



DE GRUYTER

Alex Stewart

RURAL REVIVAL

A PHOTO-ETHNOGRAPHY OF ENTREPRENEURS
IN A RENOVATING REGION

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Preface

Heading up to Bonavista

When I first entered the Trans-Canada Highway and headed for Bonavista, Newfoundland, I wondered what to expect. I was an entrepreneurship professor, and I had heard that new ventures were popping up in that town, 300K from my home in the capital, St. John's. I had read that "unlike many other rural Newfoundland communities, today Bonavista is experiencing a renaissance".¹ This suggested a question: how did people there make that region work for themselves? My approach in the field would be ethnography, a method of learning with people, up close, in their everyday settings.² I am a business anthropologist, so I had done this before, but not in rural areas. And not with photographs. But this time I meant to take photos of people where they lived. One crucial need was time enough in the field. You cannot rush ethnography. The same is true of photographs. Time would not prove to be a problem. This book is based on 33 multi-day trips extending over six years.

Proclaiming this book an ethnography invites your disappointment if you expect to find a book-length narrative. Some such books exist. One calls itself "a true story about risk, entrepreneurship, immigration, and Latino-Anglo friendship". It's a terrific book. But ethnographic books typically offer snippets of stories, "apt illustrations" of disputes, divinations, gifts, and many other topics. Ethnographers depict specific social worlds and seek concepts that help to explain those worlds. Their depictions can also help us reconsider the concepts. Ethnographies—realist ethnographies like this one—are conceptual works that aim for veracity.³

1 Gaspard and Allen (2019:15). See also Bilefsky (2021); Parkinson (2019; 2021).

2 Spradley (2016) illustrates how ethnographer are the students, and the people who "inform" them are the teachers. Tim Ingold puts this differently: I mean (or should mean) not ethnography but anthropology, "which affords a way of *knowing from the inside*" such that "we study *with* people" (2023:1).

3 Ethnographers whose books are narratives trade off tarnished academic prestige with larger readerships (Van Maanen 2011:31). The phrase "apt illustration" is from Gluckman (1961). Unsurprisingly, I rely here on my book on ethnographic method (Stewart 1998) and think here as well of John Lofland (1995) on "analytic ethnography".

Everyday Entrepreneurs

My other crucial need was a role to give me access to people and their efforts. Such a role emerged early on. I became the professor with the cameras. Cameras helped when I sought out entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs were needed after the fishery collapsed in the early 1990s. Residents worried that “there are no jobs here. You have to start your own”.⁴ Many did just that, crafting livelihoods to fit their abilities and visions. They became entrepreneurs in this sense: to the extent that people took charge of their livelihoods, rather than working as employees, they were acting as entrepreneurs. They were acting as “everyday” entrepreneurs,⁵ who did not “shoot for the moon and use other people’s money”.⁶ Their ethos was expressed by Katie Hayes, proprietor of the Bonavista Social Club restaurant: “I keep my expectations pretty low . . . other than to keep plugging away here and keep being able to live here and keep people happy”.

Entrepreneurs’ ventures emerge from opportunities in places, resources, and people in their environments.⁷ In rural areas, this leads to businesses like “service station-garages, [a] tourist lodge, grocery and general stores, pulp wood sales, road working machinery, [and] stock breeding”.⁸ By contrast with “high-risk entrepreneurs,” who dominate academic thinking on entrepreneurship, everyday entrepreneurs prefer “control, low risk, and patience”.⁹ Beth Clarke’s little shop in Princeton¹⁰, on the Bonavista Bay side, is typical; as typical as any small rural ventures. Beth has owned and run this store for seven years: this means she survived the COVID-19 pandemic and its shortage of tourists. She did so by cutting down the store’s hours and keeping “frugal”. Like most rural shops, she mixes the

⁴ The quote is from an artist in Upper Amherst Cove to Emily Urquhart (2013:239).

⁵ For the term “everyday” see Welter et al. (2017). Similar expressions are “mundane,” (Aldrich and Ruef 2018) and “bedrock” entrepreneurs Lidow (2018).

⁶ Lidow (2018:70).

⁷ Anderson (2000); Jack and Anderson (2002); Korsgaard et al. (2015); Müller and Korsgaard (2018); Welter and Baker (2021).

⁸ These are examples of the first locally initiated ventures in the Codroy Valley on the southwest coast of the island (Szwed 1966b:163). Szwed noted the entrepreneurs’ violation of local norms of reciprocity and equality (1966b:179). This disembedding from norms is not uncommon in early stages of entrepreneurial careers (Stewart 1990).

⁹ The quote is from Lidow (2018:8). The bias against “lifestyle” and “Ma and Pa” firms (pejorative terms used for everyday entrepreneurs) reflects a wider bias against what Gudeman calls the “house” economy rather than the “high market” economy (Gudeman and Hann 2015; Gudeman 2016). I cover these constructs below.

¹⁰ The 2021 census combines Princeton with Summerville (visible at the left in the map) and South Bay, and reports a total population of 267, which is down from 310 in 2016.

commonplace items, potato chips and Pepsis, with an oddball array that gives her place the look of a general store. The back half of the space is true to the name of her shop: Beth's Variety. The merchandise there helps to explain her success.¹¹ She stocks what goods her customers mention. They are surprised when she does this, she says.

Like the other examples on the Peninsula – Bonavista Social Club, Fishers' Loft Inn, and Cull farm – everyday entrepreneurs expand incrementally, following, not outpacing, their customers' desires. For example, John and Peggy Fisher took the first steps to starting their Inn when “a nearby owner of a bed and breakfast stopped by with a proposition: would we be prepared to accommodate their overspill?”¹² The Fishers' “inn and restaurant . . . formed slowly and for the first seven years it wasn't even entirely clear how they earned a living”.¹³ More radically, Dave Ellis (co-founder with Sue Asquith of Two Whales) claims “we've never had plans”. As Donna Butt said of the Rising Tide Theatre, “We built it, bit by bit by bit by bit, year by year, built it up slowly”. They made do with what they found around and about. Before they had a theatre building (Plate 44), they used the town itself, “a graveyard . . . an abandoned train car . . . [and] the concrete foundation of an abandoned whaling station”.¹⁴

An Example from another Rural Region

Drive up (meaning south)¹⁵ the Southern Shore Highway away from St. John's, you soon enter the rural. Passing Bay Bulls, then Witless Bay, you reach the community of Mobile. Once known more for its high school, it is known now for romance and even the chance to elope. In typical everyday fashion, its current distinction emerged barely planned, from singular circumstances. “Mom's Place B&B” is the retrofit of a place built by Brenda and Bob Lee for Brenda's mother, Margaret Penney, who passed away in 2021. Their additions – a heated pool, jacuzzi, and fire pit – help to account for near-continuous bookings. Recently they

¹¹ I consider seven years survival (as of Summer, 2023) a success. But Beth herself wonders what metrics she should use.

¹² Fisher et al. (2022:20).

¹³ Urquhart (2013, for the Fishers, pp. 255–256; also pp. 57–68; for Mike Paterson's woodworking business, p. 275; see also Proctor 2004).

¹⁴ Mark Critch (2021: Chap. 2) recounts his experiences acting with the early Rising Tide in Trinity.

¹⁵ Finch (2007:60) explains that direction is based not on the compass but on the prevailing winds.

received a request to get married on an upcoming day that, by chance, was open. Brenda saw an opportunity to create a chapel for low-cost weddings with few questions asked, with one exception. “We will never judge, however, you must promise to love one another ‘til you leave the Southern Shore”.¹⁶ This venture too is finding a market. For those who wish, Bob will pretend to be Elvis.

¹⁶ Bradbury (2023). Thanks also to my colleagues from the Southern Shore, Sarah Croft, Linda Batcock-Clowe, and Wanda Whelan.



Plate 1: The town of Bonavista from the hill at White Rock Road.



Map of Bonavista and the Region © David Mercer, cartographer for the Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland. The geographic coverage of this book stretches from the Trinity Bight, 64km from the town of Bonavista on the Trinity Bay shore, and 50km down to Tickle Cove and Princeton on the Bonavista Bay shore.

Contents

Preface — V

Part One

A Rural Crisis — 1

- Disaster in the Fishery — 1
- The Challenging Physical Geography — 4
- Resource Dependency — 6

Part Two

Community Capitals and Embeddedness — 11

- Community Capitals — 11
- Derivative Capitals: Tourism Capital and Entrepreneurship Capital — 13
- Trade-offs in Geopark Design — 15
- Embedded Entrepreneurs in a House Economy — 29
- The Fishery Abides — 34

Part Three

Revival with Community Capitals — 41

- Social Capital: Embeddedness and Collaboration — 41
- Cultural and Historical Capital — 64
- Rising Tide Theatre — 65
- The Sealers Interpretation Centre — 72
- The Sir William F. Coaker Heritage Foundation — 74
- Revalorizing Tradition and History — 76
- Human Capital: The Good News — 87
- Financial Capital — 88
- Political Capital — 89
- Built Capital: Physical Renovations — 90
- Renovations with Neutral or Positive Outcomes — 93
- Building on a Basis of Natural Capital — 99
- Landscape as Place — 99
- Views from the Hike Discovery Trails — 101
- Tourism Capital: Agglomeration of Attractions — 116
- Agglomeration of Arts and Crafts — 116
- Agglomeration of Food and Beverage — 118
- Entrepreneurship Capital: Agglomeration of Entrepreneurs — 128
- In-Migrant Entrepreneurs — 133
- An Aside on Dialects — 134

Rural Tourism as Regional Entrepreneurship — **146**
History — **147**
Dilapidated Buildings — **147**
Fossils — **147**
Icebergs — **148**
Cliffs by the Sea — **148**
Sea Birds — **148**
Whales — **149**
Kinship — **149**
The House Abides — **151**

Part Four

Five Problems — 153

Tourism Capital: Problems with the Weather — **153**
Transportation Challenges — **159**
Limitations in Human Capital — **159**
Renovations as Gentrification — **161**
Will Regional Collaboration Continue? — **166**

Part Five

Research Method — 169

Evolution of my Research Role — **169**
How I Worked in the Field — **170**
Space, Places, Place, and Photography — **174**
Words and Images—Moving and Still — **176**
Research Limitations — **179**
Note on Post-Processing Photographs — **180**

Acknowledgments — 183

List of Plates with Full Captions — 185

Works Cited — 203

Coda: Hopes and Anxieties about Bonavista — 229

Fanciful Dreams of the Future — **230**

Part One

A Rural Crisis

Disaster in the Fishery



Abandoned fish processing plant in Catalina.

For centuries, the Bonavista area was a leading centre of the North Atlantic fishery. As recently as the 1980s, 1,300 people processed fish at the Fishery Products International facility in this photo. “Anyone who wanted to work could work,” I was told.¹⁷ In February 1992, as the cod supply plummeted, the company closed it down. The next July, the cod moratorium put 30,000 Newfoundlanders out of work. The towns of Bonavista and Trinity Bay North (which incorporates Catalina and Port Union), which are the main fishing centres in the area, declined as residents looked for livelihoods elsewhere. The decade after the cod moratorium of 1992 saw Bonavista lose 12.5% of its residents and nearby Trinity Bay North lose 21.9% of its residents.¹⁸ Depopulation sets off a vicious cycle of reduced infrastructure and more depopulation.¹⁹ Employed people and operating ventures add to a region’s economy with local expenditures.²⁰ The implosion of the fishery, after its

¹⁷ This was an implied dig at laziness in a culture that valued hard work. As Georges (2021:2) wrote about “downeast” Maine, they lived in a “terrain that leaves no room for idleness or self-pity”. Wadel 1973 is a touching account of trying to preserve self-worth after an accident in the forestry, where work was dangerous and injury nearly inevitable.

¹⁸ Bonavista and Trinity Bay North, which now (but not in 1991) incorporates Little Catalina, Catalina, Port Union, and Melrose are only 17km apart, and are the most populous centres. Between them, they went from 7,573 the year prior to the moratorium to 6,346 in 2001, for a decline of 16.2%.

¹⁹ For the vicious cycle, Li et al. (2019); Stockdale (2004).

²⁰ Rural areas have lower multiplier effects than urban areas if, as often, they have fewer local “forward and backward industrial linkages” (Greenberg et al. 2002:112). Multiplier effects can still be important. Garza-Gil et al. (2017:52) found that, in a region in Spain, “the socioeconomic effect of fishing and aquaculture is significant” and positive. Jacobsen et al. (2014:275) estimated

long-term decline, was economically painful beyond its direct effects on employment. The contrast with Catalina's past affluence intensified the sense of loss.²¹

My father has sent the crew
home early for the second year in a row
the cod so scarce he can do
the work himself and still have time
to sit in the evening . . .
There are no cod in the whole frigging ocean.²²

the multiplier effect for commercial fishing at 1.24. I lack data for Bonavista and assume that multiplier effects there were similar.

²¹ By contrast with the recent enthusiasm for the area, in 1995 the Geographical Field Group foresaw few prospects for the area's economy. For the moratorium, see Higgins (2009). For the effects on community well-being, see Amos and Bailey (2020) and Seara et al. (2022). For the psychological toll on Catalina, I thank a communication from David Bradley.

²² Cod (2) in Crummey (2016:6).



Plate 2: Abandoned skiff at Spillars Cove, a few minutes east of Bonavista.

The Challenging Physical Geography

People wondered, “Can the outports survive?”²³ Would they, like many rural areas, decline in population and prospects?²⁴ With the loss of jobs in the fishery, what other opportunities could people find? Aside from the beneficent, if turbulent sea, they faced a challenging environment. Winters are long, the soils are poor, and the ground is tough to clear.²⁵ The forestry had long been in decline. The foundations for tourism were under-developed.²⁶

What place we live in matters. For an island such as Newfoundland, a force that cannot be forgotten is a crashing or somnolent sea. The North Atlantic abuts over 6,000 miles of cliffy coasts, brimming with gulches, gorges and, mercifully, coves and other safer outlets to the water. The sea is a means of travel and a source of fish for eating or for selling, with settlements forming on “land . . . with a manageable access to the sea”.²⁷ Of the 39 communities in the Bonavista area, the area that is covered in this book, all except Maberly—population 20—have benign connections to the sea.²⁸

Inland you do find land, of course, though you might not suspect this from travel ads or calendar art. A term one hears for this terrain, not unknown in science, is “bogs and barrens,” a phrase that raises no eyebrows when I say it.²⁹ Bogs—*peatlands* wet from rainfall—are bothersome when you head out to fish for trout, hunt, or forage; but if you can forage, you pick the bakeapples there,

23 This is the sub-title of Ommer and Sinclair (1999).

24 For rural decline: Artz et al. (2021); Douglas (2017); Li et al. (2019); Liu and Li (2017); for variations in decline: Douglas (2017); Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2018); Pipa (2022).

25 Heringa and Woodrow (1991) survey the soils and potential for agriculture. Their summary was that “most of the Bonavista Peninsula is severely limited for agricultural use” (p. 93).

26 For this point, and much else on the unpromising prospects after the moratorium, see The Geographical Field Group (1995) and Sinclair (2003). For the difficulty of clearing (“taking in”) land, see Pocius (2000:109–117). For population decline, see Bilefsky (2021); Hamilton and Butler (2001); Higgins (2008b). For the brutal effects of the forestry on its workers see Wadel (1973).

27 Faris (1972:36).

28 Sadly, the sea is also a dump for human waste and trash. Paraphrasing Pauly (2019), humans use the sea for the three T’s of takings, travel, and trash. Pauly’s work is an indictment of (quoting him here) “the fishing-industrial complex and its Ponzi scheme” of replacing one annihilated species in one location for a not-yet-annihilated species somewhere else. Pauly’s work does not lack critics, such as Hilborn and Hilborn who wrote that a paper by Pauly in *Science* “was simply wrong” (2019:69).

29 Faris (1972:30); Schaefer and Mahoney (2007).

and cranberries.³⁰ These bounties are the most apparent of the many “ecological services” provided by wetlands, called “the ‘kidneys’ of the environment” for their cleansing effects.³¹

“Bogs” and “barrens” are standard English words, but “barrens” has senses adapted to the island. The *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* offers three definitions, all referring to struggling vegetation, which is hampered by the ever-present wind.³² As Robert Finch alerts us, “the term ‘barrens’ . . . is a biological misnomer, for the ground is not barren but thoroughly and thickly carpeted with a luxuriant cover of low growth: dozens of kinds of lichens, mosses, sedges, heath, and bog plants, as well as woody lambskill called ‘goowitty’; creeping willow; and sprinklings of stunted spruce and fir.”³³

The wind, like the sea, is a natural force that cannot be ignored. In my treks on trails that skirt the North Atlantic, I often cross stretches of barrens where winds can whip wickedly. Newfoundlanders have a term for a common sight: “tuckamores,” trees lacking growth on the windward side (pictured).³⁴ Tuckamores and barrens both are found near the sea, which is where the people are. Perhaps this explains why “barrens” come to mind more readily than the woods, which are, according to satellite imaging, vastly more prevalent than barrens.³⁵

30 Scott (2010) surveys edible plants from Newfoundland wetlands (termed peatlands) and barrens (termed heaths and clearings). Fens are peatlands, but unlike bogs they are fed by ground or surface waters. A term for bogs one hears, at least on the Bonavista Bay shore, is “mesh,” a variant of “marsh” (Kirwin et al. 1990:328).

31 Newfoundland has a “successful” approach to wetland preservation, the Municipal Wetland Stewardship program (Roach et al. 2006). The town of Bonavista is a signatory. Amani et al. (2017:779) for the quote; see also Mahdianpari et al. (2019); Zedler and Kercher (2005).

32 Kirwin et al. (1990:27). Scott (2010:1) refers to “heaths,” another name for barrens.

33 Finch (2007:40). Lambskill is a mildly poisonous flowering shrub.

34 The *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (Kirwin et al. 1990) does not give this definition, but Young (2006:181) does. He attributes the one-sidedness of tuckamores to salt spray, which doubtless has an effect. But tuckamores are found on high ground too far for the spray, and I suspect that Dominic (2017) and Hogan (2023:73) are right in giving credit to the winds.

35 Amani et al. (2017); Mahdianpari et al. (2020). “We call it the woods, not the forest,” Wilson Brown of Upper Amherst Cove told Emily Urquhart (Urquhart 2013:87).



Tuckamore.

Where there are woods, it is tough to travel through intertwined trees. Here is a complaint by a newcomer to the island: the “impenetrable forests . . . [are] just like an assemblage of picket fences”.³⁶ For the Newfoundland flora, “growth is a desperate process.”³⁷ Even the low-lying plants of the barrens, like trees, grow slowly and prove to be much tougher than they look. Bushwhacking in Newfoundland really means bush *whacking*, one eye out for uneven ground, one for sudden soakings.

Resource Dependency

Natural capital features prominently in scholarly work on rural development. Rural communities often lack a range of industries, rendering them dependent on forests, minerals, or fish.³⁸ If so, they are subject to “resource dependency”. As a concept, resource dependency does not focus on resources themselves, but on the “reliance

³⁶ For the complaint, Momatiuk and Eastcott (1998:106).

³⁷ “Shauna Steffla, artist,” quoted by Momatiuk and Eastcott (1998:54).

³⁸ Miles and Morrison (2020); Randall and Ironside (1996). Agriculture is sometimes included in the resource dependency literature (Stedman et al. 2004b).

on a *narrow range* of resources [that lead] to social and economic stresses”. Dependency of this sort is common in island societies.³⁹

Stresses differ depending on the resources in question. Dependence on a fishery has different implications than dependence on other resources.⁴⁰ Newfoundland livelihoods have been based predominantly on the fishery, which is the industry that is “most likely to be associated with low rates of in-migration, high rates of poverty and unemployment, and low income and educational achievement”.⁴¹ This quote refers to geographic places, but resource dependence also applies to individuals. People working in the fishery gain highly developed skills that otherwise have limited applications.⁴²

³⁹ Baldacchino (2004); for an example, Hamilton et al. (2004).

⁴⁰ “Resource dependency” does not refer to the “resource curse,” which, given rent-seeking behaviour and corruption, afflicts resource-rich countries (Badeeb et al. 2017). The quote is from Adger (2000:351) with italics added.

⁴¹ For variability across counties and regions, see Bailey and Pomeroy (1996) and Thiault et al. (2018). The quote, from Stedman et al. (2004b:225), refers to Canadian fisheries.

⁴² Acheson 1981; Marshall et al. (2007).



Plate 3: Waves meeting the coast near Maberly (just past Elliston).



Plate 4: Wetlands beside Route 230 (the road from the Trans-Canada Highway to Bonavista).



Plate 5: Barrens by Spillars Cove.

Part Two

Community Capitals and Embeddedness

Community Capitals

This Part introduces two of the theoretical foundations in this study: Community Capitals and embeddedness. The concept of Community Capitals helps us understand the challenges and the resilience of the Bonavista region.⁴³ Capitals are private or “public goods through which people are able to widen their access to resources and economic opportunities”.⁴⁴ Capitals generate “sources of power and influence [or other values], like the size of one’s stock holdings or bank account”.⁴⁵ I prefer the term “assets,” which is less loaded with financial connotations. It is also closer to colloquial speech. We might say that someone is an asset for our team, but if we say “a capital for our team” few would understand us. Nevertheless, I have deferred to the language of rural sociology, with its Community Capitals Framework.

No consensus has emerged on the number of capitals to consider. Many scholars adopt a seven capitals framework and all seven are useful for thinking about Bonavista: the natural, built, financial, social, political, human, and cultural capitals.⁴⁶ These terms are straightforward, compared to most social science jargon, but definitions can help to avoid misunderstandings. Here, then, is a short take on the seven capitals, as they are invoked in this book:⁴⁷

- Natural: The earth, the water, the sky, the flora, and the fauna.
- Built: The human-made infrastructure; in particular, houses and other “improvements” to real estate.

⁴³ “Resilience” is, like “capital,” a widely used metaphor. Douglas (2017) unpacks its meanings and commonly held assumptions. For the Community Capitals approach, see especially Emery and Flora (2006). I use this approach rather than “entrepreneurial ecosystems,” agreeing with the critique of the concept’s ambiguity by Brown and Mawson (2019) and Brown et al. (2023).

⁴⁴ Berchoux et al. (2019:308). Following McCrea et al. (2014), I add the word “private,” because some capitals, especially financial and the built environment, are often privately held.

⁴⁵ Portes (1998:2), referring to “social capital”. Like all metaphors, “capital” has limitations. For example, monetizing the land or the sea (which are natural capitals) may not be feasible. Further, monetizing social relationships is, from any perspective other than—perhaps—the high market economy (Gudeman 2016), morally suspect (Coulson et al. 2015; Polanyi 1944).

⁴⁶ Political capital that involves extra-regional connections could be viewed as a sub-capital of social capital. “Bridging” social capital, which gives the capacity to draw upon networks outside the region, includes ties with political leaders. We will see this below, with the example of state support of the Discovery Global Geopark.

⁴⁷ Pigg et al. (2013) for community leaders.

- Financial: The means to buy and invest in the market economy.
- Social: The pattern and perceptions of relationships among and between people.
- Political: The capacity to influence others; in particular, the influence of governments on citizens and citizens on governments.
- Human: The population’s potential for economic and other community contributions.
- Cultural: The somewhat consensual, partially symbolized, sense of the way to live.⁴⁸

Capitals can refer to an underlying phenomenon, and they can also refer to aspects or consequences of the phenomenon. For example, “cultural capital” might refer to an area’s distinctive traditions, but it might refer to outcomes of these traditions, such as community cohesion. Like all capitals, the value thus created depends on human activities, such as the creation of songs that draw upon a local idiom. I think of Ron Hynes’ “Sonny’s Dream,” about a man who will not leave an outport due to his sense of obligation to his mother. Many singers have covered this song, which “has become a folk anthem in Atlantic Canada”.⁴⁹

An important insight of the Community Capitals approach is that any capital might affect any of the others.⁵⁰ The relationships among the capitals determines the value derived from any one of them.⁵¹ Here are examples. Partridge berries (a natural capital in Bonavista) might be valued only when combined with a tradition of foraging (a cultural capital). Just as capitals can render other capitals more valuable there can also be gaps, so that potential opportunities are unrealized. Realizing the potential of cultural capitals might require imaginative leadership, a mode of human capital, that could be missing.⁵² In an example from rural China, farmers, having been displaced from their land in favour of a tourist attraction, lacked the abilities needed for tourism management.⁵³

⁴⁸ I write this in recognition that “no one is quite sure what culture is,” according to the concept’s celebrated interpreter, Clifford Geertz (1999:9).

⁴⁹ Narváez (2002:271). If this song reaches deep into your heart, you are probably a Newfoundlander.

⁵⁰ Emery and Flora (2006); Kline et al. (2019); Pigg et al. (2013); Zahra and McGehee (2013).

⁵¹ Thus, Gkartzios et al. (2022:2) specify “a framework of relational rural capitals that focuses on how things work [together] rather than any single attribute”.

⁵² Another example is the damage to community development when indigenous peoples lack political capital; that is, bridging social capital with powerful external entities (Butler et al. 2023).

⁵³ Tang et al. (2023). They refer to the attraction as “tourism capital”. In my view, it was unrealized tourism capital. Tourism capital requires all the constituent capitals needed for success with tourists—see immediately below.

Derivative Capitals: Tourism Capital and Entrepreneurship Capital

The root capitals (human capital and so on) form combinations that, as a whole, provide value.⁵⁴ I call these combinations “derivative” capitals, as distinct from their constituent root capitals. Two derivative capitals loom large in Bonavista’s revival: “tourism capital,” which enables tourism, and “entrepreneurship capital,” which enables entrepreneurship. Tourism capital bundles all the resources needed for succeeding in the tourism industry. Just as tourism capital is a configuration of capitals conducive to tourism, entrepreneurship capital is a configuration of capitals conducive to entrepreneurship. In major tourism destinations, entrepreneurship capital is dependent on tourism capital.

Illustrating Multiple Capitals at Work: The UNESCO Geopark

The Bonavista area has three important regional collaborative projects: the Hike Discovery Trails, the Bonavista Biennale public art events, and the UNESCO Global Discovery Geopark.⁵⁵ The creation of the Geopark exemplifies the joint involvement of multiple capitals. Geoparks celebrate geology, so natural capital formed the park’s foundation. Geology is also prominent in its marketing. Human capital was needed for discovering the fossil and seeing the possibility of a geopark. Social capital enabled the necessary collaboration across the region and political capital enabled ties to the governments in Ottawa and St John’s. This political capital loosened up financial capital, needed for the effort to gain UNESCO’s approval. Cultural capital provided the warrant that showcased Elliston’s root cellars, demonstrating, as UNESCO requires, a jointly human and natural project.⁵⁶

Edith Samson recalls the initial impetus for a geopark this way: She first learned about nearby fossils in 2005. A casually dressed man showed up, asking who was responsible for the work to build their boardwalk, near her office in the Coaker Foundation in Port Union. He told her that just offshore there were Ediacaran fossils, from about 635 to 541 million years ago. These fossils included the *Aspidella terranova*, named for Newfoundland due to its 1872 discovery on the island’s Avalon Peninsula.⁵⁷

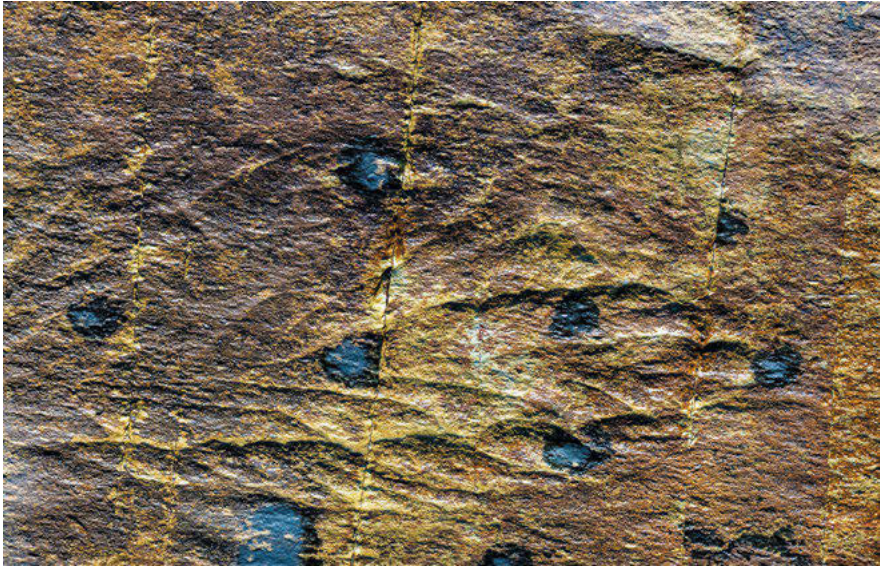
⁵⁴ McGehee et al. (2010:487).

⁵⁵ Arguably, the Bonavista-Trinity Chamber of Commerce is a fourth example. I see the first three, at least, as examples of community-based enterprise, as articulated by Ana Maria Peredo and Jim Chrisman (2006).

⁵⁶ “A UNESCO Global Geopark uses its geological heritage, in connection with all other aspects of the area’s natural and cultural heritage” (UNESCO 2023).

⁵⁷ Gehling et al. (2000).

With persistence, you can find Ediacaran specimens by the Port Union boardwalk at low tide (the lower the better), towards the outer right of the rocks below the stairs.



Bradgatia sp. fossils on the Coaker Foundation boardwalk.

Edith's visitor turned out to be Sean O'Brien, Newfoundland's Senior Geologist. In O'Brien's account, "I discovered the Ediacaran fossils sites near Murphy's Cove near the end of the 2003 summer. I wrote up the initial discovery . . . with Art King . . . that was published March 2004".⁵⁸ As Samson and O'Brien recalled, he returned in 2006 and suggested setting to work on a geopark. There were two problems. In Canada, unlike Europe, the word "park" had connotations of restrictions on its use. Parks do not permit such activities as snowmobiling. Second, governments were focused on the UNESCO World Heritage fossil site at Mistaken Point, on the southern tip of the Avalon Peninsula. But the Port Union town council was interested, and the provincial government came to see the potential for enhancing the tourism industry. Community and provincial leaders, and scientists, worked tenaciously and collaboratively. On March 8, 2019, the federal and

⁵⁸ O'Brien and King (2004) Most of the paleontological discoveries have been by scientists at Memorial, Cambridge and other universities, but initial work was by employees, such as O'Brien, working for the provincial government's geological survey (for which see Department of Industry, Energy, and Resources nd.).

provincial governments announced grants of \$535,500 (\$148,750 provincially; \$386,750 federally) in support of the efforts of the Discovery Aspiring Geopark to win UNESCO's Global Geopark designation.⁵⁹



Government officials at an announcement for support for the Geopark.

