing of troops c. 1690.¹⁷⁶ The turmoil of the French wars of 1689 to 1713 resulted in the centralization of some of the south Avalon population at St. John's during this period of conflict, but also at Ferryland in 1694 and 1709.¹⁷⁷ The hierarchy of communities on the English Shore was subject to the pressures of imperial policy and international conflict; in other words, an existing regional structure changed. By 1660 the south Avalon settlements, at least, were already part of a hierarchically structured region, in a complex relationship not only with the West Country ports and their Iberian, Mediterranean, Atlantic Island and Dutch trading partners, but also with "greater New England".

176. CTP, "Order for a Governor of Newfoundland &c", 18 May 1689, CO 324/5, 51,52; Board of Ordnance, "Instructions for Martin Skinner", 27 July 1689, CO 1/65 (79), 285.

177. C. Desborow, Deposition, 18 May 1695; CO 194/1 (78 v), 150-152v; R. Amiss et al. ("Inhabitants of the Island of Buyos"), Address to Governor Dudley, May 1709, Boston Public Library, mss Acc.468 (1).

CHAPTER 3

ADVENTURES IN THE SACK TRADE

"Il se plaignoit aussi... de son General [David Kirke], pour vn marchand de vin qu'il auoit esté, estant à Bordeaux & à Cognac, & cogneu ignorant à la mer, qui ne sçait que c'est que de nauiger, n'ayant iamais faict que ces deux voyages..."

-- Samuel de Champlain, "Plainte contre le General Quer", Voyages (1632).¹

Although the south Avalon developed its own rudimentary internal structure in the study period, neither its economy, society nor culture can be understood except in the context of the trade in cod. The early modern cod fishery was in turn part of a European world-economy. In the seventeenth century, Newfoundland was but one node in a complex network of international commerce, linking it not only with the West Country but also with London, the Mediterranean, the Netherlands, the Atlantic Islands and New England. The business that the Kirkes developed exemplifies an important generalization about early modern trade: its links were often kin-

1. In H.P. Biggar (ed.), The Works of Samuel de Champlain, vol. 6 (1936, rep. Toronto 1971), 131.

based.² The origins of the business that Kirke developed after the expropriation of Ferryland from the Calverts in 1638 make it clear that the cod trade is best understood not in isolation, but as the complement of a trade in southern products, particularly wine. The trading practices of the owners and freighters of the sack ships, which carried out the multilateral trade in fish and wine, suggest that it was no accident that the Kirkes invested in a Newfoundland fishing plantation. This was but one of the strategies adopted by London merchants in their effort to enter a profitable trade dominated by West Country and Dutch interests.

1. Fish into wine: wine-merchants into fish-merchants

The oft-made and oft-challenged assertion that the British cod fishery was a multilateral trade is not a claim about the geographic path of every ship venturing from Newfoundland with a cargo of dried fish, but an economic analysis of the flow of goods.³ Whatever the itineraries of individual ships, the trade was essentially triangular. Mediterranean and Iberian ports imported Newfoundland cod.

2. B. Bailyn, The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century (1955, rep. Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 35; R. Grassby, "Social Mobility and Business Enterprise in Seventeenth-century England", in D. Pennington and K. Thomas, Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History presented to Christopher Hill (Oxford, 1978), 355-381. Cf. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 24.

3. On multilateral trade see Innis, Cod Fisheries; Davis, English Shipping, 228-255; Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 60-98; Cell, English Enterprise, 2-21. For emphasis on shuttle voyages, see J.F. Shepherd and G.M. Walton, Shipping, Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial North America (Cambridge, 1972), 49-71 and Davies, "Policy and Trade", 256.

These southern markets exported wine and fruit to English and Dutch ports. England in its turn exported labour and supplies to Newfoundland; but the ships venturing to the fishery were normally not heavily laden, either in tonnage or in value.⁴ In other words, if the Newfoundland trade was a triangular flow, it was a flow with two steady streams and one trickle. The wealth extracted from the sea and the value added in making fish returned to England from southern Europe, whether in specie or in the form of wine, fruit, oil, cork or other goods. Only a small fraction of these returns were redirected to Newfoundland.

From the English point of view, the Newfoundland cod fishery solved a balance of payments problem. In the late sixteenth century, England's imports of wine, then primarily from France, were not balanced by exports to the wine-producing regions.⁵ In his Pollitique Platt of 1580, Robert Hitchcock argued that the trade in fish was "the best (and of lightest coste that can bee founde) to countervaille" this imbalance.⁶ Hitchcock emphasized the potential of North Sea herring and Newfoundland cod in this respect, stressing strong Iberian demand for well-cured fish.⁷ His prescient

4. For examples, see Chapter 8, below.

5. On wine imports into England see A.D. Francis, The Wine Trade (London, 1972), 45; A.L. Simon, The History of the Wine Trade in England (London, 1964), 253ff.

6. Robert Hitchcock, A Pollitique platt for the honour of the Prince [1580], in R.H. Tawney and E. Power (eds), Tudor Economic Documents, vol. 3 (1924, London, 1953), 239-256 (without illustrations).

7. Hitchcock, Pollitique Platt, 245, 251.

argument was that fish could be used to trade for wine.⁸ (Hitchcock's vision of the sixteenth-century balance of payments crisis is reproduced here as Figure 3.1, p. 97.) The proposed trade actually developed; but since France maintained her own fisheries, particularly at Newfoundland, it would be primarily in Spain, Portugal, Italy and the Atlantic Islands that England would turn fish into wine.

Early multilateral Newfoundland trade remains obscure, but its origin is clear enough: it was a development of the late sixteenth-century trade in fish between the West Country and southern Europe.⁹ (Figure 3.2, p. 98, is a map of West Country ports engaged in the seventeenth-century Newfoundland fishery.) Surviving port books record extensive exports of Newfoundland fish from Dartmouth and Plymouth, with smaller quantities sent from Southampton, Exeter, Bristol and Barnstaple, bound for France, Italy and the Channel Islands.¹⁰ From 1600 to 1630 Exeter, Poole and Weymouth competed with Dartmouth and Plymouth as major centres for this re-export of Newfoundland fish. The direction of the trade shifted in this period. Spain and Portugal became more important markets than France, while fish went to Madeira, the Canaries, the Azores and the

8. Hitchcock, Pollitique Platt, 254.

9. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 74.

10. Cell, English Enterprise, 133-135, Tables 5-10. The Channel Islands probably re-exported fish; see J.C. Appleby, "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering 1500-1689", 76, in A.G. Jamieson (ed.), A People of the Sea: The Maritime History of the Channel Islands (London, 1986), 57-105.

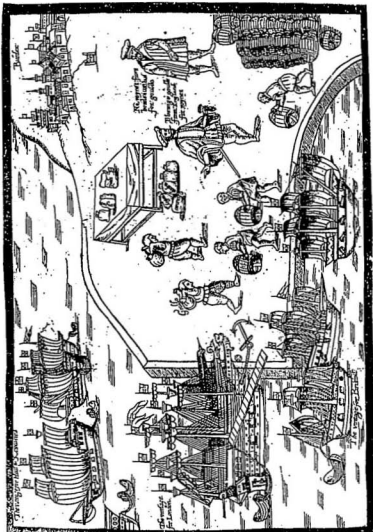


Figure 3.1 A vision of the late sixteenth-century balance of payments problem, from Robert Hitchcock, A Politique Platt for the Honour of the Prince (London, 1580). The French vintner (right) tells the merchant from London "No wyne from Bordeaux but for goulde"; and the buyer replies "I bringe goulde from England for wyne".

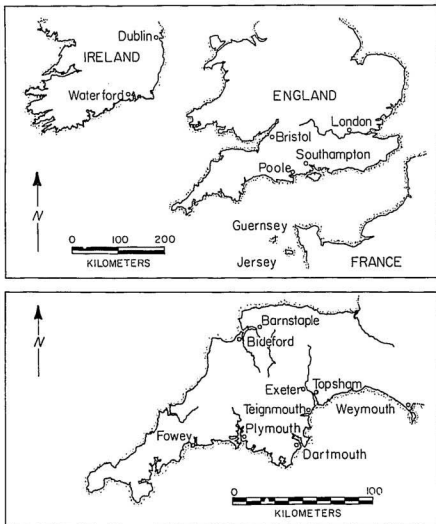


Figure 3.2 West Country ports in the Newfoundland fishery, 1675 to 1684. Source: Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", table between pp. 181 and 182, omitting Brixham, Limerick, Lyme Regis, Shoreham, Swansea and Yarmouth, which each had only one ship at Newfoundland in this period.

Netherlands as well.¹¹ Major later seventeenth-century markets for fish from Newfoundland's English Shore are shown in Figure 3.3, p. 101. A few Dutch and English ships were still pursuing this trade at mid-century and John Berry's 1675 census of sack ships suggests the English were still marketing Newfoundland fish from the West Country late in the seventeenth century.¹²

By this time, however, most Newfoundland fish went directly to southern markets. As Matthews points out, the multilateral voyage was a natural development from the inefficient system of re-export from England.¹³ Cell dates the earliest known multilateral Newfoundland voyage to 1584.¹⁴ The fact that Elizabeth I thought it necessary, in 1585, to send Bernard Drake to Newfoundland to warn English ships about the dangers of going to Spanish ports suggests both that the triangular voyage had already begun to replace exports from West Country ports and that it was "fishing" ships themselves that first pursued this new itinerary.¹⁵ By the beginning of the seventeenth century sack ships, dedicated solely to freighting, were already in business.¹⁶

11. Cell, English Enterprise, Tables 12-19, 137-140.

12. G. van Raaphorst and A. de Hartoch, Charter-party, 25 September 1643, GA Amsterdam NA 1269, 47,v, in NAC MG 18 012/508; L. Wheeler et al., Interrogatories, 1652, HCA 23/17 (335); J. Berry, "...List of the shipps...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (171), 136-148.

13. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 74.

14. Cell, English Enterprise, 5.

15. Elizabeth I, Commission to Bernard Drake, June 1585, in CSP Col, Addenda 1574-1674.

16. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 68,72,83.

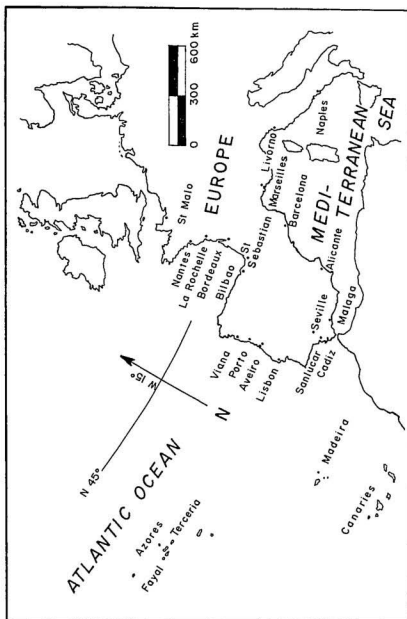
**Figure 3.3 European markets for dried cod,
exported from the English Shore, 1675-1684**

SOURCES:

- 1675: J. Berry, "...Ships...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (17i), 136-148.
 1676: J. Wyborn, "Sack Ships...between Trepasse & Bay Bulls" and "...Shipps Fishing Betweene Trepasse and Bay of Bulls", 7 December 1676, CO 1/38 (79 and 87), 218-220 and 236,232 [sic].
 1677: W. Poole, "...Fishing & Sackships...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62ix), 168v-170.
 1680: R. Robinson, "...Fish ships...", 16 September 1680, CO 1/46 (8v), 26.
 1681: J. Story, "...Fishing Shipps Sackshipps Planters...", 1 September 1681, CO 1/47 (52i), 113-121v.
 1682: D. Jones, "Sacke Ships Loaden in St. Johns Harbour", 11 October 1682, CO 1/49 (51vii), 194,v.
 1684: F. Wheler, "...Sack Shipps...", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56v), 255,v.

NOTES:

Besides the specific European markets shown, the sources also listed "To a market", "Straights", "Coast of Spain", "Portugal", etc. "Cales", in one source, is probably in Spain, as in the "bay of Cales", in N. Downe, Deposition in Vice-Admiralty Court of Devon, 31 December 1677, DRO Exeter, Moger CC 181/18/16. "St. Mickells" has been read as St. Miguel in the Azores. The sources also listed New World markets, viz. Barbadoes, Boston, New London, New York, Piscataqua, Placentia, Salem and Virginia, as well as an African market: the Isle of May (in the Cape Verdes).



Trade with Spain and Portugal rose rapidly in the first half of the seventeenth century. Wine, much of it from Malaga, was the major English import in this trade, although raisins and olive oil were also significant.¹⁷ The trade in these goods was no less seasonal than the trade in cod. Their respective commercial cycles meshed perfectly: raisins reached market in August, the vintage was shipped in September, October and November, olive oil in the winter.¹⁸ It was not accident but commercial efficiency which dictated that the sack ships carrying Malaga wine to Britain were, in the main, ships that had arrived from Newfoundland with fish.¹⁹ The very name of these ships suggests the importance of sack, or wine, in this multilateral trade. "Sack" probably derives from vino de sacca or "wine set aside for export" rather than from vino secco or "dry wine".²⁰ The wines in question were, in fact, often sweet rather than dry, which suited the English palate as well as enhancing their shipping qualities.²¹

The southern vertex of the sack voyage was not always Iberian or even Mediterranean. The same kind of trade

17. Davis, English Shipping, 228,229. Simon, Wine Trade, 339, underestimates imports from Malaga.

18. Davis, English Shipping, 231.

19. Davis, English Shipping, 230.

20. T.B. Duncan, Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verdes in Seventeenth-Century Commerce and Navigation (Chicago, 1972), 38,39. Innis, Cod Fisheries, 54n, and Simon, Wine Trade, 322 propose derivation from sec or "dry". Note that the French "saque" had a different function, to carry crews, oil and equipment back to France; see J-F. Brière, La pêche française en Amérique du Nord au XVIIIe siècle, (Quebec, 1990), 54.

21. Simon, Wine Trade, 18; Francis, Wine Trade, 50,51.

existed with the Atlantic Islands. The BLESSINGE of Southampton had called at Madeira with Newfoundland fish and was en route to the Canaries when she was taken by "Turkes" in November 1635.²² The Azores lie directly on one of the sailing lanes to Newfoundland from Europe and Horta on the island of Fayal became not only a stop-over, but a market for fish and a vendor of wine and brandy.²³ The Dutch experimented with taking Newfoundland fish to southern markets in the New World, but voyages like that of DE COONINCK to Pernambuco, Brazil, in 1636 were not common.²⁴ By the 1670s a few New England "sack ships" bound for the West Indies were calling at Newfoundland, like the 60 ton NICHOLAS which went to Barbadoes from Renewes in 1677.²⁵ These were still unusual voyages, however. Newfoundland's normal seventeenth-century trade linked the Island with England and the wine-producing regions of southern Europe, typically France at the opening of the century, typically Spain after 1630.

22. W. Stanley, Deposition, 17 May 1636, in Southampton Examinations, 1634-1639, 4,5. On the Canary trade see G.F. Steckley, "The Wine Economy of Tenerife in the Seventeenth Century: Anglo-Spanish Partnership in a Luxury Trade", EcHR 33(3) (1980), 335-350.

23. Duncan, Atlantic Islands, 154,155. On routes see Steele, English Atlantic, 78-93.

24. S. van der Does et al., Protest, 16 October 1638, GA Amsterdam NA 696; cf. West India Company and J. Touteloop, Charter-party, 8 June 1642, GA Amsterdam NA Jan van Aller, 296-297v; in NAC MG 18 012/507, 325.

25. W. Poole, "...Ships from Trepassey to Cape Broyle", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62 viii), 168-169.

2. Kirke, Barkeley and Company²⁶

As a rule, early modern merchants were flexible in their commitment to particular trades.²⁷ Commercial information, let alone security, was uncertain and it therefore made sense to avoid the concentration of risk that followed from rigid specialization. This was certainly true of the London wine merchants Gervaise Kirke and William Barkeley, who in 1627 set up the Company of Adventurers to Canada.²⁸ These opportunists turned Britain's war with France (1627 to 1629) to advantage by obtaining letters of marque, permitting their vessels to attack shipping belonging to enemies of the crown.²⁹ They applied this right to force their way into the lucrative fur trade the French had developed with the native peoples of Acadia and the St. Lawrence River.³⁰ The

26. The use of this term for the merchants associated with David, John and James Kirke and William Barkeley does not imply they operated either as a regulated or a joint-stock company. They were partners in various ventures and often referred to in this style. On regulated and joint-stock companies see Rabb, Enterprise & Empire, 26-35 and B. Supple, "The Nature of Enterprise", in Rich and Wilson, Economic Organization, 393-461.

27. Cf. W.T. Baxter, The House of Hancock, Business in Boston, 1724-1775, second ed. (New York, 1965), 298-300.

28. W.R. Scott, The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720, vol. 2 (1912, rep. New York, 1951), 320. On Gervaise Kirke see H. Kirke, The First English Conquest of Canada, (1st ed., London, 1871), 27ff and "Boyd's Citizens of London", unpub. ms on file, Society of Genealogists, London, file 4799, "Kirk, Gervase".

29. Privy Council, Letters of Marque to Jervase Kirke et al., 17 December 1627, SP 16/115 (99); to David and Thomas Kirke, 13 March 1629, SP 16/130 (17); to David Kirke et al., 19 March 1630, SP 16/130 (42); all in CSP Dom.

30. H.P. Biggar, The Early Trading Companies of New France (1901, rep. St. Clair Shores, Michigan, 1972); B.G. Trigger, Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered (Kingston, 1985), 164-225.

attempt to broaden their trade was an astute business move, since there was a glut of wine on the London market.³¹ With several large well-armed ships under his command, a certain amount of luck and the help of the Montagnais people of the north shore of the St. Lawrence, Kirke's sons David, Lewis and Thomas were able to defeat a squadron of French ships and thus to isolate Champlain's trading post at Quebec and take it in 1629.³² This was a surprising success, for their "general" David Kirke had little maritime experience beyond the wine trade between London and south-western France.³³

Unfortunately for Kirke, Barkeley and company, the war had ended before they took Quebec. Under the terms of the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1632) Britain was to restore both Quebec and Port Royal to France.³⁴ The Kirkes surrendered the former and returned to London, but not empty-handed; they brought with them 6000 pelts. Monsieur de Caen and his associates sued for these and other damages in the Admiralty Court and were awarded £14,330. Although Kirke, Barkeley and company paid this substantial sum, the equivalent of over \$2 million today, they probably suffered no absolute loss, since the furs were worth £10000 to £12000

31. Simon, Wine Trade, 34.

32. On the Montagnais alliance see Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 200. David Kirke's comrades-in-arms were his brothers not his sons, as Trigger mistakenly suggests.

33. Champlain, Voyages part 2, book 3, 131.

34. Charles I, Letter to Isaac Wake, BL, Harleian ms 1760 (5), 10-12v.

and the ships they had taken as prizes about £6000.³⁵ The elder Kirke, Gervaise, had died in 1629 and his sons were now in partnership with Barkeley. They never accepted the justice of the damages they were forced to pay the French, and the family continued, for over half a century, to press a series of unsuccessful counter-claims.³⁶ Nor did they accept their exclusion from the fur trade: the Kirkes and Barkeley continued to send ships to Quebec and Acadia. At least two of these voyages ended in serious setbacks, however. In 1633 the French took the MARY FORTUNE and her cargo at Tadoussac and in 1644 an attempt by Isaac Barkeley in the GILLEFLOWER to trade near de la Tour's post on the St. John River in Acadia somehow ended with the French wholesaling the London goods in Boston, as part of a short-lived effort to build a commercial relationship with Massachusetts.³⁷ It is likely that Kirke, Barkeley and company

35. See S. Peirce, Examination, 1632, CO 1/6 (33); D. Kirke et al., "An answer made by the Adventurers to Canada", c. July 1632, CO 1/6 (66), Anon., "A breife declaration of...beaver skinnes", c. 1632, CO 1/6 (12) in C.H. Laverdière (ed.), Oeuvres de Champlain (2nd edition 1870, rep. Montreal, 1972), vol. 6, "Pièces justificatives", 27-31. On the sale of the prize ships see T. Wannerton, Examination, 13 August 1633, HCA 13/50, 386v.

36. D. Kirke et al., Interrogatories in Kirke et al. vs Delabarre, c. 1634, HCA 23/11 (299); L. Kirke et al., "A Memoriall of the Kirkes...", April 1654, CO 1/12 (191), 50-51; L. Kirke and J. Kirke, "Representation...concerning Accadie", c. 1660, in Baxter Mss, DHS Maine, vol. 4, 232-240; Hudson's Bay Company, "Case of the Adventurers", 6 May 1687, CO 134/1, 165-168, in E.E. Rich (ed.), Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1671-1674, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1942), 222ff.

37. On the MARY FORTUNE see Moir, "Kirke, Lewis", DCB, vol. 1 and D. Kirke et al., Interrogatories, c. 1638, HCA 23/11 (134); on the GILLEFLOWER see W. Barkeley, Interrogatories, c. 1646, HCA 23/14 (346).

were forced out of the fur trade by de la Tour in Acadia and the Cent Associés in Quebec.³⁸

The London-based operations of Kirke, Barkeley and company flourished, nevertheless. Charles I knighted David Kirke in 1631, probably in recognition of the victory at Quebec, which was already celebrated in broadside ballad.³⁹ Thomas and Lewis accepted naval commands, but their elder brother preferred to remain in partnership with William Barkeley, to pursue commercial adventure with the younger Kirke brothers, John and James.⁴⁰ Barkeley, a substantial merchant of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, was about a decade older than David Kirke, who turned forty in 1637; he was probably the senior partner in both senses, at least in the 1630s.⁴¹ He died about 1650.⁴² John Kirke married in 1633

38. Reid, Acadia, Maine, and New Scotland, 47ff, 88ff.

39. Charles I, Grant of arms to David Kirke, 1 December 1631, SP 16/204 (5), in CSP Dom; M.P. [Martin Parker], "Englands Honour Revived by the Valiant Exploites of Captaine Kirke" (c. 1629), in J.S. Cox (ed.), News from Canada, 1628 (Beaminster, Dorset, 1964).

40. Moir, "Kirke, Lewis" and "Kirke, Thomas"; on David Kirke's attitude to commerce see Chapter 6, below.

41. Barkeley, also identified as William Barkly, Bartly, Berkeley etc., was born about 1586, and paid £34 annual rent in Bishopsgate in 1638, where he was still living in the 1640s; see W. Barklye, Examination, 10 January 1639, HCA 13/54, 413v and T.C. Dale, The Inhabitants of London in 1638, Edited from MS.272 in the Lambeth Palace Library (London, 1931), 131a; "Citizens of London 1641-1643 from the State Papers", unpub. ms (1936), on file Guildhall Library, London; W.J. Harvey (ed.), List of the Principal Inhabitants of the City of London 1640, from the returns made by the Aldermen of the Several Wards (London, 1886), 3. His lack of sympathy for Parliament in the Civil War distinguished him from a contemporary London alderman of the same name, with whom he might be confused; see Firth and Rait, Acts of the Interregnum, vol. 1, 5, 104, 990, 1257.

42. Keepers of the Liberty of England, Interrogatories in England vs Barkeley et al., c. 1649; HCA 23/17 (53). This is the latest document located suggesting that the Kirke's partner is still alive. The ship's master William

and was a substantial London householder in 1638.⁴³ James, a bachelor, may have remained in the comfortable household of his mother, Elizabeth, who survived into the 1640s. She was a parishioner of St. Andrew Undershaft, with which the Kirkes continued to be connected after her death, and was one of the few substantial householders of tiny Limestreet Ward, near Bishopsgate.⁴⁴ The wealth of the family is suggested by the £4000 in recognizances posted in 1650 by Lewis and James Kirke and their sister Mary's husband, John West, to guarantee that Lewis would not do anything "prejudicial to the Commonwealth" if he went to Newfoundland.⁴⁵

Through the 1630s the Kirkes, trading separately, severally, or as Kirke, Barkeley and company, continued to pursue the wine trade. This is evident in the few London Port Books surviving from the period. Elizabeth Kirke

Berkley importing Canary wine to London in 1664 might be a son; see London Controller, Port Books, 1664, E 190 50/3. Or this might be the re-emigrant from Bermuda in the late 1650s; see J. Bristoe and J. Bantley, *Examinations in Berckley vs Morris*, 24 February 1669, HCA 13/76, sig. C.

43. "Citizens of London", file 42981, "Kirk, John". He paid £20 annual rent in the parish of St. Michael le Querne, see Dale, Inhabitants of London in 1638, 264.

44. In 1638 she paid £30 rent; see Dale, Inhabitants of London in 1638, 54. On Limestreet ward see Harvey, Inhabitants of London 1640, 15, 16 and cf. J. Stow, The Survey of London (2nd edition, 1603, rep. London, 1987), 136-148; Henry Vesey, Curate of St. Andrew Undershaft, certified that John and James Kirke were "diligent resorters to the church", 23 February 1641, HMC, 4th Report, Mss of the House of Lords (London, 1874), 44.

45. Council of State, Account of recognizance, 25 May 1650, SP 25/120 (26). On the scale of merchant wealth see R. Grassby, "The Personal Wealth of the Business Community in Seventeenth-Century England", EcHR (2nd series), 23(2) (1970), 220-234.

imported 30 tuns of French wine to London on the LILLY in 1632 and another 42 tuns on the COMFORT in 1633.⁴⁶ The same year John Kirke received 77 butts of Malaga wine, from a very large cargo arriving in London on the AMITIE.⁴⁷ This suggests that Kirke, Barkeley and company were beginning to shift their trading emphasis from France to Spain.

Because English law did not require the notarization of commercial documents, few have survived from this period except those in court records.⁴⁸ Consequently, surviving commercial records tend to be limited to disputed transactions. Fortunately, from the historical point of view, Kirke, Barkeley and company were litigious, even exceptionally litigious, merchants. There may have been other areas of their overseas trade which proceeded smoothly and which were therefore undocumented, but surviving records in the Admiralty Court suggest that in the 1630s the Kirkes were breaking into the trade in Spanish wines and thus, almost inevitably, into the Newfoundland trade. In 1636 James Kirke disputed an average, or distribution of a loss, resulting from the grounding of the NEPTUNE of Ipswich with a cargo of Malaga wine.⁴⁹ In another case, William Barkeley

46. London Surveyor, Port Books, 31 December 1632 and 26 November 1633, E 190 37/4. A tun of wine was 924 litres.

47. London Surveyor, Port Books, 17 December 1633. A butt was half a tun, so John's shipment was about the same size as his mother's. He appears here as "John de Kirke".

48. Cf. Cell, English Enterprise, "Introduction", n.p.

49. James Kirke et al., Interrogatories re the NEPTUNE, 1636, HCA 23/12 (241). On average see C. Molloy, De Jure Maritimo et Navali or, A Treatise of Affairs Maritime and of Commerce (1676, London 1707), 273-286.

complained that a lighter had been too slow in unlading wine from the RED LYON when she sank about 1638.⁵⁰ Kirke, Barkeley and company had already, as part owners, let the ST. GEORGE of London to freight for a voyage to Barcelona and "other parts beyond the seas".⁵¹ This was in part a Newfoundland sack voyage and the freighter another prominent London wine merchant, John Delabarre.⁵²

The association with Delabarre is interesting. His name and his Roman Catholicism suggest a French background.⁵³ Gervaise Kirke had traded out of Dieppe for years, and had married a Frenchwoman, Elizabeth Gouden.⁵⁴ If the Thomas Kirke who was made a freeman of the Fishmongers Company in 1649 was their son, then the families were actually bound as kin in 1652, when Thomas married John Delabarre's daughter Sarah.⁵⁵ Kirke, Barkeley and company were certainly dealing with Delabarre in the pre-Civil War period. In 1634 he

50. W. Allen, N. Hopkin and J. Hiscocke, *Examinations*, 28 August 1639, 1 November 1639 and 6 February 1640, HCA 13/55, 231,327v,463; W. Berkely, *Interrogatories*, 1640, HCA 23/13 (35). All in *Barkly vs Foster*.

51. D. Keark *et al.* and W. Barkley *et al.*, *Interrogatories*, c. 1636 and 1637, HCA 23/11 (98) and (326).

52. D. Kirke *et al.*, *Libel in Kirke et al. vs. Delabarre*, c. 1634, HCA 24/90 (195); J. Delabarr, *Interrogatories in Kirke et al. vs. Delabarre*, c. 1636, HCA 23/11 (282); T. Bredcake, *Examination in Kirke vs Delabarre*, 22 June 1635. On Delabarre's trade see Simon, *Wine Trade*, 27; J. Delabarre, *Libel in Dellabarr vs Harbourne*, 1633, HCA 24/96 (334); *Account Book*, 1622 and 1637, in HCA 30/635.

53. On Delabarre's religion see T.C. Dale, "The Inhabitants of Westminster in the Reign of Charles I From the Subsidy Rolls in the Public Record Office 1625-1645", unpub. ms (1935), on file Guildhall Library, London, 22,37.

54. Kirke, *English Conquest* (1871), 27ff.; "Citizens of London", file 4799, "Kirk, Gervase".

55. "Citizens of London", file 26392, "Kirk, Thomas".

freighted their 240 ton ship the FAITH of London for a voyage to Newfoundland, thence to Cartagena and home.⁵⁶

Kirke, Barkeley and company let other ships to freight on the Newfoundland voyage in this period, for example the HECTOR in 1637.⁵⁷ Whether they themselves freighted sack ships on the triangular London/Newfoundland/Malaga voyage before Sir David Kirke's move to Ferryland in 1638 is not certain. There are reasons to suspect that they might have already entered the fish trade. They had use of the right ships at the right time: for example the NEPTUNE at Malaga in 1636. In their interrogatories regarding the HECTOR's 1637 voyage, the Kirkes allude with confidence to "common use and custome" when "merchants freight a shippe to goe for Newfoundland".⁵⁸ It was entirely normal in the seventeenth century for the merchant owners of a ship to let it to freight and simultaneously take another ship on charter for freighting their own merchandise, as a simple way of spreading the risks of commerce.⁵⁹ In the 1630s, however, Kirke, Barkeley and company had their capital invested mostly in the "fixed" form of ships, rather than in the circulating form of cargoes. At least, this is what litigation in the Admiralty Court suggests. In this respect they differed

56. D. Kirke et al., Interrogatories in Kirke et al. vs De la Barre, c. 1635, HCA 23/11 (217).

57. Kirke et al., Libel in Kirke et al. vs Jennings et al., 7 January 1639, HCA 24/97 (232).

58. Kirke et al., Libel in Kirke vs Jennings.

59. Cell, English Enterprise, 10, 21.

from competitors like John Delabarre, who was both ship-owner and active freighter.

After 1638 the shoe was often on the other foot and Kirke, Barkeley and company appear in court as freighters of ships in the Spanish and Newfoundland trades. James Kirke freighted the ROBERT BONADVENTURE from her master William Copeland in 1642, suffering damages to fruit shipped at Malaga, through her "insufficiencie and leakiness". Since Kirke and his associate George Granger had taken the ship to freight for nine months in May, returning from Malaga in February 1643, this was very likely a Newfoundland voyage.⁶⁰ The Kirkes were in court in this period about another leaky vessel, the UNITY, which John Kirke had freighted for Newfoundland in 1643.⁶¹ The very names of vessels owned in this period by the Kirkes and their associates suggest that these ships were designated for their own ventures, under the patronage of their fellow Newfoundland patentees, Marquis Hamilton and the Earls of Pembroke and Holland: the JOHN, the JOHN AND THOMAS, the JAMES, the PEMBROOKE, the HAMILTON, (all, probably, of London), the DAVID and, proba-

60. James Kirke and G. Granger, Libels in Copeland vs Kirke and Granger, 14 February 1643, HCA 24/106 [box "105" in 1989] 131, 82. Cf. W. Copeland, Petition to House of Lords, 16 October 1644, in HMC, 6th Report, Mss of the Duke of Northumberland (London, 1877), 107.

61. John Kirke, Libel in Kirke vs Fletcher and Tylor, 19 February 1644, HCA 24/107 [box "106" in 1989] (67). The case is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, below.

bly, the LADY (both of Ferryland).⁶² By 1640 Kirke, Barkeley and company were in the Newfoundland sack trade with a vengeance, in fact they had become major producers of fish themselves.⁶³ It is worth looking at the sack ship business in closer detail, the better to understand why Sir David Kirke and his associates invested in a proprietary plantation based on the fishery.

3. Voyage of a sack ship: the FAITH of London, 1634

The freighting and financing of sack ships in the first half of the seventeenth century are reasonably well understood.⁶⁴ Kirke, Barkeley and company's shipping interests merit closer examination here, as indications of their experience in the Newfoundland fishery before commitment to the trade after the proprietary patent of 1637 and appropriation of the fishing station at Ferryland in 1638. The itineraries of particular vessels are significant, because they indicate in which trades Kirke, Barkeley and company were involved. The 1634 voyage of the 240 ton FAITH of London, freighted by John Delabarre from Kirke, Barkeley and company, is of great interest because charter-parties,

62. J. Pratt, Examination in Baltimore vs Kirke, 12 March 1652, HCA 13/65, n.p.; R. Allward, Examination in Baltimore vs Kirke, 29 March 1652, HCA 13/65, n.p.; Privy Council, Minutes, 29 November 1639, in APC Col; James Kirke et al., and Earl of Pembroke, Libels in Kirke et al. vs Brandt, October 1640 and 14 October 1640, HCA 24/102 (211 and 281); D. Kirke and N. Shapleigh, Bill of lading, 8 September 1648, in Baxter MSS, DHS Maine, vol. 6, 2-4; Dartmouth Searcher, Port Books 1647, E 190/952/3.

63. James Marquis Hamilton et al., Petition to Charles I, 25 January 1640, SP 16/403, 78,v.

64. See Davis, English Shipping, 228ff, 338ff.; Cell, English Enterprise, 18-21.

instructions to the master, and a number of Court of Admiralty examinations relating to the voyage have survived. These provide a vivid picture of the complex arrangements made for the voyage of a Newfoundland sack ship, as well as suggesting that the Kirkes' contacts with Newfoundland grew out of their earlier Canada trade.

In his instructions to the master, Thomas Bredcake, Delabarre told him to "make all haste possible" to get to Newfoundland before late July.⁶⁵ There he was to load 4000 quintals of "good merchantable drie Newfoundland fishe of 112 lbs. weight to the quintall" from three Dartmouth ships: the EAGLE, the OLLIVE and the DESIRE. Delabarre had arranged with Richard Lane, an experienced fish broker of Dittisham near Dartmouth, for letters instructing the fishing masters to deliver the fish at 11s per quintal, which Bredcake was to pay with bills of exchange drawn on Delabarre in London.⁶⁶ Delabarre's instructions touched on almost every conceivable detail, even stowage and the possibility of default. What is not mentioned is where FAITH would find DESIRE and her companions fishing. Either Bredcake was expected to know where these masters preferred to fish or was to find them promptly through word-of-mouth.

The Newfoundland voyage went fairly smoothly. The FAITH arrived July 22 and had soon taken on 3784 quintals. One of

65. J. Delabarre, "Memorandum for Master Thomas Breadcake", 1634, HCA 15/5, is transcribed in Davis, English Shipping, 236-238.

66. On Lane see Cell, English Enterprise, 19, citing Chancery, C 2 Jas 1, G 7/52, G 11/56 (c. 1617).

the Dartmouth masters "fayled of his number of fish", as Bredcake later put it, but with the fish supplied and 1000 quintals obtained from another master, she had a good cargo.⁶⁷ Once loaded, the FAITH was not to delay "but sail directly, and to be there one of the first, to Cartagena" and she departed August 8. In his instructions Delabarre had emphasized that "it doth much concerne me to be first at markett, in the saille of my fishe". The FAITH arrived at Cartagena on October 1, where she sold 1635 quintals to the local factor for Delabarre's Spanish customer, John Romeno of Madrid. On October 22, Romeno's agent sent the FAITH on to Barcelona, where another factor took most of the rest of the cargo. Romeno's factors were to pay a freight deposit of 32000 reals, i.e. £900, on delivery, or else to return Spanish goods for England. The fish would have been worth about 127,000 reals, that is, £3575. If the FAITH was not reloaded at Cartagena she was to go to Alicante, Majorca or Malaga for freight. Delabarre had specified that the FAITH should unload within twenty days and reload within thirty and had asked Bredcake "to be a good steward" and take "spetiall care that I runn in no daies of demurrage", that is delay of the vessel in port beyond the time agreed with Kirke, Barkeley and company, in this case 55 days, with a penalty of £5 per day.⁶⁸

67. T. Bredcake, Libel in Bredcake vs Kirke et al, 22 April 1635, HCA 24/90 (165); Examination in Kirke vs Delabarre, 22 June 1635, HCA 13/52, 23-24v.

68. D. Kirke et al. and J. De La Barre, Charterparty, 1 May 1634, HCA 15/5, n.p. Cf. Davis, English Shipping, 239.

The execution of these instructions required a certain discretion on the part of Master Bredcake. Delabarre wanted his own interest in the fish kept secret and warned Bredcake, "By noe means lett not my factor know that I have your ship absolutely out and home" asking him to tell the factor that he had the ship at £5 10s a ton for 240 tons. In fact Delabarre had freighted the FAITH from Kirke, Barkeley and company for the Newfoundland/Spain and Spain/London legs of the voyage at £5 per ton, calculated on the Spanish cargo delivered to London.⁶⁹ This rate for sack ships became standard in the 1630s, although the normal practice was to base the charges on the tonnage of fish.⁷⁰ Considered separately the freight on Newfoundland fish to Spain was about £4 per ton and on Spanish goods to London £1.10s to £2 per ton.⁷¹ The fact that the £5 per ton multilateral rate remained stable through the rest of the century suggests that the industry reached some kind of maturity by 1640. The problem that Kirke, Barkeley and company faced in this particular case was that in late November a Lieutenant General of the Spanish galleys "violentie and passionattly" ordered the FAITH's cables cut, so that she was lost at Barcelona and could not return to London.⁷²

69. Kirke and De La Barre, Charterparty (1634); cf. Kirke, Interrogatories in Kirke vs Delabarre (1635).

70. On rates, see Davis, English Shipping, 236, 239. The Dutch sometimes used this tonnage system; see G. Bartolotti and D. Jonas, Charter-party re DEN ST. JORIS, 20 May 1634, GA Amsterdam NA 410, 53-54v, in NAC MG 18 012/55.

71. Bredcake, Examination in Kirke vs Delabarre (1635).

72. Bredcake, Libel in Bredcake vs Kirke et al.; Examination in Kirke vs Delabarre.

Kirke, Barkeley and company, naturally enough, wanted payment for freight to Spain, and argued, in the Court of Admiralty, that this had been implied in their contract with Delabarre.⁷³ The ensuing mare's nest of documents filed in this and a related case indicates that the Kirkes and their associates were not the owners of the FAITH, but had freighted it themselves in mid-April 1634 from her master and part-owner, Thomas Bredcake. They had her, with a crew of 37 men and 2 boys, for 9 months at £145 per month for a voyage "unto the Gulfe and river of Canada". She was then to sail to Newfoundland, for a "full ladeing of fish", before proceeding to Spain for another cargo. A provision in the charter-party regarding the cost of gun powder "spent...in defence" suggests that the owners and the freighters foresaw the possibility of French hostility.⁷⁴

Kirke, Barkeley and company promptly let the FAITH to freight to John Delabarre, for the Newfoundland/Spain/England part of the voyage, on the terms decribed above. Clearly, their involvement with the Newfoundland trade came as an extention of their efforts to participate in the Canada trade. According to Bredcake, the 1633 voyage of the St. GEORGE was also a combined Canada/Newfoundland venture, with Delabarre employing the vessel as a sack on the return voyage from the New World.⁷⁵ This was certainly more effi-

73. Kirke, Interrogatories in Kirke vs De la Barre.

74. T. Bredcake and D. Kirke *et al.*, Charter-party, 18 April 1634, HCA 15/4, n.p.

75. Bredcake, Examination in Kirke vs Delabarre.

cient than the itinerary of the PHOENIX of Yarmouth, which Kirke, Barkeley and company had freighted to Newfoundland and thence to Canada c. 1631.⁷⁶ On 17 May 1634, the ST. GEORGE and another vessel, the AARON, carrying hatchets, knives, blankets and other goods appropriate for the fur trade, accompanied the FAITH when she departed from the Downs for Canada under the captaincy of Lewis Kirke.⁷⁷ Off the Lizard a storm broke the AARON's mainmast and foremast. After his little convoy limped into Plymouth, Lewis sent his brother James to London with the bad news and he returned with instructions from David Kirke to "give over his designe for Canada and proceed direct for Newfoundland".⁷⁸ The Kirkes' decision to call off the Canada voyage may have been dictated by delay or by fear that two ships could not achieve what they had planned with three, recalling the loss of the MARY FORTUNE the previous year. Whatever the exact reasons for their commercial disengagement from the St. Lawrence, it is evident that the arrangements Kirke, Barkeley and company had made for the efficient deployment of their shipping had involved them in the Newfoundland sack business by the mid 1630s. The Kirkes were not yet shipping fish, but depended on those apparently rare London merchants, like John Delabarre, with contacts in the trade.

76. A. Rice, Examination in Kirke et al. vs Allen and Simonds, 10 August 1632, HCA 13/50, 85v.

77. Mr. Ford, "Winthrop in the London Port Books", Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, vol. 47 (1913-1914), 178-190.

78. Bredcake, Libel in Bredcake vs Kirke et al.

4. The seventeenth-century sack ship

The Newfoundland sack ships, defined strictly as ships venturing solely to freight rather than to make fish, were not the only vessels taking fish to southern Europe and returning to England with cargoes of wine, fruit, oil, etc. Many "fishing" ships sailed with their own fish to market. The class of ships fishing and the class of ships trading in fish overlapped. In this situation lay an ambiguity: "sack ship" might mean either a ship freighted in Newfoundland with bought fish or a ship with a cargo of fish, whether made or bought.⁷⁹ The narrower sense is intended here, but the wider sense was sometimes used in the seventeenth century. In 1684, for example, Captain Francis Wheler listed a number of ships as both "Fishing Shipp" and "Sack Shipp".⁸⁰ To confuse the issue even further, in order to secure a full cargo quickly, sack ship crews might participate in the making of fish, as did the crew of the THOMASINA of London at Cape Broyle in 1637.⁸¹ In general it was the crew that really distinguished a fishing ship from a sack ship: the former employed skilled fishermen, the latter a relatively smaller deep-water company.⁸²

79. DNE, "Sack".

80. F. Wheler, "...Fishing Shipp" and "...Sack Shipp", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56iv and v), 254 and 255, 255v.

81. T. Read, *Examination in Wheatley et al. vs Herringe et al.*, 10 January 1639, HCA 13/54, 396v-399. Cf. J. Bastiaenss and J. Pieterss, *Deposition re DE HOOP*, 16 May 1626, GA Amsterdam NA 256, 349, v, in NAC MG 18 012/79.

82. Whitbourne, *Discourse*, 145.

The vessels themselves were interchangeable. It has been assumed that vessels functioning as sacks were generally larger than vessels engaged in fishing.⁸³ In fact this was not so. Sack ships ranged in size from 20 tons up to at least 250 tons, which was a large vessel, especially in the pre-Restoration period, but no larger than many "fishing" ships.⁸⁴ Compare, for example, Kirke, Barkeley and company's 240 ton FAITH and the three ships which were to supply her with fish in 1634: the 300 ton EAGLE, the 120 ton OLLIVE and the 250 ton DESIRE.⁸⁵ These were unusually large ships, but the general point remains. In 1608, when the Cornish merchant John Rashleigh wanted a sack for his "fishing" ship, the 100 ton SUCCESS, he sent a smaller vessel, the TRYFELL, and this pattern seems to have endured.⁸⁶ Table 3.1 (p. 121) presents figures for mean tonnage, number of boats and ratio of boats to tonnage, for sack and "fishing" ships, variously defined, in the southern Avalon and St. John's areas in 1675. It indicates that sack ships

83. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 71,74; Cell, English Enterprise, 21.

84. Actual cargo tonnage was less than measured tonnage before 1700, a relationship reflected in the discount made on the latter to calculate registered tonnage. It is often unclear whether estimates of "tons burthen" are meant to reflect measured tonnage (i.e. cubic capacity) or actual cargo tonnage/registered tonnage, which were then about the same. See J.J. McCusker, "The Tonnage of Ships Engaged in British Colonial Trade during the Eighteenth Century", Research in Economic History 6 (1981), 73-105. This and impressionistic estimates may explain differing figures given for the same ships. These problems suggest that tonnage figures cannot be assumed to be precise.

85. Delabarre, "Memorandum for Breadcake".

86. J. Scantlebury, "John Rashleigh of Fowey and the Newfoundland Cod Fishery 1608-20", Royal Institution of Cornwall Journal (new series) 8 (1978-81), 61-71.

Table 3.1 Mean tonnage, mean number of boats, mean number of boats per 100 tons, for "fishing" and sack ships, south Avalon and St. John's areas Newfoundland, 1675, (n=120)

	MEAN TONNAGE	MEAN Number of BOATS	MEAN Number of BOATS/100 Tons
SACK SHIPS			
Carried no boats	72	0.0	0.0
Carried 0, 1 or 2 boats	73	0.5	0.7
Sailed to a Market	74	2.0	2.7
"FISHING" SHIPS			
Carried boats	86	5.9	6.8
Carried 3 or more boats	90	7.6	8.4
Returned directly to England	101	9.1	9.0

SOURCE:

J. Berry, "Shipp...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (171), 136-148.

were, on the average, smaller than ships fishing: however defined, the former averaged under 75 tons, the latter almost 90. Those "fish ships" returning directly to England were even larger on average, at over 100 tons. All ships with more than ten boats and about half of those with eight or nine boats returned directly to England.⁸⁷

"Fishing" ships grew larger over the century. Those returning directly to England averaged only 55 tons in the 1620s and 80 tons in the 1630s, as opposed to the 100 tons of 1675.⁸⁸ These were, nevertheless, already of greater burthen than the very small vessels, many of only 20 to 35 tons, which worked as sack ships at Newfoundland. Table 3.2 (p. 123) presents numbers of ships engaged in various activities at Newfoundland by tonnage classes, for the southern Avalon and St. John's areas in 1675. It suggests that vessels of the smallest class were, at that time, more likely to be sack ships than vessels of any other class. Such small early seventeenth-century sack ships would have been particularly vulnerable in the pirate-infested waters of southern Europe.⁸⁹ Increasing British domination of the sea made it safer, later in the century, for small vessels to go safely to the Mediterranean.⁹⁰

87. Berry, "List of Shippes", (1675).

88. Cell, English Enterprise, Table 1, 130. Strictly speaking these figures are the mean of the mean tonnages by port, recorded in selected port books. Cf. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 56.

89. On piracy see T. Gray, "Turkish Piracy and Early Stuart Devon", RT Devon, vol. 121 (1989), 159-171.

90. W. Spencer, Algiers in the Age of the Corsairs (Norman, Oklahoma, 1976), 132.

Table 3.2 **Number of ships by activity and tonnage class**
south Avalon and St. John's areas,
Newfoundland, 1675

	20-49 TONS	50-79 TONS	80-129 TONS	130-250 TONS	ALL
Mean Tonnage	34	60	97	192	81
ACTIVITY	NUMBER OF SHIPS				
SACK SHIPS					
Sack voyage to a market	14	18	9	4	45
Sack-like voyage to a market	3	4	5	3	15
Sack or -like to England	1	2	1	1	5
"FISHING" SHIPS					
Fishing voyage to a Market	8	13	13	3	37
Fishing voyage and to England	1	5	8	4	18
TOTALS	27	41	37	15	120

SOURCE:

J. Berry, "...Shippes...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (171), 136-148.

NOTES:

Ship activity has been counted as "sack-like" if the vessel in question operated only 1 or 2 boats or, in the case of vessels of less than 50 tons, only 1 boat.

The shipping censuses of the 1670s and 1680s indicate that many ships were not functionally specialized. Ships operating as sacks sometimes carried a few boats, so that their own crews could make a little fish, like the 500 quintals made by the crew of the PELICAN of Topsham, in 1679.⁹¹ Some of these non-specialized vessels were quite small, like the 40-ton BLESSING of Kinsale, Peter Jeffreys master, which came to Caplin Bay in 1676 to buy fish, but kept a boat and was therefore able to make 90 quintals of dry fish, besides a hogshead of train oil and 3 quintals of wet "Corefish", worth £66 to the ship and crew.⁹² Captain Sir William Poole's assessment of imports indicates that about 70 percent of sack ships carried goods to Newfoundland and that the importing vessels were, typically, among the smaller vessels. Many brought wines or brandy. Berry's figures for ships importing alcohol in 1675 suggest that ships making mixed "sack-like" voyages were most likely to bring in wines and brandy.⁹³ New England vessels imported provisions.⁹⁴

The 1675 data (in Table 3.2, p. 123) suggest that vessels of about 100 tons were most likely to be "fishing" ships, that vessels much smaller than this were more likely

91. J. Cotton, Receipt, 4 June 1680, Exeter DRO, Chanter, 780 C, 157v.

92. J. Wyborn, "...Sack Ships...between Trepasse & Bay Bulls", 7 December 1676, CO 1/38 (87), 236,232 [sic].

93. Compare J. Berry, "List of those that have furnisht ...Brandy, wines &c...", CO 1/35 (17iii), 157 and "Shipps..." (1675).

94. William Poole, "Acco^t of Fishing & Sackships from Trepassy to Cape Broyle" and "Acco^t of Fishing & Sackships from Balene to St. John's", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62viii and ix), 167-168 and 168v-170.

to be sack ships than not, and that the few large vessels, upwards of 130 to 250 tons, were evenly divided between sack and "fishing" ships. The functions of the medium and larger vessels had probably not changed greatly since the late 1630s, although British losses in the Spanish War (1655 to 1660) and Second and Third Dutch Wars (1665 to 1667 and 1672 to 1674) might have affected the make-up of the Newfoundland fleet. In 1675 James Houblon argued that the primary reason for the current decay of the fish trade was serious losses among the "smale vessels of Little defence" employed in the English trade from Newfoundland "especially in the Spanish Warre in Ann^o 1657 to 1660", when 1200 ships were lost, permanently impoverishing the western ports.⁹⁵ Just how small the "vessels of Little defence" lost in these wars were remains an open question. Given this uncertainty, and the relatively low average burthen of sacks in the 1670s, it is not safe to assume that English sack ships in the 1630s were generally large vessels like those Kirke, Barkeley and company freighted to John Delabarre. Many were small, like Rashleigh's TRYFELL or the 26 ton bark that Lancelott Richards took, in 1633, from Barnstaple to Newfoundland for fish and thence to Cadiz for wines and fruit.⁹⁶

As Matthews argues, the historiographic tradition which pits a sack ship interest against a fishing ship interest is

95. J. Houblon, Letter to CTP, 20 March 1675, CO 1/65 (23), 97ff, cited in Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 146, as "CO 1/67 f.97. Gould to Southwell".

96. L. Richards, Examination, 15 February 1634, HCA 13/50, 608v, 609.

no longer compelling, for the businesses of catching and freighting fish complemented one another.⁹⁷ Most voyages actually combined the two enterprises and when ships were devoted completely to one purpose they depended on a working relationship with a ship or ships devoted to the other purpose. Not surprisingly, both were often operated by the same merchants.⁹⁸ There were, however, regional differences in emphasis.⁹⁹ Table 3.3 (p. 127) reports numbers of ships in various aspects of the cod trade in the southern Avalon and St. John's areas in 1675, by port of origin. It indicates that most north Devon ships fished and went to market, while ships from the south Devon ports of Topsham and Plymouth were, predominantly, sacks. Dartmouth was heavily engaged in both aspects of the trade. London and Bristol freighted sack ships exclusively, but Bristol's were much smaller. If there was a "fishing" ship vs sack ship conflict in this period, it was an intramural West Country affair as much as a "struggle" between the West and London.¹⁰⁰ Whether the western ports had always controlled most of their own freighting is another question.

97. Matthews, "Historical Fence Building", 21-30. For a recent version of the traditional view see Davies, "Policy and Trade", 46.

98. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 68-73.

99. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 68ff restricts differentiation to London but cf. ibid., 181-184.

100. W.B. Stephens, "The West-Country Ports and the Struggle for the Newfoundland Fisheries in the Seventeenth Century", ET Devon, 88 (1956), 90-101.

Table 3.3 Number of ships by activity and home port
 south Avalon and St. John's areas
 Newfoundland, 1675

HOMEPORT	NUMBER OF SHIPS						TOTALS
	MEAN TONS	SACK	SACK LIKE	SACK to ENGLAND	FISHING & MARKET	FISHING ENGLAND	
Barnstaple	85	2	0	0	4	0	6
Bideford	74	1	2	2	20	0	25
Bristol	43	4	0	0	0	0	4
Dartmouth	83	8	8	0	5	12	33
Falmouth	120	1	0	0	0	0	1
Guernsey	50	0	0	0	1	0	1
London	110	12	1	0	0	0	13
Plymouth	95	8	2	2	4	3	19
Teignmouth	30	0	0	1	1	0	2
Topsham	54	8	2	0	2	3	15
Yarmouth	120	1	0	0	0	0	1
TOTALS	80	45	15	5	37	18	120

SOURCE:

J. Berry, "...Shipp...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (17i), 136-148.

NOTES:

Ship activity has been counted as "sack-like" if the vessel in question operated only 1 or 2 boats or, in the case of vessels of less than 50 tons, only 1 boat.

The early sack trade is supposed by Innis and Stephens to have been dominated by London merchants.¹⁰¹ There is no doubt that some London vessels went to Newfoundland to buy fish in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹⁰² A few merchants in other ports like Barnstaple, Dartmouth, Weymouth and, particularly, Southampton were also freighting sacks.¹⁰³ Ralph Davis suggests, however, that there were very few English sack ships before 1640.¹⁰⁴ Matthews concluded, from a reading of the English administrative records, that the Dutch were important participants in the sack trade c. 1620 to 1630.¹⁰⁵ In the 1620s Richard Whitbourne noted "divers Dutch and French ships" buying fish at Newfoundland.¹⁰⁶ His Discourse of Newfoundland is, in part, an exposition of how English merchants might displace the Dutch from the sack trade.¹⁰⁷ In the early 1630s Trinity House complained that something like 28 "strangers ships" were freighting fish at Newfoundland.¹⁰⁸ Until this period Dutch sack ships were almost certainly more common than English sacks.¹⁰⁹ Hector Pieters sailed from Carbonear in 1634 in convoy "with our eleven Dutch and two or three

101. E.g. Innis, Cod Fisheries, 54; Stephens, "The West-country ports", 94; cf. the earlier discussions analyzed in Matthews, "Historical Fence Building".

102. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 83; Davis, English Shipping, 229ff; Cell, English Enterprise, 5-21.

103. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 68, 69.

104. Davis, English Shipping, 236n.

105. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 76.

106. Whitbourne, Discourse [1622], 128.

107. Whitbourne, Discourse [1622], 140-146.

108. Trinity House, Petition to Privy Council, c. 1633, SP 16/257 (29).

109. Cell, English Enterprise, 105, has another view.

English ships".¹¹⁰ Relatively low costs may have given the Dutch a competitive advantage, at least before the late 1630s, when Sir David Kirke applied a five percent tax on fish taken from Newfoundland in foreign bottoms.¹¹¹ The idea that the Dutch competed particularly effectively during the Civil War (1642 to 1648) is probably mistaken, although ships from the Netherlands seem to have been very active at Newfoundland during the Interregnum (1649 to 1659).¹¹² The Dutch Newfoundland trade pre-dates this period of intense activity, however, by decades.

5. Dutch competition

On 10 June 1620, David De Vries set sail from Texel for Newfoundland in a ship freighted by two Amsterdam merchants. He stopped at Weymouth, where he bought three guns for the ship and picked up letters for delivery of fish in Newfoundland. On 18 June he called at Plymouth to buy more guns. After a month at sea, he made land on 29 July in Placentia Bay "where the Basques fish". Tentatively coasting east and north from his landfall, de Vries arrived on 4 August at "Ferrelandt...in Cappeling Bay". Here he found the fishing masters from whom he was supposed to buy fish. They were, unfortunately, sold out. De Vries managed to obtain a cargo

110. H. Pieterss, Letter to D. Joosten, 17 September 1633, GA Amsterdam NA 694, 94, in NAC MG 18 012/20.

111. V. Barbour, "Dutch and English Merchant Shipping in the Seventeenth Century", *EcHR* 2 (1930): 261-290.

112. Cf. D. Glerum-Laurentius, "A History of Dutch Activity in the Newfoundland Fish Trade from about 1590 till about 1680", unpub. M.A. thesis, MUN (1960), 38-48. On Dutch activity see below.

elsewhere and on 10 September he set sail, in convoy with four other ships, for Genoa.¹¹³ His chance encounter with another Dutch ship suggests there were others already trading at Newfoundland. Certainly the evidence from the Amsterdam Notarial Archives supports this conclusion. In his transcripts and translations from this source, Jan Kupp provides many details about the Dutch Newfoundland trade, which were not recorded in the English administrative records which deal with the subject.¹¹⁴

The Dutch/Newfoundland trade may date as early as 1589.¹¹⁵ The Newfoundland voyage was a regular one for Dutch ships by the 1620s and remained so until the 1650s. Pieter Naadt took DE PROFEET DANIEL of Amsterdam to Newfoundland and thence to Italy in 1656 on a voyage organized much as De Vries' had been in 1620.¹¹⁶ Although Dutch ships like 'T SWERTE HERDT were making the Newfoundland voyage as early as 1601, it must have remained for some time a relatively undeveloped trade, since experienced masters were

113. de Vries, Voyages [1655], 3-10 (trans. H.C. Murphy); Glerum-Laurentius, "Dutch in Newfoundland", 22-25. The Murphy translation is neither reliable nor complete.

114. J. Kupp, "Dutch Documents taken from notarial archives of Holland relating to the fur trade and cod fisheries of North America", NAC MG 18 012, vols 1-18. On these notarial records see P.C. van Royen, "Manning the Merchant Marine: the Dutch Maritime Labour Market about 1700", IJMH 1(1) (1989), 1-28.

115. J. Kupp, "Le développement de l'intérêt hollandaise dans la pêche de la morue de Terre-Neuve", RHAF 27(4) (1974), 565-569.

116. E. Schott and P. Naadt, Charter-party, 12 June 1656, GA Amsterdam NA, 2117, 89-91, in NAC MG 18 012/196.

still in short supply in 1618.¹¹⁷ The Dutch took fish to Genoa, Civita Vecchia, Naples, Lisbon, Oporto, and Cadiz as well as ports in France, like Bordeaux.¹¹⁸ Some of these voyages were rather complex, like that of the SINT PIETER which in 1627 went to Newfoundland, to Bordeaux, thence to London "with wines", to Topsham and back to Newfoundland.¹¹⁹ The ships were often large and well-armed, like the 240 ton St. MICHIEL, which sailed from Enkhuizen in 1623 armed with ten guns, four pederos, hand-guns, muskets, firelocks, pikes and "ammunition in proportion".¹²⁰ The 300 ton 'T Vliegende HART carried 16 guns when it went to Newfoundland in 1651.¹²¹ Not all Dutch sacks were this large, but they were rarely under 150 tons and their size and armament are usually stressed in the charter-parties.¹²²

It was normal practice to call at a West Country port, en route to the fishery, just as de Vries had in 1620. Occasionally other English ports like Southampton or Dartmouth were involved, but Plymouth was by far the most commonly used: DE LUYPAERT was to call there in 1658, as DIE LILIJ, DEN WATERHONDT and the JAMES had in successive

117. P. Wiltraet and J. t'Herdt, Charter-party, 19 June 1601, GA Amsterdam NA 90, 4-5v; cf. H. Lonck et al., Depositions, 4 December 1606, GA Amsterdam NA 196, 85v-86v; Bartolotti et al. and L. Freissen, Agreement, 26 April 1618, GA Amsterdam NA, 152,81v-82v; in NAC MG 18 012/6, 69 and 33.

118. Cf. Kupp, "L'intérêt hollandais", 567.

119. J. Vrolyck, Declaration, 19 August 1628, GA Amsterdam NA 693, 28,v, in NAC MG 18 012/116.

120. J. Oort and A. Jacobsen, Charter-party, 3 April 1623, GA Amsterdam NA 738, 175v-178v, in NAC MG 18 012/34.

121. E. Schot and P. Veen, Charter-party, 9 May 1651, GA Amsterdam NA 1574, 262, in NAC MG 18 012/139.

122. Cf. Kupp, "L'intérêt hollandais", 567.

decades since the 1620s.¹²³ There the Dutch ships would pick up a supercargo, or freighter's factor, who would bring with him "letters of credit, documents or money" for Newfoundland fish.¹²⁴ Ritsert Heijnmers, a Dutch merchant living in Plymouth, was to contract for fish there "or in Dartmouth or thereabouts" for the ST. PAULO in 1629.¹²⁵ DE HOOP embarked a "pilot" at Plymouth in 1637, who would "enjoy free bread and living" on board, although the freighter was to pay his wages.¹²⁶ After 1650 the Amsterdam charter-parties often explicitly indicated that ships were not to call in the West Country but were, like the CONINCK DAVID in 1651, to go "straight to English Newfoundland according to his letters of credit".¹²⁷ The Dutch sacks still carried supercargoes, but in the early 1650s ships like 'T KINT or PRINS HENDRICK, bound for French ports like St. Malo or Nantes, were probably buying fish from the French and would have carried French factors.¹²⁸ The early Dutch dependence on West Country factors is probably a suf-

123. P. Emanuelss and J. Jacobs, Charter-party, 27 May 1658, GA Amsterdam NA 1539, 187-188; W. van Haesdonck and B. Lelij, Charter-party, 6 April 1624, GA Amsterdam NA 170, 96-99; J. Thierry and W. Jonas, Charter-party, 26 April 1634, GA Amsterdam NA 409, 352; West India Company and J. Touteloop, Charter-party, 8 June 1642, Rotterdam City Archives, Notarial Archives, Jan van Aller, 296-297v; in NAC MG 18 012/206, 37, 84 and 325.

124. Thierry and Jonas, Charter-party (1634).

125. J. Harmensz, Power of attorney to R. Heynmers, 19 May 1629, GA Amsterdam NA 239, 81v, 82, in NAC MG 18 012/77.

126. P. Timmerman and G. Romyn, Charter-party, 6 May 1637, GA Amsterdam NA 674, 184-186, in NAC MG 18 012/114.

127. J. da Costa and G. van Lynen, Charter-party, 9 June 1651, GA Amsterdam NA 1534, 277, in NAC MG 18 012/154.

128. G. Belin and J. Kint, also G. Belin and S. Vallom, Charter-parties, 10 May 1653 and 17 May 1653, GA Amsterdam NA 2114, 993, 994 and 38, 39, in NAC MG 18 012/167 and 168.

ficient explanation for the vehemence with which Plymouth, in particular, defended the Dutch Newfoundland trade against legal restrictions proposed by London in the 1630s.¹²⁹

The Navigation Ordinances of 1650 and 1651 were not, directly, the end of the Dutch sack ship business, since the Interregnum governments actually exempted Newfoundland fish from the prohibition of export in foreign bottoms.¹³⁰ They were, however, the beginning of the end. Although there was no open naval warfare between Britain and the Netherlands at Newfoundland in the Dutch War that followed the Navigation Ordinances, there is no doubt that Dutch Newfoundland trade suffered.¹³¹ Sack ships were lost to the British on their way to market and in 1653 the British Navy simply prevented Dutch sack ships from setting out.¹³² The Anglo-Spanish War (1655 to 1660) led to uncertain commerce in the Mediterranean and to a requirement by the Netherlands that masters going to Newfoundland declare "their intended actions or freighting" and obtain a pass before setting out for New-

129. Matthews' hypothesis that the West was wary of offending the Dutch for fear of threatening supply of Baltic naval stores may also have been relevant: Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 78-82.

130. Davis, English Shipping, 12; "An Act...for Transporting of Fish in Foreign bottoms", c. 1659, in Firth and Rait, Acts of the Interregnum, vol. 2, 1099, 1100.

131. On the war in Newfoundland see Glerum-Laurentius, "Dutch in Newfoundland", 48ff.

132. O. Locquet, Deposition re the HUIS VAN ASSENDELFT, 7 May 1652, GA Amsterdam NA 1697, 1290; C. Bloem, Declaration re DE SONNENBLOOM, 28 October 1652, GA Amsterdam NA 1801, 801-802; J. Lanson et al., Deposition re DE ELISABETH, 20 March 1655, GA Amsterdam NA 1703, 803; all in NAC MG 18 012/158, 165, 181. The English also lost fishing ships to the Dutch; see W. Tozer, Deposition re the JOSEPH of Topsham, 28 June 1655, Exeter DRO, Moger CC. 181/18/3.

foundland.¹³³ As we have seen, DE LUYPAERT carried on business at Plymouth and Newfoundland in 1658. She returned in 1659 "to such English harbours as shall be ordered" but, significantly, she had augmented her armament.¹³⁴ A few Dutch sacks continued to visit the English Shore into the 1660s, but the trade was in decline and extinct by 1670.¹³⁵ From c. 1650 the destination specified in Dutch charter-parties was less often "English Newfoundland" and more often just "Newfoundland". The itinerary of the ST. JAN BATTISTO in 1653 was even more specific: "to the coast of Newfoundland to the French fisheries or there where the French fish".¹³⁶ Some Dutch ships in the later 1650s took "nets, casks, salt and other necessities for the fishing in Newfoundland", but this was generally in cooperation with French merchants.¹³⁷ There are few documentary indications of Dutch participation in the fishery on the English Shore.

133. States General of the United Netherlands, "Regulations with regard to the Newfoundland trade", 1657, Ryks Archives, The Hague, Resolution of the Provincial States, Holland and West Friesland, 264-268, in NAC MG 18 012/512.

134. Emanuelss and Jacobss, Charter-party (1658); P. and J. Meerman and J. Verhoeck, Charter-party, 14 June 1659, GA Amsterdam NA 2988, 188-190, in NAC MG 18 012/214.

135. Kupp, "L'intérêt hollandais", 569; Glerum-Laurentius, "Dutch in Newfoundland", 86. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 187, errs in dating the last Dutch sack to 1655.

136. J. Thierry et al. and A. Jansz, Charter-party, 20 June 1653, GA Amsterdam NA 1664, 105-106, in NAC MG 18 012/171.

137. J. Thierry and S. and L. de Sousa, Charter-party, 1 April 1655, GA Amsterdam NA 2116, 561-562; E. Schott, Declaration, 8 June 1657, GA Amsterdam NA, 2120, 282, both in NAC MG 18 012/64, 200A. Matthews is thus wrong to suppose that there is no evidence for Dutch fishing at Newfoundland; see Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 77.

The Newfoundland harbours at which fish were laded by the Dutch are not often specified. Scattered references to specific harbours suggest that Netherlands ships traded primarily on the south Avalon, at St. John's and in Conception Bay. Depositions for an insurance claim indicate that DE HOOP took on fish at St. John's, Witless Bay and Aquaforte in 1626. The pilot refused to go on to Trinity Bay, regarding it as "too dangerous...with so much expensive fish".¹³⁸ Factors' letters from Cupids in 1633 list purchases of fish there, as well as at Carbonear and Bay Bulls.¹³⁹ De Vries had called for fish in Ferryland in 1620 and DE VREEDE tarried at nearby Caplin Bay in 1659.¹⁴⁰

Kirke, Barkeley and company actually let ships to Dutch freighters in this period. About 1635 Harman van Maerthuson freighted the MARY of London from John Kirke. She returned with wines and this might have been a Newfoundland sack voyage.¹⁴¹ Like John Delabarre, Dutch merchants may have given Kirke, Barkeley and company exposure to the Newfoundland trade before the "Grant of Newfoundland" to Sir David Kirke and his associates in 1637. This patent did not exactly exclude "strangers" from either the fishing or the carrying trades, but it gave the patentees the right to levy

138. Bastienss and Pieterss, Deposition (1626).

139. H. Pieterss to Joosten (1633); L. Pieterss, Letter to D. Joosten, 17 September 1633, GA Amsterdam NA 64, in NAC MG 18 012/20.

140. A. Isaacq, Protest, 22 March 1660, GA Amsterdam NA 2715, 509-511, in NAC MG 18 012/221.

141. John Kirke, Interrogatories, c. 1636, HCA 23/11 (318).

a five percent tax on fish caught (primarily by the French) or carried (primarily by the Dutch).¹⁴² Both the Privy Council and the Kirkes presumed that the tax would drive the Dutch out of the carrying trade.¹⁴³ It certainly brought the Kirkes into a new relationship with their competitors. In 1638 Lewis Kirke taxed a 140 ton Dutch sack ship £50 at Bay Bulls.¹⁴⁴ The Netherlanders appear to have accepted the Kirkes' five percent tax on "strangers fishing" either as a cost of doing business or as a reason to avoid Newfoundland, unlike the French who protested vociferously.¹⁴⁵ Kirke, Barkeley and company would have been one of the companies "trading to the Plantations of Canada and Newengland" who boasted in a 1639 petition to the Privy Council that they had "of late procured almost all the trade from Newfoundland from the Dutch".¹⁴⁶ They were no longer in the Newfoundland trade merely as ship-owners, they were key players, as proprietors of a major fishing plantation, in the successful effort to pre-empt the Dutch share of the carrying trade. Why had these London merchants invested in a permanent fishing station?

6. The rationale of investment in Newfoundland

When John Delabarre freighted a vessel from Kirke, Barkeley and company for a sack voyage, both parties could

142. Charles I, "A Grant of Newfoundland", 13 November 1637, CO 195/1, 11-27, in Matthews, Laws, 82-116, see 108.

143. Privy Council, Minutes, 25 June 1638, in APC Col.

144. Allward, Examination in Baltimore vs Kirke (1652).

145. Coke to Windebank (16 May 1639).

146. Privy Council, Minutes, 29 November 1639.

hope for substantial profits, if all went well. Table 3.4 (p. 138) is an estimate of income and expenses for the voyage of a 250 ton vessel.¹⁴⁷ The freighter stood to earn something like £465, representing a profit of 14 percent on expenses of about £3300, mostly for fish and freight. Any profits made on cargo shipped to England from Spain would add to this return, without much affecting costs. Ship-owners like Kirke, Barkeley and company could also do well out of such voyages. Against a freighting fee of about £1000, they paid for wages, victualling and annual repairs. If total annual costs were about £870, they stood to make £130 on the voyage. This was much less than the freighter but yielded about the same rate of return.

If such investments could be turned over once a year, a fourteen percent return makes the sack trade sound attractive. Indeed, successful voyages were attractive propositions. However, the profits of one voyage might easily be eaten up by losses on others.¹⁴⁸ The critical factors tending to profit or loss were somewhat different for owners and freighters. Vessel insurance was rare in the seventeenth century; owners gambled that their ships would not be lost to natural or human forces. The division of ship ownership into shares spread this risk, but losses had to be made good from profits on successful voyages. Besides making provision for sudden losses, owners should have set something

147. Cf. Davis, English Shipping, 338-346, 369-372.

148. Davis, English Shipping, 345ff.

Table 3.4 **Estimated annual earnings
for the freighter and owner
of a Newfoundland sack ship
of about 250 tons, in the 1630s**

	FREIGHTER	OWNER
	£	£
INCOME		
Sale of 4480 Spanish quintals @ 30 reals per quintal	3780	1000
Freight		
TOTAL INCOME	£ 3780	£ 1000
EXPENSES		
Fish, 4000 quintals @ 11s/quintal	2200	
Freight, £5 per ton, 200 tons	1000	
Pilotage, port charges, bribes	25	
Insurance on cargo, @ 4% of £2200	90	
Wages, 36 man crew for 8 months		380
Victualling, 36 men for 8 months		240
Annual Repairs		150
Depreciation		100
TOTAL EXPENSES	£ 3315	£ 870
PROFIT	£ 465	£ 130
RATE OF PROFIT	14%	14%

SOURCES:

Please see next page.

