Waifs, Women and Work: Impoverished Experiences in the Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon Fisheries from the Seventeenth- to the Twentieth-centuries

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Figure 1. 7Fi 239 – Groupe de femmes et enfants étalant la morue sur une grave du sud vers 1950. Photograph de L'Arche Musée et Archives. Catalog ID. 7Fi 239.

Abstract

In the broadest of terms, this thesis examines the historical salt cod fishery in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon through historical archaeological methods. However, the primary goal of this thesis is to assess the roles of men, women, and children in the historical French salt cod fishery throughout the lifecourse of the industry from the earliest days of migratory fishery in the seventeenth-century up to the transition to frozen factory fishing in the mid-twentieth-century. This thesis employs several theoretical frameworks such as intersectionality, the archaeology of gender, the archaeology of childhood, as well as socioeconomic theory in order to offer a perspective that is as close as possible to the reality of the people involved in the fishing industry. The archaeological collection used in this study is from Anse à Bertrand, a site located in the sheltered harbour of Saint-Pierre that had been used consistently throughout the course of the historical salt cod fishery. The theoretical concepts used in my analysis of this collection allow me to speak more poignantly regarding the way the collection related to age, gender, labour, and class. This thesis therefore not only examines the gendered, aged, and classed working roles of the salt cod fishery, but it also looks at how these roles intersect within the non-working aspects of people's lives in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon in addition to the broader social functions and expectations that emerge within fishing communities in the Northwest Atlantic.

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1. Introduction

Between the seventeenth- and twentieth-centuries, a variety of European groups, which included Basque, Bretons, English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, colonized the Americas for their valuable economic resources. Fish was the primary resource sought after in the Northwestern Atlantic region, particularly in coastal areas such as Newfoundland, Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, New England, and Maine. In most of these regions, the fisheries have been documented through both archaeological investigation (Barkham 2009; Gaulton and Losier 2020; Jones 2009; Noël 2010; Pope 2009, 2017; St. John 2011; Tapper 2014) and historical research (Candow 2009; Connors 2013; Hess 2010; Innis 1978; Pope 1992, 2004, 2006; Porter 1985; Vickers 1994). However, fishing operations in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon have been researched far less than these other regions, especially through archaeological methods (historical: Andrieux 2006, 2011; Artur de Lizarraga et al. 2016; Chapelot et al. 1980, 1982; Cormier 1997; Girardin and Pocius 2003, archaeological: Champagne 2022; Champagne et al. 2019, Gaulton and Losier 2020; Livingston 2022; Livingston et al. 2018; Losier et al. 2018, 2022).

Like most of the Northwestern Atlantic, the fishing industry was the most important economic resource Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon had to offer, and yet, despite the importance of fishing operations to the wider colonial world, most historiography for Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon focuses on the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries, likely due to a lack of archival resources for the period preceding 1815, when the archipelago was permanently

retroceded to France (Livingston et al. 2018:164). Despite this drawback, some historical investigations have revealed that during the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, shipowners and *habitant-pêcheurs* oversaw fishing operations in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, the archipelago having become a permanent settlement in the late eighteenth-century (La Morandière 1962). However, settlement throughout this early period was often unstable, as the islands fell under British jurisdiction several times throughout the eighteenth-century, before they were finally retroceded to France in 1815 (Champagne et al. 2019:38).

During the nineteenth-century, the *graves*, large cobblestoned areas used to dry fish, became the property of important merchants, creating a distinct shift in the inshore fishing operations from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries to the nineteenth-century. The organization of the Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon fisheries shifted again in the twentieth-century, when they became household operations (Livingston et al. 2018:166–7). The current archaeological investigation at Anse à Bertrand aims to fill some of the gaps present in the current historiography of the region, but most notably, it seeks to uncover the lifeways of those occupying the archipelago and the impact of changing fishing operations on their lives.

1.1. Scope & Objectives: Uncovering the Lives of Women and Children

This project aims to investigate the lifeways and involvement of working women and the *petits graviers*, young boys hired for seasonal work drying fish on the *graves* (Figure 1), working in the Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon fisheries from the seventeenth- to the twentieth-centuries. I am primarily interested in how age, gender, and poverty shaped labour and

social roles in colonial Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. I am also interested to which extent work related to the historical salt cod fishery can be considered empowerment, exploitation, or some combination of both, in terms of economic and social opportunities, for poor women and children as it pertains to the changing fishing operations and labour roles taking place in the archipelago.

This challenge is achieved through three primary objectives. Firstly, I analyzed the archaeological assemblage from Anse à Bertrand in order to identify material culture that might detect the presence of women, children, and families in the archipelago. To do so, used the available chronology of the site and archaeological contexts (Losier et al. 2018a; Losier et al. 2019, 2020), to document change and persistence in the archaeological record associated with women and children. The second objective is to reconstruct, chronologically, the historical narrative associated with women and children in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. This was done using secondary sources and archives housed at L'Arche Musée et Archives in Saint-Pierre. Thirdly, the archaeological data and archival records allow me to tell the story of women and children involved in the archipelago's fisheries and to reflect on how socioeconomic status, in tandem with other social categories, impacted the social roles and expectations of certain groups and how these changed throughout three centuries of occupation.

1.1. Literature Review

1.1.1. Anse à Bertrand

Anse à Bertrand is in a sheltered harbour on the French island of Saint-Pierre located off the Burin peninsula of Newfoundland [Terre-Neuve] (Figure 2). The harbour also boasts

an expansive shoreline that connects to an important channel of water which can be used to access abundant fishing grounds to the east and south of Saint-Pierre. This shoreline also has a large flat area where large graves for drying cod could be established quite easily (Losier 2021:4). These attributes made Anse à Bertrand an ideal location to establish fishing rooms, which refers to the elements necessary on shore for fishing operations such as storage sheds, splitting tables, stages, and temporary lodging for migratory fishermen.