This photo shows the funding announcement. The participants, left to right, are Mary Batterton (King's Cove), Jim Miller (Trinity), Christopher Mitchelmore, the provincial Minister of Industry, Tourism and Culture (back to camera), Shelly Blackmore (Trinity Bay North), an unidentified man, Edith Samson (Coaker Foundation), Nancy Robbins (Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), back to camera), Churence Rogers, the federal Member of Parliament, and Marilyn Coles-Hayley (Elliston, back to camera). John Norman, then the Chair of the Geopark, was in Singapore on behalf of their effort at the time.

Trade-offs in Geopark Design

Seventeen years after O'Brien found the fossils, the Discovery Aspiring Geopark was designated an official UNESCO Global geopark.⁶⁰ Based on the record of geoparks elsewhere, this designation could attract geotourists, a new type of visitor.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Anonymous (2019a).

⁶⁰ July 10, 2020, was the date of the official announcement. McCallum with Norman (2019) is the dossier prepared for UNESCO.

⁶¹ Dowling (2011); Lee and Jayakumar (2021).

Tourism is prone to “the expensive pursuit of phantom markets,”⁶² but geotourists have begun to show up at the geosites.⁶³ Geotourists are attracted to sites of scientific interest, like an ancient beach near Hodderville (shown below).⁶⁴ But they are vastly outnumbered by general purpose tourists. Even when the emphasis is on geotourism, the geoheritage can suffer damage at the sites, whether from intentional acts or from excessive foot traffic.⁶⁵ The Johnson beds, shown in the photo below, exemplify the challenges. The approach trail is a boggy slog lacking hardening. If it were to be hardened, fossils could be damaged. There would also be risks for tourists, as the rock bed slopes towards the Atlantic, with slimy slipperiness near the water line. We see this in the photo, which also shows the typically tightly connected trees in the woods.

The area has already experienced damage to its assets. Edith Samson recounts that one of only three, and the best *Charnia grandis* fossil in the world, was in Murphy’s Cove. Someone tried to steal it with only a chisel and smashed it. This was “a huge problem for understanding it as an organism”.⁶⁶ I asked Newfoundland colleagues for the right Newfoundland word for the fossil-wrecker. “Skeet” was the consensus. They noted that the meaning has been shifting and becoming more pejorative. It might also have snobbish connotations; in which case I apologize. But not to the skeet, of course.⁶⁷

62 McKercher and Prideaux (2014:26). Much received wisdom in tourism studies, such as the importance of specialized tourism segments, lacks a basis in sound research (McKercher and Prideaux 2014).

63 A student from near Tickle Cove tells me that “many people are renting my Airbnb and explaining that they are coming to check out the Geopark”. For the hopes: Anonymous (2019a; 2019b).

64 Dowling (2011:4); Hild (2012:ix). Any geopark is a compromise among possible priorities. It might prioritize a “disciplinary logic [of] geological heritage” or a “territorial logic [manifested in] tourism” (Girault 2020:xxi).

65 Hose and Vasiljec (2012).

66 Personal communication from Dr. Alex Liu, Cambridge University, June 5, 2023. This communication augments Edith Samson’s recollection.

67 For snobbery, Clarke and Hiscock (2009). “*The Dictionary of Newfoundland English*” by Kirwin et al. (1990) does not include the word. But de Adder’s cartoons have an excellent depiction (2015:75).



The Johnson rock beds.

The provincial government and UNESCO have their own criteria for geopark sites. These criteria lead to the exclusion, for now at least, of the site on the Johnson beds in Plate 13. It is one of over three dozen “reserve sites” that are appropriate for scientists, not tourists. Rather than advancing science, the main motivation of the federal and provincial governments in supporting the Geopark was “helping the region’s tourism industry attract more visitors and create more jobs”.⁶⁸ Still, the Discovery Geopark is not “non-geological” like some geoparks.⁶⁹ It has deep links to scientists, especially those from Memorial University and the University of Cambridge (Plate 15). It is a working compromise among attractions for general tourists, like Brook Point (Plate 12), and geological attractions, like the location of the *Haootia quadriformis* discovery. Without this discovery of the world’s oldest fossil with evidence of muscle tissue, UNESCO approval would have been impossible.⁷⁰ This fossil represents a unique natural capital. For obvious reasons, it has been moved. You can view it at The Rooms in St. John’s, the provincial museum and art gallery.

⁶⁸ Anonymous (2019a for the quote and 2019b).

⁶⁹ Hose and Vasiljic (2012:25).

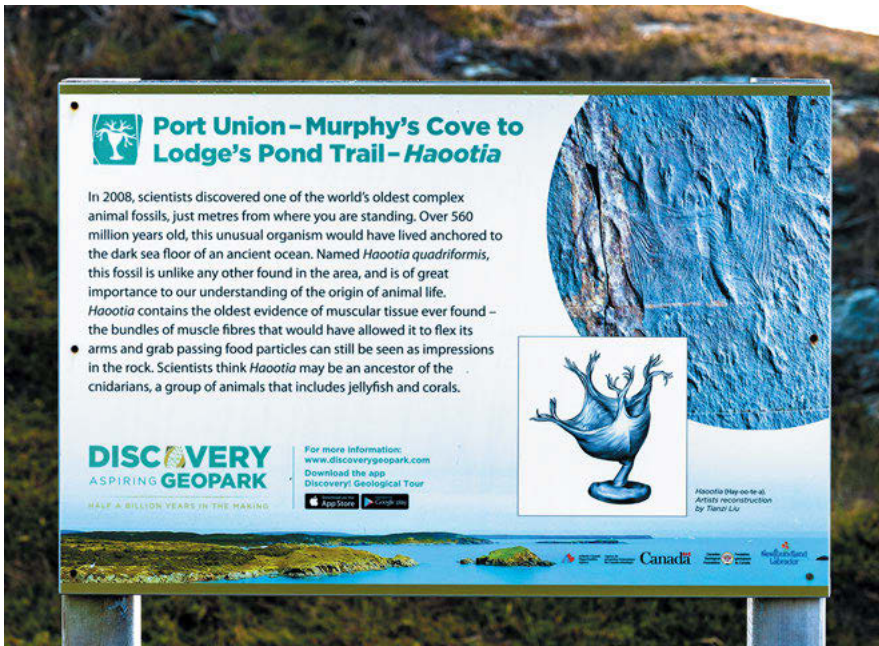
⁷⁰ Personal communication from Duncan McIroy. The 2003 findings of Ediacaran fossils in and around Port Union, by Sean O’Brien and Art King generated paleontologists’ interest in the area, preceding the 2008 discovery of the *Haootia quadriformis*. For the latter, see Liu et al. (2014). Liu and Tindal (2020) demonstrate the abundance of Ediacaran fossils on the Avalon and Bonavista peninsulas.

Perhaps Port Union could commission a large statue of that fossil, along the lines of “the totemic art of small-town Canada”.⁷¹ The Geopark lacks a statue, but it does have a poem:

“how the four arms might have been,
fishing the current while fastened
to the ocean floor, as though some eager seaweed
were training to become an octopus”.

From “*Haootia Quadriformis: Mother of Muscle*” by Don McKay.⁷²

It also has this sign, an example of built capital, by the Murphy’s Cove Trail:



Sign for the Haootia quadriformis, by the Murphy’s Cove Trail.

⁷¹ Stymeist (2012) offers examples, such as the “community coffee pot” of Davidson, Saskatchewan” (p. 11) and “the ‘world’s largest pyrogy’ of Glendon, Alberta” (p. 16). In his interpretation, “Apart from their possible overt use as tourist attractions”, they can express “identities, affiliations, and recollections” (p. 24).

⁷² McKay (2020:109).



Plate 6: The Sea Arch in Tickle Cove, a Discovery geosite.



Plate 7: The beach area at Tickle Cove.



Plate 8: The “Chimney,” the sea stack by the Klondike Trail, near Spillars Cove.



Plate 9: The Chimney in fog.



Plate 10: “Devil’s hoofprints” at Keels.



Plate 11: A cove by Keels with gray slate in the foreground and red mudstone in the background.



Plate 12: Brook Point.



Plate 13: A *Charniodiscus spinosus* fossil⁷³: left to right, the basal holdfast disc, stem, and frond.

73 LaFlamme et al. (2004:832) for the species identity.



Plate 14: Ediacaran fossils by the shore at Melrose, Trinity Bay North.



Plate 15: Dr. Alex Liu searching for fossils near Trinity Bay.

Embedded Entrepreneurs in a House Economy

The Community Capitals approach, devised by rural sociologists, helps us to think about the past and the prospects of the Bonavista region. So too does the distinction between “house” and “market” economies, devised by the anthropologist Stephen Gudeman. For understanding this dichotomy, it helps to recall the concept of “embeddedness.” It derives from two streams of thought, based on the work of two scholars: a sociologist, Mark Granovetter, and a polymath, Karl Polanyi. Their approaches differ somewhat in their focus. Granovetter focused on the entanglement of economic action in social structure. Polanyi focused on more culture: the interpenetration of economic life with the culturally imbued ties of kinship, religion, and other sources of identity.⁷⁴ A quote conveys the gist of his perspective: “man’s economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships. He does not act so as to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets”.⁷⁵

In Gudeman’s terms, all economies have elements of both embedded house economies, and of less embedded market economies.⁷⁶ In the market economy, “the trade of goods and services [is] separated or alienated from enduring relationships” such as “kinship, neighborhood, profession and creed”.⁷⁷ By contrast, outport fishing communities had a preponderantly house economy embedded in these relationships. Reciprocity, cooperation, and an egalitarian “moral economy” are common themes in studies of these communities.⁷⁸ My colleagues who were

74 For Polanyi’s more holistic approach: Polanyi (1944:157–162, 171; 1977:48–56). Barber (1995) pointed to Polanyi’s relative inattention to embeddedness compared with political and legal mechanisms of disembedding, particularly in 19th century Britain.

75 Polanyi (1944:46).

76 This construction alludes to Barber’s (1995) argument that “all economies are embedded”. He meant that the self-regulating market, however much it relies purely on price signals and however much it ignores social ties, relies on a social system with the legal, political, institutional, and ideological infrastructure that supports it. This argument is consistent with Polanyi’s core thesis in *The Great Transformation*.

77 The first quote is from Gudeman (2009:18). The second is from Polanyi (1944:171). In Gudeman’s view, in contrast with Polanyi’s, the house and market economies co-exist, with one or the other dominating (Gudeman 2009; 2016; Kuper 2019). Kuper (2019:17) added that the house economy is “not a relic of a pre-market age”. In Gudeman (2009) “base” is a synonym for “house”.

78 These are generalizations, and communities differed (Wadel 1980). But these themes are easy to find, as in Begossi (2014), Ommer and Turner (2004), Schouten and Dufault (2022). For diverse modes of subsistence, typical of house economies, Ommer and Turner (2004) and Wadel (2010: Chap. 3). Moreover, land was not treated as a commodity (Pocius 2000:104–111), a key theme in Polanyi’s (1944) account of the advance of the self-regulating market.

raised in fishing families have told me that “Even if we’re poor people, we never felt poor since we always helped one another”.⁷⁹ This expresses in a nutshell the house economy as experienced in rural Newfoundland.

Such an account of traditional outports is not meant to glorify the life lived of old. The norms of the house were needed for survival. Gerald Sider’s account of “merchant capital” and the novels of Michael Crummey disabuse any temptations to romanticize.⁸⁰ For generations, rural Newfoundlanders made do with marginal dollops of cash, surviving thanks to diverse subsistence sources.⁸¹ We can note these sources with Pam Hall’s study, *Towards an Encyclopedia of Local Knowledge: Excerpts from Chapters I and II* (Hall 2017). She travelled through much of the island, learning what people knew how to craft. On the basis of her book and other sources, common subsistence activities were baking and preserving food, fishing for household consumption, fishing gear maintenance, foraging for berries and other plants, cultivating gardens (mainly root vegetables), hunting moose, birds and now and then a seal, clothes making and maintenance, gathering wood for heating and building, snaring rabbits, and tending cows and sheep (for many in the past) and horses for hauling wood (in the past). Less frequently, people made boats, fences, buildings, and fishing gear. The resources needed for subsistence were widely accessible for the residents.⁸²

Frugal habits of making do, central to house economy self-sufficiency, are widely noted in studies of island communities.⁸³ Here is an example about how a mat hooker worked: “Mrs. Gallahue designed her own patterns and hooked them on brin sacks with whatever materials were available. For dyes she used onion peel, ochre, and boiled moss taken from rocks. She . . . hooked by the light of an old oil lamp.”⁸⁴

79 I have heard this in Newfoundland, but this exact quote is from an elderly woman in Addis Ababa (Myllylä 2022:181). Sherman (2021:42) has a similar quote from Washington State,

80 For counters to romanticizing, you could read Sider (2003), Verma (2019), and Crummey’s novels *Sweetland* (2014) and *The adversary* (2023). Macfarlane’s (1991) *The danger tree* also reinforces Crummey’s accounts of disease, especially tuberculosis.

81 Strongly stated, of residents in a struggling community: “And they muddled along, like everyone else on the island” (Crummey 2014:90).

82 Along with Hall (2017), I rely on my questions and observations, and on Brox (1972), Omohundro (1985; 1995), Pocius (2000:Chap. 4), and Rodgers (2000). From Emily Urquhart’s dissertation we can add homespun amusements: “card playing, story-telling, people [making] their own music” (2013:90).

83 Foley et al. (2023:1806). Gudeman’s writings on the house economy make frequent reference to “making do,” which (he adds) is also central to ethnography (Gudeman 2022b). For making do with basic foodstuffs: Baldacchino (2015).

84 Rug Hooking Guild of Newfoundland and Labrador (2006:22). In the pictured example, Mrs. Gallahue (from Stock Cove, near King’s Cove) used yarn she spun herself.

In his charming book, *Tilting in Winter*, Robert Mellin recounts the communal care of paths for wood collecting (the slide paths—see Plate 33), a practice that extended to “all local spheres of activity: harvesting, production, consumption, land stewardship, and social behaviour”.⁸⁵ In these places, and rural communities overall, many “key work activities” failed to register in official records because they are not monetized.⁸⁶ Other signs of the culture of the house in the outports are rituals for handling risk,⁸⁷ “familial and cultural traditions,” “strong attachment[s] to [the fishers’] occupation,” and the relatively egalitarian organization of crews, often linked by kinship.⁸⁸ Table One summarizes key distinctions between house and market (sometimes called “high market”) economies. These distinctions represent two distinct cultures: the learned, internalized expectations and beliefs for how to live among others.

Table 1: House and Market Economies⁸⁹

	House Economy	Market Economy
People’s Actions	Non-instrumental	Instrumental
People’s Main Goal	Self-sufficiency	Gain
Justification for Actions	Mutuality	Self-interest
Mentality	Normative	Calculative
Ontology: People Are	Social Beings	Separate Actors
Relationships	Noncontractual	Contractual

This dichotomy is close to Derek Lidow’s “contrasting mindsets” of “bedrock” (house) and “high-risk” (market) entrepreneurs. The former “want to reduce the risks of per-

⁸⁵ Mellin refers here to “Tilting and . . . other Newfoundland outports” (2015:25). Keely Maxwell reported that in an Andean community “fuel wood . . . collection is a cultural practice essential to securing livelihoods and promoting social relations” (2011:189–190).

⁸⁶ Lobao (2004:9).

⁸⁷ Acheson 1981; Pollnac and Poggie (2008); Pollnac et al. (2001).

⁸⁸ For “familial and cultural traditions” and fishers’ “strong attachment to their occupation” (Seara et al. 2022); for relatively egalitarian organization of crews and kinship (Acheson 1981); for ritual, Acheson, 1981; Poggie 1980; Pollnac et al. (2001); Pollnac and Poggie 2008).

⁸⁹ The table is derived from Gudeman (2016) and Gudeman and Hann (2015), with Polanyi (1944) added for the (non)contractual distinction. We could add the hoary distinction between status and contract from Sit Henty Summer Maine, invoked by Polanyi (1977:48). However, as Kockelmann (2007) proposed, Maine meant ascriptive statuses, which anthropological works on kinship find, depending on system context, to be elastic and manipulable (Geschiere 2020; Nash 2005; Stewart 2010). Janet Carsten also shows (2020:331) that “mobility is part of kinship, just as kinship is intrinsic to migration”.

sonal loss (money, status relationships);” the latter “want to maximize personal gain (money, status, networks).”⁹⁰

“Without continued dependence on and engagement in fishing, the community would be transformed into an alternate state.”⁹¹ Such was the goal of the modernizing planners in the capital cities of St. John’s and Ottawa. Their “long term economic goal [was] to turn a peasant, subsistence-level society into a market-oriented, industrial one;” a house economy into a market economy.⁹²

Modernizers ravage communities and nature, and not just in Newfoundland. In rural Panama, planners aimed for economic development by converting poor farmers from multiple crops to the single crop of sugar cane. Gudeman’s calculations show that the cane was produced at negative Ricardian rents, possible only through subsidization with multiple sources of livelihood.⁹³ Worse, the cane crop harmed the soil, only to be followed by the collapse of the sugar mill. Another case of markets harming the house, more widely noted, is the fate of mangrove forests in much of the world. Mangroves mitigate floods and, as a “blue carbon ecosystem,” capture carbon.⁹⁴ Just as mangrove forests are extensive in many sea-side locales, so too is research on this topic. This research supports Adger’s finding, that converting mangrove forests for agriculture or aquaculture provides wealth for a few but erodes social and ecological resilience.⁹⁵

In Newfoundland, modernization of the fishery was a goal of the province’s leaders. They succeeded, with a vengeance. Because the traditional salt cod industry was unproductive and unprofitable, modernization was a sensible goal.⁹⁶ State support of frozen fish technology, starting in the 1940s, included low interest loans and loan guarantees for the purchase of trawlers and centralized processing plants.⁹⁷

⁹⁰ Lidow (2018:243–244).

⁹¹ Himes-Cornell and Hoelting (2015:3).

⁹² Iverson and Matthews (1968:136); see also Amos and Bailey (2020). Newfoundland’s long-term premier, Joey Smallwood, explained to Donna Butt that the continued existence of many outposts defied “all the laws of economics” (interview with Donna Butt).

⁹³ Gudeman (2016:127–132; 2022a: 57–58, 71–72, 113–116, 125–128, 131–132).

⁹⁴ Fakhraee et al. (2023).

⁹⁵ Adger (2000); Hagger et al. (2022); Luo et al. (2022). Another case of modernizing that threatens the subsistence house economy is Kenyan efforts to replace smallholder pig raising with industrial agriculture (Mutua 2011; augmented by personal communication with co-author C. E. Dewey).

⁹⁶ For the inefficiency of the salt cod industry, see Etchegary (2013).

⁹⁷ Wright (2014). Heidbrink (2011) explores the ramifying effects of this new technology, including over-fishing. Etchegary (2013:186) shows a devastating decline in the spawning biomass from 1962 to 1992. Another effect was damage to the organisms near the sea bottom (the benthos; Jones 1992; Puig et al. 2012). Gerald Sider (2003:3–9) angrily paints an even more devastating picture. From his work I agree not adopt to the common descriptor: fish “harvesters”. True harvesters sow as well as reap.

But the factory-freezer-trawlers, lauded as the future of a modern fishery, would plunder the life in the sea. Deep-sea ships, many from Europe, formed “cities of trawlers” in Bonavista and other fishing harbours. One of my elderly friends remembers Bonavista’s harbour looking at night like a brightly-lit city, with many foreign trawlers anchored near the shore.⁹⁸ These ships had a voracious efficiency beyond the capacity of the fish to reproduce. The breeding stock for cod was decimated.⁹⁹ After the breeding stock of a fish species collapses, recovery of the population is lengthy, decades longer than expected in the case of the moratorium.¹⁰⁰ The ability of scientists to quantify a marine fish stock is “extremely limited,” due to “the extreme nonlinear complexity of fish population dynamics.”¹⁰¹ This did not deter excessive faith in inflated projections of the fish populations. Inshore fishers, with their “hard and sound” experience, recognized the danger, but they could not block the “big business” open ocean trawlers. Their voices were ignored, along with anthropologists, who also paid attention.¹⁰²

On Canada’s Atlantic coast, the political and legal environment for the fishery is relatively supportive of the inshore owner-operators. By contrast, on Canada’s Pacific coast, “the wealth from the fishery [is] increasingly captured by investors that do not contribute to the fishery or . . . coastal communities”.¹⁰³ The small-

98 Etchegary (2013) is a comprehensive critique from a senior industry insider (Anonymous 2023). Page 119 has a graphic of “Northern Cod Catches, 1875–1992,” showing a dramatic increase in the foreign catch from the late 1950s to the early 1970s.

99 “Cod is the poster child of fisheries mismanagement” (Hilborn and Hilborn 2019:51) Finlayson (1994:2) focused on one aspect of mismanagement: the uneasy relationship “between science and the state”. He had gained exceptional access to the struggles between the members of the federal administration, with their “budgetary and legislative power, and the fisheries scientists, with their claims to legitimate knowledge (1994:150). McIntyre (1997) is an ambivalent review from the perspective of a fisheries scientist. For other critiques of fisheries (mis)management and greed, see Alexander (1977), Bromley (2009), McDonald (1987), Sider (2003), and Wright (2014). Pauly (2019) summarized the reasons for the collapse of fisheries as the “toxic triad of (1) underreporting the catch, (2) overfishing (i.e., ignoring the scientific advice . . .), and (3) blaming ‘the environment’ for the ensuing mess”.

100 Hutchings (2000).

101 Glaser et al. (2014:616) for the first quote; Ferguson-Cradler (2021:721) for the second. For the failures of science see Myers et al. (1997) and Walters and Maguire (1996).

102 Ferguson-Cradler (2021); Finlayson (1994:24). For knowhow of the inshore fishers, Momatiuk and Eastcott (1998:38, 42), and Neis et al. (1999). Pauly compares the policy influence of fisheries ecologists and economists with the much smaller influence of anthropologists, who uniquely understand the social world of inshore fishers. He attributes their limited influence to the lack of generalizations and scarcity of catch data in their writings (2019:34, 38, 45–46).

103 Edwards and Pinkerton (2020, p. 10); Haas et al. (2016). For the financialization of the fishery and consequent lack of concern with its embeddedness in coastal communities, see also Pinkerton and Davis (2015) and Silver and Stoll (2022). For limitations to neoliberalism and protection of the house economy in the Newfoundland fishery, see Amos and Bailey (2020), Foley et al. (2015),

scale inshore fishery in Atlantic Canada, unlike the Arctic and Pacific fisheries, has demonstrated political capital, with “three Fisheries and Oceans licensing policies” that counter the dominance of large-scale fishers.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, as in B.C., the fishery in Newfoundland is increasingly concentrated.¹⁰⁵ The costs to acquire or lease the rights to a catch, called individual transferable quotas (ITQs) or “catch shares”¹⁰⁶ can exceed \$500,000. The longliners that haul such catches cost twice that much and more. The result is greater risk, due to the leverage—high debt—combined with uncertain, often declining, revenues. This combination can create a financial calamity.¹⁰⁷

The Fishery Abides

Despite the risks to their finances and safety, and days or weeks away from home, researchers find that many inshore fishers are happy with their life and occupation.¹⁰⁸ Fortunately, the peninsula did not rely only on cod. Thanks to a transition from catching fewer creatures with fins than creatures with shells, a fishery for snow crabs has survived, though with a much smaller workforce for the processing.¹⁰⁹ Some crab fishers can prosper, in “one of the most profitable eras in the history of the province’s fishing industry, with record landings of more than \$1 billion

and Parlee and Foley (2022). Hoshino et al. (2020) present arguments in favor of these policies, which seek to match the capacities of the industry with the sustainable catch.

104 Amos and Bailey (2020:156). These policies are the Fleet Separation Policy, the Owner-Operator Policy, and the Policy for Preserving the Independence of the Inshore Fleet in Canada’s Atlantic Fisheries.

105 Acheson et al. (2015); Bavington et al. (2004).

106 Pauly (2019:48).

107 Himes-Cornell and Hoelting (2015). Dean-Simmons (2022b) presents an illustration. Edwards and Pinkerton (2020) analyze the depressing financial state of the owner-operators more abstractly. Pauly (2019:48–54) criticizes faulty assumptions about ITCs, holding that ITC regimes can be beneficial. But this result would require two preconditions: (1) accurate estimates of the Total Allowable Catch (TAC) and hence more investments in fisheries science, and (2) effective monitoring of fishers’ behaviour.

108 Pollnac et al. (2001); Pollnac and Poggie (2008). Lower satisfaction is found in contexts of regulatory and other constraints affecting fishing practices (Schreiber and Gillette 2021). These findings also do not apply to occasional, recreational fishers.

109 For resource dependency varying with diversity in the ecosystem, see Adger (2000) and Bailey and Pomeroy (1996). For the “cod-to-crustacean transition” that saved the fishery, see Hamilton and Butler (2001:3), Davis and Korneski (2012), and Fowler and Etchegary (2008). For the much smaller workforce needed, see Sider (2003:34).

in 2021 and 2022”.¹¹⁰ The Ocean Choice International crab processing plant (to the right in Plate 16) still employs about 400 people, more than its predecessor plant employed in 1976.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, crab cannot escape the economic vicissitudes of a fishery. The 2023 price for crab was set at \$2.20 per pound, a decline of more than \$5 from the year before. At this price, the crab fishery is barely viable.¹¹²

Bonavista mayor John Norman also wondered if the crab fishery would repeat the history of the cod: A “big challenge we’re going to be facing in Bonavista specifically is the fishery, and that has been the challenge of Bonavista for centuries, the ebbs and flows and ups and downs of the fishery. The crab quotas are being cut; the crab stocks are down. We are the largest crab processing facility with Ocean Choice International [OCI] in the province, and we have one of the highest densities of the Newfoundland crab fleet here, the [most] license holders . . . We have been begging for diversification [of the catch] for years [from OCI], before there is a moratorium on crab which, who knows, may come”.¹¹³

110 Roberts (2022).

111 According to Ryan (1976:7–8), it employed 250–300 people in 1976, compared with 450 in the Fishery Products Limited plant in Catalina.

112 Dean-Simmons (2023); Kennedy (2023).

113 The interview was in November 2018.



Plate 16: Bonavista Harbour with longliners.



Plate 17: A longliner, the Pease Cove Endeavour, being built in Trinity East.



Plate 18: The Pease Cove Endeavour in Catalina Harbour.



Plate 19: Sunkers near Little Catalina.



Plate 20: Mussel farm on Trinity Bay near Trinity, now abandoned.

Part Three

Revival with Community Capitals

Two aspects of embedded, house economies are well known in rural studies. One is regional collaboration, based on trusted connections within and among the communities. The proliferation of tiny communities—Champney’s East, Champney’s Arm, Champney’s West—bears witness to a history of conflict. One resident told me how, when he was a teenager, if he boated across the harbour he risked being beaten. Much tension was denominational, even within communities.¹¹⁴ Doug Penney tells me that in his childhood, all churches kept their doors open on Sunday so as better to drown out the others. Tensions across communities have not entirely disappeared. However, current community leaders and researchers recognize the value of cooperation across communities and organizations.¹¹⁵

Social Capital: Embeddedness and Collaboration

The importance of regional collaboration is apparent when we consider its scarcity in the history of Niagara Falls. Collaborative forbearance and agreements to husband the public resource of the Falls appeared in opposition to the “peddlers, hucksters, con artists and sideshow men [who] became extremely aggressive in their attempt to profit from tourists”.¹¹⁶ Once collaboration became institutionalized, hotel founding rates increased and failure rates declined. Such collaboration is

114 Prior to the amalgamation of school boards in 1997, educational resources in Newfoundland were split among denominational school boards, whether (at one time) Anglican, Methodist, and Roman Catholic or (later) Pentecostal, Roman Catholic, and a set of Protestant denominations. This fissure for years had the support of “the merchant-clerical-administrative elite of St. John’s,” regardless of its acknowledged wreckage of public education (McCann 1988:63). Major (2001: Chap. 24) provides nuanced coverage of the role of religion in the painful growth of education on the island and virulent rivalry between denominations.

115 For community leaders, see Stoddart et al. (2020). For researchers on tourism, see Besser and Miller (2013) and Wilson et al. (2001).

116 Ingram and Inman (1996), who might have been too optimistic, because Niagara Falls has just been ranked the worst tourist trap in Canada: <https://casago.com/blog/biggest-tourist-traps-worldwide/>. They did offer egregious examples of its prior “excessive commercialism” (1996:632). With Niagara Falls, governmental action proved crucial, with the creation of the public park on the Ontario side of the border. The open sea fishery is an extreme example of the tragedy of the commons. For the global industry, which relies on government subsidies and severely exploited labour, good sources are Pauly (2019); Sala et al. (2018) and Tickler et al. (2018).

widely recognized as vital for rural development, but often better recognized than actively practiced.¹¹⁷ Regional collaborations cannot be taken for granted.¹¹⁸ Rural development needs bottom-up initiatives and regionally based collaboration.¹¹⁹

[I'm] not saying that we all get along wonderfully . . . but we do partner on a lot of things . . . [This] book can show . . . what can come from working together. It takes a lot of people". Referring to [formal and informal leaders] John Norman, Jim Miller, Marilyn Coles-Hayley, and Donna Butt, Edith Samson added that "we've got to know one another over the years, and we've built the trust" needed to collaborate.



The hands of Donna Butt (Rising Tide Theatre) and Edith Samson (Coker Foundation). They were at an event for the UNESCO Discovery Geopark in Plate 6, on March 8, 2019.

¹¹⁷ Stoddart et al. (2020); Stoddart and Graham (2016).

¹¹⁸ Newfoundland suffers still from its history of money-losing development schemes. These were due to long-time Premier Joey Smallwood's illusory hopes for centrally managed industrialization (Cadigan 2009:241–244; Roberts 2022). "If we had listened to what government tells us, we would have nothing". This quote is from Edith Samson, who is an expert on working with governments.

¹¹⁹ Flora et al. (1997); Muñoz and Kimmitt (2019); Van Assche et al. (2022); and MacDonald and Jolliffe (2003) are again helpful on this topic.