Table 3.4 **Estimated annual earnings**
continued **for the freighter and owner**
 of a Newfoundland sack ship
 of about 250 tons, in the 1630s

SOURCES:

Cost of fish and freight: J. Dellabarre, "Memorandum for Master Thomas Breadcake", 1634, HCA 15/5, in Davis, English Shipping, 236-238; D. Kirke et al., Interrogatories in Kirke et al. vs Delabarre, c. 1635, HCA 23/11 (217); M. Waringe and T. Grafton, Allegations in Pickeringe et al. vs Waringe and Grafton, c. 1638, HCA 30/547 (37). On the use of the 2000 lb. short ton, Kircke et al., Interrogatories in Kirke et al. vs Jennings et al., 7 January 1639, HCA 23/12 (232).

Manning levels: J. Bradley, Examination in Kirke et al., vs Delabarr, 23 June 1637, HCA 13/53 (245), 218v, in D.D. Shilton and R. Holworthy (eds), High Court of Admiralty Examinations in 1637-1638 (New York, 1932), 99.

Pilotage, port charges etc.: J. Dellabarr, Libel in Dellabarr vs Harbourne, 1633, HCA 24/96 (334).

Insurance: R. Delabarre, "For divers assurances", in Account Book of John Delabarre, 1620-1627, HCA 30/635; J. Gibson, Examination in Somaster vs Travell, 12 June 1637, HCA 13/53, 171, in Shilton and Holworthy, Admiralty Examinations, 80. It would actually be unusual to have the cargo fully insured. Cf. J. Melmouth, Examination, 28 May 1631, HCA 13/49, 371v, 372, in which £170 worth of fish was insured against a £100 loss.

Market value of fish: N. Case, Examination in Casteile vs [?], 24 April 1635, HCA 13/51, 521v; R. Hall, Examination in Kirke et al. vs Jennings et al., 6 October 1638, HCA 13/54, 244. Fish cost 10s per quintal in Newfoundland in 1638, see W. Hapgood, J. Hapgood and W. Minson, Depositions, 12 February 1639, Southampton Examinations, 1634-1639, 73-75.

On other estimates: Davis, English Shipping, 86, 87, 338, 370, 371, 376, 377.

aside for depreciation, even if not so conceptualized.¹⁴⁹ The profits of freighters, like John Delabarre, depended on a variety of other factors. In the Newfoundland sack trade three were of utmost importance: procurement of a full cargo of fish, a good price at market, and a reasonably full return cargo to London. These concerns are evident in Delabarre's instructions to Bredcake, in which he stressed the obligation of the Dartmouth masters to provide the FAITH with fish, the importance of getting to market quickly, and Bredcake's duty to obtain a return cargo from Spain.

The system of tying freight charges for sack ships to the tonnage of cod taken to market meant owners were even more dependent than freighters on adequate cargos. Consider the earnings for freighter and owner estimated above. If the freighter obtained only two thirds of a cargo his costs would be proportionately reduced and he would still make about £275. For the ship-owners the voyage would result in a serious loss, since a reduced freight of only £670 would not even cover costs. Hence the great stress those letting ships to freight put on the quantity of fish shipped. Kirke, Barkeley and company voiced this concern in a curious case involving the 300 ton HECTOR, which had gone to Newfoundland c. 1637, ballasted with relatively bulky rock rather than with lead. The Kirkes argued that when merchants freighted ships for the Newfoundland fishery they

¹⁴⁹. Davis, English Shipping, 376, suggests 4 percent p.a. depreciation, i.e. £100 on a ship worth £2500.

usually used lead for ballast, "in regard that Newfoundland fish is a light commoditie". The freighters of the HECTOR, they complained, had used stone ballast, reducing the cargo of fish by 40 to 60 tons.¹⁵⁰ At £4 or £5 per ton the short-fall in freight charges collected by Kirke, Barkeley and company would have been perhaps £250, more than the likely profit on the voyage. London ships actually did carry lead, for a surviving 1640 Port Book records exports of "birdinge shott" and a ton of cast lead on the SARAH BONADVENTURE and 200 "pigges" of lead on the JUDITH, both of London and bound for Newfoundland. Meanwhile, William Matthews took the MARYGOLD of London to the Canaries carrying 100 "small pigges of lead" for William Barkeley.¹⁵¹ In this and other cases lead exports, which are recorded in Port Books, may often indicate the intention to carry a light cargo like dry fish, which was not subject to impost and which therefore passed through British ports without record.

Disputes about ballast were less common, however, than litigation over good faith in securing an adequate cargo of fish. The unfortunate voyage of the THOMASINA of London in 1637 was a case in point. She was on a time rather than a tonnage charter, which reversed the interests of freighter and owner, vis à vis the size of the cargo, but the critical importance of an assured supply of fish in Newfoundland remains clear. Immediately on arrival in Newfoundland her

150. Kirke et al., Libel in Kirke vs Jennings (1639).

151. London Searcher, Port Books (Exports of Denizens), 1640, E 190 44/1, 91v-93.

master, Thomas Shaftoe, had taken her to Fermeuse - but his designated suppliers "had no fish to lade aboard her but had sould it away". So Shaftoe took the ship to Cape Broyle, where Robert Gord was "consigned for part of his lading". Unfortunately Gord was just loading a ship with fish and the best he could promise was to make more fish "as soone as the weather would permitt". It took a month for the THOMASINA to obtain 600 quintals there. She then went to Carbonear, where she managed to get 1000 quintals immediately. At this point Shaftoe warned the merchants' factor Walter Willimson that the THOMASINA's time charter had expired and she was due at market. Willimson objected that he had more fish to lade for his employer. At his "earnest intreatie", Shaftoe went for Trinity, where she took on more fish, before making a late departure for Portugal in September. Once at sea the THOMASINA met "an extraordinary great storme", which she only barely survived, with the loss of her main mast.¹⁵²

The sack trade was not without its risks, and a major one, besides those common to all deep-sea voyages, was that a full cargo of fish would not be obtained.¹⁵³ As owners of ships let on tonnage charters for the Newfoundland sack voyage, Kirke, Barkeley and company were dependent on the ability of their freighters to obtain full cargoes of

152. T. Read, *Examination* (1639).

153. E.g. the JOHN AND AMBROSE c. 1647, see P. Milbery, *Examination*, 8 May 1648, HCA 13/61, 50-51. Cf. J. Oort and J. Schram, Charter-party re DE CONINCK DAVID, 1 April 1624, GA Amsterdam NA 631, 68-70v, in NAC MG 18 012/35.

fish.¹⁵⁴ Davis argues that merchants who managed to keep their vessels in a particular trade had the opportunity to build the local relations that assured the good cargoes and quick turn-arounds essential for regular profits.¹⁵⁵ This was probably particularly true in the Newfoundland trade. Metropolitan interlopers, whether based in Amsterdam or London, may have found it difficult to find assured cargoes without the assistance of West Country brokers like Richard Lane or Ritsert Heijnmers. The relationship between Kirke, Barkeley and company and John Delabarre in the 1630s suggests that the latter had the experience and contacts to secure cargoes of fish that the former did not. From the Kirkes' point of view this relationship would have been less than satisfactory, since the conditions of the tonnage charter left them, as ship-owners, open to serious loss if the freighter's Newfoundland contacts failed him. Control of their own Newfoundland plantation was not the only way metropolitan merchants like the Kirkes could find a footing in the Newfoundland trade, but it would certainly have achieved this end, if it would guarantee a supply of fish.

154. The Kirkes sometimes let ships to freight on time charter, but the ships they freighted for the Newfoundland sack voyage in the 1630s were let on tonnage charters.

155. Davis, English Shipping, 345.

CHAPTER 4
COLONIAL CONNECTIONS

...in the case of planting Countrys, as in that of planting Woods; you must account to lose almost twenty years profit, and expect your recompence in the end; it being necessary the Province should first find her self, and then enrich you.

--David Lloyd, "Observations on the Life of Sir George Calvert" (1670)¹

Accounts of the early European settlement of north-eastern North America have often treated merchants as if they were prima facie opponents of settlement. Bruce Trigger has shown how this traditional interpretation fails to recognize the economic and demographic realities of New France and Keith Matthews makes a like critique of the hoary historiographic tradition which assumes merchants in the cod trade to have been intrinsically opposed to the colonization of the English Shore.² There were, in fact, compelling reasons for English merchants to interest themselves in

1. David Lloyd, State Worthies: Or, the Statesmen and Favourites of England Since the Reformation (2nd edition, London, 1670), 750-752.

2. Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 298; Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", "Fence Building".

limited Newfoundland settlement. The original English colonization of the south Avalon was not initiated by men who could be called fish merchants, except incidentally. Early settlement was, however, considerably re-invigorated after 1638 by Sir David Kirke, a merchant with wide interests in the Newfoundland sack trade in fish and wine.

Sir George Calvert's plantation of the Colony of Avalon in 1621 made Ferryland one of the earliest permanent European settlements in the north east. Gillian Cell's research shows it to have been among the best-capitalized in Newfoundland, for James I's Secretary of State was an influential and wealthy man.³ Further investment in Ferryland's commercial infrastructure followed David Kirke's appropriation of this permanent fishing station in 1638. When the naval commodores took their censuses in the 1670s and 1680s, Ferryland was one of the more populous and stable of the Newfoundland settlements, characterized then by large plantations and a relatively strong commitment to agriculture.⁴ Four decades after their arrival, the Kirkes still dominated this harbour: two generations of the extended family in five separate households had plantations there in 1677.⁵ On the eve of the French invasion of 1696, three of Sir David Kirke's sons remained substantial planters in the

3. Cell, English Enterprise, 92-96; Newfoundland Discovered, 45-56, 272n.

4. On agriculture see above, Chapter 2, on stability see Chapter 5, below.

5. W. Poole, "...Inhabitants and Planters", 16 October 1677, CO 1/41 (61 iv,vi,vii), 158-166v. Cf. Handcock, English Settlement, 35.

south Avalon.⁶ Despite these indications that the resident fishery on the south Avalon had roots in Sir David Kirke's Newfoundland Plantation, the proprietary colonies have often been characterized as "failures".⁷ George Calvert certainly did not profit from his Newfoundland investments, but there are reasons to suspect that Kirke and his heirs did.

The success of the Kirkes was not based solely on the fishery. Nor did Ferryland develop in isolation. The dependence of Ferryland's London promoters on West Country agents, evident in the record of their Newfoundland trade, underlines the local nature of early modern trans-Atlantic connections and the enduring vernacular character of the West Country fishery at Newfoundland - despite the participation of metropolitan merchant capitalists like the Kirkes. Local connections between particular harbours on the English Shore and particular West Country ports were not, however, stable. They shifted under the pressure of national and international tensions. Newfoundland's relationship with New England intensified as the northern colonies developed, and seems to have been given impetus by metropolitan commercial disruption during the Civil War (1642-1648). Of course, Ferryland and the Kirkes had their own particular commercial networks, which were paralleled, not duplicated, elsewhere on the English Shore.⁸

6. R. Hartnoll et al., Deposition, 15 September 1707, CO 194/4 (77ix), 316.

7. E.g. Innis, Cod Fisheries, 70; Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 56, 302; Handcock, English Settlement, 33.

8. Cf. Handcock, English Settlement, 46-52.

1. Metropolitan investment at Ferryland: the Calverts

Prior involvement in the Newfoundland sack trade was not the only reason David Kirke became involved with three aristocratic associates as a Lord Proprietor of Newfoundland. In the late nineteenth century Henry Kirke stressed his ancestor's strategic vision and, indeed, Sir David defended the plantation of Newfoundland with imperialistic bragadoccio.⁹ This did not, however, preclude commercial motivation, as he himself emphasized.¹⁰ T.K. Rabb has argued that participation rates of merchants and gentry in early imperial ventures suggest that merchant investors had, primarily, a "concern for profits", while gentry investors had some "vision of national enterprise", viz. the expansion of sovereign territory.¹¹ Although this verges on tautology (merchant capitalists sought commercial profits, while land-owners sought land-ownership), it is of analytic value in understanding how the investment Kirke, Barkeley and company made in Newfoundland differed from that made by their predecessor, Sir George Calvert, First Baron Baltimore.

The "Grant of the Province of Avalon" that James I made to George Calvert in 1623 is, among other things, title to a specific "portion of Land", a "lot" with specific bounds (from just south of Aquaforte to Petty Harbour, with all

9. H. Kirke, Conquest of Canada (1871 edition), 94ff; D. Kirke, "Narrative made by the Latt Governor", c. 1652, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 259-261v.

10. D. Kirke, "Reply to the Answere to the description of Newfoundland", 29 September 1639, CO 1/10 (38), 97-114.

11. Rabb, Enterprise and Empire, 41.

territory inland).¹² Calvert had dominion over "Ports, Harbours, Creeks and Soyles, Lands, Woods &c." and "Fishing for all sorts of Fish". He recognized that the fishery would be a main support of his plantation and Ferryland remained, after its permanent settlement, a "fishing adventure".¹³ (The idea that the Avalon Colony was established as a Roman Catholic religious refuge has been discredited.¹⁴) The Province was not created, however, so Lord Baltimore could become involved in the fishery; the former Secretary of State became involved in the fishery to further the development of his Newfoundland property. In 1629 Calvert decided that he didn't like the particular North American province he had been granted. He blamed this change of heart on the miserable weather he endured in Newfoundland in 1628/1629 but the economic climate was probably as much a factor as the "sadd face of winter".¹⁵ It was, surely, no coincidence that when Calvert withdrew from his Newfoundland adventure the fishery was in severe decline, the trade having dropped to about a third of its level in the balmy days of the early 1620s, when the Colony of Avalon had been planned.¹⁶ At any

12. James I, "Grant of the Province of Avalon", 7 April 1623, CO 195/1, 1-10, in Matthews, Laws, 39-63.

13. G. Cottingham, Letter to J. Finet, 7 April 1628, BL, Sloane ms 3827, 124-125v; cf. C. Calvert, Libel in Baltimore vs Kirke, HCA 24/110 (329).

14. R.J. Lahey, "The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Enterprise", Maryland Historical Magazine 72(4) (1977), 492-511; "Avalon: Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland", in Story, Early European Exploitation, 115-138; Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 47, 48.

15. G. Calvert, Letter to Charles I, 19 August 1629, CO 1/5 (27), 75.

16. Cell, English Enterprise, 106, 107.

rate, Calvert obtained another carefully-bounded province in the Chesapeake and departed Newfoundland in 1629, satisfied "to committ this place to fishermen".¹⁷

Calvert's attitude to colonial investment probably differed from that of the later Newfoundland patentees. His Restoration biographer, David Lloyd, contrasts Calvert's efforts with Chief Justice Sir John Popham's backing of the Plymouth Company's short-lived Maine colony in 1607:

Judg Popham and Sir George Calvert agreed not more unan-
imously in the publick design of Planting, than they
differed in the private...[Popham] sent...the lowdest,
[Calvert] the soberest people: the one was for present
profit, the other for a reasonable expectation...¹⁸

By 1625 Calvert could "draw back yearly some benefit", but he did not recoup his Newfoundland investment in eight years of proprietorship between 1622 and 1629.¹⁹ Given the extent of his investment, it is difficult to believe that he expected profit in such a short term.

How much did Calvert invest in Newfoundland? What actual infrastructure resulted? Cecil Calvert, Second Baron Baltimore made a series of claims escalating from £20,000 in

17. G. Calvert to Charles I, 19 August 1629. On Calvert's retirement from Newfoundland see Cell, English Enterprise, 94,95; Newfoundland Discovered, 53-56.

18. Lloyd, State Worthies, 750-752; on Popham's Fort St. George, see Quinn, North America, 402-409.

19. W. Alexander, An Encouragement to Colonies (London, 1625), 25; J. Meddus, Letter to K. Conway, 27 June 1627, SP 16/108 (37), 80; C. Calvert, "Lord Baltimore's Case", 23 December 1651, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 310, in L.D. Scisco, "Calvert's Proceedings Against Kirke", CHR 8 (1927), 133-135.

1637 to £30,000 in 1660.²⁰ Independent estimates ranged between £12,000 and £25,000.²¹ Some of George Calvert's colonists later gave figures of £17,000 to £18,000, citing his own estimates.²² If he spent even £17,000 on the Colony of Avalon (\$2.5 million in today's currency), we must ask what this investment bought. Early colonists recalled that Calvert provided "ships and boates for fishing".²³ One suggested that Calvert kept 32 boats, probably at Ferryland itself; another that he kept as many as 100, probably between Aquaforte and Bay Bulls.²⁴ One hundred boats would have cost something like £2000 outfitted - but the colony's fishing activity, surely, paid for itself. The ANNE, the only ship known to have been built in the Colony of Avalon, was probably the "barke of 60 tonnes" that Calvert sent in company with the BENEDICTION of 360 tons to defend Cape Broyle against de la Rade in 1628.²⁵ A ship of 60 tons was worth at most £500, but a ship of 360 tons something like

20. C. Calvert, Memorandum, February 1637, CO 1/9 (43), 108; C. Calvert, "Lord Baltimore's Case" (1651); C. Calvert, Petition to Charles II, 17 June 1660, CO 1/14 (9), 13.

21. P. Davies, Examination, 24 August 1624, Maryland HS, Calvert Mss 174/200, in Scisco, "Testimony", 239-251; Lloyd, State Worthies, 250.

22. A. Taylor and J. Slaughter, Examinations, 24 and 31 August 1652, Maryland HS, Calvert mss 174/200; in Scisco, "Testimony", 243-245. Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 300-301, transcribes abstracts from the Calvert Mss giving estimates of one tenth the amounts in the full examinations. These abstracts do not appear to be reliable.

23. A. Love, Examination, 31 August 1652, in Scisco "Testimony", 240, 241.

24. Slaughter, Taylor, Examinations (1652).

25. Love, Examination (1652); G. Calvert, Letter to the Duke of Buckingham, 25 August 1628, CO 1/4 (57), 141,v; Anon., "Relation of a difference", December 1628, CO 1/4 (63), 151,v.

£3000. Calvert could well have been freighting the latter, however, as he had freighted the JONATHAN and the PETER BONADVENTURE in 1625 or the CITY OF POOLE in 1629.²⁶ He had two ships at Dartmouth, bound for Ferryland in 1627, the 160 ton ARKE of Avalon and the 140 ton GEORGE of Plymouth.²⁷ These were probably the ships that Calvert owned with other investors in his Newfoundland "fishing adventure", an arrangement that went sour during Calvert's years in Ireland (1625 to 1627).²⁸ Calvert's shipping costs must have been considerable, whether for overhead on ships owned or charges on ships freighted. He claimed a loss of £2000 for ships and servants employed in action in 1628 "thereby neglecting his plantation & fishing to his prejudice".²⁹ Only in peacetime would it have been possible to recover shipping costs by using his vessels as sacks, as in 1629 he used the ST. CLAUDE, one of his French prizes.³⁰ As Cell observes, Calvert found himself protecting the English fishery rather than building a colony.³¹

26. G. Calvert, Letter to J. Coke, 15 March 1625, Melbourne Hall, Derby, Cowper mss, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 270,271; S. Baker, Examination, 14 September 1629, in Southampton Examinations, 1627-1634, 39-40.

27. G. Calvert to E. Nicholas, 7 April 1627, CO 1/4 (19); in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 272. The ARKE and the GEORGE (at 220 tons and 180 tons) were at Dartmouth, 9 October 1627, as Lord Baltimore's but c. 1626 in Plymouth (at 120 and 90 tons) as Sir James Bagge's, a probable investor in Calvert's "fishing adventure"; SP 16/80 (77) and SP 16/34 (98), in T. Gray, Early Stuart Mariners and Shipping, Devon and Cornwall RS (new series), vol. 3 (1990).

28. Cottington to Finet, 7 April 1628.

29. Anon., "Relation of a difference" (1628).

30. Baker, Examination (1629).

31. Cell, English Enterprise, 94.

The major predictable costs for proprietors of any new colony were wages and victualling, while the colony could "find herself". Calvert had 32 men and women at Ferryland by the winter of 1623, and after his own baronial household of 40 persons joined the fishing plantation in the winter of 1629 his colony numbered over 100.³² From year to year, he would have made money from the activities of boatmasters and fishermen: Cecil Calvert later claimed an annual profit of £20 to £50 per boat.³³ He would not have recovered, in the short term, wages and victualling costs of the "quarry-man", "stone-layer", smiths and carpenters, who were equally numerous in the early days of the colony.³⁴ Even if he victualled only 20 non-fishing personal for the 8 years of his project he would have spent something like £2000 and wages might well have amounted to at least as much again. Such costs, of up to £4000, could be seen as investment in the infrastructure created by these early colonists.

Given the availability of slate and wood at Ferryland, it is not surprising, in a period when £40 would build a good farmhouse, that Calvert's employees were able to erect,

32. Calvert to Charles I, 19 August 1628; E. Stourton, Examination, 9 October 1628, CO 1/4 (59), 144. Cf. the forty person household of a temporal lords, in G. King, "Scheme of the income and expence of the several families of England" [c. 1688], in P. Laslett, The World We Have Lost (3rd edition, London, 1983), Table 1, 32, 33.

33. C. Calvert, Libel in Baltimore vs Kirke, 8 December 1651, HCA 24/110 (329).

34. There were seven such craftsmen at Ferryland in 1622 and five boatmasters, fishermen and coopers; see E. Wynne, Letter to G. Calvert, 17 August 1622, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 200-204.

within a year, not only a "strong and well contrived" house but many other structures.³⁵ The "Mansion House" survived for at least half a century and was a large structure for the Anglo-American New World, being a two-storey long-house of 44 by 15 feet (13.5 by 4.6 m), probably of stone, partly roofed with boards and partly with "sedge, flagges and rushes".³⁶ Under Edward Wynne's early stewardship the colonists also built a stone kitchen, 18 by 12 feet (5.5 by 3.7 m) with a large chimney and a "chamber" upstairs; a "Parlor" 14 by 12 feet (4.3 by 3.7 m) with "a lodging Chamber over it"; a one and a half storey two-room "Store-house", as well as a forge, henhouse and salt-works. Wynne also saw to the construction of an earth-work "face of defence" towards the water and a palisade around four acres of the plantation, as well as a brewhouse, "tenements" and a wharf. Late in the summer of 1622, when Wynne already had three carpenters, a "stone-layer" and a "quarry-man" with him, he told Calvert the colony needed a further six masons, four carpenters, two or three good quarry men, a slater or two and a lime-burner.³⁷ Wynne, at least, believed the Avalon Colony should be well built.

35. D. Powell, Letter to G. Calvert, 28 July 1622, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 198-200. On building costs see W.G. Hoskins, "The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570-1640", P&P 4 (1953), 44-59.

36. E. Wynne, Letter to G. Calvert, 28 July 1622, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 195-198.

37. Wynne to G. Calvert, 17 August 1622. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 114, asserts that Wynne's reports "must have been fraudulent", but gives no evidence for this.

Early colonists later testified that Calvert built "places of succour and defence for shippes" and Cecil Calvert subsequently claimed secure berths for fifty vessels.³⁸ One of these defended harbours was the Pool at Ferryland. Given Wynne's workforce and his preference for stone construction, wharves and warehouses there would have been more solidly built than the usual temporary structures of the migratory fishery. In recent underwater investigations Roy Skanes has located an line of massive stones in the Pool, which he interprets as the foundation of a masonry quay-side.³⁹ By 1630 the Ferryland waterfront may have resembled stone-built West Country ports like Dartmouth as much as it did the wooden-built seasonal stations elsewhere on the English Shore. This was true of some Maine fishing harbours of the study period.⁴⁰ So Calvert's biographer was probably right in saying that he built with "reasonable expectation" rather than "present profit" in mind. Unfortunately, as Charles I would point out, the "rugged & laborious beginnings" of new plantations demand "greater meanes in Mannaging them then usually the power of one private subject".⁴¹ Furthermore, a high capital cost/low maintenance cost investment strategy is practical only if the investor retains control over the infrastructure created.

38. Love, *Examination* (1652); C. Calvert, *Interrogatories in Baltimore vs Kirke*, c. 1651, HCA 23/16 (79).

39. R. Skanes, personal communication, October 1990.

40. Faulkner, "Archaeology of the Cod Fishery".

41. Charles I, Letter to G. Calvert, 22 November 1629, CO 1/5 (39), 99.

Calvert himself feared that he might lose his investments "for other Men to build their Fortunes upon".⁴² This actually happened. If anyone profited from George Calvert's far-sighted investments it was David Kirke and his heirs. This was not some peculiar failing of the Calverts. Charles habitually sold overlapping monopolies to competing interests but this commercialization of patronage was a departure from the general exchange of favours typical of James I's court, with which Calvert was familiar.⁴³ Nor could Calvert have foreseen that those coming late to colonial development would profit more than those committed early, nor that later metropolitan governments would be unable to enforce the rights of the heirs of original patentees. These patterns are evident elsewhere: for example, at Piscataqua, following John Mason's 1623 plantation.⁴⁴

2. Metropolitan Investment at Ferryland: the Kirkes.

The Newfoundland Plantation of Sir David Kirke and his associates has not received the close attention that Gillian Cell, for example, has given Calvert's Avalon Colony. She examines the controversies over the new patent for Newfoundland, but finds Kirke's activities after 1640 "obscure".⁴⁵

42. G. Calvert, Letter to T. Wentworth, 21 May 1627, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 273, 274.

43. C. Hill, The Century of Revolution 1603-1714 (London, 1969), 39, 40; L.L. Peck, "'For a King not to be bountiful were a fault': Perspectives on Court Patronage in Early Stuart England", Journal of British Studies, 25(1) (1986), 31-61.

44. Nathaniel Adams, Annals of Portsmouth (Portsmouth, N.H., 1825), 9-58.

45. Cell, English Enterprise, 114-117.

Insofar as she discusses these, they are treated as examples of an eternal struggle between "fishermen" (whose interests she equates with those of West Country fish merchants) and planters.⁴⁶ For Cell the real issue, even in Baltimore vs Kirke, was settlement vs the fishery.⁴⁷ Matthews showed that the premise of inevitable conflict between fishermen and planters is not well-founded and that as an organizing principle for early modern Newfoundland history the fishermen/planter "struggle" is of limited value compared to a recognition of the inter-dependence of the various elements in the Newfoundland trade.⁴⁸ Curiously, he did not apply his own generalization in this case and thus missed Kirke's dependence on secure West Country commercial relations. Furthermore, his analysis of Kirke, the Civil War and Interregnum is not entirely convincing.⁴⁹

Matthews errs on matters of fact, from the trivial (the correct title of the Marquess of Hamilton or the six miles settlements were supposed to be inland) to the substantive.⁵⁰ For example, his assertion that Kirke and his fellow patentees were restricted from taxing residents is mistaken.⁵¹ It was Charles I who promised not to tax residents, not the Patentees. The latter had the power to make

46. Cell, English Enterprise, 117-125.

47. Cell, English Enterprise, 121.

48. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 4ff. (abstract), 99, 136, 181; "Fence Building".

49. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 137-157.

50. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 137, 139.

51. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 141.

law and thus, implicitly, the power to tax.⁵² Some of the problems with Matthews' account of the Newfoundland Plantation are minor but details are sometimes essential for historical comprehension.⁵³ Consider his use of the Totnes Depositions in evaluation of the dispute between Kirke and a faction of merchants. Matthews argues that the witnesses were probably unbiased.⁵⁴ He is able to do this because he misdated these depositions to 1675. In fact these depositions were taken in 1667, as part of a concerted effort by the western ports, including Totnes, to oppose a settled government - opposition in which year Matthews himself notes and discusses.⁵⁵ Accurately dated, and seen in the light of Matthews' own penetrating discussion of the debate on government in this period, these depositions actually appear to have been collected with the express purpose of discrediting settlement and government.⁵⁶ In the end, Matthews' treatment of the Newfoundland Plantation and its aftermath are not an adequate basis for further analysis.

Charles I's "Grant of Newfoundland" to Marquess Hamilton, the Earls of Pembroke and Holland, and Sir David Kirke, in 1637, withheld property rights from the patentees

52. Charles I, "A Grant of Newfoundland", 13 November 1637, CO 195/1, 11-27, in Matthews, Laws, 82-116, see 112.

53. Among the relatively minor problematic assertions made by Matthews are that Kirke claimed there were 350 families in Newfoundland in 1650, that David Kirke died of a heart attack, and that Sara Kirke claimed Newfoundland was given her husband as compensation for the loss of Quebec (Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 155, 152, 137).

54. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 152, 153.

55. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 200, 201.

56. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 197-239.

in the only territory that mattered, the area near the coast. The patent gave them administrative control of Newfoundland, but within six miles of salt water, between Capes Race and Bonavista, they could not "plant or inhabite" - except that planters had the right to fish, cut wood and "to build forts for the security of the fishing" along the shore, an exception which effectively nullified the rule, as Cell remarks.⁵⁷ Charles tacitly accepted Kirke's appropriation of Ferryland; and the Privy Council explicitly approved the right of the patentees to fishing rooms for their ships at Petty Harbour, St. John's, Torbay, and Bay de Verde.⁵⁸ Effectively, however, this was not a title to property, but the grant of a commercial monopsony.⁵⁹ The patentees were to have "Power to admitt Merchants into their Partnership" and rights to "the sole trade of the Newfoundland, the Fishing excepted". Strangers would not be officially excluded from fishing or the sack trade, but discouraged by the tax of five percent on fish. This would enable the West Country merchants and the patentees to engross, respectively, the fishing and the sack trade. Together they would fix the price of fish and the patentees agreed to take the average quantity sold to strangers in preceeding years.⁶⁰ Kirke, Barkeley and company were the commercial agents of the

57. Cell, English Enterprise, 116.

58. Privy Council, Letter to Sir David Kirke, 11 March 1640, in APC Col.

59. For another interpretation of this patent, as "the most extensive grant of land made since 1610" see Cell, English Enterprise, 115.

60. Privy Council, Minutes, 25 June 1638, in APC Col.; cf. Cell, English Enterprise, 115.

patentees from the beginning.⁶¹ Their interest in the Newfoundland Plantation clearly resulted from a prior interest in the fish trade, rather than the other way around.⁶²

The Kirkes' investment in Ferryland is hard to assess in terms of pounds sterling. After a judgement rendered in favour of the Calverts by Charles II's chief legal officers in 1661, the Kirkes were for years in a position similar to the one the Calverts had been in, contesting considered imperial policy.⁶³ The Kirkes and their partners were not adverse to quoting figures to strengthen an argument. Yet no specific claims of expenditure by the Kirkes have survived to parallel the financial claims of the Calverts. Their reticence in this case may result partly from a non-confrontational strategy adopted by Kirke's widow Sara and his eldest son George.⁶⁴ Another reason may have been reluctance to discuss investments which had, in fact, greatly benefited the family.

Early in 1654, on his death-bed in London, where he had been imprisoned by the Commonwealth (1649 to 1653), David Kirke wrote a deceptively simple will, leaving the management of his whole estate to his youngest brother, James:

Deare brother...you knowe all my Estate and how it stands....I pray be carefull of [i.e. take care of] my

61. James, Marquis Hamilton et al., Petition to Charles I, 25 January 1640, SP 16/403, 78,v.

62. See Chapter 3, above.

63. O. Bridgeman and H. Finch, "A Report to his Majestie", 28 February 1661, CO 1/14 (91), 15.

64. C. Hill, Letter to John Kirke, 12 September 1661, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 308.

wife and Children And what remains thare I desire may
goe to my Wife and Children...⁶⁵

Yet Kirke was worth tens of thousands of pounds.⁶⁶ His elliptical will was probably drafted to avoid description of an estate which was very much in dispute, not within the family, but in the political arena. James, a bachelor, had already drafted a will in 1651 leaving land and houses in the home counties to Sir David Kirke's eldest sons Phillip and George.⁶⁷ It is quite possible that David had transferred some of his wealth, in life, to James, just as he did to the second-eldest brother, Lewis, whose death-bed will of 1663 restored "All the Estate that their late Father Sir David Kirke and their mother did give unto me" to his Newfoundland nephews George, David II, Phillip and Jarvis.⁶⁸

Why would Sir David Kirke have thus disguised his assets from the Commonwealth? Fears of confiscation would have been reasonable, for two reasons. First, he was "a known

65. D. Kirke, Will, 28 January 1654, PROB 11/240, 177v. Cell, English Enterprise, 123, mistakenly has Kirke die in Newfoundland.

66. He posted a bond of £40,000 in 1652 before coming to terms with the Commonwealth; see D. Kirke, Petition to Council of State, 5 May 1652, Maryland HS, Calvert Mss, 174/193, in L.D. Scisco, "Kirke's Memorial on Newfoundland", CHR 7 (1926), 46-51.

67. James Kirke, Will, 24 March 1651, PROB 11/259, 88, v.

68. L. Kirke, Will, 21 October 1663, PROB 11/312, 131-132v. The second youngest brother, John, is mentioned in his brothers' wills, often as a life beneficiary, without indication of transfers of capital with David. When he died in 1688, aged 82, his estate went to his wife and children: John Kirke, Will, 20 November 1685, PROB 11/392, 71.

malignant", i.e. a royalist.⁶⁹ His estates were therefore sequestered by the Commonwealth, in 1651.⁷⁰ This was not necessarily, however, a definitive loss. Royalists could compound for their estates, buying them back for a fine of ten to fifty percent of their value.⁷¹ Sir Lewis Kirke, who fought ruthlessly for the King during the Civil War, suffered exactly such persecution but regained his estates (at ten percent) and survived to claim a court sinecure on the restoration of Charles II.⁷² His elder brother compounded for his estate and sequestration on the Newfoundland Plantation was lifted in 1653.⁷³ David Kirke, however, was subject to additional scrutiny. His crimes were as much financial as political. He had been part of a royally-sanctioned quasi-monopoly together with three pre-war grandees: Henry Rich, Earl of Holland (1590-1649); James Hamilton, Marquis and Duke of Hamilton (1606-1649); and Philip Herbert, Earl

69. R. Gybbes et al., Petition to the Council of State, c. 1650, in Winthrop Papers, vol. 3, Mass. HSC (5th series), vol. 1 (Boston, 1871), 499-501.

70. Council of State, "Warrant for seizing the goods att Newfound Land", 8 April 1651, CO 1/12 (201), 53. Kirke's estate was not seized "upon some charge of debt", as in Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 151. On sequestration see "An ordinance for sequestering...", 27 March 1643, in Firth and Rait, Acts of the Interregnum, vol. 1, 85-100.

71. J.P. Kenyon, The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688 (Cambridge, 1966), 273; Hill, Century of Revolution, 132.

72. B.E.G. Warburton, Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers, vol. 1 (London, 1849), 503, 520ff; H. Kirke, Conquest of Canada (1871), 172; Committee for Compounding, Orders, 2 February 1648, 27 March 1648, 21 April 1648, SP 23/4 and 23/5, in M.A.E. Green (ed.), Calendar of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding &c, 1643-1660, part 5 (London, 1892), 166, 194, 199; Charles II, Grant to Sir Lewis Kirke, November 1660, in CSP Dom.

73. Council of State, Minutes, 3 June 1653, SP 25/69, 197, 204.

of Pembroke (1584-1650).⁷⁴ These were experienced colonial investors, who made a considerable commitment to the project; they were not simply figureheads.⁷⁵ It appears, however, that Sir David had manipulated the operations of the syndicate to benefit Kirke, Barkeley and company rather than the original patentees. The latter sent John Downing, senior, to investigate affairs in 1640, with instructions to send Sir David himself home.⁷⁶ He stayed, however, while Downing settled at St. John's, where his son (also John) would have a major plantation in the 1660s and 1670s.⁷⁷ This episode suggests that while the Kirkes may have had aristocratic backing in the financing of their Newfoundland Plantation, profits were restricted to a closer, bourgeois, circle. (Nor is it clear that the Crown ever received the ten percent share due from the patentees' impositions).⁷⁸

Not entirely coincidentally, Kirke's co-adventurers died early in the Interregnum. Holland and Hamilton were executed the same day, 3 March 1649. Both had changed allegiance once too many times. Pembroke, on the other hand, supported Parliament from the outbreak of War and even

74. "Rich, Henry", "Hamilton, James", and "Herbert, Philip", in DNB.

75. D. Kirke, "Narrative" (1651); "Reply to the Answer" (1639). Cf. Cell, English Enterprise, 114; pace Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 137.

76. James, Marquis Hamilton et al., "Instructions for John Downing", CO 1/38 (3311), 72.v. It is misleading to characterize Hamilton et al. as "Kirke's London associates" (Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 143).

77. J. Downing II, Petition to Charles II, 7 November 1676, CO 1/38 (33), 69.

78. Council of State, Instructions to W. Sikes et al., 16 June 1652, SP 25/29, 11-14.

represented the Good Old Cause in negotiation with the King. He passed away peacefully, however, early in 1650, leaving David Kirke not only as the sole surviving Newfoundland patentee but also as the one holding the bag, so to speak.⁷⁹ Cecil Calvert later claimed that c. 1655 the Kirkes made their patent over to Cromwell's son-in-law John Claypole and others, and perhaps this is how they came to terms with the Protectorate (1653 to 1659). Yet Kirke, Barkeley and company never opened their books on the Newfoundland Plantation. The indications in Lewis and James Kirke's wills that David had transferred some of his wealth to his brothers suggests that one reason for this reticence was that the company had done well out of Newfoundland.⁸⁰

Whatever the extent of eventual profits, their south Avalon operations must have required considerable investment. Kirke later put the original investment of his fellow proprietors, in 1637, at £10,000, "to sett forth Shipps" and for "fortherring a plantation".⁸¹ When he appropriated Ferryland, and specifically the Pool Plantation, it was no longer suitably equipped as a headquarters for a large commercial operation. Only one of Calvert's fishing boats remained and it was "perished".⁸² Kirke and his family preempted the Mansion House from William Hill, an agent of

79. "Rich, Henry", "Hamilton, James", and "Herbert, Philip", in DNB.

80. C. Calvert, Petition to Charles II (1660).

81. D. Kirke, "Narrative" (1651); cf. D. Kirke, "Reply to the Answere" (1639).

82. J. Slaughter, "Answers", 30 August 1652; W. Poole, "Answers", 24 August 1652; in Scisco, "Testimony", 250,246.

Cecil Calvert's, together with "six or seaven horses 3 chaires a Table Board and an old Bedstead".⁸³ Apart from the house and perhaps the horses, these were of little value. The Kirkes later claimed that Calvert's "succours" and defences had crumbled by 1638.⁸⁴ This might have been true of strictly military investment. Most of the ordnance used to back up Ferryland's fortifications in the 1640s was Kirke's, although some royal cannon may have remained, in 1638, from the earlier colony. Some of Wynne's improvements, for example wharves, roads and cleared pasture, would surely have survived. In the absence of any description of the Kirke's investments, comparable to the account of Calvert's foreman, archaeology can play a crucial role in assessing the extent to which Kirke, Barkeley and company added to the infrastructure that they had appropriated.

Ferryland's Pool Plantation has undergone some form of archaeology on several occasions. Bishop Howley reported excavations c. 1880, and surveys were carried out at least twice this century before crews from Memorial University of Newfoundland's Archaeology Unit began exploratory work under the direction of Dr. James Tuck in 1984.⁸⁵ In 1986 the Unit investigated an area near the seventeenth-century water-

83. Slaughter, "Answere" (1652); J. Pratt, Examination in Baltimore vs Kirke, 12 March 1652, HCA 13/65, n.p.

84. D. Kirke, Libel in Baltimore vs. D. Kirke, 29 January 1653, HCA 24/111 (120).

85. M.F. Howley, Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland (Boston, 1888), 124; J.R. Harper, "In quest of Lord Baltimore's house at Ferryland", Canadian Geographic Journal, 61 (1960), 106-113; Tuck, "Looking for the Colony of Avalon"; Tuck and Robbins, "Glimpse at the Colony of Avalon".

front. Figure 4.1, p. 166, is a location map of the site, CgAf-2. A test trench uncovered the foundations of a substantial building. Figure 4.2, p. 167, is a plan of locus C, after excavation. Time and funding did not permit areal excavation, but this preliminary work has produced some interesting results, relevant to the assessment of seventeenth-century infrastructure.⁸⁶

The building is large, at least 16 m in one dimension. It neither fits Wynne's description of the Mansion House nor appears to date from the 1620s. The extensive stone foundations stand in a mid-seventeenth-century occupation floor.⁸⁷ Stylistic analysis of clay pipe-bowls from this stratum suggests occupation c. 1640 to 1670.⁸⁸ Ceramic vessels from this context date from the same period.⁸⁹ This large water-front structure was, in all likelihood, built by the Kirkes about 1640 and in use, probably as a storehouse, for about 30 years, until destruction, perhaps in the Dutch raid of

86. Tuck, "Ferryland - 1986".

87. Tuck, "Ferryland - 1986", 300, Figure 2, 306, 307. One part of the foundation may be earlier.

88. P.E. Pope, "Stylistic Interpretation of Clay Pipe Bowls from 17th Century Contexts at Ferryland, Newfoundland (CgAf-2)", paper presented to SHA (Baltimore, 1989). The mean median pipe-bowl date is 1656, consistent with a Hanson mean stem bore date of 1661 (n=230). This is an estimate of median occupation date based on the gradual decrease in stem bore diameter, 1620 to 1800; see A. Oswald, Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist, BAR (British series) no. 14 (Oxford, 1975). For a brief report on clay tobacco pipe bowls from Ferryland see Appendix A, below.

89. I hope to publish a report on the ceramics from Locus C at some future date. Ware/form matrices for contexts discussed here appear as Appendix B, below.

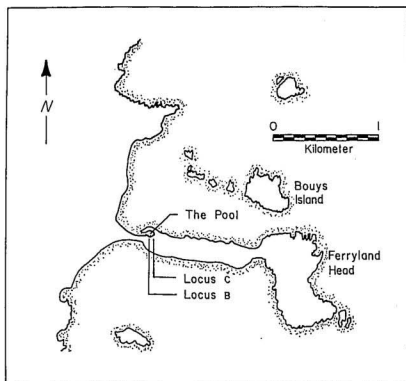


Figure 4.1 Location of Ferryland, CgAf-2, locuses B and C

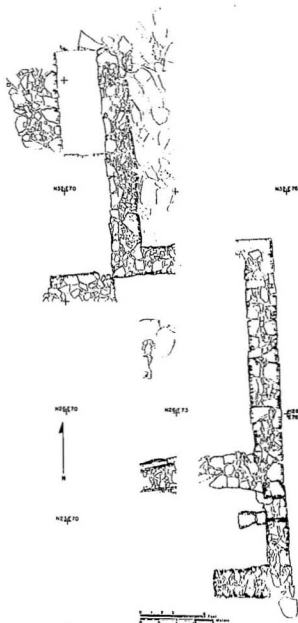


Figure 4.2 Excavation plan of Ferryland locus C
 Courtesy MUN Archaeology Unit.

1673.⁹⁰ (Not a few cannon shot of various bores were uncovered during the excavations.) The structure contains a well-built stone-lined enclosure, 1.2 by 3 m, sunk to a depth of at least 80 cm below floor level, with a stone-lined conduit entering on the up-hill side.⁹¹ This might be interpreted as a fresh-water cistern. Since fish were normally washed in salt water, such a supply is more likely to relate to Ferryland's function as a port. The pit-group of artifacts excavated from this feature is consistent with destruction and rapid filling c. 1670: pipe-bowls and ceramics are types of the period.⁹²

Given the restricted extent of excavation to date, it is too early to attempt even a mental reconstruction of these buildings. However, the width of the stone foundations suggests a masonry structure, at least to the first storey. An extensive roof-fall indicates a slate roof. Some idea of the layout of a small seventeenth-century port can be gleaned from Robert Sherwood's sketch of Exeter Quay c. 1620 (Figure 4.3, p. 169). Research by Exeter Museums Archaeological Field Unit attests to the accuracy of this view.⁹³ Ferryland's seventeenth-century waterfront structures seem to have been at least as large as Exeter's. (It should be

90. D. Lovelace, "An Accompt of the Duch Fleet...", 29 March 1675, CO 1/34 (37), 85.

91. Tuck, "Ferryland - 1986", 298.

92. See Appendices A and B, below.

93. C.G. Henderson, J.A. Dunkley and J.Z. Juddery, "Archaeological Investigations at Exeter Quay", in S.R. Blaylock and C.G. Henderson (eds), Exeter Archaeology 1985/6 (Exeter, 1987), 1-20.

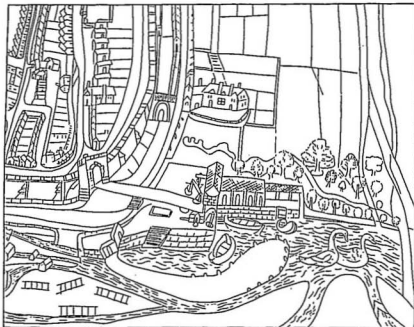


Figure 4.3 After Robert Sherwood, Exeter Quay, c. 1620
DRO Exeter. Courtesy of Sandy Morris for the
Exeter Museums Archaeological Field Unit.

remembered that Devon's capital traditionally traded through Topsham and Exemouth and was itself only a small post-medieval port.) Note the crane and the balance beam shown by Sherwood. Although neither is likely to survive in archaeological contexts, further excavation may indicate their location at Ferryland Pool, since each required a massive central post.⁹⁴ These facilities, like a cistern and storehouses, are the kind of commercial infrastructure in which Kirke, Barkeley and company had to invest.

From Poole's census of 1677 we know that each Ferryland plantation had its own storehouses and servants' lodgings. Table 4.1, p. 171, lists fishery-related infrastructure reported for Ferryland, 1677. Lady Kirke still occupied the Pool Plantation. There were at least five buildings on this site at this time, including two store-houses, two lodgings for servants and her own dwelling (the Mansion House) as well as a stage and train vat. The nearby plantation of David Kirke II was just as large and well-equipped. Besides residences, the four Kirke plantations and Lady Hopkins' comprised nine storehouses and seven servants' lodgings.⁹⁵ These plantations were probably affected by the Dutch raid of 1673, which destroyed "Commodities, Cattle, Household goods, & other Stores" at Ferryland, though not, apparently,

94. Cf. the large vertical mortise in the frame of a sixteenth-century Basque wharf at Red Bay, Labrador; see W. Stevens and P. Waddell, "Marine Archaeological Research at Red Bay, Labrador: a Summary of the 1985 Field Season", in ANL 1985, vol. 6 (1986), 99-120.

95. Poole, "Planters" (1677), 158.

Table 4.1 Structures Reported at Ferryland, 1677

PLANTERS	Dwelling Houses	Store Houses	Servant Lodging	Train Vats	Rooms	Stages
Lady Fra. Hopkins	1	2	2	1	3	1
Lady Sarah Kirke	1	2	1	1	4	1
George Kirke	1	2	2	1	5	1
David Kirke II	1	2	2	2	6	1
Jarvis Kirke	1	1	-	-	1	1
William Robinson	1	2	1	2	3	1
William Tommes	1	2	1	1	3	1
Samuel Adams	1	2	-	1	2	1
TOTALS	8	15	9	9	27	8

SHIPS	"Houses"	Train Vats	Rooms	Stages
CONCORD of Plymouth (90 tons)	9	1	4	2
AMITY of Bideford (130 tons)	9	2	5	2
BLACK SWAN of Bideford (35 tons)	3	1	2	1
DELIGHT of Bideford (45 Tons)	2	1	1	1
TOTALS	23	4	12	6
TOTALS FOR PLANTERS AND SHIPS	55	13	39	14

SOURCES:

Captain William Poole, "A particular Accompt of all ye Inhabitants and Planters...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62 iv,vi,vii), 157-166; "Accot of Fishing & Sackships from Balene to St. John's...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62ix), 168v-170; "Accot of Fishing & Sackships from Trepassy to Cape Broyle", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62viii), 167-168.

dwellings.⁹⁶ Sir David Kirke had operated thirty boats c. 1650.⁹⁷ He may not have concentrated his fishery solely at the Pool but there is no reason to suppose its infrastructure in 1650 to have been less extensive than in 1677. A letter to John Kirke in 1661 spoke of structures standing at Ferryland, "built by Sir David Kirke at his own proper cost and charge".⁹⁸ While archaeological testing has uncovered a large structure of about this period which can be interpreted as a storehouse, no evidence for the location of servants' lodgings has been uncovered to date. A forge room of c. 1640 to 1660 excavated not far from the Pool (at CgAf-2, Locus B), was used as a cookroom and could certainly have had a sleeping loft under the eaves, like those Wynne described in the 1620s.⁹⁹

The investment made by Kirke, Barkeley and company in Newfoundland must have been considerable, comprising not merely boats, wages and victuals but also ordnance, commercial structures and ships dedicated to serve the Newfoundland terminus of their operations and to enforce the collection of impositions.¹⁰⁰ It is quite possible that this

96. Lovelace, "Dutch Fleet". A slightly confused account using other sources appears in D.G. Shomette and R.D. Haslach, Raid on America: the Dutch Naval Campaign of 1672-1674 (Columbia, S. Carolina, 1988), 197ff.

97. Anon., "Upon the peticons of Treworgy" (1654).

98. Hill to J. Kirke, 12 September 1661.

99. Pope, Ceramics from Ferryland; "Historical Archaeology and the Demand for Alcohol in 17th Century Newfoundland", Acadiensis 19(1) (1989), 72-90.

100. E.g., David Kirke sent three ships and a pinnace "towards the southernmost parts of the land" for collection in 1639; see J. Harrison, Letter to J. Winthrop, 11 June 1639, in Winthrop Papers, vol. 3, 119, 120.

shrewd and ruthless merchant family invested just as much in Newfoundland as had the Calverts. Would such a level of investment have been profitable? Almost certainly. The Newfoundland Plantation had much more financial potential than that supposed by Matthews when he mocks Kirke's plans as having only a "slender basis" on the "scrag end" of the sack trade.¹⁰¹ In fact, Kirke, Barkeley and company were in a position to engross much of the sack trade.¹⁰² And there was much scope for other profits.

When the Council of State appointed a commission in 1651 to look into Sir David Kirke's profits at Newfoundland they asked that witnesses be examined on exports to Newfoundland; the imposition on foreign ships; money received from planters for fishing, tavern licences and rents; the fur trade; and, finally, "Benefit...by Fishing and Buying and Selling".¹⁰³ It is now impossible to say to what extent the patentees original investments were diverted to Kirke's own pockets. Profits from a fur trade are not likely to have been significant.¹⁰⁴ Although the Calverts later claimed that the five percent imposition on foreign fishermen and traders was worth £5000 per annum, this was, no doubt, an over-estimate, since the Kirkes had difficulties in collec-

101. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 141.

102. Privy Council, Minutes, 29 November 1639, in APC Col.

103. Council of State, "Articles for the Examining of witnesses", 8 April 1651, SP 25/65, 244.

104. It is not even mentioned in Kirke's optimistic "Reply to the Answere" (1639).

tion on several occasions.¹⁰⁵ Besides, the tax discouraged foreign ships and fishermen along the English Shore, as it was probably intended to.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, the "impost of fish" was often collected and, at a rate of about £50 per ship, could have brought in hundreds of pounds a year.¹⁰⁷ The probable total depends on whether a merchants' estimate of 30 to 40 French and Basque ships annually or Kirke's estimate of 200 was more accurate.¹⁰⁸ Planter depositions indicate that Kirke sought and obtained rents and license fees, charging, for example, £4.6s.8d "for a house & some ground" (the latter, presumably a fishing room) and £15 for a tavern licence.¹⁰⁹ He also rented fishing rooms to migratory crews.¹¹⁰ There were about 300 fishing rooms between Renewes and Bay Bulls.¹¹¹ If Kirke collected rent for even two thirds of these and licensed, say, 25 planter tippling houses he might have collected over £1200 per annum from these exactions, the equivalent of \$180,000 today.

105. Interrogatories in Baltimore vs Kirke (1651); Harrison to Winthrop (1639); Hamilton, Petition to Charles I (1640).

106. See Chapter 3, above; cf. Cell, English Enterprise, 114.

107. E.g. the £50 Lewis Kirke collected from a 140 ton Dutch ship in 1638 or the 5 percent tax he collected on the cargo of a 260 ton Basque ship in Trinity Bay; R. Allward, Examination in Baltimore vs D. Kirke, 29 March 1652, HCA 13/65, n.p.; W. Hill, Examination in Castmayle vs L. Kirke, 16 April 1642, HCA 13/58, 9-10.

108. Cell, English Enterprise, 117.

109. T. Cruse, Deposition, 27 November 1667, WDRO Plymouth, W360/74.

110. R. Parker, Deposition, 27 November 1667, WDRO Plymouth, W360/74.

111. W. Poole, "Fishing & Sackships from Trepassey & Cape Broyle" and "Fishing and Sackships from Balene to St. John's Harbour", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62 viii, ix), 167-168, 168-170; Poole, "Planters" (1677).

Kirke was later accused of engrossing key supplies like salt and of retailing such at high prices.¹¹² He was said to have monopolized the wholesale import of alcohol.¹¹³ These monopolistic practices, which were permitted by his patent, could easily have been as lucrative as licensing and rents.

There is no evidence that Kirke's plantation was a commercial failure. In fact, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Kirke, Barkeley and company made considerable profits from their Newfoundland trade, quite apart from any that they might have expected from the making, buying and selling of fish. At the same time, the colony grew, in particular, settlements in the south Avalon.¹¹⁴ Sir David Kirke's family remained among the most important in the region for six decades.¹¹⁵ His plans for the Newfoundland Plantation failed only in the sense that Parliament won the Civil War. As Cell acutely observes, another man without his royalist associations might have put settlement on an even firmer basis during the Interregnum.¹¹⁶ In any event, settlement was not impeded by the Interregnum Commissioners, either in the study area in general or in Ferryland in par-

112. G. Viddomas, Deposition, 27 November 1667, WDRO Plymouth, W360/74.

113. Cruse, Deposition (1667).

114. See Chapter 5, below.

115. It is possible that their persistence in Newfoundland late in the century resulted from indebtedness, although there is no evidence for this; cf. Chapter 9, below. Recall that George and Phillip had substantial estates from their uncle James in 1656 and further estate from Lewis in 1663, yet chose to remain in Newfoundland.

116. Cell, English Enterprise, 120.

ticular.¹¹⁷ Proponents of the view that the proprietary colonies failed, who do not wish to admit Kirke's enterprise as an exception to the rule, might argue that his was not a proprietary colony in the full sense but, as suggested above, more a commercial monopoly, dependent on informal settlement. This is a reasonable position, although there is still a sense in which one of the original proprietary plantations might be said to have succeeded, despite its financial failure.

Whatever profits the Kirkes made in Newfoundland, they were bolstered by the appropriation of Ferryland. Although we cannot say precisely how important George Calvert's investments were to his successors, others built their fortunes on the foundations Lord Baltimore laid, as he had feared they would. In this sense, Calvert's investments paid off: his proprietary colony was the basis on which the first commercially successful resident fishery in the region was organized.¹¹⁸ As Matthews puts it, the financiers failed but not settlement.¹¹⁹ Moreover, what David Kirke appropriated at Ferryland went beyond physical infrastructure. His Ferryland plantation was not simply a creature of London investors. Ferryland had close connections with the West Country ports, which habitually sent their ships and men to the south Avalon. Part of what the Kirkes co-opted was a human infrastructure bridging the Atlantic.

117. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 148, 154.

118. Cf. Lahey, "Role of Religion", 511.

119. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 121.

3. West Country connections

In April 1643 the UNITY, William Herkett master, set sail from Dartmouth with goods and passengers for Newfoundland. Her voyage had begun in London and, curiously, this late clearance for the fishery was her second that year: she had already sailed from Dartmouth with other vessels bound for Newfoundland a month earlier. The UNITY, however, barely reached the Scillies before she proved "soe leaky that shee could nott proceede to finish her voyage". Her company agreed that she would have to return to Dartmouth for refitting. When the job was done the UNITY was reloaded and set sail again, although not before Peter Wills, a Dartmouth notary, protested her unseaworthy condition on behalf of his "very good friend" John Kirke, the London merchant who had freighted her — a connection which suggests the UNITY was bound for Ferryland.¹²⁰ This was an unusual Newfoundland voyage, but unusual only in the leakiness of the ship and her consequent return and redeparture. It was common for ships going to Newfoundland to have a West Country base, whether or not they were owned or operated by merchants elsewhere. Even Dutch sack ships picked up factors and letters of credit in the West Country.¹²¹

It was Matthews who first drew scholarly attention to the close commercial ties between particular West Country

120. John Kirke, Libel, 19 February 1644; W. Herkett, "Accot of what money I have payed out", 8 April 1644; and P. Wills, Protest, 5 April 1643; all in Kirke vs Fletcher and Tylor, HCA 24/106 (67).

121. See Chapter 3, above.

ports and particular Newfoundland fishing harbours in the seventeenth century, basing his analysis on the home ports of British ships engaged in the fishery at Newfoundland harbours recorded in censuses of 1675 to 1684.¹²² Ships from Bideford and Barnstaple in North Devon dominated the southernmost part of the English Shore from Trepassey to Ferryland, while ships of Plymouth, Topsham, and Teignmouth in South Devon concentrated their efforts around St. John's. Dartmouth ships were active there and northwards in Conception Bay as well, while they left Trinity Bay, by and large, to Dorset, Southampton, and Channel Island interests. Bristol was active virtually only at Harbour Grace.¹²³

The voyage of the *UNITY* is only one of several indications of a commercial relationship among Sir David Kirke in Newfoundland; Kirke, Barkeley and company in London; and Dartmouth interests. For example, Robert Alward, an experienced fishing master of Kingswear near Dartmouth, was hired in 1649 by David Gutenville, a nephew of the Kirke brothers, to organize fishing crews to work for Sir David Kirke at

122. The data are summarized in Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 181-186, 213ff and mapped in J. Mannion and G. Handcock, "The 17th Century Fishery", in R.C. Harris and G.J. Matthews (eds), *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1, From the Beginning to 1800 (Toronto, 1987), plate 23.

123. Handcock, English Settlement, 58, 64-68; "Patterns of English Migration to Newfoundland with Special reference to the Wessex Area", in S. Ryan (ed.), Newfoundland History 1986 (St. John's, 1986), 54-69. Handcock's useful analysis in English Settlement, Table 3.1, 56, unfortunately omits Ferryland.

Ferryland.¹²⁴ The 24 fishermen Alward hired at Dartmouth were only a fraction of the men the Kirkes hired that summer in Plymouth, Barnstaple, and other western ports, as well as Dartmouth.¹²⁵ We cannot assume that they manned their Newfoundland operation solely through this one port. Nevertheless, the surviving records and archaeological evidence from Ferryland suggest that Dartmouth was an essential link in their trans-Atlantic operations. This dependence is striking within the context of hostility to the metropolitan operation on the part of other Dartmouth interests, including major merchant houses like the Holdsworths.¹²⁶

By 1638 Dartmouth had connections with Ferryland that stretched back to the previous century. William Sayer of Dartmouth was fishing admiral at Ferryland in 1597.¹²⁷ Henry Crout found Dartmouth and Plymouth fishing masters there in 1613 and it was from Dartmouth that George Calvert sent supply ships in the 1620s.¹²⁸ The connection no doubt explains the hostility of some of the fishing merchants to the interloping Kirkes, a hostility which has been fre-

124. R. Alward, Libel in Alward vs Kirke, 1650, HCA 24/111 (4); D. Gutenville, Examination in Alward vs Kirke, 10 May 1652, HCA 13/124, n.p. This case is discussed in chapter 8. On Gutenville see James Kirke, Will (1651).

125. Council of State, Order, 23 February 1649, SP 25/94, 17.

126. Council of State, Minutes, 11 February 1651, SP 25/17 (65).

127. See "The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and divers others, to Cape Briton and the isle of Ramea", in Richard Hakluyt, The Principall Navigations of the English Nation, (1589, London, 1907), vol. 6, 100-13.

128. H. Crout, Letter to P. Willoughby, 10 April 1613, Nottingham Univ., Middleton Mss, Mi X 1/23, 59, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 79-89; Calvert to Nicholas (1627).

quently remarked.¹²⁹ This traditional connection may also account for the Kirkes' incorporation of Dartmouth into their trading network. The accumulated local knowledge in Dartmouth and its hinterland of the area between St. John's and Ferryland and the personal trans-Atlantic links between these regions were too useful for the Kirkes not to cultivate or, one might even say, parasitize.

Recent archaeological excavations at Ferryland have uncovered distinctive pottery and clay tobacco pipes which underline the importance of south Devon commercial connections in the pre-Restoration period.¹³⁰ Totnes-type coarse earthenware pots from Ferryland (shown in Figure 4.4, p. 181) are the first examples of this distinctive ware identified in North America. Given its restricted distribution in Britain, finds of this ware are strong confirmation of the presence of ships and fisherfolk from the communities along the Dart.¹³¹ Statistical analysis of pipe bowl styles and marks has further confirmed south Devon connections, insofar as distinctive Exeter, Plymouth, Poole, London, and Dutch forms, likely to have been supplied from South Devon ports, make up most of assemblages dating before about 1660. On the other hand, the relative representation of

¹²⁹ Prowse, History, 159; Stephens, "West-Country Ports".

¹³⁰ P.E. Pope, "Some Recent Archaeological Evidence for Early Regional Links between Devon and Newfoundland", in M. Duffy, S. Fisher, B. Greenhill, D. Starkey and J. Youngs (eds), New Maritime History of Devon, vol. 1 (in press).

¹³¹ J.P. Allan and P.E. Pope, "A New Class of South-west Pottery in North America", PMA 24 (1990), 51-60.

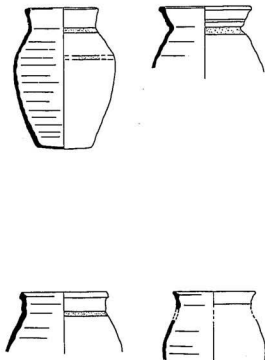


Figure 4.4 Totnes Type coarse earthenware pots (scale 1:4).

Above: Ferryland Forge (CgAf-2, locus B), c. 1640-1660.

Below: Ferryland Waterfront, cistern pit (CgAf-2, locus C, feature 1a), c. 1665-1675.

Barnstaple, Bristol, Wiltshire and other forms, likely to have been supplied from the North Devon ports, roughly doubles after 1660. The growing proportion over time of "northern" clay tobacco pipe bowl forms in seventeenth-century assemblages from Ferryland is reported in Table 4.2, p. 183.¹³² This shift in clay pipe provenance suggests a shift about 1660 in the Devon region to which Ferryland looked as a commercial metropole.¹³³ North Devon ships and planters appear to have pushed northwards, c. 1660, from their original fishery to the south of Ferryland. By the late seventeenth century Ferryland's planters were closely linked to north Devon. Sir David Kirke's Newfoundland-born grandson, David III, was baptized (aged 5) at Bideford in 1676 and it was in Appledore, near Bideford, that Ferryland's inhabitants took refuge in the winter of 1697, after their settlement had been sacked by the French.¹³⁴

The cause of this shift in trans-Atlantic regional ties is unclear. Perhaps it was simply that St. John's had become more important than Ferryland, while Dartmouth, the dominant home port, could choose to concentrate its attention on whatever stretch of the English Shore that it chose.

132. The pipe bowl typology is discussed in Appendix B.
 133. P.E. Pope, "Some Recent Archaeological Evidence for Early Regional Links between Devon and Newfoundland", in Duffy *et al.* (eds), *New Maritime History of Devon*, vol. 1 (in press).

134. Bideford, Births and Baptisms (1653-1678), in "Parish Register III", Devon and Cornwall RS transcript, microfilm on file MHA; Constant Inhabitants of Ferryland, "Humble Petition", 1697, CO 194/1 (6), 14.

Table 4.2 **Proportion of Clay Pipe Bowls with
"Southern" and "Northern" Provenances
in Selected Seventeenth-century Contexts
from Ferryland (CgAf-2).**

LOCUS	LEVEL	n=	PERIOD c.	% SOUTH	% NORTH
B	3a,3b,2c	92	1640-1660	79	21
C	3	13	1640-1675	73	27
C	Feature 1a	20	1670-1675	75	25
C	1a	14	1660-1680	64	36
B	2a,2b	37	1660-1700	45	55

NOTES:

Bowl styles or marks typical of London, Poole, Exeter, and Plymouth were ascribed southern provenance; those typical of Bristol, Lincolnshire, Marlborough or Barnstaple were given northern provenance. Those typical simply of Devon, south and north (mostly unmarked Type P's) were divided evenly between "south" and "north". For pipe bowl styles see Appendix A.

Or did Dartmouth's losses in the Third Dutch War (1672 to 1674) reduce its shipping capacity to the extent that it had to consolidate its fishing efforts? The port's losses at Newfoundland were said to have amounted to £8000.¹³⁵ In 1673, Boes and his fleet burned boats and shore facilities at Ferryland itself and nearby Caplin Bay, including those of Nicholas Neville and company of Dartmouth.¹³⁶ Perhaps these local losses were enough to trigger a withdrawal northward towards the relative security of St. John's. Or perhaps the shift reflects a withdrawal by John Kirke, the only surviving partner of Kirke, Barkeley and company, from the Newfoundland trade.

John inherited Lewis Kirke's court sinecure in 1664 and could have retired from commerce at this point (he was then 58).¹³⁷ Instead, he turned back to the fur trade, investing £300 in the original stock of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1667.¹³⁸ This was another family venture: c. 1672 his daughter Elizabeth married Pierre Radisson, the coureur de bois who explored Rupert's Land for the Company.¹³⁹ The Kirkes were thus active participants in the three major commercial arenas of seventeenth-century Canada, viz. the St.

135. J. Collins, A Plea for the Bringing in of Irish Cattel And Keeping Out of Fish Caught by Foreigners... (London, 1680), 21.

136. Stephens, West-Country Ports, 93; Lovelace, "Dutch Fleet" (1675).

137. L. Kirke, Will (1663); Charles II, Grant to John Kirke, July 1664, in CSP Dom.

138. Hudson's Bay Company, Ledger Accounts, A.14/1, 53v, 54, in E.E. Rich (ed.), Copy-Book of Letters Outwards &c (Toronto, 1948), 172, 173.

139. G.L. Nute, "Radisson, Pierre-Esprit", DCB, vol. 2.

Lawrence fur trade, the Newfoundland fishery and, finally, the new fur trade of Hudson's Bay. The surviving brother, now Sir John, was quite conscious that his family fortunes had been consistently tied to the part of North America that is now Canada, but historians have rarely noticed this.¹⁴⁰ John Kirke was still concerned about the fate of the Newfoundland plantations of his kinfolk, as late as 1661.¹⁴¹ In the following years, however, the metropolitan connection seems to have been severed. Although he lived until 1688, his name is not evident in later Stuart documents relating either to the wine or the Newfoundland trades.¹⁴² We know that another John Kirke, probably a son of that name, ran a plantation at Renews in the 1660s and 1670s.¹⁴³ If the Kirkes in Newfoundland were doing business with London in the 1670s, no records of this are evident. The Kirkes now depended, like other planters, on commercial ties with the West Country and, increasingly, New England.

140. Lewis Kirke and John Kirke, "Representation... concerning Accadie", c. 1660, in Baxter Mss, DHS Maine, vol. 4, 232-240; Hudson's Bay Company, "Case of the Adventurers", 6 May 1687, CO 134/1, 165-168, in Rich, HBC Minutes, 222ff.

141. See Hill to John Kirke (1661).

142. For example he did not import Spanish wine to London in 1664 or 1676, see London, Controller, Port Books 1664, E 190 50/3; 1676, E 190 63/1. Nor was he a litigant in Court of Admiralty between 1660 and 1680, see Index to HCA Acts, IND 1/8977, IND 1/8978, IND 1/8979; Index to HCA Interrogatories and Libels, IND 1/8999, IND 1/9000, IND 1/9001.

143. Yonge, "Journal", 55; R. Prowse et al., Petition to George Kirke, BL, Egerton 2395, 447; Poole, "Planters" (1677); Lewis Kirke, Will (1663) .

4. "Greater New England"

By the late eighteenth century the North Atlantic littoral from Cape Cod to Newfoundland was linked economically into a "greater New England".¹⁴⁴ American historians have, naturally enough, tended to emphasize the ambitions and activities of their own merchants in the development of economic ties among the colonies and have sketched a vivid picture of "Yankee trade" at Newfoundland in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁴⁵ This perspective is, however, inadequate for the pre-Restoration period. Newfoundland already traded with the American mainland then but only part of this early trade was organized by continental merchants. The earliest American commerce was an extension of international trade at Newfoundland, rather than the other way around. In its early years, the English colony of Virginia regularly imported fish from Newfoundland. After the Indian troubles of 1622 supplies of fish from Newfoundland were needed desperately.¹⁴⁶ English ships continued to trade cargoes of Newfoundland fish for tobacco at Virginia in the 1620s and 30s.¹⁴⁷ The rapid expansion of New England must have led to sharp competition from these new continen-

144. McCusker and Menard, Economy, 114.

145. R.G. Lounsbury, "Yankee Trade at Newfoundland", New England Quarterly (October 1930), 607-626; W.T. Baxter, The House of Hancock, Business in Boston, 1724-1775, (1945, rep. New York, 1965); Bailyn, New England Merchants, 129-131.

146. D. Canne, Letter to J. Delbridge, 2 July 1623, CO 1/2 (36), 171-172v.

147. W. Douglas et al., Depositions, 9 August 1626, in Southampton Examinations, 1622-1627, 73,74; W. Childes, Examination, HCA 13/53, 268-270, in Shilton and Holworthy, Admiralty Examinations, 127-128.

tal colonies, given their locational advantages but, as late as 1675, the 65 ton LOYALTY of Bideford went from Ferryland for Virginia with fish, where, presumably, she loaded tobacco, like so many other small north Devon vessels.¹⁴⁸

Newfoundland lies much closer to New England than to the Chesapeake. More important, it lies on the sailing routes between old and New England.¹⁴⁹ The rapid settlement of the northern colonies in the 1630s and 1640s strengthened shipping links with Newfoundland. John Harrison's letter to Winthrop, cited above, was dated on board the DESIRE, 11 June 1639 at Fermeuse, en route from New England to the British Isles.¹⁵⁰ The DESIRE may have called into a south Avalon port for water or other supplies, or she may have been there to buy fish. Ships' passes, issued by the Privy Council in 1640, indicate that it was common for vessels taking passengers and goods to New England to call at Newfoundland on their eastern passage, and in fact a pass survives for the DESIRE. Other passes make it clear that such ships would often go thence to Spain or the Mediterranean, indicating that they were carrying fish.¹⁵¹ Sometimes West Country ships engaged in the Maine fishery would go to Newfoundland to complete their cargoes, like the SAMUEL, which came from Richmond Island in 1638. On the other hand, ships

148. J. Berry, "...Shippes...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (171), 136-148. Grant, North Devon Pottery, 114-122.

149. Steele, English Atlantic, Figures 4, 80.

150. Harrison to Winthrop, 11 June 1639. Harrison was no planter, as in Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 142.

151. Privy Council, Orders, 17 and 26 January 1640, CO 1/10 (50, 51 and 53), 135,v, 136,v and 138,v.

sometimes left the Newfoundland fishery for Maine, as did the HERCULES in 1641.¹⁵² In short, New England was linked from its very beginnings to Newfoundland, by location and by mutual interest in the fishery.

The rapid economic growth and diversification of New England, well underway by 1642, made it an alternative source of vessels and commercial services for Newfoundland planters during the disruptions of the Civil War.¹⁵³ West Country ports, although predominantly Parliamentary in sentiment, were hotly disputed and it was sometimes unsafe for ships even to approach home.¹⁵⁴ Thanks to their Royalist sympathies, Kirke, Barkeley and company suffered special attention from Parliamentary forces. By 1649 they appear to have removed their London operations to France.¹⁵⁵ They shifted other operations from the West Country to the growing colonial port of Boston and developed a trade in European supplies to New England, which grew in the matrix of Dartmouth's commercial network at Newfoundland and Maine.

152. J. Winter, Letters to R. Trelawny, c. July 1638 and 30 July 1638; R. Trelawny, Letter to J. Winter, 29 June 1641, in Trelawny Papers, 123-125, 134-142, 272-275.

153. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 156, proposes that the beginnings of Newfoundland/New England trade date to this period, but offers no evidence.

154. I. Rogers, "Barnstaple, Bideford, and Torrington During the Civil War", RT Devon 49 (1927), 323-341; M. Stoyles, "Exeter During the Civil War", paper presented to SPMA (Exeter, 1990). On problems a ship from Newfoundland might have, consider the ELIZABETH CONSTANT of Dartmouth, discussed in Cell, English Enterprise, 119.