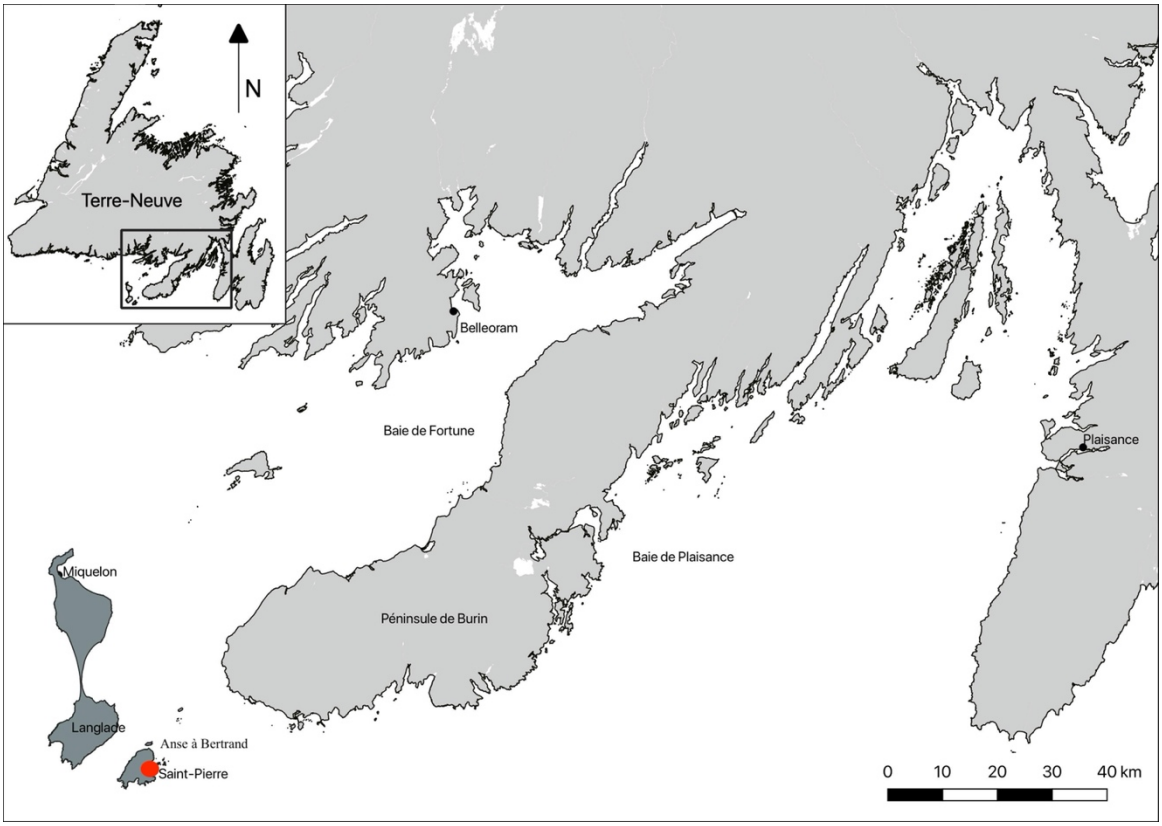

Figure 2. Map of Anse à Bertrand in relation to the archipelago and Newfoundland. Curtesy of Dr. Catherine Losier.

Given the scarcity of good harbours for establishing fishing rooms (Pope 1992:59), the protected and expansive harbour at Anse à Bertrand was a rare and highly coveted landscape in the context of migratory fishing operations in the Northwest Atlantic. As

settlement in the archipelago became more permanent at the end of the eighteenth-century, this harbour remained a highly desirable area, becoming the site of permanent *graves,* large cobbled beaches used to dry fish, for the newly settled inshore fishery until the site was abandoned at the end of the 1970s (Losier, Livingston, et al. 2018; Losier et al. 2019, 2020), when fish plants became the standard means of processing cod in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon.

1.1.2. Historical Context: 500 Years of Fishing

Saint-Pierre takes its name from the patron saint of fishers, which should be of no surprise as it is one of the oldest fishing harbours in the New World, with Normans, Basque, Bretons, English, Irish, and Portuguese having frequented the islands since the sixteenth century (Cormier 1997:39). The development of the Saint-Pierrais historical salt cod fisheries followed a trend similar to Newfoundland, meaning that the transformations in the fishery and the development of settlement on the islands are comparable. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon and the southern shore of Newfoundland were at the heart of the Basque migratory fishery (Losier et al. 2018b:200). In this period, the fishery was predominantly a male endeavour; Pope's (2017) gendered study of the Champ Paya fishing room on the Petit Nord firmly establishes that some activities associated with the fishery were exclusively male.

The gendered nature of certain tasks more or less remains the same throughout the lifespan of the inshore fishery, the most notable of these includes the catching and splitting of fish. Some women were present as a small number of settlements began to form. For instance, in 1622, Edward Wynne, who was responsible for the management of

Ferryland, an English fishing colony in Newfoundland, wrote to Sir George Calvert requesting "a couple of strong maids that (besides other worke [sic]) can both brew and bake (Pope 2004:297). The early presence of women would eventually become integral to the establishment of the inshore sedentary fishery.

Female fishing servants were increasingly common in the eighteenth-century. In Newfoundland, Captain James Story reported that the Irish trading ships "bring over a great many women passengers, which they sell for servants, and a little after theire [sic] coming they marry among the fishermen that live with the planters" (Pope 2004:217). The increase in the female population involved with the fishery was a key component in the transformation of the West-Atlantic salt cod fishery. Rather than being a solely seasonal migratory endeavour, the archipelago became home to smaller, family-based fishing operations (Crompton 2017:111). In Francophone fishing settlements these new permanent settlers were referred to as *habitants*; these settlements were generally small and relatively isolated (Crompton 2015:56).