Another widely noted contributor to rural resilience is the efforts of locally and regionally embedded entrepreneurs.¹²⁰ If these entrepreneurs can also make bridges across local and distant social worlds, they can gain access to financial resources, current business knowledge, and wider market access.¹²¹ Survival of embedded entrepreneurs and their resource-based world is needed for renewal. Fortunately, after the cod moratorium, the resource-dependent world has been resilient. For example, the Swyers, the remaining merchants in Bonavista, operate a restaurant, a grocery store, a franchise construction supply store, and an inn. They are led by third and fourth generation family members.

Embeddedness provides access to local resources and to local social support. We see this with the growth of the Bonavista Social Club. When Katie Hayes, from Upper Amherst Cove, launched her restaurant, the “locals spread the word”.¹²² Just above the restaurant is the furniture making shop of Mike Paterson, Katie’s father. Mike’s experience demonstrates that in-migrants can, over time, become locally embedded. He is from Ontario, but “probably the best-known carpenter in the province”. He took his time to be accepted as a quasi-local.¹²³

According to Mayor John Norman, the Swyers are one of the few rural merchants to make a successful transition to current conditions. Their business was financially healthy in the Great Depression. Therefore, it was able to purchase the assets of Philip Templeman Ltd., important merchants who had gone under in 1937, during the collapse of the market for salted cod. In 1884, the Templeman’s business had itself expanded by buying the assets of the merchant James Saint, following his bankruptcy.¹²⁴ Merchants are stereotyped as rich, but their lot was often precarious.

120 Jack and Anderson (2002).

121 Considerable evidence supports these assertions: Korsgaard et al. (2015); Müller and Korsgaard (2018); Terluin (2003); Young (2010); Yu and Artz (2019). Li et al. (2019:136) refer to “blending (internal) and bridging (external) social capital;” see also Kalantaridis and Bika (2006) and Greenberg et al. (2018). Rural sociologists use the terms “bonding and bridging” forms of social capital (Emery and Flora 2006:19).

122 Thorne (2004:147). Scannell and Gifford (2017) studied the perceived effects of a sense of place. Their respondents perceived these benefits of embeddedness as among the important outcomes.

123 Urquhart (2013:14). Similar cases could be made for others. Edith Samson, Donna Butt, Sue Asquith and Dave Ellis, John and Peggy Fisher (certainly their “boys”), among others, are all from elsewhere, but have put down roots in the area.

124 Alexander (1977:139); Garrido (2005); Ommer and Sinclair (1999); Maritime History Archive (n.d.).



Plate 21: Skipper's Restaurant in the Swyers' Harbour Quarters Inn.



Plate 22: “The fish store”, a former fish drying flake used for storage.



Plate 23: Jim Swyers in his office above the Swyers' grocery store.



Plate 24: The Paw Patrol in the Santa Claus parade.



Plate 25: Deck of the Bonavista Social Club, Upper Amherst Cove.



Plate 26: Giorgia De Maio, horticulturalist for Bonavista Social Club.



Plate 27: Giorgia De Maio shows how she handles potatoes.



Plate 28: At Walkham's Café, co-owner Sharon Miller bakes a cake.



Plate 29: The “Penney House” in Keels.



Plate 30: Clayton with his “chip truck,” behind the Penney House in Keels.



Plate 31: Mesh's store and post office in Keels.



Plate 32: Selby Mesh in Maudie's Tea Room at the back of Mesh's store.



Plate 33: Doug Penney shows a slide that was used in the past for gathering firewood.



Plate 34: Doug Penney shows me his root cellar, which is currently in use.



Plate 35: Doug Penney's sculptures on a hill.



Plate 36: Close-up of a Penney sculpture.



Plate 37: Bernice Johnson with her crocheted quilt, in Trouty.

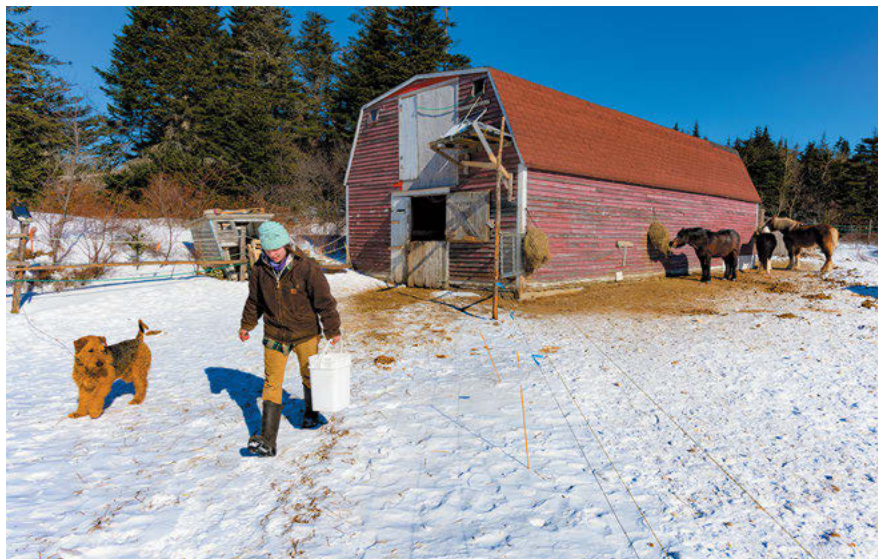


Plate 38: Amanda Cull fetches water for her animals.



Plate 39: Amanda Cull is typically ebullient, but pensive here.



Plate 40: A day-old lamb.

Cultural and Historical Capital

In the 1960s and 1970s, Newfoundlanders created an “arts renaissance”, in theatre, music, fiction, poetry, architecture, and painting.¹²⁵ They worked to preserve a culture that they considered at risk. As Candace Cochrane’s 2008 title, *Outport: The soul of Newfoundland* suggests, what they believed to be threatened was a way of life, the life of the rural house economy. Why did they see this when they did so? Donna Butt, of Rising Tide Theatre, put it this way: Newfoundland’s distinctive culture “had been sort of swallowed up by confederation” with Canada in 1949.¹²⁶

In 1948, referenda offered the option of responsible government, supported largely by the urban well-to-do. The option of union with Canada—Confederation—was supported more by the rural poor. The hopes of the poor for worldly gains were realized. After Confederation, “eighty thousand cheques were mailed out each month” from the federal government: “family allowance, old age pension, unemployment insurance, [and] veterans benefits”.¹²⁷ Schools were built. Health care facilities improved. Telephone and power lines, and roads reached out across the island in Premier Joey Smallwood’s “war on isolation”.¹²⁸ Above all, the completion of the Trans-Canada Highway (the TCH) in 1965 symbolized the new, connected Newfoundland: “We’ll finish the drive in ’65 . . . thanks to Mr. Pearson.”¹²⁹ (Lester Pearson was Prime Minister of Canada from 1963–1968. The federal government covered 90% of the Trans-Canada costs.)

The new roles for government created a problem. For centuries, settlers had created communities where they found they could subsist, due to nearby fishing grounds.¹³⁰ These choices left them scattered in small communities across 6,000 miles of coasts. With no expectations of outside assistance, and few economic links to the wider world aside from a merchant, residents relied on their own hard work and mutual aid.¹³¹ But now the governments in St. John’s and Ottawa

125 For many arts, Gulliver (2014); for poetry, Dalton (2022).

126 Donna Butt, November 2018.

127 Major (2001:404); see also Blake and Baker (2019:Chaps. 6–7). Was Confederation—as some believe—a devious plot orchestrated from London and Ottawa? I am persuaded otherwise by the lengthy rebuttal by Blake (2014).

128 Etchegary (2013); Higgins (2011); McBride (2001); Urquhart (2013:149; Vodden et al. (2014). In places like Keels, these developments date to the late 1970s. For health care, Thomas (1978).

129 Gulliver (2014:10); Marsh (2015). Mekaela Gulliver heard this sing-song phrase when she interviewed people from the arts for her dissertation. The idea of “a trans-insular highway” was a dream of supporters of union with Canada as early as 1947 (Blake and Baker 2019:248).

130 Etchegary (2013:51).

131 Two other linkages were with itinerant or resident preachers and with teachers, who were typically young and lacking much influence.

had shouldered the duties of the welfare state. How could they succeed in their drive for modernization in all the many hamlets of the island?

Their solution was “resettlement”: the wholesale removal of people from some communities to larger centres.¹³² With the Centralization Program of 1953 and the Fisheries Household Resettlement Program of 1965, the “government resettled hundreds of small communities”.¹³³ This remains controversial. No communities were abandoned without most residents choosing to accept financial compensation and move, but a sense of coercion, from within or without the community, persists.¹³⁴ Living in small islands or dispersed coastal communities is associated with a strong sense of place.¹³⁵ Older residents who moved lost touch with local knowhow—where best to fish or to forage—and senses of place and people. In the arts worlds, resettlement incited anger and distress, expressed in multiple ways, such as the mournful protest song “The Government Game”.¹³⁶

Three communities in the Bonavista area were resettled. Lancaster (also called Lance Cove) was east of Spillars Cove. Kerley’s Harbour (formerly Careless Harbour) and British Harbour were both in the Trinity Bight. There is a trail, rather muddy, from New Bonaventure to the remains (just one building) of British Harbour. When I drove there to hike the trail I could not see where to park, so I asked a lady in a nearby store. She said, “you see those signs, ‘Authorized vehicles only’? Go right through, and park by the green building”.

Rising Tide Theatre

On the Peninsula, three important institutions draw upon Newfoundland’s rural heritage: the Rising Tide Theatre in Trinity, the Sir William F. Coaker Heritage Foundation in Port Union, and the Home from the Sea John C. Crosbie Sealers Interpretation Centre in Elliston. A theme common to all three is a history of suffer-

¹³² I commend Crummey’s novel *Sweetland* (2014) for insights into resistance to resettlement and into rural life. For the controversy, Côté and Pottie-Sherman (2020).

¹³³ Webb (2016:280). In the early years of the cultural renaissance, “between 1965 and 1970 . . . 119 communities were resettled” (Martin, 2006). A few folks choose to remain, despite the withdrawal of government services, in some resettled communities.

¹³⁴ Côté and Pottie-Sherman (2020); Iverson and Matthews (1968:138).

¹³⁵ This sense of place is a focus of Crummey’s novel *Sweetland*, as Brinklow (2016) notes. She adds that “on an island, with compressed space and a very real boundary that is the ocean, emotional attachments to one’s place are often heightened” (2016:133).

¹³⁶ Written by Pat Byrne and Al Pittman, and recorded by Pat Byrne, Joe Byrne, and Baxter Wareham (*Gulliver* 2014:187–188). For resettlement and the arts, Fagan (1990).

ing. As Donna Butt, Rising Tide’s founder, executive and artistic director says, “Newfoundland history is steeped in tragedy”.

Donna was prominent in the 1970s arts renaissance.¹³⁷ Rising Tide, a “professional theatre company,” walks “a very thin line” between its role in the arts and regional economic development, a subject Donna cares about greatly. Its artistic contributions celebrate, critique, reflect upon, and remember the culture and history of Newfoundland. In her words, the arts were “efforts to get our own voice”. “The place we came from mattered, was something to honour and be proud of.”¹³⁸ As an illustration, the 2022 season offered three plays on outpost life, and (as in past seasons) a play on one of the formative Newfoundland tragedies, the July 1, 1916, slaughter at Beaumont Hamel. Obeying misguided officers of the British Fourth Army, men of the Newfoundland Regiment arose to attack a German position that was armed with machine guns. The Newfoundland “regiment was nearly annihilated”.¹³⁹ In *The danger* tree, David Macfarlane recounts a broader history, centered on his ancestors, of Britain’s inept yet lauded commanders wreaking carnage on Newfoundland’s youth.¹⁴⁰

137 The Rising Tide theatre company was founded by Donna, David Ross, and Rick Boland in the Fall of 1978 (at the time of the arts renaissance). Rick Boland (seen in Plate 45), long a force in Newfoundland culture, died on January 30, 2024.

138 The first quote from Donna Butt is from our interview. The second is from Martin (2017). Martin also called the theatre “a major economic generator,” as did Fisher et al. (2022:144). Donna Butt, who met with me several times, noted her “obsessiveness” about Newfoundland culture. She had to be obsessive to build her theatre company, which was “impractical [anywhere] on a rock in the middle of the North Atlantic,” and she created “the largest theatre company in Newfoundland” (Mercer 2021:72, 101) . . . only to move it from “town” (St. John’s) to the remote wee town of Trinity.

139 Cadigan (2009:188). The play is “No Man’s Land” by Kevin Major, after his book of the same title. He addresses other failings of the leadership in his history of the province (2001:331).

140 MacFarlane (1991:60–65, 95–97, 105–107, 133–143, 169–171, 185–189, 193–201, 208–211, 217–220).



Plate 41: A scene from the Trinity Pageant by Rising Tide Theatre, Trinity.



Plate 42: Donna Butt in the box office of the Rising Tide Theatre, Trinity.



Plate 43: Trinity, with the Rising Tide Theatre, across from Trinity Bay.



Plate 44: The Rising Tide Theatre building in Trinity.



Plate 45: Rising Tide Theatre's annual satirical comedy, *The Revue*.

The Sealers Interpretation Centre

Sealing had three benefits. It filled seasonal gaps in nutrition, it lessened the seals' depletion of the cod stock, and it offered at times the only employment available.¹⁴¹ Small-scale sealing has lately become a locus of identity, at odds with the commercial ethos of large-scale sealing in the past.¹⁴² Both were desperately dangerous.¹⁴³ For over a century sealing was a recurrent source of death. Most notable among the sealing disasters were those of the *SS Southern Cross* and the *SS Newfoundland*. From the *SS Southern Cross*, 173 died when the ship sank due, due perhaps to over-loading.¹⁴⁴ From the *SS Newfoundland*, 78 men, stranded on ice in stormy weather, met with a harrowing death. Sealing was also a source of mental and physical horrors for those who survived the disasters.¹⁴⁵ Thus, the museum's outdoor memorial to disasters includes the names of the survivors as well as the deceased.

141 Engel et al. (2021); Ryan (2014: xiii, 7).

142 Keough (2010).

143 Ryan (2014:14) recounts a history of sealing ships lost at sea.

144 Higgins (2007); Macfarlane (1991:51–53, 101–102); Major (2001:Chap. 27). In 1898, 48 sealers from the *Greenland* lost their lives (Blackmore 2023:22). As for the conditions for the sealers on the ships, try to picture, smell, and feel the very opposite of glamping.

145 “The survivors were grotesque and pitiful” Brown with Horwood (1988:182). The 1914 tragedies inspired well-known etchings by David Blackwood—imagined imaginaries (Eagan 2021:130 and <https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/arts/david-blackwood-art-page-two.php>). The Centre's website is <http://www.homefromthesea.ca/theexperience>.



Sealing disasters monument, Elliston, with sculpture by Morgan MacDonald in back.

Danger resulted from the elements, marginal technologies, administrative myopia, and obliviousness to the lives of the common people by the upper classes, a self-protective network of ship captains, merchants, bankers, and government leaders.¹⁴⁶ To these we can add nepotism, as the *SS Newfoundland* was commanded by the woefully unready son of a famous ship captain.¹⁴⁷

“But neither trumpet-blast, nor the hoarse din
Of guns, nor the drooped signals from those
Mute
Banners, could find a language to salute
The frozen bodies that the ships brought in.
To-day the vaunt is with the grave. Sorrow
Has raked up faith and burned it like a pile

¹⁴⁶ Kennedy offers a scathing perspective on the traditional elites. He refers to remote “villages [as] the ‘mini colonies’ of the ruling class” (2022:5, 165). For class conflict in sealing, see Cadigan (2009:171).

¹⁴⁷ Ryan (2014:21, 28–29) depicts the callow captain of the *SS Newfoundland*, Westbury Kean, son of Captain Abram Kean, who was a “legend in his own right”.

Of driftwood, scattering the ashes while
 Cathedral voices anthemed God's tomorrow".
 From "The Toll of the Bells" in *Newfoundland Verse* by E. J. Pratt.¹⁴⁸

Are we now, in the 21st century, past the time when tragedy, the seas, and incompetence combine? The lost lives in offshore oil—for Newfoundlanders, the 84 lost with the *Ocean Ranger*—mutely tell us otherwise. We should dread yet another "resurgence of hubris and bad corporate behaviour".¹⁴⁹

The Sir William F. Coaker Heritage Foundation

In Bonavista, several merchants competed strenuously. In that town, "the stereotype of the merchant holding a community in thrall certainly did not apply".¹⁵⁰ But in many communities, the fishers were tied to a cashless subsistence life, beholden to merchants who, alone, had links to global markets.¹⁵¹ Here is a snippet of a poetic attack on merchants, from about 1850:

"The poor they oft oppress and wrong
 And cloak it mong their giling throng
 They are a bandit wicked clan
 And named the motley maggot gang".¹⁵²

148 Pratt (1923:15). Pratt was well acquainted with tragedy and, as an ordained Methodist minister, wrestled with the theodicy question: how can God be good? A friend of my grandfather, he penned this inscription in my grandfather's copy (now my copy) of "*Newfoundland Verse*": "To an old pal Wallie Stewart with the best complements of the author, Ned Pratt, Victoria College, December 19, 1923". Macfarlane (1991:46) also owns a copy with an ornate dedication from Pratt for Macfarlane's maternal ancestors. He is scornful of Pratt both as a writer and a person (1991:42–46, 201–203). Delisle (2013:Chap. 4) is summary and critique of the many commentaries on Pratt's work.

149 Polack (2019:156). Polack critiques the image-spinning efforts of the oil firms. Sue Jane Taylor, whose artwork ennobles those lost from the North Sea *Piper Alpha* catastrophe, rejects those efforts: the offshore oil firms "certainly did not identify with their workforce" (Taylor 2021:158). If good poetry exists about the *Ocean Ranger*, I have not found it, but Lisa Moore's novel *February* brings alive the aftermath of loss and a few moments of the terror (Moore 2009).

150 Macdonald (1996:60). One leading Bonavista merchant, James Ryan, lent \$120 to then 16-year-old J. T. Swyers, who launched his merchant enterprise by opening a small store (Macdonald 1996:93).

151 Sider (2003:Chap. 3) is a comprehensive critique of the "truck" system: "a cashless barter of fish for shop goods" (p. 79), with control over production in the hands of the fishers but control over commerce and marketing in the hands of the merchants.

152 The author of this onslaught appears to have been "Anne Carter (most likely Anne Catherine Weston Carter)" (Morry 2019:loc.), who was well acquainted with the merchants of the mid-1800s Southern Shore. I take it that "giling" means grinding, but Newfoundland English is splendidly variable.

The merchants and their political supporters met a resolute foe in Sir William F. Coaker.¹⁵³ Coaker was a charismatic innovator, both in his labour organizing and creation of Port Union which, it claims, is the only union-built town in North America. “W. F. Coaker remains one of the most controversial figures in Newfoundland history. The fervent passions and deep resentments he aroused in his followers and opponents muddied his name with myths and rumours at once scandalous and heroic”.¹⁵⁴ A helpful summary of Coaker’s work is found on the website of the Coaker Foundation: <https://www.historicportunion.ca/en/ourhistory.html>.

The Sir William F. Coaker Foundation operates a museum that showcases Coaker’s beneficial innovations. The Foundation also restores other properties from Coaker’s time, seen in Plates 48–52 and 75. The indomitable Edith Samson has managed and obtained funding for this enterprise for a quarter century. The neighbouring “Bungalow,” which was Coaker’s home, and the monument with his bust at the top of a hill, demonstrate the reinvention of the merchants’ opponent as a merchant himself, albeit a merchant with a less magnificent house than those in St. John’s.¹⁵⁵ Coaker’s political career has been well documented, but a new contribution would be a study of his life, from a 13-year-old labour organizer to the well-to-do man who left a brutalist monument to himself in his private cemetery. Such a study could build on the detailed account of his ill-treated daughter, Camilla.¹⁵⁶

153 By no means were all merchants rich and many went bankrupt. Causes of failure included ruthless competitors, predatory partners or officials, pricing risks in the global fish markets, and raids by privateers and other acts of war (Morry 2019). Morry’s history of the smaller merchants, who lived in the outports, focuses on his 4th Great Grandfather, Matthew Morry. The book is sympathetic but not hagiographic. As for the larger merchants, McDonald (1987) sheds light on the corrupt self-dealing of Coaker’s merchant and government opponents. Newfoundland English has a glorious range of invectives, as in “some of those businessmen on Water Street are real sleeveens,” a milder insult as a rule (Kirwin et al. 1990:491). “It means a ‘smooth-tongues rogue’” (Critch 2021:180). For class conflict and the “defeat of working-class power in Newfoundland” in the early twentieth century, see O’Brien (2011:69). For the “economic dualism,” see Brox (1972).

154 McDonald (1975:96) Gossip about Coaker continues to this day. McDonald’s (1987) monograph focuses instead on Coaker’s political drives, ultimately unsuccessful, for a radical reconstruction of the mismanaged fishery.

155 McGrath and Halfyard (2008:56). Stacey (1998:52–53) offers a more detailed and sympathetic account of the Bungalow.

156 McGrath and Halfyard (2008) is chock full of memorabilia, historical records, photographs, and candid statements of Camilla’s ambivalence and anger towards Coaker. For an example of the latter, see page 62 for his fruitless effort to force his daughter marry his secretary, holding out the only route to be his heir. For “the pseudo-grandeur of Coaker’s gravesite” see Major (2001:361) if you cannot visit Port Union yourself.

Revalorizing Tradition and History

Local traditions and culture are crucial assets for many rural areas, Bonavista included. They can be “re-valorized” by entrepreneurs and transformed into tourism attractions.¹⁵⁷ Examples include Elliston’s root cellars.¹⁵⁸ When Elliston—walkable from Bonavista—shut down its lights, Marilyn Coles-Hayley and other volunteers created Tourism Elliston. They branded their town the “root cellar capital of the world”.¹⁵⁹ This might seem inauthentic. But some root cellars are still in use. Further, “commoditization does not necessarily destroy the meaning of cultural products, neither for the locals not for the tourists”.¹⁶⁰ One reason is that “what tourists seek [may be] their own authentic selves . . . [and] whether the toured objects are authentic is irrelevant” for this pursuit.¹⁶¹

I experienced inauthenticity but once, with a musical performance that intervened awkwardly during a breakfast, performed only for us guests, none of whom asked for it. Traditional music was otherwise created by and meant for locals as much as for tourists. I also witnessed many signs of deep connections with history and tradition, often hidden from the tourist gaze. An example is the photographs on the history of the Swyers’ firm, many of which are visible only to members of the family and employees (as in Plate 23). The use of tradition and history by expatriate Newfoundlanders provides other evidence of its value for insiders. For example, expatriates in Cambridge, Ontario created a memorial to Newfoundland’s wartime disasters. Newfoundland folklore also helped in the “formation of community” while they are on the mainland.¹⁶²

157 The Santa Claus parade was a popular local event in winter. The costumes of the mummers were atypical for mummers. Moreover, their audience was locals, not tourists, few of whom were there in the Christmas season. As a counter example of valorization, Pocius (2000:53–55) found that Calvert residents took an instrumental approach to older artifacts, with scant interest in preserving furniture or buildings that have become expensive to restore.

158 see also Gaddefors and Anderson 2019; Korsgaard et al. 2015.

159 See <https://www.rootcellars.ca/>.

160 Cohen (1988:383).

161 Wang (1999:365–366).

162 For the quote, see Thorne (2004:203). For a memorial to the loss of life in the World War II sinking of iron ore ships by German attacks, see Thorne (2004:142).



Plate 46: Statue of a sealer in the Home from the Sea Sealers Interpretation Centre in Ellison.



Plate 47: Sculpture for sealers who died in the *SS Newfoundland* disaster of 1914.



Plate 48: Jane Tucker meets with Edith Samson about a possible craft brewery.



Plate 49: The “Factory” museum, operated in Port Union by the Coaker Foundation.



Plate 50: The row houses on Main Road, Port Union, in the Coaker Foundation area.



Plate 51: The "Factory" museum, operated in Port Union by the Coaker Foundation.

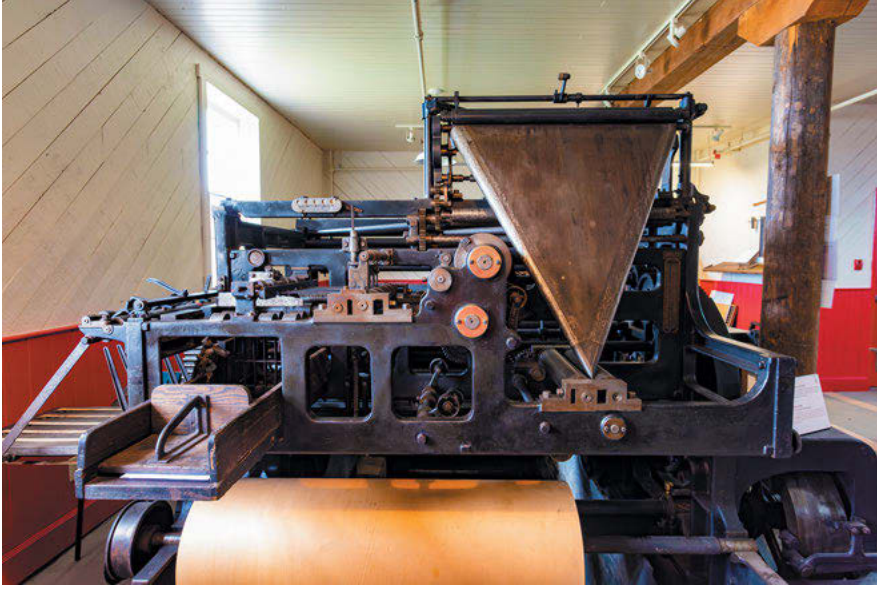


Plate 52: The printing press of the *Fishermen's Advocate*, for the Fishermen's Protective Union.



Plate 53: Roy's Light House Retreat at the Catalina Point.



Plate 54: A double root cellar, Elliston near Maberly.



Plate 55: A whimsically decorated root cellar in Elliston.

Human Capital: The Good News

Everywhere, an important driver of revival is creative people. Imagination is needed, to see the potential of the regional assets.¹⁶³ Therefore, creative people are “instrumental for job creation”.¹⁶⁴ We meet several in this book. Donna Butt of the Rising Tide Theatre—“a force of nature wilder than any North Atlantic gale”—is an exemplar.¹⁶⁵

“People thought we were crazy” to move a professional theatre company from the capital, St. John’s, to Trinity, in 1993. At the time, Trinity was barely able to accommodate visitors. “I had this plan on the wall of my office in St. John’s about trying to build a festival in a rural area. I really wanted to do that in a place where I thought it would make sense, with the land and the seascape and the place where these stories have come from. I thought it would have a different meaning altogether . . . as it was steeped in history” and culture”.

In formal education, rural populations lag their urban counterparts, and Bonavista is no exception.¹⁶⁶ Fortunately, research shows that formal education has a “negligible effect” on economic development.¹⁶⁷ In the tourism sector, formal education or speaking the King’s English are poor proxies for the value local people bring to a venture like Fishers’ Loft. The Loft serves well-to-do and well-educated guests, but authenticity in manner, care for guests and hard work are more important.¹⁶⁸ For some of the regional ventures, a stable labour force results from the tradition of valuing work, the limited alternatives, and the desire of many rural residents to stay close to their natal homes.¹⁶⁹

The area’s entrepreneurs are diverse in terms of gender and sexual orientation, Views in rural Newfoundland are relatively accommodating of diversity in

163 Anderson (2000); Müller and Korsgaard (2018); Muñoz and Kimmitt (2019).

164 McGranahan and Wojan (2007:213). McGranahan et al. (2011), Muñoz and Kimmitt (2019) and Stephens and Partridge (2011) also note the importance of outdoor amenities.

165 The depiction is by Mark Critch (2021:7).

166 Yu and Artz (2019:648). Huggins et al. (2017) also regard educational attainment as an important factor in rural firm survival. In Bonavista and nearby Trinity Bay North, among the combined population between the ages of 15 and 64 (according to the 2016 census—the 2021 census omits these data), 3.9% had a bachelor’s degree, compared with 15.4% in metropolitan St. John’s, 1.9% had a master’s degree, compared with 5.9%, but 1.3% had a health sciences degree compared with 0.7%. St. John’s also had 1.0% with earned doctorates.

167 Stafford (2020: 98–99).

168 John Fisher is clear about this point. See also Arroyo et al. (2021) on the importance of “staff friendliness” and Enbuska et al. (2021); Jack and Anderson (2002).

169 Cooke et al. (2021); Murray et al. (2021). These generalizations accord with my many interactions with Bonavista area employees. As a qualification, in 2022 several businesses counted on the responsible efforts of teenage girls (as in Plate 29), as older employees proved hard to find.

terms of sexual orientation and gender.¹⁷⁰ The region appears to be gay-friendly or, if you prefer, queer-friendly.¹⁷¹ The co-founders of Port Rexton Brewery, and the town of Bonavista Mayor and entrepreneur John Norman, are matter-of-factly gay. A few new same-sex couples have recently moved into the town of Bonavista. Important established organizations have been launched and run largely by women: the Coaker museum, Rising Tide, the sealing museum, and Artisan Inn.¹⁷² Many newer ventures are also run by women: the Bonavista Social Club, Port Rexton Brewery, Tree Line, and Kind Seas. Others are run by male-female couples, including Cull farm, East Coast Glow, Bonabooch Kombucha, Newfoundland Salt, Fishers' Loft, and Two Whales.

Financial Capital

Government funding has been a major source of financial capital. It ranges from war-time infrastructure through post-moratorium stop-gap measures to ongoing support from ACOA, has been vital for Bonavista as with other rural areas.¹⁷³ We can summarize government funding in the Peninsula this way: few ventures, whether they are collective (the trails and Geopark), not-for-profit, or for-profit, have lacked for government funding.¹⁷⁴ In many cases, this took the form of subsidizing labour costs. Federal and provincial government programs provided safety nets following the collapse of the fishery. They paid workers' salaries or "topped

170 I rely here on McLay and Ramos (2022), with the proviso that they refer to surveys of rural and urban Atlantic Canada, not just Newfoundland.