155. Keepers of the Liberty of England, Interrogatories in Keepers of Liberty vs Berkeley et al., c. 1649, HCA 23/17 (53); John Kirke and company, Interrogatories re the ST. JOHN of Oleron, c. 1649, HCA 23/16 (39).

Kirke, Barkeley and company had close relationships with John Bodington, a Boston merchant, and Nicholas Shapley, a Maine planter. Bodington was trading in fish at Newfoundland in the mid 1640s.¹⁵⁶ A London brother worked for James Kirke, where he too dealt in fish.¹⁵⁷ Shapley was the son of Alexander Shapley of Kingswear, the Dartmouth merchant who was active in the Chesapeake and Newfoundland trades.¹⁵⁸ In October 1646 David Kirke asked the New Englanders to obtain a ketch of 40 or 50 tons and to freight another vessel of 100 tons for a year or two.¹⁵⁹ The tone of Kirke's "Orders" suggests his correspondents were employees or agents.¹⁶⁰ The Kirkes certainly trusted Bodington, for in September 1646 Sir David gave him a draft for £50 on John and James Kirke and asked him to sell about £300 worth of dry fish in New England.¹⁶¹ This may have been payment for the vessel David Kirke wanted to buy, for in November 1646 Bodington bought two vessels from Richard Russell of Charlestown: the JUDITH, a 25 ton ketch, for £40 and the

156. J. Bodington, Receipt, 10 December 1646, in Aspinwall Records, 69. This is published as 1640, but provenance and contents indicate a misreading for 1646.

157. R. Russell, Annotation on receipt, 12 December 1646, Aspinwall Records, 69.

158. T. Bushrode, Accounts re the SUSAN, 18 March 1647, Aspinwall Records, 205, 206; Dartmouth Customer, Port Books 1638, E 190/950/9; cf. Prowse, History, 163.

159. David Kirke, "Orders to John Bodington", 1 October 1646, Aspinwall Records, 77. Kirke was not the only merchant to seek vessels for the Newfoundland trade in New England about this time; see John Manning (of Boston) and Joseph Proffitt (of London), Charterparty re the ANNE & MARGARETT, 20 May 1650, Aspinwall Records, 302.

160. D. Kirke, "Memorandum & Orders", 1 October 1646.

161. D. Kirke, Order to J. Bodington, 3 September 1646, Aspinwall Records, 77.

HOPEWELL, a 40 ton bark, for £230.¹⁶²

Kirke, Barkeley and company owned or freighted many ships.¹⁶³ Most were London-based, but in the late 1640s David Kirke operated vessels from Ferryland itself. He shipped about 20 tons of goods to Boston on the DAVID of Ferryland, in 1648.¹⁶⁴ He probably also owned the LADY of Ferryland, which delivered 14 tons of train oil to Dartmouth in 1647.¹⁶⁵ These eponymous vessels are among the earliest known merchant vessels trading from Newfoundland. Either the DAVID or the LADY could have been the 40 ton New England "bark" Kirke had obtained. In originally specifying a ketch he probably did not mean a particular rig, but a small, seaworthy, beamy, flush-decked, double-ended vessel: in effect, a proto-schooner.¹⁶⁶

The masters of the DAVID and the LADY were, like their vessels, New Enganders. The commander of the LADY was John Maverick; of the DAVID, Nicholas Shapley. Maverick was probably related to Samuel Maverick of Noddles Island near Boston.¹⁶⁷ Although Shapley had a fishing plantation at

162. R. Russell, Bills of sale, 10 November 1646, Aspinwall Records, 76.

163. See Chapter 3, above.

164. D. Kirke and N. Shapley, "Invoice of Goods shipped", 8 September 1648, in Baxter MSS, DHS Maine, vol. 6, 2-4. A later dispute with David Yale suggests Boston was the destination; see J. Marius, Protest, 8 November 1650, Aspinwall Records, 388, 389.

165. Dartmouth Searcher, Port Books 1647, E 190/952/3.

166. Baker, "Vessel Types".

167. Kirke and Maverick were anti-puritan Anglicans; both associated with David Yale, a Boston merchant; see Bailyn, New England Merchants, 83, 107; D. Kirke, Letter to Archbishop Laud, 2 October 1639, CO 1/10 (40), 119; D. Kirk, Bill of exchange, 13 September 1650, Aspinwall Records, 388. On Shapley and Maverick see T. Turner, Letter to S.

Piscataqua, he was an experienced trans-Atlantic master, often away at sea in the mid 1640s.¹⁶⁸ Given his family connections in Dartmouth, he would have been a useful agent for David Kirke on both sides of the Atlantic. In the bill of lading for the DAVID's September 1648 voyage from Ferryland Shapley promises "to do my best Indeaver for the selling of the said goods".¹⁶⁹ His relationship with Kirke's company was intricate: in June 1648 he had sold his New England premises, lock, stock and barrel, to William Barkeley for £1500.¹⁷⁰ He returned to Maine during the Interregnum and remained an important planter there for many decades.¹⁷¹ What Barkeley did with the purchase is not clear. It may not have been a wise investment: Shapley's boats had been abandoned in the late 1640s and "staved or torne to peices".¹⁷² Shapley had left the management of his plantation in the hands of his nephew, John Treworgy - but the latter withdrew when his uncle failed to send supplies

Maverick, 16 October 1647, Aspinwall Records, 95,96.

168. Shapley was master of the GEORGE on a voyage from Bristol to New England in 1635; see J. Hull, "Diary", 142, in Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, vol. 3 (1857, rep. New York, 1971). For the 1640s see N. Shapley, Letter of attorney, 6 November 1644; J. Treworgy, Declaration, 12 June 1649; both in Aspinwall Records, 373,374 and 222.

169. Kirke and Shapley, "Invoyce of Goods" (1648).

170. N. Shapleigh, Deed, 26 June 1648, in Baxter Mss, DHS Maine, vol. 4, (Portland, Maine, 1889), 9,10.

171. He is listed in "Inhabetanc of Cetterry", 1652, in Baxter Mss, DHS Maine, vol. 4, 25. Shapley and Treworgy were still in business together after the Restoration, see Shapleigh vs Clarke and Davis, 16 July 1673, in Suffolk Records, 289.

172. H. Cadburne, Deposition, 5 April 1653, Baxter Mss, DHS Maine, vol. 6, 10,11.

c. 1647.¹⁷³ Treworgy went on to become a Commissioner at Newfoundland between 1651 and 1659.¹⁷⁴

With the exception of Virginia tobacco, the DAVID's 1648 cargo consisted entirely of trans-Atlantic imports. Some of these goods might have been English, but by value most are not: the wines and, probably, the sugar are from the Atlantic Islands, the yard goods are Breton fabrics.¹⁷⁵ This confirms that Kirke, Barkeley and company had shifted their trans-Atlantic commerce away from Britain. It is noteworthy that David Kirke signed the bill of lading for his sons, although he personally took up a consequent legal dispute.¹⁷⁶ Was he transferring assets to his sons, as he did to his brothers? Perhaps the elder Kirke had seen the writing on the wall in Cromwell's rapid victories in the "Second Civil War" (1648), or simply in the blatant prejudice evident in the exemption of Newfoundland from the remission of colonial duties in 1647.¹⁷⁷

The "Invoice" for the DAVID indicates that in 1648 Newfoundland was not simply a point of supply for fish or train

173. N. Shapley, Power of attorney, 6 November 1644; J. Treworgy, Declarations, 15 April 1649 and 12 June 1649; all in Aspinwall Records, 203, 222, 223; E. Starbuck, Deposition, 14 March 1650, Baxter Mss, DHS Maine, vol. 6, 5, 6.

174. In Maine since 1635, Treworgy is better described as a New Englander than as a Westcountryman, as in Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 151; see G.T. Cell, "Treworgie, John", in DCE, vol. 1.

175. See "dowlas" and "vitry" in OED. The shipment is discussed in further detail in Chapter 8, below.

176. Kirke and Shapley, "Invoice of Goods" (1648); Marius, Protest (1650)

177. Council of State, "An Ordinance for encouragement of Adventurers...", 23 January 1647, in Firth and Rait, Acts of the Interregnum, vol. 1, 932.

oil but was already functioning as an entrepot for old world goods, as it would after the Restoration. Nor was this an isolated instance, for Shapley was to collect debts due by New England merchants. In the 1680s the Commissioners of Customs observed that the Island had become "a kind of magazine of contraband goods", a commerce Lounsbury described as "Yankee trade at Newfoundland".¹⁷⁸ It was not really the trade which was new, in the late seventeenth century, but the legal situation, following the Navigation Acts. Bernard Bailyn suggests that no great advances were made in New England's commerce with Newfoundland until the mid 1650s and that Yankee merchants then developed markets for provisions, lumber, sugar, molasses and tobacco in exchange for bills of exchange on England, specie, fishing equipment and European goods.¹⁷⁹ Prowse suggests that New England trade with Newfoundland flourished in the 1650s because the plantation was then governed by the Maine merchant, John Treworgy.¹⁸⁰ Evidence for the view that this trade developed during the Protectorate is inconclusive. It is not clear that there was more trade in the 1650s than there had been in the years immediately preceeding. New England connections were well established before this time. Treworgy himself had acted as a Newfoundland agent for his kinsman Alexander Shapley in the late 1630s.¹⁸¹ Newfoundland's inter-colonial trade

178. Commissioners of Customs, Instructions to Governor Andros, 12 January 1687, in CSP Col; Lounsbury, "Yankee Trade".

179. Bailyn, New England Merchants, 120, 130.

180. Prowse, History, 164.

181. Bushrode, Account re the SUSAN (1647).

found its footing in the 1640s, during the Civil War, "New England having had of late great traffique with Newfoundland", as David Kirke noted in 1651.¹⁸² By this time New England merchants, particularly those with Dartmouth connections, were already no strangers to Newfoundland.

Several of the Commonwealth commissioners at Newfoundland were not merely familiar with its trade but were engaged in commercial disputes there, if not with Sir David Kirke himself.¹⁸³ William Pyle and Nicholas Redwood were both experienced Dartmouth/Newfoundland masters.¹⁸⁴ In 1649 the latter became involved in a drawn-out court battle with John Mathews, a sometime Newfoundland planter and associate of David Kirke.¹⁸⁵ The Dartmouth master Walter Sikes had sued Kirke in 1650 over a defaulted payment in the Vice-Admiralty Court of Devon.¹⁸⁶ Kirke was particularly vehe-

182. D. Kirke, "Narrative" (1651), 261.

183. Commissioners for 1651 were John Treworgy, Walter Sikes, John Littlebury and three ships' masters; for 1652, Treworgy, Sikes, Robert Street, Nicholas Redwood and William (alias Miles) Pyle; from 1653 to 1659, Treworgy. See Council of State, "Warrant" (1651); "Instructions to Sikes" (1652); "Minutes", 27 May 1653, SP 25/69 (160), 197; J. Treworgy, Petition, April 1660, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 262.

184. On Pyle, see J. Cherry, Examination [re the JONAS], 14 March 1649, HCA 13/61, 349v-351; M. Pyle, Examination [re the PALM TREE], HCA 13/71 (129). On Redwood, see Dartmouth Controller, Port Books, 1641, E 190/951/8; J. Loveringe, Examination (1644).

185. Court of Admiralty, Devon, Acts, 1649, DRO Exeter, Chanter 780c, 9ff, in "Transcripts and Transactions", vol. 2, "A.D. 1648-1651", ms on file DRO Exeter, 21ff; High Court of Admiralty, Acts, 1650-1652, HCA 3/44, 38v ff. and HCA 3/45, 11 ff; J. Mathews, "Concerning the French...", BL, Egerton ms 2395, 471.

186. Court of Admiralty, Acts re Sikes vs Kirke, 11 October 1650 to 6 December 1650, DRO, Exeter, Chanter 780c, 76v-84, in "Transcripts", vol. 2 "1648-1651", 50-56.

ment in denunciation of the latter, as a biased and interested party.¹⁸⁷ Given that Nicholas Shapley had sold his Piscataqua plantation to William Barkeley and that Shapley and Treworgy were then in dispute about the latter's management of this property, the suspicion must be that Treworgy likewise came to Ferryland with his own axe to grind. The Interregnum was not so much the period in which Newfoundland's inter-colonial trade developed but the period in which control was wrested from Newfoundland.

There is no doubt, however, that New England supply became more important to the Newfoundland planters after 1660. This may have been due, in part, to the willingness of Yankee merchants to extend credit. When the wealthy Salem merchant John Croad died in 1670, he held over £1500 in bills from about 30 Newfoundlanders.¹⁸⁸ Among south Avalon planters, William Davis Jr. and George Kirke owed Croad £50 and £94, respectively, while William Davis Sr. owed almost £230. Some debts may have been of long standing, like the suspiciously round figure of £300 owed by John Treworgy, who is not known to have been in Newfoundland after 1660. Debts more likely to have been current ranged widely in size between that of Davis Sr. to the £1.10s owed by a Ferryland servant, Christopher Browning.¹⁸⁹ The substantial levels of

187. D. Kirke, Petition (1652).

188. H. Veren et al., Inventory of John Croad, June 1671, in RFOC Essex Co., vol. 4, 401ff. This reads "George Kocke" but the ms reads "Kirke". See Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, Salem Quarterly Court, vol. 38 (box 17). To obtain sterling figures deflate by a factor of 0.8.

189. W. Davies, Receipt, 26 September 1647, in Aspinwall Records, 126; R. Hartnoll et al., Deposition (1707).

certain accounts suggest some planters counted on Salem for annual supply, a pattern even more common in Joseph Buckley's accounts for a 1693 Salem/Newfoundland voyage.¹⁹⁰

The interaction of demographic and commercial pressures in the continental colonies in the late seventeenth century and the expanding ambitions of American colonial merchants furthered the integration of Atlantic colonies, including Newfoundland, into "greater New England".¹⁹¹ Second and third generation New England merchants, particularly Salem merchants like Buckley and John Ruck, began to set up shop in Newfoundland.¹⁹² This is not, however, a good model for the first half of the century. Trade between Newfoundland and New England developed in the 1640s, that is to say as soon as New England had been settled, in a period when the political and cultural struggle of the Civil War created a favourable economic climate for inter-colonial trade. The resolution of conflict in 1648 created the political conditions for an American take-over of the commerce Kirke, Barkeley and company had developed among London, Dartmouth, Ferryland and Boston. This early trade between the south Avalon and New England was an extension of metropolitan investment in the former, grown in the matrix of a West Country commercial network, rather than the expression of demographic pressure or commercial expansion in the latter.

190. J. Buckley, "Leager 1693", Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, Acc,16,100.

191. McCusker and Menard, Economy, 114.

192. J. Buckley, et al., Letter [to Bishop...?], 30 July 1699, BL, Add ms 9747, 27.

This is not to imply that a general model of interaction between commercial development and population growth is inapplicable to the Newfoundland planters in their first decades. Our focus has been on economies. Let us turn now to demography, which likewise bound the maritime populations of Newfoundland, the West Country and New England.

CHAPTER 5
POPULATIONS: RESIDENT AND TRANSIENT

The Colony consisteth of neare 1700 persons, viz:
men, women, children and servants.

---Captain Charles Talbot [1679]¹

1. "Planter" and "Plantation"

Today the term "plantation" has a particular connotation, redolent of southern monoculture. In seventeenth-century English it was simply equivalent to "colony", metaphorically emphasizing the idea that people and perhaps societies could be transplanted. Both words were used interchangeably with "dominion", suggesting that colonized regions were assumed to be dependencies.² In Newfoundland, "plantation" came to mean the waterfront premises from which the fishery was conducted, a narrowing of sense that paralleled the southern evolution of the term.³ Nor did "planter", the word normally used for the European settlers

1. C. Talbot, "Answers...", 15 September 1679, CO 1/43 (121i), 216-217v.

2. M.I. Finley, "Colonies -- an attempt at a typology", TRHS (5th series) 26 (1976), 167-88.

3. DNE, "Plantation".

of Newfoundland, bear a scent of magnolias. In eighteenth-century Newfoundland "planter" began to denote a certain class of settlers, those who owned boats and "plantations" (in the narrow sense) and employed other men.⁴ This meaning was implicit in the previous century, obscured by a convention that servants did not count as economic or political individuals but were incorporated in the personality of their masters (or, occasionally, mistresses).⁵ There were residents of seventeenth-century Newfoundland who did not own boats and employ others but, because they lacked a distinct economic personality, they were rarely named in census lists.⁶ We therefore know much less about them, as individuals, than we do about their employers – a situation paralleled in other colonies.⁷ So, in the end, neither "planter" nor even the more familiar "inhabitant" meant, in seventeenth-century Newfoundland, quite what we would mean by these terms but rather a settler who counted in his or her own right as an economic personality.

There was some uncertainty about whether "planter" or "plantation" were appropriate terms for Newfoundland.⁸ This

4. DNE, "Planter".

5. C. Hill, "The Poor and the People in Seventeenth-century England", in F. Krantz (ed.), History from Below, Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology in Honour of George Rudé (Montreal, 1985), 75-93; cf. C.B. MacPherson, The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke (Oxford, 1962).

6. Occasionally such lists acknowledge this omission, e.g. R. Holdsworth, "Report", 13 May 1701, CO 194/2 (39).

7. D. Cressy, Coming Over, Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, 1987), 37, 52-63.

8. E.g., Commissioners of Customs, Instructions to E. Andros, 12 January 1687, in CSP Col.

delicacy in diction reflected a genuine political issue: were the planters of Newfoundland colonists, there by royal invitation in a colony which had been founded with a series of royal patents, as they themselves argued?⁹ Or were they squatters, like those on unenclosed woodland in Britain itself, whose settlements had no right to be where they were?¹⁰ The naval officers who conducted the censuses late in the century often attempted to avoid this issue by using the more neutral term "inhabitants" for the people they found living in about thirty harbours along the English Shore, but the issue did not therefore disappear.

Today a like uncertainty about early residents creates a tension in the history of seventeenth-century Newfoundland which remains unresolved. Gillian Cell's judgement that the early attempts at colonization were failures is widely accepted.¹¹ (In fairness, it must be said that she is probably not thinking of Kirke's Newfoundland Plantation: for example, she ends her seminal collection of documents on early Newfoundland with the 1637 report of Trinity House on the failure of colonization.¹²) Yet the censuses of 1675 to

9. Inhabitants of Newfoundland, Petition to Charles II, 19 December 1677, CO 1/41 (128), 290. Cf. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 223-225.

10. Newfoundland settlers and contemporary vagrants and woodland squatters were criticized in the same terms: cf. C. Selman, Deposition, 27 November 1667, WDRO Plymouth, W360/74; P.A. Slack, "Vagrants and Vagrancy in England, 1598-1664", *ECHR* (second series) 27(3) (1974), 360-379; A. Everitt, "Farm Labourers", 409-412.

11. Cell, *English Enterprise*, 96; *Newfoundland Discovered*, 56, 57; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 337, 338; Handcock, *English Settlement*, 33.

12. Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, 302.

1684 record about 1700 inhabitants along the English Shore. To resolve this disparity Cell suggests that unorganized settlement was the basis of seventeenth-century population growth in Newfoundland, an interpretation accepted by the historical geographer C. Grant Head.¹³ Another way of resolving the issue is to minimize permanent settlement later in the century, by arguing that neither planters nor their servants were "really" permanent residents, a tack taken by the late Keith Matthews and generally accepted by Gordon Handcock.¹⁴ It will be argued here that in the context of the general population mobility characteristic of the period, the extent and permanence of early settlement in Newfoundland has been under-estimated. Although unorganized settlement may have been significant, at least one proprietary colony was an agency of long-term settlement, outlasting a single generation of settlers. This conclusion results from the study of the south Avalon, a region dominated in this period by Ferryland, the site of the most successful of the proprietary schemes.

Ferryland/Caplin Bay was the most important south Avalon settlement through most of the study period and, indeed, one of the larger settlements on the English Shore, ranking with Carbonear, Bay de Verde and Old Perlican, after St. John's. Because Ferryland and Caplin Bay are not consistently dis-

13. Cell, English Enterprise, 96; Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, 35. Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 57, accepts that some of Calvert's colonists remained.

14. Matthews, Lectures, 19, 20, 83-88; Handcock, English Settlement, 44.

tinguished they must be considered together.¹⁵ The latter generally had one or two plantations. Lovelace named thirteen planters in 1673 and, 1677 excepted, this remained about the number reported through 1681, before a decline to nine in 1684.¹⁶ The 28 to 32 planters' boats reported suggest a flourishing planter fishery through 1681, with a decline in 1684 to 25 boats.¹⁷ The decline of the mid-1680s appears to have been serious. In 1692 Crawley reported only 8 male planters (but 11 adult women), probably operating about 15 boats.¹⁸ The planter population had recovered by the time of de Brouillan's 1696 attack, when Father Baudoin recorded 14 planters operating 18 boats.¹⁹ Two years later, Norris found only 7 planters and 10 boats.²⁰ Ferryland rebounded in the early eighteenth century, when Mitchel recorded 17 plantations in his nominal census for 1708, operating 25 boats.²¹

Ferryland has been continuously inhabited, from its founding in 1621 to the present day, except for the war year

15. Wheler actually calls them "Ferryland South" and "Ferryland North".

16. The figures are: 12 in 1675, 15 in 1676, 9 in 1677, 13 in 1681. Of planters reported in 1676 for Ferryland/Caplin Bay two are reported in 1677 for Fermeuse and one for Brigus South.

17. The figures for boats are: 28 in 1675; 29 in 1676; 32 in 1677; 28 in 1681 (counting skiffs as boats).

18. T. Crawley, "...Inhabitants, Quantity of fish...", 15 October 1692, CO 1/68 (94iii), 272.

19. J. Baudoin, "Celles que le Sieur de Brouillan a prises avec les malouins", extract from Baudoin, "Journal", 1696/1697, in Williams, Father Baudoin's War, Table 2, 50.

20. J. Norris, "Abstract of the Planters...", 27 September 1698, CO 194/1 (125i), 262, in Williams, Father Baudoin's War, Table 7, 112.

21. Commodore Mitchel, "A List of Inhabitants...", 2 December 1708, CO 194/4 (76ii), 252v-256v.

1696/1697, when a French force from Placentia drove the residents from their homes.²² Since a settlement is more than the sum of its parts and may be permanent, even if few of its residents are, then in this minimum sense Ferryland and dozens of other Newfoundland outports were permanent settlements in the seventeenth century. To what extent the men and women who inhabited these hamlets were permanent residents is another question, which can be resolved into a number of distinguishable problems:

1. How many inhabitants were there in settlements, like Ferryland, along the English Shore?
2. What proportion of the summer population were inhabitants, resident year-around?
3. To what extent did inhabitants, particularly planters, stem from the early proprietary colonies?
4. What proportion of inhabitants were economically independent planters?
5. To what extent were inhabitants, the planters and their servants, long-term residents?
6. To what extent were inhabitants founders of the eighteenth-century population?

The final question is outside the scope of this study. Let us consider the rest one at a time.

2. Sources for the population history of Newfoundland
The early population history of Newfoundland is as accessible as that of any British colony in North America.

22. See Chapter 9, below.

More than a third of known colonial censuses for this period concern Newfoundland.²³ On the instigation of a committee of the Privy Council, the naval commanders at Newfoundland filed, intermittently, a series of "Replies to Heads of Inquiry" from 1675 onwards.²⁴ The most detailed cluster between 1675 and 1684, and provide censuses of both the fishery and inhabitants.²⁵ The Newfoundland and West Indian censuses of 1673 to 1684 together form a rich cluster of data, gathered for the Committee for Trade and Plantations in its third incarnation.²⁶ These are remarkable sources, unparalleled in England itself until 1801.²⁷

23. R.V. Wells, The Population of the British Colonies in America before 1776: a Survey of Census Data (Princeton, 1975), 8-14, Tables I-1, I-2. Virginia is the only other British colony censused before 1696. Wells seems unaware of the Newfoundland censuses for 1680, 1681 and 1684.

24. CTP first asked for information in 1671: W. Blathwayt, "Heads of Inquiries...", March 1671, ADM 2/1, n.p.

25. Nominal censuses survive for 1675, 1676, 1677 and 1681: J. Berry, "...Planters...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (16ii), 126-132, with slight differences in CO 1/35 (17ii), 150-156; [J. Wyborn], "...English Inhabitants...", 7 December 1676, CO 1/38 (89), 239-240; W. Poole, "...Inhabitants and Planters...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (61iv,vi,vii), 158-66; J. Story, "...Fishing Shippes, Sackshipps Planters & boat keepers...", 1 September 1681, CO 1/47 (52i), 113-121v. For 1680 there are nominal censuses for St. John's, Bay Bulls and Quidi Vidi, in R. Robinson, "...St. John's..." and "...Inhabitants in St. John's Harbour...", 16 September 1680, CO 1/46 (8iii,iv), 23-5. For 1682 there is a summary census for the southern Avalon as well as a nominal census of St. John's and selected outposts in D. Jones, "...Inhabitants..." and "...Planters...", 12 September 1682, CO 1/49 (51v,ix), 192, 196-8. Summary data for 1680 are in Anon., "...Planters and Inhabitants...", BL, Add ms 15898, 133 and there is summary data by community for 1684 in F. Wheler, "...Inhabitants", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56vii), 257. Some of these sources are summarized, not very accurately, in Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", between pp. 200 and 201.

26. Wells, Population, 7, 12-16.

27. Wells, Population, 7. On censuses of Barbados, Jamaica and Leeward Is see Dunn, Sugar and Slaves.

The "Replies" have, however, serious statistical limitations. Even the nominal censuses omit names of wives, children and servants, for the ideological reasons discussed above. Women are named only if they are heads of households, i.e. widows. There are internal and mutual inconsistencies within and among these censuses, as well as reason to doubt that they actually included all inhabitants. The most detailed censuses, of 1675 to 1677, were taken during the one period in the seventeenth century characterized by overt official hostility on the part of British authorities to settlement in Newfoundland.²⁸ Surely, in this context, some inhabitants would deliberately evade official notice. These also date from a period of intense conflict with some West Country migratory fishing interests and follow immediately after the damaging Dutch raids of 1673.²⁹ The roughly contemporaneous censuses of New France for 1663 and 1666, a peaceable period in a territory in which colonization was actively encouraged, are thought to underestimate actual populations by about 20 percent, the Montreal census for the war year of 1698 by 40 percent.³⁰

To find satisfactory answers to demographic questions about the early inhabitants of the south Avalon, we must

28. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 214-226.

29. On planter/West Country conflict see J. Downing, Petition to Charles II, 7 November 1676, CO 1/38 (33), 69; C. Martin, Deposition, 29 January 1678, CO 1/42 (21), 56. On the Dutch raids see Chapter 4, above.

30. H. Charbonneau, Vie et mort de nos ancêtres (Montreal, 1975), 42, basing the estimate on birth, death and immigration data.

treat the raw data contained in the censuses critically, supplement their limited nominal lists with names culled from non-census documents, and put reported population levels into the context of earlier and later estimates. Nevertheless, the censuses of 1675 to 1684 remain pivotal, simply by virtue of the mass of data they contain. Just as they have provided, in other studies, a baseline for understanding the growth of eighteenth-century Newfoundland, they will provide a kind of terminal benchmark here.³¹ They are not, however, of much use by themselves in trying to determine long-term trends. The brief period in which these reports were both detailed and comprehensive was, not coincidentally, a period of crisis in Newfoundland. With due respect to the various scholars who have attempted to find long-term trends in the period 1675 to 1684, this is examining the back side of a blip.³² That there was change between 1675 and 1684 is not in doubt, what is questionable is direct extrapolation to the long-term. The safer course is to use these sources together to cross-check one another, to remedy omissions and to suggest averages.³³

3. Population levels: fluctuation and growth

How many people were there in the small settlements scattered along the English Shore? This question is compli-

31. Cf. Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, 1-62; Handcock, English Settlement, 33-70.

32. E.g. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 159, 161, 181; Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, 15; Wells, Population, 53; Davies, Policy and Trade, chapter 1.

33. E.g. Handcock, English Settlement, 53-68.

cated by the seasonality of the cod fishery and the interlocking residence patterns associated with the several sectors of the industry. Again it must be emphasized that the seventeenth-century British fishery at Newfoundland was an inshore fishery prosecuted in daily voyages in relatively small open boats. The amount of time any man spent ashore in the particular harbour from which his employer sent out fishing boats depended not on whether the employer was migratory fishing master, bye-boat keeper or planter, but rather on the particular job the employee had been hired to do. The summer population of Newfoundland did not consist merely of planters, their families and servants, as Robert Wells assumes in his population estimates, but of these together with servants in the two migratory sectors, hired by the masters of "fishing" ships and bye-boats.³⁴

It is difficult to estimate the size of this summer population before the naval commodores' censuses. Later accounts spoke of 10,000 men or more at the fishery in a supposed hey-day before the Civil War.³⁵ Richard Whitbourne, an early propagandist for Newfoundland, who had no

34. The figures for summer populations given in Wells, Population, 47, Table II-1, are probably only 20 to 25 per cent of total summer populations.

35. E.g. J. Parrett, "The great advantages...[of] Fishing ships...", 25 March 1675, CO 1/65 (26), 102v-103v; W. Davies, "Reasons of the decay of the trade..." 1672, CO 1/29 (78), 206-207. Such participation was actually achieved in the eighteenth century; see Handcock, English Settlement, Figure 4.2, 83; Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 10. An early claim of seasonal participation by 10,000 fishermen sounds like propaganda: Treasurer and Company of the Plantations in Newfoundland, Petition to James I, 16 March 1620, CO 1/1 (54), in CSP Col.

reason to minimize the importance of its industry, suggested 5000 in the 1620s and a British diplomat had claimed 6000, during negotiations with France in 1614.³⁶ Such contemporary estimates are probably more reliable than retrospective figures offered by later lobbyists. The later fisheries censuses indicate that the industry fluctuated wildly in the period of climatic and international stress between about 1680 and 1720.³⁷ Recorded summer populations fell as low as 1300 persons in 1705, but in the 1670s and 80s ranged between 6000 and 7000, of which bye-boat men accounted for a few hundred, planters and dependents from 1600 to 2500, and the "fishing" ships the remainder.

The winter population was normally much smaller than the summer population.³⁸ The 1680 census summary reported that 1130 of 1718 or 65 percent of planters' servants overwintered.³⁹ Assuming over-wintering by the 562 planters, wives and children in the 212 households reported, then a total of 1692 persons remained for the winter of 1680/1681 - a little over a quarter of the total summer population.⁴⁰ Servants did not necessarily remain in Newfoundland at the end of the fishing season. The proportion who did was affected by catches and markets as well as by war or the

36. Whitbourne, Discourse, 124; Mr Winwood, "Answer to the French Complaints", 1614, in CSP Col Addendum 1675.

37. On these stresses see Chapter 1, above.

38. Except when the migratory fishing fleet was obstructed by war, as from 1689 to 1693 and 1702 to 1705.

39. Anon., "Planters & Inhabitants" (1680).

40. The overwintering rates given by Wells, Population, 47, Table II-1, relate only to the planter fishery and not to the whole summer population.

threat of war. For example, a large number of fishermen stayed in Newfoundland in the winter of 1665 to avoid naval service against the Dutch.⁴¹ (Whether these were mostly ships' or planters' servants is unclear.) Numbers are given in only a few censuses. The 1676 census observed that "about half" the planters' servants returned to England every year.⁴² An average over-wintering rate for planters' servants in effect ignores fluctuations. On the other hand, an assumed rate permits estimate of winter populations for the many census years in which only summer populations were reported. The known planters' servants over-wintering rate for 1680 of 65 percent appears to be a good working hypothesis: prices and catches were average and the economic and social climate unaffected by the threat of war.⁴³ The only other seventeenth-century figures, for 1698, suggest a total number of servants overwintering something in excess

41. Collins, Plea for Irish Cattel, 21.

42. Wyborn, "English Inhabitants".

43. On prices and international relations see Chapter 1, above; on catches see R. Robinson, Letter to W. Blathwayt, 16 September 1680, CO 1/46 (8), 19, which suggests actual catches averaged 170 to 250 quintals per boat. Matthews, Lectures, 85, mentions an unspecified report that 80 percent of planters servants returned to England in 1684. This is probably based on Matthews "Newfoundland Fishery", 173, which incorrectly cites Captain Wheler as reporting that only 184 servants overwintered in 1683/1684. Wheler in fact reported that 120 "fishing" ship men over-wintered but made no comment on how many over-winterers there were among the 1452 planters' servants; see F. Wheler, "Answers..." and "...Inhabitants..." (1684). Handcock, English Settlement, 26, quotes Wheler as saying "even in normal times at least half of the 'resident' population returned to England for any one winter", but it was Matthews who made this comment (loc. cit.), on the basis of the misreading of Wheler cited.

of 60 percent of the number of planters servants.⁴⁴ Rates may well have been lower in the following century.

The proposed over-wintering rate is consistent with a modal period of residence of three summers and two winters. Matthews asserts that servants hired on "at most for two summers and a winter" and then returned to England.⁴⁵ This confuses the term of contracts, for which there is some direct evidence, and periods of residence, for which the evidence is largely indirect. Few indentures relating to service in the seventeenth-century fishery have survived. It is worth noting that one of these, made in the 1640s for Newfoundland and Maine, is for a three year term.⁴⁶ We know the names of few fishing servants of the period, let alone details of their employment. By chance we happen to know that Anthony Gay served Phillip Kirke at Ferryland for three years, 1688 to 1690.⁴⁷ Certainly many men hired themselves to planters by the season, just as they hired themselves to migratory "fishing" ships.⁴⁸ They might, nevertheless,

44. J. Norris, "...Planters..." and "...Shipps...", 27 September 1698, CO 194/1 (125i and ii), 262,264. Some of these were former ship fishermen.

45. Matthews, Lectures, 85.

46. G. Spry and P. Mitchell, Indenture of Paul Mitchell, 6 April 1643, in Trelawney Papers, DHS Maine, vol. 3, 342-3. Other indentures there are for three years. Cf. T. Gray, "Devon's Fisheries and Early Stuart Northern New England", in M. Duffy, S. Fisher, B. Greenhill, D. Starkey and J. Youings (eds), New Maritime History of Devon (in press, 1990).

47. A. Gay, Deposition, 16 October 1707, CO 194/4 (51), 187.

48. Wheler, "Answers" (1684); e.g. Robert Alward, Libel in Alward vs. Kirke, 1650, HCA 24/111 (4).

remain in Newfoundland for a quarter century, like Gabriell Viddomas who worked at Carbonear between 1627 and 1651.⁴⁹

Approximately what levels did populations reach in these pre-census decades? Over-wintering before John Guy's colony at Cupids in 1610 is unlikely.⁵⁰ This plantation, which never involved more than about 60 settlers, appears to have dispersed by 1630, although some of the colonists remained in Newfoundland, notably at Bristol's Hope.⁵¹ In 1621 Guy, by then an M.P. for Bristol, observed that there were "but three real plantations in Newfoundland", perhaps the two Conception Bay colonies mentioned and St. John's, which by the mid 1620s had "plantations" and "some houses allready built".⁵² At this time "there Inhabited in all the Newfoundland nott above five families", according to the Carbonear servant Viddomas. We probably have to read "families" as "planter-based fishing establishments". Furthermore, it is unclear how much Viddomas would have known about settlements outside of Conception Bay. By 1625 there were already 100 colonists at Ferryland, of whom 30 to 35

49. G. Viddomas, Deposition, 27 November 1667, WDRO Plymouth W360/74.

50. But see Scantlebury, "John Rashleigh", 66, for a possible case in Trinity Bay in 1609.

51. Cell, English Enterprise, 69-79.

52. J. Guy, "Commons Journal", 1 December 1621, in L.F. Stock (ed.), Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America, vol. 1, 1542-1688 (Washington, 1924), 55; J. Slany, Letter to F. Willoughby, 13 February 1626, cited in Cell, English Enterprise, 78; W. Payne, Letter to Lady Conway, 2 November 1627, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 274-275; cf. T. Oxford, 2 April 1679, Petition to Charles II, CO 1/43 (41), 67.

remained in 1630.⁵³ The original Cupids settlement had started out with 7 boats, Calvert's enterprise based at Ferryland involved at least 30, suggesting that the early plantations were larger than later plantations and would have employed 40 to 150 servants each.⁵⁴ Total Newfoundland winter population in the early 1620s might have been something like 200 souls, rising, perhaps, to 400 by 1630.

Thomas Povey's report on Newfoundland in 1660 provides the basis for an informed estimate of the winter population at that time, based on his statement that there were 180 "families" in Newfoundland and, again, taking "families" to mean planter households.⁵⁵ (It may be symptomatic of Cell's tendency to minimize the success of early Newfoundland settlement that she reports Povey's figure as about 150.⁵⁶) Applying somewhat later rates of dependency to Povey's 180 "families" suggests a summer population in 1660 of over 2000 persons in planter households. The hypothesized servants' over-wintering rate of 65 percent suggests a winter population of 1500. This rate applied to census figures for the 1670s indicates winter populations of 1200 to 1400 men, women, children and servants, for the 1680s of 1500 to 1700.

53. Cell, English Enterprise, 93; S. Stock, Letter to Propaganda Fide, 1 January 1631, in L. Codignola, The Coldest Harbour in the Land: Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621-1649 (Kingston, 1988), 121-122.

54. Anon., "An Inventorie of...the English Coloni in Cupies Cove", 26 August 1611, Nottingham Univ., Middleton mss, Mi X 1/3, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 65-67; J. Slaughter, Examination (1652), in Scisco, "Testimony".

55. T. Povey, "True State of Affairs in Newfoundland", 1660, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 264.

56. Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 57.

4. Comparisons with other colonies

How did Newfoundland's English Shore compare with other seventeenth-century North American colonies? Before 1640 summer population levels on the English Shore were in the order of magnitude of New England and Virginia populations. Maryland's total colonial population was about the same as Newfoundland's winter population until the mid 1650s, at which point the southern colony enjoyed several decades of net immigration and rapid growth, as Virginia and New England had before 1640. Neither summer nor winter populations of Newfoundland exhibit this two-phase pattern, in which an early period of very rapid growth is followed by a flatter growth curve. Figure 5.1, p.215, represents estimated summer and winter population growth 1600 to 1720, with estimates for New England, Virginia, Maryland, Quebec and Acadia. While Newfoundland did not enjoy an extended period of high net immigration and rapid population growth, as both New England and Virginia did in the first half of the seventeenth century, its growth in this period was not unlike that of Maryland and Quebec, which in retrospect are thought of as successful colonies. The non-native winter populations of Quebec and the English Shore grow virtually in tandem until 1660.⁵⁷ At this point Quebec enjoyed a wave of

⁵⁷ The early figures given in McCusker and Menard, *Economy*, 112, Table 5.3, appear to be over-estimates. Compare Charbonneau, *Vie et mort*, 30, Tableau 1 and the discussion above.

**Figure 5.1 Non-native (European and African) population
North American colonies, 1600-1720
(semi-logarithmic scale).**

NOTES:

Note that the semi-logarithmic scale can be deceptive if it is used to compare population sizes, without attending to the scale. The point of this chart is to permit comparison of approximate rates of growth, which can be accomplished by attending to the slope of the growth curves.

Data for Maine are not shown, since its known seventeenth-century population (c. 2000 in 1700) is so close to that of Newfoundland that it would not be visible on this chart.

SOURCES:

New England, Virginia and Maryland: J. McCusker and R. Menard, The Economy of British America, 1607-1789 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 103, 136 and R.R. Menard, "Immigrants and their Increase: the Process of Population Growth in Early Colonial Maryland", in A.C. Land, L.G. Carr and E.C. Papenfuss (eds), Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland (Baltimore, 1977), 88-110.

Quebec: H. Charbonneau, Vie et mort de nos ancêtres (Montreal, 1975), 43.

Maine: C.E. Clark, The Eastern Frontier, the Settlement of Northern New England, 1610-1763, (1970, rep. Hanover, N.H., 1983), 336.

Acadia: G. Hynes, "Some Aspects of the Demography of Port Royal, 1650-1755", in P.A. Buckner and D. Frank (eds), The Acadiensis Reader, vol. 1, Atlantic Canada before Confederation (Fredericton, N.B., 1985), 11-25..

Newfoundland: See discussion in Chapter 5.

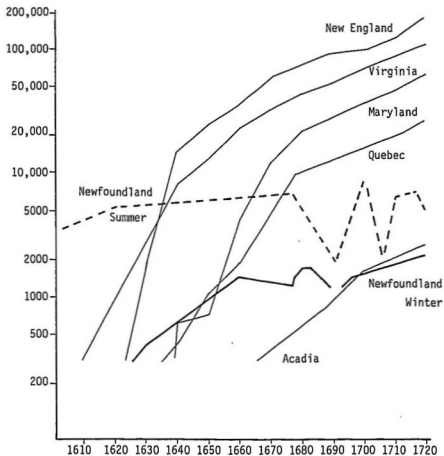


Figure 5.1 Non-native (European and African) population North American colonies, 1600-1720 (semi-logarithmic scale).

immigration and two decades of accelerated growth, before the rate dropped to a colonial norm.⁵⁸ Population growth on the English Shore, on the other hand, stalled between 1660 and 1700, enjoying only a modest recovery afterwards.⁵⁹ In this respect, the English Shore resembled the other northern colonies, Acadia and Maine. By 1700, each had existed as colonies for almost a century, yet were not very populous, with only about 2000 inhabitants each.⁶⁰

The difference between the English Shore and the regions it most resembled in its slow early growth (i.e. Maine, Acadia and Quebec) did not lie in the difficulties associated with the first colonization efforts. These were common to virtually all early seventeenth-century European colonies in North America.⁶¹ By 1650 Newfoundland was in the same situation as New France and New Netherlands, where dominant commercial interests lacked incentive to promote large-scale colonization, however useful they might find limited settlement.⁶² What marks development on the English Shore is the ceiling that the resident population hit about 1660, just when Quebec began to grow rapidly, essentially because of the renewed attention of the imperial government. (The

58. Compare New England and Virginia after 1640, Maryland after 1680.

59. Cf. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 176-178.

60. Clark, Eastern Frontier, 336; G. Hynes, "Some Aspects of the Demography of Port Royal, 1650-1755", in P.A. Buckner and D. Frank (eds), The Acadiensis Reader, vol. 1, Atlantic Canada Before Confederation (Fredricton, 1985), 11-25.

61. Andrews, Trade, Plunder and Settlement, 338; Bailyn, New England Merchants, 1.

62. Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 342.

period also saw the growth of the French colony in Placentia Bay.) For the rest of the century there were rarely more than 200 planter households and Talbot's observation that the colony consisted of about 1700 men, women, children and servants remained valid.⁶³ Who were these people?

5. First-generation planters in the south Avalon

Handcock's discussion of Newfoundland settlement stresses "very limited generational succession" before the last quarter of the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ Cell supposes informal settlement more important than proprietary colonization. Keith Matthews asserts that the 1630s and 1640s were important in the founding of a planter population.⁶⁵ Are these generalizations true for the study area? Relevant documentation is scant but not as rare as has been assumed.⁶⁶ Non-census nominal lists have survived in the form of creditors' accounts, tenants' agreements and petitions, while named individuals also signed receipts and gave or were the subject of depositions. An indexing of individuals thus recorded with planters in the censuses of 1675 to 1681 shows that by 1680 there were a number of south Avalon families which had been established for decades.

63. Talbot, "Answers" (1679); cf. Samuel Pepys, "Abstract...", 6 December 1676, CO 1/38 (91), 243-244v; J. Mannion and G. Handcock, "The 17th Century Fishery" in Harris and Matthews Historical Atlas, vol. 1, Plate 23.

64. Handcock, English Settlement, 34.

65. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 120, 155.

66. Cell, English Enterprise, 117; Handcock, English Settlement, 34.

Some surname recurrences undoubtedly reflect the complex residential behaviour of what Handcock has described as "trans-Atlantic extended families".⁶⁷ In such cases the reiteration of a particular surname is not evidence for the establishment of a planter lineage but rather evidence that a particular West Country family with Newfoundland experience was prone to send individuals to work for a time, some of whom would be planters. There are many other cases, however, when a simpler explanation of nominal reiteration probably applies, i.e., the establishment of planter lineages in the south Avalon.⁶⁸ The Kirkes themselves are the best known of these planter families. (Figure 5.2, p. 219, is a family tree of the Kirkes). There were others as well. Something like 24 south Avalon planter kin-groups, of the period up to 1681, can be shown to have established themselves in Newfoundland before 1670.⁶⁹

Five of these families had origins in Calvert's Avalon Colony. Founding members of the Davis, Lee, Love, Poole and Taylor families were among Ferryland colonists c. 1629 and these names survived on the south Avalon until the 1670s. Three were women: Philip Davis, Ann Love and Amy Taylor.⁷⁰ A fourth founding female, the wife of William Poole, gave birth to a son (Richard?) at Ferryland, in 1628. These may

67. Handcock, English Settlement, 46ff.

68. The term "lineage" is used, not "patriline", since in some cases it is the original female partner who is the earliest identifiable member of a kin-group.

69. See Appendix C.

70. Unfortunately we know only their married names.

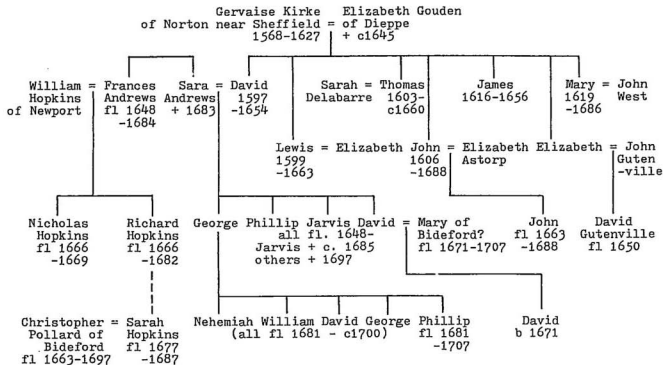


Figure 5.2 Descendants of Gervaise Kirke and Elizabeth Gouden with the Hopkins alliance. Persons in the third and fourth generations (except D. Gutenville) were Avalon planters.

have been among the handful of Roman Catholic women who stayed behind on the departure of Calvert in 1629, perhaps because of personal attachments that had or would crystallize into marriage.⁷¹ John Slaughter was established at Ferryland c. 1628 to 1652 but probably moved on to Salem, Massachusetts before 1663. A number of complex trans-Atlantic family links may have originated in this period: the names Bayly, Bennett, Hacker, Hill, Stevens and Weymouth recur intermittently with south Avalon connections.

The period between the Calverts' departure and the arrival of the Kirkes seems to have been much less significant for south Avalon settlement. At the time of Kirke's arrival in 1638, the contemporary assumption was that the planters already there remained from the earlier proprietary plantation.⁷² The tenure of Thomas Cruse as a tavern-keeping planter at Bay Bulls from 1635 to 1653 may mark the beginning of a complex family link with that harbour. William and Amy Wrixon established themselves at Ferryland in 1631, and remained in the area until at least the 1660s. If they raised children in Newfoundland, the evidence has not survived and no south Avalon lineages are, apparently, traceable to the period 1630 to 1637.

The arrival of the Kirkes at Ferryland in 1638 marked the establishment of a planter family that would dominate

71. Stock, Letter to Propaganda Fide (1631).

72. P. Vincent, "True Relation of the Late Battell..." [1638], Mass. HSC (3rd series), 6 (1837), 29-43.

the south Avalon for half a century. Of the five other lineages traceable to the following period, three were founded by associates of Sir David Kirke. The elder John Downing arrived in 1641 as a representative of Kirke's fellow proprietors. John Mathews was allied with Kirke in complex litigation c. 1650 and may have been one of the 30 servants Kirke was said to have brought with him.⁷³ Lady Frances Hopkins, who arrived with her family in 1649, was a political refugee who arrived in Newfoundland with Charles I's personal plea to Sir David Kirke for her protection.⁷⁴ Charles refers to her as Kirke's "sister". She does not, however, seem to have actually been so but rather his sister-in-law.⁷⁵ She was almost certainly the wife of Sir William Hopkins, Charles' host during the tense months of house arrest on the Isle of Wight before his imprisonment, trial and execution.⁷⁶ Kirke's associates Downing and Mathews may also have had political cause, if less spectacular,

73. T. Cruse, Deposition, 27 November 1667, WDRO Plymouth W360/74.

74. Charles I, Letter to D. Kirke, 11 November 1648, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 36. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 151, misdates this to 1643.

75. Only two female children, Elizabeth and Mary, are in the funeral certificate of Gervaise Kirke, c. January 1630, in Kirke, Conquest of Canada, 206-208. Elizabeth married Jacques Gretuelo or Guetonville; Mary, John West. Lady Hopkins is referred to as Sara Kirke's sister in R. Hartnoll et al., Deposition, 15 September 1707, CO 194/4 (77ix), 316.

76. G. Hillier, A Narrative of the Attempted Escapes of Charles the First from Carisbrooke Castle, and of his Detention in the Isle of Wight (London, 1852), 251-253; C.V. Wedgewood, The Trial of Charles I (London, 1964), 15. On Charles and Lady Hopkins see Charles I, Letter to W. Hopkins, 20 August 1628, in [Wagstaffe, T.], A Vindication of K. Charles the Martyr (London, 1711), 154.

for remaining in Newfoundland, as perhaps did Robert Dentch who arrived in 1650, just after the end of the Civil War. Trustrum Doderidge (or Dodge) was already in Newfoundland by 1647, so his motivation was probably not directly political, although he might have been among the civilians displaced by the slighting of West Country port towns like Barnstaple and Dartmouth. A number of complex trans-Atlantic family links date to this period, for the Boones, Cookes and Willicotts, and some of these early planters may also have seen Newfoundland as a refuge from the turmoil of the Civil War.⁷⁷

Interregnum data are almost completely lacking but a tenants' agreement with the Calverts in 1663 gives Codner, Coombe, Dale, Gilder, Mahone, Mintor, Oliver, Pollard, Roberts (or Robbins) and Wallis as planter names between Aquaforte and Witless Bay at that time. Eight of these eleven surnames survive into the census period of the last quarter of the century, as does that of the "Mr. Matthews" who was recalled from St. Mary's Bay in 1662. Ezekial and George Mintor apparently passed their time in the Province of Avalon without issue, but the names Oliver and Wallis survived among an assortment of later bye-boat keepers, planters and servants, suggesting possible complex links dating from the period before the "restoration" of the Calverts. Between 1663 and 1670 five new planter surnames turn up in scattered sources relating to the south Avalon: Col-lins, Pearce, Toms, White and Wood. These are all

77. Cf. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 147, 148.

represented in later censuses, as are Hilliard and Prowse, which probably reflect more complex links. An individual planter without progeny, Richard Maynard, also appears.

There are obvious difficulties in assessment of the chronological distribution of these reiterated south Avalon surnames. In many cases we have evidence for presence in a particular year but can only conjecture about date of arrival. Furthermore, documentation is uneven: later periods are better documented. Finally, the periods are not of equal duration, but are artifacts of political history and the available evidence. Despite these drawbacks it seems possible to draw some simple conclusions about the timing of settlement on the south Avalon from this data. Table 5.1, p. 224, reports numbers of planter surnames for the study region, by the earliest recorded period of settlement and by the type of presence indicated in the records. What is most striking is that settlement appears to have been fairly evenly spread, with one exception, over the half century in question between 1620 and 1670. Far from being unimportant in the establishment of planter lineages in the study region, the two periods of active proprietorship, 1621 to 1629 and 1638 to 1651, were at least as important as the most recent period, 1663 to 1670, which was best documented. The 1630s look to have been insignificant for settlement, until the arrival of the Kirkes in 1638, while the Inter-regnum period of the 1650s was, evidently, quite important.

Table 5.1 **South Avalon planter surnames
by period of establishment
and type of presence, 1621 to 1670**

NAME DATES FROM PERIOD	POSSIBLE FAMILY LINEAGES	POSSIBLE COMPLEX LINKS	CHILDLESS PERSONS & COUPLES	TOTALS
1621-1629	5	6	1	12
1630-1637	0	1	1	2
1638-1651	6	3	0	9
1652-1662	8	2	1	11
1663-1670	5	2	1	8
TOTALS	24	14	4	42

SOURCES:

This table is based on planter biographies reported in Appendix C, which are in turn based on the documentary sources cited there.

NOTES:

The figures reflect the repeated occurrence of surnames in the records; they do not necessarily represent households, much less individuals. Names were included only if there was evidence that planters so named lived in Newfoundland in at least two different years, up to 1682, on the south Avalon at some point. Names were entered under "Family Lineages" if there was reason to believe that more than one generation of the same family lived in Newfoundland. Most of these would be patrilineal, but not necessarily: if a female is the earliest probable member of the kin-group, its establishment is dated to the period of her first presence. "Complex Links" lists surnames which had a repeated connection with Newfoundland, including at least one planter, but for which there is no evidence for establishment of a lineage in Newfoundland before 1675. These would be "trans-Atlantic extended families" of the type discussed by Handcock, English Settlement, 46ff. "Childless Persons and Couples" are planter individuals or couples without apparent family links in Newfoundland. Administrators without their own plantations, like Wynne, Treworgy and Rayner, are excluded.

If possible complex trans-Atlantic links and childless couples and individuals are tallied as well, the picture does not significantly change. The surnames analysed may represent only the tip of an iceberg. There were, after all, some thirty to thirty-five inhabitants at Ferryland in 1630, yet we know the names of a half-dozen at most. This must, obviously, limit our ability to study continuity of settlement. Nevertheless, a cross-checking of documented planter surnames indicates remarkable continuity.

6. Proportions of planters and servants

What proportion of Newfoundland's seventeenth-century inhabitants were economically independent planters? What proportion were servants, either of planters, fishing masters or bye-boat keepers? There were 162 planter households on the English Shore in 1677, slightly less than the average of 176 households for the census years between 1675 and 1684. The total of 7657 summer residents was somewhat higher than the average of 6080 persons for these years.⁷⁸ So 1677 is not quite an average year: the number of planter families was still in the process of rebounding from the anti-settlement pressures of the mid-1670s, while West Country participation in the migratory fishery was as high as ever recorded in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, Sir William Poole's "Particular Accompt of all the

78. Jones' 1682 census is excluded here because it does not include all communities.

Inhabitants and Planters" remains useful as a sort of Newfoundland doomsday book.⁷⁹

Table 5.2, p.227, reports planters' servants as a proportion of planter households and all servants (ships' servants included) as a percentage of total population, by harbour, in the south Avalon and St. John's regions in 1677. Variations from harbour to harbour in the planter/servant mix resulted, at least among summer residents, in part from variation in the mix of ship-based and planter-based operations. Aquafort, Cape Broyle and the Isle of Spear lacked planters and were completely dominated by migratory crews. Conversely, the summer residents of Brigus South consisted entirely of 3 planters, their 9 dependents and 33 servants. Harbours with both ship- and planter-based operations might tend to either of these extremes, but in most the migratory crews were by far the largest component of the summer population. Even within the average planter household, servants outnumbered family members three to one. Ships' servants alone accounted for slightly under three quarters of all summer residents in this period and together with planters' servants normally made up over 90 percent of summer populations.⁸⁰ Like their Virginian contemporaries, the Newfoundland planters lived in a sea of servants, at least in

79. Cf. Wells, Population, 56-9.

80. The lower proportion of servants in the summer population in Wells, Population, 50, Table II-2, ignores the ship-based migratory fishermen.

Table 5.2 Planters' servants as a percentage of persons in planter households and all servants as a percentage of total population south Avalon and St. John's regions Newfoundland, 1677

HARBOUR	PLANTERS			SHIP	ALL	SERVANTS	TOTAL
	& FAMILY	SERVANTS	%	SERV- VANTS			
	No.	No.	%	No.	No.	POP.	
SOUTHERN AVALON							
Trepassey	10	34	77%	249	283	97%	293
Renews	19	39	67%	144	183	91%	202
Fermeuse	17	44	72%	198	242	93%	259
Aquafort	0	0	n/a	77	77	100%	77
Ferryland	21	109	84%	115	224	91%	245
Caplin Bay	9	20	69%	35	55	86%	64
Cape Broyle	0	0	n/a	153	153	100%	153
Brigus South	12	33	73%	0	33	73%	45
Bauline South	13	19	59%	22	41	76%	54
Toad's Cove	2	12	86%	28	40	95%	42
Isle of Spear	0	0	n/a	40	40	100%	40
Witless Bay	10	19	66%	122	141	93%	151
Bay Bulls	19	57	75%	203	260	93%	279
TOTAL	132	386	75%	1386	1772	93%	1904
ST. JOHN'S AREA							
Petty Harbour	10	44	81%	158	202	95%	212
St. John's	87	159	65%	988	1147	93%	1234
Torbay	3	2	40%	188	190	98%	193
TOTAL	100	205	67%	1334	1539	94%	1639
ENGLISH SHORE	690	1352	66%	5773	7125	93%	7652

SOURCES:

W. Poole, "...Inhabitants and Planters...", "...Fishing and Sackships from Trapassey to Cape Broyle", "...Fishing & Sackships from Balene to St. John's Harbour" and "Fishing Shippes", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62iv, vi, vii, viii, ix, x), 157-172.

summer.⁸¹ The metaphor is less applicable to winter populations. Planters and their families probably made up a third of winter residents, perhaps slightly more. In the winter, planters were outnumbered by servants only 2:1 and not, as during the summer fishery, by almost 10:1.

Particularly in summer, Newfoundland's planter households were large by the standards of early modern England.⁸² The winter household might be seen to have been more representative - demographically, if not economically. The average Newfoundland's planter household in winter had interesting parallels with West Indian and New England households. Table 5.3, p. 229, reports later seventeenth-century household structure for Newfoundland; Bridgetown, Barbados; and Bristol, Rhode island. Both Barbadian and Newfoundland households were large, averaging 7.4 and 8.6 persons respectively. Furthermore, this size was the result of a large representation of servants, or in the Barbadian case slaves and servants.⁸³ On the other hand, families constituted over two thirds of Newfoundland households, and these resembled the families of Bristol, Rhode Island,

81. D.B. Rutman and A.H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750, (New York, 1984), 71. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 111 exaggerates the preponderance of servants.

82. Mean household size was 11.5 persons in the summer of 1677. Compare with 5.1 persons, among households of English husbandmen, 1574-1821. See Laslett, World We Have Lost, Table 7, 96.

83. There were a few slaves in seventeenth-century Newfoundland; e.g. Oxford, Petition (1679).

Table 5.3. Household structure, Newfoundland (winter 1677) with Bridgetown, Barbados (1680) and Bristol, Rhode Island (1689)

	Bridgetown BARBADOS 1680	Bristol RHODE ISLAND 1689	English Shore NEWFOUNDLAND 1677
HOUSEHOLD			
households	351	70	163
married couples	231	67	96
children	330	226	269
childless couples	98	7	21
widows and widowers	31	2	21
single householders	89	1	53
servants	402	56	879
slaves	1276	1	0
HOUSEHOLD MEANS			
persons	7.4	6.0	8.6
children	0.9	3.3	1.7
servants and slaves	4.8	0.8	5.4

SOURCES:

Barbados and Rhode Island: R.S. Dunn, "The Barbados Census of 1680: Profile of the Richest Colony in English America", *WMO* (3rd series) 26 (1969), 3-30, Table 6, citing J. Demos, "Families in Colonial Bristol, Rhode Island: An Exercise in Historical Demography", *WMO* (3rd series) 25 (1968), 40-57.

Newfoundland: William Poole, "A particular Accompt of all the Inhabitants and Planters Living in every Fishing Port or harbour on Newfoundland...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62iv,vi,vii), 157-166.

NOTES:

Figure for Newfoundland widows and widowers represents all 12 female heads of households, 11 of whom are named as widows, plus 9 single male heads of households with children. The number of servants is an estimate based on the presumed overwintering of 65% of the 1352 planters' servants censused during the late summer.

more than they did those of Bridgetown, Barbados.⁸⁴ Apart from a slightly greater tendency to have no children, the distribution of Newfoundland families by size is very close to the Rhode Island pattern and quite unlike the Barbadian pattern, in which most couples had no children.⁸⁵ This is confirmed in Table 5.4, p. 231, which reports the number of families by size, as a percentage of families with children. This permits a comparison with Chesapeake data and shows that family size in Newfoundland was even closer to the Chesapeake than to the New England sample. Although they may have been abnormal in English terms, both the seventeenth-century Newfoundland planter household and the Newfoundland planter family had parallels in other colonies.

Another fundamental demographic parallel between Newfoundland and the Chesapeake lay in the imbalance of males and females, consequent in each case on the preponderance of male servants in the population. Some Newfoundland planters, like Lady Sara Kirke of Ferryland or John Downing of St. John's, employed female servants, but this was uncommon. Because the planters and their dependents were only a third of the winter population and an even smaller fraction in summer, the resident population was mostly male. For example, females made up only about one-eighth of summer households in 1677 and adult females only one-sixteenth.

84. Of the 163 planter households censused, 112, or 69 percent, consisted of a couple, with or without children, or of a single parent with children.

85. Compare Dunn, "Barbados Census", citing Demos, "Bristol, Rhode Island", with Poole, "Inhabitants" (1677).

Table 5.4 Number of families, by size
as a percentage of families with children,
Newfoundland (1677),
Bridgetown, Barbados (1680),
Bristol, Rhode Island (1689) and
Chesapeake families of fathers born before 1689

CENSUS AREA	NUMBER OF CHILDREN		
	1 to 3	4 to 6	7 or +
Bristol Rhode Island 1689	52%	37%	10%
Bridgetown Barbados 1680	86%	13%	1%
Families of Chesapeake Fathers born before 1689	64%	26%	10%
English Shore Newfoundland 1677	65%	29%	6%
English Shore 1677 husband & wife present	61%	32%	7%

SOURCES:

Barbados and Rhode Island: R.S. Dunn, "The Barbados Census of 1680: Profile of the Richest Colony in English America", WMQ (3rd series) 26 (1969), 3-30, Table 7, citing J. Demos, "Families in Colonial Bristol, Rhode Island: An Exercise in Historical Demography", WMQ (3rd series) 25 (1968), 40-57.

Chesapeake: D.B. Smith, "Mortality and Family in the Colonial Chesapeake", Journal of Interdisciplinary History 8(3) (1978), 403-427, Table 5.

Newfoundland: William Poole, "A particular Accompt of all the Inhabitants and Planters Living in every Fishing Port or harbour on Newfoundland...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62iv,vi,vii), 157-166.

Since planter families usually over-wintered and many male servants did not, females inevitably were better represented in the winter population, probably making up about one-sixth of all over-winterers. Averages in this case obscure actual household structures and it is worth distinguishing single households from family households (with a wife or at least one child present). Single heads of households during winters were outnumbered about five to one by their own servants, of whom very few were female. These represented, however, less than one-third of planter households. Among the majority of winter households, *i.e.* those including a wife or at least one child, about a quarter of the population would have been female, of which half were adult and half children.

The low proportion of women in the population, even among over-winterers and even among the family-based households, was a sign as well as a cause of transience of part of the population. What Captain Wheler observed of the "fishing" ships' crews was true of planters' servants as well: "soe long as their comes noe Women they are not fixed".⁸⁶ This sexual imbalance was typical of several seventeenth-century colonies, for example Maryland, where it also restricted natural increase.⁸⁷ Unfortunately for New-

86. Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 242v. This phrase is used by Handcock as a very appropriate title but Wheler did not make his remark about planters (*pace* *English Settlement*, 21 and *cf.* 32, 284). Nor was it made of bye-boat crews, as in Matthews, "Newfoundland Fishery", 174.

87. L.G. Carr and L.S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland", *WMQ* (3rd series) 34 (1977), 542-571.

foundland, the nearest English colony, New England, enjoyed a more sexually balanced population.⁸⁸ As the quotable Captain Wheler observed, this meant that the flow of men from England to Newfoundland was often only the first stage of a longer migration which brought men from the West Country to the fishing communities of Maine and Massachusetts:

...the New England men constantly carry away abundance of the Fishermen & Seamen, who presently Marry & then that [i.e. New England] is there home.⁸⁹

There were, as we have seen, some women in Newfoundland and in any one year some of these would have been marriagable. Native-born daughters in seventeenth-century Maryland married at ages sixteen to nineteen and a similar pattern of very early marriage is probable in Newfoundland in this period, as it would be in newly-settled parts of the Island in later centuries.⁹⁰ Of the 130 female children in Newfoundland in 1677, perhaps 5 or 10 would reach the age of 16. Widows with property were also very marriagable, although these were the one group of women who had the

88. Cressy, Coming Over, 37-73.

89. Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 241. This re-emigration is noted in Prowse, History of Newfoundland, 153 (with an example from 1652) and by Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 178 (with no evidence). Cf. Inhabitants of Marblehead, Petition, April 1667, in RFOC Essex Co., vol. 5 (Salem, 1916), 373; D. Jones, Letter to W. Blathwayt, 12 September 1682, CO 1/49 (51), 187 and the enclosed bonds.

90. L.S. Walsh, " 'Till Death Us Do Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland", in T.W. Tate and D.L. Ammerman (eds), The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century, Essays on Anglo-American Society (New York, 1979), 126-152; P.A. Thornton, "The Demographic and Mercantile Bases of Initial Permanent Settlement in the Strait of Belle Isle", in J.J. Mannion (ed.), The Peopling of Newfoundland, Essays in Historical Geography (St. John's, 1977), 152-83.

option of achieving the legal and economic status normally reserved for males, and therefore might chose to forgo remarriage.⁹¹ Of the eleven widows named in the 1677 census only one is named in 1681. Of the missing ten, Lady Kirke had retired and some may have re-emigrated, but it is likely that most remarried. Still, the rate of remarriage could not have been much more than two or three a year. Finally, by the 1680s, there was a steady inflow of female servants:

[The Irish] likewise bring over a great many women passengers which they sell for Serv^{ts} & a little after theire coming they Marry among the fishermen that live with the Planters...⁹²

It is probably safe to assume that most of the fifteen female servants resident in Newfoundland in 1677 married on expiration of their terms of service, that is to say perhaps five or ten of them in any one year. All in all, something like ten to twenty informal marriages would have taken place annually involving women already resident in Newfoundland. This is worth noting because the tendency to permanent residence exemplified by such unions is completely invisible to a nominal study of census lists, since these censuses did not consider women to be worth recording, unless they were widows and therefore heads of households. The group of persons most likely to remain resident in seventeenth-century Newfoundland have thus been systematically excluded from consideration, in discussion of permanence based on the persistence of surnames of predominantly male householders.

91. See Chapter 6, below.

92. Story, "An account" (1681).

7. Permanence of residence in a context of mobility

What counts as permanent settlement? In her suggestive study of the Strait of Belle Isle, Patricia Thornton defines this as "year-round internally regenerative occupancy".⁹³ We must take Thornton's "internally regenerative" to imply a significant role for natural increase in the maintenance of population levels without requiring a rate capable of maintaining population levels in the absence of all immigration - otherwise we would have to deny that London and other early modern cities were permanently settled.⁹⁴ As we have seen, about two thirds of planter households were family-based and about one in five of the over-winters were children, so it is clear that the south Avalon, the St. John's area and Conception Bay enjoyed permanent settlement in the seventeenth century in a way that would not apply to other parts of Newfoundland, for example the Strait of Belle Isle or the west coast until the nineteenth century.⁹⁵

Permanent settlement in the sense defined was already part of the complex residential behaviour of the seventeenth-century population - but not all residents were permanent. As Matthews pointed out, residence was often of a qualified kind: some planters left on retirement; their dependents

93. Thornton, "Settlement", 157.

94. See E.A. Wrigley, "A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy 1650-1750", *P&P* 37 (1967), 44-70 and Population and History (New York, 1976), 96-8.

95. See Thornton, "Settlement" and J.J. Mannion, "Settlers and Traders in Western Newfoundland", in Mannion, Peopling of Newfoundland, 234-77.

sometimes returned to the old country for several years at a time; and many over-winterers were servants who did not intend to spend more than a few years in Newfoundland.⁹⁶ Yet, if the Perriman brothers retired to England from Trepassey, this is not convincing evidence that their years there did not amount to permanent residence. If David Kirke II's wife Mary was in Bideford in 1676/1677 but returned to live and work in Newfoundland well into the following century, we are hardly constrained to call her transient. Nor does the typical mobility of servants prove that they were never permanent residents. Such indications of mobility disconfirm residence only by narrow standards, which would exclude much of the labouring population of seventeenth-century England itself from consideration as residents of anywhere. If we are to understand to what degree Newfoundland's inhabitants were permanent residents, we must consider their situation in a comparative framework. Neither servants nor planters were quite as transient as implied in the recent literature on Newfoundland settlement.⁹⁷ Furthermore, comparable populations elsewhere were as transient. Transience must be seen in the context of circum-Atlantic levels of mobility.⁹⁸

96. Matthews, Lectures, 83-8.

97. Matthews, Lectures; Mannion and Handcock, "17th Century Fishery"; Handcock, English Settlement.

98. Cf. D. Souden, "English Indentured Servants and the Transatlantic Colonial Economy", in S. Marks and P. Richardson (eds), International Labour Migration (London, 1984), 19-33; J.P.P. Horn, "Moving on in the New World: Migration and Out-migration in the Seventeenth-century Chesapeake", in P. Clark and D. Souden (eds), Migration and Society in Early Modern England (London, 1988), 172-212.

There is little doubt that planters' servants were mobile, insofar as they contracted to work for a few years at a time and since the fishery was typically an occupation of persons at a mobile stage of their life-cycle. Neither of these characteristics of service in the fishery were unique, however. Something like 60 percent of the youth of early modern England itself were servants.⁹⁹ Among this significant fraction of the population, those who most resembled young fishermen were servants in husbandry, young persons who bound themselves in service to farm families other than their own, usually for the period of a year.¹⁰⁰ These servants, about ten percent of the rural population, were transient in much the same sense that the fishing servants of Newfoundland's planters were transient: their residence was fixed a year at a time.¹⁰¹ Servants in husbandry rarely remained in one household for more than a year or two.¹⁰² No one has seriously proposed excluding them from regional population estimates and it would make no more sense to exclude planters' servants from the population of Newfoundland.¹⁰³ This kind of life-cycle subsistence migration was a wide-spread implication of their social class and

99. The proportion of servants among persons aged 15 to 24, in A. Kusssmaul, Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 1981), 3 (evidence re 1574 to 1821).

100. Kusssmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 31-69.

101. Kusssmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 12, Table 2.1, re servants populations 1599 and 1688.

102. Kusssmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 51 and Table 4.3, 52, citing evidence from 1678 to 1830.

103. As proposed in Matthews, Lectures, 85.

age grade, not something peculiar to Newfoundland.¹⁰⁴ Seasonal subsistence migration became increasingly common in post-Restoration England.¹⁰⁵ The transhumance that Philip Smith notes in eighteenth-century Newfoundland was not the only contemporary form of subsistence mobility.¹⁰⁶

It is harder to assess comparatively the mobility of Newfoundland planters' servants at the end of their youth, when their peers, the servants in husbandry or the indentured servants of the Chesapeake, would settle down and attempt to raise their own families. Exit from service in husbandry typically meant a longer move than those made during service.¹⁰⁷ As Thornton points out, the demographic predominance of dependent servants in early modern Newfoundland suggests that comparisons with the Chesapeake may be fruitful.¹⁰⁸ Servants in the Chesapeake almost invariably moved on expiration of their three to five year service indentures.¹⁰⁹ There were reasons for Newfoundland servants

104. On subsistence migration see P. Clark, "The Migrant in the Kentish Towns 1580-1640", in P. Clark and P. Slack (eds), Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700 (London, 1972), 57-90. For examples of life-cycle migration, see Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 70-93 and D. Souden, "'Rogues, whores and vagabonds'? Indentured Servant Emigrants to North America, and the Case of Mid-Seventeenth-Century Bristol", SH 3(1) (1978), 23-39.

105. P. Clark, "Migration in England during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries", P&P 83 (1979), 57-90.

106. P.E.L. Smith, "Transhumant Europeans Overseas: the Newfoundland Case", Current Anthropology 28(2) (1987), 241-250; "In Winter Quarters", Newfoundland Studies 3(1) (1987), 1-36; cf. Everitt, "Farm Labourers", 399.

107. Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 79.