Until the mid-eighteenth-century, the population in Saint-Pierre consisted of only 350 *habitants* (Girardin and Pocius 2003:7). Typically, a family would employ fishing servants for a few seasons at a time. Two summers and one winter's worth of work was a common serving contract. The servants themselves were usually unemployed artisans, labourers, or orphaned youth (Cadigan 1995:37). The work of most *habitant-pêcheurs* during this period was focused on running the operation opposed to fishing themselves. They outfitted their respective plantations with fishermen and supplies and took charge of

selling the fish to merchants (Lane Jonah and Dunham 2017:74). This dynamic would shift again in the twentieth-century.

By the late nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries, established households were far more common, and the inshore fishery had essentially become a household business (Champagne et al. 2019:39–40). By the early twentieth-century the *petits pêcheurs,* small household operating fishermen, had overtaken the offshore fishery in the Grand Banks and along the French Shore of Newfoundland. Alcohol smuggling became as important to the economy in Saint-Pierre as the fishery had once been, particularly with the collapse of the offshore fishery coupled with prohibition in the United States of America [1920 to 1933] (Girardin and Pocius 2003:16). After World War II, frozen fish replaced salt cod and the inshore fishery with the establishment of fish plants (Wright 2001:345). Several scholars have documented the various stages of the Newfoundland fisheries and what each century or stage entailed (Barkham 2009; Cadigan 1995; Candow 1988; Holm et al. 2019; Innis 1978; Lear 1998; Pope 1992; 2004; Ryan 1983); however, most of these studies are broad, concerned primarily with examining the lifecourse of huge fishing operations opposed to exploring the everyday experiences of the fisherfolk that made those operations possible.

1.1.3. Women in the Fisheries

There have been some studies focusing on the role of women in the fisheries and settlement in Newfoundland (Handcock 1989; Keough 2001, 2012; Porter 1985; Thompson 1985), but most of the literature on women's roles in the fisheries consists of brief mentions in works focused on fishing operations or class relations (Cadigan 1995;

Ferguson 1996; Pope 1992, 2004:200). Some literature details women's work in the Northeastern Atlantic fisheries in Scotland, Yorkshire, and in British markets (Frank 1976; Schwerdtner Màñez and Pauwelussen 2016; Thompson 1985), however, as Porter (1985) points out, there is considerable difference between the gender dynamics present in the inshore salt cod fishery of Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre compared to the fishery in the United Kingdom.

For instance, studies of male hostility and oppression in maritime communities have been based on communities where men are at sea for months at a time, but this is not the case for the historical context of Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, where both men and women are present over the course of the fishing operations (Porter 1985:107). Some activities, such as collecting bait and working in smokehouses, is akin to women's work collecting bait and drying fish in Northwest Atlantic contexts, but these English and Scottish studies are more useful as a juxtaposition for women's roles and social relationships in a different kind of fishing community. While some scholarship exists surrounding the role of women in the Northwest Atlantic fisheries, there is much more that can be done to help better understand the vitality of women to the fishing industry, and therefore to the community overall, and to understand the resulting social dynamics between men and women in the community that do not coincide with the general dynamics present in non-fishing communities for the same historical period.

1.1.4. Children in the Fisheries

There is a huge gap in the research available concerning the role of children in the historical salt cod fisheries. Similar to research on women, what little is available consists

of tidbits in larger works, even though children were always involved in the fisheries. Most scholarship mentioning children focuses on the migratory fishery (Feniak and Tilsed 2018; Noël 2010; Pope 2004), but there are also mentions of children in works related to settlement (Handcock 1989), women's work (Porter 1985), and a folklore study that focused on occupational life (Ferguson 1996). However, it is important to note that in the majority of these works children are only mentioned in passing and are not the focus of any of these studies. The role of children working in the fisheries and their experienced are overlooked in most scholarship.

1.2. Significance

The lives of migratory fishermen have been abundantly researched through historical (Barkham 2009; Candow 2009; Connors 2013; Pope 1992, 2006; Ryan 1983) and archaeological methods (Jones 2009; Losier et al. 2018b; Noël 2010; Pope 2004, 2009, 2017; Pope and Lewis-Simpson 2013; Tapper 2014), resulting in abundant data regarding male-centric aspects of the fisheries. However, the life histories of women and children in the fisheries have often been overlooked. While it is true that some activities associated with the fisheries were conducted almost exclusively by men (Pope 2017), women and children were vital actors in the historical fishing industry and within fisherfolk communities in general (Keough 2012:538). This project will provide new insights to our understanding of the historical salt cod fisheries in the Northwestern Atlantic region in an attempt to reflect more accurately the experience of the whole fisherfolk population between the seventeenth- and the twentieth-centuries. On a broader theoretical scale, this

project will also further contribute to gender archaeology, the archaeology of children, the archaeology of labour, and intersectionality studies.

1.3. Theoretical Framework: Intersectional Considerations Revealing the Complexity of Fisherfolk Societies

Though the idea that lived experience was intertwined with race, gender, and other social categories has appeared in feminist and gender studies in the social sciences in the early 1980s (Rich 1980; Rubin 1984; Davis 1981; Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981), Kimberlé Crenshaw first coined the term "intersection," as the term is applied in the humanities and social sciences, in a 1989 paper in a legal journal entitled "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." In this paper Crenshaw identified problems with previous feminist analyses that grouped together Black and white women when discussing gendered issues. Crenshaw centers Black women in her analysis to demonstrate how these women fall between the cracks in both gender and racial discussions because race and gender were not being discussed in tandem.

Though Crenshaw's work is focused in law and politics, and upon Black women specifically, her conclusion that the goal of incorporating intersectional analysis is to "facilitate the inclusion of marginalized groups" (Crenshaw 1989:167), has been applied to various other social sciences, particularly those concerned with feminist perspectives (Geller 2009; Vermeer 2009). This idea of intersectionality has continued to demonstrate its usefulness in the social sciences by allowing researchers to discuss the complexity of social life in a way that reflects most accurately their lived experiences.