171 Rollmann (2023:14–16) shows that "queer" is preferred by younger people and is more comprehensive than "gay".

172 See Acheson 1981, Brown (2014); Neis (1999); Neis et al. (2013) and Rooney (2017) for demonstrations of the gendered division of labour. Women were the overseers of the houses and gardens (Pocius 2000), and with the men absent often on boats or (in the past) in the woods, women were locally influential. See Stafford (2020:36) for a similar situation among Taiwanese fishers. Moreover, the gendered division of labour in the fishery had started—slowly—to fracture prior to the moratorium Davis (1993). In the Bonavista area today, influential figures include Marilyn Coles-Hayley (Elliston), Donna Butt (Trinity), and Edith Samson (Port Union and the UNESCO Geopark).

173 The Northern Cod Adjustment and Rehabilitation Program, succeeded by The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy, "met with limited success" (Higgins 2008b). In the U.S.A., military spending—often misleadingly seen as distinct from "big government" spending—has been vital for rural areas (Conn 2023:Part I).

174 Not all funding has been governmental. The Libra Foundation's efforts in remote, small-town Maine (Witmer 2022, Afterword), and Shorefast's efforts in remote, rural Fogo Island, Newfoundland (Slawinski et al. 2021), are other examples of large-scale private investments, with hopes for tourism development, in the revitalization of struggling rural areas.

up” unemployment insurance.¹⁷⁵ Some infrastructure was supported with an explicit goal of aiding the tourism industry. That goal was the justification for renovations of Alexander Bridge House (Plate 59), “the oldest documented residential property in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador”.¹⁷⁶ In aid of the renovations, ACOA made a grant of \$998,489 with an additional \$485,790 from the Department of Industry, Energy and Technology.¹⁷⁷

Some regions have stronger political capital and hence more financial support. For example, “Bridge Harbour” (a pseudonym) received government support, including “construction of a new hospital” and other facilities, whereas “Southern Island” received little. The former lost only 14% of its population, whereas the latter lost 40%, from 1991 to 2001. Bridge Harbour was twice the size of Southern Island, which might explain its success in attracting governmental support.¹⁷⁸

The founders of the Port Rexton Brewery, Alicia Macdonald and Sonja Mills, saw and acted on opportunities for government support. They started out with owners’ equity, plus funding from ACOA and a provincial department (then called Tourism, Culture, Industry and Innovation). By 2019, ACOA had provided “\$941,620 in loans and grants”.¹⁷⁹ Expansion into the “Newery,” a larger facility, was financed with their own funds plus a loan from the state-owned Business Development Bank of Canada (BDC).¹⁸⁰

Political Capital

“The study of politics is the study of influence and the influential”. This 1936 definition by Harold Lasswell has been influential itself. Many support this view that

175 Interviews with Donna Butt and Edith Samson.

176 Whitten (2022).

177 Government of Newfoundland and Labrador (2021). The direct recipient was the Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation, the lead organization for the restoration. This news release also noted \$275,250 for the Bonavista-Trinity Regional Chamber of Commerce.

178 For linkages with urban areas, Li et al. (2019); for the quote, Fowler and Etchegary (2008:234). No reason other than initial population size is offered for Bridge Harbour’s relative success. Other examples are MacDonald and Jolliffe (2003) on Prince Edward Island.

179 Mullin (2019).

180 BDC (n.d.) The BDC is a self-sustaining state-owned enterprise. As such, it has goals beyond dollars, aiming “to help Indigenous, women and younger entrepreneurs” (Bird 2018:232).

politics is broader than the study of governments.¹⁸¹ Nonetheless, governments often play crucial roles in economic development (or lack thereof), and certainly so in Newfoundland.¹⁸² Governmental support, from the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), loomed large in post-moratorium Newfoundland. Its public development policies have emphasized partnerships and collaboration with civic organizations.¹⁸³ The need to collaborate with state agencies, and gain their support, had implications for Community Capitals. Donna Butt and Edith Samson, demonstrate both human capital and bridging social capital with lengthy records of obtaining financing for their not-for-profit organizations (Rising Tide Theatre and the Coaker Foundation). Similar accolades apply to John Norman's leverage of his political role as mayor of Bonavista for promoting the town.

Built Capital: Physical Renovations

Many improvements to Bonavista's built capital can be credited to three organizations: the Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation (BHTF), Bonavista Living, and Bonavista Creative. The BHTF was "the 2014 recipient of the National Trust's Prince of Wales Prize for Municipal Heritage Leadership".¹⁸⁴ In the late 1990s, with the leadership of David Bradley, the Foundation set upon revitalizing the built environment. One of its first projects was pedestrian walkways that enable strolling through the heart of the town. It seeks to preserve the vernacular style of the town's heritage buildings, with the work of skilled local artisans. One venture that benefited was Mike Paterson's woodworking shop, which was able to meet the "strict criteria set by the foundation".¹⁸⁵ More recent renovations are the Garrick Theatre and the Alexander Bridge House, long recognized as one of Canada's most endangered heritage structures but "a sinkhole for money".¹⁸⁶ A community-wide benefit of these careful renovations is the town's presentation of itself as an authentic outpost.¹⁸⁷ Improvements of built capital generate increases in tourism capital.

181 The quote is from Lasswell (1936:3). Two examples of agreements with this extra-governmental perspective are Agnew (2005) and Easton (1959) who (p. 236) wrote that "a political system is a set of actions oriented to the making of binding decisions for a social system".

182 Generally: Jessop (1998); for Newfoundland: Hall et al. (2017); Roberts (2022).

183 Conteh (2013); Reid et al. (2008).

184 Bull (2015:6).

185 Bonavista had as many as 1,000 heritage buildings (Proctor, 2004).

186 Whitten (2022); Mandel (2008) for the quote.

187 Ray (1998).

The Townscape Foundation collaborates with two newer organizations, Bonavista Living and Bonavista Creative. Both are led by Bonavista’s magnetic Mayor, John Norman. He is backed by an American couple with deep pockets. Bonavista Creative restores and leases commercial properties on the main business avenue, Church Street. Bonavista Living buys, restores, and sells residential heritage properties. According to their website, “Bonavista Living has acquired more than 50 of Bonavista’s residential heritage properties to restore and rejuvenate them to their original glory”. A recent article called Norman a “master of flip”.¹⁸⁸ That is misleading. Flipping is a price-based tactic, a temporal type of arbitrage, with or without restoration. Norman’s ventures and his backers are extremely patient investors.



John Norman is an expert gardener.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Kimber (2019). The website for both businesses is <https://www.bonavistaliving.com/>.

¹⁸⁹ Gardens in Newfoundland served as sources of both food and identity. Some “British settlers in Canada saw themselves as gardeners in a wilderness” (Sparrow 1990:24) with gardens viewed as signs of a cultivated life.

Yet Norman is not an everyday entrepreneur. He is that rarity among entrepreneurs in rural areas (and elsewhere): an entrepreneur ambitious for growth.¹⁹⁰ His position as mayor—a sign of his political capital—gives him a platform for promoting economic development in Bonavista. He uses this platform often and well.¹⁹¹ This gives us a proposition to ponder, that rural revitalization is most successful with a mix of everyday entrepreneurs, both in-migrant and embedded, and an occasional high-growth, community-minded entrepreneur.

Elsewhere in Newfoundland, we find another type of ambitious entrepreneur: a wealthy benefactor, who returns to her childhood place to revive it. Zita Cobb and the Shorefast Foundation made major changes in a peripheral place, Fogo Island, with an innovative mix of artistry, local development, and luxury tourism.¹⁹² We are too early to predict whether another major project will succeed, this time in the Bonavista area. The wealth in this case derives from an important merchant family, the Quintons, who were prominent on the Bonavista Bay coast. On that coast, if you enter the jagged road off bumpy Route 235 to reach Tickle Cove and its Sea Arch, you might not notice Open Hall-Red Cliffe, population 54. (I confess to this lapse of attention.) You would miss the five Registered Heritage Structures of John Quinton Limited, a merchant business for a century or more. The Quinton Historic Trust, Inc, founded in October 2020, has a business plan for an extensive redevelopment of these assets.¹⁹³ If they succeed, they will complement the Geopark assets of both Tickle Cove and Keels. Here is the “before” condition:

190 Mason et al. (2015); Brown et al. (2017).

191 Riche (2015); Robinson (2022). John Norman’s human capital includes prowess at promotion. Even the location of his house—as visible as possible—exemplifies his promotional abilities.

192 Slawinski et al. (2021)

193 Anonymous (2004); business plan of the Trust. This plan is ambitious due to the large start-up capital required, the need to assemble a team of artisans qualified to work with heritage structures, and staffing challenges once up and running.



Quinton Historic Trust area, June 8, 2023, 5:29 p.m.

Renovations with Neutral or Positive Outcomes

Seven types of renovation can be found in the Bonavista region. In each type, buildings are painted, repaired, and cared for; at the least, they are retrofitted for other uses. But they differ in how they affect the balance of influence between residents and outsiders. They differ in their effects on gentrification,¹⁹⁴ which is the “displacement” of residents by wealthier newcomers. Five of the seven types, I suggest, have benign effects. I cover them first, with the sixth and seventh types covered in Part Four.

In the first type of renovation, full-time residents pay to renovate their properties for personal use. The example in this book is Clayton Hobbs’ home, the Penney House, in Keels. Plate 29 is the “before” image. These restorations are financed by locals with local sources of funding. The outcome is the opposite of damaging gentrification. With this “self-gentrification,”¹⁹⁵ the apparent wealth of locals rises relative to that of outsiders. The residents are not displaced.

In the second type of renovation, full-time residents pay to renovate properties for use in businesses. Captain Blackmore’s Heritage Manor (initially a bed-and-breakfast; Plate 56), Harbour Quarters Inn (Plates 21 and 24), the Port Rexton Brewery (Plates 81–83), and the Ricketts’ Round da Bay Inn and their St. James

¹⁹⁴ Bhavsar et al. (2020:2 of 24); Phillips (1993); Stockdale (2010).

¹⁹⁵ Chan et al. (2016).

Anglican Church (Plate 57) are examples. As with the first type, the apparent wealth of locals rises compared to that of outsiders.¹⁹⁶

In the third type of renovation, full-time residents run not-for-profit organizations and renovate culturally and historically important structures. The federal and provincial governments may provide financial support. Examples include the Alexander Bridge House (Plate 59); the Garrick Theatre (Plate 58), and the Sir William F. Coaker factory building and row houses (Plates 49–50). The indirect outcome is financial gains for the residents, thanks to augmented tourism capital.

In the fourth type of renovation, full-time residents collaborate with non-residents who provide the investment capital. They renovate heritage structures as contributions to the area's revival and as long-term (very long term) investments. Bonavista Creative and Bonavista Living, both started and run by John Norman with funding from the Dickson family of Shreveport, Louisiana, are examples.¹⁹⁷ Bonavista Living buys, renovates, and sells residential properties, whereas Bonavista Creative buys, renovates, and leases commercial properties, such as those in Plates 84–86. The outcomes of this type include indirect financial benefits for residents, thanks to augmented tourism capital and, hence, entrepreneurship capital. Another outcome, I suspect, is increasing attachment to the community. Eliza Swyers tells me she is happy on seeing the aesthetic revival of the town, which reminds her of when she was young. This effect is the opposite of cultural displacement. With cultural displacement, residents move away as they lose their sense of place, due to the gentrifiers' attitudes and activities.¹⁹⁸

The fifth type of renovation, unlike types one through four, is led by summer residents. The congregation of All Saints Anglican church was down to four families. Therefore, it was deconsecrated and slated for demolition. Several summer residents recognized the opportunity to create creating the Arts Centre, a not-for-profit organization.¹⁹⁹ They spent three years on the renovation. Plate 99 shows the Centre's Annex. The outcome of this renovation is enhancement of cultural and tourism capital in the area.

196 The Blackmore's property was in the family but decrepit, as was the Harbour Quarters structure (a 2004 restoration of a 1920 structure); the Brewery renovated an abandoned school; Round da Bay Inn salvaged a decaying building. The photo of the deconsecrated church in King's Cove (Plate 58) testifies to its sorry state.

197 Norman and the Dicksons appear to me, admittedly an outsider, to be well matched. As Riche (2015) reports, the Dicksons "would bring considerable cash, and Norman, his knowledge and boundless energy".

198 Mah (2023); Twigge-Molecey (2014).

199 Cumby (2020); discussion with Jim Wickwire.



Plate 56: Sitting room in Captain Blackmore's Heritage Manor.



Plate 57: Karen Ricketts in the deconsecrated St. James Anglican church in King's Cove.



Plate 58: The Garrick Theatre, town of Bonavista.



Plate 59: Alexander Bridge House, town of Bonavista.

Building on a Basis of Natural Capital

Tourism is a “popular rural development strategy”.²⁰⁰ In this regard, Bonavista fits a typical pattern, where “growth is concentrated in scenic areas . . . with cultural/heritage strengths, and [with] attractions such as bird breeding / feeding grounds, or good cycling”.²⁰¹ We can substitute “hiking” for cycling and note the Atlantic Puffin viewing site at Elliston, which “offers the closest view of puffins, from the land, in all of North America”.²⁰² The landscape can upend our senses, as it “is real: harsh, beautiful, ugly,” in the word of Gerry Squires, one of the island’s most acclaimed artists.²⁰³ As Squires explained, the landscape is not just harsh but beautiful. It attracts not only tourists but incoming entrepreneurs. Just as cultural and historical assets attract both visitors and creative people, so too with outdoor amenities. For example, John and Peggy Fisher were drawn in by “the inexpressible beauty of the coast”.²⁰⁴ This was also true of the founders of Port Rexton Brewery:

“When we got married there [in English Harbour, near Port Rexton and Trinity], we just fell in love with the area. I mean Sonja’s been hiking here for years; she’s from Clarenville” at the base of the peninsula. Alicia Macdonald, co-founder with Sonja Mills.

Landscape as Place

If we move slowly, attentively, on rock beds, in gorges, in gulches, we breathe in a deep sense of place. It rewards us with “moments of visual exhilaration and epiphany”.²⁰⁵ As we attend to the rocks by our feet, their shapes and their colours

200 Wilson et al. (2001:132). But some businesses, such as the Port Rexton Brewery, are “open all year long for locals” (Johnson 2022).

201 Lane (2009:335). For the importance of such attractions, see also Briedenhann and Wickens (2004), Lew (1987), and Müller and Korsgaard (2018).

202 The puffin quote is from a Newfoundland government website: <https://www.newfoundlandlabrador.com/plan-and-book/attractions/32255002>

203 Momatiuk and Eastcott (1998:89). Squires’ eminence is signalled by references to his work on 12 pages, second only to the 14 for Christopher Pratt, in Eagan (2021). Squires had a starkly real yet fanciful aesthetic. His landscapes recall the 19th century English romantic painter J. M. W. Turner, without romanticizing his Newfoundland scenes. Examples include the paintings on pages 85, 129, 136, 155, 157, 158, and 161 in Dragland (2017). (Stan Dragland and the book’s publisher, Beth Follett, appear in Plate 92.)

204 Fisher et al. (2022:13). Natural amenities have a major impact on trends in community demographics (Wuthrow 2018:53).

205 This expression is from Wylie (2005:234, 245). For slow movement and the sense of place, see Ingold (2004) and Tuan 1979.

can bewitch us. So too can the patterns of flora below, lovely still after a Newfoundland winter. Throughout the tourist season, the trails are beautiful, but in winter too the trails are as well, though lonely. They can be smattered with ice, and the North Atlantic winds will sting. I might think I was sufficiently dressed, only to retreat for more clothing from the Midway Store in Catalina.

Like any sense of place, our sense of a landscape is forged not just from sight, but from sound, smell, memory, hopes, and the accumulation of social interactions.²⁰⁶ For year-round residents compared with tourists, all of these differ. Urban tourists can experience senses of place in rural areas.²⁰⁷ But the longer duration of residents' experience, compared with the mobility of tourists, generates a "broader and deeper" sense of place.²⁰⁸ "It is possible to appreciate the visual qualities of a town in an afternoon's tour, but to know the town's characteristic odors and sounds, the textures of its pavements and walls, requires longer periods of contact".²⁰⁹ Rural residents also "exhibit greater levels of affective and evaluative place identity than city dwellers".²¹⁰ The residents have detailed mental maps of the land and, in the case of fishers, the sea. What Gerald Pocius notes for Calvert, on the Avalon Peninsula, is true on the Bonavista Peninsula: "every place is named. *Every place*".²¹¹ These places, plural, form part of the mix for the residents' sense of place, singular.²¹²

Now and then you might see a hand-crafted sign for a locally known place name:

206 Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003:16) proposed that people "know the landscape through action in it with others".

207 Di Masso et al. (2019); Sharpley and Jepson (2011).

208 Stedman et al. (2004a:586).

209 Tuan (1979:410).

210 Belanche et al. (2021:242).

211 A nice few (many) examples, fictional but plausible, are in *Sweetland* (Crummey 2014:287–288). Pocius pays close attention to the senses of place in Calvert (2000:24, 28, 66, 68–69, 77–80, 91, 93, 127). Similar points about fishers are in Faris (1972:28) and Smith et al. (2016). For similar observations from the Bonavista area, see Urquhart (2013:90–91, 130, 220). For the interactional development of a sense of place, see Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003) and Degnen (2016). *Not* naming a place could also express a sense of place: Pearce Dwyer of Tilting told Robert Mellin that "the ponds with trout have names but troutless mud ponds have no names" (Mellin 2015:64). Conn (2023:251) asserts that most rural space in the U.S. is just that, space, unworthy of the designation "place".

212 Brown and Raymond (2007), Stedman (2003) and Wylie (2005) held that people confer symbolic meaning on landscapes, a meaning that informs and reinforces their senses of place.



Lew's Point.

Views from the Hike Discovery Trails

The experience of landscape depends on the methods of travel. The locals' world is traversed by boats, ATVs (“bikes”), foraging paths, the sides of the roads, and pickup trucks.²¹³ Locals will also use the well-used trails, especially off-season, when a popular trail such as Skerwink can be viewed as “our trail”. In contrast with year-long residents, tourists travel by ferries, “driving, flying, cycling, kayaking, or hiking”.²¹⁴ When they venture off-road, they need visible guides to the countryside, like the “benches and viewing stations, walking paths and promenades” built to attract visitors.²¹⁵ In Bonavista, the Hike Discovery Trails serve the same purpose. At a Little Catalina trailhead in the Hike Discovery network, 42 sponsors were listed (as of September 18, 2022). Eight trails are included in the system. In my observations, tourists vastly outnumber locals on the prominent hiking trails. But residents who

²¹³ Brown (2014); more generally Jackson (1997); Malpas (2011); Spirn (1998).

²¹⁴ Stoddart and Sodero (2015:447).

²¹⁵ These cues were originally developed in Europe. My source is Urry and Larsen (2011:159), who note that visually-oriented tourism became popular only in the eighteenth century.

do hike, such as people from Wild Cove Pottery, Fishers' Loft, and Port Rexton Brewery, are also alert to unpublicized routes. They know their place with their feet and their bodies and not just their minds.²¹⁶ They also know the trails for bicycle riding. The tourists I have seen lugging bicycles on the trails have not fared well.

216 The Western world has lost touch with nature that we realize with our feet, on a world that has not been flattened and hardened: this is Ingold's (2004) thesis of "culture on the ground". Many hours off trail, on the craggy gulches, up and down cliffs, slogging through the bogs and barrens, were my price for being at home in the Newfoundland landscape.



Plate 60: Rocks looking like an anticline, Little Catalina area.



Plate 61: Rocks like heads guarding a gulch by the Murphy's Cove Trail.



Plate 62: Colourful rock with complex fractures, near Fox Island.



Plate 63: Another colourful rock with complex fractures, near Fox Island.



Plate 64: Rock that looks like paper just off the Murphy's Cove Trail.



Plate 65: This ground cover was by the Murphy's Cove Trail.



Plate 66: Light frost on flora, by the Murphy's Cove Trail.



Plate 67: Bushes by a trail towards Melrose.



Plate 68: Red leaves of blueberries, by the Skerwink Trail.



Plate 69: “Oyster leaf” (*Mertensia maritima*) near Fox Island.



Plate 70: Darrell Freeman in front of one of his Pier Side cabins.



Plate 71: Pier Side cabins by the Champney's West Harbour.



Plate 72: Champney's West Harbour with fishing boats.

Tourism Capital: Agglomeration of Attractions

Tourists prefer multiple attractions to choose from. In Newfoundland English, they prefer a nice few (quite a few) choices. They prefer an agglomeration effect.²¹⁷ If you have shopped for a car or a truck, you have encountered agglomeration. Vehicle dealers attract customers by locating near to one another, which is convenient for shoppers.²¹⁸ We might expect agglomeration effects to be minimal in rural areas due to limited clustering of the same types of businesses.²¹⁹ But agglomeration effects are found everywhere, not just in urban centres.²²⁰ In a recent study, agglomeration was found to be one of the three most consequential reasons that some “small towns attract start-ups” but other towns do not.²²¹ In the Bonavista area, a wide variety of arts and crafts are available. Visitors also find many high-quality lodging alternatives, such as Artisan Inn, Fishers’ Loft, Harbour Quarters Inn, and many bed-and-breakfasts. Agglomeration effects also exist with the offerings of food and beverage and arts and crafts. Agglomeration effects also exist for entrepreneurs as such. The success of some attracts the attention of others who then recognize the area’s potential.

Agglomeration of Arts and Crafts

During tourist season, you will find theatrical and musical arts, especially in the Garrick and Rising Tide theatres. High-quality crafts can also be found, with crafts that double as art.²²² In Port Rexton, John and Peggy Fisher are patrons of the arts,

217 Artz et al. (2021) emphasize the importance of agglomeration effects, in distinguishing between “which small towns attract start-ups” and which do not. I refer to agglomeration and social connections rather than the well-publicized notion of “clusters”. That concept is conceptually hazy, with connotations that poorly fit rural tourist regions (Martin and Sunley 2003; Van Dijk and Sverrisson 2003).

218 For car dealers, Murry and Zhou (2020). For elaboration of the concept of agglomeration effects in the tourism context, Framke (2002); for the economics of agglomeration, Frenken et al. (2007).

219 Stephens and Partridge (2011).

220 Artz et al. (2016).

221 Artz et al. (2021).

222 Becker (2008:277–288) discusses works that cross the fuzzy line from “crafts” to “art”. Good examples along these lines are the works by the silversmith K. Claire MacDonald (Kind Seas studio), weaver Morgaine Parnham (the Tree Line store), photographer Brian Ricks, and stained-glass artist Penny Wooding. “Most temporary residents have photographs by Brian Ricks hanging on the walls of their summer homes and at least one piece of furniture from Paterson Woodworking” (Urquhart 2013:283). Visual artists who live in the area, and are represented by professional galleries, include Mike Flaherty, Frank Lapointe, Alan Stein, and Anastasia Tiller.

with an inn that doubles as an art gallery.²²³ The English Harbour Arts Centre offers exhibitions that might surprise you. In Summer, 2023, the English Harbour Arts Center is the Atlantic Canada host of a major touring exhibition, with 30 works by one of Canada’s most celebrated artists, Kenojuak Ashevak.²²⁴ The Bonavista Biennale is a regional venture, a curated exhibition of contemporary art throughout the area. Plate 73 shows one of its exhibits, from the 1999 Biennale.²²⁵



Frank Lapointe of Trinity East is known for his watercolours, such as *Autumn Meadow*.

223 Business and Arts NL (2022). Other businesses for finding art are the Artisan Inn, Two Whales, and Maudie’s Tearoom.

224 Ping (2023). For the art of Kenojuak Ashevak see Blodgett 1985. This coup resulted from the pattern, not uncommon (Stewart 1990), of bonding social capital that, after a few steps on the way, results in bridging social capital—in this case, connecting the Centre with the West Baffin Eskimo Cooperative. (Conversation with Jim Wickwire, partner of Deb Wickwire, a member of the Centre’s board.)

225 For the Biennale, see Beaudette (2021); Crocker (2019); McVeigh (2022). The 2023 iteration was the work of 29 artists and curators, with 23 installations, with “15,000+ visitors from around the world” (Bonavista Biennale 2023). People have traveled for the sake of art for centuries (Franklin, 2018), but scholarship on art and tourism is a recent development, heavily skewed to the study of tourism rather than of artists and their works (Valek and Mura 2023).

Agglomeration of Food and Beverage

Tourists can choose among types of food and drink. Fine dining is found at Fisher's Loft and Twine Loft (an Artisan Inn venture). High quality lunches are found at the Boreal Diner, Two Whales, and the Bonavista Social Club.²²⁶ The Port Rexton Brewery partners with Oh My Cheeses, a specialty grilled cheese creator, for food to accompany their craft beers. Tourists can also find many sources of good rural fare, such as Walkham's Café in the town of Bonavista.²²⁷ Here is the Café's seldom-changing, clearly popular, menu:



Walkham's Café menu.

This menu has a dish that might perplex a guest or two: the “thunderin flats”. What are they? According to the Skipper's menu, thunderin—also tundern—flats are “homemade fried dough served with lassie (molasses) or syrup”. Visitors from North America and Western Europe will still not have trouble finding food to their liking, which can be a problem in tourist destinations.²²⁸

²²⁶ The Bonavista Social Club was closed for 2022, when its founder and proprietor, Katie Hayes, took a spell off in British Columbia. Her father (the prominent wood worker and furniture maker Mike Paterson) assured me that she is returning in Fall, 2022. Many hoped she would re-open her restaurant. She has re-opened the business, with a few changes that simplify the flow of customers.

²²⁷ Other examples are the Galley Restaurant in Port Rexton, the Seaport Inn in Port Union, Dockmarina in Trinity, Bella's in the Round-Da-Bay Inn in Plate Cove West, and Skipper's in the Harbour Quarters Inn

²²⁸ Cohen and Avieli (2004).

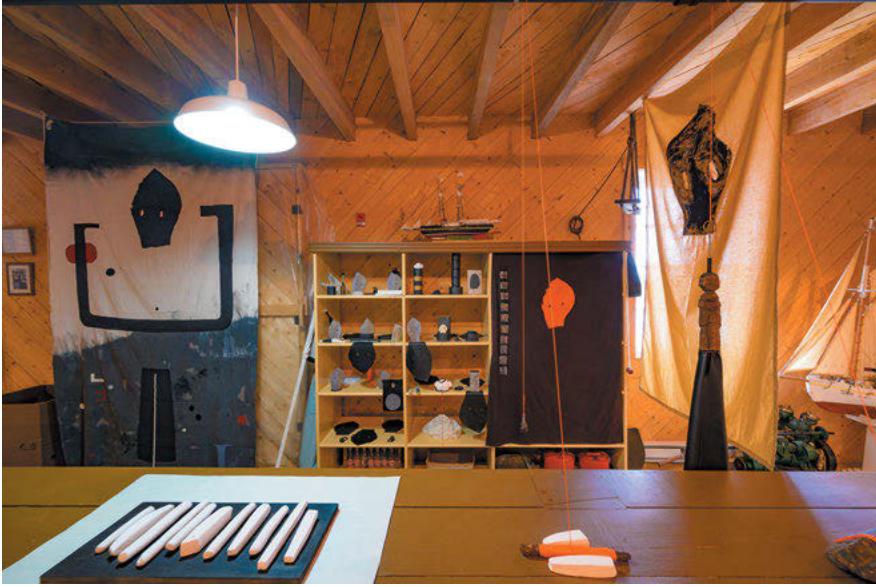


Plate 73: Jerry Ropson's installation at the Coaker museum, for the 2019 Bonavista Biennale.



Plate 74: Jane Walker, artist and curator, in the Union House Arts (UHA) building.



Plate 75: Artist Mike Flaherty working in his Wild Cove Pottery studio, Port Union.



Plate 76: A work from Mike Flaherty's Rangifer Sapiens series.



Plate 77: Mural by Anastasia Tiller on the Quintal Café building, town of Bonavista.



Plate 78: Cooking cod in the Roots, Rants and Roars festival, Elliston.



Plate 79: Nicole Evans, Alicia Macdonald, and Chris Lacour at the Port Rexton Brewery.



Plate 80: Brewing tanks, Port Rexton Brewery, in 2018.



Plate 81: Old and new brewing tanks in the “Newery,” in 2022.

Entrepreneurship Capital: Agglomeration of Entrepreneurs

What led to this agglomeration of tourist attractions? It was another agglomeration, that of entrepreneurs, most of whom rely on tourists for customers. Entrepreneurs who succeed attract other hopeful entrants. Entrepreneurs are attracted to a place by the presence of exemplars.²²⁹ In successful regions, in-migrant entrepreneurs enter, founding ventures alongside the embedded entrepreneurs. This effect works in the other direction as well. Noticing a gap in the market, with few craft breweries in Newfoundland, and none on the Peninsula, Alicia Macdonald and Sonja Mills launched their own brewery in Port Rexton.

We find three types of this agglomeration effect. One is entrepreneurs founding the same kind of business in the same location. An example in the Bonavista area is a proliferation of homes redefined as B&Bs. Attempts to copy other entrepreneurs are not always successful. The success of the Port Rexton Brewery inspired an effort to launch a new brewery in Port Union (Plate 48). ACOA (Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency) had provided funding for craft breweries, but after the time of the photo in Plate 48, ACOA put support for that industry on hold. ACOA's position was that they needed more data on "the level of risk and repayment results from our existing investments".²³⁰

A second type is launching a type of business that has succeeded elsewhere, in a place that is new for the business. Alicia Macdonald and Sonja Mills observed the "very booming" microbrewery industry in Nova Scotia, in contrast with the scene in Newfoundland, where the only microbreweries were on the Avalon peninsula and the most recent founding was YellowBelly in 2004. Around 2015, they started to believe "we can do this," and set to work on Port Rexton Brewery, which opened in July 2016.

The third type of agglomeration is launching a different sort of business in a place with many other start-ups. When entrepreneurs notice other successful ventures in an area, they are more likely to start a venture in that place themselves. The town of Trinity (population 169) offers several inns, craft stores and restaurants, and three boat tour businesses.²³¹ The town of Bonavista features recently founded and innovative ventures on Church Street. Several of them lease properties that Bonavista Creative, one of John Norman's businesses, has re-

229 "Being close to other small or medium-sized enterprises . . . stimulat[es] entrepreneurial activity" (Müller and Korsgaard 2018:225).