108. Thornton, "Settlement", 153.

109. L.G. Carr and R.R. Menard, "Immigration and Opportunity: The Freedman in Early Colonial Maryland", in Tate and Ammerman, The Chesapeake, 206-242.

to return to the West Country or move on to New England, among the most likely a desire to meet marriagable women. There were, on the other hand, counter-balancing considerations, among these the financial and physical costs of passage on a crowded "fishing" ship.

Servants in Newfoundland have not usually been considered in discussions of permanence, the assumption being that they were by definition not permanent residents.¹¹⁰ However, Captain Story's observation that servant girls "marry among the fishermen that live with the Planters" suggests that both male and female servants in the Newfoundland planter fishery sometimes became permanent residents.¹¹¹ Furthermore planters might become servants, without leaving the Island. After the notoriously corrupt Colonel Lloyd beat the St. John's planter John Adams in 1703 "and made severall holes in his head", Adams was forced "to be a Servant who was before a Master".¹¹² The loss of capital could have the same effect. John Kent was one of the planters of Ferryland whose boats and stages were destroyed by the Dutch in 1673.¹¹³ He was later a planter, in a small way, at Brigus South in 1676 and 1677, but was not mentioned in Berry's census of 1675. This absence is as likely to

110. E.g. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fishery", 173ff.; Matthews Lectures, 85.

111. Handcock, English Settlement, 44.

112. Inhabitants of Newfoundland, Deposition, 1704, CO 194/3 (31iii), 101.

113. D. Lovelace, "...The Duch Fleet upon the Coast...", 29 March 1675, CO 1/34 (37), 85.

indicate a loss of status as removal from Newfoundland.¹¹⁴ The danger of confusing geographical and status mobility must be recognized or assessments of permanence based on nominal censuses of planters will go astray.¹¹⁵

These scattered examples are not the only evidence that social status must be considered in analysis of mobility. This can also be seen by analyzing Sir Robert Robinson's census of St. John's for 1680, which records how long 28 "planters and inhabitants" had been resident.¹¹⁶ Duration of residence given ranged from 2 weeks to 39 years for Elizabeth Matthews, who indicated that she was born in St. John's (in 1641), as were the 34-year-old William Kines (=Cains) and the 27-year-old Richard Horton. Only 4 planters had been in St. John's for less than 4 years and the mean duration of residence among all the planters was 14.6 years. Despite the fact that sixteen of the inhabitants in 1680 indicated they were resident in 1669, only two were listed then by Yonge as planters.¹¹⁷ Of the 23 persons in the 1680 census who indicated residence in 1675, only 12 were named then by Berry as planters, even

114. Cf. the case of Richard Lee, a sometime planter of Ferryland and Fermeuse, 1675-1677.

115. K. Wrightson and D. Levine, Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700 (New York, 1979), 107, suggest that social mobility may sometimes require geographic mobility.

116. Robinson, "St. John's and Baye Bulls" (1680).

117. These are John Downing (II) and Philip Roberts (= Rogers). (There is evidence for the latter identification in the 1680 census). Rosemary Looney (=Loney), another of those claiming long residence in 1680, was probably the widow of a 1669 planter.

counting 2 presumed husbands of later widows.¹¹⁸ It would seem that the social scope of Robinsons 28 "planters and inhabitants" was somewhat broader than of Berry's 20 "planters". Perhaps the Mayor of Falmouth's contemporary report that "about 50 or 60 Familyes all English" lived at St. John's was based on an even broader sense of who was worth enumerating.¹¹⁹ These examples illustrate that the persistence of a name in censuses requires not only geographical and social stability but also a consistent scope in census-taking.

It is, nevertheless, possible to measure persistence of residence by name-sieving, that is the computation of how many names in an earlier census recur in a later one, but this must be done critically. Names and indications of identity (such as number of children) must be compared carefully, allowing for the impressionistic spelling of surnames that followed from the frequent illiteracy of the census population and the passing character of the relationship between naval officers and the populace they enumerated. Finally, it must be remembered that name-sieving does not measure geographical mobility alone. A person named in an earlier census and missing from a later one may have moved on to New England but might also have fallen out of the

118. Robinson provided similar information for six inhabitants of Bay Bulls. One had recently arrived, but Robert Dench had been in Newfoundland since 1650 and the others had been there for periods of four to twelve years. Berry listed only two of them as planters in 1675.

119. W. Arundel, "Description of the...portes and Harbours...", 13 March 1675, CO 1/34 (22i), 45,46.

class surveyed, remarried, or simply have gone to a final reward. If this critical approach is taken to the comparison of the Newfoundland censuses, then it can be shown that the degree of transience usually ascribed to Newfoundland's inhabitants should be reconsidered.

Handcock has made the best-documented case for the transience of Newfoundland's seventeenth-century population. It will be convenient to introduce the case for the defence by considering his arguments, which are largely based on name-sieving. Among the eighteen surnames of planters and bye-boat keepers of St. John's given by Yonge in 1669, Handcock finds only five in Berry's 1675 census of planters.¹²⁰ We might think of this as a lower limit of estimated persistence. If we allow for vagaries of spelling, at least eight and probably ten of the 1669 surnames recur among the 1675 planters.¹²¹ Moreover, if bye-boat keepers are considered for 1675, as for 1669, this adds two further names.¹²² Handcock uses a low incidence of persistence at St. John's to argue that population turnover resulting from

120. Handcock, English Settlement, 43-44, listing Furze, Bennet, Loony, Hopkings and Downing. Yonge's "Goodman Bennet" may be Berry's "William Bennet" and not a relative, as Handcock suggests, since "Goodman" is an honorific, not a name: see Laslett, World We Have Lost, 74.

121. We must add Woods, Cullen (= Collins), Doddle (= Durdell) and suggest that "Coke" in Poynters edition of Yonge's "Journal" is a misreading for "Cole" and Yonge's "Rogers" a misremembered "Roberts". "Holeman" recurs as "Holman" in 1676.

122. "Andrews" and "Bickford". See J. Berry, "...Shippes...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (171), 136-148.

migration was much more important than natural increase and succession in the early settlements.¹²³ At the upper limit of estimated persistence, however, twelve of eighteen 1669 surnames recur six years later: a very different picture.

Even the apparently impressive turnover of 9 of 27 individuals between 1677 and 1681 at St. John's is not, when closely examined, persuasive evidence that in and out migration were more important, let alone much more important, than mortality, remarriage and status mobility. Thomas Barnes and William Matthews had died, since Widows Barnes and Matthews occur among female heads of households in 1680 or 1681. Andrew Exon was another likely decedent, survived by John.¹²⁴ Widows Loney, Sertall and Haman (*i.e.* Holeman) might well have remarried. Robert Warren and John Peirce turn up again as planters in 1682 and may simply have been missed (the 1681 census is a fairly sloppy job) or have suffered temporary economic setbacks. George Peircill (*i.e.* Piercey) owned no boat in 1677, so it is quite possible that he had become a servant. This would leave one of the 1677 planters, Thomas Oxford, as an out-migrant; hardly an ebb tide. This version of the fate of these people is speculative, but no more so than the assumption that they migrated elsewhere. It is, in the end, impossible to evaluate turnover and persistence, except comparatively.

123. Handcock, English Settlement, 43-44.

124. Or possibly misidentified in 1681, when "Jno. Exton" replaces "And. Exon". The abbreviations "Jno", "Tho" and "And" are not always easily distinguishable in sloppier scripts and must have confused contemporary copyists.

In an important article on two sets of censuses of the seventeenth-century English villages of Clayworth and Cogenhoe, Peter Laslett and John Harrison point out an interesting implication of these very rare records: the surprising mobility of early modern populations.¹²⁵ In the 10 years between the censuses of Cogenhoe in 1618 and 1628, 52 percent of the 185 persons resident vanished from the records; while at Clayworth, among 401 persons resident in 1676, 61 percent were gone 12 years later in 1688.¹²⁶ Subsequent research has suggested that such levels of turnover were common in seventeenth-century England and that physical mobility was a wide-spread phenomenon affecting the great mass of the national population.¹²⁷ Research on the demographic history of colonial America suggests that the trans-Atlantic situation was more variable. Some communities, particularly in inland New England in the late seventeenth century, appear to have been very stable, while the colonial port town of Boston and most of the Chesapeake counties exhibit high turnover.¹²⁸ Most published com-

125. P. Laslett and J. Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe", in H.E. Bell and R.L. Ollard (eds), Historical Essays 1600-1750, presented to David Ogg (London, 1963), 157-184.

126. Laslett and Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe", 176, 183.

127. Clark, "Migration in England 1660-1730", 59; cf. J. Cornwall, "Evidence of Population Mobility in the Seventeenth Century", Institute of Historical Research Bulletin 40 (1967), 143-152; Laslett, World We Have Lost, 75-77; Slack, "Vagrants and Vagrancy in England"; Wrightson, English Society, 42; P. Clark and D. Souden, "Introduction", in Migration and Society, 11-48.

128. The relevant literature is summarized in Douglas L. Jones, "The strolling poor: transiency in eighteenth-century Massachusetts", Journal of Social History 8(3) (1975), 28-54, and Horn, "Migration in the Chesapeake".

parisons of turnover or persistence have relied on an impressionistic evaluation of data pertaining to different inter-censal periods. Given population turnover over a specified time span, it is possible to calculate an annual turnover rate. This is not a simple arithmetic fraction, since after the first year the mobile group will include persons who have already moved. An annual turnover rate, R_t , can be calculated from the equation:

$$R_t = 1 - (P_p / P_o)^{1/n}$$

i.e.

$$R_t = 1 - (1 - P_t/P_o)^{1/n}$$

Where $P_t = P_o - P_p$ = turnover in population in n years
 P_p = persistant population over n years
 P_o = original population
 n = number of years elapsed between censuses¹²⁹

The equation yields higher annual turnover rates than an arithmetic calculation. For example, the annual turnover rate for Clayworth between 1676 and 1688 was 7.5 percent, not the 5 percent one might expect at first glance, given a 60 percent turnover in 12 years. This figure applied to the whole population, servants included. The turnover among heads of households was, predictably, lower and it is figures for householders that provide the most useful statistical background for the evaluation of turnover and persistence in the Newfoundland planter censuses.

Table 5.5, p. 246, presents annual turnover rates for householders in selected districts in England, New England

129. Cf. Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 53.

**Table 5.5. Annual turnover rates for householders
selected regions in England, New England,
the Chesapeake and Newfoundland, 1618-1698**

PLACE	FROM	TO	YEARS	GROSS TURNOVER	ANNUAL RATE
<u>England</u>					
Cogenhoe, N.Hants	1618	1628	10	n/a	7.5%
Clayworth, Notts.	1676	1688	12	48%	5.3%
Orby, Lincs	1692	1694	2	15%	7.9%
AVERAGE					6.9%
<u>New England</u>					
Rowley, Mass.	1643	1653	10	41%	5.1%
Dedham, Mass.	1648	1660	12	48%	5.3%
Dedham, Mass.	1660	1670	10	22%	2.5%
Dedham, Mass.	1680	1690	10	27%	3.1%
Windsor, Conn.	1676	1686	10	43%	5.5%
AVERAGE for Townships					4.3%
Boston, Mass.	1687	1695	8	47%	7.6%
<u>Chesapeake</u>					
Charles Co., Md.	1660	1675	15	53%	4.9%
Charles Co., Md.	1675	1690	15	58%	5.6%
Surry Co., Md.	1668	1678	10	54%	7.5%
Lancaster Co., Va.	1669	1679	10	61%	9.0%
Lancaster Co., Va.	1678	1688	10	57%	8.1%
Lancaster Co., Va.	1688	1698	10	55%	7.7%
AVERAGE					7.1%
<u>Newfoundland</u>					
English Shore	1675	1681	6	39%	7.9%
South Avalon	1675	1681	6	33%	6.5%

SOURCES and NOTES: Please see following page.

**Table 5.5. Annual turnover rates for householders
continued selected regions in England, New England,
the Chesapeake and Newfoundland, 1618-1698**

SOURCES:

England: for Cogenhoe and Orby, Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 67, Table 4.11; for Clayworth, Laslett and Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe", 157-184, Addendum III.

New England: Jones, "Strolling Poor", 28-54, Table 1.

Chesapeake: Horn, "Migration in the Chesapeake", 172-212, Table 22.

Newfoundland: J. Berry, "...Planters...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (17ii), 150-156 and J. Story, "...Fishing Shipp's, Sackshipp's Planters & boat keepers...", 1 September 1681, CO 1/47 (52i), 113-121.

NOTES:

The figures for Cogenhoe and Orby are for "Non-servants", possibly a slightly broader class than householders. The annual rate for Cogenhoe (1618/1628) given here is actually the mean of annual rates for a series of shorter periods. The figures for Newfoundland exclude Brigus South, Bauline South, Bonaventure and English Harbour, which were not censused in 1681, and Keels, Barrow Harbour, Salvage and Fair Island, which were not censused in 1675. Persons with duplicate surnames in the same household in 1675 have also been excluded, since the 1681 census lists only one name per household. With these exclusions the total number of heads of households in 1675 was 132, of which 81 re-occur in 1681. It should be noted that the 1681 census is noticeably less carefully executed than the 1675 census, which is neat and well-organized. For example, the 1675 census specifies its geographical limitations, the 1681 does not. The impression left by the slovenliness of the 1681 report is that it is more likely to contain errors and omissions than the earlier census. The persistence level of 81 individuals out of 132 should, therefore, be regarded as a minimum figure.

and the Chesapeake in comparison with an annual turnover rate for Newfoundland's English Shore, based on a sieving of planter heads of household listed in the censuses of 1675 and 1681.¹³⁰ The comparative data is based on 2 English villages with initial populations of 32 and 98 households, 3 New England townships, each with 50 to 165 householders, the colonial "city" of Boston of over 1200 households, and 3 Chesapeake counties, each with several hundred titheable households.¹³¹ Although most of these populations are in the same order of magnitude as Newfoundland's 163 households in 1675 it might be objected that such comparisons mislead because the geographical units considered vary in size. Kinds of residential persistence certainly varied. Thus a householder like Thomas Dodridge, who remained a resident of the English Shore between 1675 and 1681, but moved via Fermeuse from Brigus South to Trepassey, exemplified a different kind of residential persistence than a householder of Dedham, Massachusetts, who remained in that township from, say, 1660 to 1670.¹³² Such mobility along the stretch of coastline called the English Shore was, in fact, rare - at

130. N.b., this was a sieving for the same individuals, not merely for surnames.

131. Laslett and Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe", 176, 183; Jones, "The strolling poor", 30, Table 1; Kevin P. Kelly, "'In dispers'd Country Plantations': Settlement Patterns in Seventeenth-Century Surry County, Virginia", 193, in Tate and Ammerman, *The Chesapeake*, 183-205.

132. "Tho: Dodridge" of Brigus South (1675) was, no doubt, "Thomas Doderige" of Fermeuse (1677) and "Tho Dottery" of Trepassey (1681); but he is excluded from the population considered in Table 5.6 because his harbour of residence in 1675 was not censused in 1681.

least among planters.¹³³ The low incidence of infra-colonial mobility in the 1670s and 1680s means that the mobility rate for the whole colony is not too far off average mobility rates for particular communities. In fact, at least one stretch of the English Shore, the south Avalon, exhibited lower mobility than the colony as a whole. The Newfoundland planters were, like their fellows in the Chesapeake counties, scattered over a much larger area than the populace of the Nottinghamshire village of Clayworth and a somewhat larger area than the extensive Massachusetts township of Dedham. Comparison among these differently distributed populations remains valid, as long as it is understood that the rates of turnover in question pertain to political units typical of different regions.¹³⁴

Although the turnover rate among planters on the English Shore was high, it was by no means the highest rate for householders in the regions examined. If Clayworth (1676/1688); Windsor, Connecticut (1676/1686); or Charles County, Maryland (1675/1690) represent modal annual rates of turnover at roughly 5.5 percent, then communities like Hingham or Dedham, Massachusetts (after 1660) were exceptionally stable communities with annual turnover at about half this rate. Newfoundland's annual turnover rate of 7.9 percent of all householders was, without question, relatively high, but it was exceeded in Lancaster County, Virginia in two periods

133. Cf. Handcock, English Settlement, 46.

134. Cf. Horn, "Migration in the Chesapeake", 200 ff.

(1669/1679 and 1678/1688) and at Orby, Lincolnshire (1692/1694). The Newfoundland rate was closely approached in Cogenhoe, Northamptonshire (1618/1628); Boston, Massachusetts, (1687/1695); Surry County, Virginia (1668/1678); and Lancaster County, Virginia (1688/1698). Turnover in these areas exceeded that among south Avalon planters (1677/1681). Discussions of residence in Newfoundland often presume a standard of permanence matched historically only at times in some places. This sample of published figures should put Newfoundland transience in perspective.¹³⁵

Turnover, as has been stressed, is not equivalent to geographical mobility, but is a sum of this and two other elements: downward social mobility and mortality. The seventeenth-century Chesapeake data suggest that over three percent of householders died each year. This high death-rate, typical there as in the Caribbean colonies, often accounted for much observed turnover. On the other hand, variation in turnover rates from county to county and decade to decade was determined by variation in levels of physical mobility, which might be more than 25 percent of the population of householders in a decade in areas with high turnover rates.¹³⁶ Mortality decreased to the northward, at least from the West Indies to New England, and there is no reason

135. In the absence of information about when the censuses were taken it would be unwise to trust these turnover rates much further than one significant digit.

136. Horn, "Migration in the Chesapeake", Table 23, 196. On mortality see Walsh "Till Death Us Do Part" and Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, 300-334.

to assume Newfoundland a significantly less healthy environment than, say, Salem, Massachusetts, where mortality rates among adults were about two thirds the Chesapeake rates.¹³⁷ Thus the reasonably high turnover rate for the English Shore (1675/1681) may actually reflect somewhat greater physical mobility than existed in the contemporary Chesapeake counties with similar turnover. It was death that called most Chesapeake planters away; if they moved on, Newfoundland planters were more likely to go to New England.

It would be instructive to compare population turnover in seventeenth-century Newfoundland with turnover in some contemporary maritime populations. Unfortunately, no suitable figures have been published. Total turnover between 1731 and 1741 for Beverly, Massachusetts was 50 percent, indicating an annual turnover rate of 6.7 percent.¹³⁸ This figure, however, reflects the situation a half-century after the study period in a town which was only in part a maritime community. Daniel Vickers has uncovered some striking data pertaining to turnover in seventeenth-century Salem, Massachusetts. Because this is not census data we

137. D.B. Smith, "Mortality and Family in the Colonial Chesapeake", Journal of Interdisciplinary History 8 (1978), 403-427. Death rates among taxpayers in eighteenth-century Beverly, Massachusetts were about two percent per annum; see D.L. Jones, Village and Seaport: Migration and Society in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts (Hanover, N.H., 1981), Table 2.4, 31. Scarcity of health-related ceramics in seventeenth-century archaeological contexts at Ferryland is consistent with a relatively healthy population; see Pope, Ceramics from Ferryland, 241. For another view see Handcock, English Settlement, 44.

138. Jones, "Strolling Poor", Table 1, 30.

cannot extract a turnover rate quite comparable to those discussed above. Relatively high population turnover is indicated, however, together with a very interesting distribution of periods of persistence. Table 5.6, p. 253, reports numbers of individuals among those carrying accounts with George Corwin in the early 1660s, grouped by period of persistence in New England, indicated in selected records.

What is immediately striking about Vickers' Salem population is that levels of long-term persistence were substantial: 57 percent of those with Corwin accounts persisted in the region for at least 10 years. Yet there was also a strong transient element: 36 percent persisted for less than 5 years. Only six percent of Corwin's customers disappeared from the records after persisting for an intermediate period. Thus the distribution of individuals by periods of persistence has a marked bipolar distribution, strongly suggesting that the Corwin accounts consisted of two populations with different demographic characteristics: one very mobile, one relatively stable. Turnover rates calculated from such data cannot be compared with rates based on censuses. However, comparison of Salem persistence rates for two different periods may make a subtle but important point. The turnover level among all individuals five years after entry into the records was high - well in excess of non-maritime populations. Turnover among all individuals a decade after their first entry into these records was, however, unremarkable for early modern populations.

Table 5.6 Number of individuals in Corwin accounts
 (Salem, Massachusetts, c. 1660)
 by period of persistence in New England

	PERIOD OF PERSISTENCE (YEARS)		
	1-4	5-9	10 or more
NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS	47	8	74
PERCENT OF ALL (n = 129)	36%	6%	57%

SOURCE:

Daniel Vickers, Department of History, M.U.N., personal communication of research file, based on George Corwin, Account Book, 1658-64, Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts and RFOC Essex Co vols 1-9; A.B. Forbes (ed.), Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1671-1680, parts 1 and 2, Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Collections, vols 29 and 30 (Boston, 1933, 1934); Baxter Mss, DHS Maine; S. Perley, History of Salem, Massachusetts (Salem, 1924-1928).

NOTES:

The population consists of individuals having accounts with George Corwin and named in his Account Book. The period of persistence recorded represents the years elapsed between the first and last indication, in the records cited, of presence on the New England littoral (including Maine) by each individual.

How can we reconcile these disparate results? - by recognizing that in maritime communities those most likely to move were those who were already mobile. Almost a tenth of the population might move on each year but this fraction was not equally distributed over the whole population (the assumption made in our comparative discussion of transience). Emigrants consisted of recent immigrants who themselves had displaced earlier emigrants. Because maritime communities had a niche for highly mobile individuals, high rates of turnover in short periods were consistent with lower rates of turnover over longer periods.¹³⁹

There is no doubt that there was room on the English Shore in the study period for the highly mobile, even among those who kept boats and employed others. The bye-boat keepers, who generally migrated annually, were a good example of this. There were others, often recorded in a grey area in which small fishing masters were not clearly distinguished from small-scale single planters.¹⁴⁰ The annual turnover rate reported above for Newfoundland is based on an inter-censal interval of only six years, or about half the interval used for the comparative data. In light of the Salem figures this suggests strongly that a rate of 7.9 percent overstates turnover on the English Shore and that the Newfoundland planters were no more mobile than their peers in many other parts of the English speaking world.

139. Cf. Wrightson, "Social Differentiation", 33,47; Jones, "Strolling Poor"; Heyrman, Commerce and Culture, 213.

140. Cf. Handcock, English Settlement, 25,26.

We should not misconstrue conditions in seventeenth-century Newfoundland as unique; they were part of a larger picture. Long-distance mobility was a typical aspect of English life between about 1540 and 1660, shorter distance, seasonal mobility characterizing the period after 1660, until about 1700 when such mobility was confined to a rump of ex-soldiers and sailors, gypsies and Irish.¹⁴¹ The parallels with Newfoundland's population history are obvious. Internal mobility was somewhat lower in the West Country than in the rest of England, but this ignores movement from the ports.¹⁴² Devon actually ranks third among English counties in emigrants to America.¹⁴³ The ebb and flow of migrants to Newfoundland were part of a much larger scene. It is not the transience of a relatively unremarkable percentage of Newfoundland planters which requires a particular regional explanation but rather the quickly-achieved stability of New England populations.

If we see Newfoundland's population history in this light, it will not be necessary to invoke the demographic turbulence of frontier areas to explain the levels of turnover apparent in Newfoundland at the beginning of the last quarter of the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁴ Neither Boston, Massachusetts nor Virginia's Surry and Lancaster Counties

141. Slack, "Vagrants and Vagrancy", 356, 371; Clark, "Migration in England"; Souden, "Indentured Servants", 21.

142. Clark, "Migration in England 1660-1730", 76.

143. R.D. Brown, "Devonians and New England Settlement before 1650", RT Devon 95 (1964), 219-243.

144. Cf. Handcock, English Settlement, 44.

were frontier areas in 1675, yet they shared with the English Shore annual turnover rates about half again higher than what appears to have been normal in England and Anglo-America.¹⁴⁵ Parts of the English Shore, in particular the south Avalon, had already passed the frontier stage, when the first generation of settlers had made the area their permanent home.¹⁴⁶ There was a core of permanent settlers in the area, although there was, undoubtedly, a broad niche for the transient as well. The distinction between these groups was largely socio-economic and we cannot hope to understand the lives of either the planters or their servants without understanding something of class differences.

145. Horn, "Migration in the Chesapeake", 180, Map 8; Kelly, "Seventeenth-Century Surry County".

146. Thornton, "Settlement in the Strait", 163.

CHAPTER 6

MASTERS: PLANTERS AND THE PLANTER "GENTRY"

"Sir Davy Kirke... exersiseth greate tyranny, especially amongst the planters, so as hee is seldome spoken of without a curse."

- John Harrison to John Winthrop (1639).¹

In 1639 Newfoundland was a simple society and not much more complex a half century later. It was, in some sense, a part-society: that is, social structure could only take the form it did because a more complex society existed elsewhere.² Newfoundland lacked kings and parliaments but not their authority; it lacked vagrants and beggars, but not the threat of being returned to a life of vagrancy and beggary.³ Newfoundland lacked a gentry in the strict sense, for land was not the basis of wealth, but it did not lack a class of merchants behaving like gentry. It often lacked formal

1. Harrison to Winthrop, 11 June 1639, in Winthrop Papers, vol. 3, 119, 120.

2. A "part-society" is a vertical or horizontal segment or formal institution of a complex society; see H.F. Reading, Dictionary of the Social Sciences (London, 1977), 187.

3. Eg. Overseers for the Poor of Barnstaple et al. and S. Amoree, Apprenticeship Indenture of Richard Verchill, 24 July 1637, NDRO Barnstaple, 1185.

government, but never masters and servants; priests, but not religion; marriage, but not women and children; a state, but not, apparently, a social contract.

If Newfoundland was without government ecclesiastical or civil in 1680, this had not always been true. There had been no authorized representatives of God on the English Shore since the departure from Ferryland in the late 1620s of the Puritan divine Erasmus Stourton and the Roman Catholic priests Anthony Smith (alias Pole), Thomas Longville and Anthony (?) Hacket.⁴ From 1638 to 1651, however, the civil power was represented by the Governor, Sir David Kirke; de jure amongst the planters and de facto amongst West Country migratory crews within his sphere of operations.⁵ Earlier in the century John Guy and his successor John Mason had exercised limited authority in Conception Bay.⁶ Kirke held courts and was capable of enforcing his decisions, executive or judicial, by force majeure. One planter later recalled that when differences arose "betweene the planters & Inhabitants" Kirke would "judge & determine the same" whereby the land was "quietly governed".⁷

4. Lahey, "Role of Religion", Codignola, Coldest Harbour, 43-45.

5. Charles I, "A Grant of Newfoundland...", 13 November 1637, CO 195/1, 11-27, in Matthews, Laws, 95, permitted the patentees "to execute all acts of Justice" re planters.

6. Prowse, History, 99-108.

7. J. Mathews, "Concerning the French...", 27 January 1671, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 471; cf. J. Shawe (of Boston), Power of Attorney to Robert Love (of Ferryland) "...to appeare before the Governor &c: to sue &c", 23 March 1648, in Aspinwall Records, 130. On the use of force see N. Luce, Deposition, 27 November 1667, WDRO, Plymouth, W360/74.

During the early 1650s, successive commissions represented the Commonwealth, and one of the commissioners, John Treworgy, acted for the Protectorate government from 1653 to 1659. His administration was said to have been weak, as it must have been, given that it was partly financed out of his own pocket.⁸ The Calverts were restored to proprietorship of the Province of Avalon in 1661, but their ineffectual deputies represented "only the picture but not the effects of...government" and do not appear to have done much more than collect rents.⁹ From the mid-1660s, planters bewailed the absence of an effective local government with increasing stridency.¹⁰ Their problems culminated in the mid-1670s, when some West Country interests took it upon themselves to attempt to drive the planters from the Island.¹¹ Under the terms of the "Western Charter" of 1634, migratory crews were supposed to be self-governing, to stretch a phrase, using a traditional delegation of administrative powers to the "admiral", or fishing master

8. L. Kirke, Petition to Charles II, 1660, CO 1/14 (8), 12; J. Treworgie, Petition to the Council of State, April 1660, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 262. Treworgy did manage to collect some taxes; see J. Downing, "A Breif Narrative...", 24 November 1676, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 560-563.

9. O. Bridgeman, and H. Finche, Report to Charles II, 28 February 1661, CO 1/14 (101), 19; quotation from R. Prowse, *et al.*, "To the Honorable George Kirke Esquire...", 18 March 1667, BL Egerton ms 2395, 447.

10. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 197-239. C. English, "The Development of the Newfoundland Legal System to 1815", *Acadiensis* 20 (1) (1990), 89-119, underestimates Kirke's legal authority but gives an accurate impression of post-Restoration anarchy.

11. W. Poole, "Answers...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62i), 149-152v; C. Martin, Deposition, 1 January 1678, CO 1/42 (20), 54,v.

first arriving at each harbour.¹² To whatever extent Newfoundland was governed, it was governed by merchants.

In the anthropological sense, the English Shore in the study period was a state society: that is, a society ultimately under control of a permanent, literate, hierarchical bureaucracy.¹³ On the other hand, in a political sense, it was often a naked civil society, bereft of a state. Is it any wonder that it occasionally degenerated into a Hobbesian "warre...of every man, against every man"?¹⁴ Such a "Naturall Condition of Mankind" is often taken to be typical of frontier societies. The English Shore looks even more like a frontier society if the transience of the population (relative to later periods) is stressed.¹⁵ As we have seen, however, the population was no more transient than some populations in "settled" colonies.¹⁶ There was, undoubtedly, a settlement frontier in late seventeenth-century Newfoundland, in Trinity and Bonavista Bays, but the south Avalon was no longer a frontier society; it was something more elusive.

What made the social structure of the English Shore distinctive was a class of plantation owners, just as planta-

12. Charles I in Council, Order, 24 January 1634, CO 1/8 (1), 1-5, in APC Col. For a brief discussion see English, "Newfoundland Legal System", 97.

13. Cf. E.R. Service, Origins of the State and Civilization (New York, 1975), 4, 14, 15.

14. Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan [1651], ed. C.B. Macpherson (Harmondsworth, 1968), 183-188.

15. Cf. Handcock, English Settlement, 44.

16. See Chapter 5, above.

tion owners of a different sort came to typify other colonies.¹⁷ What was the social identity of Newfoundland's planters? Did it vary to the extent that we can subdivide them as a class? Was the relationship among classes characterized by deference to ascribed status or by commercial contract or even by confrontation? Was religion a factor in social relations? How can we account for the socio-economic prominence of some women, so surprising in the context of the time and place? The surviving documentation relating to these matters is limited; but the questions are important and the evidence worth reviewing.

Readers familiar with Gerald Sider's recent discussion of nineteenth-century Newfoundland may be puzzled by the analysis proposed here, insofar as it conflates what he calls the "servant" and the "family" fisheries.¹⁸ The seventeenth century family fishery was a servant fishery: all boat-keeping planter families in 1675 employed at least one servant and most families many more.¹⁹ The servant/family distinction fails as an analysis of change in the Newfoundland fishery in part because it makes the earlier planter fishery, in which servants were employed within a family production unit, look like an aberration, when in

17. Cf. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves.

18. G.M. Sider "Christmas Mummings and the New Year in Outport Newfoundland", P&P 71 (1976), 102-125 and Culture and Class, 22; cf. S. Antler, "Capitalist Underdevelopment of Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland", in R.J. Brym and R.J. Sacouman (eds), Underdevelopment and Social Movements in Atlantic Canada (Toronto, 1979), 179-202.

19. J. Berry, "...Planters...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (17ii), 150-156.

fact it was an entirely typical early modern phenomenon: one of the extinct large reptiles of economic history, to borrow Anne Kussmaul's suggestive description of service in husbandry.²⁰ Both subspecies of service began to die out after 1815, a coincidence that suggests that it might be useful to relate the evolution of class relations in Newfoundland with their evolution elsewhere.²¹ In conceptually marginalizing the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century planter fishery, Sider artificially minimizes the extent and permanence of early Newfoundland settlement, which suits his version of the venerable hypothesis that the British government successfully opposed settlement in the interests of a West Country merchant class.²² In fact, there was an early planter population, employing servants in their fishery.²³

1. Social classes?

The very terms of this enquiry might be challenged, for the use of "class" to analyse social conditions in a seventeenth-century community. "Class", for many historians, has come to have a technical meaning. E.P. Thomp-

20. Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 134.

21. Compare Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 125 and Sider, Culture and Class, 55. A planter fishery survived into the twentieth century in Labrador; see R.M. Lewis, "The Survival of the Planters' Fishery in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Newfoundland", in R.E. Ommer (ed.), Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective (Fredrickton, N.B., 1990), 102-113.

22. Sider, Culture and Class, 15.

23. Lewis, "Planters' Fishery" analyses the fishery into three successive stages, based on ships' servants, planters' servants and, finally, the family. He errs, however, in dating the origin of the planter fishery to after 1700.

son and other scholars have emphasized class-consciousness and political culture in the "making" of classes.²⁴ Many historians would not apply the term "class" except to a self-conscious social formation, with its own class culture, including an awareness of its own political interests and a willingness to attempt to enforce these interests.²⁵ Many would, therefore, deny the existence of classes in the study period, either on these grounds or because they accept, with Peter Laslett, the early modern ideology of a one-class society.²⁶ Those affected by such doubts can read "class" here as "status group". To do so begs an important question, however, as Christopher Hill has pointed out: did not such groups sometimes act collectively in their own political interests?²⁷ The term is used with deliberation here, not to insist on Hill's point, but simply to denote broad groups of persons who were socially and economically distinguishable from others.²⁸ Whether these are political

24. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Harmondsworth, 1968), 9-13 and *passim*.

25. Many non- or post-Marxist historians have accepted this usage; among seventeenth-century specialists, David Underdown, Revel, Riot, and Rebellion, Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660 (Oxford, 1987), 168, 277.

26. Laslett, World We Have Lost, 22-52.

27. C. Hill, "A One-Class Society?", in Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England (London, 1974), 205-218.

28. "Classes" here are what result from classification. We might speak of the class of the young, of the owners of boats or of those with red hair. Debates about the existence of particular classes are, from this point of view, debates about the adequacy of a classification as social analysis. For example, while it is unlikely that redheads are a social class anywhere, it would be reasonable to claim that in some societies persons of colour are. Cf. P.E. Pope, "Some Critical Attitudes to the Division of Labour: A Study of Various Theories from Rousseau to Morris", unpub. B.Litt thesis, University of Oxford (1972), 115, 116.

classes, in either a liberal or a Marxian sense, is an open question to be considered in the light of the evidence.²⁹

Into what socio-economic classes, then, do the inhabitants of seventeenth-century Newfoundland fall? The most obvious distinction to contemporaries was that between masters and servants. This was fundamental because it marked the economic divide between those who owned means of production and those who did not. The social landscape of the contemporary British Isles may well have consisted of a number of independent status-hierarchy towers on a broad hill of the poor and humble, but in seventeenth century Newfoundland there was only one social edifice, and its economic foundation was the fishery.³⁰ Those who owned boats were in a very different position from those who did not. Nor was there much in the way of intermediate status. Some men owned smaller two-man boats, but all boat-keepers were employers and almost all employers were boat-keepers. Thus the Newfoundland planters can be described as a class of resident boat-keepers, who were the masters of household production units.³¹ Their servants made up the other broad

29. This is one of the ways Marx used the term, in his discussion of a class which was not conscious of itself; see K. Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", 334, in K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1962), 247-344. Cf. G.A. Cohen, Karl Marx's Theory of History, A Defence (Oxford, 1978), 73-77.

30. On the "San Gimignano model" see L. Stone, "Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700", P&P 33 (1966), 16-55.

31. Note that the present study uses "boat-keeper" in the common seventeenth-century sense, which comprises planters as well as bye-boat keepers (DNE) and not as a synonym for the latter, as in e.g. Innis, Cod Fishery.

class of residents. These were predominantly male, usually young, and relatively mobile fishermen, who contracted to work for particular planters.

This classification omits the few planters who were not boat-keepers, like Lawrence Hilliard of Fermeuse, with two servants in 1677 but no "dwelling house", boat, fishing room, stage or train vat.³² How did men like him survive? Probably as their equivalents in the old country did, by using their limited holdings (in Hilliard's case a "lodging for servants") as a means of production and opening a tippeling house. Since many planters kept such establishments and since "fishing" ship crews were only seasonally present, this cannot have been very practical. The few non-boatkeeping inhabitants in the census records show every sign of having been transitory in status between planter and servant. Those so listed almost invariably became boat-keepers, as Hilliard did in 1681, or disappeared from the records into the anonymous pool of servants.³³

The fundamental master/servant distinction is too simple, even for the seventeenth-century English Shore. Contemporaries distinguished "big planters" from their fellows.³⁴ These "big planters" differed not merely in the

32. W. Poole, "...Inhabitants and Planters...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62iv,vi,vii), 157-166.

33. J. Story, "...Fishing Shippes, Sackshippes Planters & boat keepers", 1 September 1681, CO 1/47 (52i), 113-121.

34. W. Swanley et al., "An act made by the tenants of Avalon", 30 July 1663, Maryland HS, Calvert Papers 174/210. Cf. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 175.

scale of their operations but commercially, as merchants with trans-Atlantic connections, and politically, because they acted as a sort of gentry. For such reasons John Josselyn divided the contemporary inhabitants of coastal Maine into three classes: magistrates, planters and servants.³⁵ Servants, however, also fell into two categories. Again this distinction was recognized by contemporaries: fishermen skilled as boatmasters, boatswains, headers, splitters, or salters enjoyed a different status from unskilled "boys" or "youngsters". Since servants were introduced to the fishery through unspecialized service, this category is, in effect, an age-grade of the class of servants - one stage in an normative life-cycle. They are, nevertheless, distinguishable, for they were not hired on the same terms.³⁶ In brief, the early inhabitants of Newfoundland can be placed in three classes and one sub-class: 1. planter gentry, 2. ordinary planters, 3. servants - the latter skilled and 4. unskilled. These divisions roughly parallel the "four sorts", 1. gentlemen, 2. citizens and yeomen, 3. artificers and 4. labourers, that Sir Thomas Smith and others perceived in English society. The classes proposed for Newfoundland are compatible with David Cressy's sixfold status analysis of 1. gentlemen, 2. clergy and professions, 3. merchants, tradesmen and craftsmen, 4. yeomen, 5. husbandmen, 6. labourers and servants, omitting 2. and conflating 3. and

35. J. Josselyn, Account of Two Voyages to New England [1675], Mass. HSC (3rd series) vol. 3 (Boston, 1834), 249; cf. Head, Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland, 142, 143.

36. See below, Chapter 7.

4.³⁷ We will consider Newfoundland's two "sorts" of masters here and the two "sorts" of servants in Chapter 7, below.

2. Planters

Planters were the most distinctive residents. They exhibited characteristics of yeomen, husbandmen and "citizen" tradesmen. As in England itself, those involved in non-agricultural trades seem often to have had an ambiguous status somewhere between that of yeomen and husbandmen.³⁸ Like yeomen or citizen tradesmen, planters were independent but market-oriented.³⁹ They owned their own boats and plantations. A planter keeping two boats, like Henry Codner of Renewes, would have been worth something like £150 in the late 1670s, assuming he had few debts not balanced by credits and cash on hand.⁴⁰ This can be compared with a mean probate of £195 for a sample of early

37. Sir Thomas Smith, De Republica Anglorum [1583], cited in D. Cressy, "Describing the Social Order of Elizabethan and Stuart England", Literature and History 3 (1976), 29-44. A sixfold division in Stone, "Social Mobility", has three statuses of gentry. See also Wrightson, English Society, 17-38 and L. Weatherill, Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760 (London, 1988), 208-214.

38. L. Weatherill, "Consumer Behaviour and Social Status in England, 1660-1750", Continuity and Change 1(2) (1986), 191-216; cf. Cressy, "Social Order", 38.

39. "A yeoman was...a substantial farmer concentrating primarily on the market rather than on subsistence agriculture", Underdown, Revel, Riot, and Rebellion, 24.

40. This is based on replacement cost of dwelling, out-buildings, boats, stage, train vat and control of rooms. Cf. the £153 (sterling) estate of a Maine planter in H. Waddocke and J. Gibbines, Inventory of Ambrose Berry, 4 November 1661, in C.T. Libby (ed.), York County Court Records, Province and Court Records of Maine, vol. 2, (Portland, Maine, 1931), 124, discussed in Chapter 8, below.

modern English yeomen; or with the estates of craftsmen, ranging between £30 for bricklayers to about £280 for merchants. The average planter probably ranked in wealth with contemporary butchers and innkeepers, whose average net worth was also in the vicinity of £150.⁴¹ Gregory King thought average family income for freeholders (yeomen) of the lesser sort to be £55 in 1688, and put artisan and craftsman income at about £40 per family.⁴² Planter family incomes probably often fell in this range. Planters correspond to the yeomen, artisans and smaller merchants of the old country who were beginning to think of themselves as "the people", in distinction from the gentry above and the poor without property below.⁴³

Planter production units were distinctly larger than those of English yeomen or tradesmen. Research by the Tawneys, based on a Gloucestershire muster roll for 1608, suggests that yeomen then employed an average of at most four servants. Most tradesmen and craftsman employed neither servants nor apprentices and few of those employing servants employed more than one.⁴⁴ Newfoundland's planters,

41. Probate valuations in D. Cressy, Literacy and the Social Order, Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England (Cambridge, 1980), 139, 140, Tables 6.9, 6.10, in 1640 values. Inflation 1640 to 1680 was about 8 percent; see E.H. Phelps Brown and S.V. Hopkins, "Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables compared with Builders' Wages-rates", Economica 23 (1956), 296-314.

42. G. King, "Scheme of the...several families of England", 1688, in Laslett, World We Have Lost, 32, 33.

43. C. Hill, "The Poor and the People".

44. A.J. Tawney and R.H. Tawney, "An Occupational Census of the Seventeenth Century", ECHR 5 (1934), 25-64.

on the other hand, almost always employed at least three men and the average planter employed nine or ten servants.⁴⁵ The Newfoundland planter household, as a production unit, resembled the average Barbadian planter household, with its four or five servants and slaves, more than any common non-agricultural production unit in England itself.⁴⁶

Of course, not all planters operated at the same scale. Table 6.1, p. 270, reports the distribution of plantations by number of boats in 1675, 1677 and 1681. It suggests that the planter fishery in the mid-1670s can be broken into three ranks. Operations based on one, two, and three or more boats each constituted roughly a third of this fishery. In 1681 the proportion of larger planters dropped to about 15 percent. This supports Keith Matthews' observation that the larger planters were in decline in this period.⁴⁷ The 1681 census figures reflect, in part, a sharp increase in planters operating two boats but also an absolute decline in planters operating three or more boats. On the south Avalon, at least, this was part of a long term trend, since the early major planters, George Calvert and David Kirke, had operated at a much larger scale than the largest planter in the census period, Jonathan Hooper of Renewes, who kept seven boats in 1681. It is difficult to say why the number of large planters dropped, just when plantations at the

45. E.g. Berry, "Planters" (1675).

46. See Chapter 5, above, particularly Table 5.3.

47. The argument, in Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 176, that the larger planters disappeared after 1684 is somewhat disingenuous, since there is no nominal census between 1681 and 1708.

Table 6.1 **Distribution of planters
by number of boats
Newfoundland 1675, 1677, 1681**

Number of BOATS	Percentage of PLANTERS at this Scale		
	1675 (n=131)	1677 (n=163)	1681 (n=202)
0	5%	3%	5%
1	28%	35%	33%
2	39%	34%	45%
3	14%	16%	10%
4	9%	7%	3%
5	5%	4%	2%
6	1%	2%	0%
7	0%	0%	1%
1 to 6	95%	97%	95%

SOURCES:

J. Berry, "...Planters Names...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (17ii), 150-156; W. Poole, "...Inhabitants and Planters...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62iv,vi,vii), 157-166; J. Story, "...Fishing Shippes, Sackshipps Planters & boat keepers", 1 September 1681, CO 1/47 (52i), 113-121.

modal scale of operation became much more common. Matthews emphasizes the "irretrievable debt" into which, he asserts, most planters had fallen by 1684.⁴⁸ Possible causes of economic crisis will be discussed in Chapter 9, below. The increasing predominance of smaller plantations does suggest there were some significant differences between the smaller and the larger plantations.

One important difference may have been in physical participation of the planter in the fishery or related processing activities. The census data suggest that big planters did not work with their crews. This is implied by the recorded ratio of servants to boats. In 1675, for example, Lady Kirke kept five boats in Ferryland, with a crew of twenty-five men. There is no reason to think that she herself fished or cut bait, quite apart from her advanced years. On the other hand, Richard Poole of Renew's and his son probably helped their eight servants to man their two boat operation.⁴⁹ Those with men and boats in a ratio of much less than 5:1 tended to be the smaller operators. Table 6.2, p. 272, reports the mean number of servants per boat for each scale of planter operation in 1675. The low mean of about four servants per boat among owners of one or two boats suggests that the smaller planters themselves often worked with their crews. The fact that something like five servants per boat were employed by planters operating

48. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 160, 176, 177.

49. Berry, "List of the Planters" (1675).

Table 6.2 Mean number of servants
and mean ratio of servants per boat
by number of boats per planter
Newfoundland, 1675

Number of BOATS (n=277)	Mean no. SERVANTS per Planter (n=1250)	Mean no. SERVANTS per BOAT
0	0.0	n/a
1	3.9	3.9
2	8.5	4.2
3	14.7	4.9
4	18.8	4.7
5	25.7	5.1
6	32.0	5.3
1 to 6	10.0	4.5

SOURCE:

J. Berry, "...Planters Names...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35
(17ii), 150-156.

more than two boats suggests that most of these employers tended to commercial or administrative matters.

The capacity to do this was, in part, what distinguished the larger planters. Cressy has shown that literacy rates, based on the ability to sign rather than merely mark documents, correlate closely with both status and wealth in seventeenth-century England.⁵⁰ Evidence from business records and depositions suggests that the literacy rate among male south Avalon planters 1647 to 1707 was about 50 percent. Evidence regarding the literacy of female planters and servants is rare. None of the women giving depositions in Ferryland in 1652 could sign her name; nor could either of the servants accused of theft and vandalism in the 1680 case brought by Jean Ducarret.⁵¹ Male planter literacy rates for St. John's between 1704 and 1708 are well documented because of controversies regarding the peculations of the commander of the British garrison, Major Thomas Lloyd, and the need for a Christian minister. Petitions, by a cross-section of the population, suggest a literacy rate of about 60 percent. Because the precise degree of literacy indicated by signing is debatable, literacy rates so-defined are best seen in comparative context. Table 6.3, p. 274, reports signing rates for early modern Newfoundland and

50. Cressy, Literacy, 118-141; cf. K.A. Lockridge, Literacy in Colonial New England, An Enquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West (New York, 1974), 4, 5, 25, 26.

51. A. Love, A. Taylor and P. Davies, "Examinations" and "Answers", 24 and 31 August 1652, Maryland HS, Calvert Mss 174/200, in Scisco, "Testimony"; S. Wood and J. Wallis, Examinations in Ducarrett vs Wood et al., 22 and 24 August 1680, CO 1/45 (68i), 252-253.

Table 6.3 Comparative male literacy rates
early modern Newfoundland
and other selected populations

SAMPLE	PERIOD	Percent SIGNING	SAMPLE SIZE
<u>Newfoundland</u>			
Ferryland Planters	1647-1707	47%	n=17
Conception Bay Planters	1706	48%	n=40
St. John's area Planters	1706	59%	n=99
<u>West Country</u>			
Devon Parishoners Declaring for Parliament	1641-1644	28%	n=4903
Exeter Tradesmen and Craftsmen	1574-1680	53%	n=889
Exeter Tradesmen, Craftsmen and Yeomen	1574-1680	59%	n=1256
Exeter Yeomen	1574-1680	73%	n=367
<u>New England</u>			
Testators	1650-1670	60%	n=-700
Testators	1705-1715	65%	n=-1000

SOURCES:

Aspinwall Records, 126,308,309,388,389; Scisco, "Testimony 1652"; Papers relating to the case of John Ducarrett vs Samuel Wood et al., 1680, CO 1/45 (68 and 68i-iv), 252-256; Affidavits re Mr. Campbell's allegations about Major Lloyd, 1708, CO 194/4 (50-52), 186-189; H.M. Subjects inhabiting Conception Bay, Petition to Queen Anne, c. September 1706, CO 194/4 (9), 15; Traders and Inhabitants of St. John's and places adjacent, Petition to Queen Anne, 24 September 1706, CO 194/4 (6), 10; Cressy, Literacy and Social Order, Table 6.2, 120 and cf. Graph 7.15, 163, Table 4.1, 73; Lockridge, Literacy in New England, Graph 1, 19, but see 142n.

selected West Country and New England samples. With rates of about 50 percent, the planters of later seventeenth-century Ferryland and early eighteenth-century Conception Bay were much more likely to be literate than Devonshire parishioners in the 1640s, somewhat less likely to be literate than New England males making wills between 1650 and 1670, and about as likely to be literate as early modern Exeter tradesmen and craftsmen. These figures are consistent with recruitment of Newfoundland planters among yeomen, craftsmen or tradesmen, rather than among husbandmen or labourers, with their much lower literacy rates, or among the gentry, with their much higher rates.⁵²

The difficult question of what such "literacy" amounted to remains. Since the contemporary English curriculum produced readers before it produced writers, the ability to sign is good evidence of the ability to read. Keith Thomas has pointed out that signing ability significantly underestimates the proportion of people able to read print.⁵³ Widespread print literacy would imply that most Newfoundland planters could have participated in the contemporary popular printed culture of the Bible, chapbooks and broadside ballads.⁵⁴ As Thomas observes, it was pos-

52. Cressy, Literacy, Table 6.8, 136; Lockridge, Literacy, 109. See Chapter 7, below, for speculation on the role of the minority of literate husbandmen.

53. K. Thomas, "The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England", in G. Baumann (ed.), The Written Word, Literacy in Transition (Oxford, 1986), 97-131.

54. Thomas, "Literacy", 112ff; P. Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (London, 1978), 250-259.

sible to be numerate without being fully literate in the sense of being able to read and write script fluently.⁵⁵ This must have been the case for many Newfoundland planters. Since the proportion of signers in document samples actually overstates the proportion of fluent writers, signing rates for the south Avalon suggest that only a minority of planters were able to write.⁵⁶ Yet they had to keep rudimentary accounts. Many must therefore have used systems of analog notation involving notches, knots, bundles of sticks or the like.⁵⁷ Full numeracy, in the sense of confidence in manipulating the new arabic notation, was a much less widely distributed skill.⁵⁸ With full literacy, it may have been more or less restricted to "the big planters".

3. Planter merchants as provincial gentry

The idea of a "merchant gentry" would have struck many contemporaries as oxymoronic, not so much because planters might lack landed property, but because "Tradesmen in all ages and nations have been reputed ignoble."⁵⁹ Sir David Kirke, who is an excellent example of someone who qualified as both merchant and gentleman, took this bull by the horns in an essay written in Ferryland in 1639:

55. Thomas, "Literacy", 109.

56. Cressy, Literacy, 20.

57. K. Meininger, Number Words and Number Symbols, (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 223-256.

58. On analog computation and on the new arabic numeracy see K. Thomas, "Numeracy in Early Modern England", TRHS (5th series) 37 (1987), 103-132.

59. E. Chamberlayne (1669), cited in Stone, "Social Mobility", 18.

Hath noe man ever heard of the noblemen and gentlemen of Italy? Have they noe hand in Marchandize? Nay, are not the greatest of their Princes some way or other engaged in a constant course of Traffique? But not to send you soe farr for examples, It is very well knowne that divers gentlemen of the West of England have for many yeares past, and doe yet to their great proffit continue ever this Trade of fishing...⁶⁰

Merchants might not be archetypical gentlemen but in early modern England some merchants became gentlemen and, increasingly, merchants behaved like gentlemen.⁶¹

It is tempting to use Alan Everitt's term "pseudo-gentry" for Newfoundland's major planters, insofar as they behaved like gentry but were not supported by landed estates.⁶² The planters of the English Shore were not urban, however, nor were they leisured, although they may occasionally have been rentiers. David Kirke II leased out the Ferryland Pool Plantation itself for several years in the 1680s or 1690s and his widow, Mary Benger, received £16 as a rent for it in 1704.⁶³ Even if such arrangements were rare, the planter élite had a gentry-like position. In effect, their status lay somewhere between the lesser or parish gentry of the old country and a county élite of

60. D. Kirke, "Reply to the Answere to the description of Newfoundland", 29 September 1639, CO 1/10 (38), 97-114, (repunctuated). For a discussion of some parallel contemporary views see Grassby, "Social Mobility", on status cf. Rabb, Enterprise & Empire, 171 ff.

61. Stone, "Social Mobility", 19; A. Everitt, "Social Mobility in Early Modern England", P&P 33 (1966), 56-73; Grassby, "Social Mobility".

62. Everitt, "Social Mobility", 70, 71.

63. W. Healle, Deposition, 14 August 1707, CO 194/4 (50), 186; J. Bridge, Court Order, 5 October 1704, CO 194/4 (55), 194.

squires and knights; just as Newfoundland, as a "province", had a population somewhere between that of a parish and that of a county. Since their wealth, literacy and political activities were those of a gentry it would seem too fine a distinction to invent some other name for them, on the grounds that they lacked acreage. The four "able men of estates", John Pinn of Harbour Grace, John Downing of Quidi Vidi, Thomas Oxford of St. John's and George Kirke of Renews, proposed as potential tax farmers in 1680, were merchants, no doubt, but they were also a planter gentry.⁶⁴

If the possession of political rights was a defining characteristic of the seventeenth-century gentry, then the circumstances of Newfoundland's planter gentry required full literacy, in a sense that was not so in England itself. The lack of a state apparatus on the English Shore after 1660 meant that only those with the ability to contact a trans-Atlantic bureaucracy could exercise political power. Before the Restoration, a precondition for governorship was the ability to deal at a distance with the imperial state. The literary remains of the Kirke family consist, essentially, of a series of trans-Atlantic petitions. In their turn Sir David, Lady Sara, their nephew John, their son George, their grandson Phillip, their daughter-in-law Mary rap at the portals of Whitehall. The petitions of the Downing brothers, like John's "Humble representation...in

64. W. Downing and T. Oxford, Proposals to the CTP, 2 March 1680, CO 1/44 (34), 85.

behalf of himself and others", are a more edifying example of that combination of public and self-interest which is the most that can be expected of a class of political representatives.⁶⁵ The hereditary character of membership in the Newfoundland planter gentry is apparent in both examples.⁶⁶ The planter gentry was not, however, a caste; as in England itself, class membership in successive generations depended on the inheritance of wealth and the transmission of skills like literacy.⁶⁷ The prevalence of full literacy among the planter gentry is underlined by the fact that even female members of this class were able to write. In the mid-seventeenth century only about a tenth of women of the status of planters could read. Even among gentry ladies and merchants' wives, full literacy was not widespread.⁶⁸ So Lady Kirke and Lady Hopkins were not merely unusual women, they were unusual "ladies", insofar as they could communicate the views of their kin and clients.⁶⁹ In Newfoundland, given the political context, this ability would have been a defining characteristic of the local gentry and not simply a close correlate, as in England itself.⁷⁰

65. J. Downing, "Humble representation...", 11 February 1680, CO 1/44 (23), 43.

66. Recall that the elder John Downing originally came to Newfoundland as a representative of the proprietors.

67. Cf. Hill, "Poor and People", 82.

68. Cressy, Literacy, 113-116, 128.

69. S. Kirke, Letter to Charles II, 1660, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 258; T. Povey, "Report...on Lady Hopkins Information", 11 May 1660 and Lady Hopkings, "Information and Relation", c. 1670, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 263 and 266.

70. Cressy, Literacy, Table 6.2, 120, 143.

Among the Newfoundland planter élite, full numeracy was likely also common, although rare among the English gentry itself. Mathematics was still often looked upon as a mechanical skill suitable for merchants, seamen, carpenters and the like. It was taught outside the educational system, with the consequence, as John Aubrey observed, that "a Barre-boy at an Alehouse will reckon better and readier than a Master of Arts".⁷¹ Full numeracy fitted "big planters" to administer commercial enterprises, which is what a large plantation was. There were two aspects of full numeracy, that would have been crucial to the Newfoundland planters, because they were merchants and in spite of the fact that they behaved otherwise like gentry: fluency in reckoning with arabic numerals and the ability to draw up and read accounts.⁷² Just as those unable to read script ran the risk of fraud in commercial contracts, so those not fully numerate ran similar risks in verifying accounts.⁷³

Pen and paper computation and accounts in arabic numerals were still only in the process of replacing analog computation and record keeping with roman numerals, c. 1650.⁷⁴ In the maritime world, however, this process was well advanced and arabic numerals are much more frequently

71. Cited in Thomas, "Numeracy", 109, *cf.* 109-111; Grassby, "Social Mobility", 370.

72. On accounts see B.S. Yamey, H.C. Edey and H.W. Thomson, Accounting in England and Scotland: 1543-1800. Double Entry in Exposition and Practice (London, 1963).

73. Thomas, "Literacy", 110, Grassby, "Social Mobility", 369. Complete innumeracy was much rarer than full illiteracy: see Thomas, "Numeracy", 105.

74. Thomas, "Numeracy", 121.

seen in merchants' ledgers than previously.⁷⁵ The Kirke brothers were quite up-to-date in this respect and David used arabic numerals exclusively in his "Reply to the Answer" of 1639, as did his brother John in Admiralty Court libels in the 1640s.⁷⁶ John Downing used arabic numerals exclusively in his 1676 account of the fishery, but this was common usage by this time.⁷⁷ About the only surviving example of seventeenth-century planter book-keeping is David Kirke's bill of lading for Nicholas Shapley's shipment from Ferryland in 1648. Quantities, rates and totals are worked out in arabic numerals and, unlike many contemporary commercial computations, without obvious error.⁷⁸ It would be interesting to know if Sara Kirke was also fully numerate; unfortunately her only surviving letter contains no numerals, arabic or otherwise.⁷⁹ Frances Hopkins used arabic numerals exclusively in her report of c. 1670 on the French colonization of Placentia Bay, which would be consistent with the full numeracy that we would expect of the operator of a large plantation.⁸⁰

Today there is little social cachet in being able to write a letter or in recognizing one's own name. This was

75. Cf. J. Rashleigh, "Account Book", 1608-1630, Cornwall Record Office, Mss DDR 4546.

76. John Kirke, Libel in Kirke vs Fletcher and Tylor, 19 February 1644, HCA 24/106 (67).

77. J. Downing, "Account Concerning the following Particulars", 14 December 1676, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 564.

78. D. Kirke and N. Shapley, 8 September 1648, "Invoice of Goods shipped aboard the DAVID of Ferryland", in, Baxter Mss, DHS Maine, vol. 6, 2-4; the document is summarized in Chapter 8, below. On errors see Thomas, "Numeracy", 118.

79. Like many letters of the period it is undated.

80. Lady Hopkings, "Information and Relation" (c.1670).

not always so. When neither the literate nor the illiterate formed a vast majority of the population and when literacy was even more closely associated with social status than it is today, small affirmations of literacy may have been common. In this and related social emotions, lies one of the motivations to mark possessions with names and initials. The surviving material culture of the south Avalon provides several instances of this phenomenon. Bishop Howley reports the excavation, near the Ferryland Pool, of a silver snuff spoon bearing the initials "G.K." He supposes this to be George Kirke, although the drawing he published shows the inscription clearly as "SK". Was the idea that Lady Sara Kirke might have taken snuff too distasteful for Howley to contemplate?⁸¹ The inscription on a glacial isolate at Kingman's, Fermeuse, is more securely dated, for it reads "I.K. 1684". This could be John or Jarvis Kirke or some member of the family of Absalom King (a non-boat-keeping planter of Fermeuse in 1677 and Renews in 1681).⁸² Finally, among fragments of wine bottles recently excavated at the Ferryland waterfront, one is marked with the seal of "Peter Fewings", a Waterford master trading at Bideford and Ferryland in the late seventeenth century.⁸³ In each of these

81. Snuff was common in Spain and Ireland by 1650 but not known in England until about 1665 and not fashionable until 1700. See B. Laufer, Introduction of Tobacco into Europe, Field Museum Anthropology Leaflet, no. 19 (Chicago, 1924), 136.

82. There are other "I.K." inscriptions on this natural feature dated 1727 and 1729.

83. K.M. Matthews, "Name Files", unpub. mss, on file MHA, MUN, St. John's.

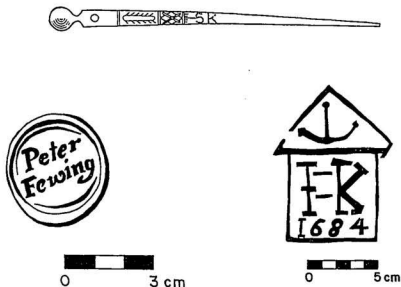


Figure 6.1 Inscribed objects from the south Avalon.

- Above: "Silver snuff-spoon" (after M. Howley, Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland (Boston, 1888), 124. (A number of archaeologists have noted that this drawing resembles a bodkin as much as any known snuff spoon.)
- Left: Green glass bottle seal, Ferryland Waterfront (CgAf-2: L195, locus C, stratum 2), c. 1700.
- Right: Inscription on a glacial isolate at Kingman's, Fermeuse.

cases (illustrated in Figure 6.1, p. 283) the inscriptions may have served, in part, to assert ownership. Did they not also serve to proclaim "I am literate" and therefore, in the context of the time and place, "I have power"?

4. Social and political relations among the planters

The three classes distinguished among the inhabitants of the English Shore (planter gentry, planters and servants) were ranked in a hierarchy of status and wealth. The relationship between planters and servants is dealt with in Chapter 7, below. Here let us consider the relationship between planter gentry and ordinary planters. Was it true, as Harrison reported to Winthrop, that Sir David Kirke exercised "great tyranny" among ordinary planters? If they cursed him behind his back, what did they say to his face? Or did Kirke simply match, for Harrison, the Puritan stereotype of a swaggering, popish, plundering and "tyrannical" Cavalier?⁸⁴ Did the planters in fact defer to Kirke's gentle status, however ruthless his administration? What sort of relations developed between his successors, like his son George, and the smaller planters of the English Shore?

David Kirke took control of the south Avalon with a firm hand. In 1638, he evicted the Calverts' deputy, William Hill, from the Pool Plantation at Ferryland and seized other "fishing harbours defences and stages".⁸⁵ Kirke used armed

84. Underdown, Revel, Riot, and Rebellion, 164.

85. J. Pratt, Examination in Baltimore vs Kirke, HCA 13/65, n.p.

ships to collect his 5 percent "imposition of fish" from foreign ships and armed crews to control fishing rooms and collect rents.⁸⁶ This not only affected migratory crews but would, necessarily, have undercut the role of planters as caretakers. The former Bay Bulls planter Thomas Cruse voiced further complaints retrospectively in 1667:

...after Sir David Kirke arrived there...he imposed taxes on all the Inhabitants to pay a greate fine & yearly rents for theire houses & Ground by ye water side in several harbors & fishing places, as this deponent did for a house & some ground graunted to him by the said Sir David Kirke as by a writing made in the yeare 1640 for which he paid the yearly rent of £3.6^s.8^d. & a fatt hogg or 20 shillings in lew thereof. And the said Sir David Kirke did summon the Inhabitants of several harbors in the Newfoundland to repaire att Ferriland and Compelled them to take Estates in Land in Several harbors for erecting of houses & fishing places by the waterside and to pay greate fines and Rents for the Same, & in Case of refusal threttend to Expell them out of the Land. And alsoe enticed them to take licences of him for the selling of wine and other Liquors & made them pay greate rents yearly for the same - And made this deponent take & pay for such a licence 15^{ll} per annum....And Sir David Kirkes Constant practice was to ingrosse salt and other necessary provitions brought thither for sale for suply of the fishing ships which he sould againe...att Excessive rates...⁸⁷

Cruse's complaints were essentially three. He was forced to pay an annual rent or tax for his house and fishing rooms; he was "enticed" to operate a tavern and then charged excessively for a license; and, if he wanted salt or other provisions (e.g. wine?), he had to deal with a monopolist. How serious were such conditions for ordinary planters?

86. R. Parker, Deposition, 27 November 1667, WDRO, Plymouth W360/74, (repunctuated).

87. T. Cruse, Deposition, 27 November 1667, WDRO, Plymouth, W360/74, repunctuated. Cell, English Enterprise, 122, briefly discusses this deposition.

Cruse's uncertainty about whether the fee he paid Kirke for his premises at Bay Bulls was a rent or a tax expressed the ambiguity of the proprietorship. Whatever the legal niceties, the fee was in effect both rent and tax, for Kirke was in effect both proprietor and governor. The annual payment of £3.6s.8d mentioned is not the odd sum it looks, but amounts to 10 nobles, the noble being a traditional unit of value.⁸⁸ The fee thus has a seigneurial flavour, as does the payment in kind and the general summons of planters "to take estates in land". This flavour suits the ambiguity of the imposition. Considered as a rent charged by a North American proprietor in an isolated territory the amount was not particularly high.⁸⁹ Fourteen "tenants of Avalon" agreed, in 1663, to pay Cecil Calvert's deputies £1 per household plus a quintal of fish per boat and 5s per fishing room - for the average planter about £2.10s.⁹⁰ Even Lady Kirke agreed to "attourne tenant" in this period "and pay the acknowledgement due to the Lord Baltimore".⁹¹ Sir David Kirke had demanded somewhat more than an acknowledgement, but he probably offered something more in return.

Kirke's property "fines" were not challenged by Cecil Calvert in his 1651 suit. Like the Council of State, the latter saw the tax on foreign fishermen as a more likely

88. Thomas, "Numeracy", 117; on its value, see OED.

89. Cf. Innes, *Labor in a New Land*, 56, 59.

90. W. Swanley *et al.*, "Act" (1663).

91. C. Hill, Letter to John Kirke, 12 September 1661, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 308.

source of major profits.⁹² For the planters, tavern licence fees and Kirke's manipulation of the market in salt and other provisions were, probably, more significant than the "fines and rents". A fee of £15 for a tippling house license was far in excess of the few shillings required to license an English alehouse. Even the inns licenced by the monopolist Sir Giles Mompesson under his patent between 1617 and 1620 paid only £5 down and 10s annually.⁹³ The size of the fee imposed by Kirke suggests that the imposition was intended to restrict the market in alcohol. Cruse tells us that Kirke himself kept "a common Taverne in his owne house".⁹⁴ As with salt, it would have been Kirke's manipulation of the market that most affected the planters.

Cruse's hostility cannot, however, be taken at face value.⁹⁵ His is one of eight depositions collected to oppose appointment of a new governor. When a more representative group of planters were cross-examined in 1652 in Cecil Calvert's action against Kirke, the tone was different, although not precisely warm. Kirke had posed interrogatories asking witnesses how the outcome would affect them, which party they personally preferred and which would they "give the victorie unto". Another interrogatory asked

92. C. Calvert, Interrogatories in Baltimore vs Kirke, c. 1651, HCA 23/16 (79).

93. Clark, English Alehouse, 170, 174, 178. On the other hand, Newfoundland tipplers did not pay the excise introduced at 6d. a barrel on 4s. beer in 1643.

94. Cruse, "Deposition" (1667).

95. See comments on Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 152, 153 in Chapter 4, above.

whether witnesses had suits or claims against Kirke.⁹⁶ These questions were posed to discredit witnesses biased in favour of Calvert but the deponents actually exhibited considerable deference to Kirke.

Not that these planters expected much from either Sir David Kirke or the Second Baron Baltimore. John Stevens of Renews "affects Sir David best" but added that he had not met Cecil Calvert and "as far as hee knows my Lord Baltimore may be as bad".⁹⁷ Anne Love, who had come to Ferryland in George Calvert's time, liked Cecil Calvert better, although she knew Kirke well. Nevertheless "she careth not which... prevails".⁹⁸ Philip [sic] Davies, another female colonist from Calvert's time, had a similar attitude: "shee knowes Sir David Kirke a little too well and wisheth she had not knowne him." Despite this, she expressed indifference to the outcome.⁹⁹ John Slaughter of Caplin Bay was indifferent to the litigants and did not care which prevailed.¹⁰⁰ Amy Taylor of Fermeuse, on the other hand, "loves Sir David Kirke best and would give the victory to Sir David".¹⁰¹ William Poole of Renews likewise answered that he preferred victory to go to Kirke, despite the fact that "he had a suite against Sir David if he could meete him".¹⁰²

96. D. Kirke, Interrogatories in Baltimore vs Kirke, c. 1651, HCA 23/16 (1993).

97. J. Stevens, "Answeres", 26 August 1652, Maryland HS, Calvert Papers 174/200 in Scisco, "Testimony".

98. Love, "Answers" (1652).

99. Davies, "Answeres" (1652).

100. J. Slaughter, "Answeres", 30 August 1652.

101. Taylor, "Answeres" (1652).

102. W. Poole, "Answeres", 24 August 1652.

These depositions leave impressions of profound ambivalence about Kirke and of strong personal relationships with him. Such relationships are only hinted at, in Mrs. Davies comment that she knew him "a little too well" and in a remark of John Stevens, who said he had no suit against Kirke "but if Sir David would be pleased to forgive him hee will forgive Sir David with all his heart." Kirke had the unqualified support of only one of the six planters.¹⁰³ On the other hand, neither of the two planters who personally liked Calvert better preferred the latter to win political control. Even the two Renewers planters, with their unspecified grievances against Kirke, expressed neutrality or even supported him politically. (William Poole had personal religious reasons for this, discussed below.) The one planter indifferent to the litigants was in a distinct minority. Most of the planters either supported Kirke or expressed neutrality despite personal affection for the Calverts. How can this deference be explained in the context of intense, personal, but ambivalent relationships between Sir David Kirke and ordinary planters?

5. Patron-client relations

The deference shown Kirke in these depositions, even after his recall to London, is best understood in terms of the concepts of patronage and clientage, so fruitfully applied to seventeenth-century Springfield, Massachusetts,

¹⁰³. For interpretation of these examinations as "almost uniformly hostile", see Cell, English Enterprise, 121.

by Stephen Innes.¹⁰⁴ The English Shore and the Connecticut Valley were both isolated regions, in which it was possible for one family to dominate relations with the outside world, conditions in which patron-client relationships continue to flourish.¹⁰⁵ First William and later John Pynchon dominated Springfield from the position of mediator or gatekeeper, a position based on economic, family and political connections elsewhere.¹⁰⁶ The Kirkes, as we have seen, had precisely such connections, and Sir David Kirke had the same kind of extraordinary local administrative powers and property rights, close family links with London merchants and personal relationships with gentry leaders elsewhere that the Pynchons enjoyed.¹⁰⁷ Like Springfield, Ferryland was essentially a commercial enterprise, oriented to the market, developed through exploitation of a single important staple, dependent on the recruitment of servants in the old country, and was neither an intentional community nor even particularly religious.¹⁰⁸ There is even an eerie and perhaps not entirely accidental coincidence in chronology. William Pynchon founded Springfield as a fur-trading post in 1636, returned to London because of trouble with Puritan leaders in 1652, and turned control over the community to his son John, who dominated it until the 1690s.¹⁰⁹

104. Innes, Labor in a New Land.

105. Cf. R. Paine (ed.), Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic (St. John's 1971).

106. Innes, Labor in a New Land, xix, xx, 20.

107. Innes, Labor in a New Land, 12, 16, 21, 28.

108. Innes, Labor in a New Land, 3, 9, 29, 124, 171, 180.

109. Innes, Labor in a New Land, xix, 3, 151.

In their review of the literature, Smuel Eisenstadt and Louis Roniger find a number of core characteristics in patron-client relationships. They are particularistic, diffuse, voluntary, long-range, binding but not legal or contractual, and characterized by simultaneous exchange of different types of resources in a "package deal". Clientage depends on interpersonal loyalty (sometimes ambivalent) and vertical relations between persons with very different degrees of access to means of production, markets and centres of the society.¹¹⁰ They see patron-client relations as an example of "generalized exchange", that is, exchange which creates social obligation and therefore acts as insurance against uncertainties in the open market.¹¹¹ They find such relations to arise typically in societies with export-oriented extractive economies, low internal specialization and a weak propensity for technological innovation, in which trade is regulated by external groups, impeding autonomous access to resources.¹¹² What clients "buy" is protection from the market, for which they give up full convertability of resources in the market and accept the patron's control of access to markets and public goods.¹¹³

How are we to observe the patron-client relationship in early modern North America? As Innes observes, clientage is

110. S.N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, "Patron-client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange", Comparative Studies in Society and History 22 (1980), 42-77.