1.3.1. Intersectionality

Within our modern understanding of society, it is clear that neither gender, nor age, nor class exist without the influence of one another. The same understanding should also be applied to the past. Intersectional consideration in archaeology and anthropology arose from the consideration of queer theory within gender studies (Rich 1980; Rubin 1984). Intersectional studies were pioneered by women of colour (Davis 1981; Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981), who sought to have academics and advocates alike acknowledge that identity and lived experience is intertwined not only with gender, but also with age, sexuality, ethnicity, and class (Geller 2009:66). Considering intersectionality in the lives of past peoples means considering how different aspects of their lives are always in a state of negotiation. Vermeer (2009) highlights the importance of an intersectional approach in historical archaeology, in which an intersectional analysis of gender requires a multidirectional approach.

Essentially, this means that archaeologists should not merely look at one principle through another lens, but instead, they should look at multiple principles at once and the way in which they interact. For instance, it is not sufficient to simply say that class and gender both structure society because it assumes that they function separately in different ways. It is more accurate to understand gender as an extension of class and vice versa. They do not operate separately from one another; they are in fact inseparable (Vermeer 2009:327). This concept applies to other social categories as well. Ultimately, intersectionality allows the historically marginalized into "formal" historical texts, and, by its nature, dismantles structural hierarchies at play (Geller 2009:70).

This framework allows for the consideration of multiple social theories at once, and thus results in a far more nuanced interpretation of the past. Since my research focuses on multiple social categories, intersectionality is the most suitable main framework for this project. However, it is necessary to also discuss gender and childhood archaeology along with the archaeology of labour as all of these theoretical approaches are crucial to orient the perspective in which my research is conducted.

1.3.2. Gender Archaeology

Gender archaeology became a prominent archaeological discourse in the 1980s. Conkey and Spector's *Archaeology and the Study of Gender* (1984) was one of the first archaeological studies to consider gender in the past. The beginnings of an archaeology of gender were rooted in feminist theory, negating the previous representations of women in the past, particularly those that impose contemporary culturally specific gender ideals. Archaeologists not concerned with gender in the past typically presented women as weak and submissive, dependant on important and able-bodied men for their survival (Conkey and Spector 1984:2–4). Archaeologists who were concerned with gender aimed to renegotiate the existing biased view of the past and to give women of the past the agency they were denied in previous research.

Gender archaeology changed slightly in the 2000s, again following the wider trends of feminist theory, by adapting queer theory into its framework. Scholars were slowly beginning to understand both women and men in terms of sexuality, and this new consideration brought with it a re-evaluation of the meaning of gender (Geller 2009:69). Rather than gender being equated solely with biological sex, gender instead came to mean

the cultural and social ideals that people use to categorize what it means to be a "man" or "woman" accompanied by the social roles determined by the surrounding historical and temporal contexts.These gender categories are not 'stable,' and there is always room for the pushing of boundaries in terms of what constitutes gender (Vermeer 2009:320). The consideration of sexuality and gender in the discipline also opened the discourse up to discussions of other social categories. The concept of intersectionality was born through such discourse. The main argument for pursuing intersectional analysis was that identity and lived experience is intertwined not only with gender, but also with age, sexuality, ethnicity, and class (Geller 2009:66).

Renegotiating the past with feminine actors and the complexity of lived experience are the most relevant aspects of gender archaeology to this project. This thesis focuses primarily on the cultural constructions of gender and how it is used in negotiating social roles. Furthermore, and especially relevant in the context of colonial North America, I will examine the idea that gender roles and divisions can shift in instances of culture change and can set the basis for new social organization (Conkey and Spector 1984:20) within the context of the historical salt cod fishery in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. Of the various movements in the archaeology of gender, queer theory will be the one explored the least, as "man" and "woman" were generally equated with biological sex within the temporal and cultural context my study focuses upon. However, despite men and women being biologically male or female, the construction of manhood or womanhood respectively is still inherently cultural.

1.3.3. The Archaeology of Childhood

While there have been some studies warranting a theoretical discourse on children (Baxter 2008; Kamp 2001), few archaeological studies actually investigate children, even though they were present in all human societies. The archaeology of childhood stems from the archaeology of gender, in which detecting the presence of women and children in the past had previously been assumed to be unattainable. Furthermore, children are generally feminized in terms of their wider social roles and interactions until they reach adulthood (Baxter 2008:162). The focus of a lot of the theoretical discourse regarding children in the past predominantly discuss the concept of childhood. Childhood can be conceived of as a liminal state between birth and being considered a full participant of society. The age at which one outgrows childhood is culturally constructed and intersects with gender, class, and ethnicity (Kamp 2001:3).

There are two main approaches used in the archaeology of children. The first simply embraces childhood as a standalone topic, while the second views childhood as a preparatory stage for adulthood (Baxter 2008:171). This thesis will follow the second approach, since actual childhood for working children is incredibly short, and their working life can be considered part of the preparation for adult life. The age at which children are expected to begin working and contributing to their local or household economy varies from culture to culture, and it is usually also dependant on gender and class variables (Kamp 2001:16). Furthermore, since women were typically responsible for meeting children's needs in most historical contexts, children's labour was generally aligned with women's labour, especially in a domestic context (Rosen and Newberry

2018:126). Age is rarely addressed as being integral to one's gender identity within historical archaeology (Voss 2006:121). However, if children's labour is typically aligned with women's labour, then gender and age dynamics play an integral role in the shaping of children's social identity. The archaeology of childhood will therefore play a key role in shaping the discussion of children throughout this project.

1.3.4. The Archaeology of Labour and Poverty

The field of historical archaeology aims to fill gaps in the historical record. The archaeology of work is perhaps one of the most frequently examined theoretical frameworks in historical archaeology. This framework works namely by considering the lower classes and aspects of everyday life as opposed to the elite personalities involved in large events. Although the archaeological study of the working class has a fairly long history, most studies have focused on consumption patterns or the work itself (Groover 2003; Miller 1980; Mullin 2011).