230 ACOA's caution was contested by industry participants. Mullin (2019) is the source for the funding total above.

231 Here is the listing from the town's business directory: <https://www.townoftrinity.com/tourism/culturecraftstores.html>

stored. As Dave Ellis says, Bonavista Creative is “bringing the youngsters”—young entrepreneurs—to the town. Edith Samson adds that it made “made a big difference on Church Street,” Bonavista’s main road for tourists. Some businesses—Newfoundland Salt, East Coast Glow, and Bonabooch Kombucha—draw upon local natural capital for ingredients: sea water, iceberg water, “botanicals native to Newfoundland,” and “over 40 types of . . . berries, wildflowers, buds, and blossoms”.²³² Their products, like Kind Seas silversmith, Port Rexton Brewery, and Aunt Sarah’s Chocolate are relatively pricey and easy to ship.²³³ Customers need not all come to their door, making them less exposed to epidemics or seasonality. Here is John Norman’s thinking:

“If salt is being shipped out to San Francisco, or soap is being shipped out to New York and Toronto [and] Montreal, in February and March, someone needs to be here to make it, package it, brand it, ship it. And that is the way forward. I feel strongly that we are on the right path”.

²³² From the websites of Newfoundland Salt, East Coast Glow, and Bonabooch Kombucha, respectively. Baldacchino (2002) reports on similar, small-manufacturing success in the sister province of Prince Edward Island.

²³³ Channels for selling these products include wholesalers and websites with shipping, as well as in-store traffic. Norman counted “at least seven local firms” using these distribution channels (Riche, 2015). Port Rexton Brewery has also expanded its market beyond its premises, which are unusual in the region for being open year-round.



Plate 82: Karen Dewling teaching Jessica Templeman, East Coast Glow.



Plate 83: Peter Burt, Newfoundland Salt Company.



Plate 84: The renovated Levi Templeman house, being painted by Todd Way.

In-Migrant Entrepreneurs

A sign of a region's renewal is its attraction of newcomers.²³⁴ In-migrants are responsible for much of the entrepreneurial energy in many rural areas, as they are on the Peninsula. In rural areas, newcomers create “rates of entrepreneurial activity well above those of locally born entrepreneurs. . . . [They also introduce more] innovative activities”.²³⁵ Understanding other cultures and markets gives them an edge in imagining opportunities.²³⁶ In a study of “proprietors” in Trinity, only one of 38 was *not* an in-migrant.²³⁷ For example, Tineke and John Gow were from the Netherlands and had been professors in St. John's. With their handsome Artisan Inn, they “pioneered the diffused hotel concept [in Trinity] in 1992”.²³⁸ “Diffused hotel” is a translation of *Albergo Diffuso*, and refers to scattered buildings for beds, with centralized facilities, such as eating spaces.²³⁹ This model of lodging gained popularity in Italy in the late 1980s.

In 1997, John and Peggy Fisher, from England by way of Ontario, founded Fisher's Loft, also an elegant, diffused hotel, in nearby Port Rexton (Plates 86–90). Alicia Macdonald (from Nova Scotia) and Sonja Mills (a lateral migrant from nearby Clarendville) founded Port Rexton Brewing (Plates 79–81). Donna Butt, who grew up “mainly in St. John's,” moved the Rising Tide Theatre (Plates 41–45) from St. John's to Trinity in 1994, the year that Fisher's Loft opened for business.²⁴⁰ The founders of East Coast Glow (Plate 82), and Newfoundland Salt Company (Plate 84) are returning in-migrants. Sue Asquith and Dave Ellis, both from England, founded the Two Whales Coffee Shop (Plates 91–94), a vegetarian restaurant, in 2009.²⁴¹

Plate 94, of Sue Asquith at work in Two Whales, has a backstory. That image was our third effort at a photo. She approved my use of my first photo, but disliked it, so I came back to try again. With this second attempt she noticed that, if

²³⁴ Xu et al. (2021).

²³⁵ Kalantaridis and Bika (2011:880).

²³⁶ The Codroy Valley entrepreneurs who were observed by Szwed (1966b:163) had all worked at times outside of the Valley. In the early 1960s, they started to take the place of traditional merchants as key mediators between the local and wider worlds (pp. 179–180).

²³⁷ The count of 38 includes “life partners” in the study by Mitchell and Shannon (2018). They found that the in-migrants were attracted to “living or working space” (p. 401), a finding consistent with Jack and Anderson (2002). Akgün et al. (2011) also found this, for in-migrant entrepreneurs. By comparison, local entrepreneurs were motivated by livelihood needs.

²³⁸ Glusac (2014). Tineke is the face of the Inn, along with their daughter, Mirieke.

²³⁹ Presenza et al. (2019).

²⁴⁰ Martin (2017).

²⁴¹ The founders tell the story of Two Whales, and provide recipes, in Asquith and Ellis (2018:12–24, 28–29).

you looked closely, you could see a label for “chicken liver” on a plastic tub. In fact, it held humus, reflecting their commitment to recycling. Still, she knew that this was “not a good look for a vegetarian restaurant”. She appreciated that I do not “Photoshop” in the sense of manipulating content, such as removing the words on the tub. Therefore, I returned for the portrait in the plate.

In Plate 94, Sue makes me a sandwich on her last ever Monday at work as an owner. Or so it seemed at the time. With Dave, she was hoping to retire. But that road proved to be rocky, until they changed the business form to a coop. A coop was consistent with the social life the café had created, among its staff, leaders, guests, and wider community. A nice statement of that world is a toast by Olivia, a young employee, during the ten-year anniversary celebration. After tormenting (in Newfoundland, this word means teasing) her fellow employees, she closed with “Two Whales will show you family. This shop will be your second home, you’ll fight with your co-workers like siblings and Sue and David will be your second parents and will always take care of you”.²⁴²

An Aside on Dialects

On the West coast of the island, “torment” can have a less benign meaning.²⁴³ Small communities have differences in dialect. I first learned this from Ruby Mesh in Keels, population 46. Three local gentlemen had chatted in her store.²⁴⁴ When they left, I told Ruby that I could not understand them. She explained that “they were speaking quickly [typical in rural Newfoundland] and they were using Keels slang”.²⁴⁵ With

²⁴² Asquith and Ellis (2018:215). As of mid-June 2023, Two Whales has not experienced staffing shortages, unlike several businesses on the peninsula. To the contrary, they receive requests for employment.

²⁴³ Szwed (1966b:60).

²⁴⁴ Brown (2014:138); Stedman et al. (2004b). Comedians observe social life at least as closely as social scientists. Here is a satire of Newfoundland English by Mark Critch (2018: 182): a flight attendant’s safety speech starts out “What are y at, b’ys? Smoke ‘em if ya got ‘em and if ya don’t got ‘em and want ‘em just give me a wink, my son, and I’ll spark ya up” (2018: 182). Critch (2018; 2021) covers Trinity and Rising Tide Theatre, gossip, fairies, an obsession with ancestry, the deadly sea, governmental boondoggles, and unhealthy food. He also covers topics less benign. One is alcohol abuse (2018; 2021). The other (2018:278–281) is child rape by alleged agents of God and the complicity of the St. John’s elite: the evil of the Mount Cashel orphanage and the “collective failure of the judicial, police, religious, media and social service establishments to protect the interests of . . . cruelly abused children” (Higgins 2012).

²⁴⁵ Finch (2007:84) recounts a similar experience on Fogo Island. This experience is likely widespread. Wuthnow (2018:29) found that “local slang” is common in small American towns.

few means of communication across the small communities, people developed distinct dialects and distinct knowhow peculiar to their locale.²⁴⁶

Cartoonist Michael de Adder has a fine ear for Newfoundland language.²⁴⁷ For another example, the oddly named book *The Iambics of Newfoundland* gives us a tour of Newfoundland English. The aptly named nature writer, Finch, admits that many expressions are “no longer in common use”.²⁴⁸ In St. John’s, even people born and raised in the outports would be puzzled by many of the words in his tour. But distinctive language lingers in the town. I hear “ye” for “you” from friends from the (Irish) Southern Shore. I often hear “(my) love/darling/dear” (I sometimes say this also), “b’y” (or “my boy” followed by an apology), and very often “to” at the end of a phrase, as in “where is he to?” Neither common nor uncommon are “job to know” (hard to know), and “nice few” (quite a few). The outports add their own peculiarities.

246 Pam Hall has demonstrated their skills in many fields, such as boats, fishing gear, clothing, and food. Communities also differ in styles of vernacular architecture (Hall, 2017; Bath, 1998).

247 de Adder (2015: 26–27, 52–53, 60, 66, 72–73, 93, 104, 126; translations are on 128–128).

248 Finch (2007:57–75; 74 for the quote).



Plate 85: The beach at Sam White's Cove, by the Skerwink Trail.



Plate 86: View towards the sea from Fishers' Loft.



Plate 87: A porch at Fisher's Loft.

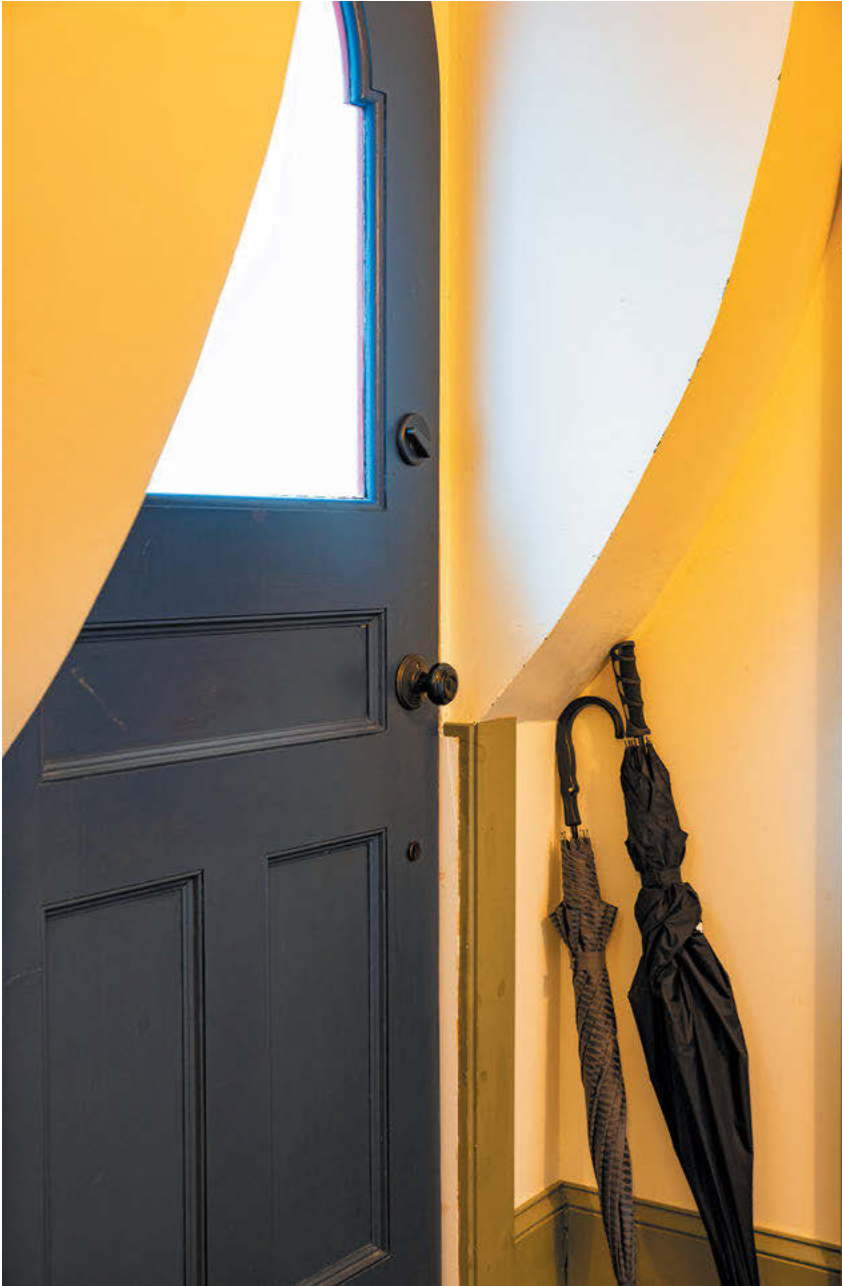


Plate 88: Umbrellas just inside a guest room door, Fishers' Loft.



Plate 89: Gabe Fisher harvesting lettuce.



Plate 90: The breakfast array at Fishers' Loft.



Plate 91: Penny Vivian-Penney serving guests at Two Whales Coffee Shop.



Plate 92: At the tenth anniversary celebration of Two Whales Coffee Shop.



Plate 93: Dave Ellis's bees.



Plate 94: Sue Asquith prepares a sandwich.

Rural Tourism as Regional Entrepreneurship

Focusing on money, in the market economy, leads to diminished trust in other people and a corresponding “anti-urban impulse”.²⁴⁹ Urban dwellers can seek respite in various ways, including packaged adventures and arenas of “effervescent social interactions” like Club Med.²⁵⁰ They may also find respite if they can experience the house economy. This is the promise of the Bonavista area, especially in the towns of Bonavista and Trinity. Tourists there find the looks of the main streets of small towns. These appearances suggest fantasies of lost and purer ways of life.²⁵¹

A classic study of African traders has implications for Bonavista entrepreneurs. The core idea is that weakly connected social worlds generate “considerable discrepancies of evaluation as between items located in” each, so that “entrepreneurs will direct their activity pre-eminently towards those points in an [overall] economic system where the discrepancies of evaluation are the greatest, and will attempt to create bridging transactions”. So wrote Fredrik Barth, an influential anthropologist.²⁵²

In Bonavista, entrepreneurs found these opportunities by connecting the house economy with the market economy, such that “a product of making do in the house can become an innovation for sales”.²⁵³ Many assets in the area have

²⁴⁹ Kasser (2016); Kuzminska et al. (2023); Wang and Krumhuber (2017). Failures of replication are not uncommon in studies of “money priming,” but a meta-analysis by Stajkovic et al. (2022) is broadly supportive of these assertions. The quote is from Steven Conn (2023:88).

²⁵⁰ For adventurous escapes from the market, see Arnould and Price (1993). For “convivial” escapes, see Rokka et al. (2023; page 2 for the quote). They claim that at Club Med “visitors can feel authentic and meaningful in a world of confusion, anxiety, and stress” (page 4).

²⁵¹ This positive aspect of gentrification applies to Church Street in Bonavista and much of Trinity. For the myths of main street, see Orvell’s (2012) book on the topic. His examples are from the U.S.A., but I believe his theses apply also to Canada.

²⁵² Barth (1967: 167, 171). The poorly connected worlds in his study were not types of economies but “spheres of exchange”. He showed how an in-migrant trader and his wife found profits by transgressing norms about such spheres in Darfur, Africa. The norms held that the subsistence sphere of millet-to-beer-to-work-parties-to-millet should be distinct from the cash sphere. Beer was not convertible to cash. But the cycle of transformations from millet-to-beer-to-work-parties-to-tomatoes-to-cash was both feasible and lucrative. It was also sustainable, when cash from tomatoes was converted to millet, which started the cycle again. The literature on spheres of exchange dates to earlier work by Bohannan among the Tiv (Bohannan 1955). A common property of spheres is a distinction between subsistence goods and prestige goods. Rönnbäck’s empirical study of barter on the pre-colonial Gold Coast (2020) shows that the overall pattern of trading did fit the spheres models, but that transactions across spheres were not uncommon.

²⁵³ The quote is from Gudeman (2022a:7). He gives examples of “making a profit by innovation when a house economy enters the market” (2022a:176–178; 176 for the quote).

low, even negative, valuations in the house economy, but higher valuations when deployed in the tourism-based market economy.²⁵⁴ Here are eight examples. The first six transformations need less explanation than the last two, which involve kinship and whales.

History

Locals honour history in public and private ways, as we can see with the J. T. Swyers businesses (Plates 21 and 23) and the Captain Blackmore's Heritage Manor (Plate 56). Many signs of high regard are hidden, but history is prominent in other venues. These include plays of the Rising Tide Theatre (Plate 41–45), the museum complex of the Coaker Foundation (Plates 49–52), the Sealers Interpretation Centre (Plates 46, 47) and the Ye Mathew Legacy replica ship museum (in the distance in Plate 16).²⁵⁵

Dilapidated Buildings

Respect for history was also shown in the restorations for the Swyers' Inn (Plate 24) and Captain Blackmore's Heritage Manor (Plate 56). These acts of gentrification improved the area's assets. Other positive, but also some negative, examples of gentrification will be examined shortly.

Fossils

When Sean O'Brien asked Edith Sampson if she knew about the fossils near her office she was surprised. Fossils of great scientific value had been undiscovered

²⁵⁴ Transformed values are not all monetary. Social ventures, such as Fishing for Success in Petty Harbour, generate values such as social inclusion, based on traditional methods of the in-shore fishery (Schouten and Dufault 2022).

²⁵⁵ Much as Alistair Anderson found in the Scottish Highlands, Bonavista entrepreneurs found profits in "qualities such as tradition and underdevelopment" itself (2000:92). Anderson proposed (2000:91, 99, 100, 103, 104, 106) that rural traditions and values are "commodified" by entrepreneurs. I consider this exaggerated. According to the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, commodification means treating something "as a (mere) commodity". If house-based assets are to find a market-based value, they must diminish commodification and retain their qualities rooted in the house. My view—broadly consistent with Anderson's—is that the primary value of rural assets in market-based terms derives from the gestalt of their region, rather than the assets themselves, many of which are not for sale.

or, if known to local people, misunderstood.²⁵⁶ It would take years, concerted collaboration, and state support to turn the earthly heritage into an asset for tourists, the Discovery UNESCO Global Geopark.

Icebergs

Icebergs can be lethal, as Newfoundlanders know. Their island is the nearest land to the remains of the Titanic. But icebergs are, like puffins and whales, sources of excitement for tourists. They also provide exceptionally pure water for high-end products such those from East Coast Glow.

Cliffs by the Sea

The cliffs and waves near Maberly (Plate 3) are enough to suggest why sensible locals are wary of cliffs. They are wary of rock beds as well. We can see why with the sunkeners near Little Catalina (shown in Plate 19) and the slippery gunk by the edge of the sea on the Johnson Beds. Sensible people seek out, instead, the safer outlets to the sea. But cliffs are also majestic. Absent cliffs, the Hike Discovery system would pale in comparison. Cliffs are not the source of much tourism business, but cliffs and sea stacks attract some serious climbers.²⁵⁷

Sea Birds

Seabirds steal fish caught by human efforts—a cunning act called “depredation”.²⁵⁸ They are also damaged or drowned by fishing gear. Even “non-motorized nature based recreation” harms both the health and reproduction of seabirds.²⁵⁹ That finding is unfortunate, because a major transformation of birds to the tourism market

²⁵⁶ A gentleman near the Melrose fossils was convinced that they were just plants in the rocks. If you look at Plate 15 you will understand why.

²⁵⁷ Mountainproject.com suggests three climbs in the area. St. John’s has indoor climbing businesses, which could lead to outdoor climbers (Schwartz et al. 2019).

²⁵⁸ Draulans (1987); Marzano and Carss (2013).

²⁵⁹ Dias et al. (2019) and Steven et al. (2011). Atlantic puffins, a major tourist attraction, are among the species harmed by fishing gear (Piatt et al. 1984). *Message in a Bottle* (Hogan 2023) is a terrifying treatise on our specie’s onslaught on nature with, above all, petrochemicals and plastic. Hogan concludes that “the natural world has met its match with plastic. It is not something that can be adapted to, and it never goes away” (2023:251).

is boat tours. No boats are needed to see Atlantic puffins near Elliston, where the birds nest on an island just offshore.

Whales

Commercial whaling has been illegal in Canada since 1972, so whales lack value as kill.²⁶⁰ For those who fish, their value is negative. Whales wreck fishing gear and “steal the fish off the lines”.²⁶¹ For whales themselves, involvement with humans is worse. When they are hit by boats and ships their injuries are dreadful. They are also wounded and killed by misadventures with fishing gear.²⁶² They are hurt by seismic surveys for the oil business, by noise from ships and boats, and windmill construction. But in the tourist-based market economy, whales have positive impacts. After tourists approached Loyola O’Brien, a fisher in Bay Bulls, hoping for rides in his boat to see puffins or whales, he launched the popular O’Brien Boat Tours. In Trinity, the Sea of Whales Adventure Tours is another such venture. These tours generate substantial direct and indirect spending and “can be considered a positive” for whales, as they foster concern for conservation.²⁶³

Kinship

The idea that house economies are embedded in social relations refers, above all, to kinship relations. For Polanyi, the modal social relationship in embedded economies is “reciprocity” . . . a process embedded in family and kinship”.²⁶⁴ The core meaning of kinship, its irreducible heart, according to the anthropologist Meyer

260 Stoett (1993). Dickinson and Sanger (1999) tracked the erratic fortunes of the Newfoundland and Labrador shore-station whaling industry from 1951 to its close in 1972.

261 Hogan (2023:93) for the loss of expensive cod traps; Basran and Rasmussen (2020:109 for the quote), and Fertl and Leatherwood (1997); Read (2008). Faris (1972:27) claimed that whales seldom interfered with the inshore fishery in what is now named Lumsden. However, my photos of whales all show the neon green of fish nets on their bodies.

262 “300,000 whales, porpoises and dolphins die each year ensnared in the nets of commercial fishing operations” (Buller 2022:281). Basran and Rasmussen (2020); Benjamins et al. (2012). Davies and Brillant (2019) critique the tardiness of actions by the government of Canada.

263 Basran and Rasmussen (2020:108) for the quote; Fisher et al. (2022:154–155 for Sea of Whales); Parsons et al. (2003) for direct and indirect revenues.

264 This assertion is from Gregory (2009:133); Polanyi’s own writings on this topic are clearest in his posthumous book (1977:47–56, especially p. 55). The anthropologist Paul Bohannan held that “market behavior and kinship behavior are incompatible in a single relationship” (1955:60).

Fortes, is “amity” or “prescriptive altruism”. For Marshall Sahlins it is “mutuality of being”.²⁶⁵ Sahlins’ phrasing could be used more broadly for connections in the house economy. These conceptions imply that “the domains of family and business are in practice distinct”. If so the Barthian “entrepreneurial opportunity arises, because the same resources, such as personal networks or potential employees are discrepantly valued based on different uses or functions . . . in the kinship domain compared with the business domain”.²⁶⁶ Some transformations, such as a sense of entitlement in the household compared with a business, are negative. But many are positive, such as the values of reputation or secrecy, which can be crucial in some business contexts.²⁶⁷

Family controlled firms are more embedded in the house, not market, aspects of their local economies, especially in rural areas.²⁶⁸ Transformations from kinship to business are more valuable in areas like Bonavista because they reinforce the house economy experience. Tourists in house locales have few encounters with corporate Canada. Bonavista’s distance from the Trans-Canada Highway has advantages. Large corporations locate close to major highways. Clarendville, abutting the TCH at the foot of the Bonavista Peninsula, houses chain hotels, chain restaurants, and chain stores. These are scarce in the Bonavista area. Even the RBC bank in Trinity exhibits a sign that reads not RBC but the older name “Royal Bank of Canada”.²⁶⁹

265 Fortes (1969:132, 232); Sahlins (2011). Neither these concepts nor the notion of irreducibility are universally accepted. But they are an important part of the story, as I argue in Stewart (2020).

266 Stewart and Hitt (2012:71). Examples are such transformations are on page 72.

267 The nature of kinship, as such, generates negative consequences when the kinship domain intrudes in the business domain. This is the argument of Stewart (2020), based on anthropological kinship theory. Its argument is complex but may be summarized as follows: Amity, which generates aspirations that are never fully realized, and hostility and rivalry, which follow from kinship constraints and exclusions, combine to generate ambivalence, which must be resolved and often is by means of skewed benefits, such as the entrenchment of seniors and the indulgence of juniors. This is not a popular argument among “family business” scholars, who tend to be boosters.

268 Aldrich and Cliff (2003); Baù et al. (2019). These authors found that family-controlled firms had a “superior ability to . . . use locally embedded knowledge and resources,” and were more inclined to enact “generalized” rather than “restricted” exchanges; that is, house rather than market economy transactions (pp. 375–376).

269 The Trinity branch received permission to use the older name, due to the town’s historic character. The Bonavista area has one Robin’s restaurant (with another near the Trans-Canada), a Subway in a gas station, and two Foodland grocery stores, owned by Sobey’s, one of the national chains in Canada. For chains that gather by highway interchanges, Conn (2023:130–131).

Farther from the highways, tourists interact directly, face-to-face, with people who themselves make the products or services on offer. Many interactions are with families: Dave and Sue of Two Whales, Lora, Victoria and Jim Swyers, Eileen and Selby Mesh of Maudie's Tea Room, Chris and Karen Ricketts of Round-Da-Bay Inn, Peter and Robin of Newfoundland Salt, Karen and Roger Dewling of East Coast Glow. James Carrier makes the case that these personal interactions resonate with buyers as signals of traditions in the house economy.²⁷⁰ Transformations accumulate, creating another agglomeration effect: an agglomeration of house economy attractions.

The House Abides

These transformations are possible only if the house economy remains robust and the market economy remains in the shadows. They are possible only so long as the vision of “the local, the traditional and unique” appears plausible.²⁷¹ Whether the market economy is salient is a question of what is missing, which is never possible to know with certainty. Perhaps I missed signs of the market. However, I am a business professor, as residents knew. You might think they would have chatted about cash flows, profits, capital, or other such business school topics. Yet the only business topic raised by anyone—Darryl Freeman of Champney's West—was what I thought visitors might like. Expressions like “business is business” were absent and people seldom referred to money. They never brandished it. Almost never. (John Norman can be flashy, but this fits his salesmanship.) The region has large houses, but none that seem meant to flaunt wealth.

Whether the house economy lives is a question of what is present and can be observed. On the evidence, its heart is still beating. Rural people now have cash for many purchases, so the subsistence-focused tasks in the outports—noted above—are no longer vital. Yet many traditions persist: snaring, fishing, foraging, hunting, knitting, and quilting are examples. Perhaps the only such task that tourists

²⁷⁰ Carrier (2021:76–88). Of 26 ventures in this book, only six lack kinship connections (to my knowledge). Fifteen are run by current or former couples. Seven ventures are multigenerational (including the Dicksons, the investors). This relatively small number is due to the skewing of rural entrepreneurship to in-migrants. By comparison, the genealogies of residents in the province are often ten to fifteen generations deep in one region (Gilbert et al., 2023).

²⁷¹ This quote refers to the construction, by writers of fiction, of an imaginary past in Newfoundland, though a darker past than tourists experience today (Polack 2006:94).

can easily notice is firewood collection; if not the cutting itself then ATV trailers or pickups packed with logs, and piles of logs, seen at the side of the road.²⁷²



Cut firewood, Spillars Cove, December 10, 2023.

²⁷² Mark Critch (2021:21) testifies to the authenticity of Trinity’s residents, in the early days of Rising Tide Theatre: “they were natural storytellers and they were as much of the place as the trees and the water. You can’t fake that”.

Part Four

Five Problems

For all its resilience and potent capitals, Bonavista has five persistent problems. Two involve intransigent obstacles: the weather and transportation. Residents can adapt but they cannot control these obstacles. The third through fifth problems are more amenable to intentional change: limitations in the area's human capital and renovations as gentrification.²⁷³

Tourism Capital: Problems with the Weather

Rural areas have small local markets. Some rural areas overcome this with exports of natural resources, as Bonavista did with cod. Many, like Bonavista today, import their customers in the form of tourists.²⁷⁴ The Two Whales café relies on a stream of them, driving by on Route 230, many of them headed for the nearby Skerwink Trail. Critics of this reliance argue that tourism jobs are inferior.²⁷⁵ Not all researchers agree with this critique. Employees may find tourism to be “rewarding . . . from a relational and emotional perspective”.²⁷⁶ But in rural Newfoundland tourism a downside, echoing the patterns of the fishery, is seasonality. The shoulder season in Bonavista creeps into May at the start and (perhaps) October at the end.²⁷⁷ Most new jobs are seasonal. Employees “hate it in the winter when we close,” Dave Ellis tells us.²⁷⁸

“Any place where the wind is howling is pretty hard to live”. It's much harder to live in Trinity in the winter than it is with “all of the beauty and splendor in the summer”. Donna Butt

²⁷³ Stoddart et al. (2018) and Villa (2019) note that many challenges in tourism cannot be controlled locally, leading to ambivalence about tourism among residents.

²⁷⁴ Few tourists will venture by in the winter. Perhaps this is partly due to a vicious cycle: tourists do not come because the so many businesses are closed; businesses shut down because the tourists are so scarce. As it is, many of the residents stay only when the weather is pleasant, unlike anywhere else in the province” (Parkinson 2019:B8).

²⁷⁵ Wilson et al. (2001) subscribes to this view, which Deller (2010) disputes.

²⁷⁶ Stoddart et al. (2018:67). They also found that, in some cases, work in tourism increases both bridging social capital and human capital. For example, some residents gain skills in heritage carpentry.

²⁷⁷ This is an optimistic estimation, as the trails and eateries are much quieter than in July and August.

²⁷⁸ Only in warmer areas of the island, on the sparsely populated South Coast, can the inshore fishery continue year-round (Ferris and Plourde 1982).

The natural environment enables much of Bonavista's revitalization. It also limits it. Seasonality is an intractable problem. Few tourists will venture by in the winter. This is the vicious cycle: tourists do not come because the so many businesses are closed; businesses shut down because the tourists are so scarce. Moreover, hiking in the winter can be dangerous. Trails can be icy. Few would come by to help should you fall. Like tourists, many residents stay only when the weather is pleasant. This is unfortunate. The winter is beautiful—possibly the most beautiful time of the year.



Plate 95: Murphy's Cove Trail in winter.



Plate 96: View from the Klondike Trail, with “tippy pans” of ice.



Plate 97: Rock island by the Klondike Trail in winter.