111. Eisenstadt and Roniger, "Patron-Client", 52.

112. Eisenstadt and Roniger, "Patron-Client", 62, 64.

113. Eisenstadt and Roniger, "Patron-Client", 71.

an informal, often oral relationship, which does not leave traces so much as perturbations in the expected course of affairs.¹¹⁴ The ambivalent deference to Kirke in the planters' testimony of 1652, may be an example of such perturbation. Only one deponent actually liked Kirke and several had grievances with him, yet most either stood by him or at least refused to stand against him. Kirkes' books have not survived, so we have no hard evidence that the smaller planters were indebted to the Kirkes, as John Pynchon's tenants often were to him.¹¹⁵ We know that credit relationships pervaded early modern rural life, that ordinary planters did get into debt and that in the later seventeenth century planters were often chronically indebted to merchants, so we may strongly suspect that part of the Kirkes' clientage was quantified into ledger debits and credits.¹¹⁶ Such indebtedness and informal expectations of factional support in return for favours typify the assymetry of relationships that develop when one individual in a small community is much more powerful than the others.¹¹⁷

What appears to be evidence of clientage survives in a 1661 letter from the planters William and Amy Wrixon and Ann Love, objecting to rumoured testimony that the Calverts had maintained continual possession of the south Avalon in the

114. Innes, Labor in a New Land, 40.

115. Innes, Labor in a New Land, 64ff.

116. B.A. Holderness, "Credit in English Rural Society before the Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to the Period 1650-1720", Agricultural History Review 24 (1976), 97-109; Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 160, 161, 176.

117. Eisenstadt and Roniger, "Patron-Client", 50, 73.

1630s.¹¹⁸ Since this deposition does not reply to a specific interrogatory, it looks very much like political support by clients of the Kirkes, who were then trying to reassert proprietorship. Such legal dominance eluded Sir David Kirke's son George but, as we have seen, he continued to act as a broker and mediator, on a smaller scale than his father. His role in Ducarret vs the furriers was very much that of the patron gatekeeper/mediator. It was to him that the Trepassey planter Perriman turned for recovery of the French shalloway from Caplin Bay. He also witnessed the bonds that the receivers of the stolen goods were asked to sign, as well as providing naval officers with his own assessment of Ducarret's losses. The younger Kirke was the one person involved in the episode who dealt with the French, the officers who passed sentence and the planters who made reparations.¹¹⁹ By the last quarter of the seventeenth century there may have been a number of such regional patrons in Newfoundland - perhaps the "four able men of estates". The Downing brothers' dealings with London in the late 1670s can be seen as the efforts of patrons to mediate effectively for their clients with common adversaries, in this case West Country fishing crews rather than the Indians with whom the younger Pyncheon had to deal.¹²⁰

118. W. Wrixon, A. Love and A. Wrixon, "Concerning the Lord Baltremores possession of Newfoundland", 13 September 1661, BL, Egerton ms 2395, 309.

119. For details of this case see Chapter 2, above.

120. Innes, Labor in a New Land, 25.

Innes interprets patron-client relations as transitory, succeeding the master-servant relations of the feudal manor and preceeding the contractual wage-labour relations of capitalism. He sees them as harking back to the personal social relations of the pre-modern period and at the same time anticipating the cash nexus in the predominance accorded economic considerations.¹²¹ This is not convincing, for as Eisenstadt and Roniger emphasize, patron-client relationships did not disappear with the development of capitalist economies.¹²² They see these relationships as mediating between international capitalist markets and a particular kind of dependent society in which some individuals have established monopolistic control.¹²³ The entrepreneurial early modern patron maximized returns by relying on the pre-capitalist deferential behaviour of his clients: he depended on the continued existence of others less fully adapted to a market economy.¹²⁴ This does not seem to be a transitory phase but rather a kind of social relationship which continues to flourish in peripheries.

6. Commercial cooperation and contract

The foregoing discussion of relations among planters emphasizes asymmetrical dependency and the resulting hegemony of patrons over clients. This is not a complete picture, any more than endemic violence among fishing crews

121. Innes, Labor in a New Land, 18.

122. Eisenstadt and Roniger, "Patron-Client", 46.

123. Eisenstadt and Roniger, "Patron-Client", 73.

124. Innes, Labor in a New Land, 42.

competing for the same unenclosed resource represents all that can be said about relationships among fishing masters, migratory or resident. Another mode of social relation was becoming more widespread, emphasizing commercial cooperation and mutual trust between putative economic peers. This is the ideology of the contract, of the willing seller and the willing buyer. This is not the place to analyze this momentous development in marketplace behaviour.¹²⁵ It is worth pointing out that it was in the study period that the Anglo-American maritime world definitively adopted this outlook, one in which trade and plunder came to be perceived as opposites, rather than as aspects of the same process.

Such shifts in mentalité reached the seventeenth-century English Shore promptly – a fact nicely illustrated by the changing constellation of names given ships of the sort that served to link Newfoundland with the emerging capitalist world-system. Table 6.4, p. 296, is a thematic analysis of the names of the ships of Plymouth and Dartmouth in 1619 (many in the Newfoundland trade) and of ships fishing and trading at Newfoundland in 1675 (many based in Plymouth or Dartmouth). Certain types of name retained popularity through this period. About one third of the ships in 1619 bore personal names, like the PRISCILLA or the WILLIAM & JANE. This remained true in 1675. Other types of name became less common. Names with a Christian reference such

125. For a sophisticated discussion of the context, see J.-C. Agnew, Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750 (Cambridge, 1986).

Table 6.4 Thematic analysis of ships' names,
Plymouth and Dartmouth, 1619
Newfoundland, 1675

NAME TYPES	EXAMPLE	1619		1675	
		Cases	%	Cases	%
REMAIN POPULAR					
animal or bird	Eagle	7	5%	9	8%
flower or fruit	Mayflower	5	4%	4	3%
personal	Marye	48	37%	41	34%
place	Chudleigh	1	1%	1	1%
LESS POPULAR					
Christian topic	Providence	22	17%	13	11%
classical	Hercules	3	2%	0	0%
good luck	Hopewell	22	17%	11	9%
service	Handmaid	4	3%	1	1%
other nature	Sunn	1	1%	0	0%
MORE POPULAR					
commercial	Prosperous	8	6%	14	12%
contract	True Intent	3	2%	9	8%
cooperation	Unity	5	4%	8	7%
male	Batchelor	0	0%	4	3%
maritime	Neptune	1	1%	4	3%
TOTALS		130	100%	119	99%

SOURCES:

For 1619: E. Seymour et al., "A booke of all the Shippinge...belonginge to all the Ports Harbours & Sea-townes within the Vice-admiralty of the South-part of Devon", 28 February 1619, Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepys Library, PL 2122, in Gray, Early-Stuart Mariners and Shipping, 1-57.

For 1675: J. Berry, "...List of the shippes", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (171), 136-148.

NOTES:

The "Christian" category includes symbols, like "Pelican". "Good luck" includes abstractions like "Desire" as well as desirable objects like "Pearl" and names of the form "John Bonadventure". "Commercial" includes virtues like "Patience" as well as names of the form "Newfoundland Merchant". "Contract" includes virtues like "Fidelity" and names like "Friends Agreement". "Cooperation" includes names like "Real Friend" and "Olive Branch". Percentages for 1675 do not total 100 because of rounding errors.

as BLESSING, GRACE or PHOENIX were proportionately much less frequent in 1675; as were names like SUCCESS, HOPEWELL, and NONSUCH invoking good luck. Names referring to service, like HANDMAID, virtually disappeared.¹²⁶

What kinds of names did ship-owners come to prefer? Names invoking commercial virtues, like ENDEAVOUR, PATIENCE and WILLING MIND, or results like PROSPEROUS became twice as common in the later sample. In fact, in the 1675 sample a new form of commercial name appeared, advertising the trade, like ST. JOHN'S MERCHANT or MALAGA MERCHANT. A whole lesson in ideology might be read into names evoking contract, which were very much more common in 1675: CONSENT, EXCHANGE, FRIENDS' AGREEMENT, LOYALTY, FIDELITY, TRUE DEALING and TRUE INTENT. Names evoking cooperation were already more common than those few referring to contract in 1619 but this type of name occurred even more frequently in 1675, invoking AMITY, SOCIETY, TRUE LOVE and UNITY with the examples of the OLIVE BRANCH and the REAL FRIEND. Two minor name types became more common too: male names, like BATCHELOR and YOUNG MENS' DELIGHT, and maritime names like NEPTUNE or MERMAID. The increasing popularity of names evoking commerce, contract and cooperation and the decline of names invoking Christianity, good luck and service reflect, surely, important shifts in the outlook of shipowners. Ships' names do not reflect all aspects of social reality. No one, except

¹²⁶. Each name was assigned to what was taken to be the single most relevant category. This thematic analysis preceded analysis by date.

perhaps the Admiralty, would name a ship HEGEMONY. They do serve to remind us that some aspects of seventeenth-century maritime social behaviour are not captured by concepts of service, clientage, or competition.

7. The complications of religion

The people of the seventeenth century did not distinguish religious from political issues in the way we commonly do, in our more secular societies. For most ordinary people, politics was religion; that is, insofar as they committed themselves in some way politically, this was because a perceived religious issue was at stake.¹²⁷ In England there were many religious tendencies but, broadly speaking, only two religious "parties", Anglicans and Puritans.¹²⁸ David Underdown concisely summarizes the opposed points of view, which took arms, in 1642:

On the one side stood those who put their trust in the traditional conception of the harmonious, vertically-integrated society - a society in which the old bonds of paternalism, deference, and good neighbourliness were expressed in familiar religious and communal rituals - and wished to strengthen and preserve it. On the other stood those - mostly among the gentry and middling sort of the new parish élites - who wished to emphasize the moral and cultural distinctions which marked them off from their poorer, less disciplined neighbours, and to

127. C. Hill, "The English Revolution and the Brotherhood of Man", in Puritanism and Revolution (London, 1968), 126-153. For West Country examples see Underdown, Revel, Riot, and Rebellion, 290.

128. "Anglican" is applied here retrospectively, since it was not often used in this period, but OED finds it in use in 1638. There were third parties, for example the Clubmen, but they were not religious in the same sense.

use their power to reform society according to their own principles of order and godliness.¹²⁹

Sir David Kirke's alliance with Archbishop Laud and the King is not surprising, any more than the virulent opposition of the West Country merchant élites.¹³⁰ These were Puritan in outlook and supported Parliament, so their political opposition to Sir David Kirke was a predictable outcome of their religious views, quite apart from regional resentment of a London "interloper".¹³¹ This does not mean that planters would necessarily share this outlook. Underdown's close examination of popular politics in Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire indicates that popular allegiances were strongly affected by local political cultures, which in turn were dependent on local economies. We might guess, based on the popular politics of Dorset ports like Poole, that planters from this region might tend to have a Puritan outlook.¹³² South Avalon planters were more likely, however, to have Devon origins and the popular political culture of that county remains unexplored. There are, nevertheless, reasons to think that many planters would have been politically and religiously inclined as Kirke was.

129. Underdown, Revel, Riot, and Rebellion, 40.
Cf. C. Hill, "The Many-Headed Monster", in Change and Continuity, 181-204.

130. E.g. Exeter Justices, Petition to Privy Council, 10 January 1640, CO 1/10 (28), 46; R. Gabbes [Mayor of Plymouth] et al., Petition to Archbishop Laud and the Privy Council, 22 January 1640, SP 16/442 (77).

131. Cf. Underdown, Revel, Riot, and Rebellion, 108.

132. Underdown, Revel, Riot, and Rebellion, 197.

This coincidence of views is probable on several grounds. First of all, as we have seen, the fifteen years of Sir David Kirke's personal proprietorship from 1638 to 1652 were relatively important in the permanent occupation of the south Avalon.¹³³ Insofar as Kirke encouraged planters, he would have preferred planters whose political outlook was compatible with his own. Furthermore, after 1639, Laud's administration attempted to control emigration by the politically suspect. In general the fisherfolk of the Atlantic littoral did not originate in the same Puritan milieu as most English emigrants.¹³⁴ Hence Maine, a fisheries-based colony, was more Anglican than Massachusetts and there were strong anti-Puritan factions among the fishing families of Gloucester and Marblehead.¹³⁵ If Anglicans predominated among the fishermen of Puritan New England itself, then this was likely true of Newfoundland as well. Finally, we have the testimony of the Puritan oligarchy of Devon itself. They called the Newfoundland planters "atheistical", which in the contemporary Puritan jargon did not imply non-belief but false belief. They were not saying that the Newfoundland planters had no faith, what they were saying, roughly, was that planters weren't Puritans and that

133. See Chapter 5, above.

134. Privy Council, Order re petition of W. Barret *et al.*, 4 January 1639, CO 1/10 (2), 2,v.; Vickers, "Work and Life".

135. Clark, Eastern Frontier, 36-51; Heyrman, Commerce and Culture, 39-51, 209-230.

they let fishermen drink on Sundays.¹³⁶

Perhaps the most useful way of applying Underdown's research to Newfoundland is not mechanically, as an opinion poll of the outlook of likely emigrants from particular West Country sub-regions, but as an object lesson. Popular allegiances were based not only on class, deference to local magnates, or a calculating neutralism but also on local social structure and economic development.¹³⁷ The pattern of patron-client relationships between Sir David Kirke and ordinary planters on the south Avalon, as well as the relatively limited scope of class differentiation, suggest a generally Anglican outlook, which is not to deny the presence of Puritan planters elsewhere on the English Shore.¹³⁸ On this interpretation we would expect relative harmony within the south Avalon itself, among what were predominantly Anglicans. Religious tension among Protestants would be unlikely, except perhaps during the Interregnum.

The religious culture of the south Avalon may have been affected by Ferryland's early Roman Catholicism. In the 1630s the priests were gone but a few of Baltimore's co-religionists remained.¹³⁹ After 1662, Roman priests among

136. R. Gybbes *et al.* (merchants of Plymouth), Petition to the Council of State, c. 1650, in Winthrop Papers vol. 3, 499-501. Cf. G.E. Almyer, "Unbelief in Seventeenth-Century England", in Pennington and Thomas, Puritans and Revolutionaries, 22-46.

137. Underdown, Revel, Riot, and Rebellion, 4, 104.

138. E.g. the Taverners of Bay de Verde; see Handcock, English Settlement, 47-52.

139. See Chapter 5, above.

the French colonists at Placentia revived the spectre of Catholicism and the beginnings of Irish immigration in the late seventeenth century aroused prejudices as well.¹⁴⁰ Thus Roman Catholicism was a more tangible politico-religious position for the early inhabitants of the south Avalon than in England itself, where Catholics were rare and accusations of Catholicism were often just verbal abuse. Even high-church Anglicans like Sir David Kirke could think of themselves as occupying a virtuous middle ground between two fanatical extremes, as in his often-quoted quip to Archbishop Laud that no one complained about the weather "except Jesuits and Schismatics".¹⁴¹ The religious culture of the English Shore, was limited, of course, by the absence of the churches or at least churchmen, between about 1630 and the 1690s.¹⁴² Visitors reported that Christian services were not observed and that the inhabitants "Lived more like heathens than Christians".¹⁴³ There were, however, exceptions to these generalizations.

We know something of the religious opinions of one south Avalon planter, William Poole of Renewes. He supported Kirke

140. J. Story, "Intelligence about the french Trade", CO 1/47 (52i), 122; M. Richards, "Att a Hearing at Fort William...upon the takeing up of severall French & Irish Papists Dissaffected to his Majesties Service", 9 March 1702, BL, Stowe ms 464, 66v.

141. D. Kirke, Letter to Archbishop Laud, 2 October 1639, CO 1/10 (40), 119.

142. There was a church in St. John's in the 1690s and an army chaplain from 1701. See J. Buckley *et al.*, Letter, 30 July 1699 and William III, Letter to J. Jackson, 1701, BL, Add ms 9747, 27 and 30.

143. R. Robinson, "Certaine Arguements...for a settled Government...", 1670, CO 1/68 (99), 288,v; Captain Gibson, Letter to CTP, 28 June 1697, CO 194/1 (81), 159,v.

in the case with Cecil Calvert, "by reason Sir David is a protestant and my Lord of Boltomore a Papist".¹⁴⁴ Poole had strong personal reasons for his prejudice. In 1628 the priests Pole and Hacket had baptized Poole's child into the Church of Rome "by the procurement" of George Calvert and contrary to Poole's own wishes.¹⁴⁵ Calvert and the priests may have had their own reasons for the baptism (perhaps the child was seriously ill) but the event raises the question of whether Calvert's religious tolerance was not simply the current political tactic of English recusants, rather than a deeply held conviction, as Bishop Lahey has argued.¹⁴⁶ Poole's resentment a quarter of a century later indicates that Newfoundland was not immune to the religious factionalism that divided the old country, and New England too. What was, perhaps, unusual was the survival of older Catholic/Protestant tensions.

The best available evidence of religious activity on the south Avalon in the study period is archaeological. Among the most striking objects recovered from the Forge Room at Ferryland by the Memorial University of Newfoundland Archaeology Unit is an ornate, almost baroque cross (Figure 6.2, p. 304), found in a context of the 1650s.¹⁴⁷ It is of

144. Poole, "Answer".

145. E. Stourton, "Examination", 9 October 1628, CO 1/4 (59), 144.

146. Lahey, "Role of Religion".

147. The cross was found in the roof fall, that is, it was in the building but not in the floor debris; J.A. Tuck, personal communication, 1990. On the excavations, see Chapter 4, above.



Figure 6.2 Baroque cross, Ferryland Forge Room (CgAf-2, locus B, stratum 3) c. 1640-1660. Courtesy of MUN Archaeology Unit (scale: approximately 1:2).

iron, once gilded, except for the decorative open finial orbs, which are bimetallic strips of brass and steel - the brass on the interior to sustain the illusion created by the gilding.¹⁴⁸ This religious symbol is like those proscribed by Parliament during the Civil War as "popish", indeed it bears some resemblance to the ornate cross on the Baltimore coat of arms, now used on the flag of Maryland. This does not imply that it was necessarily made or used by Roman Catholics, although it is worth noting that Calvert left his daughters and their husbands gold crosses in his will.¹⁴⁹ If the Ferryland cross was used there in the 1640s or 1650s, this was probably in some form of Anglican worship. However, because it was ornate and because it was a visual symbol, to Puritans it would have been evidence of the Romish tendencies of Anglicans and therefore a target of censure when the Puritan state took power in Newfoundland in 1652.¹⁵⁰ Its presence in the Forge Room may have been an accident but such an artifact is not likely to be lost. Its value and apparent date of deposition suggest the possibility that this potent symbol was hidden or deliberately discarded. Even if this interpretation remains speculative, the Ferryland cross serves to remind us that the absence of churches from the English Shore between 1630 and about 1700 does not imply an absence of religion.

148. Judith Logan, Canadian Conservation Institute, Ottawa, personal communication, 1989.

149. G. Calvert, Will, 14 April 1632, in The Calvert Papers, no. 1, Maryland Historical Society, Fund Publication, no. 28 (Baltimore, 1889), 48-50.

150. Cf. Underdown, Revel, Riot, and Rebellion, 256.

8. "Women would be necessary heere"

Edward Wynne suggested in a letter of 1621 from Ferryland, that "women would bee necessary heere for many respects". In 1622 he asked for "a couple of strong maids, that (besides other worke) can both brew and bake", to join the seven women already there.¹⁵¹ The "other work" probably included traditionally female tasks like livestock husbandry. The economic responsibilities of women on the English Shore expanded: planters' wives and daughters became economically significant participants in the fishery, while they continued to fulfill their traditional roles in the household production unit. Several women were planters in their own right and, curiously, some of the largest plantations were operated by women. While early modern women were subordinates in a male-dominated society, many participated actively in economic life, either as a partner in a household production unit or, occasionally, in their own right as single heads of such enterprises. This gave women a limited power, which housewives in subsequent generations lacked.¹⁵² Newfoundland planters' wives participated at least as fully in economic power as women anywhere in the

151. E. Winne, Letters to G. Calvert, 28 August 1621 and 17 August 1622, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 257-258, 200-204.

152. B.A. Holderness, "Widows in Pre-industrial Society: an Essay upon their Economic Functions", 424, in R.M. Smith (ed.), Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle (Cambridge, 1984), 423-442. On seventeenth-century women see A. Clark, Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century (1919, rep. London, 1982); R. Thompson, Women in Stuart England and America (London, 1974); and L.T. Ulrich, Good Wives, Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650-1750 (New York, 1983).

seventeenth century. In other words, they were powerful relative to their sisters elsewhere, in a century in which women were powerful, relative to their great-grand-daughters.¹⁵³ How was this so?

First it is clear that planter women were more than housewives. Evidence that women participated in the seventeenth-century planter fishery is particularly clear in Berry's 1675 census. Married and unmarried planters both averaged 1.9 boats; unmarried planters employed a mean of 9.1 servants but married planters only 8.0. This suggests that for an average planter a wife could shoulder the responsibilities of a single servant.¹⁵⁴ Like their more recent counterparts, who often made up much of the "shore crowd", they would have worked at fish processing and marketing rather than on the water.¹⁵⁵ Laurel Ulrich reports that New England fishermen's wives kept accounts as servants culled fish, protected fishing rooms from encroachment and dealt with suppliers and buyers.¹⁵⁶ Newfoundland planters' wives must often have acted in similar capacities.

This does not mean that women abandoned their traditional contribution to household production in brewing,

153. Cf. Underdown, Revel, Riot, and Rebellion, 287; Thomson, Women, 30.

154. Berry, "Planters". The figures for 1677 appear to run against the hypothesis that a wife was the equivalent of a servant, but this is because of a positive correlation between married status and the size of plantations. If planters are grouped by number of boats, the married planters in almost all cases employed fewer servants.

155. J.C. Faris, Cat Harbour, A Newfoundland Fishing Settlement (St. John's, 1972), 67.

156. Ulrich, Good Wives, 41.

baking, dairying and the care of poultry and pigs.¹⁵⁷ Table 6.5, p. 309, reports the agricultural activities of Newfoundland households in 1677, based on Poole's census, which reports livestock, as well as human populations. Households including at least one female were much more likely to keep pigs than all-male households. Among households keeping swine, "female" households kept somewhat more, on the average, than all-male households. Less than a quarter of all-male households kept cattle; "female" households were much more likely to do so and were likely to keep considerably larger herds. Not many planters kept sheep but, again, "female" households were much more likely to do this and, if they did, were likely to keep more animals than all-male households.¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, there is no evidence that women were particularly active as gardeners.

A surprising number of Newfoundland planter households were headed by women. The censuses almost always identify these female heads of households as widows. The plantations maintained by these widows were, generally, significantly larger than the average plantation. In both 1675 and 1681, for example, widows employed a mean of about thirteen servants rather than the nine or so employed on the average plantation. This was not so in 1677, when a number of impoverished widows appear in the records, including two

157. Clark, Working Life, 5; Thompson, Women, 75; Ulrich, Good Wives, 13-34; Weatherill, Material Culture, 137-165.

158. Poole's census omits poultry and goats, two further components of early Newfoundland agriculture.

Table 6.5 Agricultural activities of all-male households and households with female, Newfoundland, 1677

AGRICULTURAL EFFORT	PERCENT of ALL HOUSEHOLDS INVOLVED		AVERAGE NUMBER KEPT BY HOUSEHOLDS INVOLVED	
	all Male	with Female	all Male	with Female
Hogs	47%	74%	7.7	8.3
Cattle	20%	38%	5.7	10.3
Sheep	8%	13%	5.0	7.2
Gardens	76%	77%	1.4	1.4

SOURCE:

W. Poole, "...Inhabitants and Planters...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62iv,vi,vii), 157-166.

NOTES:

"All Male" households are households without women (n=51). Households "with Female" are those either headed by a widow or including a wife, daughter, or female servant (n=112). The figures for gardens relate only to the English Shore from St. John's north, since data for gardens is not reported for the south Avalon in Poole's account. For all male households in this region n=33 and for households with female n=78.

with no boats and five with only one. By becoming planters themselves, Newfoundland widows were adopting a male role, but this was not as anomalous as it may seem, within the context of a patriarchal society. Women's economic functions were not completely distinguished from men's in Newfoundland any more than they were in pre-industrial Europe; furthermore English women had an acknowledged right to assume male roles under certain circumstances.¹⁵⁹

In the English-speaking world of the seventeenth century, a husband had patriarchal authority but, if circumstances prevented him from attending to family interests, then his wife acted in his stead.¹⁶⁰ Widowhood was a limiting case of this principle, in which the widow took complete control of the family enterprise, until such time as she remarried.¹⁶¹ Widowers and widows normally remarried, unless they were elderly, although women who lost their husbands were less prone to rush into a new marriage than men who lost their wives.¹⁶² This may not have been simply because husbands were harder to find than wives.¹⁶³ Some women, particularly those with a livelihood, may have preferred to retain the status of widow, precisely because it was the only possible way a woman could attain independent status as head of a household.

159. Holderness, "Widows", 425.

160. Ulrich, Good Wives, 36.

161. Ulrich, Good Wives, 38; for examples see Clark, Working Life, 30-34, 160ff.

162. Holderness, "Widows", 431.

163. Laslett, World We Have Lost, 113.

Survival in Newfoundland as femme sole was certainly possible, as the case of the Bay Roberts planter Joan Clay illustrates. She owned a single boat and employed four men in 1675; two years later, she owned two boats and employed eight men. Her success was probably based, in part, on her herd of sixteen cattle. She is not visible, however in the census of 1681, and one suspects that she had remarried. Other widows remained heads of households for decades, like Mary Weymouth of Carbonear, who ran a plantation there in the 1630s and 1640s.¹⁶⁴ There were, however, serious drawbacks to this strategy in Newfoundland, as in most colonial settings. A couple was more likely to be a successful economic unit than an individual. In most census years married planters maintained larger than average plantations: a local illustration of this home truth. So it would not be surprising if widowed female planters remarried rapidly. For example, Mary, the widow of David Kirke II, married the St. John's merchant James Benger a year or two after Kirke's death in 1697.¹⁶⁵ Among widows not remarrying were those controlling the largest plantations.¹⁶⁶

Sara Kirke and her sister, Frances Hopkins, were among the widows who retained control of their own large plantations. Why did these planter gentry women forgo remarriage? Probably mainly because their high social status left them

164. G. Viddomas, Deposition, 27 November 1667, WDRO, Plymouth, W360/74.

165. T. Cleasby, Deposition, 23 March 1707, CO 194/4 (63), 212, v

166. On remarriage see Chapter 5, above.

relatively isolated. Virtually the only males in Newfoundland with equivalent status were their own kin. Even their children might have trouble finding suitable partners. Thus Lady Kirke's daughter-in-law Mary had been Lady Hopkins' servant girl, whom her son David married over family protests.¹⁶⁷ Mary herself had status only by marriage, which may explain, in part, her willingness to form a new alliance. The independence of the two ladies of Ferryland may also have been related to the fact that they had lived through the Civil War - not so much because women's rights were then occasionally mooted, but because women had opportunities to act on their beliefs and because the dislocations of war left them alone with responsibilities.¹⁶⁸ Lady Hopkins' role in harbouring the King and Lady Kirke's management of her husband's estate in Ferryland after his recall to London in 1651 are excellent examples of these passing phenomena. It is worth noting too that the Kirkes were a family of strong women: Elizabeth, Sir David Kirke's mother, had traded on her own account as a London wine merchant, after the death of her husband Gervaise in 1629.¹⁶⁹

Although Frances Hopkins was a political refugee when she arrived in Newfoundland c. 1650 and although Sara Kirke

167. R. Hartnoll et al., Deposition, 15 September 1707, CO 194/4 (77ix), 316. There is a tradition (in e.g. Handcock, English Settlement, 35) that Mary was Irish. This seems to be one of Agnes Field's imaginative contributions to Newfoundland history. See her racist interpretation of David's "mesalliance" in A. Field, "The Development of Government in Newfoundland, 1638-1713", unpub. M.A. thesis, University of London (1924), 173.

168. Cf. Underdown, Revel, Riot, and Rebellion, 211.

169. See Chapter 3, above.

could be seen as a political exile during the Interregnum, it does not follow that these women were stranded in Newfoundland.¹⁷⁰ It is true that after the Restoration Lady Kirke told Charles II that she and her children "have lived but in a poor & sad condition"; but poverty is relative, especially in correspondence with royalty.¹⁷¹ The two ladies of Ferryland were among the wealthiest planters on the English Shore, according to the censuses of the 1670s. As literate gentry, they had retained contact with their kin in the old country.¹⁷² If either had liquidated her assets, she could have returned to England, where kin would have offered shelter. To return to England, however, would have been to return to the status of a dependent. In Newfoundland these women were independent heads of planter households, of very high status, as well as being the matriarchs of important planter lineages.¹⁷³ They played an important and visible role in Newfoundland as elder stateswomen.¹⁷⁴ If they behaved like substantial widows elsewhere, then they also played an important but less visible role financially, by extending credit to a clientage of kin and neighbours, possibly with the expectation of interest, certainly with the hope of future goodwill.¹⁷⁵

170. Cf. Handcock, English Settlement, 35.

171. S. Kirke to Charles II, c. 1660.

172. Cf. Hill to J. Kirke, 12 September 1661.

173. See Chapter 5, above.

174. E.g. S. Kirke to Charles II (c. 1660); Lady Hopkings, "Information and Relation" (c. 1670).

175. Holderness, "Credit", 105; Holderness, "Widows", 435-442; Clark, Working Life, 28-34.

9. Discussion

We might think of the south Avalon in the mid seventeenth century as a predominantly Anglican part-society of gentry, planters and fishing servants tied by bonds of patronage and service, in which women of the two propertied classes played a significant role. Comparison with the social organization of other colonies and England itself indicates that no single aspect of this society was peculiar, although the mix of elements was closely paralleled only in coastal New England.¹⁷⁶ The results of archaeological research at Ferryland tend to confirm the existence of gentry households on the English Shore in the seventeenth century, although the striking proportions of relatively expensive tin-glazed and non-West Country ceramics in some assemblages from the Pool Plantation pose difficult problems of interpretation.¹⁷⁷ Should the relative frequencies of such wares in different contexts be understood as reflecting seasonal/resident, crew/planter, planter/gentry or male/female contrasts? Here these oppositions are probably largely isomorphic; that is, the planter household resident at this site was headed by a gentry female. Thus statistically anomalous finds of wares like Italian Faience, Spanish Lustreware, Chinese Porcelain and even, perhaps, of decorated North Devon sgraffito vessels reflect not merely the presence of female planters but probably the fact that this was a planter gentry, as opposed to ordinary planter,

176. Heyrman, Commerce and Culture, 269-271.

177. Pope, Ceramics from Ferryland, 199-202.

household.¹⁷⁸ This should serve to remind us that Ferryland was not typical of the English Shore in the study period. As a political and administrative centre it was, necessarily, a centre of literacy. This too is evident archaeologically: fragments of sealing wax, from contexts of c. 1640 to 1670 at the Pool Plantation, are signs of planter literacy and a reminder of the role of the planter gentry, including gentry females, in trans-Atlantic communication, particularly in this harbour.

The existence of a fully literate and numerate élite within the context of restricted literacy encouraged clientage, particularly given the increasing ideological emphasis on contract. No subsequent Newfoundland patron achieved the hegemony that Sir David Kirke had exercised, not even his eldest son, and in this sense the system had changed. This devolution occurred before the Restoration, however; it was not, as in the Connecticut Valley, a result of political turmoil late in the century. This does not, necessarily, reflect a profound difference between New England and Newfoundland, but may simply follow from the fact that Sir David Kirke had four sons and William Pyncheon one. The elder Kirke was one of the original merchant-entrepreneur patrons of development who flourished in certain regions in seventeenth-century northern Anglo-

178. Such wares are relatively less well represented in small samples from Conception Bay; see P.E. Pope, "17th Century Settlements in Conception Bay", in J.C. Thomson and J. Sproull Thomson (eds), *ANL 1986*, no. 7 (1989), 270-289.

America. This was a "gentry" of merchants who were able to exercise a new form of social control. The relative poverty of their fellow settlers created relations of personal dependency on these men, without whom these isolated regions would have remained resource-rich but capital-poor.¹⁷⁹ When they passed from the scene, their sons or even their widows were in a position to pick up the reins of patronage.

Social relations on the south Avalon and in the Connecticut Valley were not exactly parallel, however. Newfoundland, it must be remembered, was settled within the context of an early capitalist industry, the West Country migratory fishery. The relationship of the planter gentry with the majority of persons on the English Shore at any one time was not that of patron and client. Servants in the fishery far out-numbered planters, even among over-winterers.¹⁸⁰ Hence the most common socio-economic relationship was that between master and servant. Sir David Kirke's clients were other planters, themselves employers, not employees, as was often the case for the Pynchons in Massachusetts.¹⁸¹ Patronage on the south Avalon was thus a more complex and, perhaps, more balanced phenomenon. The planters deferred to Kirke, permitting him not merely the seigneurial perquisites of a proprietor (ten nobles and a fat hog), but allowing him to exploit the market, notably in

179. Innes, Labor in a New Land, 150-172. Cf. the idea that "monopoly is an essential characteristic of settlement", in Antler, "Capitalist Underdevelopment", 189.

180. See Chapter 5, above.

181. Innes, Labor in a New Land, 73ff.

salt and alcohol. At the same time he protected them, as entrepreneurs in a competitive industry, for example by leasing them rooms which he defended from West Country crews. If service in the fishery is, like service in husbandry, one of the extinct reptiles of economic history, we might think of it as a sauropod, browsing the English Shore. Patronage was more a tyrannosaur: an aggressive creature with sharp teeth, yet ultimately dependent on the good health of grazers. Social relations on the south Avalon in the study period are not fully captured by the concept of clientage; we must understand relations of service as well.

CHAPTER 7

SERVICE IN THE FISHERY: WAGES AND SHARES

This shippe with Fish was laden well,
Which to Sea-mens shares then fell...

—[Martin Parker], "England's Honour Revived by
the Valiant Exploytes of Captaine Kirke" [1628]

1. "Service in fishery"

The previous chapter distinguished between planters and their servants and gave special attention to the inhabitants of the south Avalon. The fishermen employed by planters were not, of course, the only servants in seventeenth-century Newfoundland. With men employed by migratory fishing masters and by the bye-boat keepers they constituted a single (although heterogeneous) labour pool, as the naval commodores observed.¹ Because the lives of individual servants were rarely documented, it is necessary to base discussion of service in the fishery on the general observations of contemporaries of other classes, supplementing this where possible with specific evidence. There is no obvious

1. R. Robinson, "Inquiries...", 11 October 1680, CO 1/46 (8x), 33-34v; F. Wheler, "Answers...", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56i), 239-245v.

reason to distrust the implicit assumption of seventeenth-century observers that conditions of service were generally the same in the various sub-regions of English Newfoundland and even reason to suppose that in some respects they were common along the North Atlantic littoral. It is possible that conditions of service varied in Newfoundland because of local practices of various West Country ports. This chapter makes the working hypothesis that this was not so and that the evidence cited, relating either to the south Avalon or to unidentified areas, is representative of the English Shore. When differences in patterns of remuneration are noted, they are interpreted as evidence of chronological change rather than of spatial variation. It is to be hoped that some day we will have enough evidence from detailed study of other regions to re-examine this working hypothesis. In the meantime it will permit us to re-examine some previously-offered "first approximations" of the terms under which fishing servants passed their working lives.

If the planters of the English Shore can be compared with the yeomen, craftsmen or tradesmen of the old country, then with what class can fishing servants be identified? Naval officers and Whitehall bureaucrats thought of fishermen as "poor" and this remains a common assumption.² Yet poverty is relative. Sir John Berry, the astute naval

2. E.g. CTP, Minutes, 4 December 1675, CO 391/1, 25v, 26; Davies, "England and Newfoundland", 308.

commodore at Newfoundland in 1675, thought servants in the fishery relatively well off:

A poore labouringe man will gett in a Summers Season near 20:£, their dayley food comes out of the Sea; which were such a person in England he would not gett 3:£.³

Berry nevertheless saw servants as labourers, like the landless, casually-employed, agricultural wage-earners at the broad base of the contemporary English labour market.⁴

In 1638, on the other hand, Lewes Roberts (who had visited Newfoundland as a young man) described the Newfoundland fishermen, in his Marchants Mapp of Commerce, as husbandmen who had adapted to a partly maritime existence:

...their fishing ended and the cold beginning, they leave their stations and...returne to their native homes, where these fishermen winter, and then become husbandmen, so that their lives may be compared to the Otter, which is spent halfe on land, and halfe in Sea.⁵

Husbandmen were farmers of small holdings, between roughly five and fifty acres; they were, that is, the smallest self-sufficient peasant land-holders in rural England.⁶ How could informed observers think that fishermen were both wage-labourers and husbandmen? This antinomy may be resolved by recalling that a broad and heterogeneous class

3. J. Berry, Letter to J. Williamson, 24 July 1675, CO 1/34 (118), 240-241.

4. Everitt, "Farm Labourers".

5. Roberts, Marchants Mapp of Commerce, 58.

6. Wrightson, English Society, 32,33. "Husbandman" sometimes meant farmer, i.e. yeoman or husbandman sensu stricto, but not as a synonym for farm labourer; see Weatherill, Consumer Behaviour, 174,175.

of peasant cottagers (husbandmen) evolved, in the century between 1540 and 1640, into a few prosperous small-holders who hung on to their property rights and could aspire to yeomanry and a large class of virtually landless wage-labourers.⁷ In other words, by the time Berry made his comments in 1675, there were few self-sufficient husbandmen anymore: most small-holders relied on wage-labour to get them through the year. Were the amphibious Newfoundland fishermen of 1570 to 1640 likewise replaced by a few petty masters (planters and bye-boat keepers) and a large class of wage labourers?

The answer to this must be yes and no. Yes, the fishery underwent differentiation in the seventeenth century; Newfoundland's planters and bye-boat keepers were, in a sense, part of a new middling class. On the other hand, no, seventeenth-century fisherman were not what their contemporaries called wage-labourers (masterless men hired on a daily basis), they remained servants and were usually so-called. If their class origins were specified they usually turn out to have been husbandmen, like most of the fishermen signing indentures to work at Robert Trelawney's fishing station at Richmond Island, Maine in the 1640s.⁸ Fishing servants were much better paid than farm labourers, although Captain Berry may have exaggerated the differential. We

7. Everitt, "Social Mobility"; "Farm Labourers", 424.

8. R. Trelawney *et al.*, Indentures of Robert Saunders, Benjamyn Stephens, John Burridge, 20 and 22 November 1642, in *Trelawney Papers*, 337-342.

might understand service in the Newfoundland fishery as one of the economic strategies that younger members of the declining class of husbandmen might adopt to keep their heads above water and to avoid slipping down into the despised pool of wage-labourers.

Servants who decided to remain in Newfoundland were probably not representative of the servant population. Just as Sir David Kirke encouraged the most skilled fishermen to remain in Newfoundland as planters, servants encouraged to over-winter for a period of years may well have been recruited from those most experienced.⁹ They would therefore have been older on the average, which could sometimes have permitted the accumulation of the small capital needed to establish a plantation. This may have been a common course of events among servants who became planters, but it was not therefore normal among servants in the fishery, even among those who stayed in Newfoundland. Everitt's vivid description of social life in the scattered, often newly established, hamlets of Britain's forest districts probably applies as well to the seventeenth-century English Shore:

...these woodland settlements consisted, on the one hand, of a small core of indigenous peasants with sizeable holdings and a [relatively] high standard of living, a sort of labouring aristocracy; and, on the other hand, of an ever-expanding number of very poor squatters and wanderers, virtually landless, often lately evicted... [and according to one observer] "given to little or no kind of labour... dwelling far from any

9. On Kirke see J. Cull, Deposition, 27 November 1677, WDRO, Plymouth, W360/74.

church or chapel, and...as ignorant of God or of any civil course of life as the very savages..."¹⁰

The average servant in the fishery, even if an experienced boatmaster, was probably illiterate and innumerate. Denys observed fishermen threading cod tongues on a line to record their catches; no doubt fishermen on the English Shore also used such analog notations.¹¹ What evidence there is suggests servants often could not sign their names, which would not be surprising if they were recruited among husbandmen, among whom about 80 percent were illiterate, in this sense, in the study period.¹² We could guess that the minority of literate husbandmen tended to be among husbandmen of highest status and that from such "big husbandmen" some individuals would achieve the yeoman-like status of Newfoundland planter, after extensive experience in fishery service. (In other words, the class origins of Newfoundland's planters probably included the least impoverished husbandmen, as well as yeomen and tradesmen.)

A small proportion of servants would become masters of one sort or another: on "fishing" ships, as bye-boat keepers or as planters. The hierarchical structure of service in the fishery thus served the whole industry, planters and bye-boat keepers included, and not simply the ship-based

10. Everitt, "Social Mobility", 58. The observation is John Norden's, quoted in John Harrison's Description of England (1587); see Everitt, "Farm Labourers", 411n.

11. Denys, l'Amerique Septentrionale [1672], 523.

12. Figure for the diocese of Exeter, 1574 to 1688, in Cressy, Literacy Table 6.2, 120 (n=598).

fishery, in which the system of recruitment and training was a tradition of long-standing. This enabled the fishery to reproduce itself: the social organization of labour not only produced fish, it produced fishermen. This hierarchical social organization meant that the designation "fishermen" was socially ambiguous. An experienced fishing master like Robert Alward, with 50 acres of land valued at £45 annually in the 1655 survey of Cockington, Devon, represented one limit of a broad social class.¹³ At the opposite boundary were lads like Nicholas, eighteen year-old orphan of John Musique, husbandman of Southampton, apprenticed in 1631 by the local overseers of the poor, for seven years:

To be instructed in the trade of a fisherman for two or three yeares and afterwards to be sent to the Newfoundland. And to have at his terme end double apparell [i.e. two suits of clothes] and fortye shillings...¹⁴

These fishermen were separated by the social breadth of a class: the young man was something less than his late husbandman father; the retired fishing master had achieved yeoman status. They were also separated by a career, their lives documented at either end of a possible life-cycle.¹⁵

In this respect, service in the fishery can be usefully contrasted with the early modern agricultural practice of

13. Anon., "Survey of Cockington 1655", 20 March 1656, DRO Exeter, 48/13/6/4/1.

14. Southampton, "Poor Child Register", 1, 9 March 1632, in A.J. Willis and A.L. Merson (eds), Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740, Southampton RS, vol. 12 (Southampton, 1968), 770; cf. xxxi ff and the other mariners indentures calendared.

15. Cf. Handcock, English Settlement, 61, 190-196.

service in husbandry, whose development Ann Kussmaul traces from the late middle ages.¹⁶ Like servants in husbandry, young fishermen hired on at markets and fairs not far from their homes for periods in the order of a year, with the promise of remuneration at the end of employment and the understanding that in the interim they would be fed, housed and, often, clothed. There are important respects, however, in which service in the fishery differed from service in husbandry. Newfoundland's fishermen moved farther than most servants in husbandry, and not just geographically.¹⁷ When servants in the fishery hired on, the "household" they were moving to was different from the one in which they had grown up.¹⁸ It was not simply a somewhat wealthier household or one lacking hands for the familiar agricultural routines of their parents' small-holdings.¹⁹ The "fishing" ships, by-boat crews and planters' households that servants joined in the fishery were a different kind of production unit than the agricultural households of rural England.

There were three inter-related aspects to the difference between service in husbandry and "service in fishery". First of all, the typical production unit in the fishery was very much bigger. A young servant, working one of the eight boats belonging to the OLIVE BRANCH of Barnstaple at Fer-

16. Kussmaul, Service in Husbandry, 97-99.

17. Cf. Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 71, 77, citing evidence from 1599 to 1796.

18. On recruitment catchment areas see Handcock, English Settlement, 145ff.

19. Cf. Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 75-78, citing evidence from 1599 to 1902.

ryland in 1676, was one of 48 fishermen employed by her master Robert Neale.²⁰ Not all "fishing" ships were as large as the 130 ton OLIVE BRANCH, but crews worked in groups much larger, on average, than the few servants employed on most early modern farms.²¹ Even planter and bye-boat keeper production units were relatively large, as we have noted. The size of the Newfoundland production unit and the physical means of production together promoted differentiation among servants in the fishery to an extent not apparent among servants in husbandry.²² The observation that there were two sorts of servants, the skilled and the unskilled, is one way of making this point, but it can be taken further. Analysis of remuneration offered fishermen with various skills indicates considerable economic differentiation within crews, differences which contemporaries recognized as hierarchies.²³ Size, a sophisticated division of labour and the time discipline imposed by the limited fishing season together gave the dry fishery a certain industrial quality, as Jean-François Brière has noted.²⁴

20. J. Wyborn, "...Ships...Between Trepasse and Bay of Bulls", 7 December 1676, CO 1/38 (79), 218-220.

21. In 1675, "fishing" ships south of St. John's employed a mean of 35 men: J. Berry, "...Ships...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (16i), 112-124.

22. For differentiation among servants in husbandry see Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 35 (citing seventeenth- and nineteenth-century sources); among agricultural labourers see Everitt, "Farm Labourers", 433.

23. Yonge, "Journal" (1663), 54-60. Wage differentials are discussed below.

24. Brière, La pêche française, 58-60, 261; cf. Harris, "European Beginnings", 123, 124.

Finally, although servants in the fishery were generally young, they were not as young as servants in husbandry. The hierarchical social organization of service in the fishery meant that older and more experienced fishermen had an important role. Furthermore, it appears that most fishermen entered service later than most servants in husbandry. Yonge's mention of "striplings", "boys" and even "little boys" reminds us that adolescents took part in the Newfoundland fishery, but "boys" and "green men" together account for only about fifteen percent of the crews he describes.²⁵ Of the eight middle-aged or elderly fishermen who gave depositions at Totnes in 1667 regarding their experiences at Newfoundland, seven indicated when they had entered the fishery. Only one was as young as eleven at the time, the rest first went to Newfoundland aged fifteen to twenty-two, the mean age being seventeen and the mode eighteen.²⁶ Most first-year servants in husbandry were younger, c. 1600 typically entering service aged about fifteen and even younger two centuries later.²⁷ The evidence regarding periods of service in husbandry is imperfect but median service of about six years is probable.²⁸ Most servants in husbandry would leave service to set up their own households in their

25. Yonge, "Journal" (1663). Cf. Handcock, English Settlement, 61-63.

26. J. Cull et al., "Depositions of Witnesses taken at Totnes", 27 November 1677, WDRO, Plymouth, W360/74.

27. Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 70, 71, citing evidence from 1599 to 1796.

28. Kussmaul, Servants in Husbandry, 80, citing evidence from 1580 to 1798.

early twenties, an age when many fishing servants would still be climbing the service hierarchy in the fishery.

If fishermen were recruited among husbandmen forced into wage-labour, then they were "poor", at least to gentry observers. But how poor? How did their incomes compare with labourers in the home country? With other seamen? With their counterparts in New England? How were Newfoundland fishermen remunerated? Did forms of payment change over time? How and why? These qualitative problems are as important as the quantitative question of incomes. In the end, income levels and means of payment in an evolving mode of production are inter-related.

2. "Wages" and "shares"

Questions about wages and shares are a way of asking about the relationship between masters and servants in the fishery. Over half a century ago, Ralph Lounsbury argued that it was Sir David Kirke who transformed the Newfoundland fishery into a capitalist enterprise "in the modern sense of the word" by introducing wage labour and replacing "the old system of fishing on shares".²⁹ Lounsbury associates wage labour with the bye-boat fishery.³⁰ Although he associates the introduction of wages with an early resident fishery as well, later historians like W.B. Stephens and, indirectly, Keith Matthews have noted and accepted only the association with bye-boat keeping, perhaps because Lounsbury argues

29. Lounsbury, British Fishery, 89-90.

30. Lounsbury, British Fishery, 110.

(with no evidence) that this was also an innovation of Kirke's.³¹ The simplicity of this important chapter in the economic history of Newfoundland is appealing and Lounsbury's account is still cited, for example by John Crowley in his recent review of labour in the fishery.³² The evidence that Kirke introduced this mode of production to the fishery is not, however, strong. Lounsbury does not even show that Kirke paid his men on a wage basis. The documents he cites are consistent with, but in no sense require, such an interpretation.³³ Important questions remain. Matthews asserts that until 1700 most fishing servants were employed on shares rather than wages.³⁴ Gillian Cell argues, with persuasive examples, that a wage system evolved alongside the share system in the study period.³⁵ Assuming that a shift to wages was underway, did it take place with the rise of the bye-boat fishery, as Stephens and Matthews suppose? Did the shift really have much to do with the rise of "true" or "more complex" capitalism, as Lounsbury and Stephens argue?³⁶ And if so, how?

The wage/share dichotomy is simplistic but a necessary beginning, for analytic purposes. In its modern sense

31. Lounsbury, British Fisheries, 89 and note his association of byeboatkeepers and residents, *ibid.*, 110. Cf. Stephens, "West Country Ports", 94 and Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 163, although curiously Matthews does not cite Lounsbury in discussion of the period 1634 to 1763.

32. Crowley, "Empire versus Truck".

33. Lounsbury, British Fishery, 82-91.

34. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 134.

35. Cell, English Enterprise, 16, 17.

36. Lounsbury, British Fishery, 89; Stephens, "West-Country Ports", 99.

"wage" is an unproblematic concept, an agreed price at which periods of labour are alienated. Confusingly, "wage" is often used loosely in early modern documents, sometimes for what we would call a share. "Share" was also ambiguous, particularly as used in the fishery. A "share" in a voyage might represent two different kinds of participation:

1. I am part owner of a boat with a few others (perhaps my brothers or other kin). We fish together and therefore I expect to receive a share of the catch after expences.
2. I do not own a share in a boat but work as a crewman, for others. If my employer is a typical English "fishing" ship, the owners get one third of the catch, the provisioning merchants one third and I receive, with say 50 other crewmen, a share of about $1/3 \times 1/50$.³⁷

These two different situations, sometimes conflated under the rubric of "the share system", may be contrasted with one another and, in turn, with the wage system:

3. I do not own a share in a boat. The master of a "fishing" ship, a planter or a bye-boat keepers offers me a wage of, perhaps, £10 to work for a season. Others will share in the profits, after all expences are paid, including wages promised crewmen like myself.

What is in question at Newfoundland in the seventeenth century is the beginning of a shift from 2. to 3. What fishing crews invested under the share system was simply

37. In fact differing skill levels among crew members would mean crew members would not receive equal shares. Actual shares received would, however, be expressed in terms of a notional equal share. See the discussion below.

their labour; they did not get paid until the voyage was over. With the shift to wages in this schematic history of the fishery, the economic functions of entrepreneur and labourer were finally fully differentiated. What difference would such a shift have made to merchants and crews?

Today, wages are often preferred to shares by those employed in the fishery. For the working person, a wage means that income is predictable. Wages eliminate the risk of a bad voyage — a potential disaster for the individual, while an exceptional voyage is not commensurably advantageous. In the early modern period, a fixed wage may also have been easier to borrow against, and may have therefore, in effect, expedited payment. The crew of the BEGINNING of Salem, Massachusetts, which fished at Caplin Cove in 1708, did not expect to be paid until the end of their voyage but their leaders were prepared to strike to insist on their right to be allowed advances in goods (alcohol and tobacco) against their expected wages.³⁸ Whatever the final outcome of their voyage, the crew of the BEGINNING would enjoy some of the fruits of their labours, unlike George Bennet of Exeter, Devon, who died in 1609 leaving an estate of £11, consisting largely of his maps and cross-staff and £8 due him for "his voyage for the Newfoundland".³⁹ From a strictly economic point of view then, New-

38. J. Elletson, V. Parkman and S. Tapley, Deposition in Marston vs. Holmes, 15 January 1709, Essex Co., Mass., Court of Common Pleas, Essex Institute, 3530.F.14.

39. W. Symons and G. Ryder, Inventory of George Bennet, 1 December 1609, DRO Exeter, 48/13/2/3/2, 144.

foundland fishermen might prefer wage to share agreements.⁴⁰ We must balance this economic rationale, however, with recognition of the reluctance of early modern workers to become wage-labourers.

In his important article "Pottage for Freeborn Englishmen", Christopher Hill emphasizes the "ideological" hostility felt by early modern workers to wage-labour.⁴¹ To become dependent on wages amounted to a loss of status as a free individual.⁴² Wage-labourers in the seventeenth century were generally impoverished, often separated from a stable community, and sometimes even segregated from other workers by the rise of industrial specialization. Seamen suffered such social discrimination anyway but still preferred to avoid dependency on wages.⁴³ It is unlikely, therefore, that Newfoundland fishermen would have sought straight wage agreements, although they might have accepted a wage component, for the economic reasons discussed above. A prejudice against wage-labour, which would have been felt vividly by husbandmen of the sort attracted to the Newfoundland fishery, raises the question of how it came about that servants in the fishery accepted wage-agreements at all.

40. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 165.

41. C. Hill, "Pottage for Free-born Englishmen: Attitudes to Wage Labour", in Change and Continuity, 219-238; comment on K. Thomas, "Work and Leisure in Pre-Industrial Society", P&P 29 (1964), 50-66.

42. Hill, "The Poor and the People"; cf. MacPherson, Possessive Individualism, 153.

43. Hill, "Pottage", 220-223; cf. Everitt, "Farm Labourers", 399.

We might also ask why employers, whether large or small, based in the West Country or Newfoundland, would favour wage remuneration. One possible rationale depended on Britain's growing naval standing "in the parts beyond the seas". The "fishing" ships that took crews to Newfoundland often also carried their catches to market in southern Europe. Ship masters had a strong interest in reducing crews on the Mediterranean leg of their voyages, since fishing and processing required many more hands than delivering fish, unless the ship had to be defended. As Humfrey Slanye wrote, in his instructions for the Newfoundland voyage of the sack ship LUKE of London in 1623, "A good man is better than 3 others & we desire to go with so small Company as Conveniently we may: to save chardges."⁴⁴ The end of the war with France in 1629 meant that British shipping in southern waters was safer than it had been since open conflict with Spain broke out in the 1580s. Containment of Algerian pirates after 1670 furthered commercial stability in the region. Peace in the Mediterranean made reduction of crews feasible without undue risk. Shares, however, were generally not determined nor crews paid off until the fish were sold and the ship returned to England, although advances might be made to "Wifes or other relations".⁴⁵ For the Western Adventurers, wage agreements facilitated the

44. H. Slanye, "A Coppy of a Clause... [re] the Luke", April 1623, Bodleian Library, Malone mss, 4v.

45. Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 242v. On advances, see E. Hickman and W. Brooking, Response to allegations in Cotton et al. of the PELLICAN of Topsham vs Hickman and Brooking, 27 September 1681, DRO Exeter, Moger CC 181/18/8.

timely lay-off of part of their crews, even in Newfoundland itself if that was mutually agreeable. Fishermen often chose to leave ships there, generally with a view to using the Island as a stepping stone to mainland North America. Security in the Mediterranean and the development of New England may have acted in concert to pre-dispose West Country merchants and Newfoundland fishing crews to employ the more flexible wage agreements. This rationale would not, however, have applied to planters and bye-boat keepers. Unlike fishing masters and planter merchants with ships going to market, they had no special interest in flexible crewing arrangements, since they relied on the sack ships to carry catches to market and hired crews simply to fish.

3. Wages and shares as components of total income

How were seventeenth-century Newfoundland fishermen actually paid? To what extent were various skills remunerated in shares? How did share and wage agreements vary over time and across different sectors? Were incomes high or low? These questions are difficult to answer decisively. The available evidence, although dense enough, is intermittent. A uniform statistical series is out of the question. Fortunately, the Plymouth surgeon James Yonge, who recorded the techniques of the Newfoundland fishery in his journal, served the 70 man crew of the 100 ton "fishing" ship, the REFORMATION of Plymouth, at Renews in 1663. He assessed wages and shares for that rather poor season, with

its average catch of 130 quintals per boat.⁴⁶ Captain Sir William Poole discussed wages and shares briefly in his report to the Committee of Trade and Plantations for 1677.⁴⁷ Captain Francis Wheler's report for 1684 includes budgets for both a "fishing" ship and a planter boat-keeper.⁴⁸ Wheler estimated wages and shares for the 50 man crew of an 80 ton ship, assuming "a good voyage" with a catch of 200 quintals per boat. "I had the Account from a skillful Master of a Fishing Shipp", he reported, "which makes me give greate Credit to it".⁴⁹ His estimates of the wages paid by a boat-keeper were based on information received "from an intelligible Planter".⁵⁰ Thus the data that Yonge and Wheler collected on wages and shares is reasonably authoritative. Finally, Benjamin Marston's instructions for the voyage of his small brigantine BEGINNING of Salem, Massachusetts, to the south Avalon in 1708, contains some wage data, although not all payments are specified.⁵¹ This varied income information is best presented in tabular form.

46. Yonge, "Journal" (1663).

47. W. Poole, "Answers...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62i), 149-152v.

48. F. Wheler, "The expence of fitting out 10 Boats and the Charge of a Shipp of 80 Tuns..." and "The Charge for fitting out two Boats...according to the Custome of the Inhabitants...", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56ii,iii), 249v, 250 and 251v, 252.

49. Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 242.

50. Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 241. It would be amusing to take "intelligible" in the modern sense but more likely that Wheler used it in the obsolete sense of intelligent (OED).

51. B. Marston, Instructions to Robert Holmes, 20 April 1708 (Exhibit in Marston vs. Holmes in Essex Co., Mass., Court of Common Pleas), Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, 3530.F.14.

Table 7.1 Adjusted remuneration, with weighted averages
Newfoundland migratory ship-based fishery
1663, 1677, 1684, 1708

SKILLS	1663 £.s	1677 £.s	1684 £.s	1708 £.s
<u>Boat Crews</u>				
Boat Masters	11.10.	17.10.	12.00.	10.18.
Midshipmen	6.05.	15.00.	9.00.	4.00.
Foreshipmen	3.00.	4.10.	6.00.	2.00.
<u>Shore Crews</u>				
Splitters	8.10.	n/a	10.00.	10.00.
Headers	6.00.	n/a	8.00.	n/a
Salters	5.00.	n/a	n/a	n/a
Boys or Green Men	1.10.	n/a	3.00.	n/a
<u>Ships' Officers</u>				
Master	45.00.	n/a	40.00.	20.00
Mate	12.00.	n/a	n/a	
AVERAGES				
Boat Crews	6.18.	12.07	9.00.	6.02.
Shore, skilled	6.10.	n/a	9.00.	n/a
All skilled	6.16.	n/a	9.00.	n/a
Overall labour	6.01.	n/a	7.13.	n/a
Overall	6.13.	n/a	8.06.	n/a
COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION	0.91	n/a	0.66	n/a

SOURCES:

J. Yonge, "Journal" (1663); W. Poole, "Answers...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62i), 149-152v; F. Wheler, "Expence of fitting out 10 Boats and the Charge of a Shipp...", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56ii), 249v,250; B. Marston, Instructions to R. Holmes, 20 April 1708 [Exhibit in Marston vs. Holmes], Essex County, Mass., Court of Common Pleas, Essex Institute, 3530.F.14.

NOTES:

The figures for 1663 are recalculated, assuming a share of £5, which would reflect a catch of 200 quintals per boat. The figures for 1708 have been translated from colonial currency of the time to pounds sterling. All averages are weighted using the proportions of various skills suggested in the relevant document. Boatmasters, midshipmen, splitters, headers and salters are counted as skilled labour. Foreshipmen, boys and green men are counted as unskilled labour. Masters and mates are included in the overall averages, but not in the overall labour averages.

Table 7.1, p. 336, summarizes the distribution of wages and shares among boat and shore crews working in the migratory ship-based fishery of the early 1660s, later 1670s, mid 1680s, and early 1700s, together with averages for groups of workers, weighted by the proportion of skills required in a typical crew.

Normally the crew was entitled to a specific share of the gross catch. This system of remuneration for mariners survived into the seventeenth century in fishing, whaling and privateering, after it was abandoned in other sea-going trades.⁵² A one-third share was common but not invariable: complicated arrangements among crew, master and victualler might alter this to something more like 30 percent.⁵³ The one-third share was a traditional standard, variations from which became more common as the fishing trade became more complex.⁵⁴ Cell has found cases in which wages supplemented the crew's third but, in the share distributions reported here, crews appear to have received total earnings of one third the gross catch, *i.e.* the total value of shares was

52. Davis, English Shipping Industry, 133. Cf. Whitbourne, Discourse [1622], 178; R. Breton, Letter to F. Windebank, c. 1640, CO 1/10 (79), 199, 199v.

53. For example, T. Newcomen, owner-victualer of the OLIVE of Dartmouth, was to have one ninth of the crew's one third share of her catch in 1650: T. Newcomen, Interrogatory in Newcomen vs Johnson *et al.*, c. 1651, HCA 23/17 (137). Cf. Whitbourne, Discourse, 128; Poole, "Answers" (1677).

54. Cf. Cell, English Enterprise, 17. On French share systems see J. Story, "Intelligence about the french Trade", CO 1/47 (52i), 122; de la Morandière, Pêche française, 117-142; Brière, Pêche française, 109-132.

one third the value of the fish and train oil less the total paid out in wages.⁵⁵ In other words:

$$S = 1/3 C - W$$

Where: S = total value of Share payments to crew
 C = value of Catch
 W = fixed Wages to crew

Workers with various skills were paid in various combinations of share and wage, with a wide range in total payment. The shares of skilled workers formed a considerable part of their pay. Less skilled workers, on the other hand, received no share but only a small annual wage, like servants in husbandry. Notice the detailed gradations of remuneration in Table 3.1, p. 336 above. In 1663 the lowest paid received only a tenth of what the most skilled workers made. Note, however, the reduced dispersion of remuneration levels in 1684, suggesting a levelling of income among fishery "trades". In both periods the average payments to skilled shore crews was somewhat less than to boat crews. Perhaps most striking is the one third rise in average remuneration between 1663 and 1684 (even after adjusting the 1663 figures upwards to reflect an average catch). The 1684 figures provoke other questions, particularly with respect to boat-keepers.

55. Cell, English Enterprise, 14-16; Newfoundland Discovered, 136n, cf. Poole, "Answers" (1677). Wheeler, "Charge of a Shipp" (1684), ignores train oil. Wages were not recoverable from shares in the French fishery; see de la Morandière, Pêche française, 203.

4. Boat-keepers' wage levels⁵⁶

Boat-keepers appear to have paid much more than employers in the ship-based fishery. Furthermore, Captain Wheler appears to suggest that boat-keepers paid straight wages, rather than some combination of wages and shares. Let us examine each of these propositions. Table 7.2, p. 340, compares adjusted total remuneration for the ship-based and the planter boat fishery in 1684. How did Wheler's "intelligible Planter" come to pay skilled crew an average £16.09s and his green men £7, if the "skillful Master of a Fishing Shipp" was paying £9 and £3, respectively? Wheler's informant may have exaggerated boat-keeper's costs: some are high compared to those cited in his ship's budget.⁵⁷ This might account for a fraction of the apparent wage discrepancy, perhaps 10s or £1 in the skilled workers' average.⁵⁸ The passage money that the "fishing" ships charged boat-keepers' crews for the voyage out and back must also be deducted from their high wages. Boat-keepers in fact paid for their crews' passages, but this

56. Again, "boat-keeper" here comprises bye-boat keepers and planters, as it often did in the study period.

57. He quotes £6.13s for fitting out planters' but £1.16s for ship-based boats. This may reflect trans-Atlantic differences in costs but his income figures also suggest pessimism about planters, quoting prices of 22 reals per quintal for dry fish and £10 per tun of oil for ships but 20 reals and £8 for planters.

58. In some periods, ships' pay might be somewhat less than boat-keepers' because crews of the latter were taking more risk of employer bankruptcy. Boat-keepers' high risks were sometimes reflected in interest rates on bottomery, roughly a combination of loan and insurance: they could pay 28 percent per annum, while ship-owners paid 20; see CTP, Minutes, 4 December 1675. On bottomery see Molloy, De Jure Maritimo [1676], 315ff.

Table 7.2 Adjusted remuneration, with weighted averages ship-based and planter boat-keeper fishery, 1684

SKILLS	Ship-based £.s	Boat-keeper £.s
<u>Boat Crews</u>		
Boat Masters	12.00.	16.00.
Midshipmen	9.00.	12.00.
Foreshipmen	6.00.	11.00.
<u>Shore Crews</u>		
Splitters	10.00.	16.00.
Headers	8.00.	10.00.
Salters	n/a	8.00.
Boys or Green Men	3.00.	3.00.
<u>Ships' Officers</u>		
Master	40.00.	
<u>AVERAGES</u>		
Boat Crews	9.00.	13.00.
Shore, skilled	9.00.	11.07.
All skilled	9.00.	12.09.
Overall labour	7.13.	11.10.
Overall	8.06.	11.10.

SOURCES:

F. Wheler, "Expence of fitting out 10 Boats and the Charge of a Shipp..." and "Charge for fitting out two Boats...", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56ii), 249v,250 and CO 1/55 (56iii), 251v,252.

NOTES:

The £4 passage money has been deducted from estimated by-boat labour costs. All averages are weighted using the proportions of various skills suggested in the relevant document.

cost is not included in Wheler's pessimistic budget, so it is reasonable to assume that his informant included it in wage costs.⁵⁹ This would represent about £4 for a round trip, or half as much for men overwintering.⁶⁰ There remains a discrepancy between seasonal income for skilled ship-based and planter crews in the order of £3 for skilled workers.

The best explanation of this discrepancy is that the income of "fishing" ships' crews did not consist only of the reported wages and shares. In the period before the Civil War such hidden income may have included primage, which was essentially a small gratuity to encourage care in lading. Primage rates were only about 6d per ton and "fishing" ships carried little outbound cargo, so it probably made little difference to fishing crews when seventeenth-century masters became reluctant to share this small fee.⁶¹ In the Newfoundland fishery the custom of portage was much more important. This was a right early modern mariners had to carry cargo on their own accounts.⁶²

59. Compare Wheler "Charge for two Boats" and his "Answers" (1684), 242.

60. One-way passage cost 30s to £2; see Berry to Williamson, 24 July 1675. The £2 budgeted by Wheler in his "Charge of a Shipp" is shipowner's profit per round-trip. Masters were free to charge more and did so; see Davis, English Shipping Industry, 149 and W. Kingdom et al. vs E. Hickman and W. Brooking, 20 July 1680, in "Transcripts and Transactions" vol. 3, 135-157v, ms transcript of Chanter 780, b-d, on file, DRO Exeter.

61. Davis, English Shipping Industry, 146.

62. Davis, English Shipping Industry, 147.

There is absolutely no doubt that the crews in the Newfoundland trade took advantage of their right to portage, as Cell has amply documented.⁶³ When the Jersey privateer Nicholas Clause took the OLIVE of Dartmouth in October 1650, the master and crew lost not only their share of fish laded at St. John's that September for the freighters of the vessel but also private cargoes of fish "to a good value" and other goods.⁶⁴ The perquisite of portage was subject to some obvious forms of abuse, hence private cargoes, which included imports to Newfoundland as well as private exports, were to be kept separate from merchants' cargoes. The right to the perquisite was, however, unambiguous. Crewmen of the RUTH of London told the Exeter vice-Admiralty Court that in 1692 the master's mate:

buyed upp a certaine quantity of dry newfoundland fish being that proceeds of goods which he carried there upon his owne particular account and...the said fish...was never intermixt with that fish belonging to the merchants interested in the freight of the said shipp... [When he sold the fish, it] ...was delivered...openly and fairly att a seasonable time and not in any shuffling or clandestine manner whatsoever...⁶⁵

As late as 1708, the Salem merchant Marston allowed portage of 4 barrels to his chief boat master, on top of a wage of £24.⁶⁶ Portage was profitable enough for crews in the ship-

63. Cell, English Enterprise, 17, 18.

64. Newcomen, Interrogatory (1651). See also M. Harding, Bill of lading, 3 September 1650, (Exhibit in Newcomen vs. Johnson et al.) HCA 23/17 (137). For other examples of portage see Cell, English Enterprise, 18.

65. W. Allday and J. Andrews, Deposition in Owners of the RUTH of London vs Archer and Matthews, 8 August 1693, DRO Exeter, Moger CC 181/18/11.

66. Marston, Instructions to Holmes (1708).

based fishery to make up most of the gap between their recorded incomes and those recorded for boat-keepers' crews. The 4 freight-free barrels in 1708 would have been 6 quintals or £3.10s worth of fish. Crewmen of the HOPEGOOD lost £3 or more each, when they lost fish shipped as portage in 1650.⁶⁷ A skilled ship-based Newfoundland fisherman in the study period could make about £3 a season on private cargo of about five quintals of fish.

5. Income levels in the Newfoundland fishery

In 1675 Berry thought a man could earn £20 a summer at Newfoundland. This was a very good rate of pay for a seven month season, almost three times what an experienced journeyman builder earned at the time.⁶⁸ In isolation Berry's claim might seem hard to accept but, put in the perspective of more detailed accounts of remuneration discussed above, earnings as high as £20 are not improbable — although such levels would have been attained, even by skilled fishermen, only in periods of international conflict.

67. J. Heyward and P. Philiver, *Examinations in Hill et al. vs owners of the HOPEGOOD*, 17 August 1654, HCA 13/71, 664-665. The crew of the WILLIAM AND JOHNE had 30,000 fish: J. Denye, *Examination*, 11 October 1633, HCA 13/50, 412v. Cf. J. Pickeringe *et al.*, *Allegations in Pickeringe et al. vs Waringe and Grafton*, c. 1638, HCA 30/457 (37).

68. E.H. Phelps-Brown and S.V. Hopkins, "Seven Centuries of Building Wages", *Economica* 22 (1955), 195-206. They have been criticized, among other things for assuming that builders incomes can be equated with wages; see D. Woodward, "Wage Rates and Living Standards in Pre-industrial England", *R&P* 91 (1981), 28-45.

Seamen's earnings fluctuated considerably in the seventeenth century and did so in counterpoint to the ebb and flow of war and peace.⁶⁹ As Daniel Defoe observed:

whenever this kingdom is engaged in a war with any of its neighbours, two great inconveniences constantly follow, one to the King and one to the Trade. 1. That to the King is, that he is forced to press seamen for the manning of his navy... 2. To Trade by the extravagant price set on wages for seamen, which they impose on the merchant with a sort of authority, and he is obliged to give by reason of the scarcity of men...⁷⁰

The early modern labour markets for fishermen and able seamen overlapped, indeed this is a modern way of saying that the fishery was a nursery of seamen. If fishermen were seamen, then fishermen's incomes would rise with seamen's wages. The rise and fall of markets for cod obviously affected the value of fishermen's shares as well, which in turn affected income levels during the very long period in which both forms of remuneration were used. Markets were strongly affected by war, so these two major influences on fishermen's earnings were certainly not independent.⁷¹ Between 1650 and 1680, when Britain was more often at war than not, seamen's average monthly wage in peacetime rose from about 20 to 25 shillings.⁷² Since there was no price inflation in this period, this is a significant change.⁷³

69. For details of these fluctuations in the seventeenth century see Davis, English Shipping Industry, 135-6.

70. D. Defoe, "An Essay on Projects" [1697], in H. Morley (ed.), The Earlier Life and the Chief Earlier Works of Daniel Defoe (London, 1889).

71. Vickers, "Codfish Prices".

72. Davis, English Shipping Industry, 144.

73. Phelps-Brown and Hopkins, "Prices of Consumables", 296-314; Braudel and Spooner, "Prices in Europe".

It was probably not simply a result of a long period of international tension. Wages of seamen in peacetime were, by 1680, almost 40 percent above their 1620 levels, but builders wages were up by about 50 percent – and builders' increments consistently preceeded seamen's. Skilled fishermen's wages at Newfoundland followed these trends. A graph may clarify this and the relationship of seamen's wages with levels of international tension.