Among all social sciences, the concept of social class does not have a homogenous definition. In the context of this project, Marvin Harris' definition of class is most useful, wherein class refers to "a group of people who have a similar relationship to the structure of social control in a society and who possess similar amounts of power over the allocation of wealth, privilege, resources, and technology" (Orser 2017:274). One of the most notable aspects of class is that it can be changed by loss or gain of power, wealth, occupation, and education (Orser 2017:274).

This project is primarily concerned with the lowest social classes of society. For the most part, poverty in the last several hundred years has always had both economic need and

social exclusion at its core. The poorest, and to the elite the vilest, of society were often regarded as unhygienic vagrants and beggars. Despite some shared attributes with other low class peoples in other societies, such as disposable income or labour, lived experiences of poverty may have had a certain 'character' based on cultural context (Orser 2011:534–5). Labour and its labourers must be considered in both a social and material context. Therefore, archaeologists cannot only focus on machines and products, they must also consider social history and lived lives (Silliman 2000:149). Social exclusion is not confined to the poor, all marginal groups experience some level of exclusion, but all marginal groups will have impoverished members who are excluded more so than the rest.

Though theories relating to consumption will be useful in the interpretation of artifacts, the idea of lived experience of poverty is the most relevant to this project, since I am especially interested in the lifeways of labourers in the Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon fisheries. At the same time, work would have been an integral part of most working-class lives, particularly within such a time-consuming industry like the fisheries. I will therefore integrate considerations of both working and lived lives in my investigation of impoverished experiences.

1.4. Methodology

The primary methodology employed within the scope of this project is an artifact analysis of the Anse à Bertrand collection. This collection has already been inventoried from previous projects (Champagne et al. 2019; Livingston et al. 2018; Losier et al. 2019, 2020; Losier et al. 2018b); however, research on gender and childhood was not

undertaken. For this project, the artifacts were re-analyzed according to material and function, with additional considerations for gender, age, and class.

1.4.1. Anse à Bertrand: Excavation and Structural Remnants

Excavations at Anse à Bertrand primarily took place from 2017 to 2019. It is in zone 22 of potential archaeological sites identified in the archipelago (Figure 3). These excavations were concentrated in one primary location, almost directly on a bank that drops off to the shoreline. The excavations completed in 2018 extended the units excavated in 2017, while the units excavated in 2019 are directly adjacent to the 2018 excavation pit (Figure 4, Table 1). The structural remains uncovered in excavations consist primarily of stone features that occupy various stratigraphic units around the site. These remains relate mostly to fishing related infrastructure (Figures 5,6, and 7).

Table 1. Units Excavated each Year.

Year Excavated	Stratigraphic Units (US)
2017	100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212
2018	300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609

2019	700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808

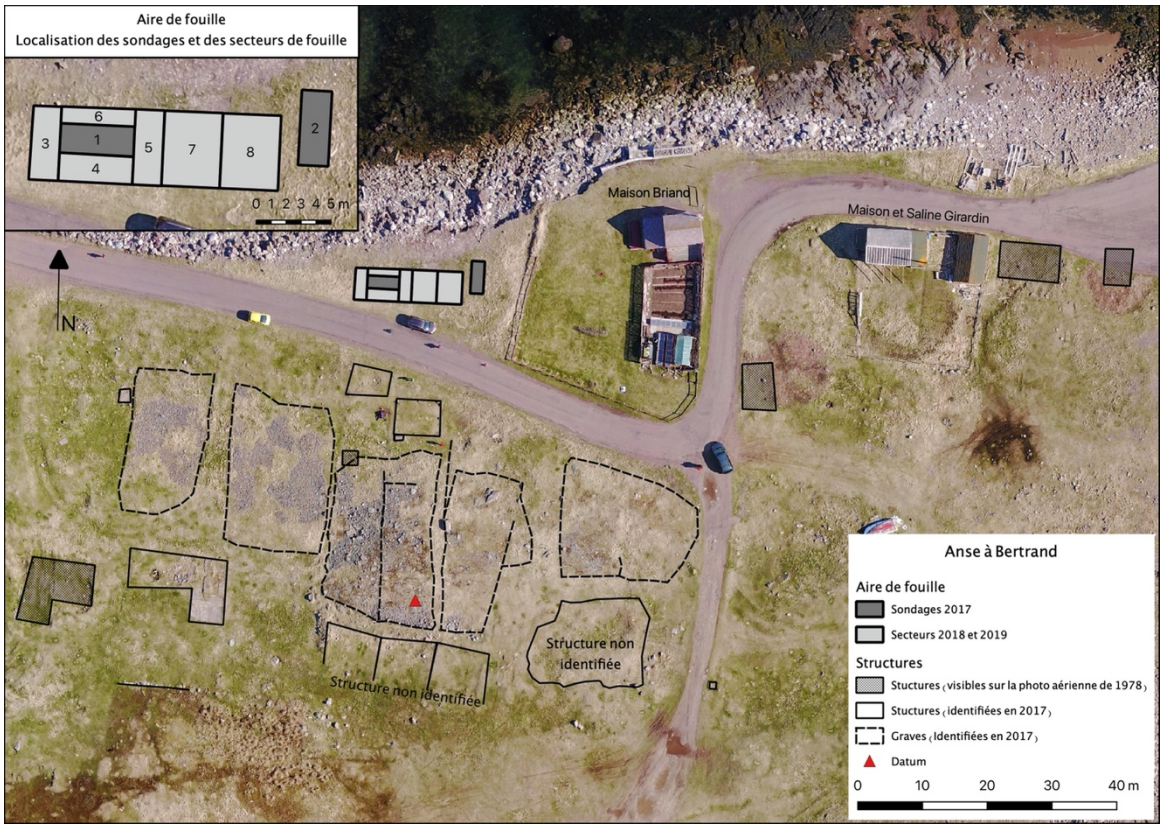

Figure 3. Map of Excavated Sectors at Anse à Bertrand. Curtesy of Dr. Catherine Losier.