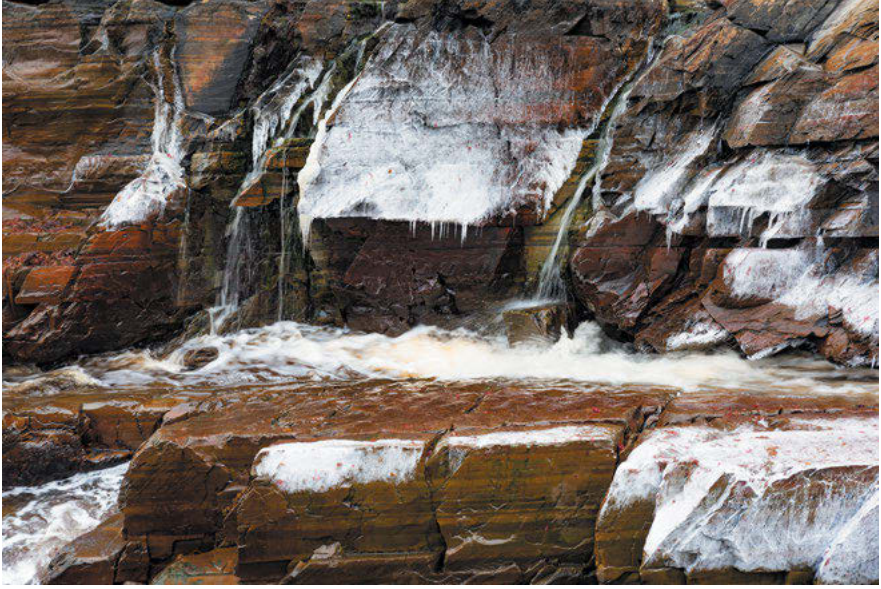


Plate 98: Gulch with red leaves in stream by the Murphy's Cove Trail.

Transportation Challenges

John Norman recalls the history of “Bonavista [as] a maker town. This was a town . . . that for hundreds of years, this was a town full of artisans. They made glassware, they made tinware, they made ironware, they made shoes, they made leather goods, they made barrels. There were artisans up and down the street”. The various artisans, cobblers, coopers, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, “they weren’t doing [their work] just for the locals. The tinsmithing that was in Bonavista, say by the Lawrence family, a very wealthy family at the turn of the twentieth century, started in farming in the early 1800s, got into tinsmithing in the 1870s, and by the nineteen teens, it was the largest tinsmithing firm in what is now Atlantic Canada. Their tinwares went all across Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick”.

Bonavista’s recent history differs. Its population in 2021 was 74.34% of its population in 1976. In the same period, Clarenville, at the base of the peninsula, grew by 238.83%.²⁷⁹ John Norman’s predecessor as mayor, Betty Fitzgerald, attributed Clarenville’s success to its location on the Trans-Canada Highway.²⁸⁰ She had a point. A challenge for Bonavista, compared with Clarenville, is the 108km between the two. At the end of the peninsula, on a two-lane road, Bonavista is that much farther from Gander (231 km compared with 145km) and St. John’s (299km compared with 191km). Bonavista has comparative advantages in tourism. It has comparative disadvantages in the manufacture and export of products. In its heyday as a maker community, shipping from Bonavista was by ships on the sea. Shipping these days is by trucks on mediocre roads.

Limitations in Human Capital

Entrepreneurs in Bonavista are diverse in gender but not in ethnic or racial identity. The only venture with a visible minority owner that I have noted and engaged with is The Meems, a pleasant bed-and-breakfast in Elliston. This limitation applies to much of Newfoundland, whose initial settler colonists hailed from England and Ireland, admixed with some from Scotland and France—and, I should

²⁷⁹ Statistics Canada and Heringa and Woodrow (1991:6). By contrast with Bonavista, the central location of Grand Falls-Windsor has promoted the development of “health sector innovations” (Ryser et al. 2023:1490).

²⁸⁰ CBC News (2006). A symbol of the switch from ships to trucks was the completion of the Trans-Canada Highway across Newfoundland, on November 2, 1965 (Gulliver 2014:10). At one time, connections to railroads affected community size, but now road-based transportation helps or hurts small communities (Wuthrow 2018:50–52).

add, an unknown number of African slaves.²⁸¹ Except for 3,400 international students at Memorial University, the island is shy on ethnic diversity. Further, the province's history of the treatment of First Nations people is appalling, beginning with the neglect of indigenous people in the terms of confederation.²⁸² For indigenous and racialized minorities, the attraction of the region seems marginal.²⁸³

Another problem with human capital has recently emerged. Businesses struggle to hire employees, as we saw with the closing of Walkhams's Café. Staffing shortages in the hospitality industry are a global concern.²⁸⁴ As often occurs with labour market shortages, the area has started to hire immigrants for positions that locals leave open. This phenomenon extends beyond hospitality jobs. As of June 2023, eleven of the sixty people who work for John Norman's enterprises are immigrants, from Philippines and Ukraine.²⁸⁵ As is the norm in crab processing plants, the one in Bonavista depends on immigrant workers.²⁸⁶ It is too early to see how rural people will accommodate their newly entered neighbours. I have not heard complaints about immigrants, which may speak to the people I encounter. I have heard complaints about locals who turn down year-round employment, though residents more often attribute staffing problems to ageing.

Newfoundland's history offers a hopeful note. When Premier Smallwood's "New Industries Program" was short of "engineers and technical experts," seventy or so Baltic country immigrants moved to Corner Brook. They were mainly

281 Slavery was legal and practiced in British North American and Newfoundland until 1834 (Campbell and Barrett 2023). For a history of xenophobia and "racist immigration policies," (policies which now appear incongruous, given the province's need for newcomers to solve demographic predicaments) see Major (2001:388–389). This is also a limitation of the entrepreneurial scene in St. John's (Graham and Pottie-Sherman, 2021).

282 Major (2001:Chap. 16) recounts the depredations inflicted on the indigenous peoples for centuries and (2001:406–407) the racist indifference to these peoples in negotiations over the terms of confederation (Major 2001:Chap. 16 and pp. 406–407). The federal authorities abdicated their responsibility for "Indian" affairs, and the new province recognized no indigenous Newfoundlanders (Blake and Baker 2019:295–297). Grammond (2014), Hanrahan (2003), and Robinson (2014) analyze the complex, damaging consequences of this founding myopia.

283 According to the 2021 census, with a population of 3196, Bonavista had 10 "visible minority" individuals, and 50 "immigrants". Trinity Bay North had 15 visible minority individuals and 30 immigrants. The town of Bonavista had 65 individuals with an "aboriginal identity," but no speakers of aboriginal languages.

284 For widespread staffing problems in the hospitality industry, see Liu-Lastres et al. (2023) and Popa et al. (2023).

285 Lazarenko (2023) reports on a hotel in St. John's that solved its staffing problems with Ukrainian refugees.

286 Sangaramoorthy (2023:Chap. 5) discusses the welcomed role of workers from Mexico in a crab processor in Maryland. For Newfoundland, see Dean-Simmons (2022a).

Latvian, but the locals thought they were German, due to their language. This was not long after the War and its U-boat attacks on the island. Yet the Latvian newcomers were, one of them recalls, “welcomed with open arms”. In turn, the Baltic immigrants initiated artistic venues “that included both newcomers and locals” and launched the skiing facilities that now attract tourists from afar.²⁸⁷ Threats to the host country’s culture is a major cause of hostility to immigrants,²⁸⁸ but these newcomers clearly enriched Newfoundland’s culture.

Renovations as Gentrification

The five types of renovations covered above appear to have benign effects. But “renovations” typically mean “gentrification,” which is often considered a pejorative word.²⁸⁹ The sixth type of renovation shows why. This type is visible in Plate 99, with its contrast between bright, pristine cottages and the Penney’s two yellow buildings. In this mode, outsiders have renovated houses they had acquired for summer getaways. Renovations of rural homes by summer residents have two negative outcomes.

One negative outcome is cultural conflict. Donna Butt worries that the livyer culture might be “totally eroded”. Two sets of value systems co-exist: one, a livyer order with a priority on local sociality and communal norms, the other an outsiders’ order with value placed on distant connections and private property rights. One is largely a house economy, the other a largely market economy.²⁹⁰ For example, in Upper Amherst Cove “a summer couple . . . were barring locals from accessing the right-of-way that led to the swimming rock and the berry patch”.²⁹¹

Conflicts of interest also arise over the livyer’s preference for economic opportunities, versus the summer residents’ preference for pristine appearances.²⁹² As more

²⁸⁷ The quotes about Latvians in Corner Brook are from Leja (2021:27, 31, 33).

²⁸⁸ Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014).

²⁸⁹ Slater (2006).

²⁹⁰ The not-for-profit English Harbour Arts Centre is an example of summer residents following house economy norms of mutuality over self-interest and normative over calculative thinking.

²⁹¹ Urquhart (2022:82). Urquhart is more critical in her 2022 book than in her 2013 dissertation: the summer residents “lived in an imagined past they and their ancestors had never experienced . . . [with its] history of suffering” (pp. 73–74). Compare the history of suffering, represented by the Rising Tide Theatre, Home from the Sea sealers’ museum, and the Sir William F. Coaker Foundation site.

²⁹² Brown and Raymond (2007, p. 99); Stedman et al. (2004b); Urquhart (2013:30–31, 215–221, 225–232). For class resentment, Thompson et al. (2016). Many of these conflicts echo those in Paradise Valley, Washington, depicted in depth by Sherman (2021).

and more properties have summer-only owners, gentrification raises the prospect of a place designed for well-to-do urbanites that over-writes the signs of “traditional” life that also bring in tourists.²⁹³ This conflict is not new. Decades ago, Szwed observed that in “the last few years [some properties in the Codroy Valley had] begun to fall into the hands of persons in more distant communities who wish to have ‘summer cottages,’ a practice sharply condemned for the intrusion it creates.”²⁹⁴

The second negative outcome is a reduction in the full-time population. In Trinity, only a few people (76 in 2021) stay throughout the winter. In the warmer months, the place is bustling with visitors and summer residents. John Norman observes that Trinity’s *de facto* leader, Jim Miller, is “acutely aware that Trinity . . . has to evolve . . . In many ways they’ve become a victim of their own success”. “A community is not a community if it only exists in the summer,” says Donna Butt. Based on comments I have heard about reasons to live full-time in the area, expectations of mutual aid are common. But mutual aid is hard when the sources of aid are far away. Moreover, government funding that maintains or augments the community infrastructure, such as schools and health care, and civic activities is less politically sustainable.²⁹⁵

The seventh type of renovation is retrofitting long-term into short-term rental properties. The result is less available housing. This is a common side-effect of gentrification.²⁹⁶ Local real estate appreciates, but locals may be priced out of the housing market by non-locals.²⁹⁷ Even outsiders can get priced out as well when

293 This is a tension in Fogo Island, Newfoundland, which attracts a “global elite” (Slawinski et al. 2021:604). Sherman analyzes similar, if more acute, tensions in “Paradise Valley,” Washington. This recalls the diminishing presence of the Gullah Geechee (descendants of enslaved West Africans) on the now insipid Hilton Head Island, South Carolina (Fuller, 2021). For broader coverage of Gullah efforts at survival, see Cooper (2017).

294 Szwed (1966b:83). Gustavsson (1980) recounts the class conflict between coastal residents and urban summer visitors, who made their (self-defined) superiority evident.

295 By “civic activities,” Seto (2022:61) refers to examples such as “the 4-H youth club”. Attracting and retaining health care professionals is a problem, rendering the revival of rural areas, including Bonavista, “at risk” (Mayor John Norman speaking with CBC News, 2023b). Specialty health services have been centralized “in regional centres,” in Bonavista’s case, Clarenville, 108km away (Rudrum et al. 2022). Patients who might have been saved by a local emergency room might die on the ambulance trip to Clarenville (Roberts 2023; Whiffen 2023).

296 Lees et al. (2013); Phillips et al. (2021).

297 Emily Urquhart’s (2013) dissertation focused on the relationships between “livyers” (year-round residents) and “come-from-aways” or CFAs. Given this focus, she unwrapped layers of the ambiguous process of gentrification.

prestigious real estate becomes increasingly pricey.²⁹⁸ In Bonavista, the problem is less acute for purchases rather than rentals. With a median asking price of \$177,000 and a median after-tax household income of \$49,000, mortgage payments for buying a house are manageable.²⁹⁹

The big problem is conversions to Airbnbs. Most such conversions, in Bonavista as elsewhere, are the deeds of non-resident “commercial operators”.³⁰⁰ In Bonavista, they take advantage of the area’s tourism capital. These conversions reduce the housing available for residents, compounding the difficulty of staffing local businesses. “We have over 120 Airbnb’s alone. People are getting evicted”, Mayor John Norman told CBC news.³⁰¹ Further, the proliferation of Airbnb listings puts price pressure on inns and hotels, such as Harbour Quarters (Plates 21 and 24), with their ongoing costs for staffing that Airbnbs avoid.³⁰²

298 For locals squeezed out of the market, Urquhart (2013:158, 242). For outsiders squeezed out, which is apparently not currently a problem in Bonavista, Sheppard and Pemberton (2023) and Smith et al. (2021).

299 I used mortgage calculators available from financial institutions. The housing prices are based on the 30 houses listed by realtor.ca on September 2, 2023, but the income figure is from the 2021 census. We can assume various down payment figures and the conclusion is unchanged.

300 Combs et al. (2020:120) for the quote; see also Wachsmuth and Weisler (2018).

301 CBC (2023a). The same process of displacement by investors in short-term rental properties is further advanced in Lisbon, foreshadowing further challenges in Bonavista (Cocola-Gant and Gago 2019).

302 Dogru et al. (2022). Out-of-town investors in Airbnb properties risk facing overcapacity, a perennial problem in the lodging industry (Lee and Jang 2012).



Plate 99: English Harbour from the hill in Plate 35.



Plate 100: Trinity from Gun Hill.

Will Regional Collaboration Continue?

Scenario: Someone from Toronto buys an outpost house for more than the livyers had imagined. The sellers then move to live near their offspring in Calgary. Their former neighbours find that they now lack their previously easy access to the foraging trails.

People hold conflicting views of gentrification due to its differing outcomes. Views also differ due to differing values and goals. But people who diverge in values and goals must collaborate for regional developments, and especially for complex projects like the Geopark. We can better understand this challenge with the concept of “cross-sector partnerships” or CSPs. The sectors in studies of CSPs are typically not-for-profit organizations, private sector firms, and governments. Most studies of CSPs refer to just two sectors. “Trisector” partnerships are rare, yet the organizations involved with the Discovery Geopark were prodigiously multi-sectoral.³⁰³ They were multinational (UNESCO), governmental (federal, provincial and local), scientific (the Geological Survey), not-for-profit (Coaker Foundation, Tourism Elliston), and commercial (the Chamber of Commerce, Round-Da-Bay Inn and others).³⁰⁴

Compared to single sectors, CSPs have more resources, such as funding, and more capabilities, such as scientific knowledge. But they are often burdened with disputes, caused by its members’ incompatible priorities and values. Maintaining partnerships, once they have formed, is challenging. By contrast with these generalizations,³⁰⁵ the Geopark looks like a CSP triumph. It won UNESCO’s mandate and now attracts new visitors. But its history is one of strains along with successes. Ill feelings and turnover have marked its leadership team. Closer inspection finds some of the sources of frictions.

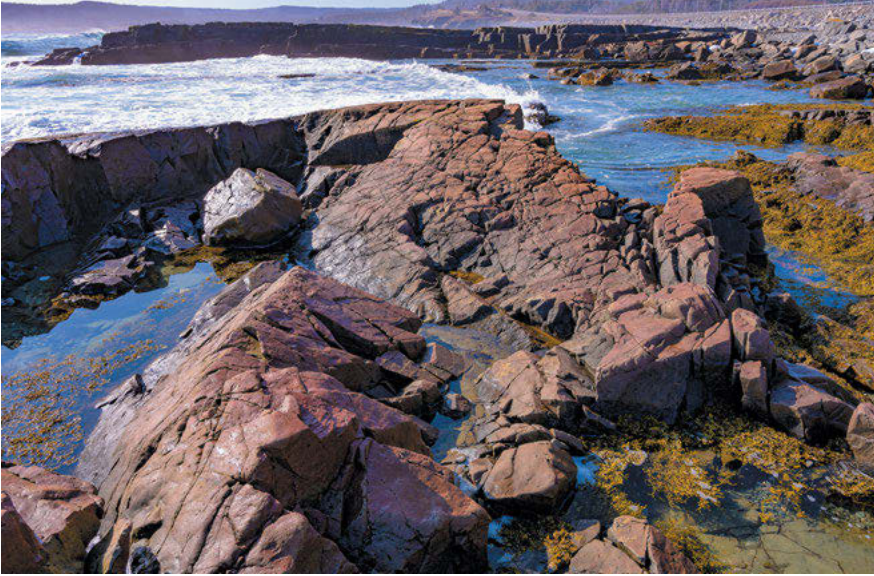
I learned first-hand about tensions between scientists and businesses. In early 2018, a geologist played a leading role in the “Discovery Aspiring Geopark,” while it worked to gain UNESCO approval. She asked me to photograph the potential geosites. Some of them, like coarse-grained ripples, the Duntara mud cracks and the ancient beach at Hodderville,³⁰⁶ had scientific value but otherwise modest allure. You can see this with the Hodderville photo:

303 Vogel et al. (2022:395); Selsky and Parker (2005) for “trisector”.

304 Other businesses involved were Bonabooch Kombucha, Bonavista Living, and Sea of Whales Adventures. Chris and Karen Ricketts, the owners of Round-Da-Bay Inn (noted in the table) came to the funding announcement shown in Plate 6. Their inn is somewhat remote from many area attractions, but it is near the geosites in Tickle Cove and in Keels. The Geopark itself is a “provincial not-for-profit organization” (Geopark website).

305 Moayerian et al. (2023); Vogel et al. (2022) for complementary assets and for differing normative expectations across institutional fields.

306 Normore (2010). An older name for coarse-grained ripples is megaripples.



Ancient beach near Hodderville, with Route 235 in the background, April 28, 2018.

When I finished with the photo files, I sent them to another Geopark champion—let's call her Kate. She was at that time a community leader. Before long we noted that my pictures were not being used, so I asked Kate why. She said I had been caught up in disputes between local and provincial factions. As an employee of the province's university, I was tainted as a townie. I suppose; I am not sure. I am sure that soon afterwards Kate, along with my geologist colleague, withdrew from the Geopark effort. The geologist found that she could not serve on the board, nor could I, because we did not live within the boundaries of the geopark, as required by the Canadian Geopark Network. This requirement, intentionally or not, minimizes the roles of scientists and leaders in St. John's. But the area itself is prone to tensions within. I now hear leaders asking, why are meetings always held in the town of Bonavista?³⁰⁷

307 It seems odd that the Geopark's leaders and its office are in Bonavista, when Trinity Bay North houses the central scientific assets and activities. Cross-regional collaboration, so important in the area's revival, may be at risk. Even back in 2018 Donna Butt wondered how long regional collaboration would last.

“Any form of collective action is dependent on the recognition actors give to each other”.³⁰⁸ Is this recognition across the region waning? This is a disconcerting question. So too is this one: how much longer will collaborations continue in Bonavista? As Wilkinson observed, every “community contains a turbulent field of self-seeking special interest games”.³⁰⁹ Residents of the region overcame these games to collaborate for the Geopark, the hiking trails, and the Biennale. But collaboration and a sense of community enable one another. Absent a belief in community, collaboration withers.³¹⁰

308 Ryan et al. (2023:759). These authors label the need for recognition as “the ethics of recognition”.

309 Wilkinson (1986:4; 2023:8). Baldacchino (2004) and Foley (2023:1805) note that conflict, not just harmony, is common in island communities. Newfoundland has a long history of conflict, between settlers and indigenous people, French and English, Anglicans and Roman Catholics, and proponents of confederation versus self-government.

310 The claim that community and collaboration are mutually constitutive draws on Wilkinson (1986; 2023) and the Foreword by Theodori and Brennan (2023).

Part Five

Research Method

Evolution of my Research Role

When I first arrived in Bonavista, I had a ready-made identity. I was a business professor in Newfoundland's only university. In the first year, I conducted nine interviews that, while open-ended, focused on business issues.³¹¹ Due to my business school role, my curiosity about entrepreneurship was never, to my recollection, questioned. Nor did I delve into sensitive topics, such as fairies, due, in that case to my ignorance, not lack of curiosity.³¹² But "business professor" or "professor" was not how I was normally labelled. My cameras became "passports" to a recognized role: the photographer.³¹³ My role was "a photographer", and not just "a photographer," but one looking to learn the lay of the (social and physical) land.

Many people understood my quest and helped me find opportunities to explore. Beth Follett, a writer and publisher, was the first to help. She took me to meet Doug Penney up in English Harbour. Later, Jim Swyers suggested that I catch the announcement of funding for a UNESCO Global Geopark. As a result, I took the photos of that event and of the likeliest geosites. That participation gave me access to contrasting views about the Geopark. Without this role, I would not have known about disagreements or accessed its scientific efforts.

The classic ethnographic stance is the "bumbler," who becomes, by trial and error, familiar with an unfamiliar world.³¹⁴ As a modest example, when I heard a

311 I recorded interviews with Jim Swyers (J. T. Swyers Company Ltd., Bonavista), John Norman (Bonavista Creative, Bonavista Living, and Mayor), Gabe and Luke Fisher (Fishers' Loft, Port Rexton), Edith Samson (Coaker Foundation, Port Union), Donna Butt (Rising Tide Theatre, Trinity), Dave Ellis (Two Whales Coffee Shop, Port Rexton), Katie Hayes (Bonavista Social Club, Upper Amherst Cove), and Alicia Macdonald (Port Rexton Brewery). In all these cases, I had met with my informants on prior occasions. For example, John Norman and I had lunched at the Boreal Diner.

312 Rieti (2021) depicted her challenges in eliciting knowledge of this strain in Newfoundland culture. For accounts of fairies from the Bonavista area, see pages 12, 43, 91, and 144.

313 Marion (2010); Schwartz (1989); Slyomovics (2009); Spirn (2008).

314 I say "classic," not current, because (as Taylor 2014) observes, the audit culture of universities has lost patience with such open-ended inquiry. As she also observes, a classic statement of the bumbler's insights is Becker's (1993) article on how he learned what a "crock" is. Or, as Gude-man expressed it, after "eighteen months of fieldwork . . . I could make my way around . . . without making too many errors" (2022a:110). Pioneering field researchers in the outports reported on their own stumbling, and the characteristic hospitality of the residents (Riggins (2017).

clerk address two female shoppers as “by’s,” I learned that b’y can be gender-neutral. I also sought the converse of my quest to understand the unfamiliar, as I had to become familiar to others. I saw signs of progress when I was asked if I lived nearby, or when people reverted to the area’s accent.³¹⁵ Jack, the merchant Jim Swyers’ brother-in-law and ubiquitous assistant for their businesses, has an accent that I recognize right away. It causes me trouble until he switches to a “townie” (St. John’s) voice.

People expressed surprise on seeing me multiple times over the years. They expected professors would come only once. Therefore, I was pleased and not embarrassed when, for a show at The Garrick Theatre, I was seated in the middle of the front row, which was otherwise empty. I believed that many would see I was there, because, when I entered the theatre expecting to show my ID, I was told “Oh, you must be Alex”. Another sign of progress was my involvement in gossip, as receiver and, peripherally, purveyor. Gossip serves many purposes, such as learning the changing social landscape and seeking to advance our interests.³¹⁶ Ethnography absent gossip is unimaginable.³¹⁷ This comes with obligations. We must be discrete if what we hear is negative and I was privy to and party to a few unflattering messages. Fortunately, gossip is typically just a way to pass on local news. As an example, I once reported that “the health inspector finally came, so Selby’s tearoom is open”.

How I Worked in the Field

In my first visits to Bonavista, when I tried to learn who I should meet and who would grant access, I claimed, only partly in jest, that my tactics were “lurking and luck”. I was less serious in telling myself that the brewers, Sonja and Alicia, permitted my research when their dog decided I could enter, at the back of their building. As this suggests, my first visits were less than efficient. My car, used like a truck on choppy roads, covered many miles. This proved helpful, as I could relay news about people that residents knew of but had fewer reasons than I to

315 Townie English itself has been shifting from its “unique” mode of English towards “Canadian English” (D’Arcy 2005).

316 Urquhart’s study, based in Upper Amherst Cove, has an extensive discussion of gossip and rumor (especially pages 251–262). For communication and learning the social landscape, Baumeister et al. (2004), Stafford (2020:135); Szwed (1966a); for strategic use by individuals, Paine 1967; for jocular but economically sensible “lies” among fishers, Andersen (1973).

317 Carmel (2011) wrestles with this facet of ethnography.

visit. I learned the local news, and much else, thanks to the cardinal tactics in fieldwork: starting conversations, and listening.

My visits became, if not quite efficient, less random. One reason was my developing knowledge of scholarship related to my developing interests. As the reference list shows, I learned from many research disciplines.³¹⁸ Thanks to my readings, in the later visits I went to the field with more explicit intentions. The following demonstration of how I work is an account of my recent fieldwork, on a Friday and Saturday at the end of August 2023. My visits in these days were more consciously planned than in early days, but ethnography is always just a human act: an exploration in a setting of people.

Friday, August 25. On my way down Route 230, before it meets 235, I saw that the welcome site for the Discovery Geopark was changing, so I stopped to look about. The most striking change was the addition of a geosite called the “Capelin Gulch Fossil Site, Melrose”. I decided to go there right after my primary task, dropping off a copy of my latest manuscript at the Rising Tide Theatre. My ostensible purpose was to update Donna Butt, but Lisa Mouland and Valerie Rose, who run the box office, knew what I was up to: nudging the always-busy Donna on writing a Foreword.³¹⁹

My next stop was Two Whales Coffee Shop, just past Trinity on the way towards Melrose. I stepped in for a take-away panini: the “Bollywood”. Two Whales still seemed popular, but I noticed that the menu had grown, and perhaps overgrown. My sandwich and others took longer than usual. I did not see signs of under-staffing, which has been a problem elsewhere lately.

Melrose is small, at about 100 dwellings,³²⁰ and I thought (correctly) that I would find signs for the site. When I came to what seemed the site’s vicinity, I noticed a woman outside and asked her, “do you know where the fossils are?” She told me to follow and led me to the surface with the fossils. She insisted that I borrow her walking stick. Her name, she said, is Joyce. I learned her last name, Macdonald, when I later asked others. In small communities finding ways to identify people can be easy. Her walking stick was one of the clues.

Melrose abuts Port Union, and I was curious about the Biennale displays at Union House Arts (UHA). But first I paid a quick visit with Edith Samson, in her office across the road. I think that even short visits remind people that I care about them. At the UHA I paid another short visit with Bethany Mackenzie, the programming director, for similar reasons. Then I popped behind the black cur-

³¹⁸ Unlike most books of photo essays, this one is organized by scholarly topic.

³¹⁹ This had been our plan.

³²⁰ This estimate is from earlier census data. The most recent census does not distinguish Melrose from the rest of Trinity Bay North.

tains where art films are offered. On an earlier visit, I watched a film by Andrea Cooper, and concluded that after three showings I might understand it.³²¹ This time the film—*Gemini* by Lindsay Katsitsakatste Delaronde—was nearly as baffling, but I found her dancing entrancing. Still, I headed straight for the Murphy’s Cove Trail to clear my head and work out.

Back at the hotel, the Round-Da-Bay Inn in Plate Cove West, I searched on my laptop for scientific works about the Melrose geosite. Signage near it states that “this site demonstrates—for the first time—direct evidence . . . that *Fractofusus misraii* [the main organisms found there] grew flat along the seafloor . . . [whereas] most Ediacaran organisms grew upright from the seafloor”. An article by MUN scientists provided the scientific background.³²² What was unique was not the fossils but the rocks, in a ripple cross-laminated sandstone bed.³²³ Thinking that I could find those rocks more easily at low tide, I found that the next low tide would be at 8:30 the next morning.

Saturday, August 26. Did I find the low tide gave me access to the sandstone bed? No. Duncan McIlroy later informed me that non-specialists have a hard time finding those rocks which are, moreover, covered with two other layers. I did get a better fossil photo (Plate 14). And while low tide did not help at Melrose, it helps at the Port Union boardwalk. Over I went. The outcome of that trip was the photo of *Bradgatia* sp. fossils, above. The next day, I followed up with Daniel Pérez-Pinedo and Duncan McIlroy by email and by Skype and sent them my write-up for feedback. Among the things I learned is that my fossil labels were accurate (thanks to their photos). I also learned that *Bradgatia* is the genus, whereas “sp” means that the species cannot be determined from the sample.

My second, and only other definite, goal for this visit was stopping by East Coast Glow and Newfoundland Salt on Church Street, Bonavista. I wanted to check on the claim I made above, that they relied on both the web and wholesalers for out-of-store sales. This was confirmed. I also wanted to see how Katie Hayes was doing, having re-opened her Bonavista Social Club after a year in British Columbia, so I continued to Upper Amherst Cove. One change I noticed is how they manage their customer queue. It is simpler now, and staff seem happy about it.³²⁴ Much as I wanted to see Katie, I wanted to try the new pizzas. (I was not disappointed, and I loved the bread pudding.) Seeing Katie, asking questions and hearing her answers, as modest as ever, sustained our connection, I hope.

321 Andrea Cooper is a well-established Newfoundland artist (Eagan 2021:24, 25, 296).

322 Pérez-Pinedo et al. (2023) and (read later) McIlroy et al. (2022).

323 Pérez-Pinedo et al. (2023, especially Figure 3).

324 You enter, order, pay, and wait at a table, which is also the procedure at Two Whales. Previously you waited at a table for a server to take your order.

Another connection I hoped to keep up was my friendship—I call it that—with Doug Penney in English Harbour, so I chugged along to the other coast on Route 237. Doug, his brothers Howard and Ches, and I chatted. We covered many topics, among them their pigeons, their aging and health, outport ways of living, the need to wear helmets on ATVs, abuse of the sea by bad fishers, and poor results from their fishing that day: only one cod and a flounder. When Doug needed to go and cook the fish, I walked across the road towards the Arts Centre.

The Centre is surrounded by a 19th century cemetery, where a man in coveralls was trimming the grass. He was too far away to chat with, so I entered and found a friendly face. Shona Stacey, the mother with a toddler at the Two Whales tenth party (Plate 92), was the gallery guide that day. Like all the tasks at the Centre, her work was voluntary. After we caught up on personal news, and she found bits of time for her rug hooking art, I took in the prints by Kenojuak Ashevak. With the recent growth of multinational megagalleries, how wonderful that little English Harbour should offer work by Canada's most prominent Inuit artist.³²⁵ I then left to see another show in the Art Centre's Annex.³²⁶ Before I got there, I started up a chat with the lawn cutter. He turned out to be Jim Wickwire, partner of the artist Deb Wickwire. She is one of the five Board members for the Centre. From Jim, I learned how these volunteers saved the building prior to demolition. They created a not-for-profit to welcome both artists and their artwork. They launched their venture in 2004 and spent the next three years on the renovation. Doris McCarthy, Mary Pratt and David Blackwood, all established artists, donated artworks that raised over \$45,000 for the Centre.³²⁷ The Centre would cover its ongoing costs with rentals, performances, gallery shows, and artist residencies.