Figure 7.1, p. 347, presents wages for skilled Newfoundland fishermen between 1620 and 1720, in the context of the fluctuations of able seamen's wages reported by Ralph Davis and the improvement of builder's wages reported by Phelps-Brown and Hopkins. Two points should be obvious. First, fishermen's incomes vary over time no more than the wages of seamen in general. Second, there is a consistent relationship between skilled fishermen's earnings and the wages of able seamen. The evidence for this is assembled in Table 7.3, p. 348, assuming skilled fishermen enjoyed the wages, shares and rights to portage discussed above. When skilled Newfoundland fishermen made "an indifferent good voyage", as Captain Berry called a 200 quintal per boat catch, they could expect to earn about 140 to 150 percent of an able seaman's wage.⁷⁴ Newfoundland fishermen did at least as well, relative to British able seamen, as New England fishermen, who earned about 125 percent of able seamen's wages in the 1640s and late 1660s. It may be true, as

74. Quote from Berry to Williamson, 24 July 1675.

Figure 7.1 Total monthly earnings for skilled fishermen in Newfoundland and New England, British able seamen, journeymen builders and builders' labourers, 1620 to 1720.

NOTES:

The figures for 1663 are adjusted to reflect a "normal" catch of 200 quintals and a £5 share. Portage of £3 has been added to the figures for 1663 and 1677; it is assumed included in 1675 and 1684. Monthly incomes have been calculated on a 7 month season at Newfoundland and 10 months at New England, except for the New England brigantine at Newfoundland in 1708, which had a 5 month season.

SOURCES:

- Able seamen: R. Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry (London, 1972), 135,136.
- Journeymen builders and labourers: E.H. Phelps-Brown and S.V. Hopkins, "Seven Centuries of Building Wages", Economica 22 (1955), 195-206.
- Naval wages in 1626: Charles I, "A proclamation touching mariners", NDRO Barnstaple, 913.
- Richmond Island, Maine: John Winter, "A booke of accounts for the Plantation at Richmon Island", 17 June 1640, in Trelawney Papers, 290-295.
- Massachusetts 1666-1671: D. Vickers, "Work and Life on the Fishing Periphery of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1675", in D. Hall and D. Allen (eds), Seventeenth Century New England (Boston, 1985), 83-117, especially 103.
- Newfoundland: Nicholas Guy, "Instructions given to John Poyntz", c. 1625, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 247-249; James Yonge, "Journal" (1663), 54-60; Captain Sir John Berry, Letter to Sir Joseph Williamson, 24 July 1675, CO 1/34 (118), 240-241; Captain Sir William Poole, "Answers to the Severall Heads of Inquiry", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62i), 149-152v; Captain Francis Wheler, "The Charge for fitting out two Boats each Containing five men according to the Custome of the Inhabitants of Newfoundland", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56iii), 251v,252; Captain George Larkin, Letter to the Board of Trade, 20 August 1701, CO 194/4 (44); Benjamin Marston, Instructions to Robert Holmes, 20 April 1708, Exhibit in Marston vs. Holmes, Essex Co., Mass., Court of Common Pleas, Essex Institute, 3530.F.14.

Shillings
per
Month

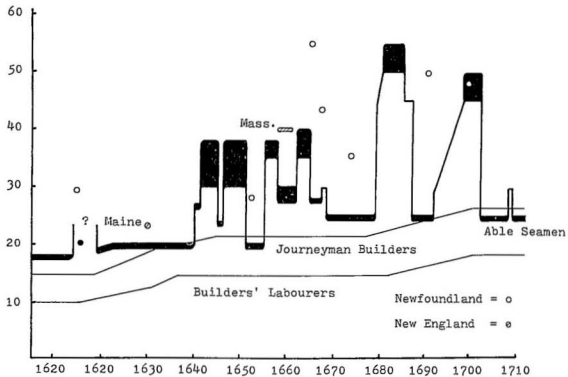


Table 7.3 Adjusted total income for skilled fishermen in New England and Newfoundland compared with average able seamen's wages 1640-1684

PERIOD & PLACE	FISHERMEN shillings	SEAMEN per month	FISHERMEN'S WAGES as a PERCENT of SEAMEN'S WAGES
<u>New England</u>			
1640s	23s	19s 6d	118 %
1666-1671	40s	32s 6d	123 %
<u>Newfoundland</u>			
1625	29s	20s	145 %
1663	28s	19s 6d	144 %
1675	57s	37s 6d	152 %
1677	44s	30s	146 %
1684	34s	24s 6d	139 %

SOURCES:

N. Guy, "Instructions given to John Poyntz", c. 1628, National Library of Wales, 5390 D, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 247-249; J. Winter, "A booke of accounts..." 17 June 1640, in Trelawney Papers, 290-295; Yonge, "Journal" (1663); Vickers, "Work and Life", 83-117; J. Berry, Letter to J. Williamson, 24 July 1675, CO 1/34 (118), 240-241; W. Poole, "Answers...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62i), 149-152v; F. Wheler, "Charge for fitting out two Boats...", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56iii), 251v, 252; Charles I, A proclamation touching mariners, 1626, NDRO Barnstaple, 913; Davis, English Shipping, 135, 136.

NOTES:

Seaman's wages for 1628 are the competitive rates proclaimed by Charles I in 1626. Fishermen's income for 1628 is the average of what Guy suggests for headers and splitters. Fishermen's income for 1663 is adjusted to reflect a "normal" catch of 200 quintals. Portage of £3 has been added to fishermen's income for 1663 and 1677; it is assumed included in 1625, 1675 and 1684. Fishermen's income for 1677 is based on the average for boat crews, which was very close to the skilled average. Monthly incomes have been calculated on the basis of a 7 month season at Newfoundland and, following Vickers, a 10 month season at New England. Davis' figures for the war year 1674 are used, since Berry's 1675 estimate would have been based on the fishermen's experience of the previous year.

Daniel Vickers suggests, that Massachusetts fishing incomes were relatively high in 1700 but it is questionable that wage rates in Newfoundland had previously been, as he implies, significantly lower than in New England.⁷⁵

Occam's razor ought to be applied to discussions of seventeenth-century maritime labour. The evidence that has survived about Newfoundland fishermen's incomes supports the assumption that there was, in the study period, one labour market for British seamen in the North Atlantic. Their wages bore a consistent relationship with able seamen's wages and there was no significant spread between the income fishermen of similar skills could expect, at any one time, at Newfoundland and New England. This is important for the social history of seventeenth-century Newfoundland, because it suggests that the Island's fishermen had relatively high disposable incomes, however they may have deteriorated in subsequent centuries. This conclusion accords better with the frequent observation of contemporaries that Newfoundland fishermen's wages were high than with the assumption that they would have been low, however the latter may conform with pre-conceptions based on later observations.⁷⁶

6. Shares as a proportion of total remuneration

The proportion of skilled fishermen's remuneration made up of shares fell in the later seventeenth century. Table 7.4, p. 350, reports the proportion recorded by Yonge for

75. Compare D. Vickers, "Work and Life", 103.

76. E.g. Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 241.

Table 7.4 Share proportion of total recorded remuneration ship-based fishery, 1663 and 1684

SHARE AS A PERCENTAGE OF WAGE PLUS SHARE		
SKILLS	1663	1684
<u>Boat Crews</u>		
Boat Masters	43 %	33 %
Midshipmen	80 %	44 %
Foreshipmen	83 %	33 %
<u>Shore Crews</u>		
Splitters	62 %	40 %
Headers	83 %	50 %
Salters	0 %	n/a
Boys or Green Men	0 %	0 %
<u>Ships' Officers</u>		
Master	100 %	0 %
Mate	83 %	n/a
<u>AVERAGES</u>		
Boat Crews	69 %	37 %
Shore, skilled	48 %	45 %
All skilled	62 %	38 %
Overall labour	49 %	30 %
Overall	50 %	29 %

SOURCES:

James Yonge, "Journal" (1663); Francis Wheler, "The expence of fitting out 10 Boats and the Charge of a Shipp of 80 Tuns according to the usuall Custome of the Westerne Adventurers", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56ii), 249v,250.

NOTES:

The figures for 1663 are recalculated, assuming a share of £5, which would reflect a catch of 200 quintals per boat.

All averages are weighted using the proportions of various skills suggested in the relevant document.

1663 and by Wheler for 1684. The latter are lower for every skill in the ship fishery. The average share component for skilled fishermen dropped from about 60 to 40 percent of payments.⁷⁷ Assuming £3 income from portage, shares drop from about 45 to 30 percent of total income between the 1660s and the 1680s. Yet we cannot speak, as Lounsbury does, of the replacement of "the old system of fishing on shares" by "the wage system" – since shares were still in use.⁷⁸ Earlier evidence would aid assessment of whether this is a long-term trend or a variation caused by some short-term interaction of factors.⁷⁹ Noting that 1663 and 1684 were both peacetime seasons, that the prices assumed in each report on earnings were comparable, and that neither Yonge nor Wheler had any obvious bias on the subject of shares, it is reasonable to accept Cell's working hypothesis of a seventeenth-century trend away from shares.

The question of whether a particular sector of the fishery initiated this trend remains. Taking Wheler literally, it appears that the shift away from shares was led by the planter fishery. He heads one section of his planter boat-keeper's budget "Men Wages" and lists various specialists: "Boats Master each £20...Midshipman each £16" etc.⁸⁰ Since he does not mention shares, are we to conclude

77. Again, Yonge's figures are recalculated to reflect an average 200 quintal catch.

78. Lounsbury, British Fishery, 90.

79. Possible sources include HCA.

80. Wheler, "Charge for two Boats".

that his "intelligible Planter" paid straight wages? This is implausible, for several reasons.

The idea that boat-keepers might offer straight wages does not make sense from the point of view of labour discipline. As we have seen, many boat-keepers in the study period did not fish with the crews that they hired.⁸¹ Of the 144 bye-boat keepers and planters in 1675, only 43 percent hired fewer than 5 men per boat, and only some of these employees could have supervized all their crews, even with family assistance.⁸² If the fishing was unsupervized, then it is likely that both sorts of boat-keepers would retain a share component in their crew agreements. Even shore workers, particularly the headers and splitters upon whom these employers depended most, would probably have been offered shares.⁸³ Furthermore, it made no economic sense for small capitalists like boat-keepers, whether planters or migratory "interlopers", to risk a complete commitment to wages. In a bad season they would then be at grave economic risk. Merchants with more capital, Sir David Kirke in his heyday for example, might well have been able to risk the chance of having to pay fixed wages in a poor season. They might even have been able to reduce wage costs thereby over the long term, as Lounsbury surmises. For men of small capital, however, there would be no long term, if they had

81. See Chapter 6, above.

82. J. Berry, "...Planters Names...", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (1611), 126-132; Berry, "Ships" (1675).

83. Consider David Kirke's comments, quoted below.

promised straight wages when catches or prices or both were down. Boat-keepers, especially planters, were under economic stress in the 1670s and 80s, as the reports from the naval commanders emphasized, and this makes it unlikely that they would have abandoned share arrangements.

What actual evidence exists that bye-boat keepers or indeed any boat-keepers offered straight wages in the study period? Matthews cites Stephens; Stephens cites Lounsbury; and, despite his assurance, Lounsbury offers no documentation on this point. Matthews refers to a passage in Captain Wheler's 1684 replies to inquiries, in which he describes:

a Sort of men...called Boat Keepers, who doe not Fish on the Shipps Accot: but are hired by Pertculerly men, who Bargaine wth: them at the Same Price as the Master of Shipps doe, & pay for their Passage out, & home...⁸⁴

Even if bye-boat keepers offered "the Same Price" as ship masters, they may have paid shares. Wheler also observed, in another passage, that planters' servants:

change from Yeare to Yeare, & come from England & Covenant wth: their Masters for the Fishing Season, or the Yeare at high rates, the Fish [the planters] Sell for their men's Wages, Salt, Provisions and Liqueur.⁸⁵

We have already noted Wheler's use of "wage" in his intelligible Planter's budget, where "wage" seems to have included passage costs. The term may just as well have included shares: "wages" was used through the seventeenth

84. Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 242. Lounsbury may also have been thinking of Wheler.

85. Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 239.

century to mean payments for service, including shares. In 1698, for example, Commodore Norris told the Board of Trade that fishermen's "wages... generally go by the shares which is a Third of the Fish and Train".⁸⁶ So there is no strong reason to think wages had displaced shares among either by-boat men or planters, let alone that these small operators had led a transition to wages.

What then remains as evidence that shares had been replaced in any sector by 1700? The only consistent evidence of straight wages pertains to the youngest and least-skilled workers, who could expect payments of £1 or £2 a season. "Boys and green men" formed an growing proportion of crews over the seventeenth century, growing from 14 percent in Whitbourne's 1622 estimate and Yonge's 1663 figures to 20 percent in Wheler's report for 1684 and 26 percent in the case of the Massachusetts vessel, the BEGINNING, in 1708.⁸⁷ Since unskilled servants received straight wages, wages were becoming more important in the Newfoundland fishery in the sense that the unskilled were better represented among crews. There is no evidence that this trend was restricted to any sector of the industry.

The only strong evidence of straight-wage arrangements for a whole crew occurs in the letter of instruction the New

86. J. Norris, "Answer...", 13 November 1698, CO 194/1 (1261), 267-272. Cf. OED.

87. Whitbourne, Discourse (1622), 179; Yonge, "Journal" (1663); Wheler, "The Charge of a Shipp" (1684); Marston, Instructions to Holmes (1708).

England merchant Marston wrote for the season of 1708; in other words, it relates to the migratory ship-based fishery. The voyage took place, however, during a period of war in which seamen's wages had soared. This was, moreover, an unusual case: shares were the normal method of payment in the New England fishery.⁸⁸ The voyage ended as a financial disaster and may represent an unsuccessful experiment. Although this unusual eighteenth-century case cannot, therefore, substantiate a decisive trend away from shares, it is consistent with a general diminution of their importance. The payments reported by Yonge and Wheler remain good evidence that the later seventeenth century saw a shift away from shares in the ship-based migratory fishery. It must be emphasized, as Commodore Norris did in 1698, that shares had not disappeared from the ship fishery; indeed they were still in use as late as 1750.⁸⁹ Economic logic and the survival of share remuneration among Newfoundland fishermen to the present suggest that shares survived as well in the bye-boat and small planter fisheries.⁹⁰ This leaves only the planter gentry unaccounted for. Unlike the average boat-keeper, planter merchants had the wherewithal to offer fixed wages. Is there any evidence that they actually did so?

88. Vickers, "Work and Life", 92..

89. Innis, Cod Fisheries, 151,152; Davies, England and Newfoundland, 295.

90. Paris, Cat Harbour, 107-108.

7. David Kirke and the introduction of wages

Is Lounsbury's view that David Kirke introduced wage payments to the Newfoundland fishery compelling? The only relevant document he cites is Kirke's "Reply to the Answere to the description of Newfound Land" of 1639, the rebuttal of a West Country answer (now lost) to Kirke's earlier description of Newfoundland (also now lost).⁹¹ This is what Kirke had to say about fishing:

...everie fisher man can informe you that they come to Newfoundland not upon wages, but for their shares of the Voyage. To some is a quarter part of all the fishe that are taken and oyles that are made; to others a third thereof, yet upon their other Conditions, so that if the voyage be good, it is as good to the Fisherman in their proportion as to the Adventurers. If otherwise the losse is their owne as well, as the Marchants. And therefore the lesse feare of negligence on their parte soe longe as the fishinge continues.⁹²

The "Reply" supports the general consensus that fishermen of c. 1640 fished on shares. Kirke even emphasizes a major rationale for this mode of remuneration, i.e. labour discipline. He uses the word "wage" in both the narrower and the wider sense; first contrasting "wages" with "shares"; later rejecting the argument that fishermen are more likely

91. D. Kirke, "Reply to the Answere to the description of Newfound Land", September 29 1639, CO 1/10 (38), 97-114v.

92. Kirke, "Reply", 98v, repunctuated. This reading assumes Kirke slipped and placed the caret for an insertion of the word "not", in the first sentence, one line lower than intended. The alternative reading seems nonsensical: "...everie fishermen can informe you that they come to Newfoundland upon wages, but for their shares of the voyage, not to some is a quarter part of all the fishe that are taken and oyles that are made..."

to take a gentleman's "wages", or payments of any kind, for poor work than a merchant's:

It is charitably objected that [fishing] is poore mans worke. And that those poore men, if they worke for noblemen or gentlemen, will eate them upp and consume them, lookinge only after their wages, without care or conscience of what they undertake. And upon this so vaine and harsh a prejudice shall some thousands of his Majesty's subjects, who have been only bredd to the skill of fishing in Newfoundland, be now neglected and cast out to seek after other Trades...⁹³

If Lounsbury read Kirke to mean that gentlemen like himself paid wages, while the traditional fishing merchants paid shares, then he was ignoring the wider sense "wages" could have in the seventeenth century.

Another relevant set of documents has survived in Court of Admiralty papers, a source not used by Lounsbury. The case that Robert Alward brought against Sir David Kirke in 1650 is particularly interesting because it suggests how the Kirkes recruited labour for their Ferryland-based fishing operations.⁹⁴ Alward, an experienced fishing master of the parish of Kingswear near Dartmouth, was hired in 1649 by David Gutenville, a London agent and nephew of David Kirke.⁹⁵ Alward's job was to round up a crew of 24 fishermen, which was probably easy enough to do in the Dartmouth area in the spring of 1649, since the Kirkes were

93. Kirke, "Reply", 98v, 99, repunctuated.

94. R. Alward, Libel in Alward vs. Kirke, 1650, HCA 24/111 (4), n.p.; D. Gutenville, Answers to allegations in Alward vs. Kirke, 10 May 1652, HCA 13/124, n.p.

95. On Gutenville's relationship to the Kirkes see James Kirke, Will, 24 May 1651, PROB 11/259, 88, v.

offering "high wages", food prices had soared after a series of bad harvests, and the Navy was pressing men for service.⁹⁶ The fishermen signed on for the summer at various rates. Alward later claimed that Gutenville promised him a wage of £30, with the further encouragement of £5 to provision the men, pending their departure. After their arrival at Ferryland on the JOHN of Plymouth, Alward and his men presented themselves to Sir David:

... & shewed him a list of the perticuler mens names & of their perticular wages, and of his owne wages, all of which the said Sir David Kirke very well liked & approved of & promised payment...

The fishing season went well and Alward's crew worked "with all diligence & carefulnesse and did get & preserve great quantity of fish". Kirke made the agreed payments to the men but refused to pay Alward himself. The latter may have angered Kirke in some way. Although the two had known each other since at least 1638 and Alward had assembled crews for Kirke before, the Newfoundland planter not only refused the Devon master his wages but also seized personal goods to force repayment of the £5 provisioning money, with an added "20 shillings for the ad-venture thereof".⁹⁷

96. Council of State, Order, 23 February 1649, SP 25/94, 17; Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects, 138; A. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce" in J. Thirsk (ed.), Agrarian History, 466-592.

97. On the other hand, Alward may have been litigious: cf. R. Alward vs. N. Tasker, 28 March 1644 and R. Allward vs W. Jeffry, 11 May 1649, in Transcripts, vol. 1, 69 and vol. 2, 19, of Chanter 780, b-d, on file, DRO Exeter. Alward was master of the HAMILTON, which collected the Kirkes' fishery imposition in 1638; see R. Allward, Examination in Baltimore vs Kirke, 29 March 1652, HCA 13/65, n.p..

Clearly, Alward expected to be paid a fee for services — but this was common for the "masters" who subcontracted to organize boatcrews.⁹⁸ As for the fishermen themselves, we must resist the temptation to take a phrase like "perticular wages" to imply periodic payments for services and recall that it could just as well refer to some complicated combination of shares and straight wages, like those reported by Yonge and Wheler in ensuing decades. A close reading of the evidence does not require us to believe that David Kirke paid men on a wage basis, or even that he emphasized wages in a complex wage/share system. The case does underline the explicitly contractual character of the relationship between master and servant in the fishery. The relationship between Kirke and Alward himself was significantly less capitalist and, in Gutenville's account, more reminiscent of the clientage relationships discussed in Chapter 6, above. Gutenville told Alward that he could hire men to assemble crews for less than £30, to which Alward is supposed to have replied "that hee would stand to the courtesie of Sir David Kirke."

The extended war periods 1642 to 1675 and 1689 to 1713 may have had much to do with making higher wage guarantees more common in the Newfoundland fishery. The evidence suggests a gradual transition from shares to wages and suggests that the new emphasis on wages was not peculiar either to the planter fishery in general or to planter merchants like

98. Cell, English Enterprise, 16.

the Kirkes. In the end, the best we can say of Lounsbury's assertion that it was Kirke who introduced wage payments to the British fishery at Newfoundland is that this is possible. If we have any reason to believe this was so, it is because fixed payments became a significant element in skilled fishermen's remuneration at planter fisheries elsewhere about the time David Kirke set up at Ferryland.

8. Portage for freeborn Englishmen

Evidence of wage agreements has survived in John Winter's accounts for Robert Trewlawney's permanent fishing station at Richmond Island, Maine. In 1639/1640, for example, junior employees were paid annually as servants, most at the rate of £5 a year. Of the fifteen better-paid employees whose incomes can be determined, two, who may not be fishermen, were paid straight wages of £8 and £14. Most of the rest made a share of some £9.05s with a wage of a few pounds. Three men made simply the share and two men a half share plus either £2 or £3.10s. The manager, John Winter, earned £40 on top of his share and another man a share plus £22.⁹⁹ This pattern of payments was standard at Richmond Island in the 1630s and 1640s.¹⁰⁰ Excluding the manager, Winter, earnings among those with shares averaged £11.08s, of which wages made up about one third.¹⁰¹ This is just

99. J. Winter, "A booke of accounts...", 17 June 1640, in Trewlawney Papers, 290-295.

100. See E.A. Churchill, "A Most Ordinary Lot of Men: The Fishermen at Richmond Island, Maine, in the Early Seventeenth Century", New England Quarterly 57 (1984), 184-204.

101. Colonial currency was then at par with sterling.

about the proportion of wage remuneration among skilled workers in the Newfoundland fishery of the 1660s.

The patterns of remuneration in the Maine and Newfoundland fisheries of the mid seventeenth century were similar: lower-paid, unskilled workers earned a flat rate, while skilled workers signed on for shares plus a wage component comprising about a third of their total remuneration.¹⁰² By emphasizing the early modern aversion to wage-labour, Hill has raised an important and difficult question: how did it come about that workers, once hostile to the notion of wage-labour, began to accept wages?¹⁰³ In the case of the North Atlantic cod fisheries the shift in question was a shift from shares to wages. Workers who had little choice, the young and the less skilled, already had a dependent status like that of a servant in husbandry. Why did skilled fishermen begin, by 1640, to accept employment agreements which treated them, at least in part, like wage-labourers?

The records of the Richmond Island fishery contain an interesting clue. The manager, John Winter, does not generally use the term "wage" for fixed annual payments in his accounts, but instead the term "portage". This strongly suggests that these fixed payments were conceptualized by Winter and his crews as a substitute for the perquisite income they could have expected had they been employed in the traditional migratory fishery, rather than at a

102. Cf. Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, 350,351.

103. Hill, "Pottage", 219.

permanent station. In the end, Winter equated wages and portage. He called the £40 fixed remuneration which he received annually from May 1636 to May 1639 his "portage money" but in 1640 referred to it as "last years wages".¹⁰⁴ We can glimpse here part of the social history of an evolving economy. The wage relationship, which self-respecting skilled workers in this period still avoided if possible, may have been less objectionable seen as the transmutation of a traditional right in a new context.

Workers' loss of perquisites or their transmutation into cash was a common phenomenon in early modern England. In the Newfoundland fishery the development of the planter and bye-boat keeper fisheries put the traditional perquisite of portage into question. "In such ways", as E.P. Thompson puts it, "economic rationalization nibbled through the bonds of paternalism".¹⁰⁵ Wage payments became more important in the British fishery at Newfoundland but boat-keepers and the masters of "fishing" ships did not, apparently, compete by differentiating their modes of production more than the constraints of technique and scale required. The view that the ship-based and boat-keeper fisheries at Newfoundland represented two differentiated modes of production, structured respectively around shares and wages, turns out to have little historical basis, other than that boat-keepers

104. J. Winter, "His Accounts...", July 15, 1639; "A booke of accounts...", 17 June 1640; in Trelawney Papers, 183-196, 290-297.

105. E.P. Thompson, "Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture", Journal of Social History 7 (1974), 382-405.

could not offer their crews the right of portage, as the masters of ships could and did.

In 1675 John Parrot, a spokesman for the Western Adventurers, proposed an elegant scheme to eradicate the bye-boats by choking off their labour supply through limitation of the passengers permitted on "fishing" ships. Secretary of State Sir Joseph Williamson objected:

in behalf of the Poore, that this design was to exclude Them from being sharers in anything, and that they would be still obliged to serve the Rich as Labourers.¹⁰⁶

The mythic struggle between boat-keepers and the merchants who controlled the ship-based fishery was, as Williamson understood it, a class conflict. He saw bye-boat men as poorly-capitalized "sharers" whose only alternative was labour in the well-capitalized ship fishery. There is little reason to doubt his assumption that the fisherfolk of the West Country and Newfoundland preferred to remain "sharers", when they could.

9. Conclusion.

In the end we must disagree with Lounsbury and Stephens: there was no break-through to "real capitalism" in the seventeenth-century Newfoundland fishery. This is not to deny significant change in this period. Service in the fishery evolved, but the shift in emphasis from shares to wages did not result in a mode of production that we would

¹⁰⁶. CTP, Minutes, 4 December 1675.

recognize as typical of modern industrial capitalism. The sectors of the Newfoundland fishery shared a distinctive mode of production, although it was neither static nor entirely sui generis. Even when co-opted by metropolitan merchant capitalists like Kirke, the fishery remained proto-industrial: like a combination of service in husbandry and a putting-out system. The fluctuation of skilled fishermen's wages, in response to conditions in a broader labour market, indicates that remuneration, however calculated, reflected contractual and not simply customary labour relationships. So the Newfoundland fishery was already capitalist. Indeed it was one of those early nodes of capitalism that preceeded the general transformation of the world economy.

One significant watershed crossed in the mid-seventeenth century by the northern European economies, in the course of this general transition to a capitalist economy, has only recently begun to receive the discussion that it merits. If mass production is the basis of capitalist industrial expansion, then a mass market for goods is a requirement of such economic development, no less than a labour force of wage workers. The market in goods and the market in labour are, in this sense, two sides of the same coin. Let us examine the demand side of the coin, in Newfoundland.

CHAPTER 8

DEMAND: TOBACCO AND ALCOHOL

The Inhabitants...have ben very destructive & prejudiciall to the said fishing Trade...& by keepeing of Tipling houses & selling of Brandy & other strong waters, wine Beere & Tobacco deboist [debauch] the fishermen sent thither in fishing voyadges & thareby hinder them & detainne them from their Employments to the greate losse in the Voyadges... & cause them to Expend & wast a greate part of their wages...

-Christopher Selman, Deposition taken at Totnes, 27 November 1667¹

Since the early 1650s, Christopher Selman had sailed from Dartmouth "to use Newfoundland", as he put it. His testimony was intended to discredit the planters. We should, therefore, discount his inflammatory language, or at least suspend judgement on whether planters actually "debauched" crews with alcohol and tobacco, provoking a "waste" of earnings. Selman's judgment depended on a particular ideologically-grounded view of the consumer demands working persons might properly make. Such views are part of the history of early modern Newfoundland but are best set aside, for the nonce, in the interests of answering a

1. WDRO, Plymouth, W360/74.

simpler and more fundamental question: what did the fisher-folk of the south Avalon exchange for fish?

Again, this is a question usefully posed for the English Shore as a whole. Others, less biased than Selman, were struck by the quantities of alcohol and tobacco imported into seventeenth-century Newfoundland. Several impartial observers suggest this was how the planters balanced their books. What follows is an attempt to assess these impressions, by putting these ascribed patterns of demand in a wider North Atlantic social context and then testing them against evidence relating to the specific case of the south Avalon, in the form of inventories, cargo manifests and archaeological remains. This will provide a framework within which we can pose a more complex question: what did the consumption of the little luxuries like wine and tobacco mean to the men and women who lived and worked in the early modern fishery? We may then be in a position to return to the issue of social control implicit in Selman's prejudices about appropriate forms of consumption. Let us begin by placing these questions in a larger theoretical context.

1. The historiography of demand

Almost forty years ago, Eric Hobsbawm posed a fundamental question about the rise of capitalism: why was the economic expansion of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries interrupted by a protracted seventeenth-century economic crisis, which delayed a decisive industrial revolution until

the following centuries?² Hobsbawm argued that before 1720 wage labourers were not numerous, which restricted development of a mass market and therefore limited incentives to invest in mass production by limiting possible profits. Expansion was possible within the limits of a largely rural society but, when the requirements of its fragmented markets were met, the European economy faltered, recovering only when demand expanded. The development of a mass market and of a large and available free labour force were two aspects of a single process, spread over several centuries.³ We have learned more about mass demand (or "home markets") since Hobsbawm formulated this argument but, until recently, scholars devoted more energy to surveys and calls for research than to the intricate tasks of exploring the history of demand in particular societies. Scholars of an earlier generation had recognized the significance of rising levels of aggregate demand.⁴ This post-medieval expansion is, however, incomprehensible without analysis of qualitative changes patterns of consumption. We must trace the expansion of demand for unprecedented goods like tobacco; for substitute goods, like sugar and ceramics which replaced honey and treen (or wooden utensils); and for goods like distilled alcohol and glass, formerly socially restricted in

2. E. Hobsbawm, "General Crisis" and "The Crisis of the 17th Century-II", P&P 6 (1954), 44-65.

3. Hobsbawm, "General Crisis", 40; cf. E. Hobsbawm, "The Seventeenth Century in the Development of Capitalism", Science and Society 24(2) (1960), 97-112.

4. E.W. Gilboy, "Demand as a Factor in the Industrial Revolution" [1932], in R. M. Hartwell (ed.), The Causes of the Industrial Revolution (London, 1967), 121-138.

distribution.⁵ Such apparently antiquarian tasks are necessary to understand how the modern world economy differs from the medieval economy (or economies).⁶

A qualitative history of demand remains more a program than a coherent body of scholarship, despite recent work on an archtypical modern good (sugar), on the rise of a "consumer society" in England and on self-sufficiency and consumerism as alternative models of eighteenth-century American rural life.⁷ London's great size and predominance within the English economy decisively influenced England's home market.⁸ In no other nation, except the Netherlands, was ten percent of the population concentrated in one urban

5. Cf. Hobsbawm, "Crisis-II", 57.

6. F. Braudel, Civilization and Capitalism, vol. 1, The Structures of Everyday Life: the Limits of the Possible, (New York, 1981), 183-333; W. Minchinton, "Patterns and Structure of Demand 1500-1750" in C.M. Cipolla (ed.), Fontana Economic History of Europe, vol. 2, The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London, 1974), 83-176.

7. S.W. Mintz, Sweetness and Power: the Place of Sugar in Modern History (New York, 1986); Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects; N. McKendrick, J. Brewer, J.H. Plumb (eds), The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England (Bloomington, Indiana, 1985). For an incisive review of the literature on the English market see Weatherill, Material Culture, 16-21; on eighteenth-century America see T.H. Breen, "An Empire of Goods: the Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776", Journal of British Studies 25(4) (1986), 467-499; cf. "Baubles of Britain: the American and Consumer Revolutions of the 18th Century", P&P 119 (1988), 73-104.

8. F.J. Fisher, "The Development of the London Food Market, 1540-1640", ECHR, 5 (1934-5), 46-64; "The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", TRHS (4th series) 30 (1948), 37-50.

region by 1700.⁹ The regions in which mass demand developed early can be characterized in another way: they were maritime areas. Maritime trade made international markets possible, of course. Seamen, like the soldiers, small rentiers, minor civil servants and personal dependents who formed the rest of the early modern mass market, enjoyed cash incomes and had no aversion to standardized goods.¹⁰ Furthermore, maritime communities were in a position to tap international flows of goods, even when these were directed elsewhere, geographically or socially.

2. The "consumer society" of the seventeenth century

In her recent studies of consumer behaviour c. 1675 to 1725, Lorna Weatherill uses probate evidence to refute the idea that a "consumer society" already existed in England – if by "consumer society" we mean one typified by wide demand for books, clocks, pictures, mirrors, table utensils, or table linen.¹¹ Weatherill's statistics suggest that the "social depth" of the developing market for these goods was still not great: craftsmen, for example, were often part of it; husbandmen, on the other hand, rarely so. From this analysis she draws two important conclusions. First, only certain consumption patterns (e.g. for books and clocks) mirror social hierarchies. Thus emulation, which is often

9. Hobsbawm, "Crisis-II", 59. On the home market in the Netherlands, see S. Schama, The Embarrassment of Riches: an Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age (New York, 1987); on London's population see Wrigley, "Model of London's Importance".

10. Hobsbawm, "Crisis-II", 58.

11. Weatherill, Material Culture, "Consumer Behaviour".

invoked to explain the development of mass demand, is an inadequate conceptual framework for discussion of early modern consumer behaviour.¹² Second, social limitation of demand for many goods supports D.E.C. Eversley's stress on the predominance of gentry and middle-class home demand after 1700 and calls into question Joan Thirsk's contention that a significant "consumer society" or mass market for cheap goods had already formed.¹³

Weatherill's care to avoid conflation of evidence about patterns of demand among distinct social classes is salutary and such socio-metric detail makes her critique of emulation as a general analysis of the relationships between such patterns all the more convincing. The debunking of an early consumer society is more problematic. A key question remains: why should any particular shift in demand be identified as the rise of a consumer society? Some early modern consumption patterns of considerable social depth date from the later sixteenth century. In his well-known Description of England, William Harrison discusses hopped

12. E.g. E.L. Jones, "The Fashion Manipulators: Consumer Tastes and British Industries, 1660-1800", in L.P. Cain and P.J. Uselding (eds), Business Enterprise and Economic Change: Essays in Honour of Harold F. Williamson, (Kent, Ohio, 1973), 198-226; H.J. Perkin, "The Social Causes of the British Industrial Revolution", TRHS 18 (1968), 123-143. On "consumption hierarchies" see Weatherill, Material Culture, 185 and M. Douglas and B. Isherwood, The World of Goods (New York, 1979), 176-194.

13. D.E.C. Eversley, "The Home Market and Economic Growth in England, 1700-1760", in E.L. Jones and G.E. Mingay (eds), Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution: Essays presented to J.D. Chambers (New York, 1967), 206-259; Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects, 179; cf. Weatherill, Material Culture, 192, 193.

beer rather than the traditional ale and notes the introduction of tobacco and pipes, the replacement of open fires with "the multitude of chimneys lately erected", the frequent ("although not general") replacement of straw pallets or rough mats by feather bedding on a framed bedstead, and what he called "the exchange of vessel" of pewter for treen platters and silver or tin for wooden spoons.¹⁴ Harrison did not claim that tobacco, beds, chimneys or pewter became universal in his time, although he indicates that beer was. By 1650 tobacco was commonplace, pewter and feather beds were common even among persons of the status of husbandman and cottages without chimneys rare.¹⁵

Weatherill's work, stressing social distinctions among the goods that turn up in probate inventories of the late seventeenth century, does not invalidate Thirsk's demonstration that by the early seventeenth century the English were already commonly consuming goods for which there had been only restricted demand in late medieval times. Among goods

14. William Harrison, The Description of England (1587, Ithaca, N.Y., 1968), 135-138, 195-204, 266.

15. On tobacco see R. Davis, "English Foreign Trade, 1660-1700", EcHR (2nd series) 7(1) (1954), 150-166. On hops see Clark, English Alehouse, 31ff, 96ff. On pewter and bedsteads see R. Witheridge and E. Langdon, Inventory of Thomas Pearse of Barnstaple, weaver, 18 August 1646; J. Boyes and G. Wall, Inventory of Edward Mountford of Shaugh, husbandman, 17 November 1646; J. Doable et al., Inventory of Walter Blackmoore of Barnstaple, blacksmith, and his wife, 1 December 1646; (totalling £32.1s, £34.7s and £51.17s); all in M. Cash (ed.), Devon Inventories of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Devon & Cornwall RS (new series), vol. 11 (1966), 88-91. On chimneys see Hoskins, "Rebuilding" and C.A. Hewett, "The Development of the Post-medieval House" PMA 7 (1973), 60-78.

which were cheaper and increasingly common (besides those mentioned by Harrison) were earthenware, metal pots and frying pans, knives and other edge tools, nails, pins, glass bottles, vinegar, distilled alcohol, knitted wool stockings and caps, felt hats, gloves, the new draperies (i.e. cheaper and lighter fabrics), linens, ribbons and even lace, as well as starch and soap for the latter.¹⁶ Weatherill's own figures for 1675 to 1725 indicate substantial mass demand for pewter and cookpots, as well as some demand, even among those of modest means, for earthenware and linen.¹⁷ In fact, metal cookpots and earthenware had already deeply penetrated the English market in late medieval times.¹⁸ The other seventeenth-century consumer goods were the sorts of things that easily became "small things forgotten" in probate inventories.¹⁹ This does not lessen their cultural importance nor detract from Thirsk's main point: a broadening demand for cheap goods underlay the Tudor and early Stuart economic policy of support for industrial and agricultural projects which promised import-substitution.²⁰ The "consumer revolution", like its obverse the "industrial revolution", might be better termed an evolution. It has

16. Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects, 2,6,44,106, 127 and cf. M. Spufford, The Great Re-clothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1984).

17. Weatherill, Material Culture, 168, table 8.1.

18. See G.G. Astill, "Economic Change in Later Medieval England: An Archaeological Review", in T.H. Aston, P.R. Coss, C. Dyer, J. Thirsk (eds), Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R.H. Hilton (Cambridge, 1983), 217-247.

19. J. Deetz, In Small Things Forgotten, the Archaeology of Early American Life (Garden City, N.Y., 1977), 4.

20. Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects, 23,125.

been going on for at least five centuries.

We may well doubt whether all or even most of the English import substitutes produced in the seventeenth century reached a mass market; the important point is that many products of England's growing industries did. Consider the slip-decorated sgraffito earthenware, which became a typical product of the North Devon potteries in the later seventeenth century and which is widely distributed in archaeological contexts of this period along the Atlantic littoral of North America.²¹ (A North Devon sgraffito dish, from a Ferryland waterfront context of about 1670, is illustrated in Figure 8.1, p. 374.) This ware developed in imitation of similarly-decorated Dutch and Italian wares.²² North Devon sgraffito was probably cheaper than these "out-landish" ceramics, but no mass market existed for it: it is, typically, excavated in association with other up-market wares, like delft, majolica, faïence or other tin-glazed earthenwares.²³ On the other hand, ordinary North Devon

21. C.M. Watkins, North Devon Pottery and its Export to America in the 17th-Century, U.S. National Museum Bulletin no. 225 (Washington, 1960); Grant, North Devon Pottery.

22. A. Yentsch, "Minimum Vessel Lists as Evidence of Change in Folk and Courtly Traditions of Food Use", HA 24(3) (1990), 24-53. On the European wares see J.G. Hurst, D.S. Neal and H.J.E. van Beuningen, Pottery Produced and Traded in North-West Europe 1350-1650, Rotterdam Papers, vol. 6 (the Hague, 1986).

23. E.g. Watkins, North Devon Pottery, 36; J.P. Allan, Medieval and Post-medieval finds from Exeter, 1971-1980, Exeter Archaeological Reports, no. 3 (Exeter, 1984), 131. Such ceramic variation among socially-distinguishable contexts is minimal at medieval English sites, although the typical "modern" social contrasts are apparent at some Italian medieval sites; see Astill, "Economic Change", 222.



Figure 8.1 North Devon coarse earthenware sgraffito dish
Ferryland Waterfront, cistern pit (CgAf-2, locus
C, feature 1a) c. 1665-1675. Courtesy of
Archaeology Unit, MUN.

vessels occur in a wide range of contexts. At Ferryland, for example, North Devon tall pots and pipkins are the most common vessel forms occurring at a forge of c. 1640 to 1660, used as a cookroom by fishing crews.²⁴ The success of the North Devon potteries in the seventeenth century depended not only on imitation of luxurious, foreign, serving vessels but also on the production of cheap, sturdy and widely-distributed storage and cooking vessels.²⁵

Significantly, English mariners' inventories of 1675 to 1725 are much more likely to include earthenware than the inventories of husbandmen, yeomen or even craftsmen.²⁶ Books, clocks, pictures, mirrors, table linen, china, utensils for hot drinks and silverware were also considerably better represented among mariners. Thus the novel lower-middle-class consumer goods of c. 1700 were already common among mariners whose estates were probated. Such mariners tended to be, no doubt, of higher status than the average mariner, but this is equally true of other occupations sampled and Weatherill's mariners were less wealthy than her yeomen and craftsmen.²⁷ The pattern of demand apparent in these inventories supports the argument made

24. Pope, Ceramics from Ferryland, 84-90.

25. Cf. Grant, North Devon Pottery, 83-130.

26. Earthenware occurs in 60 percent of mariners' inventories, but only 28, 33 and 43 percent of husbandmen's, yeomen's and craftsmen's inventories. Fishermen are folded into the low status trades category, unfortunately. See Weatherill, Material Culture, Tables 8.1 and 8.4, 168, 188.

27. Mean total value of mariners' inventories was £85, of yeomen's £162, of craftsmen's £96 and of the few fishermen's inventories in her sample £129; see Weatherill, Material Culture, 209ff, Tables A2.1 and A2.3.

above: maritime communities often had the opportunity to express demand for novel goods before their land-lubber social peers. This would have been true for different classes of seamen over several centuries (vis à vis various suites of goods). We need not be surprised, then, that c. 1600 to 1650 common mariners were consuming goods not previously known among persons of their humble status. The most notable cases are tobacco, wine and spirits. Of these goods, tobacco was a complete novelty; consumption of distilled alcohol for non-medicinal purposes was rare before the late sixteenth century and expanded rapidly in the following century, as did consumption of wines.²⁸ In each case mariners constituted a significant part of the new market for these goods.²⁹ Production of spirits for non-medicinal purposes in early seventeenth-century England was largely devoted to maritime victualling.³⁰ Licences for tobacco retailers in the 1630s were strongly concentrated in London and the counties most involved in the early Atlantic trades:

28. G.L. Apperson, The Social History of Smoking (London, 1914), 4-23; Laufer, Tobacco; Braudel and Spooner, "Prices", 407 ff; C.A. Wilson, "Burnt Wine and Cordial Waters", Folklife 13 (1975), 54-65 and Food and Drink in Britain (Harmondsworth, 1984), 332ff.; C. Dyer, "English Diet in the Later Middle Ages", in T.H. Aston et al., Social Relations and Ideas, 191-216; Clark, English Alehouse, 106, 209-211, 239; Davis, "Foreign Trade", Table 2.

29. A. Rive, "The Consumption of Tobacco since 1600", Economic History 1 (1926), 57-75; S.A. Dickson, Panacea or Precious Bane: Tobacco in Sixteenth Century Literature (New York, 1954), 131, 132. On wine, see the discussion below. Apperson, Smoking, 25, notes elite demand for tobacco in late sixteenth-century England but admits that tobacco use spread rapidly among all classes.

30. Clark, English Alehouse, 95.

Devon, Cornwall and Somerset.³¹ The post-medieval expansion of demand was not simply a trickling down of consumption habits from social superior to social inferior. Consumption habits spread (they are, after all, learned behaviour) but they do not necessarily spread from the top down.

Seventeenth-century England was already a "consumer society", then, in the sense that a mass market existed for a range of widely-distributed goods. On the other hand, the goods produced for this market were not standardized nor was distribution commercialized in the eighteenth-century manner.³² Furthermore, as Weatherill demonstrates, the seventeenth-century market was bifurcated in a way that we do not associate with modern mass markets. Probate inventories suggest that there were two major patterns of demand c. 1675 to 1725. Among craftsmen and others of like or superior status, a then novel suite of goods (table linen, earthenware, books, clocks and silverware) were beginning to become standard "decencies". Among husbandmen and labourers on the other hand, of these goods only earthenware and linen occur in more than one in ten inventories.³³ Like their "betters", most labourers and husbandmen owned tables, cooking pots and pewter; but, if they had a little ready money, they did not, generally,

31. A. Oswald, "The Clay Pipes", in J.P. Allan, Finds from Exeter, 279-293, citing M.W. Beresford, "The beginning of retail tobacco licences, 1632-1641", Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research 7, 128-143.

32. Compare Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects, 173 and McKendrick et al., Birth of a Consumer Society.

33. Weatherill, Material Culture, Table 8.1, 168.

spend it on the other goods in demand among those further up the consumption hierarchy. This does not imply that they did not consume when they had discretionary income. Their consumption went unrecorded in inventories if they chose a cheaper and already familiar suite of goods, including particularly warm clothes, tobacco and alcohol.³⁴

This bimodal structure of demand has interesting parallels in other periods. Consider the two patterns of demand observed by Ian Blanchard in sixteenth-century mining camps. Some miners worked full time in order to maximize incomes and maintain a relatively high standard of living, particularly in food and drink. Other "cottar" miners were more interested in limiting labour intensity and, like the farmer-miners of the fifteenth century, sought only paltry incomes to satisfy irreducible cash requirements.³⁵ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the demand for drink is more often associated with leisure-preference and contrasted with demand for new consumer goods, higher incomes and a commitment to employment. Peter Mathias proposes that by the nineteenth century a ratchet effect had developed, in which initial wage gains were first taken in leisure and drink but then absorbed into expanded demand for domestic

34. Cf. Weatherill, Material Culture, 191, 199. On clothes see Spufford, Re-clothing of Rural England and B. Lemire, "Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes", Journal of British Studies 27 (1988), 1-24.

35. I. Blanchard, "Labour Productivity and Work Psychology in the English Mining Industry, 1400-1600", ECHR (2nd series) 31(1) (1978), 1-24.

comforts within months.³⁶ Carole Shammas' research suggests that this modern pattern of demand for goods to ameliorate the domestic environment developed slowly and was not socially wide-spread in the seventeenth century.³⁷

The preceeding analysis suggests that there would have been at least two distinct patterns of demand among the inhabitants of Newfoundland in the study period. Planters had a status comparable to that of tradesmen or the less affluent yeomen of the old country.³⁸ We should expect planter household demand in the late seventeenth century for the suite of consumer durables that Weatherill finds typical of lower-middle class inventories. Earlier in the century planters' lives were doubtless simpler but we should expect demand for the early consumer goods discussed by Thirsk. Newfoundland fishing servants, on the other hand, were recruited among husbandmen and labourers and had similar status, although they were generally better paid.³⁹ We should not expect, in the seventeenth century, demand among this class of working men for the kind of consumer goods which were still middle-class novelties. On the other hand, we should not be surprised that fishing crews were part of the early maritime mass market for small metal goods like

36. P. Mathias, "Leisure and Wages in Theory and Practice", in The Transformation of England, Essays in the Economic and Social History of England in the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1979), 148-167.

37. C. Shammas, "The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America", Journal of Social History 14 (1980), 3-24.

38. See Chapter 6, above.

39. See Chapter 7, above.

knives, cheap warm clothes like knitted stockings and caps, as well as alcohol and tobacco. Fishing servants considerably outnumbered planters, particularly during the season of commercial activity. Thus servant demand shaped the Island's basic imports in the study period. Strong demand for wine, spirits and tobacco is the most striking aspect of Newfoundland's consumption patterns in this period. Neither these patterns nor their social, cultural and economic implications are comprehensible, however, without an understanding of the prevalent terms of exchange.

3. Terms of exchange.

In his description of the Newfoundland economy of 1684, Captain Wheler distinguished two levels of exchange: retail exchange between planters and their crews and wholesale exchange between merchants and planters.⁴⁰ Both levels of exchange operated as systems of credit, a normal feature of commerce at all levels in this period, particularly in North America, where specie was scarce.⁴¹ No planters' ledgers have survived from seventeenth-century Newfoundland. The closest parallel information survives from the seventeenth-century fishing stations of Maine and Massachusetts, which of all early European settlements in the New World most closely resemble the communities of early modern Newfoundland.⁴² The relations between John Winter and his fishing

40. F. Wheler, "Answers...", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56), 239-246v.

41. J.M. Price, "Conclusion", in Ommer, Merchant Credit, 350-363.

42. Clark, Eastern Frontier, 29; Heyrman, Commerce and Culture, 228ff.

crews at Richmond Island, Maine, c. 1640 are a plausible model of exchange between early Newfoundland planters and their servants. Table 8.1, p. 382, presents the accounts of William Lucas, who fished with Winter in 1638/1639. Table 8.2, p. 383, presents Winter's account of clothes and "other necessaries" supplied to John Vivion, a fishing servant in 1639/1640. Together these tables give a clear indication of a fishing servant's material needs. Winter paid his crews in early summer, after deducting the cost of aqua vitae, wine, tobacco and other "commodities" (probably clothing, soap and knives), supplied on credit in the course of the previous work year.⁴³ Newfoundland's planters paid off crews at the end of the fishing season; settlement with servants over-wintering would await the end of the following fishing season.⁴⁴ Sometimes debtors ventured to Newfoundland to work off obligations, like Seymour Dolberye who sailed about 1630 with the Southampton master William Ayles to clear a debt with one Henry Moore for advances of food, beer and clothes.⁴⁵ Others ran up debts in Newfoundland.

The geographical isolation of the English Shore facilitated monopolistic or at least oligopolistic control of supply. In the proprietary period, monopoly was a

43. E.g. J. Winter, "Accounts...", 15 July 1639; "Booke of accounts...", 17 June 1640; "A booke of acco.", 31 May 1642; all in Trelawney Papers, 181-198, 289-303, 323-336.

44. C. Talbot, "Answers...", 15 September 1679, CO 1/43 (121), 216-217. On summer crews, see R. Alward, Libel in Allward vs Kirke and Gutenville, 1650, HCA 24/111 (4).

45. H. Temple, Deposition, 12 June 1634, in Southampton Examinations, 1635-1638, 9,10.

Table 8.1 Accounts of William Lucas,
 a Richmond Island, Maine, fishing servant,
 with John Winter, for Robert Trelawney,
 1638/1639

	£	s	d
William Lucas Debitor for			
Commodities		12	8
for wine	1	2	
for aquavitae		5	6
for tobacco		10	
for money paid him by			
Mr Trewlawney with adventure	7	3	
for cider & oil		4	1
for aquavitae at his first			
coming		1	6
more paid him in full			
to balance this account		1	17 3 ³ / ₄
		11	16 3 ³ / ₄
	£	s	d
Contra Creditor			
for his share			
of the first fishing		1	16 5
for his portage money		1	15
for his share this year		8	4 7 ³ / ₄
		11	16 3 ³ / ₄

SOURCE:

John Winter, "Accounts for the Plantation", 15 July 1639, in
Trelawney Papers, 181-198.

NOTES:

Colonial New England currency was still on a par with
sterling at this time. The spelling has been modernized.

Table 8.2 Account of clothes and other "necessaries"
for a Richmond Island, Maine, fishing servant,
1639/1640

Cloth & necessities to John Vivion

2 pair of shoes
 3 pair of stockings
 1 suit of canvas
 1 suit of Kersey
 1 waistcoat
 1 calf skin for a barvel
 1 pair of boots
 400 sparables
 300 brads
 8 thongs and 1 lb. 6 oz. leather
 for 2 pair of hauling hands and list to line them
 ... cape cloth to make a pair of mittens
 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of thread
 1 coverlet
 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ yards cape cloth to make him a pair of boot breeches
 2 shirts
 1 knife
 1 lock for a chest bought from Mr. Luckson's men
 1 lb. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. soap

SOURCE:

John Winter, "A booke of accounts for the Plantation at
Richmon Island", 17 June 1640, in Trelawney Papers, 289-303.

NOTES:

Kersey was a coarse, narrow, woven wool cloth, usually ribbed. (G.F. Dow, Everyday Life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony [1935, rep. New York, 1988], 70-83.) A barvel was an apron worn when catching or processing fish. A hauling hand was a glove covering the palm, with the fingers protruding, used in handling fishing lines (DNE). Sparables were small, headless, wedge-shaped iron nails, used in the soles and heels of shoes and boots, while a list is a strip of cloth (OED).

deliberate exercise of political power. Sir George Calvert's patent gave him exclusive control over ports:

All...vessels which shall come for Merchandize and Trade unto the said province or out of the same shall depart, shall be laden and unladen only at such Ports and noe other as the Said Sir George Calvert, his heires and assignes, shall erect and constitute...⁴⁶

Charles I's patent to Kirke and his partners granted even more explicit control, giving the patentees:

...the sole trade, and Traffique...for all manner of Commodities & Merchandizes, whatsoever...into the Continent of Newfoundland aforesaid, soe as noe other of the Subjects of us, our Heires or Successors for Merchandizing, buying, or Exchanging of any Merchandize or Commodities whatsoever shall haunt or frequent any of the places aforesaid, (except for Fishing...)⁴⁷

Calvert's rights, it should be recalled, were limited to the south Avalon between Aquaforte and Bay Bulls and it is unlikely that Sir David Kirke could have enforced a monopoly of imports in St. John's or in Conception or Trinity Bays. Migratory fishermen later testified that Kirke engrossed salt and other provisions, which he later sold "att Excessive rates".⁴⁸ That the Kirkes attempted to perpetuate a monopoly of supply to inhabitants in the study region is strongly suggested by a provision in "An act made by the tenants of Avalon" in 1663 and signed by pro-Calvert planters:

46. James I, "Grant of the Province of Avalon", 7 April 1623, CO 195/1 (1), 1-10, in Matthews Laws, 39-75, see 59.

47. Charles I, "Grant of Newfoundland", 13 November 1637, CO 195/1 (2), 11-27, in Matthews Laws, 82-116, see 111.

48. T. Cruse, Deposition, 27 November 1667, WDRO Plymouth W360/74.

...vessels that brings in provition or Marchantdisse into any Cricke or harbor of this province shall not unloade or discharge any of the goods or Commodities nor sell or disspossesse till [having] acquainted the Cheef magestrate of the saide place from whence hee came & what his Loading is...the Master or Marchant [shall] give the... Inhabitants the refusall in buieing such goods or provition, if they have occation of it...⁴⁹

Ordinary planters cared about this issue not simply because they wished to minimize their own expenditures but also because virtually all were petty traders. Of about thirty planters at St. John's in the 1670s, for example, all but one kept a tippling house.⁵⁰ Only a few, however, would have been merchants financially able to organize imports. Sir David Kirke had been a merchant in this sense, as were his sons, and other substantial planters like John Downing were probably merchants.⁵¹ In 1706 some of the inhabitants petitioning the Board of Trade styled themselves as resident "Merchants".⁵² In the decades following the demise of Sir David Kirke however, there were few such resident merchants. This was the province of West Country businesses, with a growing admixture of New England enterprises. Control over Newfoundland supply was somewhat less concentrated than it had been but markedly more external.

49. W. Swanley et al., "Act made by the tenants of Avalon", 30 August 1663, Maryland HS, Calvert Papers, ms 174/210, repunctuated.

50. W. Poole, "Answers...", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62i), 149-152v; cf. Wheler, "Observations" (1684), 247v.

51. N. Shapley and D. Kirke, "Invoyce of Goods", 8 September 1648, in Baxter MSS, vol. 6, 2-4; W. Downing and T. Oxford, "Proposalls", 2 March 1680, CO 1/44 (34), 85.

52. J. Benger et al., Petition to Lord Nottingham, 28 March 1706, CO 194/3 (148), 474-476.

New England supply was not, as we have seen, an innovation of the late seventeenth century.⁵³ Bills held by the Salem merchant John Croad when he died in 1670, suggest that some planters depended on him for annual supply and remind us that it was normal for planters to be indebted to merchants elsewhere.⁵⁴ The ledger of one seventeenth-century merchant trading with the Newfoundland planters has survived, for the 1693 voyage of four vessels for the Salem merchant Joseph Buckley.⁵⁵ These resemble the earlier employee accounts at Richmond Island, although the sums involved are larger, of course. (Thirteen of Buckley's Newfoundland accounts are for more than £100.) Here debits for the New England goods are generally offset by credits for fish, although in a few cases supplies are balanced by cash or a bill of exchange. Thus Thomas Bishop paid for victuals, sundries, a chest of drawers and the "Barque" ENDEAVOUR with a £72 bill of exchange drawn on his wife in Poole.⁵⁶ John Way, on the other hand, settled his £29 account "by cash". Perhaps he did not fish: his 200 gallons of molasses and 840 lbs of hops would have brewed enough beer (of an unusual sort) to supply a busy tippling house.⁵⁷ Generally, however, Buckley's vessels took payment in fish.

53. See Chapter 4, above.

54. V Hilliard, H. Skerry and J. Price, Inventory of John Croad, June 1671, in Essex Institute, RFQC Essex Co, vol. 4 (Salem, 1914), 401ff.

55. J. Buckley, "Leager 1693", Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, Acc.16,100.

56. Buckley, Ledger (1693), 55.

57. Buckley, Ledger (1693), 96.

Because Buckley often recorded purchases as "sundries", it is difficult to assess proportions of various goods he brought from Salem. Besides molasses and hops, he records several large sales of rum, by the hogshead or the puncheon. He sold large quantities of tobacco, flour, salt and pork to the Ferryland planters Thomas Dodridge and David Kirke II and made other sales of tobacco in quantities up to 300 lbs. Buckley also sold cider, beer, bread, flour, cornmeal, pork, beef, oil, turnips, salt, sugar, lumber, empty hogsheads, "wooden ware", earthenware pitchers and milk pans, chairs, a chest of drawers, nails, barvels and leather suits, a quire of paper, window glass, two vessels (the Barque ENDEAVOUR and the Ketch HOPE) and "halfe of a pair curtaines". His ledger suggests that the Newfoundland planters of the late seventeenth century consumed goods typical of craftsmen and mariners in the old country. But it also supports the contemporary consensus that among the planters, their servants, or both there was a strong demand for alcohol and tobacco.

Given Newfoundland's limited agricultural potential, victuals were, for planters, a crucial component of supply - whether from the West Country or New England. The socio-economic role of the "little luxuries", tobacco and alcohol, is less clear. Are we to think of them as a sort of extra victualling? Yet contemporary documents speak as if demand for these goods was abnormal. Are we being misled by class bias among the observers? What was the relative strength of demand for these frequently-discussed goods? Here

archaeological results will be more objective than most documents, which reflect the views of the literate middle-class. It will be helpful to see demand for tobacco and alcohol in the context of overall consumption patterns.

4. The material culture of early modern Newfoundland

Contemporary visitors to Newfoundland stressed the demand for English manufactures occasioned by investment in and maintenance of the fishery.⁵⁸ "Fishing" ships and plantations, wherever, required boats, nails and other iron-work, pitch, oakum, canvas, cordage, hooks, lines, lead, nets, knives, barrels, pans, funnels, flasks, bread-boxes, kettles, platters, bowls and so on. Those involved sometimes compiled inventories, in greater or lesser detail, of this equipment, and it is remarkable how little these change over time.⁵⁹ This material has, of course, a cultural meaning; however demand for goods beyond those necessary for the fishery bears more complex cultural implications, if only because such demands expressed matters of choice.⁶⁰

58. E.g. N. Trout, Deposition, 1 February 1678, CO 1/42 (22), 58-59v.

59. Compare Anon., "The Inventorie of thinges remayning in Newfoundland", 26 August 1611, Nottingham Univ., Middleton MSS, Mi X 1/3; Whitbourne, Discourse, 173-175; J. Poyntz, Instructions given to Sir Henry Salusbury, c. 1625, National Library of Wales, 5390 D.; all in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 65-67, 101-206, 246-249; A. Gibbins and T. Wannerton, "An inventory of the goods and implements belonging to the plantation at Piscataway", July 1635, in Adams, Annals of Portsmouth, appendix 1; J. Winter, "An Inventory...", 15 July 1639, in Trelawney Papers, 177-179; F. Wheler, "The expence of fitting out 10 Boats and the Charge of a Shipp..." and "The Charge for fitting out two Boats", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56ii and iii), 249v-252.

60. For a discussion of the material culture of production see Faulkner, "Archaeology of the Cod Fishery".

Much of the documentary evidence for diet and the imported material culture of the English Shore in the study period results from British export controls. Such information is best summarized in tabular form. Table 8.3, p. 390, reports the contents of an export permit granted by the Privy Council to the Adventurers for the Plantation of Newfoundland in 1639. Table 8.4, p. 391, reports exports permitted by the Privy Council to Newfoundland and New England in 1640 on the CHARLES of Bristol. Table 8.5, p. 392, reports one of the larger and most varied cargos of dutiable goods exported to Newfoundland from Dartmouth in a year (1679) for which overseas Port Books have survived. The diet of wheat, peas, oatmeal, cheese, butter, oil and salt meat suggested by these records is unremarkable. The remaining material falls within the range of goods that Thirsk takes to characterize the seventeenth-century consumer society, including ready-made clothing, shoes, iron tools, soap, candles, pewter, as well as substantial quantities of wine and alcoholic spirits.⁶¹

The presence on the English Shore of a merchant gentry meant that the material culture of harbours like Ferryland, in the study period, was not restricted to the "necessary provisions" imported for planters and servants. Archaeological recovery of relatively expensive ceramic wares from seventeenth-century contexts (for example the North Devon sgraffito dish illustrated in Figure 8.1, p. 393) suggests

61. Cf. Cressy, Coming Over, 107-129.

**Table 8.3 Imports to Newfoundland, 1639
by the Adventurers for the Plantation
of Newfoundland**

QUANTITY	GOODS
312 bushels	wheat
224 bushels	malt
59 bushels	peas
39 bushels	oatmeal
672 lbs	cheese
27 [wine?] gallons	sweet oil
2 firkins (18 gallons)	ordinary soap
1 rundlet (18-27 gallons)	Castille soap
3 firkins (27 gallons)	butter
2 bushels	mustard seed
312	candles
2 hogsheads (126 wine gallons)	wine vinegar
2 firkins (18 gallons)	small nails

SOURCE:

Privy Council, Pass for export, 14 June 1639, APC Col.

NOTES:

Some units have been converted to familiar measures. A bushel of grain weighs about 25 Kg or 55 lbs. The gallons here are probably beer gallons of about 4.6 litres, except for the wine vinegar and perhaps the oil, which are expressed in wine gallons of about 3.8 litres.

**Table 8.4 Imports to New England and Newfoundland, 1640
on the CHARLES of Bristol**

QUANTITY	ITEM
300 barrels (30 tons)	beef
100 barrels (10 tons)	butter
200 quintals (10 tons)	cheese
80 hogsheads (630 bushels)	malt
80 hogsheads (630 bushels)	meal
3600	stockings
3600	shirts
3600	suits of clothes
3600	drawers
600	shoes
480	Monmouth caps
400 ells (500 yards)	cloth for shirts
£100 worth	iron tools
1 ton	candles
1000 gallons	wine
200 gallons	oil
20000	nails
40	muskets
750 gallons	alcoholic spirits
240	hats
8 barrels (32 bushels)	gun powder
600	boots
40 hogsheads (315 bushels)	peas
40 hogsheads (315 bushels)	oatmeal
500 gallons	vinegar
320 bushels	grain
1100 lbs	small shot
550 lbs	pewter
1100 lbs	soap
12 tons	sheet lead

SOURCE:

Privy Council, Pass for export, 10 April 1640, APC Col.

NOTES:

Some units have been converted to familiar measures. "Ton" here is the British long ton, which is almost exactly a metric tonne. A bushel of grain weighs about 25 kg or 55 lbs. The gallons here are probably wine gallons of about 3.7 litres.

Table 8.5 Dutiable goods exported to Newfoundland in the RED LYON of Dartmouth, Andrew Neale master, for Richard Newman, from Dartmouth, 22 June 1679

QUANTITY	ITEM
3	short cloths
6 pieces	linen
2 pieces	coarse Barnstaple baize
2 pieces	fine single Barnstaple baize
336 lbs	coarse haberdashery
336 lbs	woolen stuff
40 lbs	other stuffs and silk manufactures
60 yards	dimity
52 lbs	shoes
43 lbs	pewter
6 dozen	men's and women's woolen stockings
12 dozen	children's woolen stockings
52 pairs	men's and women's worsted stockings
88 lbs	sugar
336 lbs	nails

SOURCES:

Dartmouth Controller, Port Book, 1679, E 190/954/8;
Dartmouth Customer, Port Book, 1679, E 190/954/18.

NOTES:

Dimity is a stout cotton fabric, woven with raised stripes or fancy figures, for bed hangings, etc. Baize is a woolen fabric, with a long nap, suitable for clothing. (Dow, Everyday Life in Massachusetts, 73.)

one dimension of the merchant's more complex material life. Other dimensions can be glimpsed in inventories. Table 8.6, p. 394, reports the household goods listed in the 1637 bankruptcy inventory of Charles Attye, a sometime business associate of Kirke, Barkeley and Company. Attye obviously lived comfortably, but it is quite striking that the goods he considered of value were confined almost entirely to beds, linen and an impressive collection of upholstered furniture, with smaller values put on limited kitchen and office equipment. He owned "some small pictures and books" to a value of £1, but this inventory is otherwise very much simpler than it would have been a century later. Although he controlled assets in excess of £6600, he values his household goods at just over £100. Attye does not list his family's clothing, which would certainly have been more valuable than those worn by most of his employees. Figure 8.2, p. 396, is a contemporary illustration of a London merchant's wife, c. 1640. Attye's associate Sir David Kirke and his wife Sara probably lived similar material lives.

Because legal authority in seventeenth-century Newfoundland was disputed and intermittent, we lack the probate inventories then common elsewhere. To picture the material culture of planters and fishermen, documents from Maine are, again, the best surrogates. Table 8.7, p. 397, reports the inventory of Ambrose Berry, a Maine planter who died in 1661. His major assets were a boat, his plantation (i.e. fishing rooms and flakes), four cows, a house and fishing

**Table 8.6 Household inventory of Charles Attye,
a London merchant and sometimes partner
of Kirke, Berkeley and Company, 1637**

	£	s
1 joined table, 5 cushions, 6 old chairs and stools, 1 French table cloth, 1 pair andirons etc.	1	07
In the yard and waste room: a table "to tell money on", some old wine lees, a leaden cistern for water, with tubs, wood etc.	4	10
In the kitchen: 1 deal table, pewter, brass, iron work and a yard "to burn meat"	7	00
In the lobby above stairs: 4 chests, trunks and a press, in which several pieces of plate 1 counterpane, curtains, "valence of Perpetuanae laced for a bedd" and 2 stools 1 parti-colour coverlet for a bed	25 16 3	00 00 00
In the hall: 1 joined table 1 court cupboard 18 chairs and stools of Turkey work, 1 cloth couch and 1 green cloth carpet 1 pair brass andirons and creepers some small pictures and books	2 8 3 1	00 08 00 00 00
In 2 little rooms for maidservants: 2 small featherbeds, 2 half-headed bedsteads with blankets and coverlets	4	10
In the childrens' chamber and "my own chamber" 2 featherbeds with blankets, 2 old Irish rugs, 2 bedsteads with curtains and valence chests, trunks and drawers, in which sheets and other household linen	14 16	15 00
In another chamber: 1 half-headed bedstead, bedding etc.	1	00
In the counting house: 1 iron chest, 4 scriptory cabinets with drawers and books	6	00
TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INVENTORY:	£ 103	10s
SOURCE and NOTES: See next page.		

Table 8.6 Household inventory of Charles Attye,
source a London merchant and sometimes partner
and notes of Kirke, Berkeley and Company, 1637

SOURCE:

Charles Attye, "A Schedule indented of the merchandize, shippinge, adventure, debtes, plate, household stuff, goods and Chattells in the Indenture [between Charles Attye and Richard Beadle, Robert Ostwicke and Simon Aston], .20 January 1637, HCA 30/546 (104-106).

NOTES:

The household effects here are extracted in paraphrase from the whole inventory, which Attye himself seems to have prepared. He stored some merchandize at his house, but these are not listed in this table. Attye's extensive business assets totalled over £6613, including £2660 of whale oil, £550 of Segovia wool, £420 for oil at St. Jean de Luz (possibly train oil), £400 in wines and fruit on the HERCULES at Malaga, £340 in French wines, £130 in soap, and £670 in shares or freight due him as part-owner of the GEORGE of London, the ROYALL of London "now in the West Indies", the JOHN of Dover, the ROBERT of London, and the CHARLES of London. His assets include over £528 in loans to others, among these £33 due from David Kirke "for himselfe and a Vintner at Fullham" as well as various assets of unspecified value, among these, "All my rights and interest to the Fortune Taverne in Drury Lane" and "All summes of monie due unto mee uppon an adventure to Canada from Mr Barcklye and Tho Kircke and the rest of that Companie".

"Perpetuana" was a durable woolen fabric (Dow, Everyday Life in Massachusetts, 79.) Turkey work would be woven material like that we now use for carpeting. Creepers were a small iron utensil placed between andirons (OED).

*Marchants wife of
London*



Civis Londinensis melioris qualitatis Vxor.
2

Figure 8.2 Wenceslaus Holler, "Marchants wife of London", 1643. Courtesy of the Museum of London.

Table 8.7 Probate inventory of Ambrose Berry,
a Maine planter, mortuit 1661

ITEM	£	s	d
his best apparel & other clothes	3	15	0
1 trading cloth coat		17	0
2 pots		10	0
2 kettles		7	0
1 frying pan		2	0
chairs		6	0
old lamps		3	0
old bedding		15	0
1 pair of sheets		16	0
1 old bed & blanket	2	0	0
4 small swine	3	10	0
4 cows	18	0	0
3 bullocks	9	0	0
1 steer	4	0	0
1 ox	8	0	0
1 bull	4	10	0
1 young bullock	1	10	0
2 [bullock?] yearlings	2	0	0
1 house & stage	12	0	0
his plantation	25	0	0
1 boat	29	0	0
fish on the voyage	8	7	0
casks, rope & old net	2	15	0
spikes	1	4	8
3 new oars		12	0
6 small lines		12	0
iron work		5	0
1 plow chain		16	0
1 coulter & share		10	0
1 grindstone		5	8
1 musket and [1] fowling gun	2	5	8
beetle rings, wedges & hoes		18	0

	149	15	4
More by bills and debts due	22	10	0

	172	05	4

SOURCE: Henry Waddocke and James Gibbines, "A true Inventory of the reall estate of Ambrose Berry", 4 November 1661, in C.T. Libby (ed), Province and Court Records of Maine vol. 2, York County Court Records (Portland, Maine, 1931), 124.

NOTES: A beetle is a wooden sledge hammer. Values are expressed in Massachusetts tenor, which may be deflated to sterling by multiplying by a factor of 0.89.

stage. He owned none of the consumer goods that would become common among the English lower middle class c. 1700, his possessions were confined to clothes and the simple household equipment of the period. When Berry had time or money to spend, it seems as likely to have been directed to productive goods, like "new oars" as to replacing "old bedding". It is instructive to compare this inventory with that of John Tucker, a Maine fisherman who died in 1671, reported in Table 8.8, p. 399. Tucker may not have been worth anything like the approximately £50 sterling suggested by the inventory, since debts due by decedents were not recorded. Tucker's assets consisted entirely of sums owed him and about £8 9s worth of warm clothing and the kind of personal equipment he would want at sea: a "sea bed & rug", fisherman's apron and chest.⁶² Suppose Tucker had survived to see 1672 and settlement of his accounts left him with a little cash not earmarked for old age. Would he have purchased pots, sheets, a grindstone or even four small swine or a boat, like Ambrose Berry? His inventory suggests not. When Tucker spent money he spent it, apparently, either on clothing or on consumables that leave no trace in probate.

Neither spirits, wine nor tobacco are mentioned in the 1639 pass to the Newfoundland Adventurers, nor in the customs record reported above, but we can be quite sure that these were readily available on the English Shore, from

62. Cf. the farm labourer's possessions (straw bedding, a blanket, a wooden bowl and a pan or two) cited in Everitt, "Farm Labourers", 448.

Table 8.8 Probate inventory of John Tucker,
a Maine fisherman, mortuit 1671

ITEM	£	s	d
1 hat		15	0
14 yards lockram	1	1	0
4 shirts		10	0
2 "kines"		1	0
1 pair cotton gloves		2	6
4 neck cloths		5	0
4 pairs of old drawers		5	0
1 pair of breeches & a waistcoat	1	4	0
1 sea bed & rug	2	1	6
1 cape & close-bodied coat	1	2	0
1 Monmouth cap		2	6
1 pair of blue drawers		2	6
1 fisherman's barvel		5	0
1 chest		10	0
1½ yards blue linen		1	10½
	8	8	10½
<hr/>			
Debts due John Tucker, collected after his death, in cash, a barrel of oil and fish	57	2	0
	<hr/>		
Total estate	65	10	10½

SOURCE:

John Amerideth, "True Inventory of the estate of John Tucker", 26 April 1671, in in C.T. Libby (ed), Province and Court Records of Maine vol. 2, York County Court Records (Portland, Maine, 1931), 124.