Figure 4. Outlines of Bottom of Excavation Pits at Anse à Bertrand in Each Year with Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Structures Highlighted. Curtesy of Dr. Catherine Losier.

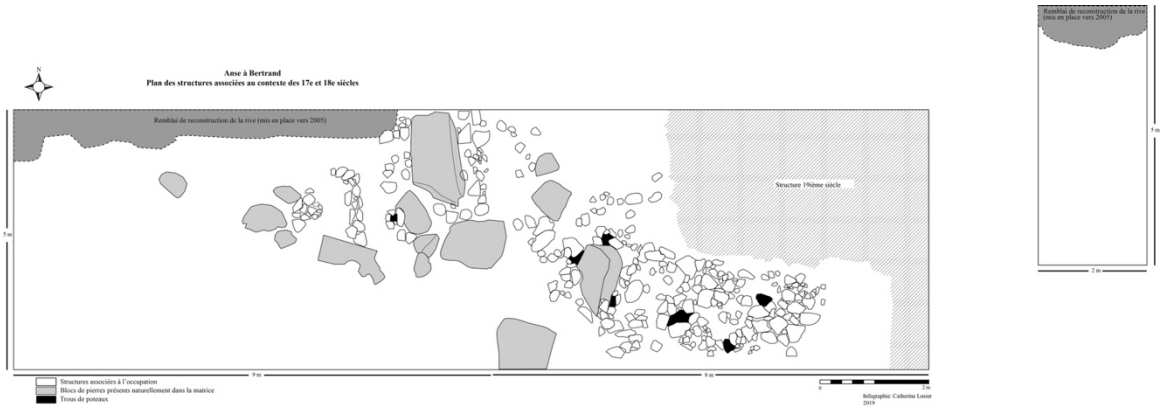

Figure 4. Map of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Structures at Anse à Bertrand. Curtesy of Dr. Catherine Losier.

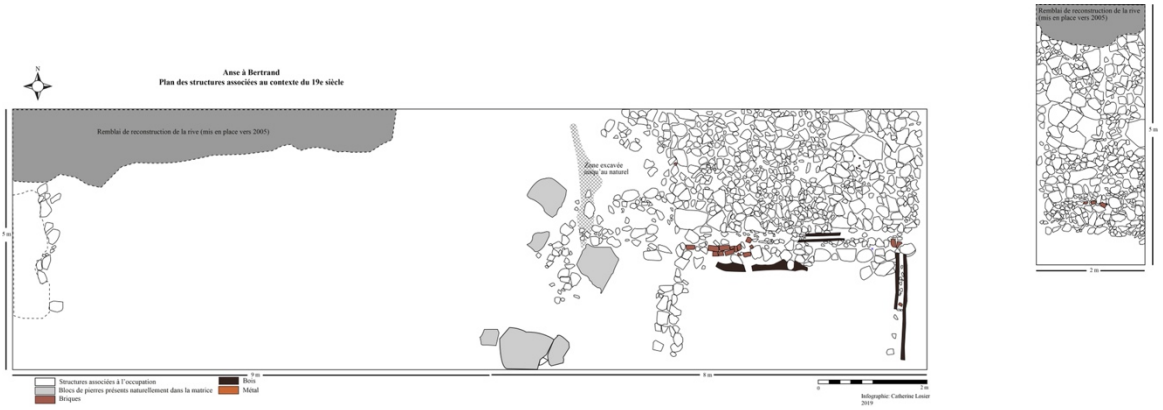

Figure 6. Map of Nineteenth-century Structures at Anse à Bertrand. Curtesy of Dr. Catherine Losier.

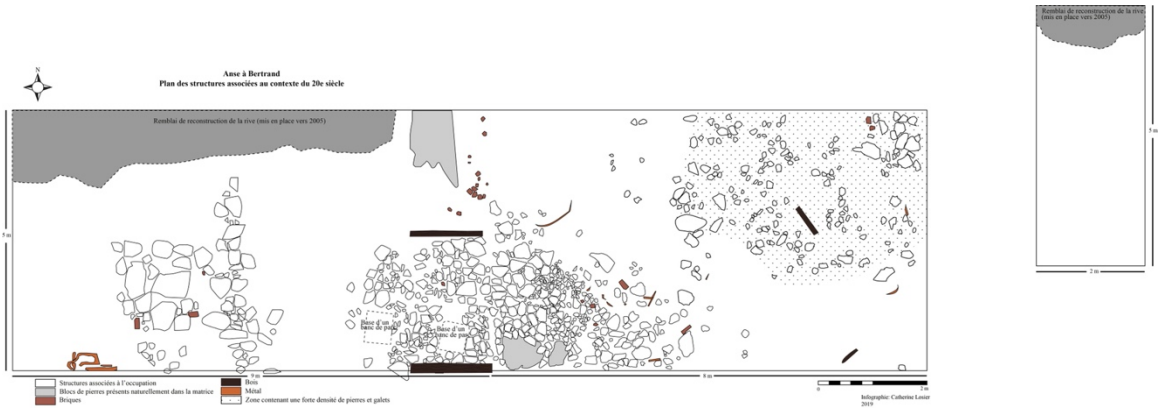

Figure 7. Map of Twentieth-century Structures at Anse à Bertrand. Curtesy of Dr. Catherine Losier.

The goal of this project is not to create a new excavation report for Anse à Bertrand. Instead, this project takes existing reports and reinterprets them from a gendered and aged artifacts discussed from a gendered and aged perspective into the larger site context, and this brief description is not intended to provide all the information associated with the excavation process. Those seeking further explanation regarding the excavation can consult the formal excavation reports (Losier et al. 2018a, 2019, 2020).