None of the founders lived nearby year-round. Their motivations echoed the house, not market economies: a normative, not calculative mentality, and mutual-ity, not self-interest. But they were not locally embedded. They were also not immigrants. How should they be classified? They did not make their living this way, so they did not fit how I define entrepreneurs. Yet they founded a venture that generates value for others and themselves. Donna Butt, before she moved to Trin-

325 Ashevak is one of Canada's most honoured artists, so this was a major coup for the Centre. Please see above and Ping (2023). For a contemptuous take on megagalleries, Saltz (2022:9). In a similar vein, I have noted that "Any multi-billionaire can buy a private collection of art, but only a few will influence the art world" (Stewart 2023:1155). Compared with private jets, private golf courses, and super-yachts, art collections are an environmentally benign display of wealth.

326 The flagship work at the annex was a sculptural bust by Karen Louise Fletcher. In a promotional picture the bust seems to be diseased and ominous. But after sitting to take it in (it was placed directly on the floor upstairs) I found its expression profound.

327 Cameron-McCarron (2006); Cumby (2020); Wheeler (2006). Jim Wickwire is a physician, a point he never raised in our talk.

ity, would have been similar: a not-for-profit founder from away. Labels can be too restrictive.

If my purpose had been to study tourists, I would have found them in spades at the nearby Skerwink Trail. But the Fox Island Trail, one of my favourites, is closer and much less crowded. I went there to gain a sense of nature and to exercise. Next, I headed to Little Catalina. I had the idea of re-making my *Charniodiscus* photo (Plate 13) with a 25-cent piece to indicate scale. The path seemed little more than overgrown foraging trails. The way might have been passable had I worn anglers' boots and hacked away with a scythe. Lacking such gear, I turned about.

Driving back to the inn I spotted nicely done signs for "Beth's," with images of healthy goods like bananas, not chips. In the Preface, Beth is our first example of everyday entrepreneurs. I have since found a CBC story about Beth and her partner, Rob Quinton,³²⁸ but the way that I learned about Beth's was, to repeat my words above: "starting conversations and listening". After many times driving past the shop, I pulled over. Stepping over a boy sitting and playing on the door mat, I noticed a lady at the counter. I said it was about time I stopped there, and added "are you Beth?" She was, and she was the owner. I asked how long she'd been at it. She answered "seven years", which I thought was good going. I said I ask questions because I teach entrepreneurship. That cover for my curiosity always seemed to be accepted. Then I noted how the entire back half looked like a classic rural variety store. They verge on general stores. She told me that she orders based on what customers wish for.

Thinking I deserved a treat after hiking, I bought an ice cream sandwich. I ate it in my car while changing from boots to shoes. But then I returned. Beth was sitting in front, and I sat down beside her. We chatted. I gave her my card and she told me to expect an email message.

Space, Places, Place, and Photography

Many works in social science use photographs, casually composed and often poorly printed.³²⁹ Nonetheless, art and ethnography can complement one another. In her

³²⁸ Barry (2017).

³²⁹ Baker and Welter (2020:137); Freeman (2021:55). Exceptions include the photos by John Collier (Collier and Buitrón 1949), Laura Gilpin 1968, and Douglas Harper (Harper 1987; 2006). An exemplar of photographic art matched with social science content is the work of Dorothea Lange (Lange and Taylor 1939). As Spirn (2008) shows, Lange had an ethnographer's approach to her fieldwork and worked at times in collaboration with ethnographers.

exemplary photo-ethnography, *Balinese Character*,³³⁰ the influential anthropologist Margaret Mead valued the aesthetic qualities of photographs when she decided which ones to use, from the thousands that Gregory Bateson, her husband and fellow anthropologist, recorded.³³¹ The “striking formal aspects” of artistic images can inspire deeper attentiveness than otherwise; ideally, they offer a “refunctioning of human sight”.³³² That goal is a bridge too far for this book, but I have tried to learn from prior art and to craft images that offer insights beyond the words.³³³

The “photos” in “photo-ethnography” are not just adjuncts to the words. Photos yield distinctive information and insights about people, in their space, places, and place. Those three words—space, places, and place—are common in colloquial speech and in scholarship. In scholarship, they are the foundations for the concept of “sense of place”. Nothing exists without space, but the term “space” serves, in this context, to contrast with place. We have emotional attachments to place, but not to space. Space is “abstract and objective,” whereas places (plural) and place (singular) are embodied, subjective, and evaluative.³³⁴ Space invokes dimensions, angles, and distances.

Place invokes memories, hopes, and personal ties. It is made up of “the social, the natural, [and] the cultural”.³³⁵ Place, in the singular, is also made up of—it is an active ongoing synthesis of—multiple places, in the plural.³³⁶ Evoking the impression of place is a core purpose of landscape art.³³⁷ With my photos, I try to render a sense of presence for viewers. But I can do this with only my own sense of place, based on my movements and bearings. I agree with John Wylie, a cultural geographer, that landscape is a personal activity, and that “to landscape is to gaze in a particular fashion”.³³⁸

What do we gaze at when we landscape? Current thinking includes vastly more matters than awesome vistas of wilderness, as in many of the photos by

330 Bateson and Mead (1942).

331 Sullivan (1999:31).

332 Gelderloos (2014:552, 555).

333 I naturally appreciate the landscapes of Zageris’ (2013) *On the Labrador*, as they reflect an aesthetic much like mine.

334 Agnew (2011); Cresswell (2015); for the quote, Tuan (1979:387).

335 Cresswell (2015:47).

336 Cresswell (2015:31, 51–54) and Dovey (2020) use the term “assemblage” rather than synthesis. Their usage has philosophical connotations, including poststructuralism, that are unnecessary here.

337 Jakle (1987 throughout).

338 Wylie (2007:7).

Ansel Adams.³³⁹ One recent difference is the inclusion of urban views. Adams was a great landscape artist, but his heroic mode is just one of many. His own work was also broader, as he made many photos of blooms, trees, leaves, and other modest matters.³⁴⁰ My work is more ecumenical than his, perhaps, but relatively tame when compared with recent landscape art.

In this book, photographs reflect a variety of places. Taken as a whole, the photos suggest a sense of place, a sense that will differ from viewer to viewer. Photographs are well suited for expressing place. In their book, *The Tourist Gaze*, John Urry and Jonas Larsen claimed that “photographs are performative objects generating affective sensations”.³⁴¹ This is the stance of tourism promoters and tourists themselves.³⁴² But not all places, or referents for the sense of place, are suited to photographs. The sense of place draws on what can be seen, but also on memories, aspirations, and personal entanglements. Even things that are subject to imaging might not be well suited for photos. As an illustration, the ragged edge of a farmer’s field awaiting expansion would be conveyed better by installation art, with the marks of human endeavour on sandy grit and spillage. Even when photographers set their sights on trash or on distressing scenes, they are biased towards the aesthetically interesting.³⁴³

Words and Images—Moving and Still

However meaningful the photographs may be, words are needed as well. They add to the specific and social science contexts.³⁴⁴ I present the social science contexts in the many footnotes and references in this book. These are invitations for readers to launch their own explorations, based on their interests. Another rea-

339 Jackson (1984 and 1997) are key sources for this broader approach. John Brinckerhoff Jackson was the “doyen of the interdisciplinary domain of American landscape studies” (Howett 1999:102). Other examples are Ashcroft (2002), Hough (1990), and Spirn (1998).

340 Adams and Newhall (1992). The scale and quality of images are part of our sense of a photo, as we can see with Adams’ own prints, in his archive at the University of Arizona.

341 Urry and Larsen (2011:155). By “performative,” they referred to processes of creation and use (pp. 208–215).

342 See generally, Tuan (1979:389). For tourism promoters, Jenkins (2003); for tourists, Duda (2023) and Urry and Larsen (2011:Chap. 7). Machine learning scientists appear to agree, Zhou et al. (2018).

343 This applies mainly—perhaps only—to such fine art photographers as Walker Evans (Hambourg et al. 2000), Salgado (2004), and Vergara (1997).

344 Baker and Welter (2020:150–153).

son for notes applies to the captions. Photos that lack the context provided by words are easily misinterpreted.³⁴⁵ More strongly, “cryptic titles and captions, or none at all . . . distance the viewer from the subject by transforming it into a non-referential object”.³⁴⁶ As Dorothea Lange knew well, the meaning of a photo, if the photo is not an abstraction, derives from its external contexts.³⁴⁷

Anthropologists like Bateson and Mead were among the pioneers of photo-ethnography. Their discipline has a long tradition of ethnographic film, and many photo-ethnographic works use video methods rather than still photographs. Both video and stills have value. Video shows sequential relationships over time. A still photograph records a moment in a flow of events, helping the attentive viewer to see what can be missed in everyday life.³⁴⁸ As Mead put it, the freezing of action in photographs permits new theoretical “thinking”.³⁴⁹

Video and stills differ in how they interact with words. In videos, the words are spoken by narrators or taped in interviews. Sometimes words appear in captions. In all these approaches, the words flow along with the images. But words that accompany stills are unmoving. The freezing of action in pictures allows the viewers, at their own pace, to interpret the content. The same is true with words. Photo-ethnographies that use stills rather than videos encourage their readers and viewers to reflect at their own pace, with their own preferred processes.³⁵⁰

Because of photographers’ preconceptions and their choices of timing, subjects, and angles, photographs are not transparent replications of reality.³⁵¹ Nor is the interpretation uniform across viewers. Nonetheless, the philosophers Scott Walden and Kendall Walton each presents a case for photographic objectivity, compared with other modes of recording, such as words.³⁵² At the second of its creation, a photograph is unaffected by the photographer’s mental state. Any other photographer at the same time and place and camera settings would record the same image. Of course, photographers can craft their photos to express their own subjective state. But their choices could instead signal the intent to be objective. I have done this by the lack of manipulation of subject matter in my post-

345 Bresciani and Eppler (2015).

346 Lippard (1997:180).

347 Spirn (2008).

348 Arnold (2021); Ekstein (2016).

349 Sullivan (1999:16). Mead also argued that photographs enabled “the recording of types of non-verbal behavior for which there existed neither vocabulary nor conceptual methods of observation” (quoted in Sullivan 1999:19).

350 Others have probably noticed this parallel between words and images with video and stills, but I cannot find a citation. A limitation of my comparison is that videos can be paused.

351 Cochrane et al. (2022, p. 15); Veneti (2017).

352 Walden (2005) and Walton (1984).

processing, use of wide angles, and other signals that assert, if the viewer had also been where and when I was, they would have seen a similar view. I think that what is distinctive in my photographs, compared with everyday views, is the places and times I explored, and the subjects, such as ground cover and rocks, that are taken for granted by many, as residents tell me.³⁵³ “The literary critic and historian Patrick O’Flaherty,” who knew rural life from his personal experience, pointed to “unremitting labour of life in Newfoundland [which] left little time for appreciating nature”.³⁵⁴

Lacking no mandate but a camera or two, the photographer goes wherever is needed, short of intervening in people’s activities, in search of angles and views.³⁵⁵ Trying to sense how accepted my photo activities would be, I began with more innocuous imagery, taking photos of buildings and landscapes. With photos of people, the goal was to be “unobtrusive [but] at close range”.³⁵⁶ From such a platform, cameras stay out, taking picture after picture.³⁵⁷ In Bali, Bateson took “about 25,000” still photographs, “wearing or carrying two cameras day and night”.³⁵⁸ As he advised, and I have found, “it is almost impossible [for subjects] to maintain camera consciousness after the first dozen shots”.³⁵⁹ Of the 357 photographs in *Balinese character*, only three (1 to 3, a mother and child on their plate 46) show people who appear ill at ease.

One way to judge the ethnographic value of the photographer role is to examine the access apparent in photos. High standards are set by the casual grace of the photos in Yva Momatiuk and John Eastcott’s *This Marvellous Terrible Place*, Candace Cochrane’s *Outport: The Soul of Newfoundland*, and Cochrane’s collaborative book, *TautukKonik / Looking Back*.³⁶⁰ The range and diversity of my ethnographic access can also be judged, based on what Roger Sanjek called “the ethnographer’s path,” which is the set of people engaged in the field. I gratefully note them in the acknowledgements.³⁶¹ The names are real. Pseudonyms do not work with photographs. Prudence, which is needed in all ethnographies, is even more crucial in photo-ethnographies. So too is ethical judgment. No matter how stringent our ethics

353 See also Kennedy (2022:14).

354 Webb (2016:244).

355 Allard et al. (1989:42).

356 Schwartz (1989); Cartier-Bresson (1999:28) for the quote.

357 Skjælaaen et al. (2020:63).

358 Bateson and Mead (1942:49).

359 Bateson and Mead (1942:49).

360 Cochrane (2008); Momatiuk and Eastcott (1998); Cochrane, Procter and the Nunatsiavut Creative Group (2022). By virtue of Cochrane’s use of older photos and collaboration with Inuit commentators, this latter book transports us across cultures and times.

361 Sanjek (1990b:398–400).

review process—and Memorial's is stringent—judgments are needed.³⁶² I hope that mine have been sound. I have been helped with my judgments by reflections on my drafts by insiders.

Research Limitations

Who we interact with affects the tales we find. I chatted with tourists but did not study them. I did not create a census of ventures, I did not discover or cover everything of interest, and I did not get approval to include all the people I wanted. (At least not the way that I wanted.) I did not explore any ventures or communities in depth. My focus was the region, and how it enables and limits the people who live there. If you nonetheless consider this book to be a study of ventures and communities, you should see it as a “multi-sited ethnography”.³⁶³ Within the Bonavista area, it covers eight not-for-profit and regional endeavours, such as Rising Tide Theatre and the Doug Penney's sculpture garden, and 26 localized ventures in 15 communities. Although I cover multiple communities, I lack the knowledge for many comparisons with rural revival or with tourism development elsewhere. Finally, quoting Robert Finch, this work is “subject to all the limitations, misinterpretations, and distortions of” “an outsider”.³⁶⁴

Gary Alan Fine claimed that ethnographers write as if they know more than they do, yet they hold back on some of what they know.³⁶⁵ True enough here. Why do I not know more? The main reason is that I did not live at length on the Peninsula. By contrast, Barker (1993) lived for twenty years in Bethel, Alaska, and his photographs bear witness to deeper involvement in everyday life than I have achieved. Another contrast is with the one photo-ethnography I can find on a rural entrepreneur: Douglas Harper's book on Willie, an “all-around craftsman” for all-around fixes, Saabs above all, in northern New York state.³⁶⁶ Willie was Harper's mechanic and clearly at ease with the professor. Another limitation is that mixing ethnography with photography presents challenges. This mixture has limited my contributions. Few fieldworkers can take notes and photographs at the same time.³⁶⁷ Part One of Harper's full-participant ethnography of railroad

³⁶² You would be right to suspect that process was lengthy.

³⁶³ Marcus (2011). This book is multi-sited in terms of ventures and communities, but not in terms of its focus on one region.

³⁶⁴ Finch (2007:ix).

³⁶⁵ Fine (1993).

³⁶⁶ The quote is from Studs Terkel, on the dust jacket of Harper (1987).

³⁶⁷ Allard et al. (1989:24).

tramp life (Harper, 2006) is one case of the camera getting in the way. Only in the rest of the book, which does not focus on his key informant, and is more explicitly scholarly but less ethnographic, does Harper seem freer to take photographs. For the same reason, in the fieldwork for his influential study *The Nuer*, Evans-Pritchard switched between taking notes and taking photographs.³⁶⁸

Balinese Character exemplifies one solution. While Bateson took photographs, Mead and their assistant took notes.³⁶⁹ In their view, “it is essential to have at least two [research] workers in close cooperation”.³⁷⁰ In the place of written fieldnotes, for over five years I relied on my photographs and my “headnotes,” memories and reminders to myself.³⁷¹ With headnotes as my prompts, I checked and re-checked my developing data, sometimes based on my own observations, sometimes by asking my informants. I had the benefit of working in a field site with extensive secondary material, as the footnotes and references attest.

Note on Post-Processing Photographs

The colours in Plate 64 are not, as they might seem, just artifacts of Photoshop. Here is the photo as it was born as a raw (NEF) file in my Nikon Z7, with no processing. The changes from Adobe Camera Raw in plate 64 are increased exposure, 39/100 vibrance, and 79/100 dehazing, with zero saturation. I often make tiny adjustments in the LAB colour mode, but I did not with this image.³⁷²

³⁶⁸ Evans-Pritchard (1940); Morton (2009).

³⁶⁹ Sullivan (1999:4, 19).

³⁷⁰ Bateson and Mead (1942:49).

³⁷¹ Sanjek (1990a:93).

³⁷² For the LAB mode, Margulis (2015).





Plate 101: A twirly tree seems to symbolize the resilience of Newfoundlanders.

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From the many people who helped me it seems unfair to single anyone out. But it is unfair not to give particular thanks to Donna Butt (Rising Tide Theatre) and Edith Samson (Coaker Foundation). Many other influenced my efforts at learning. Thanks also to Anderson Abbott, Sue Asquith, Conner Bailey, Linda Battcock-Clowe, Shelly and Garry Blackmore, David Bradley, Matt Buntin, Peter Burt, James Carrier, Centre for Newfoundland Studies staff, Sarah Croft, Beth Clarke, Marilyn Coles-Hayley, Gord Cooke, Tom Cooper, Cyr Couturier, Amanda Cull, Giorgia De Maio, Cate Dewey, Karen Dewling, Isabelle Dostaler, Mireille Eagan, Dave Ellis, Gabe Fisher, John Fisher, Luke Fisher, Mike Flaherty, Beth Follett, Darrell Freeman, Tineke Gow, Marieke Gow, Mekaela Gulliver, Candida Hadley, Katie Hayes, Clayton Hobbs, Tim Ingold, Sarah Jack, Bernice Johnson, Don Johnson, Alma and Rick Jones, Corey Jones, Art King, Alex Liu, Frank Lapointe, Derek Lidow, Alicia Macdonald, Amanda McCallum, Duncan McIlroy, David Mercer., Sonja Mills, Ruby Mesh, Selby Mesh, Sharon Miller, Andrea Mills, John Norman, Sean O'Brien, Mike Paterson, Renee Paul, Doug Penney, Penny Vivian-Penney, Daniel Pérez-Pineda, Maddie Philpott, Josh Quinton, Chris Ricketts, Karen Ricketts, John Schouten, Bren Simmers, Gordon Slade, Jean and Peter Stacey, Charles Stafford, Mark Stoddart, Kristy Sweet, Jim Swyers, Lora Swyers, Anastasia Tiller, Jane Tucker, Emily Urquhart, Jane Walker, Wanda Whalen, and Stephen Zeifman

More thanks to the many people, whose names I do not know, who offered everyday consideration and kindness as I lived as a temporary “professional stranger” in their midst.³⁷³

373 This is a reference to Agar's (1980) title.

List of Plates with Full Captions

Plate 1. The town of Bonavista from above. The harbour is visible in the distance. The water towers are on the way towards Spillars Cove and the Klondike Trail. December 7, 2018.

Plate 2. Abandoned skiff, Spillars Cove. We know it was abandoned because it was not turned upside down for the winter. The owner's sister told me why: he was too sick to use it. Later I learned from his friend that he was able to sell it. In this photo, it seems to symbolize the decline of the inshore fishery. Among the boats used for inshore fishing, skiffs and dories are among the smallest, but rod-nees are smaller.³⁷⁴ Dusk, December 10, 2021.

Plate 3. Waves meeting the coast near Maberly and the Little Catalina to Maberly Trail. The Atlantic Ocean near the shore often looks green, due to chlorophyll in the microalgae, which are the base of the food web and a crucial producer of atmospheric oxygen.³⁷⁵ April 12, 2019.

Plate 4. Wetlands near Route 230. Although wetlands are pervasive, finding a vantage point for a photo was challenging. When I stopped my car on the side of the road (common in rural areas) to take this photo, a pickup driver stopped to ask if I was OK (also common). July 11, 2022.

Plate 5. Barrens at Spillars Cove. This spot, like much of the barrens, has patches of blueberries and partridge berries, also known as redberries, mountain cranberries, and lingonberries.³⁷⁶ For Inuit foragers, the search for berries has cultural “value beyond subsistence”.³⁷⁷ This also seems to be the case in Newfoundland. September 21, 2018.

Plate 6. The Sea Arch in Tickle Cove is a Discovery geosite. This site has a well-constructed viewing platform, but this view is from lower down, closer to the sea. Photo: September 23, 2018.

³⁷⁴ I understand the distinction this way, from Pam Hall: skiffs are “square-sterned” (2017:49), whereas dories are “pointed at both ends” (p. 105). Some would call the boat in Plate 2 a “speed boat” because its stern could take a small outboard motor. Terms vary from place to place, and building methods vary from builder to builder (Hall 2017:140, 143, 149, 165, 179–181).

³⁷⁵ For greater depth, see Hogan (2023:124–125) and Tragin and Vaultot (2018).

³⁷⁶ Scott (2010:3).

³⁷⁷ Berry harvesting is “a central and highly respected cultural practice among the Inuit,” valued because it “allow[s] them to continue their subsistence lifestyle, which is the basis of their culture”. (Dowlsley et al. 2022:119, 142); for the Mi'kmaq, Hall and Evans (2022:50–51); for Alaska Inuit, Barker (1993:89–91).

Plate 7. The beach area at Tickle Cove has well-worn stones, most of them salmon coloured. Much of the rock near the sea arch is fragile and could not withstand much foot traffic. In this picture, a few buildings of the community (population 30, perhaps) are visible in the background. Photo: September 23, 2018.

Plate 8. The “Chimney,” the sea stack by the Klondike Trail, near Spillars Cove, is a Discovery geosite. In my five plus years of watching the Chimney, it has lost material on the wider sides, making its appearance oddly fragile. Photo: December 7, 2018.

Plate 9. Out on the North Atlantic, Newfoundland gets its share of fog. The light that makes it through can be enchanting. Here is the Chimney in fog, with two hikers up to the left. Photo: June 17, 2023.

Plate 10. Keels is known for its many “devil’s hoofprints,” which are also a Discovery geosite. Geologists attribute their formation more prosaically to “the activity of bacteria, which created molecular compounds that have formed nodules within the rock [and that] have since weathered out to create the ‘footprints’”.³⁷⁸ Photo: July 10, 2022.

Plate 11. Keels has small coves with attractive rocks, such as the gray slate in the foreground and red mudstone in the background. This is by the devil’s hoofprints area but not a geosite itself. Photo: July 10, 2022.

Plate 12. Brook Point, a Discovery geosite, is reached by an offshoot of the Lighthouse Trail in King’s Cove. This site is known for its multicoloured layers of rock, which the Geopark website explains. The view in this plate shows the ongoing interaction of water and rock, the “zone of dynamic activity” shaping and reshaping the landscape.³⁷⁹ Photo: April 12, 2019.

Plate 13. This is a fossil of a *Charniodiscus spinosus*,³⁸⁰ an organism from the Ediacaran period, about 635 to 542 million years ago. The photo shows, from left to right, the basal holdfast disc, stem, and frond.³⁸¹ The *Charniodiscus*, stuck in the

³⁷⁸ For the quote, personal communication from Dr. Alex Liu, June 5, 2023. See also Hild (2012:227). Attributions of nefarious origins for geological features are common in folklore (Duffin and Davidson, 2011).

³⁷⁹ Skinner and Murck (2011:307).

³⁸⁰ LaFlamme et al. (2004:832) for the species identity.

³⁸¹ Hofmann et al. (2008). Pérez-Pinedo et al. (2023:4th page) consider this terminology “unfortunate” because it “evokes affinities to extant taxa and infers biomechanical properties and life habit” that are not well established.

seabed, its fronds waving from the motion of the water, was state-of-the-art for life in its era. Discussions were underway on how the site of this fossil (and others) might be included in the Geopark. Graduate students would lead guided tours. Photo: May 26, 2019.

Plate 14. These are Ediacaran fossils by the shore at Melrose, Trinity Bay North, with a 25-cent coin for scale. The symmetrical examples are *Fractofusus misrai*, which account for 91% of fossils at the “Melrose Surface” assemblage. The asymmetrical examples are *Pectinifrons abyssalis*, which account for 6%. This image shows the many orientations among the fossils, which can mislead us into thinking that they were felled from erect positions. Earth scientists from Memorial University demonstrated that these organisms were, contrary to prior belief, flat upon the seabed, not vertical like the *Charniodiscus* (Plate 14). To make this case, the MUN scientists used advanced statistical analyses and took advantage of unusual “physical sedimentological evidence to infer paleocurrent direction,” referring to a covered “ripple cross-laminated sandstone bed”.³⁸² Visual evidence for the direction of the current is not easy to find for non-specialists. Photo: August 26, 2023.

Plate 15. Dr. Alex Liu, a Cambridge University paleontologist, searching for fossils near Trinity Bay. How I found him illustrates the place-based knowhow of residents. Edith Samson had told me I would find him at Horse Chops, and Doug Penney gave me directions. Horse Chops is a speck on the longest stretch of uninhabited coast in the Bonavista area, between Melrose (Trinity Bay North) and English Harbour, reachable by a track best travelled by rugged trucks or mules. Photo: September 16, 2022.

Plate 16. Bonavista Harbour at dusk. The Ocean Choice International crab plant is to the right. Back towards the left is the museum housing a replica of the “Matthew,” the ship sailed by John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto). He is reputed to have made his first landfall in the New World at Bonavista on June 24, 1497. This is the rationale for the word “Discovery” in the names of the trail system and geopark on the peninsula. Dusk, June 8, 2021.

Plate 17. Beside this small harbour in Trinity East, Wayne Marsh built this longliner—the Pease Cove Endeavour—for the Jones brothers. (“Pease,” not “peace,” is the older spelling for the cove.) Longliners are an intermediate “midshore” tech-

³⁸² Pérez-Pinedo et al. (2023:3rd and 6th page). The case for prone positioning is also made in McIlroy et al. (2022).

nology, much larger and more sophisticated than skiffs and dories, but smaller than offshore trawlers. The latter are often owned by fish processors.³⁸³ Photo: September 2, 2019.

Plate 18. The Pease Cove Endeavour in Catalina Harbour, October 24, 2022.

Plate 19. Sunkers near Little Catalina. “Everywhere hidden reefs, which are called, with dreadful explicitness, sunkers, wait to rip open the bellies of unwary vessels”: Farley Mowat.³⁸⁴ Photo: December 8, 2020.

Plate 20. Aquaculture avoids the risks of sunkers, albeit with risks of its own, both ecological and economic. In this mussel farm on Northwest Arm, Trinity Bay, buoys kept the mussels above the seabed, out of reach of starfish, which feed on mussels. Its initial plan lodged with the government on January 3, 1997, and it lasted for over two decades. Sadly, it became one of several aquaculture ventures to close due, in part, to the Covid pandemic.³⁸⁵ The barrels and buoys have now been removed and stored behind a crab processing plant in Trouty that closed in 2007. Plate: August 1, 2022; inset: May 11, 2023.



³⁸³ Davis and Korneski (2012). Brox uses “nearshore” for the longliner fishery. In his judgment, the “fishery authorities wanted the [inshore] fisherman to graduate to a longliner” (1972:27), a goal that that has been partly realized.

³⁸⁴ Mowat (2006:2). Distressingly many shipwrecks near the Avalon Peninsula’s coast are recorded in the maps of the East Coast Trail Association (2019). According to Hogan (2023:31), “over five hundred catastrophic ship collisions” have resulted from icebergs, “the vast majority [of them] on the Grand Banks”.

³⁸⁵ Credit this observation about failures to Cyr Couturier, of the Marine Institute, Memorial University; see also Stafford (2020:98). The date and place are from the Newfoundland Department of Municipal Affairs and Environment.

Plate 21. Skipper’s Restaurant in the Swyers’ Harbour Quarter Inn. The scene in Plate 17 is nearby to the right. The honorific term “Skipper” refers to J. (Joseph) T. Swyers, who planted the seeds of the Swyers’ firm in 1892. J. T. was “legendary” for his work ethic and his ability to evaluate fish.³⁸⁶ Photo: September 21, 2018.

Plate 22. On September 21, 2018, I was granted a tour of the building for supplies of the Swyers’ construction supply store. It was once the foundation of one of the largest fish flakes – platforms for drying salted cod – in Newfoundland.³⁸⁷ It is still known as “the fish store”.

Plate 23. Also on September 21, 2018, I photographed Jim Swyers in his office, with a photo of his grandfather, J. T. looking down on Jim from the wall. Jim tells me that it makes him happy when he can provide the goods people need. This is the essence of retail.

Plate 24. The Paw Patrol, dressed (unconventionally) as mummers, pass by the Swyers’ Harbour Quarters Inn in Bonavista’s popular Santa Claus parade. December 8, 2018.

Plate 25. In tiny Upper Amherst Cove, the Bonavista Social Club proves that, sometimes, if you build it, they will come. “We didn’t know it would happen like that, but I do think that people are looking for a destination” says founder Katie Hayes. The photo shows the deck of the restaurant, with guests and a server, Lori O’Brien, a lady who seems to have a photographic memory. These facilities bear the imprint of Katie’s woodworking father, Mike Paterson. Photo: September 21, 2018.

Plate 26. Giorgia De Maio, who comes from England as the horticulturalist for the Bonavista Social Club. Pictures of people with their eyes shut are not the norm, but this photo expresses her character. Thankfully, she approved its use. Photo: September 11, 2019.

Plate 27. The Bonavista Social Club ensures its supply of fresh produce by growing some of its own. (Fishers’ Loft and Two Whales do the same.) Giorgia gave me a tour of the greenhouse and gardens and explained how she handles potatoes. Photo: September 21, 2018.

Plate 28. Walkham’s Café is a favoured hangout for residents in the town of Bonavista. One reason is its pastry offerings, such as this cake that co-owner Sharon Miller is baking. However, staffing problems have caused the Café to close in 2023, as of mid-June. The photo was made on July 7, 2022.

³⁸⁶ Macdonald (1996:93).

³⁸⁷ For details on processing salt cod, see Etchegary (2013:52).