NOTES:

Lockram was a linen fabric, used in various qualitties for shirts, sheets etc. (Dow, Everyday Life in Massachusetts, 77). Monmouth caps were flat round caps often worn by soldiers and sailors (QED). A barvel was an apron worn when catching or processing fish (DNE). Values are expressed in Massachusetts tenor, which may be deflated to sterling by multiplying by a factor of 0.8 .

several sources. The Dutch, as we have seen, operated a fleet of sack ships to the English Shore between about 1600 and 1665.⁶³ In the early years of this trade and again in the 1650s and 1660s they carried goods to Newfoundland. In 1601 Jan 't Herdt, the master of the 140 ton 'T SWERTE HERDT of Amsterdam, agreed to take goods from Plymouth and in 1651 Pieter Evertsz made a similar agreement for Dartmouth goods on the 220 ton CONINCK DAVITH.⁶⁴ The cargoes were rarely specified, although 2 Enkhuizen ships, the 220 ton EENHORN and the DE CONINCK DAVID were instructed to carry "forge coal", victuals and salt to Newfoundland in the mid-1620s.⁶⁵ If the Dutch manifests resembled their English competitors', then such "victuals" would often have included wine and spirits. (Consider, for example, the cargo of the UNICORNE of London, which went to Newfoundland in 1640 with 3 tuns of French aqua vitae, as well as 30 cwt of tobacco, 40 barrels of Irish beef, and 20 cwt of sea biscuit.⁶⁶) In 1660 the ST. LAURENS of Amsterdam took a cargo of salt and brandy from France to St. John's for the London merchants Jan Frederickson and Nathaniel Hearn.⁶⁷ The lull in Dutch-

63. See Chapter 3, above.

64. P. Wiltraet and J. t'Herdt, Charter-party, 19 June 1601, GA Amsterdam NA 90, 4-5v; C. Backer and P. Evertsz, Charter-party, 9 May 1651, Rotterdam City Archives, Notarial (V. Mustelius); cf. C. van Goor and T. de Gilde, Charter-party for DE TROUW, 30 April 1658, GA Amsterdam NA 2711, 963-965; all in NAC MG 18, 012/69, 328 and 205.

65. J. Oort and H. Schram, Charter-party, 1 April 1624; J. Kuijsten and G. Schuijt, Charter-party, 30 April 1624; GA Amsterdam NA 631, 135-140 and 145-149, in NAC MG 18, 012/95 and 38.

66. London Searcher, Port Books, 1640, E 190 44/1, 90v.

67. J. Frederickson and T. Thompson, Deposition, 5 September 1662, GA Amsterdam NA 2213, 527-531, in NAC MG 18 012/517.

Newfoundland trade in the 1640s probably reflects the success of the Newfoundland Adventurers in excluding Netherlands shipping from the English Shore.⁶⁸

Kirke, Barkeley and company had built their business on the wine trade, only gradually moving into the Canada and Newfoundland trades after 1627. It is not surprising that when they did this they tried to extend their market in alcohol as well. Depositions made in the dispute with de Caen indicate that they imported wines and aqua vitae to Quebec for truck with the Indians, although the French, or at least Champlain, had refrained from this trade.⁶⁹ After Sir David Kirke established himself in Newfoundland, he and his sons continued to deal in wines, as is evident in the bill of lading for goods shipped to New England aboard the DAVID of Ferryland in 1648. (Table 8.9, p. 402, reports the cargo of the DAVID.) This shipment is interesting, not only because it includes French products but no evident English goods, nor simply as an example of early Newfoundland/New England trade, but also because of its composition. Of goods valued at £548, £252 or 46 percent consisted of 18 butts (over 8000 litres) of Canary and Madeira wines. This was by far the major component of the cargo, except for 2743 lbs of sugar, valued at £137 or 25 percent of the total. (The cargo also included tobacco.) This was not an isolated

68. See Chapter 3, above.

69. J. Grosthwaite and T. Kirke, *Examinations in Merchants trading to Canada vs de Caen*, 22 September 1632 and 1 February 1636, HCA 13/50, 91,v and HCA 13/52, 250-251. On Champlain's attitude to the liquor trade, see Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 205, 318.

Table 8.9 Goods shipped to New England
on the DAVID of Ferryland, September 1648

GOODS	£ VALUE	PERCENT of VALUE of GOODS
18 butts Canary & Madeira wines	252	46%
2743 lbs sugar	137	25%
797 yards Vitry	59	11%
2200 lbs 1/4 10 lb. cordage	44	8%
200 lbs wool	20	4%
hogsheads [empty]	3	1%
10 hogsheads salt	5	1%
128 yards Dowlas	10	2%
120 pieces "Virginia"	18	3%
TOTAL of goods	548	100%
PERCENT of total GOODS and DEBTS		89%
DEBTS		PERCENT TOTAL VALUE GOODS and DEBTS
Bill by Richard Right	20	3%
Bond of Derby Feild	41	7%
[Debt] of Mr. Brewster for stockings, shoes, "Semakes"	5	1%
TOTAL DEBTS		11%
TOTAL ALL GOODS and DEBTS	614	100%

SOURCE:

David Kirke and Nicholas Shapley, 8 September 1648, "Invoyce of Goods shipped aboard the DAVID of Ferryland...", in Baxter Mss, DHS Maine, vol. 6, 2-4.

NOTES:

Figures are given to the nearest pound sterling. Vitry was a light durable canvas, suitable for clothing; dowlas was a coarse linen cloth. (Dow, Everyday Life in Massachusetts, 70-83.) Both fabrics originated in Brittany (OED) "Virginia" is, probably, tobacco. "Semakes" is unidentifiable; it may be a mis-reading.

transaction. In 1651, William Fishman brought 15 pipes (6900 litres) of wine from the Canaries on the ADVENTURE of London for John Bewley and "sold or trucked" this with Sir David Kirke.⁷⁰

The importance at mid-century of the Atlantic Islands in the trans-Atlantic trade in alcohol is obvious, although West Country ships carried French and Spanish wines as well. About this time Fayal in the Azores began to supply wine and brandy to the fisher folk of Newfoundland and New England.⁷¹ The JONATHAN of Minehead, John Darracott master, took a pipe (460 litres) of Fayal wine when she sailed from Barnstaple for the Newfoundland fisheries in March 1647.⁷² John Bass, master of the 45 ton sack ship the JOHN of Topsham, took her first to Fayal for wine, before bringing her into Caplin Bay for fish in 1677.⁷³ Table 8.10, p. 404, reports dutiable exports from Barnstaple to Newfoundland in 1664. Five of the six vessels recorded carried wines, including Malaga, Sherry and French vintages. (The exception, the HOPEWELL, carried 1000 lbs of white sugar.)

Tobacco, as the Naval Commodores reported, came into Newfoundland from the Continental colonies.⁷⁴ This trade

70. J. Bewley, Answer to allegations in Fishman *et al.* vs Bewley, 25 July 1651, HCA 13/124, n.p.; H. Oldreday, Examination in the same case, 16 July 1651, HCA 13/65, n.p.

71. Duncan, *Atlantic Islands*, 137-157, 248ff.; on the Canary trade see Steckley, "Wine Economy of Tenerife".

72. Barnstaple Searcher, Port Books, 1647, E 190/952/4.

73. W. Poole, "...Fishing & Sackships from Trapassay to Cape Broyle", 10 September 1677, CO 1/41 (62viii), 167-168.

74. J. Story, "...Shippes Planters &c...", 1 September 1681, CO 1/47 (52i), 113-121v.

**Table 8.10 Dutiable exports to Newfoundland
from Barnstaple, 1664, by vessel**

GEORGE FRIGOTT of Barnstaple, 50 tons, 24 February 1644
Edward Rowe master, for ... Dolson, merchant
2 hogsheads French wine

GIFT of Bideford, 50 tons, 4 March 1664
Henry Cornish master, for John Roberts, merchant
1 tun French wine

WILLING MINDE, 50 tons, 11 March 1664
George Lake master, for John Darracott, merchant
1 butt Sherry wine

PROVIDENCE of Barnstaple, 140 ton, 18 March 1664
William Rowe master, for John Seldon merchant
2 hogsheads French wine
2 small casks Malaga wine

HOPEWELL of Bideford, 120 tons, 1 April 1664
John Loveringe master, for John Boole & Co. merchants
100 yards Irish cloth
6 dozen Irish stockings
250 [Spanish] reals, in pieces of eight
180 calf skins, worth £120
1000 lbs white sugar in 10 little casks
48 pieces Barnstaple single baize

CHESNUTT of Barnstaple, 30 tons, 10 May 1664
Nicholas Taylor master, for Jonathan Hooper merchant
1 butt French wine
2 butts Malaga.

SOURCES:

Barnstaple Customer, Port Book, 1664, E 190/954/2;
Barnstaple Controller, Port Book, 1664, E 190/954/4.

NOTES:

A tun is 252 wine gallons of 3.8 litres, a butt 126, a
hogshead 63.

was of long-standing, as we have seen.⁷⁵ The Dutch captain de Vries met a 120 ton Virginia ship trading tobacco for cod at Ferryland in 1620.⁷⁶ Devon merchants with interests in Newfoundland and the Chesapeake kept this trade alive. In the late 1630s, the Dartmouth merchant Alexander Shapley sent the 80 ton SUSAN, a ship active in the Newfoundland trade, from Virginia to the British Isles: she picked up fish at Newfoundland and delivered tobacco.⁷⁷ William Davies of Ferryland imported 80 lbs of tobacco on credit from the Boston merchant Charles Dobson in 1647; William Preston of Witless Bay bought more on similar terms from the New England mariner Jonas Clark, in 1649.⁷⁸ Lieutenant William Hudson of Boston ventured a parcel of tobacco to Newfoundland with Edward Woollen in the early 1650s.⁷⁹ Tobacco also came round-about, like the "Providence tobacco" on the UNICORNE in 1640, the "Virginia" on the DAVID of Ferryland in 1648, or the hogsheads of Virginia tobacco Thomas Chope took to Newfoundland for Abraham Heaman on the 24 ton PLEASURE of Bideford in 1665.⁸⁰ Curiously, tobacco was

75. See Chapter 4, above.

76. de Vries, Voyages, 7; cf. Glerum-Laurentius, "Dutch in Newfoundland", 22-25.

77. Dartmouth Controller, Port Books, 1641, E 190/951/8; T. Bushrode, Statement of account re the SUSAN, 18 March 1647, in Aspinwall Records, 205, 206.

78. Davies, Receipt (1647); William Preston, Receipt, 27 August 1649, in Aspinwall Records, 309.

79. W. Hudson, Deposition, 12 January 1654, RFQC Essex Co., vol. 1 (Salem, 1911), 415.

80. Barnstaple Customer, Port Books, 1665, E 190 954/6. The Kirkes may have married into a family of tobaccoconists. John married Elizabeth "Antrop" in 1633 and one "Wm Anstop" in Bishopsgate was said in 1614 to sell the "best Tobacco in England". See "Boyd's Citizens of London", 42981, ms on file, Genealogical Society, London; [William] Barclay, Nepenthes, or, The Vertues of Tabacco (Edinburgh, 1614).

imported into England from Newfoundland in the same period: in 1666 Mark Bickford brought 500 lbs on the 40 ton UNITY of Dartmouth back to her homeport, for Ambrose Mudd.⁸¹

The Replies to Inquiries of the 1670s confirm that alcohol, particularly in the form of wine and brandy, was an important import into Newfoundland. Of fifty vessels arriving with cargoes in Captain Poole's list of sack ships between Trepassey and St. John's for 1677, about sixteen or one in three, imported alcohol.⁸² Captain Berry's 1675 list of those supplying inhabitants and ships' crews with "Brandy, wines &c" indicates that "fishing" ships also imported alcohol to Newfoundland, although the vessels by far most likely to bring in alcohol were ships on mixed sack-like voyages employing only one or two boats. Berry also named five West Country merchants as alcohol importers, viz. Thomas Tucker of Teignmouth, James Lake of Dartmouth, Christopher Hayle and Mr. Woodsale of Topsham, and John Morrish of Plymouth.⁸³ Table 8.11, p. 407, presents Poole's 1677 list of "Severall sorts of wyne & Provisions Imported this yeare only in St. Johns Harbour". It confirms that alcohol was a significant proportion of imports. The rum, wines and brandy brought into St. John's would have exceeded

81. Dartmouth Customer, Port Books, 1666, E 190 954/10.

82. See Table 3.3. This assumes "Barbadoes goods" would have included rum and imports from the Canary Islands, wine. "Provisions" from New England are not assumed here to have included rum, which they probably often did.

83. J. Berry, "...Shippes making Fishing Voyages" and "List of those that have furnisht...Brandy, wines &c", 12 September 1675, CO 1/35 (17i and 17iii), 136-148 and 157.

Table 8.11 Imports of provisions, by origin,
into St. John's, Newfoundland, 1677

ITEM	ENGLAND	FRANCE	AMERICA	WEST INDIES	ATLANTIC ISLANDS
Bread - lbs	50,000	20,000	6000		
Flour - lbs	25,000	8000	4000		5000
Pork - lbs	21,000	5500	2600		2700
Beef - lbs	3400				
Peas - lbs	83,000		28,000		
Sugar - lbs	14,000			16,000	2200
Oil - small jars					500
Hops - lbs	2000				
Malt - lbs	28,000				
Molasses - lbs				44,000	
Rum - gallons	4000			4000	
Wine - gallons	28,000	3800			24,000
Brandy- gallons		4500			
Salt - tonnes		10,000			
Nets	150				
Lines	600				

SOURCE:

William Poole, "Severall sorts of wynes & Provisions imported this yeare only in St. Johns Harbr", 1677, cited in Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland, Table 6.1, 101, as "CO 1/41, bundle D paper 14".

NOTES:

Some quantities have been converted into familiar measurements. For Poole's figures in barrels and tuns see Head, op. cit. The conversions for pork, sugar, molasses and salt required some estimates and are, therefore, approximate. The tun assumed for salt is the Elizabeth I Winchester Corn measure. Otherwise, the tun assumed is the Henry III merchants' wine tun. For these estimates, sugar, molasses and salt were assumed to have about the same density as water, although they are in fact somewhat heavier. Figures are rounded to two significant digits.

the value of all other imports listed. The wine alone must have out-weighed most other commodities, except flour and peas. Note that rum accounted for only 8000 of the 44,000 gallons of wines and spirits imported. By 1770, the continental colonies would send 274,000 gallons of rum to Newfoundland, making the Island the largest New World market for this product.⁸⁴ This reflected not only population growth but also a shift in demand from wine to rum.

5. Interpretative problems

Surviving statistics confirm that seventeenth-century Newfoundland was well-supplied with wines and spirits. Levels of tobacco imports are less certain. As a colonial good, like molasses and rum, it easily escaped the wide mesh of British navigation regulations until the stricter interpretation of the 1680s.⁸⁵ Although the naval commodores suggest strong demand for both alcohol and tobacco, the interpretation of statistical data for imports to Newfoundland is, nevertheless, problematic. One difficulty is that Newfoundland was an entrepôt: the fishermen and merchants of New England and the West Country exchanged goods there.⁸⁶ What the latter supplied the former was often wine and

84. J.J. McCusker, "The Rum Trade and the Balance of Payments of the Thirteen Continental Colonies, 1650-1775", unpub. Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh (1970), 481, 482, Table VIII-3, *cf.* 497.

85. *E.g.*, R. Robinson, "Inquiries...", 11 October 1680, CO 1/46 (8x), 33-34v; Story, "Shipp's Planters &c" (1681), *cf.* Sosin, *Trans-Atlantic Politics*, 273-301.

86. Lounsbury, "Yankee Trade", 607-626.

brandy.⁸⁷ The Canary and Madeira wines Sir David Kirke had entrusted to Nicholas Shapley in 1648 were eventually sold at Boston.⁸⁸ Documentation of the trans-Atlantic current of alcohol which washed the shore of Newfoundland confirms that the planters and their servants had access to wine and brandy in wholesale quantities but does not prove Newfoundland fisherfolk were wholesale consumers. The problem is broader. Fisher-folk were a major part of the New England market for alcohol, so the question raised by wine supply to Newfoundland is not what made Island residents such consumers but why fisher-folk, including those of Newfoundland, were such consumers. This question has two aspects: quantity and quality. What impressed observers was not simply the amounts consumed but the fact that suppliers to ordinary working people regularly stocked "good liquour".⁸⁹ Wines were, in seventeenth-century England, a middle-class luxury.⁹⁰ Yet along the Atlantic littoral fishing men and women consumed wines and spirits in quantities considered unusual, given the modest social standing of these folk.

There is an additional interpretative problem, even though contemporaries attest to a strong demand for alcohol among fishermen at Newfoundland and in the seventeenth-

87. J. Wyborn, "Account...", 7 December 1676, CO 1/38 (83), 226. Cf. J. Berry, "Observations...", 18 August 1676, CO 1/35 (81), 325-326; Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 239.

88. James Kirke, Protest, 8 November 1650, in Aspinwall Records, 388, 389.

89. Poole, "Answers to heads of Inquiry", 149.

90. Clark, English Alehouse 8, 96, 125; Francis, Wine Trade, 26.

century fishing stations of Maine and Massachusetts.⁹¹ Unfortunately, such social commentary can be called into question. Middle-class Englishmen, like the merchants and naval officers who have left us their observations of Newfoundland, were beginning to question publicly levels of drinking by their social inferiors. Contemporary criticism of the alehouse can be seen as an early salvo in the effort to exert the kind of class-based cultural hegemony that resulted, in the eighteenth century, in the "closed parish".⁹² The first and most vociferous criticisms of the Newfoundland "tippling house" coincided with a wave of similar doubts about workers' drinking establishments in England.⁹³ Furthermore, this spate of criticisms was voiced

91. E.g. Anon., "Reasons for the settlement of Newfoundland", c.1668, CO 1/22 (69), 115-6; CTP, Minutes, 2 February, 8 April and 5 May 1675, CO 391/1; Clark, Eastern Frontier, 22-3; Heyrman, Commerce and Culture, 35, 218; cf. Duncan, Atlantic Islands, 154ff.

92. K. Wrightson, "Alehouses, Order and Reformation in Rural England, 1590-1660", in E. Yeo and S. Yeo (eds), Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914 (Sussex, N.J., 1981), 1-27; P. Clark, "The Alehouse and the Alternative Society", in Pennington and Thomas, Puritans and Revolutionaries, 47-72 and English Alehouse, 40, 166-87; Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety, 110-141. For New England parallels see R.P. Gildrie, "Taverns and Popular Culture in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1678-1686", Essex Institute Historical Collections 124(3) (1988), 158-185. For doubts that such attempts at social control were novelties of the early modern period, see M. Spufford, "Puritanism and Social Control?", in A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (eds), Order and Disorder in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 1985), 41-57.

93. Exeter Justices, Petition to Privy Council, 10 January 1640, CO 1/10 (28), 46; R. Gabbes [Mayor of Plymouth] et al., Petition to Archbishop Laud, 22 January 1640, SP 16/442, 77; B. Nicholl [Mayor of Plymouth] et al., Petition, 24 March 1646, House of Lords mss, in Stock, Proceedings and Debates, vol. 1, 177; R. Gybbes [Mayor of Plymouth] et al., "Pettitions of Plimouth agt. Sr. Da. Kirke", c. 1650, in Winthrop Papers, vol. 3, 499-501. Cf. Underdown, Revel, Riot and Rebellion, 84ff., 239ff.

by merchants of the same social background as those concerned with the maintenance, or establishment, of social order in England itself. It is difficult, therefore, to accept contemporary accounts of drinking and smoking by Newfoundland fishermen at face value, since these accounts express in part a class bias, against working-class "waste" on luxuries like tobacco and alcohol, or, in the case of the latter, against working-class consumption of inappropriately expensive forms of alcohol like wine or spirits.

This does not mean that it is safe to conclude, as E.A. Churchill recently has, that fishermen were therefore an "ordinary lot of men" with respect to the consumption of alcohol.⁹⁴ He argues that the image of early New England fishermen as drinkers and brawlers is overdrawn and that there is a poor fit between the traditional portrayal and the history of Richmond Island, the well-documented seventeenth-century Maine fishing station.⁹⁵ This debate is of long-standing. In 1873, John Jenness admitted that previous descriptions of the Isles of Shoals had called the early populace "industrious, prudent, temperate, and regular and decent", but went on to assert that he was compelled by the evidence to dissent entirely.⁹⁶ Churchill supports "the reality of leisure time activities" at Richmond Island with

94. And other habits which he regards as vices: see Churchill, "Richmond Island".

95. Contrast Clark, Eastern Frontier, 13-35.

96. J.S. Jenness, The Isles of Shoals: an Historical Sketch (New York, 1873), 123, 124.

secondary accounts and conjecture.⁹⁷ At best his case is not proved, at worst he has ignored the evidence of his own star witness, John Winter, who observed "Great store of sacke & stronge waters comes in all the shippes".⁹⁸ Winter himself regularly sold wines and spirits: for example, the £2.15s.4d worth of alcohol supplied to Nicholas Mathew in 1639 (23 percent of a total account of £11.15s.2½d) or the £4.11s.11½d worth sold to Richard Cummings (41 percent of a total account of £11.7s.6d).⁹⁹ There is little doubt that alcohol was an important good for fishermen at stations like Richmond Island and that much of it was wine and spirits.

Britaines Busses, an anonymous proposal of 1615 for an improved fishery, assumes a shipboard supply of aqua vitae, in addition to a daily one gallon beer ration.¹⁰⁰ In the present discussion, we will take the latter for granted. Fermented malt-based drinks were part of the daily diet of our ancestors. Labourers and their families could often only afford "small beer", the weak product of a second fermentation of the worts that had already produced a stronger brew.¹⁰¹ A daily one gallon ration would probably have consisted of beer of this sort. Home-brewed beers and ales of low alcohol content functioned in part simply as

97. Churchill, "Richmond Island", 194ff.

98. John Winter, Letter to Robert Trelawney, 18 July 1639, Trelawney Papers, 174.

99. John Winter, "Monnyes Owing to the Plantation", 29 November 1639, Trelawney Papers, 184, 187.

100. E.S., Britaines Busses (London, 1615). Distilled alcohol is still listed under "Physick and Surgery helps".

101. Clark, English Alehouse, 103.

healthier substitute for water. If the choice at issue was H_2O vs C_2H_5OH , then on the English Shore this was a choice between water or weaker ales on the one hand and, on the other, stronger ales or beers, French, Iberian or Island wines, French, Dutch or Island brandy and, after 1660, American rum.¹⁰² The relatively new alcohols – brandy, grain spirits or aqua vitae, and the sweet wines of the Atlantic islands – ship better than drier wines or beer.¹⁰³ The traditional unhopped English ale did not store, let alone ship well, and the new stronger hopped beers shipped only somewhat better. Until the development of bottled porter in the eighteenth century, Newfoundland generally imported malt not beer.¹⁰⁴ Without denying that Newfoundland beers might sometimes have been brewed for strength, imported malt or molasses would normally have been stretched to produce as much beer as possible, given the contemporary mistrust of water as a regular drink. Newfoundland's isolation and the shipping qualities of various beverages meant that if planters and fishermen were to consume alcohol they were likely to consume wine, brandy and rum, a pattern which middle-class visitors to the Island would find remarkable.

102. John Josselyn later remembered "Rhum" in New England in 1638; see Voyages to New England [1675], 211ff; cf. McCusker, "Rum Trade", 55-58.

103. Duncan, Atlantic Islands, 38-9.; Clark, English Alehouse, 95.

104. Clark, English Alehouse, 24; Exemption from Customs, 14 September, 1629, E190/822/9, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 291; J. Berry, Letter to J. Williamson, 24 July 1675, CO 1/34 (118), 240-241.

Levels of alcohol and tobacco consumption in seventeenth-century Newfoundland remain in question, despite statistics documenting substantial imports of wine and spirits and despite anecdotal evidence of heavy smoking and drinking among planters and fishing crews. One way of testing the objective reality of such perceived consumption patterns is to look at the archaeological evidence, in a comparative perspective. A study of ceramic vessel forms recovered from one locus at Ferryland suggests that fishing servants of the mid-seventeenth century used at least one of the permanent structures at the Pool Plantation as a kind of tipling house. A second, more general, comparative statistical study of the ratios of ceramic vessels, bottle glass and pipes suggests that, generally speaking, those living and working at Ferryland sought, as labourers and husbandmen did in the old country, the immediate satisfactions of the jug, the pipe or of a warm suit of clothes, rather than the longer-term gratifications of consumer durables, like decorative earthenware dishes, for example.

6. Archaeological analysis of demand

Excavations at Ferryland have uncovered, among other features, a Forge Room and thousands of associated seventeenth-century artifacts, including some interesting ceramics.¹⁰⁵ This structure was about 4 m (13 feet) wide and at least 6.5 m (18 feet) long and had been excavated

105. Tuck, "Looking for Avalon"; Tuck and Robbins, "Glimpse at Avalon"; the following based on Pope, Ceramics from Ferryland, with additions from the 1986 excavations.

into the subsoil underlying an embankment at one end of the locus. Inside lay a deposit of slag, scale, cinders, iron concretions and coal. The bowl styles of clay tobacco pipes recovered from this forge refuse suggest deposition c. 1640-1660.¹⁰⁶ At the centre of the refuse but to one side of the Forge Room stood a rectangular rock forge. These features lay in a stratum deposited during occupation of the Room before it was abandoned about 1660 and underlay a later structure which burned, possibly in the Dutch raid of 1673. During the later seventeenth century household refuse found its way into the depression left by the collapse of the earlier building. (Figure 8.3, p. 416, is a plan of the Forge Room and Figure 8.4, p. 417, an excavation profile.)

The ceramics from the Forge Room are what one would expect in a small maritime community commercially dominated by Dartmouth, Plymouth, Barnstaple and Bideford. They come from two distinct contexts. Those from several overlying strata were discarded sometime after 1660, but probably used elsewhere. Those from three underlying strata associated with the Forge Room were often mixed with forge refuse and were probably used and discarded there between 1640 and 1660. About 65 percent of vessels from the pre-1660 strata are West Country, most the widely-marketed North Devon wares.¹⁰⁷ The rest were mostly tin-glazed earthenwares or Spanish Merida, a red earthenware used by early modern

106. Pope, "Clay Pipes from Ferryland".

107. Vessels from pre-1660 strata 2e, 3b and 3c, n = 64.

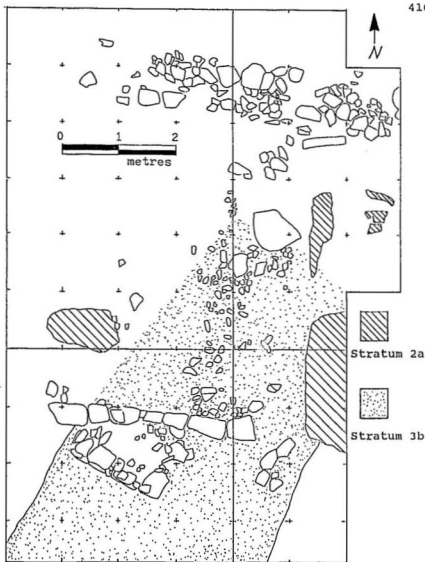


Figure 8.3 Excavation plan of Ferryland, CgAf-2, Locus B, Forge Room. Stratum 3b is the forge floor, 1640-1660. Stratum 2a is a overlying burned deposit c. 1670. The rock forge lies in the south west quadrant, with an overlying later stone footing. Stratum 3a (not shown) is a deep accumulation of forge waste just north of the forge.

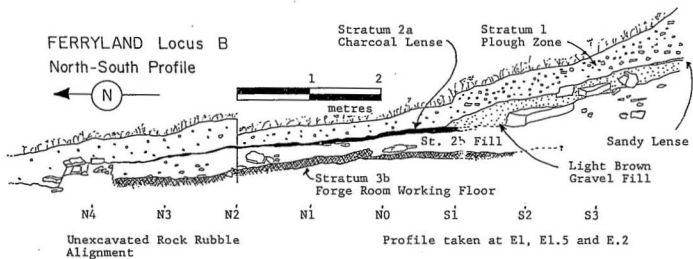


Figure 8.4 Excavation profile of Ferryland, CgAf-2, Locus B Forge Room

maritime communities trading with Iberia.¹⁰⁸ The material from the post-1660 secondary deposit has a more cosmopolitan composition. In these strata non-West Country and tin-glazed wares occur in frequencies typical of assemblages from wealthier West Country households in this period.¹⁰⁹

To interpret these assemblages it was necessary to attend not merely to the various wares represented but to account for the presence of particular vessel forms. The statistical basis of analysis was the minimum number of distinguishable vessels excavated from each context, so that a flesh pot handle, for example, might count as a flesh pot.¹¹⁰ Figures 8.5 and 8.6, pp. 419 and 420, illustrate schematically the array of vessel forms from the Ferryland Forge Room and the immediately overlying fill. The analysis compared the array of vessel forms from each of the Forge contexts with the arrays of forms at six other early modern sites in the British colonies, employing the Potomac Typological System (POTS), a recent American approach to functional variability in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ceramics. Vessel forms occurring at Ferryland are

108. On these wares see Grant, North Devon Pottery; F. Britton, London Delftware (London, 1987); Hurst et al., Pottery in North-west Europe; J.P. Allan, "Pottery", in C. Gaskell-Brown (ed.), Plymouth Excavations: The Medieval Waterfront, Woolster Street, the Finds, Castle Street, the Finds, Plymouth Museum Archaeological Series, no. 3 (Plymouth, 1986), 15-22.

109. Rates of occurrence, 51 and 18 percent, respectively. Total vessels in 1660-1700 strata, 2a, 2b, 2c, 2f, n=83. On comparisons see Allan, Finds from Exeter, 101ff. and Pope Ceramics from Ferryland, 193ff.

110. This excludes a few intrusive sherds of 18th- and 19th-century stonewares and refined white earthenwares.

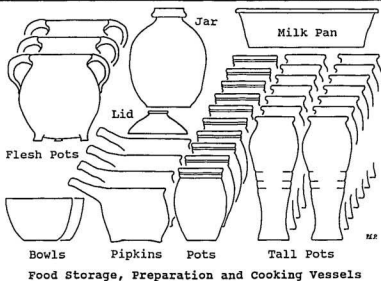
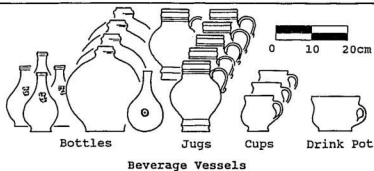
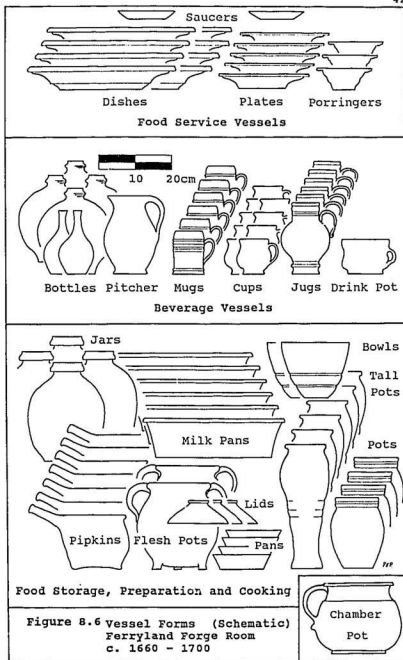


Figure 8.5

Vessel Forms (Schematic)
Ferryland Forge Room
c. 1640 - 1660

Chamber

Pot



represented in the POTS typology, which has the distinct advantage that its analytic boundaries are based on semantic distinctions made by original users of such artifacts.¹¹¹

One of the goals of the ceramic analysis was to assess the functions of the Forge Room. It resembles the Avalon Colony's original "Kitchen", which Calvert's foreman Edward Winne described as eighteen feet by twelve, dug into the earth, with a large chimney.¹¹² This was the second largest building constructed by the original colonists, after the Mansion House. Boat crews used buildings of similar dimensions, called "cookrooms", to prepare food and to eat in.¹¹³ Well over half of the vessels from the pre-1660s context at the Forge Room were functionally related to food storage, preparation or cooking.¹¹⁴ Rates of occurrence of such forms in functionally mixed assemblages of this period are typically 30 to 40 percent, so a rate in the order of 50 to 60 percent strongly suggests that the storage and preparation of food was an important activity.¹¹⁵ This combination of functions may not have seemed as odd to the fishermen who shared a mess of pottage around the fire as it might today,

111. M.C. Beaudry, J. Long, H. M. Miller, F.D. Neiman, and G.W. Stone, "A Vessel Form Typology for Early Chesapeake Ceramics: The Potomac Typological System", HA 17(1) (1983), 18-43. "Lids" and "Tall Pots" were added.

112. E. Winne, Letter to G. Calvert, 18 July 1622, in Cell, Newfoundland Discovered, 195ff..

113. Charles I in Council, Charter, 10 February 1634, DRO Exeter, DO 62571; Charles II in Council, Charter, 26 January 1661, CO 1/15 (3); in Matthews, Laws, 71-75 and 131; J. Downing, "A Brief Narrative", 1676, CO 1/38 (70), 174.

114. The rest are mostly beverage-related. Serving vessels for crewmen were normally wooden.

115. See Pope, Ceramics from Ferryland, Tables 16-24.

since if forge work was necessary on board ship, the galley fire served the same combined functions.

The ceramic assemblage also provides evidence about the amount of drinking done at the Forge Room. There is no obvious way to distinguish between vessels used for alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages. Thus all beverage service forms must be counted. Tea, coffee and other soft drinks are not in question; they enter the picture in the home market only in the later seventeenth century and were not consumed by working people before 1700.¹¹⁶ For physiological reasons, alcohol cannot be simply a substitute for water but is consumed, inevitably, in addition to non-alcoholic beverages. Frequent occurrence of beverage vessels therefore suggests high rates of alcohol consumption, in the absence of any documented contemporary fashion for other beverages that are not simply water substitutes. One could argue (tongue in cheek, if necessary) that any positive relationship between the rate of breakage and the level of alcohol consumption further validates the proposed index.

Beverage vessels are strongly represented in both Ferryland assemblages: about 30 percent of all vessels. (Table 8.12, p. 423, reports proportions of functional groups at Ferryland and comparison sites.) Among the comparison sites, this proportion is matched only at Smith's Ordinary,

116. J. Burnett, A History of the Cost of Living (Harmondsworth, 1969), 82; Braudel, Everyday Life, 251-260; Clark, English Alehouse, 214; Weatherill, Material Culture, 37ff, 158ff.

Table 8.12 Ceramic beverage vessels
as a percentage of all ceramic vessels
at seventeenth-century Ferryland (Locus B)
and selected comparative contexts

CONTEXT	DATE	BEVERAGE VESSELS	ALL VESSELS	BEVERAGE /ALL VESSELS
FERRYLAND, Locus B				
3b: Forge Room	1640-1660	19	60	32%
2b: Household fill	1660-1700	23	77	30%
MARTIN'S HUNDRED, VIRGINIA				
Site H, Dwelling	1620-1622	15	95	16%
Site B, Dwelling	1620-1640	25	194	13%
Site A, Governor's?	1625-1645	20	126	16%
PLACE ROYALE, QUEBEC CITY				
Place Royale II	1627-1632	2	15	13%
Habitation II	1627-1632	4	25	16%
Place Royale III	1633-1688	9	43	21%
Habitation III	1633-1688	6	32	19%
ST. MARY'S CITY, MARYLAND				
Lewgar House	1638-1660	16	86	19%
Smith's Ordinary	1667-1680	18	51	35%
EXETER, DEVON				
Urban sites	1600-1660	51	197	26%
Urban sites	1660-1700	149	559	27%
PENTAGOET, MAINE				
French Fort	1635-1674	22	108	20%
BAY BULLS, NEWFOUNDLAND				
H.M.S. SAPHIRE	1696	49	196	25%

SOURCES and NOTES:

Please see following page.

Table 8.12 Ceramic beverage vessels
sources as a percentage of all ceramic vessels
and notes at seventeenth-century Ferryland (locus B)
 and Selected comparative contexts

SOURCES:

Pope, Ceramics from Ferryland. For Ferryland, Martin's Hundred, Quebec, St. Mary's City and H.M.S. SAPHIRE, counts are based artifact inspection, guided by the inventories of the repositories: the M.U.N. Archaeology Unit, St. John's, Newfoundland; Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Va; Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, Quebec City; Historic St. Mary's, Maryland; and Archaeological Service, National Historic Parks and Sites Canada, Ottawa. Comparison was based in part on W. Pittman, "Vessel Count for Martin's Hundred Sites", unpub. ms, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, n.d. and G. Gusset, "Interim Report on the Ceramics Found in Bay Bulls in 1977", unpub. ms on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Canada, Ottawa, 1978. The investigations at St. Mary's City, Quebec City and Ottawa were made with the guidance of Dr. Henry Miller, Françoise Neillon and Gérard Gusset, respectively. The Exeter data are from Allan, Finds from Exeter, microfiche 43; the Pentagoet data from Faulkner and Faulkner, French at Pentagoet, 184,185. On the comparison sites see also I. Noël Hume, Martin's Hundred: the Discovery of Lost Colonial Virginia Settlement (New York, 1982); H.M. Miller, Discovering Maryland's First City, St. Mary's City Archaeology Series No. 2 (St. Mary's, Md, 1986) and F. Neillon and M. Moussette, Le site de l'Habitation de Champlain à Québec: étude de la collection archéologique (1976-1980) (Quebec, 1985).

NOTES:

All assemblages are stratigraphic, except those from the Lewgar residence at St Mary's City and Exeter. The former is Phase I, i.e. artifacts typologically classified as pre-dating 1660. The Exeter data reflects totals for sites ascribed to the seventeenth century. At Quebec City, "Habitation" is the main interior space of Champlain's Habitation, excluding the towers. "Place Royale" here refers to the open public space nearby. Minimum numbers of individual ceramic vessels were assessed taking into account both ware and form. Beverage vessels included cups, mugs, drink pots, jugs, bottles, ewers, pitchers, punch bowls and very small bowls suitable for drinking.

or tavern, in St. Mary's City, Maryland, where beverage vessels are slightly better represented. At Chesapeake residential sites proportions range around 15 percent. At the mixed urban sites of Exeter such vessels account for about 25 percent of all ceramics, about the representation on board the 1696 wreck of H.M.S. SAPHIRE. Considering the proportion of drinking vessels at the Forge Room with the evidence from Smith's Ordinary, one might see the Room abandoned c. 1660 as a tippling house and the overlying strata as refuse from a similar, later and more up-market amenity. In fact, we need not choose between interpretation of the Ferryland Room as a forge or cafeteria or public house; it was, evidently, all three. A tippling house needed a warm fire and it no coincidence that blacksmiths were among those most often involved in tippling.¹¹⁷ Attractive as this multi-functional interpretation of the Forge Room may be, it does not, in the last analysis, do much more than prove that Ferryland fishermen had a place to drink and smoke. The problem of differential rates of consumption of alcohol and tobacco remains.

The comparative analysis of archaeological assemblages is necessarily limited to classes of artifacts not subject to marked differences of preservation in different soils. This methodological consideration restricts comparative statistical analysis of early modern assemblages to ceramics, glass, clay tobacco pipes and gun flints.

117. Clark, English Alehouse, 66, 75.

Attempts made to identify statistical patterns including ferrous metal objects like nails have been unconvincing, not simply because of statistical weaknesses but because of fundamental uncertainties about variation in the rate of disintegration of metal objects at different sites.¹¹⁸ Another problem with such comparisons is the conflation of assemblages from essentially different contexts. For example, architectural materials relating to a particular structure are combined with the artifacts from a context within the structure, despite the fact that the structure, as a feature, is stratigraphically distinct from any contained occupation floor or secondary deposit.¹¹⁹ This is another reason to see nails (and window glass) as inappropriate for inter-site comparison, unless architecture is in question.

Initially, it seemed potentially useful to quantify the relative rates of occurrence of ceramic vessels, ceramic beverage vessels, bottle glass, table glass, clay tobacco pipes and gunflints. Table glass in the seventeenth century was, however, a very status-sensitive good, not much used by people like fishermen.¹²⁰ Similarly, gunflints are absent

118. S. South., Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology (New York, 1977); for examples of questionable statistical analysis see 88ff. On ferrous metal deterioration see M.B. Schiffer, Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record (Albuquerque, N.M., 1987), 196, 197.

119. E.C. Harris, Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy (London, 1979), 36ff.

120. Consider R.J. Charleston, English Glass and the Glass Used in England, circa 400-1940 (London, 1984), 42-108. Finds of table glass at Ferryland strongly support the ceramic indications of the presence of a planter gentry household near the locuses excavated to date.

from many urban sites, although this is an implication of metropolitan/colonial contrasts, rather than of status differences. In the end, analysis was limited to ceramics, bottles and pipes. The limitation places a heavy interpretative burden on ceramics, particularly non-beverage vessels, for these are made to stand for all goods not related to the pastimes of drinking and smoking. This may be too heavy an interpretative burden for a stack of dishes, especially given that even earthenwares were moderately status-sensitive in the period in question, while tin-glazed ceramics and stonewares were markedly so.¹²¹ The attempt to rest interpretation on this fragile basis is made here, faute de mieux, and should be examined cautiously. Furthermore, since it is difficult to define the minimum size of a significant sample from archaeological contexts like those discussed, it must be emphasized that the statistical significance of these samples remains undefined.¹²²

Four seventeenth-century assemblages from Ferryland were compared with assemblages from fourteen contemporary contexts elsewhere. The Ferryland contexts relate to the Forge Room of 1640 to 1660, overlying household refuse dating c. 1660 to 1700, the working floor at a waterfront structure of c. 1640 to 1670 and refuse of c. 1670 filling a stone-lined

121. Pope, Ceramics from Ferryland, 193-198.

122. K.J. Bragdon, "Occupational Differences Reflected in Material Culture", in M.C. Beaudry, Documentary Archaeology in the New World (Cambridge, 1988), 83-91 draws parallel conclusions on the basis of assemblages of similar size, although since these are expressed as fragments rather than minimum number of objects, the samples appear larger.

cistern in that waterfront structure.¹²³ For the purposes of statistical comparison the minimum numbers of individual ceramic vessels, ceramic beverage vessels, bottles and clay tobacco pipe bowls were translated into three indices:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Drink/All} &= \frac{\text{beverage ceramics} + \text{glass bottles}}{\text{all ceramics} + \text{glass bottles} + \text{pipes}} \\ \text{Pipes/All} &= \frac{\text{pipes}}{\text{all ceramics} + \text{glass bottles} + \text{pipes}} \\ \text{Pastime/All} &= \frac{\text{beverage ceramics} + \text{glass bottles} + \text{pipes}}{\text{all ceramics} + \text{glass bottles} + \text{pipes}}\end{aligned}$$

The results are interesting. Comparisons are best made among contemporary assemblages. The data are therefore reported, in Table 8.13, pp. 429 and 430, in two groups: assemblages of c. 1630 to 1660 and of c. 1660 to 1700.

In the earlier period, there appears to have been a modal Anglo pattern in which drinking and smoking artifacts made up about 25 and 35 percent, respectively, of artifacts analysed. This pattern appears at the Ferryland waterfront and at the Lewgar mansion, St. John's, an administrative centre and gentry residence at St. Mary's City, Maryland. The Ferryland Forge Room, on the other hand exhibits a pattern much more like that at Pope's Fort, a Civil War defence of c. 1645 at St. Mary's City. War, it has been said, is ninety percent boredom and ten percent terror. The archaeological remains here tell us as much about the months

123. These contexts are CgAf-2, locus B, strata 3b and 2b and Locus C, stratum 3 and feature 1a, respectively. See this section, above, and Chapter 4, above.

Table 8.13 Minimum number of ceramic vessels, beverage vessels, clay tobacco pipe bowls, and glass bottles, with selected ratios seventeenth-century Ferryland and selected comparative contexts

ASSEMBLAGE	CERAMIC VESSELS		BOTTLE DRINK GLASS		PIPES /		PASTIME / ALL
	ALL	BEV.	PIPES	GLASS	/ALL	/ALL	
c. 1630 - c. 1660							
FERRYLAND							
Forge 3b (1640-1660)	60	19	103	2	13%	62%	75%
Waterfront 3 (1640-1670)	49	15	31	7	25%	36%	61%
ST. MARY'S CITY							
Pope's Fort (c. 1645)	29	11	94	19	21%	66%	87%
Lewgar Res. I (1638-1660)	86	16	53	26	25%	32%	58%
EXETER, DEVON							
Valiant Soldier 61&63 (1620-1645)	55	18	2	0	32%	4%	35%
Trichay St. 316 (c. 1660)	115	28	24	7	24%	16%	40%
COLONIAL AVERAGES:					21%	49%	70%
EXETER AVERAGES:					28%	10%	38%
ANGLO AVERAGES:					23%	36%	59%
QUEBEC CITY							
II (1627-1632)							
Place Royale	15	2	2	6	35%	9%	43%
Habitation	25	4	6	9	33%	15%	48%
III (1633-1688)							
Place Royale	43	9	2	19	44%	3%	47%
Habitation	32	6	3	8	33%	7%	40%
QUEBEC AVERAGES:					36%	8%	44%
OVERALL AVERAGES:					35%	31%	67%
"Bev."	= Ceramic beverage vessels						
"Drink"	= Ceramic beverage vessels + Bottle glass						
"Pastime"	= Ceramic beverage vessels + Bottle glass + Pipes						
"Int."	= Interior						

continued...

Table 8.13
continued

Minimum number of ceramic vessels,
beverage vessels, clay tobacco pipe bowls,
and glass bottles, with selected ratios
seventeenth-century Ferryland
and selected comparative contexts

ASSEMBLAGE	CERAMIC VESSELS		BOTTLE GLASS	DRINK /ALL	PIPES /ALL	PASTIME /ALL	
	ALL	BEV.					
c. 1660 to c. 1700							
FERRYLAND							
Forge fill 2b (1660-1700)	77	23	67	15	24%	42%	66%
Waterfront Pit (c. 1670)	68	14	56	3	13%	44%	57%
ST. MARY'S CITY							
Smith's Ordinary (1666-1677)	51	18	19	6	32%	25%	57%
Lawyer's Cellar (c. 1670?)	145	43	11	7	31%	7%	37%
COLONIAL AVERAGES:					25%	29%	54%
EXETER, DEVON							
Goldsmith St. 96 (1660-1680)	91	17	12	0	17%	12%	28%
Goldsmith St. 98 (1660-1680)	65	22	15	0	28%	19%	46%
Goldsmith St. 80 (1670-1700)	122	28	38	0	18%	24%	41%
North Street 150 (1680-1690)	99	25	13	5	26%	11%	37%
EXETER AVERAGES:					22%	16%	38%
OVERALL AVERAGES:					23%	23%	46%

"Bev." = Ceramic beverage vessels

"Drink" = Ceramic beverage vessels + Bottle glass

"Pastime" = Ceramic beverage vessels + Bottle glass + Pipes

SOURCES and NOTES: Please see next page.

Table 8.13 sources and notes	Minimum number of ceramic vessels, beverage vessels, clay tobacco pipe bowls, and glass bottles, with selected ratios seventeenth-century Ferryland and selected comparative contexts
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SOURCES:

Counts are based artifact inspection, guided by the inventories of relevant repositories. These are the Archaeology Unit at MUN in St. John's, Newfoundland; Historic St. Mary's, Maryland; the Royal Albert Museum, Exeter, Devon and the Quebec Ministère des Affaires Culturelles in Quebec City. The comparative investigations were made with the guidance of Dr. Henry Miller, John Allan and Françoise Neillon, respectively.

NOTES:

All assemblages are stratigraphic, except the sample from the Lewgar residence, St. John's, at St Mary's City, which is Phase I, i.e. artifacts typologically classified as pre-dating 1660. The Pope's Fort sample is from the preliminary excavation, i.e. units 1221, 1222, and 1280-1283.

At Quebec City, "Habitation" is the main interior space of Champlain's Habitation, excluding the towers. "Place Royale" here refers to the open public space nearby.

Minimum numbers of individual ceramic vessels were assessed taking into account both ware and form. Beverage vessels included cups, mugs, drink pots, jugs, bottles, ewers, pitchers, punch bowls and very small bowls suitable for drinking. "Pipes" represents clay tobacco pipe bowls, including pipe heels distinct from bowls already counted. Pipes were not distinguished by stem decoration or by coloured clay fabrics, because this method of analysis was not possible with the pipes typical of all sites. Bottle glass represents counts based on mouths and bases, taking into account shades of glass. It excludes small vials and urinals.

On the comparison sites see Miller, Discovering Maryland's First City; Allan, Finds from Exeter and Neillon and Moussette, L'habitation de Champlain à Québec.

passed in waiting by the Virginian mercenaries who manned the fort as they do about their brief hour of battle. The artifact pattern at Ferryland probably also reflects periods in which groups of men passed the time smoking and sharing an occasional drink. In this case the remains would relate to periods of a day or two, while crews waited for better weather, rather than a single wait of several months, but these would be archaeologically indistinguishable. The artifact counts reported for Fort Pentagoet, by Alaric and Gretchen Faulkner, suggest drinking and smoking indices of about ten and sixty percent, which are close to the indices for Pope's Fort and the Ferryland Forge.¹²⁴

The proposed modal Anglo pattern disguises important differences between artifact patterns in colonial contexts and those in the city of Exeter, Devon. Thrichay St. 316 and Valiant Soldier 61 and 63 are both lower-middle or middle-class residential contexts. The latter became the site of a tippling house after the Civil War, hence the name, but the very low smoking index suggests that such an establishment did not exist on the site prior to its slighting in 1643, despite the relatively high drinking index. The Exeter artifact patterns in this first period resemble those at Quebec: in each case drink-related artifacts are three to four times as frequent as pipes. The pastime indices for Anglo colonial sites are much higher than for

124. A. Faulkner and G. Faulkner, The French at Pentagoet 1635-1674, (St. John, N.B., 1987), 184ff., 232, 297.

Exeter or Quebec, primarily because of the relatively low frequencies of pipes in the latter contexts.¹²⁵ This suggests that smoking was more widespread in English colonies of the early and mid seventeenth century than it was either in Quebec or even in English county centres like Exeter.

Among post 1660 assemblages, the household refuse overlying the Ferryland Forge Room and the refuse from the Ferryland waterfront pit exhibit high pastime indices, in the order of 60 percent, and are matched only by Smith's Ordinary at St. Mary's City. Drink-related artifacts are relatively less common at the Waterfront than in the household fill, while pipes are well-represented in both assemblages, perhaps suggesting that drinking was primarily a leisure activity, while smoking went on in the workplace as well. Again, the colonial contexts exhibit high smoking indices compared to Exeter contexts. The Goldsmith Street contexts are all mixed urban assemblages, but they probably reflect disparate aspects of seventeenth century urban life, considering the variation in functional mix of artifacts. The ceramics from Goldsmith Street 80 include some sugar-refining wares, suggesting that at least part of the assemblage relates to a work place. This is of interest, in the light of the relatively high smoking index for this context.

125. There is an extraordinary assemblage of 160 pipe bowls and 22 bottles from the north-west tower of the Habitation, phase II (1627-1632), but since the pipes are almost all of one form and are all unsmoked this is, likely, an assemblage of goods stored - probably by the Kirke brothers, who controlled Quebec at this time.

Pipes are more common in later samples at Exeter, suggesting that the habit of smoking was still spreading there in the later seventeenth century. North Street 1501 was a merchant's house. Note the low smoking index combined with a high drinking index, a pattern also exhibited in refuse from a St. Mary's City lawyer's office of c. 1670. The archaeological evidence confirms G.L. Apperson's suspicion that in the late seventeenth century smoking was "out of vogue among those most amenable to the dictates of Fashion".¹²⁶

Both early and later Ferryland assemblages suggest strong demand for alcohol and tobacco relative to demand for goods like non-beverage ceramics. Among comparison contexts only Pope's Fort and Smith's Ordinary, both at St. Mary's City, seem to have been occupied by people so strongly inclined to immediate gratification. At Exeter, Devon, only Goldsmith Street 98/99 bears much of a similarity in the functional distribution of artifacts. The English and French at Quebec seem to have been just as inclined to drink, but much less likely to smoke. The archaeological evidence from one site cannot prove that fishermen were abnormally inclined to consume alcohol and tobacco any more than one document could establish such a point. Taken together, however, the documentary and the archaeological evidence suggest, consistently, that fisherfolk did exhibit a preference for these, among the goods on which they might have spent their discretionary income. The archaeological

126. Apperson, Social History of Smoking, 57.

evidence has the virtue of being first hand: the jugs, bottles and clay pipes at Ferryland must be explained because they were there, not because a West Country fish merchant complained about them. The documentary evidence has the virtue of putting tobacco and alcohol in context, or at least in social and economic context. The consumption of alcohol and tobacco by the fisher-folk of the North Atlantic littoral has, surely, a cultural significance as well.

7. The significance of alcohol and tobacco

Demand for a good, whether alcohol or tobacco, earthenware or Barnstaple baize, represents some combination of taste and disposable income. However much the inhabitants of seventeenth-century Ferryland might have wanted a cup of wine or pipe of tobacco, they could not have enjoyed these unless they could afford them. As we have seen, the disposable incomes of Newfoundland fishing crews were high relative to the wages semi-skilled workers could expect in the old country.¹²⁷ Crews apparently spent their incomes freely on their preferred goods, tobacco and alcohol. This apparently feckless attitude is like the one Marcus Rediker observes among deep sea sailors, one which stressed gratification and consumption over deferral and savings.¹²⁸ To call fishermen mariners is, however, only to rephrase a difficult question. Why did this particular culture of con-

127. See Chapter 7, above.

128. M. Rediker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World (Cambridge, 1987), 149.

sumption survive and flourish among maritime folk? Taste, like other facets of personality, is a social product. We can hope, then, to explain consumer choice in terms of social status but such explanation does not reveal the meaning of particular choices. Consumption must make some cultural sense to the consumer whose taste is expressed in demand and whose demand is expressed in consumption. We must link culture and economics if we are to take on the proverbially impossible task of accounting for taste.

Daniel Vickers has suggested that high rates of alcohol consumption on the resource periphery resulted from social and political marginality.¹²⁹ Newfoundland's seventeenth-century fishing populace was politically marginal and there is little evidence of social life except that of the cook-room or tippling house. Fisherfolk were not, however, any more marginal politically than the working population of England itself.¹³⁰ Furthermore, it was normal for working people to look for sociability outside the home. Their domestic social life seems to have been largely restricted to work in this period. "Homes were to work, sleep, and, increasingly, to pray in, but not great centres for relaxation and recreation", as Carole Shamas has put it.¹³¹ The seventeenth-century worker normally found social life either

129. Vickers, "Work and Life".

130. Cf. Wrightson, English Society, 149-182.

131. Shamas, "Domestic Environment", 10; cf. Clark, English Alehouse, 123-32.

in a religious congregation or in a tippling house. The question is why fishermen chose the latter.

What did fishermen use alcohol or tobacco for? At one level they used each as their young, mobile, predominantly male, erratically-employed counterparts did in the home country: as an occasion for socializing.¹³² The YOUNG MEN'S DELIGHT, which brought wines from Plymouth to Ferryland in 1675 was well-named.¹³³ But how did fishermen use these goods, or to put it another way, what was it that made tobacco and alcohol "sociable"?¹³⁴ Did they have a special role on the English Shore? The cultural aspects of neither drinking nor smoking are well studied.¹³⁵ Alcoholism has attracted much more scholarly attention than the normal use of alcohol. Dwight Heath's survey of cross-cultural studies concludes that alcohol is not commonly a problem, whether or not drinking is customary or even drunkenness common.¹³⁶ The unexplored issues pertain to perceived properties and customs of use, not to problems caused by occasional abuse. Mary Douglas has proposed that the use of alcohol can be seen in three distinct aspects: as component of economic

132. See Clark, English Alehouse, 49, 114, 139, 148.

133. See Berry, "Shipps" and "Brandy &c" (1675).

134. Weatherill, Material Culture, 158 and cf. P.W. Black, "The Anthropology of Tobacco Use: Tobian Data and Theoretical Issues", Journal of Anthropological Research 40(4) (1984), 475-503.

135. M. Douglas, "A Distinctive Anthropological Perspective", in M. Douglas, (ed.), Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology (Cambridge, 1987), 3-15; Black, "Anthropology of Tobacco Use".

136. D.B. Heath, "A Decade of Development in the Anthropological Study of Alcohol Use: 1970-1980" in M. Douglas, Constructive Drinking, 16-69.

activity, as ceremonial construction of an ideal world, and as manifestation of the structure of social reality.¹³⁷ These apply, surely, to tobacco as well.

The economy of the cod fishery and the economy of the wine trade meshed at the Iberian, Mediterranean and Atlantic Island ports where West Country and New England ships delivered Newfoundland fish. Robert Hitchcock's late Elizabethan vision (Figure 3.1, p. 97 above) of Englishmen exchanging fish for European wines became a seventeenth-century reality. The tobacco and cod economies meshed at tobacco-distributing Devon ports like Barnstaple, which had close ties with the Chesapeake, as well as Newfoundland.¹³⁸ In the situation of chronic specie scarcity, typical of the early modern world, merchants were under great pressure to develop returns for the goods whose export they organized: they could not hope to pay for fish entirely in coin, for coin was too scarce.¹³⁹ The reasonably high unit value and portability of sweet wines, spirits and tobacco made them useful commodities in this respect. Alcohol sometimes served as a quasi-currency on the Atlantic littoral.¹⁴⁰ Brandy in particular was used as a surrogate for wages: in 1680 Captain Sir Robert Robinson thought the fortifications

137. Douglas, "Anthropological Perspective", 8.

138. Grant, North Devon Pottery, 116-125.

139. See Baxter, House of Hancock, 16, 295; J. Price, Capital and Credit in British Overseas Trade: the View from the Chesapeake, 1700-1776 (Cambridge Mass., 1980), 121 and "Conclusion" in Ommer, Merchant Credit, 368.

140. McCusker, "The Rum Trade", 552. In Newfoundland fish itself usually played this role; see Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations (1776, Harmondsworth, 1970), 127.

at St. John's could be improved at little cost "except some small gratuity to the seamen in time of labouring, in brandy or the like".¹⁴¹ Divisibility is an important economic property of such quasi-currencies, which analysts of alcohol and tobacco exchange have noted in other contexts, from the Australian outback to the twentieth-century St. John's waterfront.¹⁴² Divisibility also made it possible to tap the passing flow of these goods. The question of their value to those tapping the flow remains.

It may seem willfully obtuse to ask why people enjoy alcohol or tobacco, but the question needs to be posed. Nor is the answer straightforward. The recent anthropological literature supports the consensus of psychologists and sociologists that the "cardinal" value of alcohol is pharmacological: as a cheap, easy to administer tranquilizer.¹⁴³ The value of tobacco is also rooted in its psycho-pharmacological properties, although these are more complex. Nicotine sharpens responses, but it is also highly addictive, to the extent that deprivation to chronic smokers provokes irritability.¹⁴⁴ So in a sense tobacco is also a cheap and simple tranquilizer, although unlike alcohol this

141. R. Robinson, Letter [to W. Blathwayt?], 5 April 1680, CO 1/44 (50), 383.

142. Heath, "Alcohol Use", 33; Black, "Anthropology of Tobacco", 486; J. Collman, "Social Order and the Exchange of Liquor: a Theory of Drinking among the Australian Aborigines", Journal of Anthropological Research 35(2) (1979), 208-224; G. Mars, "Longshore Drinking, Economic Security and Union Politics in Newfoundland", in M. Douglas, Constructive Drinking, 91-101.

143. Heath, "Alcohol Use", 39.

144. Black, "Anthropology of Tobacco", 486, 494.

depends on its addictiveness in small dosages.¹⁴⁵ The physiological and pharmino-kinetic effects of both drugs are socially processed: interpreted and expressed in terms of familiar attitudes and expectations.¹⁴⁶ Even drunkenness is a learned comportment, varying from culture to culture.¹⁴⁷ While it is not easy to pin down the social construction seventeenth-century mariners put on the pharmacological effects of their drugs, we have enough evidence to try.

Alcohol and tobacco both seem to have functioned as "little hearths".¹⁴⁸ Each was thought to satisfy the need for warmth in a cool climate. Captain Wheler argued that at Newfoundland the "Intolerable Cold...would make it hard liveing with out Strong drink".¹⁴⁹ Dr. Everard's early seventeenth-century defence of tobacco argued that those proposing a ban should take into account that some users:

...cannot abstain from it. Sea-men will be supplied with it for their long voyages; Souldiers cannot want it when they keep guard all night, or are upon other hard duties in cold and tempestuous weather...¹⁵⁰

It is difficult to see this perceived warmth as a physiological effect. Smoking a pipe of tobacco did involve

145. Heath, "Alcohol Use", 39.

146. Black, "Anthropology of Tobacco", 494; Heath, "Alcohol Use", 46.

147. Douglas, "Anthropological Perspective", 4; C. MacAndrew and R.B. Edgerton, Drunken Comportment: A Social Explanation (Chicago, 1969), 83-99.

148. This is Ralph Pastore's felicitous phrase.

149. F. Wheler, "Observations...", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56i), 247-248v.

150. [Aegidius] Everardus, Panacea; or The universal medicine, a discovery of the wonderful virtues of tobacco (London, 1659, trans. of earlier Latin ed.), A [3].

a warm glow, but physiological warming probably had less to do with the combustion of a few grams of dried leaves than with the need for entering a building like the Forge Room for an ember to light the pipe.¹⁵¹ The warmth ascribed to tobacco is probably often a social warmth, since the good is often shared. Although mariners thought of alcohol as a source of warmth, it actually contributes to cooling the body by dilating surface blood vessels.¹⁵² It provides physiological warmth only as a concentrated and surprisingly inexpensive source of calories.¹⁵³ Arguably, the association of alcohol and heat was also primarily symbolic.

This symbolism is rooted in ancient theories about the four elements (earth, water, air and fire) and four primary properties (coldness, moisture, dryness and heat).¹⁵⁴ The association of the latter with alcohol in general and with sweet wines and spirits in particular is explicit in a tract of 1622 on "Divers Kindes of Drinke". Tobias Venner argues that one of the "commodities of Wine" is that it "mightily strengtheneth the naturall heat". Ale, beer, even white and Rhenish wines he dismisses as cold, like water. Sack, on

151. Cf. Barclay, Nepenthes (1614).

152. L.O. Simpson and R.J. Olds, "Ethanol and the Flow Properties of Blood" in K.E. Crow and R.D. Batt, (eds), Human Metabolism of Alcohol, vol. 3, Metabolic and Physiological Effects of Alcohol (Boca Raton, Florida, 1989), 62-75.

153. Witold Kula concluded that distilled alcohol provided the cheapest available calories for the eighteenth-century Polish peasantry, according to Braudel and Spooner, "Prices", 415ff.; cf. McCusker "Rum Trade", 478.

154. For a brief summary see E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (Harmondsworth, 1963), 77-83.

the other hand, is "completely hot" as are Canary wine and the wines of western France. Predictably, he treats distilled aqua vitae as hot and cautiously suggests moderate consumption "be permitted unto cold and phlegmatic bodies, especially in colde and moyst seasons", as did William Vaughan, the Newfoundland promoter, who calls aqua vitae "the most dry and fiery of all liquids" in his Directions for Health, Naturall and Artificiall of 1626.¹⁵⁵ Venner and Vaughan could hardly have written more explicit prescriptions for those facing the rigours of the Newfoundland fishery. What would new arrivals face? Cold and moisture. How could they deal with this? With drinks that were conceptually hot and dry. Those Venner identifies are precisely those most in demand at Newfoundland. From this point of view tobacco was also entirely appropriate for the North Atlantic environment, for smoke is hot and dry.¹⁵⁶ The "ideal world" that wine, brandy and tobacco constructed for the planters and crews of the English Shore may well have been simply a warmer and drier one.

The question of how the use of tobacco and alcohol manifests the structure of social reality (or "constructs the world as it is", as Douglas puts it) remains, even given the economic characteristics and values explored above.

155. [T. Venner], Via Recta ad Vitam Longam (London, 2nd ed., 1622), 23-36. W. Vaughan, Directions for Health, Naturall and Artificiall (London, 1626), 81, 82; cf. R. Short, Of Drinking Water, Against our Novelists that Prescribed it in England (London, 1656). On Vaughan see G.T. Cell, "Vaughan, Sir William", in DCB, vol. 1.

156. Cf. Vaughan, Directions for Health, 82.

Desirable, portable, divisible "little luxuries", like alcohol and tobacco, are well suited as prestations, that is, gifts which creates social obligations.¹⁵⁷ Such prestation may be among peers in association with labour exchange or from aspiring patrons to their potential clientage.¹⁵⁸ For planter or crew, no less than for the merchant, alcohol and tobacco were "valuables" appropriate for exchange and short term storage of capital: they had high unit value and were reasonably durable, although not durable enough for long term accumulation. Binges dispersed such short term "savings" in a neighbourly way.¹⁵⁹ The use of these goods in other contexts suggests that the capital in question would then become social capital, that is the distributor of little luxuries would acquire social credit among those with whom he shared.¹⁶⁰ The consumable nature of these goods is important here, for a small gift of liquor or tobacco can hardly be passed down the line.¹⁶¹ The use of alcohol to seal bargains is, surely, related to generalized exchange in the interest of social credit. Insofar as economic relationships were a continuous succession of mutual favours,

157. Reading, Dictionary of Social Sciences, 160; cf. M. Mauss, The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies, (London, 1970).

158. Heath, "Alcohol Use", 40; Black, "Anthropology of Tobacco", 481, 488ff.

159. On the social function of drinking binges see Clark, English Alehouse, 114; on valuables see C. Renfrew, "Varna and the Emergence of Wealth in Prehistoric Europe", in A. Appadurai (ed.), The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective (Cambridge, 1986), 141-68.

160. Collman, "Exchange of Liguour"; Mars, "Longshore Drinking"; Black, "Anthropology of Tobacco".

161. Cf. Collman, "Exchange of Liquor", 216.

payment without prestation of drink in particular may have been the exception, not the rule.¹⁶² Thus Wheler's "intelligible Planter", for example, had "given away for incouragment: In Liquour £6".¹⁶³

Because they have the power, when presented, to say "we are friends here, we share more than just the cash nexus", the little luxuries are markers of sociability. John Josselyn noted of coastal Maine, in the study period:

If a man of quality chance to come where [the fishermen] are roystering and gulping in Wine with a dear felicity, he must be sociable and Rolypoly with them, taking off their liberal cups as freely, or else be gone...¹⁶⁴

James I complained in his famous Counter-blaste to tobacco that the herb was becoming a symbol of fellowship.¹⁶⁵ "He's no good-fellow that's without...burnt Pipes, Tobacco, and his Tinder-Box", Winstanley observed in 1660.¹⁶⁶ A study of smoking on a Micronesian island emphasizes that tobacco there is a symbol of sociability and sharing. While tobacco may not play such a paradigmatic role in our own cultures, it is probably a mistake to conclude that its symbolic role has been insignificant.¹⁶⁷ As proof of sociability, alcohol

162. J.R. Barrett, "Why Paddy Drank: The Social Importance of Whiskey in Pre-Famine Ireland", Journal of Popular Culture 11(1) (1977), 154-165; F. Heal, "The Idea of Hospitality in Early Modern England", P&P 102 (1984), 66-93.

163. Wheler, "Charge for two Boats" (1684).

164. Josselyn, Voyages to New-England (1675), 212.

165. James I, A counter-blaste to tobacco (London, 1604).

166. Gerard Winstanley on "this Heathenish weed", cited in Apperson, Social History of Smoking, 71.

167. Black, "Anthropology of Tobacco", 478, 487, 492.

has become, in Western societies, a boundary marker for periods of leisure.¹⁶⁸ Likewise, the exchange of cigarettes often marks short breaks from labour. In the task-oriented world of the early modern fishery, alcohol and tobacco probably served similar functions.

Drink reflects social reality in another sense, insofar as various forms of alcohol can be distinguished, ranked and read symbolically. Consumer choice of distinguishable inebriants not only permits the community to rank the drinker, it also permits the drinker pretensions to connoisseurship. If only a single form of alcohol is available, it is more difficult to tell oneself that one drinks for anything but pharmacological effect.¹⁶⁹ Some such factor may have acted on the market for alcohol in early modern Newfoundland, in which a number of different kinds of alcohol remained available, despite cost differentials. Seventeenth-century accounts indicate that consumers ranked beer, wine and spirits in social prestige as well as in alcoholic content, a ranking which was emphasized in England by the fact that neither wines nor spirits were permitted in alehouses.¹⁷⁰ Drinks appear as social labels in a burlesque of c. 1630: wine, beer, ale and water are, respectively, a gentleman, citizen, countryman and parson.¹⁷¹ When visitors

168. J.R. Gusfield, "Passage to Play: Rituals of Drinking Time in American Society", in Douglas, Constructive Drinking, 73-90.

169. Collman, "Exchange of Liquour", 219.

170. Clark, English Alehouse, 8, 125.

171. Gallobelgicus [pseud.], Wine, Beere, Ale and Tobacco Contending for Superiority (2nd ed., London, 1630).

brought such perceptions to Newfoundland, there arose a fundamental contradiction between social norms (working men drink beer, gentlemen wine) and what was simply common sense (cold wet men should have "hot" "dry" drinks). The evidence suggests that common sense prevailed.

8. Consumption and social control

The quantity and quality of alcohol consumed by the planters and fishing crews of the English Shore were, in the last analysis, determined by what made sense to them. If goods like wine, brandy and tobacco were socially and culturally useful, then demand would be strong and criticism by those living elsewhere about inappropriate consumption almost inevitable. The merchants of Exeter and Plymouth levelled such criticism at their competitor Sir David Kirke in the 1640s and 1650s. They told the Council of State that Kirke, besides being himself a corrupt and blasphemous drunk, injured the Commonwealth at Newfoundland:

...especially by his continuall support of rude, prophane, and athisticall planters, whome hee not only licenceth to keepe tavernes att sevrall yearly rents in most of the choysiest fishing ports & harbors, butt furnisheth them with wyne, att his owne rates & prises, to the debauching of seamen, who are thereby taken off from theyre labors...¹⁷²

The merchants managed to insert a ban on tippling houses into the Western Charters of 1634, 1652 and 1661, each of which provided (complete with socio-economic rationale):

¹⁷². Gybbes et al., Petition (1640) and cf. Exeter, Petition (c. 1650).

That noe person doe set up any Taverne for sellinge of wyne Beere, or stronge waters Cyder or Tobacco, to entertayne the fishermen, because it is found that by such meanes they are debauched, neglecting thar labors and poore illgoverned men not only spend most part of their shares before they come home, upon which the life and mayntenance of their wife and Children depende but are likewise hurtfull in divers other waies, as by neglectinge and makinge themselves unfit for their labour, by purloyninge and stealinge...¹⁷³

The ban was dropped in William III's Act to Encourage the Fishery of 1699, perhaps reflecting that legislation's tacit acceptance of the planters' right to a livelihood.¹⁷⁴

Continual complaints like that of the Dartmouth master which prefaces this chapter, indicate that these regulations had no more effect than the rule excluding planters from the coast. What precisely was it that opponents of plantation and government failed to enforce? They had not attempted to ban tobacco, wine or even spirits from the English Shore. Any such ban would have flown in the face of common sense.¹⁷⁵ Despite repeated protestations of an aim only to eliminate the "debauching" of "poor ungoverned men", one cannot escape a suspicion that West Country insistence on the banning of taverns may have had as much to do with control of a market as with control of drink and tobacco. Nothing about the behaviour of the West Country merchants, least of all their cargos on the westward voyage to New-

173. Charles I, Charter (1634); Council of State, "Laws Rules and Ordinances...", 16 June 1652, SP 25/29, 15-18, cf. Matthews, Laws, 123-126; Charles II, Charter (1661).