1.4.2. Analyzing Artifacts Through an Intersectional Framework

For this study, I employed a similar approach as Pope's (2017) gendered study of the Breton fishing station at Champ Paya, which pays special attention to site features and ceramic finds (Pope 2017:44). At Anse à Bertrand, the site features constitute a work location, such as *graves*, as gendered spaces that change throughout the various phases of the fishing industry from the seventeenth- to the twentieth-centuries. In terms of portable material culture, I will be looking at artifacts as both 'crew' and personal artifacts. In material culture analysis associated with ships, there are three types of assemblages: i cargo, ii ship and crew equipment, and iii personal objects. Artifacts associated with

cargo includes objects that are traded in the North Atlantic that do not benefit the crew nor make the trip run more smoothly. The category ship and crew equipment includes a variety of items, all of which are common commodities amongst the crew that are utilized on the trip, such as storage vessels for food, cooking implements, ship furniture, and tools both for navigation and fishing. Finally, personal objects consists of artifacts that individual crew members brought on board (Dagneau 2008:8–9). These personal effects included personal dining items such as tableware (Losier, et al. 2018b:218). In other contexts, personal artifacts refer to the remnants of mundane everyday acts that are undertaken in performance of identity. They may include a host of artifacts such as jewelry, clothing, needlework tools, inscribed objects, food preparation, and serving vessels (White and Beaudry 2009:213).

Since glass and ceramic artifacts are the most abundant artifacts in the Anse à Bertrand assemblage, these comprised the majority of analyzed artifacts. Since ceramic functioned as both a basic need and luxury object it is a particularly useful means of examining social class (Miller 1980:5). Social status in relation to material culture is often tied to object cost, and ceramics were priced based on decoration and composition. Furthermore, price ranges for each decorative form were well-established by the nineteenth-century. Though Miller's index is explicitly concerned with English ceramics in the nineteenth-century, the relative tiers established by ceramic type and decoration are still useful in this study. From lowest to highest cost there are four primary levels: undecorated wares, minimalist designs, hand-painted and transfer-printed wares, and porcelain wares (Miller 1980:4). Additionally, as Pope's (2017) study indicates, the quantification of ceramics by

form and function can provide some inference of gendered use, as there was an emphasis on storage vessels opposed to service vessels in the context of the masculine migratory fishery (Pope 2017: 54). Therefore, a shift in this dynamic in a fishing context should indicate both the presence of women and the start of settlement in the archipelago.

Like ceramics, glass artifacts can also give some indication of settlement based on form. Other than objects associated with the consumption and service of food, glassware may also constitute items related to health and hygiene, which can act as class indicators (Cowie 2011:106), and may aid in the interpretation of daily life in relation to health. Finally, alcohol consumption is also linked to class, often in terms of problems with overconsumption, and, in the context of the Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon fisheries, it is also linked to certain kinds of gendered work such as those working on the *graves* (Artur de Lizarraga et al. 2016). Therefore, the glass artifacts will allow me to speak more in-depth not only about class and gender, but social life in general.

Though ceramics and glass are at the forefront of artifact analysis for this project, tools related to work in the fishery and aged and gendered artifacts, such as dolls and toys, were also examined to speak to the liminal role of children in fishing contexts. The identification and analysis of these artifacts was informed by both archival documentation and previous research, and the categorization of said artifacts is also grounded in gender, age, socioeconomic, and intersectional theories.

1.4.3. Gender

Classifying artifacts according to gender can be a complex process. For instance, certain artifacts are usually associated with women, but otherwise most artifacts are typically

considered to be “genderless” and exist in a gender-free space or are considered masculine as default. However, if gender is one of the primary structuring principles in a particular society, then no artifact can truly exist in a gender-free environment. Although artifacts that cannot be classified as either male or female are presumed to be genderless, they are still gendered and should instead be classified as both male and female (Vermeer 2009:321–2).

It is thus more practical to understand gendered artifacts on a sliding scale, with artifacts always existing in a gendered environment. However, it is important to define objects explicitly as masculine because without doing so masculinity becomes the default and other expressions of gender become deviant (Scott 2020:320). Clear gender divisions in labour, in this case informed by archival and documentary evidence, can help alleviate some of the complications in gendering artifacts. Therefore, the context in which objects were used helps to inform gender interpretations. This also helps to avoid creating false universal categories associated with men and women by helping to place the interpretation into local political and cultural context (Scott 2020:317). Documentary evidence indicates the types of work women performed in the salt cod fishery and elsewhere. Thus, the types of artifacts associated with tasks such as salting fish or collecting bait will be primarily feminine, although they would also have masculine attributes given the presence of boys and some men performing the same kinds of work. Artifacts associated with work on the fishing crews on the other hand will only be masculine, as this would have been exclusively male.

1.4.4. Age

Like the process of gendering artifacts, identifying artifacts associated with children is a difficult practice. One of the primary reasons for this is the perceived invisibility of children within the archaeological record. Children are rarely considered the sole users of most artifacts and spaces (Baxter 2008:162). However, most artifacts are used by a variety of people, and like gendered artifacts, they do not exist in an 'ageless' environment. Artifacts and archival evidence indicating the presence of children includes toys and games, photographs of children, and artifacts produced by children's use (Kamp 2001:2). All three of these are present in the archival records and archaeological collection. Like gendered artifacts, documentary evidence, such as photographs, can inform the types of work that children did in the historical fisheries, and thus the artifacts associated with those types of work can be considered both adult and child artifacts.

1.4.5. Socioeconomics

In terms of analyzing artifacts by class, I employed consumption patterns grounded in socioeconomic theory. To infer social status from consumption patterns, it is prudent to understand the cost of the object. Fortunately, this information is available for most ceramics found in North America, with reference to cost in various time periods (Hodge 2006; Miller 1980, 1988). Typically, the lower classes would have purchased lower cost goods (Miller 1980:3–4); however, frequency is also a key factor in determining the social classes associated with an assemblage, as even the lower classes may have purchased or else were gifted a small number of higher cost vessels. Propriety is another factor in consumption patterns, particularly for the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. For instance, elite goods in eighteenth-century North American contexts

typically reflect a sense of propriety through cutlery sets, matching ceramics, formal dining items, and hygienic goods (Mullin 2011:140). Above all, one of the primary differences between the consumption patterns of the lower class and more affluent individuals is that the lower classes consume less. Furthermore, not only would the lower classes consume less, but they also tended to discard less, especially items like ceramics that could last a fair amount of time (Groover 2003:249). For this reason, quantification of the collection was required to make inferences about what and how much people were consuming commodities in colonial Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon.