Plate 29. Clayton Hobbs and his partner live in the “Penney House” in Keels. It sits between his chip truck (Plate 30) and Mesh’s store (Plate 31). I was told that a teenager built it a century ago, when a young man wishing to marry had to build a house. “*Dwelling Houses of the Discovery Trail*” supports this claim, reporting that this one “was built by Isaac Penney when he was just 17 years old”.³⁸⁸ When this photo was taken, on October 9, 2018, it needed restoring. After all, it dates from the 1870s. In 2022 it was much improved, with stylish off-white paint.

Plate 30. Clayton with his “chip truck,” behind the house in Plate 30. It is now blue, which no longer matches his small signs by the roads throughout the area and lacks the visual punch of yellow, an opinion I shared with Clayton. His wife prefers blue, and I did not argue with her. As for the “chips,” they’re outstanding. Keels, October 12, 2018.

Plate 31. Mesh’s store and post office in Keels. In small communities, “the Shop” may be the only place to hang out and chat. It was used as a set for the movie “Maudie,” about Maud Lewis, the folk artist from Nova Scotia. The apparent “Mesh” gasoline pump is a prop from the filming. The entrance to Maudie’s Tea Room is visible at the rear. Photo: September 11, 2018.

Plate 32. Selby Mesh in Maudie’s Tea Room at the back of Mesh’s store. The artwork is by John Hofstetter, Catherine Beaudette, and Cynthia Kemerer. Kemerer is a co-founder of the English Harbour Arts Centre. Beaudette is a founder of the Two Rooms “art projects residency” (Duntara) and co-founder of the Bonavista Biennale public art festival. Photo: October 12, 2018.

Plate 33. Doug Penney teaches me how people used to live. In this lesson, he shows a slide to gather firewood. He now gathers wood with an ATV, and with his brother Ches he fishes, hunts, forages, and raises vegetables. These sorts of subsistence activities have long been essential for survival in the house economy.³⁸⁹ Subsistence entailed “very simple and basic food,” with heavy reliance on root vegetables.³⁹⁰ Historically, potatoes were the last line of defense against starva-

388 Bath (1998:10). See also Kennedy (2022:17) and Szwed (1966b:66–67), who refers to building or buying a house.

389 Britan and Denich (1976) and Brox (1972:Chap. 2) analyze the changing relationship between such subsistence activities and the cash economy. Kennedy (2022:Chap. 4) covers subsistence in a remote outpost, such as a depiction of a slide for logs (page 50). Mellin (2015) is an intensely observed account of slide hauling in Tilting, on Fogo Island, Newfoundland. *Sweetland* (Crummey (2014) offers detail accounts of bare survival. Verma (2019) has a good account of the work on the fishing boats (almost all by men) and on-shore (almost all by women).

390 Baldacchino (2015:225).

tion, in years with a poor fish catch or low fish prices, few seals (another line of defense), or raging storms, or all the above. English Harbour, October 12, 2018.

Plate 34. Doug shows me his root cellar, which I entered at his urging. It is currently in use and smells of potatoes. English Harbour, October 12, 2018.

Plate 35. Doug is an innovative sculptor, crafting fanciful creatures from the rocks that he finds in the brook behind his property. Here, his creations seem to march across the crest of the hill. English Harbour, October 12, 2018.

Plate 36. Close-up of one of Doug's many sculptures. He is a self-taught folk artist with no goals for compensation, except for his peace of mind, and for informal tours of visitors who come to see his art. Doug is an example of everyday entrepreneurs who are not focused on financial benefits.³⁹¹ English Harbour, July 10, 2022.

Plate 37. Bernice Johnson with the crocheted quilt that I bought from her. She lives in Trouty, a remote Trinity Bight community. Its population is 49; quite enough, her husband told me. When Trouty lost its crab plant in 2007, 200 people lost their jobs. The community still has a commercial bakery. October 11, 2018.

Plate 38. Amanda Cull and her partner Jonathan who, like Amanda, is an electrician, began farming on this spot in Elliston. Here, she headed off to a frozen stream nearby, with a sledge-hammer handy to break the ice. She reached into the water with bare hands. Perfect weather, she believed. Amanda is from Goose Bay, Labrador. That might explain her taste in the weather.

The larger horse in the photo is Molly, Amanda's Belgian mare. Amanda cared for the pony, on behalf of an elderly man from Elliston. When Jonathan went to meet that man, he asked, "Do you know who I am?" Both understood what he meant. The question did not mean "do you know me as an individual?" It meant "do you know whose grandson I am?" When I work in Newfoundland, as I am a mainlander, people do not know my ancestry.³⁹² Therefore, they have fewer preconceptions about my character. Photo: March 8, 2019.

Plate 39. Amanda and Jonathan thought people needed vegetables but learned that their customers wanted meat. They switched to raising a variety of animals and found that sheep have important virtues from a farmer's perspective. Sheep reproduce quickly and, unlike goats, tend to stay put. Shortly after the view of

³⁹¹ See Pahnke and Welter (2019) and Ruiz (2021).

³⁹² Leja (2021:32), as a German-speaking Latvian immigrant to Corner Brook, "would never be able to play the 'Who's your father?' game, never be able to name a relation" with other children. Still, she makes clear that she was welcomed.

Plate 39, the farm moved to a property near Clarke's Pond off Route 235 on the Bonavista Bay side. April 14, 2019.

Plate 40. On May 2, 2019, this day-old lamb tried to nibble on Amanda's notebook. The lamb had been abandoned by its mother. Apparently, another ewe had licked it first. Fortunately, its mother changed her mind. Amanda is also greedy, but for learning. She works hard both mentally and physically. With her family, she slowly expands their fields, despite the rough and rocky terrain. They have increased their arable land from one and a half to five acres, using a mix of bark and crab shells. The Ocean Choice International plant in Bonavista provides the shells. Newfoundland needs this sort of effort, and more. In years past, the area "had over a hundred barns" but it has "lost 51% of its farmland in the last 20 years" as of late 2022.³⁹³

Plate 41. In this scene from the Trinity Pageant, the Reverend Balfour (played by Charlie Tomlinson), feeling upset that he cannot control his flock, departs dejectedly. The Pageant has been the initial and "anchor event of Rising Tide Theatre's annual summer festival for the [then] past twenty-four years".³⁹⁴ Newfoundland lacks a permanent heritage museum to represent typical life in earlier days akin to Ontario's Pioneer Village or Virginia's Colonial Williamsburg.³⁹⁵ The Coaker area of Port Union comes close. The Pageant also serves as a testimonial to early coastal life on a yearly basis. Photo: August 21, 2019.

Plate 42. Donna Butt in the box office of the Rising Tide Theatre, Trinity, on October 11, 2018. Donna is called the "artistic director", but she wears multiple hats, including her role as spark for developing theatrical talent and interest in Newfoundland culture. She was invested as a Member of the Order of Canada in 2004.

Plate 43. A view of Trinity, with the Rising Tide Theatre building, across an arm of Trinity Bay, from the Skerwink Trail. 3:12 p.m. December 10, 2018.

Plate 44. Rising Tide Theatre, with snow on the ground. November 23, 2018. Donna Butt and Edith Samson were apparently there, judging by the vehicles.

Plate 45. Rising Tide's annual satirical comedy, *The Revue*, launched in 1985, travels now throughout the province. The audiences understand the jokes. It helps to be a Newfoundlander. The venue here is the Garrick Theatre in the town of Bonavista (Plate 58), on February 18, 2019. The actors are Rick Boland and Tina Randell.

³⁹³ CBC (2022). The quote is from John Norman.

³⁹⁴ Jacobson (2018:44).

³⁹⁵ Gable and Handler (2003) reflect on the challenges of authenticity for Colonial Williamsburg.

Like Charlie Tomlinson (Plate 41), they have made important contributions to the theatre world.

Plate 46. Statue of a sealer in the Home from the Sea, John C. Crosbie Sealers Interpretation Centre in Ellison. This is a well-designed small museum, leaving no doubt about the dangers of sealing. Photo: May 26, 2022.

Plate 47. The Home from the Sea Sealers Interpretation Centre commissioned this sculpture by Newfoundland artist Morgan MacDonald, creator of the Newfoundland Bronze Foundry. It represents “Reuben and Albert John Crewe, a father and son who froze to death in a grim embrace”.³⁹⁶ They were among 78 men to perish in the *SS Newfoundland* disaster of 1914. Photo: April 11, 2019.

Plate 48. The site here is the “Electric” building, where people once paid their utility bills for the Fishermen’s Protective Union. The FPU was a pioneer in hydro power, and Port Union had electricity at a time when it was rare. Here, Jane Tucker meets with Edith Samson, who is Executive Coordinator of the Coaker Foundation, and was chair of the board of the Discovery Global Geopark. They were discussing plans for a new microbrewery which would be housed in that building. The plans for a microbrewery are on hold, due to changes in funding from ACOA. I think this was unfortunate. Tourism based on craft breweries has benefits that include the “sustainable development of destination communities”.³⁹⁷ Photo: April 13, 2019.

Plate 49. The Coaker Foundation’s “Factory” museum in Port Union. This vantage point shows the disrepair in the row houses in Plate 51, which are being restored. The factory itself was restored from 2001 to 2003 Photo: April 13, 2019.

³⁹⁶ CBC News (2014).

³⁹⁷ Quote: Arroyo et al. (2021:1st page). The role of the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), according to its website (<https://www.canada.ca/en/atlantic-canada-opportunities.html>) is “to create opportunities for economic growth in the region by helping businesses become more competitive, innovative and productive”. Foster (2019:117, 144) offers a critical perspective, criticizing ACOA’s emphasis on “productivity growth [as] a good, in and of itself,” and neglect of “social goods [such as] living standards. Freshwater et al. (2013) offers a counter-argument in favor of this focus on productivity. For the role of ACOA, and other governmental support systems, in filling funding gaps in rural ventures within Atlantic Canada, see Macdonald (2020). For broader overviews of regional economic development in Newfoundland and Labrador, see Hall et al. (2017) and Vodden et al. (2014).

Plate 50. The row houses on Main Road, Port Union, in the Coaker Foundation area. Two of the row houses had been largely restored by the time of this photo, December 10, 2018. The Union House Arts studio and gallery is at the far end.

Plate 51. The first of two photos of the Coaker Factory Museum, showing a layout designed for educational tours, whether guided or not. Photo: September 20, 2018.

Plate 52. The printing press for the *Fishermen's Advocate*, the newspaper of the Fishermen's Protective Union (FPU). It was published in St. John's from 1910–1923 and in Port Union from 1923 to 1980. The daily variant, the *Evening Advocate*, was published from early 1917 through late 1924.³⁹⁸ Photo: September 20, 2018.

Plate 53. Roy's Light House Retreat, a vacation property developed in 2021 by Kristy Sweet, at the Catalina Point. Her venture honours both her late father, for whom it is named, and the tradition of lighthouse keepers. Not incidentally, lighthouses are popular with tourists. Photo: October 24, 2022.

Plate 54. A double root cellar, one of the many that underscores the claim that Elliston is “the root cellar capital of the world”. John Norman found that UNESCO officials, evaluating Bonavista's application for Global Geopark status “celebrated” these root cellars, for “connecting the natural landscape to the subsistence lifestyle of early settlers”. He also explained that the cellars exploited “the natural cleavage [in the] glacial landscape,” and did not require skills in stone masonry. Photo: May 27, 2019.

Plate 55. A whimsically decorated root cellar in Elliston. The puffin figures by the entrance refer to a popular viewing site nearby, shown in this small image. Atlantic puffins work their wee wings quickly: up to 400 beats a minute, according to the Audubon Society: <https://projectpuffin.audubon.org/birds/puffin-faqs>. This photo shows one of the burrows the puffins make to protect their eggs from predatory gulls, like this Herring Gull. Plate: May 27, 2019. Puffins: May 12, 2023.

³⁹⁸ Interview with Edith Samson; McDonald, 1987:25–26, 29, 32, 35, 61, 119–120; Memorial University of Newfoundland Centre for Newfoundland Studies.



Plate 56. At the time of this photo of the sitting room (September 11, 2018) the Captain Blackmore’s Heritage Manor in Port Union housed a successful bed-and-breakfast business. It is named for John Hann Blackmore, an explorer, sailor, sealer, and master shipbuilder.³⁹⁹ When Garry and Shelly Blackmore began renovating this building, it seemed set for demolition, but it had nostalgic and family meaning, so they persevered. The Blackmores use it now for themselves, illustrating a lesson about small businesses. When a business closes, it might indicate not failure but rather new opportunities. Garry also illustrates the pattern of returning migrants: he came back to Port Union after 17 years in the Canadian armed forces.

Plate 57. Another restoration of the built environment: Karen Ricketts in the de-consecrated St. James Anglican church in King’s Cove. She and Chris Ricketts, proprietors of the Round-Da-Bay Inn in Plate Cove West,⁴⁰⁰ bought this building, and another one in the town. They are renovating both to house Syrian refugees. “They put up about \$13,000 of their own savings to help families come to the Bonavista Peninsula”.⁴⁰¹ They are also raising funds by selling a large dinky toys collection, as I can attest as the recipient of a wee red food truck. Photo: July 9, 2022.

³⁹⁹ Evans (2013:140, 143). Garry Blackmore describes the building in Donald Blackmore’s book on Captain Blackmore (2023:33).

⁴⁰⁰ The Ricketts restored an abandoned building in Plate Cove West, to create the Round da Bay Inn Squibb (2018).

⁴⁰¹ CBC (2021). As Haughen (2022:413) explains, in Canada “government-funded services are largely urban,” and resettlements in rural areas are predominantly private.

Plate 58. The Garrick Theatre was a mainstay of community entertainment for locals over many years. “The oldest operating theatre and cinema in Newfoundland,” it is owned and operated by the Townscape Foundation. It was “restored and re-opened in 2010”.⁴⁰² More recently, it received improvements with funding from the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency and the provincial government.⁴⁰³ Photo: December 7, 2018.

Plate 59. Alexander Bridge House in the town of Bonavista. According to the National Trust for Canada, it was “built between 1811 and 1814 [and] is the oldest documented residential property in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador . . . The Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation bought [it] in 2001”. Restoration is well underway, with collaboration from the Townscape Foundation and Bonavista Creative.⁴⁰⁴ Photo: September 11, 2021.

Plate 60. Triangles and jagged angles are common motifs in the rocks by the shore. Here, near Little Catalina, they appear to be caused by an anticline, or fold in the rock. Dr. Alex Liu tells me that the likely cause is “a slumped unit, with general bedding throughout dipping to the right, but the intersection of cleavage planes and slumped internal beds giving the appearance of a complex fold”. Photo: April 11, 2019.

Plate 61. Two massive heads made of rock seem to protect this gulch near the Murphy’s Cove Trail. May 3, 2019.

Plate 62. The Fox Island Trail takes hikers to the eponymous island, which is connected by an isthmus and is, therefore, a “tied island”. On either side of the isthmus, when viewing inland from the water’s edge, is a series of colourful rock with complex fractures. Colours are on the surface only, caused by iron, manganese, and other chemicals.⁴⁰⁵ Photo: May 25, 2021.

Plate 63. This is another example of the colour on rocks near Fox Island. Photo: June 8, 2023.

Plate 64. This rock that looks like paper is at the northern edge of a rock bed by Murphy’s Cove Trail. This angle of view is available only at low tide. The note on post-processing shows that the photograph brings out the colours but they are not photographic artifacts. Photo: April 28, 2018.

⁴⁰² Riche (2015).

⁴⁰³ Urquhart (2013:162) for the quote; for the improvements in funding, Dean-Simmons (2020).

⁴⁰⁴ Whitten (2022).

⁴⁰⁵ For the appearance of folds in Plate 60, and the minerals on rock, I thank personal communications from Art King.

Plate 65. This ground cover was by the Murphy's Cove Trail in later Winter (by Newfoundland standards), April 10, 2019.

Plate 66. Light frost decorated intertwined floras, living and dead. This was by the Murphy's Cove Trail, in the morning of September 29, 2018.

Plate 67. Bushes, with a jumble of leaves, by a trail towards Melrose. As the approach trail reaches the sea, the Murphy's Cove Trail turns left. This less-travelled trail, a bit unkempt and not a part of the Discovery Trails, turns right. Photo: October 22, 2022.

Plate 68. By the Skerwink Trail, October 6, 2018. Most of the berry plants are creeping juniper, but some are blueberries, whose leaves can look red at this time of year, especially at dusk as here.

Plate 69. "Oyster leaf" (*Mertensia maritima*) is a plant that grows on rocky beaches, such as this one near Fox Island. Photo: September 18, 2022.

Plate 70. Darrell Freeman, of Champney's West, poses in front of one of his Pier Side cabins, which were still under construction. The cabins are right between the Fox Island Trail and the small community harbour. Darrell hoped that the trail could bring tourists who would like to stay right by the harbour. As of summer 2022, the venture does appear promising, with an actor from Rising Tide living in one of the cabins. As of Spring, 2023, Darrell continues to add properties. He is the model of an everyday entrepreneur, tools in hand, and eyes on customer wishes. This photo: May 4, 2019.

Plate 71. Two years later (May 25, 2021), the cabins were largely finished. This photo was taken with an ultrawide lens (20mm), so the longliner in the middle is closer than it seems.

Plate 72. Just beyond the Pier Side cabins is the Champney's West harbour with its fishing boats. I was invited to a tour inside the larger, green longliner, the Challenger 92. These vessels are complex, and poorly suited to those with claustrophobia. Photo: May 4, 2019.

Plate 73. Jerry Ropson's installation for the Bonavista Biennale, "water at the bottom of the ocean, rocks upon the shore," was in the Coaker museum from August 17 to September 15, 2019. The installation used sound, which of course is silent here. The artist, raised in remote rural Newfoundland, is currently a professor of art at Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick.⁴⁰⁶ Photo: September 3, 2019.

⁴⁰⁶ Ropson's art is covered in Eagan (2021:166, 274–276).

Plate 74. Jane Walker, an artist in the Union House Arts (UHA) art gallery and studio, which was nearing completion on May 3, 2019. She was the founding curator. UHA has an artist-in-residence program and an orientation focused on the community (<https://unionhousearts.ca/>). It was designed by Frank Lapointe for housing in one of the restored rowhouses in the Coaker Foundation area of Port Union.

Plate 75. Ceramics artist Mike Flaherty at work in his Wild Cove Pottery studio in Port Union. He is represented by the Christina Parker Gallery. Photo: October 10, 2018.

Plate 76. This is a work from Mike Flaherty's Rangifer Sapiens series, inspired by his three months living with the caribou who populate Grey Islands in northern Newfoundland.⁴⁰⁷ Because it seems to house a living spirit, I photographed it outside, in the Three Pond Barrens of Pippy Park on the Avalon Peninsula. Photo: August 10, 2022.

Plate 77. A quick exit, so as not to interfere with my photo work, from the Quintal Café on Church Street, the town of Bonavista, August 1, 2022. The mural is the work of Anastasia Tiller, an eclectic artist working in Lethbridge, on Bonavista Bay. Job to know if she could be more energetic or positive (using a Newfoundlandism). She is represented by the Leyton Gallery.

Plate 78. switches our topic to Roots, Rants and Roars, a two-day food festival in Elliston. It opens with an evening competition among eminent chefs, from elsewhere on the island, vying to cook the best cod dishes. Photo: September 16, 2022.

Plate 79. Alicia Macdonald, co-founder and co-owner of Port Rexton Brewery, discusses operations with brewer Chris Lacour. Nicole Evans, to the left, was responsible for communications. The facility is a renovated schoolhouse. Photo: December 11, 2018.

Plate 80. The brewing tanks at the Port Rexton Brewery. At the time of the photo, December 11, 2018, the tanks were at a lower level beside the customer area.

Plate 81. The older tanks in Plate 81 are on the left in this image, having been moved to the "Newery". It was built for coping with the brewery's growth and for efficient work-in-process flows. The scale of the venture's growth is shown by the relative size of the new tanks on the right. Photo: August 1, 2022.

⁴⁰⁷ This series is covered in Eagan (2021:248–249) and Hickey (2012).

Plate 82. Karen Dewling demonstrates how East Coast Glow produces cosmetics and toiletries from iceberg water and other natural ingredients. She is training Jessica Templeman, who had just begun what proved to be three years of work there. This is the Lewis Fifield property in the Bonavista Creative portfolio. They have moved production to Clarenville, having outgrown the Bonavista facility for that purpose. Photo: September 22, 2018.

Plate 83. Peter Burt, who like Garry Blackmore is a returning migrant, founded the Newfoundland Salt Company along with his partner Robin Crane. Few microplastics pollute their water, sourced at Spillars Cove, but they still filter it twice at 5 microns. Filters are effective at removing microplastics.⁴⁰⁸ Here, Peter shows just-created salt, working out of the Arthur Sweetland Shop building, in the Bonavista Creative portfolio of properties.⁴⁰⁹ They sell their products at the store, but shipments to customers elsewhere make up the bulk of their revenues. Photo: August 1, 2022.

Plate 84. This is the renovated Levi Templeman house, a Registered Heritage Structure which predates 1905.⁴¹⁰ It is one of the Bonavista Creative properties on Church Street. At the time (September 21, 2018), it was being painted by Todd Way and housed Yellow Rose, which produced and sold garments with all-natural dyes. Before Yellow Rose it housed East Coast Glow. It currently houses Bonabooch Kombucha, which brews with locally foraged wild foods. Their website states that their product is “now available across Newfoundland”. As is typical of everyday entrepreneurs, they began incrementally, starting with products created for the health of founder Crystal Fudge’s husband.

Plate 85. This beach at Sam White’s Cove is by the Skerwink Trail and near Fisher’s Loft. The beach is unusually gentle, and the odd time you will see people taking a dip. Swimming in rural Newfoundland is typically in ponds, which are warmer and lack the dangerous undercurrents of the sea. October 10, 2018.

Plate 86. A view towards the bay from Fishers’ Loft on October 10, 2018. In their book, “*Taking a Chance*,” John and Peggy Fisher reflect on the history and cuisine of the multi-building inn.⁴¹¹

Plate 87. Restrained elegance is conveyed by a porch at Fisher’s Loft, October 10, 2018.

⁴⁰⁸ Carr et al. (2016).

⁴⁰⁹ More on the business can be found in Packet (2018).

⁴¹⁰ Bath (1998:3).

⁴¹¹ Fisher et al. (2022).

Plate 88. Attention to the needs of the guests, conveyed by umbrellas just inside a guest room door at Fishers' Loft. October 10, 2018. Hats off also for this set of books provided in a guest room: *Black ice: David Blackwood: Prints of Newfoundland* edited by Katharine Lochnan, *Come on with the punt* by Paul Dean, *Jack and Mary in the land of thieves* by Andy Jones, *Racket: New writing made in Newfoundland* edited by Lisa Moore, *Stranger & others* by Stan Dragland, *The Breakwater book of Newfoundland short fiction* edited by Larry Mathews, *The traditional Newfoundland kitchen* by Roger Pickavance, *Towards an encyclopedia of local knowledge: Excerpts from chapters I and II* by Pam Hall, and *Winter in Tilting* by Robert Mellin.

Plate 89. Gabe Fisher, along with brother Luke a second-generation inn keeper, harvests lettuce. The inn has a well-constructed greenhouse, barely visible in the back. 6:17 a.m., October 10, 2018.

Plate 90. Fisher's Loft offers excellent dinners and an outstanding breakfast, as implied by this photo, taken at 6:04 a.m. on October 10, 2018.

Plate 91. In this photo, the Two Whales guests that Penny Vivian-Penney is serving include the publisher and writer Beth Follett and the writer and editor Stan Dragland. The artworks are by Stephen Zeifman of Port Rexton. He has a lovely website: <https://www.stephenzeifman.com/>. Photo: September 20, 2018.

Plate 92. In the late afternoon on May 6, 2019, Two Whales celebrated its tenth anniversary. In the bustling celebration, I found this quiet corner where the artist Stephen Zeifman chatted with local teachers who brought their toddler daughter (who put bits of bread on her nose at that time). The artwork is by Penny Wooding of Champney's East.

Plate 93. Dave Ellis keeps bees in this spot behind Two Whales, near their chickens and across from their greenhouse. He credits the hives to Mike Paterson, who said "Dave, Dave, go get bees". Mike's own Bonavista Gold Stamp Honey is lustrous. Photo: September 20, 2018.

Plate 94. Sue Asquith, who with Dave Ellis is a founding owner of Two Whales, prepares my sandwich on her final Monday of work. Or so it seemed. Efforts to sell the business proved sticky. With Two Whales now formed as a coop, Sue still prepares their excellent fare. Photo: October 24, 2022.

Plate 95. In winter, the Murphy's Cove Trail looks forbidding but beautiful. Photo: December 8, 2018.

Plate 96. A cove seen from the Klondike Trail, with “tippy pans” of ice—assuming they would hold a person’s weight.⁴¹² I would not try this personally, but de Adder (2015:46), Finch (2007:70), Verma (2019:94) and several people I spoke with reported that children used to jump from pan to pan. March 8, 2019.

Plate 97. The Klondike Trail in winter, near its beginning. This block-like rock island, just offshore, is a metaphor for Newfoundland itself: “the rock” that har-bours life regardless of the challenges. December 10, 2021.

Plate 98. This is the first gulch hikers see from the Murphy’s Cove Trail. There is a small gorge before it, but gulches are distinct for having water sources, such as this stream. It carries red leaves down to the sea. December 6, 2018.

Plate 99. A view of English Harbour from the hill seen in Plate 35. Doug and Ches Penney live in the yellow house to the right and use the yellow building to its left for storage. Summer homes, crisply painted, surround the Penney’s land. The white building is the recently opened Annex of the Arts Centre. Photo: July 10, 2022.

Plate 100. Trinity from Gun Hill, October 11, 2018. The land is large, and this pretty town is small.

Plate 101. The limbs of Newfoundland’s trees improvise to seek angles and directions that work. Like Newfoundland’s trees, the people in rural areas adapt. Bonavista people crafted livelihoods that fit their own contexts. They made Bonavista work for them. This particularly twirly tree is found on the side of the Skerwink Trail. Photo: December 10, 2018.

⁴¹² Creates (2015:147).

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Coda: Hopes and Anxieties about Bonavista

When fieldwork ends, questions remain unanswered. Here are four examples. I do not know whether Sue and Dave's sale of Two Whales will succeed. It is currently unsettled. I do not know if the area is as queer-friendly as I claimed above.⁴¹³ My impression might be a function of the personalities and regional contributions of Alicia Macdonald, Sonja Mills, and John Norman. I have some reason to wonder. One is the experiences reported by Pearce 2021. Another is second-hand gossip, not a useless source of data but hardly definitive. I also do not have a clear sense of the history of the mussel farm near Trinity. Some people think it closed due to septic runoff, which seems plausible. However, I have heard other explanations. I do not know how willing residents from smaller places are to collaborate with projects directed from the town of Bonavista.

I also have hopes and anxieties that I cannot resolve with research. For example:

Was Marlow right that the rural is idyllic (“come live with me and be my love”), or was Raleigh, that Marlow was naïve? William Carlos Williams believed that “Raleigh was right”⁴¹⁴:

“Cure it if you can but
do not believe that we can live
today in the country
for the country will bring us
no peace”.

Can we alter his answer? Can we show that Williams was wrong?

Williams published this poem in May 1940, in a context of suffering. Rural Newfoundland also has suffered. Can idylls be alive there?

413 Rollmann (2023:27) found that “some communities exhibited surprising degrees of tolerance and acceptance . . . [but] others inflicted horrific trauma and violence against queer people”. Georges (2021:Chap. 10) illustrates tensions about tolerance in a rural Atlantic Ocean community.

414 Williams (1968:99) for his poem. Wong (2006:276–277) for Williams and Raleigh's dispute with Marlow's “The Passionate Shepherd to His Love”.

Fanciful Dreams of the Future

Because I care for Bonavista, I have both worries and hopes. As we learn with fairy tales, fantasies give voice to these feelings.⁴¹⁵ For my closing reflections for this more literal book, here are my fantasies. I present them as questions and answers. The realistic thoughts are stuck to the margin at the left and

fantasies are italicized.

Can we have a Festival of Fossils? Will geotourists appear?

*Fossils stay intact. The tourists are safe to a person.
Fairies only help them.*

Donna Butt will not be forever. Nor will Edith Samson. Who will replace what Donna does to keep the Tide Uprising? And who will do what Edith does for the Coaker Foundation?

Reincarnation can solve this. If correctly applied.

Will visitors return to a rebuilt Trinity Train Loop Park?

An offshoot of Newfoundland's narrow-gauge railway ran to Trinity from 1911 to 1984. It made a loop under itself in a 1.25-mile circuit, to handle the drop and the rise for the town. After the close of the railway, an entrepreneur named Francis Kelly created an attraction at the site. It was "a small and successful amusement park" in the late 1980s through the 1990s.⁴¹⁶ However, attendance declined, and the park closed in 2004. Hurricane Igor smashed through in 2010, leaving ruins, as follows:⁴¹⁷

415 Murray-Bergquist (2021); Rieti (2021); Urquhart (2022).

416 Geographical Field Group (1995:66).

417 McKenzie-Sutter (2019); Osmond (2022:302–305).



The provincial government is optimistic that it can find an equally optimistic entrepreneur:

“On an ‘as is where is’ basis” “the Department [of Fisheries, Forestry and Agriculture] is inviting persons who may be interested in developing the former Trinity Loop Amusement Park site, Trinity, NL to submit a proposal . . . for tour-

ism-related establishments . . . The successful Proponent will be able to purchase the 10 hectare site for \$55,000.00 and receive a Crown Grant”.⁴¹⁸

Will the Proponent arise, and the Park revive?

*The Park is home to pleasant beasts.
The moose no longer wreck woodlands, which
augments global warming. They eat only fishes,
bountiful fishes
downstream of freshwater falls.*

And will a trip to Trinity be safe?

*The Trans-Canada Highway is free of standing water; moose never enter the roadways; no pot-holes are found on rural roads; fog is fully transparent.
IF NOT, a river will appear from Town to Trinity East, to carry rapid ferries captained by the ghosts of shipwrecked sailors.*

Will products proclaim, “built in Bonavista?” Will start-ups keep on blossoming on Church Street, Bonavista?

*And not only there, but also in Trouty, Tickle Cove, and Keels . . .
Not there, not even in fantasies, but true for Port Union, for Elliston, for the Champney’s, and King’s Cove, where
everyone is welcomed in a commonwealth of striving.*

⁴¹⁸ Government of Newfoundland and Labrador (2023:6, 1).