174. Great Britain, Statutes 10 and 11 William III, Cap. 25, 1699, in Matthews, Constitutional Laws, 202-218.

175. Captain Wheler thought a ban would not work, see Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 240v.

foundland, suggests that they would have eliminated supplies of the little luxuries to the English Shore. What they wanted, it would seem, was a legal monopoly of supply to their own crews, like that enjoyed by eighteenth-century fishing proprietors at Isle Royale.¹⁷⁶

Valuables like alcohol and tobacco had two aspects: to the consumer, whether planter or servant, they represented culturally useful goods; to the supplying merchant they were economically efficient returns for fish. These little luxuries were, in some sense, the cultural face of local systems of credit and clientage. In the absence of more regular forms of commerce and government, these goods were more significant and perhaps thus relatively more common on the English Shore than in England itself. If their pivotal role in the local social economy goes some way to explaining why levels of consumption were high, it may also help to explain why attempts were made so often to control distribution. What remains in question is to what extent the "sociable goods" can be seen as a necessary part of the control of labour through what became known as the truck system and whether they were therefore, in some sense, a constraint on development. These questions are, however, best considered in context of the various factors that left the English Shore as an economy, society and polity open to devastation at the turn of the century.

176. B.A. Balcom, The Cod Fishery of Isle Royale, 1713-58 (Ottawa, 1984), 63.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION: THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Nothing escaped the barborous fury of the Enemy, but Bonavista and the Little Island of Carbonera...to the southward of this, there is not an inhabitant left but two or three in the Bay of Bulls and two at Brigos by South, and from that to Trepasse, which is the southmost of the English plantations, There is not a Liveing Soule Left, Yea not at Feryland which was allways Look'd upon, as I am told, to be the best harbour and the pleasantest place in the whole Island, however I intend When Ever wee have secured [St. John's] to goe to Feryland...to secure that allso, which possibly may incouradge the people to Come and settle there againe...

- Colonel Gibson, Letter to the Committee for Trade and Plantations, 28 June 1697¹

The French attacked Ferryland unsuccessfully in 1694 and de Brouillon and d'Iberville returned in the winter of 1696/97 to devastate most of the English Shore.² In 1705 and 1708 further attacks followed, on a smaller scale.³ Economic and social destruction wrought in the northern colonies between 1688 and 1713 has much to do with "delayed

1. CO 194/1 (81), 159-160v.

2. W. Holman, Petition to Privy Council, July 1696, CO 194/1 (5), 12; J. Cleer et al., "An Account of an Action...", 18 May 1695, CO 194/1 (78vi), 152,v; Williams, Father Baudoin's War, 32,33.

3. Prowse, History, 235-276.

development". After the protracted war between Britain and France, Maine lay "bleeding, scarred and desolate" and Newfoundland was not much better off.⁴ In the south Avalon the war destroyed the native planter gentry: Sir David Kirke's surviving sons, George, David II and Phillip died, after being taken as prisoners of war to Placentia in the terrible winter of 1697.⁵ Repeated invasions may also have taught Newfoundland merchants to keep their capital elsewhere.

Although settlement on the south Avalon was briefly extinguished, Gibsons' hopes were fulfilled. Planters, in particular the "Constant Inhabitants of Ferryland", petitioned for help in returning to their own harbours.⁶ Settlement was quickly restored.⁷ In 1698 Norris reported 370 persons in the south Avalon, compared to the 431 inhabitants in Crawley's census of 1692.⁸ By 1710 the population had rebounded to pre-war levels, when Cumings reported 441 inhabitants.⁹ A preliminary review of surname continuities suggests substantial re-emigration as well as mixing of populations between the St. John's and south Avalon areas in the war period but also some continuity.

4. Clark, Eastern Frontier, 68-72, 111; cf. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 243, 303,304.

5. R. Hartnoll et al., Deposition, 15 September 1707, CO 194/4 (77ix), 316. 1697 was the coldest winter of the century, see Chapter 1, above..

6. J. Clappe et al., Petition to William III, 1697, CO 194/1 (6), 14; Gibson, Letter to CTP, 28 June 1697.

7. Matthews, Lectures, 81, makes this generalization about the English Shore.

8. J. Norris, "Abstract of the Planters...", 27 September 1698, CO 194/1 (125i), 262; T. Crawley, "...Inhabitants, Quantity of fish...", 15 October 1692, CO 1/68 (94iii), 272.

9. A. Cumings, "A Scheem of the Fishery...", 15 December 1710, CO 194/4 (145i), 579.

Gordon Handcock finds only a single surname (Dibble) spanning the 34 years between 1675 and 1708 in the Ferryland area.¹⁰ This observation must, however, be re-examined. White, Roberts and Pearce (=Pass) were established south Avalon planter families before 1675 which recur in Mitchel's nominal census of 1708.¹¹ Lang, Short, Tucker and Fletcher, all in the area before 1696, and Webber, at Aquaforte in 1681, also recur in 1708. About 120 surnames of the period before 1696 in the whole area south of Conception Bay recur between 1700 and 1710 and almost 100 of these date to 1681 or earlier. The case of Mary Kirke/Benger should remind us that many female continuities will elude surname studies.

1. Review of the period 1630-1700¹²

We should not let the destruction of the English settlements at the turn of the eighteenth century distort our view of seventeenth-century Newfoundland. Wartime devastation makes the early settlements look impermanent: they were, after all, suddenly eclipsed. Yet West Country fisher folk occupied dozens of small communities between 1630 and 1696. The migratory fishery was the matrix of this settlement, for which an original economic rationale is lacking only if the open-access economics of the fishery and the non-European population of the Island are ignored.

10. Handcock, English Settlement, 46.

11. Commodore Mitchel, "A List of Inhabitants...", 2 December 1708, CO 194/4 (76ii), 252v-256v.

12. Here the term "south Avalon" is used when the evidence discussed in previous chapters relates primarily to that sub-region and the term "English Shore" has been used when the available evidence relates to a wider area. See the discussion on community studies in Chapter 1.

Comments by proponents of settlement in the Bonavista area c. 1680 suggest that Beothuk scavenging within their shrinking winter range encouraged the practice of caretakers over-wintering. A Beothuk presence at Ferryland in the late sixteenth century raises the possibility that they were scavenging there (for this was outside their known pre-contact range) and therefore suggests the hypothesis that Beothuk pilfering was a factor promoting initial settlement not merely on the Northeast Coast in the 1680s but also in other areas of the English shore as they were successively occupied in preceeding decades. In the context of intense competition in the open-access resource of the fishery, once over-wintering was initiated, it was bound to spread. Other factors promoted further settlement.

The planter economy developed sectors, like boat-building and lumbering, which can be understood as backward linkages from the fishery, as well as a "hospitality" industry and a quasi-commercial livestock industry which satisfied the final demand of numbers of servants. South Avalon evidence, like the case of the furriers' boat, suggests that the little communities of the English Shore were not isolated one from another and paired simply to particular West Country outports. The south Avalon had its own internal structure by mid century and Ferryland was the central place. The seventeenth-century occupation, at least in

the study area, was earlier, more substantial and less transient than is often credited.¹³

The London businessmen who pre-empted control of the south Avalon in 1638 were wine merchants. Kirke, Barkeley and company became fish-merchants, in part as an extension of attempts to enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence fur trade and in part because of a switch in emphasis from France to Spain and the Atlantic Islands as sources of wine for their expanding markets. Before Charles I issued a new patent for plantation in 1637, the Kirkes were already involved in the Newfoundland trade, as owners of ships let to freight on sack voyages. The Dutch competed effectively in this trade, particularly c. 1600 to 1640, by which time Kirke, Barkeley and other London ship owners had forced their way into the business. Most sack ships, however, were small West Country vessels of 30 to 50 tons and together smaller vessels carried as much fish as the imposing Dutch and London sack ships of 200 to 300 tons. In the study period, the Newfoundland carrying trade was competitive and there is little evidence that merchants extracted the very high profits that world-system theory sometimes seems to imply.¹⁴ As Immanuel Wallerstein suggests, however, the more important issue is whether extraction from the periphery was a single integrated process.¹⁵ This was clearly true of the south Avalon fishery: substantial profits were possible but they

13. See Chapter 2, above.

14. Wallerstein, Modern World System, vol. 1, 120-122.

15. Wallerstein, "Commentary on O'Brien".

required secure sources, a powerful rationale for investment in permanent fishing stations.¹⁶

Sir George Calvert, who organized the original colonization of the study area invested about £20,000, or \$3 million in our funds. Archaeological and documentary evidence suggest that Sir David Kirke and his associates may well have made an equivalent investment. The First Baron Baltimore did not recoup his Newfoundland investment but Kirke, Barkeley and company probably did. There is little reason to think Kirke's Newfoundland Plantation, a "failure", as is sometimes suggested. As a metropolitan commercial enterprise it ended when the royalists lost the Civil War but both Ferryland and the Kirkes endured and even flourished. Sir David had a thriving trade in fish and wines in the 1640s. Although his brothers James and John managed the European terminus of the business in London, his trans-Atlantic operations depended on a pre-existing West Country commercial network centred in Dartmouth. After the Restoration of 1660, Bideford and Barnstaple extended commercial dominance northwards from Renews and Aquaforte to Ferryland and Caplin Bay. Commercial ties with New England, particularly Salem, intensified but these were not Restoration or even Interregnum innovations. David Kirke had established many of the original trading connections in the 1640s, in the matrix of Dartmouth's trans-Atlantic commercial network.

16. See Chapter 3, above.

Unlike later "Yankee trade", his network was established from Newfoundland rather than from New England.¹⁷

The over-wintering population of the English Shore reached about 1500 souls by 1660. This population fluctuated annually and grew only fitfully for the rest of the century. From c. 1680 there were normally about 1700 planters, wives, children and servants resident. This figure should be seen in the context of a transient summer population of fishing servants, usually in the order of an additional 6000 to 8000 men. To about 1660, growth in the over-wintering European population was comparable to that of Quebec's. The late seventeenth-century population was about the same as that of Acadia (a very different settlement area) or of Maine (a rather similar one). Conventional wisdom has it that this population was transient. Comparison of annual mobility rates with those elsewhere suggests that heads of households on the English Shore in general and the south Avalon in particular were no more transient than heads of households in many other parts of the Anglo-American world. There was, clearly, a wide socio-economic niche for propertyless and transient servants, but this was true elsewhere, particularly in the maritime world.

Surviving documents suggest that the decades of proprietorship, i.e. the 1620s and the 1640s were relatively important in the establishment of south Avalon planter lineages. The seventeenth-century English Shore has been seen as a

17. See Chapter 4, above.

frontier but this had ceased to be the case in the south Avalon by 1660, in the sense that the planter population had begun to reproduce itself. Ferryland/Caplin Bay was the most important of the south Avalon settlements through most of the study period, with a dozen or so large plantations in the 1670s. Many "big planters", including Ferryland's, suffered setbacks in the 1680s and only eight plantations, of about half the previous size, are reported there in the early 1690s, before a recovery to earlier levels at the time of the French attack of 1696. In the study area the economic crisis of the 1680s was as important as the subsequent war in contributing to the stagnation of growth.¹⁸

Although planters had, of necessity, close ties to the West Country migratory fishery, all fishermen were competitors in an open access resource. As long as there was a governor in Newfoundland, under Kirke to 1651 and under the Commonwealth and Protectorate Commissioners to 1660, migratory/planter conflict was institutionalized and therefore limited. In 1661, the Calverts were restored to the right to name a governor. These were governors in name only, we are told, and for fifteen years the English Shore experienced increasing tension. The migratory fishing fleet had been decimated in the wars of the 1640s and 1650s.¹⁹ The 1660s, when the West Country attempted to rebuild its fishery, was marked by poor catches. Some interests saw the planters as the cause of their woes and the situation

18. See Chapter 5, above.

19. See Chapters 1 and 3, above.

deteriorated to the anarchy of the early 1670s, when even well-established planters like John Downing had their premises vandalized. The Committee for Trade and Plantations ordered the removal of the planters in 1675 but in 1677, after several policy flip-flops, accepted their legitimacy. At this point the imperial government rejected proposals for local government, depending instead on naval administration during the fishing season, a system which had only recently become possible, since there were no regular naval convoys until the 1660s. The second generation of planters thus weathered the hostility of competing fishing interests and the bureaucratic challenge of their own imperial government before facing the military challenge of the French and their colonial guerillas in the 1690s.

Rousseau observes that a history consisting simply of names, places and dates, is defective, if slow and progressive causes are unexplored. A battle won or lost, he argues, is best seen as a manifestation of social and cultural conditions.²⁰ We must ask Rousseau's question about the underlying reasons for the inability of the English Shore to protect itself when threatened. Was it a particularly fragile society because it had been politically and economically challenged by metropolitan interests? Was it easily overruled because it was economically and socially under-developed? What was the nature of the society (or part society) temporarily dismembered by the French?

20. J-J. Rousseau, *Emile, ou de l'éducation* [1762], F. Richard and P. Richard (eds) (Paris, 1964), 285.

It consisted of three social classes: servants, planters and a provincial planter gentry. Servants in the fishery were, predominantly, young husbandmen, in a period when husbandmen were being relegated to the status of wage labourer. The planters were boat-keeping proprietors of permanent fishing stations with the approximate literacy, wealth and social status of yeomen or tradesmen. Most had families with them in Newfoundland. Women were outnumbered on the English Shore but were not rare among planters. Planter merchants were effectively a provincial gentry, that is, a small class of relatively wealthy and literate persons who monopolized political power. In Ferryland, at least two permanent residents were women of the planter gentry class and this seems to be reflected in archaeological assemblages excavated to date. The relations between small planters, owning one or two boats, and major planters like Sir David Kirke, his widow Sara or his son George, are best understood as clientage. As in other isolated regions in the new world, economically dominant patrons, in pursuit of their own commercial activities, exploited deferential and pre-capitalist attitudes among their clients. At the same time, modern bourgeois concepts of commercial cooperation and contract were becoming more familiar to all those participating in the North Atlantic economy. Religion was an issue on the English Shore, at least in the sense that the political struggle of the Civil War reflected Puritan/Anglican socio-cultural tensions. The ornate cross excavated from a mid-century context at Ferryland is an archaeological indication

of Anglican (or possibly Catholic) religious practice in the study period, despite the absence of churchmen.²¹

Relations between masters and servants changed somewhat in the study period. Although shares declined as a proportion of servant incomes between the 1660s and the 1680s, there is no evidence that they disappeared from any sector of the fishery. As David Kirke pointed out, employers' interests favour a share component in fishermen's remuneration, in so far as this reduces "fear of negligence". There is evidence for increased use of unskilled crewmen, paid fixed wages rather than shares, and evidence that boatkeepers paid somewhat more in fixed wages to skilled crewmen than did the masters of "fishing" ships, although this differential was equivalent to the seaman's perquisite of portage. Kirke may have been among the first to offer a fixed wage component to Newfoundland fishermen but there is no documentary evidence for this or for intersectoral competition for labour by payment of wages rather than shares, except in amounts necessary to replace portage.²²

A review of the late seventeenth-century British fishery at Newfoundland must come to terms with a number of apparently mutually inconsistent propositions:

1. Seamen's wages rose 1630-1700.
2. Fishermen were seamen.

But: 3. Fishermen earned one-third of catches.

21. See Chapters 6 and 7, above.

22. See Chapter 7, above.

4. Catches remained roughly constant (or declined).

5. The price of fish did not rise.

Even acknowledging the somewhat reduced premium skilled fishermen could expect to earn compared to able seamen, it is difficult to understand how fishing masters, planters or bye-boat keepers attracted men to the Newfoundland fishery in the late seventeenth century. Perhaps they managed to pay skilled fishermen more by somewhat reducing the proportion of skilled men in their crews - from about 1680 Irish labour begins to be drawn into the Newfoundland fishery.²³ Perhaps crews became somewhat smaller, perhaps employers actually paid somewhat more than a third of the cod catch. The terrible economic truth was that the Newfoundland planter fishery was part of an international economy and could be threatened in distant markets or by diplomatic treaty as seriously as by a determined invasion.

A comparison of skilled wages at Newfoundland with the fluctuating wages paid British able seamen suggests that there was already one market for maritime labour in the study period. Since skilled Newfoundland fishermen could expect incomes in the order of 150 percent of those paid able seamen, it could be said that wages on the English Shore were relatively high. There is no evidence that they were lower than those earned by New England fishermen in the seventeenth century.²⁴ This in itself indicates that seventeenth-century Newfoundland was not a capital

23. Handcock, English Settlement, 30, 88.

24. See Chapter 7, above.

intensive, low-wage "plantation economy" in the sense that the West Indies or the Chesapeake were.²⁵ Furthermore, if merchants made substantial profits it was not by the "super-exploitation" of labour kept at a subsistence minimum, to use Andre Gunder Frank's terminology.²⁶ Since small production units participated efficiently in the cod fishery and since wages were relatively high, limitation of Newfoundland's development, in the study period at least, might be seen to have had as much to do with the tendency of fishermen to disperse disposable income on imported consumables as with technological limitations on capital intensification in the production of salt cod or with the tendency of merchants to export profits.²⁷ But were these consumption habits unique? To what extent were they determined by the isolated northern environment of the Newfoundland fishery or by some peculiarity of the local economic staple, fish?

Surviving manifests and inventories leave little doubt that the material culture of the English Shore in the study period was much like that elsewhere in the Anglo-American world. Consumer demand for non-work-related goods was limited, among persons of the status of fishing servants, to food, clothing, tobacco and alcohol. Studies of the "consumer society" of the seventeenth century suggest that there would have been another distinct pattern of demand at Newfoundland among planters, who might be expected to have

25. Baldwin, "Patterns of Development".

26. Frank, World Accumulation, 240.

27. Cf. Watkins, "Staple Theory"; Antler, "Capitalist Underdevelopment".

begun to purchase a few consumer durables, like decorative earthenware, chairs and curtains - goods which appear in the Newfoundland ledger of a Yankee merchant in the 1690s. Comparative analysis of archaeological assemblages from Ferryland suggests that fisherfolk were particularly prone to high levels of consumption of tobacco and alcohol. The documentary record indicates that the working people of the North American littoral often drank wines and brandy, rather than the beer or ale normally consumed by persons of their station in the old country. These goods and tobacco were easily available; economically attractive because of their portability, divisibility and high unit value; and culturally useful in a number of ways, particularly as symbols of warmth and sociability. Both merchants and governments made frequent attempts to control the distribution of the little luxuries.²⁸ This was, in one sense, an attempt at social control. Is it reasonable to see distribution of these goods as another form of control?

2. Social control: supply and credit

The supply of little luxuries to fishing crews raises issues which are easily over-looked if we consider attempts at control simply as middle-class, puritanical limitation of working-class conviviality (although this was, no doubt, in part the case). Did employers at Newfoundland, particularly planters, recover their wage costs through the sale of tobacco and alcohol? Did they share the views of Polish

28. See Chapter 8, above.

landowners who licensed a Propinacia or alcohol monopoly and believed that alcohol, properly marketed, could be used to siphon off "excess" income that might otherwise result in savings and the growth of competing production units?²⁹ Or was supply of alcohol and tobacco at the fishing periphery a form of labour control, used by employers to encourage their crews to fall into debt and thus to remain in service?

The demand for alcohol was elastic: if prices fell or incomes rose, demand was such that consumption would expand. (This does not seem to have been true of tobacco, which was price inelastic.³⁰) Elasticity of demand was once less common than it is today. Labour had a tendency to choose increased leisure over consumption, or at least this was a common perception of employers.³¹ As Peter Mathias has pointed out, the middle class often exaggerated the leisure-preference of their employees and, with blithe lack of logic, combined moral condemnation of such "laziness" with complaints about indulgence in purchased extravagances like drink and tobacco.³² Any good with an elastic demand, "luxurious" or not, short-circuited leisure preference and therefore benefitted the employer. Alcohol frequently ful-

29. H. Levine, "Alcohol Monopoly to Protect the Non-commercial Sector of Eighteenth-century Poland", in Douglas Constructive Drinking, 250-269.

30. R.C. Nash, "The English and Scottish Tobacco Trades in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Legal and Illegal Trade", EcHR (2nd series) 35 (1982), 354-372.

31. Coleman, "Labour"; E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-discipline, and Industrial Capitalism", P&P 38 (1967), 56-97.

32. Mathias, "Leisure and Wages". For other doubts see C. Shammas, "Consumer Behaviour in Colonial America", Social Science History 6(1) (1982), 67-86.

filled this function, particularly at the resource periphery. The Hudson's Bay Company, for example, used brandy in this way in its fur trade with the Indians.³³

In 1700 Captain Stafford Fairborne argued that consumption patterns kept Newfoundland crews in service:

Considerable Quantity's of Rumm & Molasses are brought hither from New-England, with which the Fishers grow Debauch't and Run in Debt, so that they are oblig'd to hire themselves to the Planters, For Payment thereof.³⁴

Captain Larkin expressed similar views in 1701 as had the judicious Captain Wheeler in 1684.³⁵ This is the economic world Josselyn reported in mid-century Maine:

[Shares] doth some of them little good, for the Merchant...comes in with a walking Tavern, a Bark laden with the Legitimate bloud of the rich grape...from Phial, Madera, Canaries, with Brandy, Rhum, the Barbadoes strong-water, and Tobacco, coming ashore he gives them a Taster or two, which so charms them, that for no perswasions that their imployers can use will they go out to Sea...When the day of payment comes...their shares will do no more than pay the reckoning; if they save a Kental or two to buy shooes and stockins, shirts and wastcoats with, 'tis well, other-wayes they must enter into the Merchants books for such things as they stand in need off, becoming thereby the Merchants slaves...³⁶

Josselyn was not describing the fate of fishing servants, however, but of "shore men". These were the New England equivalent of small planters who, he said, often ended up

33. Ray and Freeman, "Give Us Good Measure", 128 ff.

34. S. Fairborne, "Answers...", 11 September 1700, CO 194/2 (16), 54-57.

35. G. Larkin, Report to CTP, 20 August 1701, CO 194/2 (44); F. Wheeler, "Answers..." and "Observations...", 27 October 1684, CO 1/55 (56 and 56i), 239-246 and 247-248v.

36. Josselyn, Voyages to New England [1675], 211ff.

mortgaging their own plantations. Likewise, visitors to the English Shore, like Wheler, were most concerned that "Planters & Boate Keepers drink out all they are Worth".³⁷

Talbot denied in 1679 that servants were "debauched by the Colony" or "forced to hire themselves for satisfaction of their debts" and Berry had found the same in 1675.³⁸ Wheler saw sales of alcohol as a means for planters to balance their books, despite the high wages they paid servants, but he emphasized that this was merely a potential:

The liquor they sell at a very Deare Rate does something help them - But it is very uncertaine, for that most of the Servants they hire Comes from England, and having familiys there, some of them are nott very prodigal...³⁹

Although views like Fairborne's and Larkin's had, evidently, already been voiced before the turn of the century, chronic indebtedness for advances of drink was not generally perceived as a predominant behaviour pattern among fishing servants in the study period. In the seventeenth century there was nothing very unusual about the consumer behaviour of Newfoundland fishing crews, except that they drank wine and brandy rather than beer - a pattern of demand determined, even over-determined, by a range of factors. Newfoundland fishermen lived and worked thousands of cold sea miles away from the bonfire of consumption that had been kindled in Europe. They had cash or credit and it is not surprising

37. Wheler, "Answers" (1684).

38. C. Talbot, "Answers...", 15 September 1679, CO 1/43 (121), 216-217; J. Berry, "Observations...", 18 August 1676, CO 1/35 (81), 325-326.

39. Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 239, 241.

that they expected a share of that warmth. Credit sales of the little luxuries may have become an integral part of the social control of labour in the eighteenth-century but there is little objective seventeenth-century evidence that servants' habits usually left them in debt.⁴⁰ This does not mean they drank less than their successors. Drink may still have been predominantly a perquisite, like the £6 "Given away for encouragement: in Liquor" by Wheler's intelligible planter or part of the generalized exchange that characterized patron-client relationships.⁴¹

Assessment of the economic implications of consumer demand depends on the scale of analysis. Eric Hobsbawm sees the expansion of demand as a prerequisite of development; Melville Watkins and others see demand for certain goods, particularly imported "luxuries", as obstacles to development.⁴² How are these interpretations reconcilable? Because staple theorists like Watkins are considering the economy of a single periphery, Hobsbawm the whole European economy (and, in effect, the European world-system). If a greater proportion of incomes earned by planters and crews had been spent on a locally produced good, say housing, would Newfoundland's development have been advanced? Possibly, but only in the world without context of the gedanken experiment. In the seventeenth century that actually seems

40. For the later period, see Crowley, "Empire versus Truck".

41. F. Wheler, "Charge for fitting out two Boats", CO 1/55 (56iii), 251i, 252. Cf. Heal, "Hospitality".

42. Hobsbawm, "General Crisis"; Watkins, "Staple Theory", 146; Baldwin "Development", 172.

to have existed, fisher-folk exhibited an irreducible demand for alcohol and tobacco and appear to have had limited ambitions for better housing. They were a significant part of the market for wine, export of which permitted regions like the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Islands to import salt fish, among other goods. This exchange furthered development of the European world-economy and, by the same token perhaps, under-development of peripheries like Newfoundland and semi-peripheries like southern Europe.

Was development of the English Shore limited by the character of imports? It is hard to see how this was so. Nor is it obvious how development might have been constrained by some special requirement of the local staple for a particular mix of capital and labour as factors of production; nor by the organization of labour in the migratory and planter fisheries. If development was limited it was limited because the isolated local economy depended on production of a single staple subject to significant fluctuations in availability. The European inhabitants of Newfoundland, like their predecessors, were limited by worst cases in an unstable environment. Any economic innovations which tended to diversify subsistence furthered development. Hence the new salmon, seal and off-shore banks fisheries of the eighteenth century, the practice of winter housing, and the introduction of the potato c. 1750 all materially increased the carrying capacity of the English Shore.

Before the eighteenth century Newfoundland was probably not a wise place to settle without savings or credit.

In the seventeenth century, "prodigal" servants whose earnings did not balance their debit accounts sometimes escaped their debts by returning with Yankee traders to the prosperous New England colonies. The Committee for Trade and Plantations gradually controlled this re-emigration and the consequent loophole in the collection of servant debts. This would have simplified control of labour through credit relationships and was, perhaps, a precondition of the alcohol/debt nexus which seems to have become more important in eighteenth century master/servant relations. In the seventeenth century, however, visitors to the English Shore tended to comment on the chronic indebtedness of planters to merchants, rather than on the indebtedness of servants to planters. Captain Wheler noted in 1684:

By certaine Experience there is hardly a Planter in the Country but is a greate Deale worse then Nothing and although they are allmost sure to loose, yett they must goe on, or Else the Marchants wont sell them provisions to live in the Winter, which they part with at greate profit, & soe are able to beare some losses...⁴³

Wheler suggests debt had reached crisis levels. In 1701 Larkin thought the inhabitants a "poor, indigent and withall a profuse sort of people", who did not care how fast or far they went into debt.⁴⁴ This is probably what Norris meant in 1698, when he called planters "a kind of servant to the

43. Wheler, "Answers" (1684), 241,v.

44. Larkin, Report (1701).

merchant men".⁴⁵ The situation resulted, in part, from poor prices in the 1680s and war in the 1690s and, in part, reflected a decline in the size of plantations and an increase in servant inhabitants.⁴⁶ As Captain Story had foreseen in 1681, the influx of Irish servant girls encouraged fishing servants to marry and remain in Newfoundland, swelling the ranks of the smallest production units and least financially-secure inhabitants, who "being Extremely poor contract such Debts as they are not able to pay".⁴⁷

Matthews suggests that c. 1660 to 1690 chronic indebtedness trapped planters in Newfoundland.⁴⁸ This is a very plausible working hypothesis for the economic crisis of the 1680s. There are few reasons, however, to date this credit crisis to the 1660s or 1670s. This is not to deny that planters were already enmeshed in the kind of debt relations that were pervasive in the study period and apparent, for example, in the 1671 list of creditors of the Salem merchant Croad. Only a few of those debts amount to the net worth of even a small planter, however. Nor do observers suggest that debt was out of control before c. 1680. Berry for example, an acute and sympathetic observer, makes no reference to chronic debt in 1675.⁴⁹ The statistical evi-

45. J. Norris, Letter to CTP, 17 March 1698, CO 194/1 (96), 196,197.

46. Cf. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 192 and Chapter 5, above.

47. Story, "Account" (1681).

48. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 160, cf. Hancock, English Settlement, 35.

49. J. Berry, Letters to J. Williamson, 24 July and 12 September 1675, CO 1/34 (118), 240-241 and CO 1/35 (16), 109-110; "Observations" (1676).

dence suggests rapid decline in average plantation size c. 1680. In the absence of evidence of an earlier credit crisis, financial entrapment as an explanation of persistence, at least for substantial planters, is best restricted to the following period.

The inability of planter household production units in the late seventeenth century to settle their debts was the context within which something like the truck system was first legally recognized. In 1681 the London merchant William Miles petitioned the Committee for Trade and Plantations to instruct the Royal Navy to send a ship into Trinity Bay, to enforce collection of £800 worth of fish from planters in New Perlican, Heart's Content and Scilly Cove, due in exchange for salt and salt meats, supplied on credit in 1679 by John Vallet, master of the PEMBROOKE of London. These planters had offered Vallet only £50 worth of fish when he returned to Trinity Bay on behalf of Miles in the ELIZABETH of London in 1680. The Committee agreed, on consideration of the "encouragement it will be to such as carry on that Trade that they bee not defrauded of their just Rights" to enforce the debt. The original credit arrangements and the settlement imposed by the Committee through the Royal Navy enforced the custom that indebted planters were to supply "merchantable Newfoundland Fish" to their creditors, an essential feature of what we now call the

truck system.⁵⁰ The term "truck" simply meant barter in the seventeenth century, taking on the narrower sense of a system of payment in kind in lieu of wages, in the eighteenth.⁵¹ In nineteenth-century Newfoundland, the term came to denote the system of advancing provisions on credit against the expected catch of the ensuing season.⁵² Its distinguishing feature was not that it was a credit relationship (which were pervasive in early modern times) but that it was a credit relationship with an annual rhythm in which creditors had first claim on a seasonal product of debtors: "they must go on, or else the Merchants won't sell them provisions to live in the winter".⁵³ Although the term was not applied until the 1800s, many of its essential features were already in place in the 1680s.⁵⁴

This mode of production bears a close resemblance to the "putting-out" system, which Eric Hobsbawm calls "a protean stage of industrial development". This system, in which raw materials were advanced to household production units and finished goods returned to the entrepreneur, had developed in late medieval textile industries. The system began to spread to other crafts industries in the late sixteenth

50. W. Miles, Petition to the CTP, 10 May 1681; J. Vallet, "Accompt of debts...", 10 May 1681; CTP, "Report touching an Acco:t of Wm. Miles...", 17 May 1681; CO 1/46 (154i-iii), 359, 360, 361v-362v; J.K. Hiller, "The Newfoundland Credit System: an Interpretation", in Ommer, Merchant Credit, 86-102.

51. OED, "truck".

52. DNE, "truck-system".

53. On credit see Price, "Conclusion"; Holderness, "Credit in English Rural Society".

54. On truck as a later phenomenon, see Antler, "Capitalist Underdevelopment" and Sider, Culture and Class.

century, and first became well established in the mid-seventeenth century.⁵⁵ In many respects, the seventeenth-century English Shore resembled England's new regional concentrations of industry, which were often located in woodland districts, in areas of uncertain jurisdiction. The producers in the Newfoundland putting-out industry made fish, not cloth or nails. To do this they accepted advances for outfitting their boats and provisioning themselves and their servants. Exactly when this mode of production arose in Newfoundland is unclear. It would have meshed perfectly with the kind of patronage network that seems to have been developed by David Kirke and we might speculate that it was adopted by Kirke, who was criticized for supplying the planters.⁵⁶ Whether or not Kirke introduced a truck system to the south Avalon, something like it was wide-spread in Newfoundland by 1680, when economic circumstances precipitated a crisis in the normal annual rhythm.

3. Vernacular industry

Was this planter "putting-out" system in some sense more capitalist than the traditional ventures on shares of the migratory fishermen? If we rule Ralph Lounsbury's medieval/capitalist dichotomy out as a useful analysis of change in the early modern Newfoundland fishery, to what terminology can we turn? The commercialism/capitalism dichotomy favoured by Harold Innis or the equivalent alter-

55. Hobsbawm, "Crisis - II".

56. R. Gybbes [Mayor of Plymouth] et al., "Pettitions of Plimouth agt. Sr. Da. Kirke", c. 1650, in Winthrop Papers, vol. 3, 499-501.

natives of merchant capitalism/industrial capitalism seem artificial in application to the fishery, which has always been an industrial project as much as a mercantile proposition.⁵⁷ That is, while it is true that merchants traded fish for wine and so on, from the beginning, fishermen made fish and units of production were capitalist. Early modern capitalist production at Newfoundland might usefully be designated vernacular industry. This term emphasizes the local and traditional nature of such industries. In applying "vernacular" to economies and contrasting it to the term "industrial" Ivan Illich has emphasized the self-sustaining aspect of the vernacular economy as opposed to the commodity orientation of the industrial economy.⁵⁸ The distinction intended here is slightly different, one less like the distinction between vernacular and professional architecture and more like the distinction between a vernacular and a national language. In a vernacular industry, labour and capital markets were circumscribed by relatively narrow boundaries.⁵⁹ Our question about capitalism and the early planter fishery might then be rephrased as a question of whether this was, like its migratory precursor, a vernacular capitalist industry. It would seem so.

The operation of vernacular industries flowed from the collective experience of geographically-bounded local com-

57. Innis, Cod Fisheries, 91.

58. I. Illich, "Vernacular Values", Coevolution Quarterly 26 (1980), 22-49.

59. Cf. Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects; D. Vickers, "The Cape Ann Fishery, 1700-1830", unpub. paper, MSRU, MUN, 1990.

munities. The ability of early modern communities to transmit skills from one generation to another, irrespective of literacy, through apprenticeship systems was crucial to the reproduction of these industries. (The breakdown of the apprenticeship system was an important aspect of the decline of the traditional migratory industry in the decisive watershed of the Napoleonic Wars.⁶⁰) Low entry cost is another significant characteristic of vernacular industry. As Joan Thirsk observes, the capital resources required by merchants trading the products of the new regional industries were not needed by producers, who were often relatively poor men.⁶¹ This was true of the Newfoundland fishery, particularly in the planter and bye-boat-keeping sectors.⁶² The technique of raising necessary capital, including labour costs, by shares made it possible for these early industrial enterprises to be completely financed within a restricted region. Robert Hitchcock described vernacular finances in 1580:

...in the West country...the fishermen conferres with the money man, who furniseth them with money to provide victualls, salte, and all other needfull thinges, to be paid twentie five pounds at the shippes returne upon the hundredth pounce. And some of the same money men doth borowe money upon ten pounce in the hundreth pound, and puts it forthe in this order to the Fishermen.⁶³

60. Matthews, Lectures, 143; on the Napoleonic watershed, see S. Ryan, "Fishery to Colony: a Newfoundland Watershed, 1793-1815", in P.A. Buckner and D. Frank (eds), Atlantic Canada before Confederation the Acadiensis Reader, vol. 1, (Fredricton, 1985), 130-148.

61. Thirsk, Policy and Projects, 111, 169.

62. Mitchell, "European Fisheries", 140, 158.

63. Hitchcock, Pollitique Platt.

West Country fishery finances were still vernacular a century later, when boat-keepers raised capital on bottomry in exactly the same fashion (if at slightly higher rates) as the merchants who owned and provisioned "fishing ships".⁶⁴

Vernacular industry can be contrasted with what, for want of a better word, might be called directed industry. The directed industry is conceptualized by an individual (or a board of directors) before it physically exists. The industry is a project.⁶⁵ The operation of the industry is closely controlled in many particulars not by custom but by directive. The ability to transmit information on paper in standardized terms is decisive here. Capital and labour are treated initially as abstractions and may be sought anywhere, regional or even national boundaries notwithstanding. Most industries, even in early modern times, have both vernacular and directed characteristics. What is in question is a continuum. The Basque whaling industry, for example, operated towards the vernacular end of this spectrum, the much less successful seventeenth-century English whaling industry towards the directed end.

64. CTP, Minutes, 2 December 1675, CO 391/1, 25v,26. Recall bottomry had an insurance component, so Hitchcock's 25 percent return does not reflect profit rates. On capital markets, see Thirsk, Policy and Projects, 120; Holderness, "Rural Credit", 99 and cf. G. Shute, Bond to R. Land, 7 August 1641, NDRO Barnstaple 4116. On shared provisioning see R. Hichins et al. vs. J. Parre and G. Tremblett, Vice-Admiralty Court of Devon, 12 April 1677, in "Transcripts and Transactions", DRO Exeter, vol.3, 24.

65. On the unplanned character of many early modern industries see Thirsk, Policy and Projects, 171.

Why were vernacular industries more efficient in the early modern period than directed industry, which has subsequently swept all before it? One suspects that literacy and industrial work-discipline are important preconditions of successful directed industry.⁶⁶ Insofar as English enterprise at Newfoundland in this period was successful it was, like other successful early modern fisheries, financed, organized and manned in local modules.⁶⁷ It was "atomistic", as Innis puts it.⁶⁸ At first glance the activities of the Newfoundland Patentees of 1637 look like an exception to this generalization but close examination of their operations suggests that this was not, in fact, the case. As sack ship merchants they were managers and major share-holders of a project for a directed commercial monopoly. To the extent that they became involved in fish production, however, the surviving evidence clearly suggests that they depended on the pre-existing vernacular organization of the fishery.⁶⁹ This is precisely where patron/client relations were an essential part of the social structure of the south Avalon, for they are, economically speaking, above all a way of mediating unspecialized, weakly-developed and disorganized producers with wider markets.⁷⁰

The observations of the naval commodores from Wheler in 1684 to Gibson and Fairbourne at the turn of the century

66. Thompson, "Time and Work-discipline", 79ff.

67. Cf. Mitchell, "The European Fisheries".

68. Innis, Cod Fisheries, 91.

69. See Chapter 4, above.

70. Eisenstadt and Roniger, "Patron-client Relations".

suggest that Newfoundland experienced a credit collapse in this period, a collapse which eliminated larger planters and left only indebted smaller planters, as "a kind of servant to the merchant men". Under such circumstances it would be natural for the planters to have turned to a natural economy and intensified their reliance on local resources, a tendency which would be amplified by the economic disruptions of war. One way this would be manifested would be in transhumance or winter-housing, which may well have been adopted before the earliest documented instance in 1739.⁷¹ However they managed to survive, the planters of the English Shore clung to their territory. In the end, settlement was surprisingly resilient rather than surprisingly fragile and we might ask what permitted such a quick rebound from military devastation. Rapid recovery was possible precisely because the fishery was decentralized, that is, vernacular. Resettlement did not require a massive co-ordinated effort, as proposed for example by the refugee Caplin Bay planter Christopher Pollard, it was something that could happen through uncoordinated efforts to pursue the traditional fishery.⁷² If settlement flowed in channels worn by the migratory fishery, then resettlement was inevitable.⁷³

71. Smith, "Transhumant Europeans", "Winter Quarters".

72. C. Pollard, "Reasons offered for Inhabiting the Newland..", 12 April 1697, CO 194/1 (25ii), 58.

73. On eighteenth-century settlement see Handcock, English Settlement.

4. Questions for further research

Some of the questions inadequately answered in the present study touch the traditional themes of Newfoundland history: international rivalry, fisheries history, West Country history and retarded development. Others, no less significant, do not. The undocumented aspects of planter subsistence should be further explored: as human ecology, historical archaeology can attempt to characterize the systemic relationships between settlement and the natural setting and resources.⁷⁴ Is there archaeological evidence for a turn to subsistence economy c. 1685? On the question of the spatial evolution of commercial arenas, the known documents are probably wrung dry, but archaeological assemblages will continue to add to the corpus of relevant evidence; here refinement of the chronology and provenance of tobacco pipes and ceramic wares is crucial. Excavation, documents and early maps, critically interpreted, could define the spatial evolution of settlement on the English shore or even just within one harbour, like Ferryland.⁷⁵ This study addressed these issues only in a preliminary way.

The extent of investment made by the successive proprietors George Calvert and David Kirke bears further investigation, on or under the ground and in British archives. Was the infrastructure constructed at Ferryland under the direc-

74. Butzer, Archaeology as Human Ecology; E.J. Reitz and C.M. Scarry, "Reconstructing Historic Subsistence with an Example from Sixteenth Century Florida", *SHA Special Publications* 3 (1985).

75. Cf. Miller, Discovering Maryland's First City.

tion of Calvert's foreman Wynne as extensive as he claimed? Were the 1630s the relatively inactive period they appear to have been in the documentary record? How did the Kirkes modify the fishing station they expropriated from the Calverts? Was Ferryland a stone-built West Country style port? What was the extent of destruction by the Dutch in 1665 and 1673 and by the French after 1689? Such questions are part of the larger problem of assessing the occupation of the English Shore decade by decade. Are the 1560s the real beginning of English presence? How extensive and how common were Beothuk occupations of seasonal fishing stations? Ferryland is the only early Newfoundland fishing station excavated to date; excavations at other locations should eventually permit us to determine how widespread Beothuk scavenging was and to assess the hypothesis that the latter was a factor in promoting European overwintering even in areas like the south Avalon and not merely later on the Northeast Coast.

There are other problems which might be clarified by a combination of archaeological and documentary research. How unusual were the Kirkes, as planters? How pervasive were patron/client relationships? Location and excavation of the Mansion House might help to clarify some of these issues, for this centre of patronage stood, as far as we know, from 1621 until 1696.⁷⁶ Artifacts associated with the Mansion

76. The cartographic and archaeological evidence to date suggests that the Mansion House stood close to the present home of Mrs. Arch Williams, now the last house on the lane to the Ferryland Pool.

House could, potentially, tell us much, not just about the material culture of the planter gentry, but also about hospitality and patronage. These are related issues which are worth further analysis. To what extent can clientage be found in planter/servant as well as gentry/planter relations? Extensive areal excavation at Ferryland will almost certainly uncover contexts occupied by crews themselves, like the Forge Room. To what degree were servants and planters spatially segregated in the seventeenth century? Does the hypothesis of a three-class social system bear up?

There are important questions about the English Shore in general which this study leaves only partly explored. The recovery of further unindexed cases from the limbo of Court of Admiralty records in the PRO can, doubtless, add to our present preliminary data on catches, wages and prices. This fonds might also shed light on how typical the early penetration of the Gulf of St. Lawrence was by Kirke, Berkeley and company and whether such efforts were regularly an adjunct to the Newfoundland trade. Unpublished American records might permit a better assessment of commercial links between the English Shore and Maine and Boston in the 1640s and 1650s or enable us to explain why and how commercial links with New England, particularly Salem, intensified between 1660 and 1700.⁷⁷ Other questions may require more complex analysis. To what period can a truck system of mer-

77. The American documents cited in this study, with the exception of those from the Essex Institute and the Boston Public Library are the result of a relatively unsophisticated search of published material.

chant/planter credit patronage be dated?⁷⁸ To what extent were seventeenth-century planters founders of the eighteenth-century population? Finally, and perhaps most crucially, to what extent can conclusions drawn in this study of the south Avalon be applied to the St. John's area, Conception and Trinity Bays? Studies of other areas are needed to compliment the preliminary findings here.

5. Conclusion

The settlement of the English Shore between 1630 and 1700 cannot be understood except in the context of the international cod trade and the West Country migratory fishery. Conversely, these major enterprises cannot be properly understood if the planters of the English Shore are ignored, for they played an increasingly significant role as producers of fish and as a market for the merchants who traded wine and other goods for fish.⁷⁹ Newfoundland was neither a true "plantation" (in the original sense) nor England's county furthest west, it was something literally in between, an encroached forest settlement en route to the American enclosure.⁸⁰ It is misleading to isolate Newfoundland from the history of greater New England, as American colonial historians have recently recognized, in generalities if not in particulars. Canadian historians likewise should recognize that accounts of the early modern European

78. British archives may hold relevant merchants' papers.

79. Matthews, "Newfoundland Fisheries", 219, estimates they were shipping one third of the total catch by 1675.

80. Cf. Harris, "European Beginnings".

development of the St. Lawrence and of commercial interests in northern North America which do not treat Newfoundland as a part of these processes are, let us say, partial. The continuity that Canadian historians have missed is symbolized by the Kirke family, active in "The River of Canada" from 1627 until the mid 1640s; prime movers in the Newfoundland sack trade of the 1630s and 1640s; pre-eminent planter gentry on part of the English Shore from 1638 until 1696; and original investors in the Hudson's Bay Company in 1666. The history of Newfoundland and in particular its fishery is, with the history of the Algonkian and Iroquoian peoples and the history of New France, one of three fundamental chapters in the early modern history of Canada.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Pipes

Appendix A.1 **Seventeenth-century clay tobacco pipe bowls
from the Forge Room working floor
at Ferryland (CgAf-2, locus B, stratum 3b)**

TYPE	PERIOD	REGION	QUANTITY
A	1610-1630	London	1
D	1620-1650	London (poss. Bristol or Dutch)	8
B	1620-1660	Bristol or South	2
E	1620-1660	Plymouth	23
M	1620-1660	London	2
X39	1620-1650	London or Bristol	1
S	1630-1660	Dutch (poss. London or Bristol)	1
C	1640-1660	West Country or Bristol	4
F	1640-1670	London	12
I	1640-1660	Bristol	4
G	1640-1670	West Country	2
H	1640-1670	Exeter (or poss. Bristol)	5
N	1640-1660	London	2
X54	1640-1660	London	1
O	1640-1670	London	1
R	1640-1670	London (poss. Bristol)	4
X125	1640-1670	London (poss. Bristol)	1
T	1640-1690	Poole (or poss. Exeter)	1
X31	1650-1660	Lincolnshire	1
J	1650-1670	Exeter	5
X76	1650-1680	Exeter (poss. Bristol)	1
K	1650-1690	Bristol?	5
L	1660-1680	Exeter	3
TOTAL			91

NOTES:

The types are illustrated below. "X" is not a type, but the class of unique bowls. The associated numbers refer to the specific bowls in the collection.

The mean median pipe bowl dating is 1649.

**Appendix A.2 Seventeenth-century clay tobacco pipe bowls
from the fill over the Forge Room
at Ferryland (CgAf-2, locus B, stratum 2b)**

TYPE	PERIOD	REGION	QUANTITY
D	1620-1650	London (poss. Bristol or Dutch)	1
B	1620-1660	Bristol or South	2
E	1620-1660	Plymouth	1
I	1640-1660	Bristol	1
N	1640-1660	London	1
O	1640-1670	London	2
J	1650-1670	Exeter	1
K	1650-1690	Bristol?	4
X112	1660-1670	Bristol?	1
X113	1660-1680	London?	1
X97	1660-1700	Bristol	1
P	1660-1710	Devon (Barnstaple or Exeter)	10
Q	1670-1710	Bristol or London	5
TOTAL			31

NOTES:

The types are illustrated below. "X" is not a type, but the class of unique bowls. The associated numbers refer to the specific bowls in the collection.

The mean median pipe bowl dating is 1672.

**Appendix A.3 Seventeenth-century clay tobacco pipe bowls
from the stratum immediately under the
Waterfront Structures at Ferryland
(CgAf-2, locus C, stratum 4)**

TYPE	PERIOD	REGION	QUANTITY
X169	1580-1610	London	1
X168	1580-1610	London	1
TOTAL			2

NOTES:

The types are illustrated below. "X" is not a type, but the class of unique bowls. The associated numbers refer to the specific bowls in the collection.

The mean median pipe bowl dating is 1595.

**Appendix A.4 Seventeenth-century clay tobacco pipe bowls
from the Ferryland Waterfront Structures
occupation floor
(CgAf-2, locus C, stratum 3)**

TYPE	PERIOD	REGION	QUANTITY
A	1610-1630	London	1
X163	1610-1640	London	1
X165	1610-1650	Dutch (London?)	1
D	1620-1650	London (poss. Bristol or Dutch)	1
S	1630-1660	Dutch (poss. London or Bristol)	1
F	1640-1670	London	1
C	1640-1660	West Country or Bristol	1
X164	1640-1670	Devon	1
R	1640-1670	London (poss. Bristol)	1
P	1660-1710	Devon (Barnstaple or Exeter)	3
X166	1660-1680	Wiltshire	1
TOTAL			13

NOTES:

The types are illustrated below. "X" is not a type, but the class of unique bowls. The associated numbers refer to the specific bowls in the collection.

The mean median pipe bowl dating is 1654.

Appendix A.5 **Seventeenth-century clay tobacco pipe bowls
from the Ferryland Waterfront
cistern-like stone-lined pit
(CgAf-2, locus C, feature 1a)**

TYPE	PERIOD	REGION	QUANTITY
T	1640-1690	Poole (poss. Exeter or Dutch)	1
V	1650-1680	London	8
K	1650-1690	Bristol?	4
X175	1660-1680	Wiltshire	1
W	1660-1690	Poole (poss. Exeter)	3
Y	1660-1690	Exeter?	1
X181	1660-1690	Poole (poss. Exeter)	1
X182	1670-1690	Exeter?	1
TOTAL			20

NOTES:

The types are illustrated below. "X" is not a type, but the class of unique bowls. The associated numbers refer to the specific bowls in the collection.

The mean median pipe bowl dating is 1670.

A. London
1610-1630



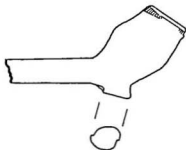
D. London (Bristol?
or Dutch?)
1620-1650



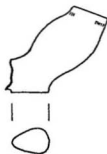
B. Bristol or South
1620-1660



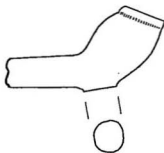
E. Plymouth (or
Bristol?)
1620-1660



C. West Country or Bristol
1640-1660



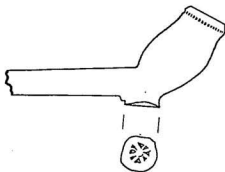
F. London
1640-1660



cm



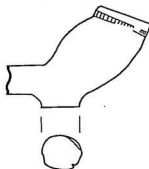
G. West Country
1640-1670



J. Exeter
1650-1670



H. Exeter or Bristol
1640-1670



K. Bristol?
1660-1690

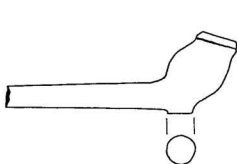


I. Bristol
1640-1660

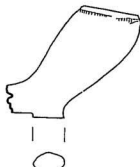


L. Exeter
1660-1680

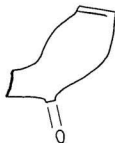




M. London
1620-1660



P. Devon
1660-1710



N. London
1640-1680



Q. Bristol or London
1670-1710

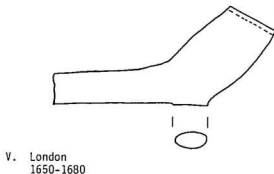
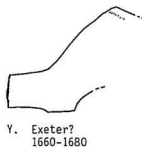
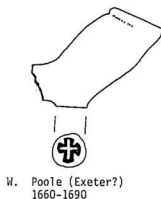
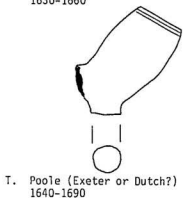


O. London
1640-1670



R. London (or Bristol?)
1640-1670







#168 London
1580-1610



169 London
1580-1610



cm

Appendix A.6 Clay tobacco pipe bowl styles from Ferryland

Appendix B: Ceramics

Appendix B.1 **Ceramic vessels by ware and form
from Ferryland Waterfront Structures
(CgAf-2, locus C, stratum 3)**

	WARE	FORM	PERIOD
1	English ? Tin Glaze	Bowl	1625-1700
3	English ? Tin Glaze	Plates	1600-1700
1	English ? Tin Glaze	Porringer ?	1600-1700
1	English Tin Glaze	Drug Jar?	1600-1700
4	Frechen Style Brown CSW	Bottle	1550-1725
1	London? Brown CSW	Bottle	1650-1750
1	Merida CEW	Bottle	1300-1800
1	Merida CEW	Costrel	1300-1800
1	Merida CEW	Jug?	1300-1800
1	Merida CEW	Milk Pan	1300-1800
1	Midlands Purple CEW	Cook Pot	1600-1750
1	North Devon Gravel CEW	Milk Pan?	1450-1750
1	North Devon Gravel CEW	Pan Or Bowl?	1450-1750
1	North Devon Gravel CEW	Pipkin	1450-1750
1	North Devon Gravel CEW	Pipkin?	1450-1750
1	North Devon Gravel CEW	Pot ?	1450-1750
1	North Devon Smooth CEW	Cup ?	1600-1750
1	North Devon Smooth CEW	Dish	1625-1700
1	North Devon Smooth CEW	Jug ?	1600-1750
2	North Devon Smooth CEW	Porringers	1600-1750
6	North Devon Smooth CEW	Tall Pots	1600-1750
2	Portugese Tin Glaze	Plates ?	1600-1650
1	South Somerset CEW	Pan Or Bowl?	1550-1700
1	South Somerset CEW ?	Milk Pan?	1550-1700
2	Southern White Body CEW	Pot	1500-1700
2	Spanish Heavy CEW	Olive Jar	1500-1800
1	Staffs Slipped CEW	Mug?	1700-1750
2	Totnes CEW	Pot	1500-1650
1	Unknown Micaceous CEW	Jug	?- ?
1	Unknown Micaceous Red CEW	Pot ?	?- ?
1	Unknown Red CEW	Cup Or Jug ?	?- ?
1	Westerwald Grey CSW	Jug?	1650-1750

NOTES:

For wares and forms see Pope, Ceramics from Ferryland.

CEW = Coarse earthenware.

CSW = Coarse stoneware.

Appendix B.2 Ceramic vessels by ware and form
 from the Ferryland Waterfront
 cistern-like stone-lined pit
 (CgAf-2, locus C, feature 1a)

	WARE	FORM	DATE RANGE
1	Dutch ? Tin Glaze	Dish	1600-1700
3	Frechen Style Brown CSW	Bottles	1550-1725
1	Iberian ? Tin Glaze	Saucer	1500-1800
1	Merida CEW	Costrel	1300-1800
1	Merida CEW	Jug?	1300-1800
1	North Italian CEW Slipware	Dish/Plate	1625-1675
1	North Devon Gravel CEW	Flesh Pot	1450-1750
1	North Devon Gravel CEW	Jug ?	1450-1750
3	North Devon Gravel CEW	Milk Pans	1450-1750
2	North Devon Gravel CEW	Pipkins	1450-1750
1	North Devon Smooth CEW	Chamber Pot?	1600-1750
3	North Devon Smooth CEW	Dishes/Plates	1640-1700
1	North Devon Smooth CEW	Jug	1625-1700
1	North Devon Smooth CEW	Mug	1625-1700
2	North Devon Smooth CEW	Saucers ?	1600-1750
15	North Devon Smooth CEW	Tall Pots	1600-1750
1	Portugese Tin Glaze	Plate	1600-1650
1	Saintonge CEW	Pot	1600-1700
1	South Somerset CEW	Bowl / Pan	1550-1700
1	South Somerset CEW	Drink Pot	1550-1700
1	South Somerset CEW	Jug Or Pot	1550-1700
1	Spanish Heavy CEW	Milk Pan	1200-1900
2	Spanish Heavy CEW	Olive Jars	1500-1800
2	Totnes CEW	Pots	1500-1650
1	Unknown White CEW	Pot ?	?- ?
1	Westerwald Grey CSW	JUG	1650-1750

NOTES:

For wares and forms see Pope, Ceramics from Ferryland.

CEW = Coarse earthenware.

CSW = Coarse stoneware.

Appendix C: Early planter lineages**Appendix C South Avalon planter names 1621 to 1681
established before 1670****Possible lineages, established 1621-1629**

DAVIS (also as Daves, Davies)

Philip female, born 1605
1628 to 1652: Ferryland planter
1673: Ferryland boatkeeper, head of household

William 1647: Ferryland planter, imported tobacco
I 1670: £228 debt to John Partridge of Salem

William son of William I
II 1670: £94 debt to John Croad of Salem
=? 1676: Mosquito planter boatkeeper, married

Davy 1675: Renews planter, married, 1 son, no boat

LEE (also as Leese)

George 1629: Ferryland planter
1630s used Mansion House

Richard 1675: Fermeuse planter boatkeeper, married, 1 son
1676: Ferryland planter, 1 servant, no boat
1677: Fermeuse planter boatkeeper

LOVE (also as Loue, Lowe)

Ann born 1602
1628 to 1638: Ferryland planter
1661: Newfoundland planter

Robert 1647, 1648: Ferryland planter
1673: Ferryland planter boatkeeper

John 1675: Renews planter, no boat

POOLE (also as Pool, Pooley, Pooly)

William born 1592
 I 1628 to 1639: Ferryland planter, married
 1628: son born
 1652: Renews planter

Richard 1663: Renews planter boatkeeper
 1666: Avalon planter, for G. Kirke as governor
 1675 to 1677: Renews planter boatkeeper
 married, children

William 1675 to 1681: Trepassey planter boatkeeper,
 II married, children

TAYLOR

Amy born 1601
 1628, 1629: Ferryland planter
 1638, 1639: Newfoundland planter, not at Ferryland
 1651, 1652: Fermeuse planter

Sidney 1629 and for "divers years": Ferryland planter

Walter 1670: £12 debt to John Croad of Salem

Possible complex links, established 1621-1629

BAYLY (also as Ballewe)

John 1622/3: Ferryland married colonist
 =? 1638: Trepassey tax agent of Sir David Kirke

Richard 1675: Bay de Verde planter boatkeeper, single

BENNETT

Robert 1622/3: Ferryland single carpenter

Henry born 1637
 1669: shipped goods from Newfoundland to Salem

William (also as Goodman Bennet)
 1669 to 1675: St. John's planter boatkeeper
 married

HACKER

Benjamin 1622/23: Ferryland, single quarry-man
 Henry 1677: St. John's planter boatkeeper
 married, children
 1681, 1682: at Petty Harbour

HILL

Sidney 1629 and "divers years": Ferryland planter
 William 1634 to 1638: Ferryland planter, Calvert agent
 I after 1639: Ferryland planter
 died in Newfoundland
 William born 1613
 II 1638: mariner, crewed with Lewis Kirke
 Charles 1654: London, witness to probate of David Kirke
 1661: Ferryland agent of John Kirke
 Christopher
 1675 to 1681: Bay de Verde planter boatkeeper
 married, children

STEVENS (also as Steavens, Steephens, Steevens, Steping)

John 1628 to 1639: Ferryland planter
 1651 to 1652: Renews planter
 William 1670 to 1680: Newfoundland planter
 1677: St. John's planter boatkeeper, single
 1680: Quidi Vidi planter boatkeeper
 1681: St. John's planter boatkeeper

WAYMOUTH (also as Waymuth, Weighmouth, Weymouth)

Mary 1627 to 1651: Carbonear planter boatkeeper
widowed head of household

Thomas of Dartmouth
1663: master, DORCAS of Dartmouth, at Renew's
1669: master, FORTUNE of Dartmouth, at St. John's
1679: anti-planter fishing admiral at St. John's
1680, 1682: St. John's bye-boat keeper,

Robert of St Mary Church, Devon
1675, 1680, 1682: St. John's bye-boat keeper

William 1676: Toad's Cove planter boatkeeper

Michael 1679, 1680: St. John's planter boatkeeper

Individual planters and couples without other family links,
established 1621-1629

SLAUGHTER (also as Slauther)

John 1628 to 1639: Ferryland planter
 1651 to 1652: Caplin Bay planter
 1663 to 1665: Salem, Mass., married fisherman

Possible complex links, established 1630 to 1637

CRUSE (also as Crans, Crews)

Thomas born 1599
 1635 to 1653: Bay Bulls planter boatkeeper
 tavern keeper
 1667: resident Ashprington, Devon

Richard 1674 to 1680: Newfoundland planter
1677, 1680: Bay Bulls boatkeeper, single

Individual planters and couples without other family links,
established 1630 to 1637

WRIXON

William 1631 to 1638: Ferryland planter
1670: £24 debt to John Croad of Salem

Amy 1631 to 1638: Ferryland planter
1661: Newfoundland planter

Possible lineages, established 1638 to 1651

- DENTCH (also as Dench, Denth, Dinch)
- Robert 1650 to 1680: Newfoundland planter
 1663: Bay Bulls agent for Calverts
 1666: Avalon planter, for G. Kirke as governor
 1677, 1680: Bay Bulls planter boatkeeper, single
 1681, 1682: widower, 1 child
- Henry 1675: Ferryland married planter, no boat, no men
 1676: at Caplin Bay, 1 child, no boat
 1681: Ferryland boatkeeper, 2 children
- Christian 1681: Ferryland married planter
 1 child, no boat, no men
- DODRIDGE (also as Doderige, Dodge, Dorderige, Dottery)
- Trustrum 1647: signed Newfoundland bill of exchange
 1670: £3 debt to John Croad of Salem
- Thomas 1675: Brigus South planter boatkeeper
 married, 1 daughter
 1676: at Ferryland, 2 children
 1677: at Fermeuse, 1 son, 1 daughter
 1681: at Trepassey, 4 children
- DOWNING
- John I 1640, 1641: Ferryland agent of Proprietors
 died after "some years" as a planter
- John II - son of John I
 1643 to 1680: in Newfoundland, St. John's planter
 boatkeeper for "many years"
 1675: married, 3 daughters
 1676: 4 children
 1677: widower, 3 daughters
 1680: at Quidi Vidi, married, 3 daughters
 one of Newfoundland's "able men of estates"
 1681, 1682: married, 3 children
- William - son of John I?
 1679: St. John's planter
 1680: London "agent for the Inhabitants"
 1681: gentleman of St. Clement Danes Middlesex,
 died at sea

HOPKINS (also as Hopkings, Hopping, Hoppin, Hoppins)

Lady 1649 to 1670: Ferryland planter, without husband
 Frances (probably Sir William Hopkins of Newport)
 c. 1670: in London
 1673 to 1681: Ferryland planter boatkeeper
 1677: widow, 1 "daughter"

Nicholas 1666: Avalon planter, for G. Kirke as governor
 1669: St. John's planter boatkeeper

Richard 1667 to 1680: Newfoundland planter
 I 1675 to 1682: St. John's planter boatkeeper,
 married, children

Richard 1675: Scilly Cove planter boatkeeper, single
 II 1676, 1677: married, children

Sarah = daughter or grand-daughter of Frances Hopkins?
 =? 1677: at Ferryland as "daughter" of Lady Hopkins
 1687: married Christopher Pollard, of Caplin Bay,
 at Bideford, Devon

KIRKE

Sir David born 1597
 1638 to 1651: planter boatkeeper merchant
 1652: in London
 1653: imprisoned in London
 1654: died in London

Lady Sara - wife of Sir David Kirke
 1639: Ferryland planter
 "family" occupied the Mansion House
 c. 1651: became head of household
 1661: Ferryland planter
 1673 to 1677: Ferryland planter boatkeeper
 1683: died at Ferryland

- George I - eldest son of Sir David Kirke
 1648: Ferryland planter merchant
 1654 to 1661: Ferryland planter
 1660: proposed to succeed to proprietorship
 1666: proposed as governor
 1673 to 1677: Ferryland planter boatkeeper
 1675: married, 3 sons, 1 daughter
 1676: single
 1677: married, 3 sons, 1 daughter
 1680: Renews planter, one of Newfoundland's
 four "able men of estates"
 1681: 6 children
 1693: debtor to Joseph Buckley of Salem
 1696: prisoner of war at Placentia,
 1697: died at St. John's
- David II - second son of Sir David Kirke
 1648: Ferryland, planter merchant
 1660: proposed to succeed to proprietorship
 1673 to 1681: Ferryland planter boatkeeper
 1675: shared household with Philip Kirke
 married, 1 son
 1676, 1677: single
 1681: married, 1 child
 1696: died as prisoner of war at Placentia
- Phillip I - third son of Sir David Kirke
 1648: Ferryland planter merchant
 1660: proposed to succeed to proprietorship
 1673: Ferryland planter boatkeeper
 1675: partner of David Kirke II
 1693: indebted to Joseph Buckley of Salem
 1696: died as prisoner of war at Placentia
- Jarvis - fourth son of Sir David Kirke
 1676: Caplin Bay planter boatkeeper, single
 1677: at Ferryland
 1681: at Renews, married, 4 children
 died before 1696
- Mary -- wife of David Kirke II
 1660s Ferryland servant of Lady Frances Hopkins
 c. 1670: married David Kirke II,
 against family wishes
 1676 to 1677: absent from Ferryland,
 (probably in Bideford, Devon)
 1681: Ferryland planter
 1696: prisoner of war at Placentia, widowed
 1697: married James Bengier of St. John's
 1697 to 1707: leased Pool Plantation at Ferryland

- John II = nephew of Sir David Kirke?
 eldest son of John Kirk, merchant of London?
 1663: Renews planter boatkeeper, 3 boats
 1666: Avalon planter, for G. Kirke as governor
 1677: Renews planter boatkeeper, single
 1688: inherited estates of John Kirke, of London
- David III - only son of David Kirke II
 1671: born, Ferryland
 1676: baptized, Bideford, 22 November
 1681: as only child of David II, at Ferryland
- George II - elder son of George Kirke I
 1681: as child at Renews
 died without issue before 1707
- David IV - elder son of George Kirke I
 1681: as child at Renews
 died without issue before 1707
- William - elder son of George Kirke I
 1681: as child at Renews
 died without issue before 1707
- Nehemiah - elder son of George Kirke I
 1681: as child at Renews
 died without issue before 1707
- Phillip II - youngest son of George Kirke I
 born after 1677
 1681: as child at Renews
 1707: Ferryland planter

MATHEWS

- Elizabeth born Newfoundland, 1641
 1680: St. John's planter boatkeeper, widow
- John 1650: litigant, allied with Sir David Kirke
 1662: planter, agent of Calverts' deputies
- William (also as Richard)
 1675 to 1677: St. John's planter boatkeeper
 married, children

Possible complex links, established 1638 to 1651

BOON (also as Boon, Boone, Boowne, Bown, Browne, Bun)

Richard 1651: went to Newfoundland from New England,
wife in England

John 1675 to 1682: Petty Harbour planter boatkeeper
married

COOKE

Henry of Barnstaple
1645: Renews planter

Lionel 1649: Witless Bay planter
owed John Clark of Boston £5

Elias of Teignmouth
1680: St. John's bye-boat keeper

David 1693: indebted to Joseph Buckley of Salem

WILLICOTT (also as Wilcott, Woolcot)

William 1647: signed Newfoundland bill of exchange

George 1677 to 1681: Bay Bulls planter boatkeeper
1677: married
1680: single
1681, 1682: married, children
1693: indebted to Joseph Buckley of Salem

**Individual planters and couples without other family links,
1638 to 1651**

None apparent.

Possible lineages, established 1652 to 1662

CODNER (also as Cotton)

Richard 1663: Renews planter boatkeeper

Henry 1666: Avalon planter, for G. Kirke as governor
1670: £33 debt to John Croad of Salem
1675 to 1681: Renews planter boatkeeper,
married, children

John 1693: indebted to Joseph Buckley of Salem

Thomas 1693: indebted to Joseph Buckley of Salem

COOMBE (also as Combe, Coome, Cooms, Koone)

Peter 1663: Avalon planter, tenant of Calverts

Nicholas 1666: Avalon planter, for G. Kirke as governor
1676: Brigus South, planter boatkeeper, single
1677: married, children

Richard 1667: Salem, Massachusetts, boatkeeper
=? 1675: Bauline South, planter boatkeeper,
1676: at Brigus South, single
1677: at Brigus South, married, children

DALE (also as Daile, Dale)

John 1663: Avalon planter, tenant of Calverts
1675 to 1677: Bay Bulls, planter boatkeeper
widower, children

GILDER (also as Gilders, Grildie)

"Mrs." 1663: Renews planter boatkeeper

Richard 1675: Renews boatkeeper

MAHONE (also as Moon, Moone)

Arthur 1663: Avalon planter, tenant of Calverts
1675 to 1682: Witless Bay planter boatkeeper,
married, children

POLLARD (also as Polerds)

Christopher

1663: Avalon planter, tenant of Calverts
 1673: Ferryland planter boatkeeper
 1675 to 1681: Caplin Bay planter boatkeeper
 married, children
 1687: married Sarah Hopkins, Bideford, Devon
 1696: lost plantation in Caplin Bay to the French
 1697: petitions Board of Trade

William 1673: Caplin Bay planter boatkeeper

ROBERTS/ROBBINS (also as Robins, Rogers)

William 1663: Avalon planter, tenant of Calverts
 I 1673: Ferryland planter boatkeeper
 1675 to 1677: married, children

"Widow" 1675 to 1677: planter at Ferryland
 1681: boatkeeper, widow, children

William - son of William I
 II 1663: Avalon planter, tenant of Calverts
 =? 1668 to 1680 at St. John's
 1677 to 1682: St. John's planter boatkeeper
 married, children

Philip 1657 to 1680: Newfoundland planter
 1669 to 1681: St. John's planter boatkeeper
 married, children

RUSSELL

"Mr." 1662: planter, ordered from St. Mary's Bay

Mathew 1681 to 1682: Witless Bay planter boatkeeper
 married, children,

Possible complex links, established 1652 to 1662

OLIVER

John 1663: Avalon planter, tenant of Calverts
 1681: St. John's bye-boat keeper

William 1681: Bay Bulls planter boatkeeper, married

WALLIS

George 1663: Avalon planter, tenant of Calverts
 John 1679: Fermeuse servant of Lawrence Hilliard
 1679: furrier for John Roulston of Toad's Cove
 1680: stood trial for vandalism on French Shore

Individual planters and couples without other family links,
 established 1652 to 1662

MINTOR (also as Minto, Minter)

Ezekial 1663: Avalon planter, tenant of Calverts
 1666: Avalon planter, for G. Kirke as governor
 1670: £5 debt to John Croad of Salem

George 1663: Avalon planter, tenant of Calverts

Possible lineages, established 1663 to 1670

COLLINS (also as Cullen, Culling)

"Old Mr" 1669, 1670: St. John's planter boatkeeper

John 1675: St. John's planter boatkeeper, widower
 =? 1681: Renews, planter, married, no boat

James 1681: Renews planter boatkeeper, married

PEARCE (also as Peirce, Peirse)

John 1670 to 1680: Newfoundland planter
 1675 to 1682: Bay Bulls planter boatkeeper
 1677: married
 1680: single
 1681, 1682: married, child

Robert 1668 to 1680: Newfoundland planter
 1675 to 1677: Bay Bulls planter boatkeeper
 married, children
 1680 to 1682: widower, children

TOMS (also as Thomas, Thoms, Tomes, Tommes)
 James 1670: £71 debt to John Croad of Salem
 William 1673 to 1681: Ferryland planter boatkeeper

WHITE

Arthur 1666: Avalon planter, for G. Kirke as governor
 Richard 1675: Bauline South planter boatkeeper,
 Peter 1676: Witless Bay planter boatkeeper
 1677: widower, children

WOOD (also as Woods)

John 1669, 1670: St. John's planter boatkeeper
 1675: married, children
 "Widow" 1676: Quidi Vidi planter boatkeeper, widow, child
 Robert 1680: St. John's fisherman
 Nicholas 1682: St. John's bye-boat keeper
 Richard 1682: St. John's bye-boat keeper
 Samuel 1679: Toad's Cove servant of John Roulston
 1680: stood trial for vandalism on French Shore

Possible complex links, established 1663 to 1670

HILLIARD (also as Heland, Helliard, Hileard, Hiller)
 Richard 1666 to 1680: Newfoundland planter
 1680 to 1682: at St. John's planter boatkeeper
 Job 1653 to 1668: Salem, Massachusetts, fisherman
 and master of coasting ketch, died 1670
 Edward 1630 - 1706
 1654 to 1674: Salem, Massachusetts, ship's master
 Lawrence 1675: Fermeuse planter boatkeeper, in partnership
 1676 to 1681: married, children
 1677: no boat

PROWSE (also as Prowis)

Robert 1666: Avalon planter, for G. Kirke as governor

Edward of Teignmouth
1675, 1680: St. John's bye-boat keeper

Henry of Teignmouth
1680: St. John's bye-boat keeper

George 1682: Bay Bulls planter boatkeeper
married, children

Individual planters and couples without other family links,
1663 to 1670

MAYNARD

Richard 1666: Avalon planter, for G. Kirke as governor
1670: £20 debt to John Croad of Salem

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