The quantification of artifacts in the assemblage was done using MNV and MNO [Minimum Number of Vessels and Minimum Number of Objects] for ceramics and other materials respectively. This is calculated by examining the material, diagnostic features such as rim and base sherds, decoration style, and vessel typology (Orser 2017:196). The number of fragments and objects had been previously counted from the Anse à Bertrand assemblage when the collection was first catalogued for previous projects; however, since the initial tallying of objects was done while the excavation was ongoing, the MNO and MNV were tallied using vessels that were easily distinguished opposed to examining all of the artifacts of one type, such as Normandy Stoneware, at a time and comparing to each other, resulting in severe underestimation. Furthermore, context was also not considered in the recording of the initial counting, meaning some of the artifacts recorded as whole objects in the database actually belonged to an object that should have been in a different context.

For this project, I needed to obtain the MNO and MNV counts for the three periods in relation to shifts in the fishery: the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-centuries, the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries, and the late nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries. To accomplish this, the database was separated into the three periods according to the context of each unit, which was available from previous investigations of the site (Table 2). For non-ceramic and non-glass artifacts the original calculations of the number of objects used when creating the database was sufficient; the number for each period was simply taken from the units included for that context unless a specific artifact had a *terminus post quem* that associated it with a later period. The MNO for kaolin pipes was done in the same way. However, the MNV/MNO for ceramic and glass artifacts was recalculated. First, MNV/MNO was calculated for each period individually by separating artifacts by type [coarse earthenware, refined earthenware, stoneware, clear glass, blue glass, green glass, etc.] and then comparing diagnostic elements such as rim sherds, foot rings, bottle lips, and bases against one another to eliminate any that may have come from the same vessel. Additionally, if there was a type of ceramic or glass that did not have any diagnostic elements present, but was the only one of its kind, these were counted as one vessel as well.

Table 2. Contexts for Stratigraphic Units and Features from Anse à Bertrand.

Context	Stratigraphic Units
Period One: Migratory Fishery	
Natural: No Anthropic Activities	210, 211, 212, 309, 413, 512, 610
17th/18th Century	107, **111,** 112, **113**, 115, 307, 414, 508, 509, **510**, **511**, 608, 609, 708, **709**, **710**, 807
Stone Structures and Post Holes	**111**, **113**, **510**, **511**, **709**, **710**

Period Two: Sedentary Fishery	
18th/19th Century	205, 206, 207, 209, 411, 412, 607, 806
19th Century	**203**, 408**,** 705, 706, 707, **805**
Building	**203, 805**
Period Three: Family Fishing	
19th/20th Century	104, **105**, 106, **110**, 208, **308**, 406, 407, **409**, 410, 507, 605, 606
20th Century	108, 109, 303, 306, **405, 505**, 506, **704b**, 803, 804, **808**
Abandonment of Site (1970)	103, 202, 304, 403, 404, 504, 703, 704a, 802
Old Surface before 2005	302, 402, 502, 604
Backfill circa 2005	101, 102, 201, 204, 301, 305, 401, 501, 503, 602, 603, 701, 702, 801
Surface	100, 200, 300, 400, 500, 600, 601, 700, 800
Saline	**505, 704b**
Wall	**110b, 409**
Cabestan	**110a, 405**
Pit	**308**
Post Hole	**105**
Electric Pole	**808**

Like the other artifacts, if a ceramic type had a *terminus post quem* that dated the object to a later period than the unit it was associated with, the artifact would be considered part of the later period. Once the MNV/MNO for each period had been calculated, the diagnostic artifacts from each period were compared to those from the other two periods, particularly those from units dating to a transitory period with mixed material culture, in order to further eliminate any artifact that might have been the same object.

Cost was another factor assigned to ceramic artifacts. In the absence of ceramic cost indexes for French ceramics, particularly for the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, cost was determined based upon ceramic type and decoration. From lowest to highest cost

there are six ceramic index levels: coarse fabric undecorated wares, coarse fabric minimalist decorated wares, stoneware and refined fabric minimalist decorated wares, refined hand-painted or transfer printed wares, refined tin-glazed wares, and porcelain wares (Miller 1980:4). For this project, these categories were divided as such: baseline cost, low-cost, low-mid cost, mid-cost, mid-high cost, and high cost. This process allowed for the creation of a collection of objects associated with specific contexts and attributes that could then be further analyzed in terms of gender, age, and class.

1.4.6. Applying an Intersectional Framework

Theories related to gender, age, and class generally affirm that neither of these categories exists in isolation (Baxter 2008; Geller 2009; Kamp 2001; Silliman 2000; Vermeer 2009); however, the classification of artifacts inevitably separates them to some degree. To attend to this, I utilized McCall (2005)'s intracategorical approach. This approach refers to the creation of an 'invisible' master category specific to a particular group of people. Even though people are a part of multiple social categories, namely race-ethnicity, age, gender, class, and sexuality, they usually only choose to examine one or two of these categories at a time (McCall 2005:1771–2). Therefore, rather than simply looking at all artifacts classified as feminine or child, it is more useful to examine artifacts based on their cross-categorization, such as "feminine-child-servant" or "masculine-child-gravier."

This method of artifact analysis allows for an informed discussion of gender-age-class dynamics in colonial Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon in relation to material culture. As colonies in Northeastern North America were not metropoles controlled by any particular group, but rather, they were spaces where all sorts "shared power in a decentralized system in

which spheres of influence overlapped" (Humphries 2014:40), it is incredibly important to examine all aspects of power to gain a better perspective on social life. As Orser (2017:146) states, "history is written by looking back at the past with different lenses." An intersectional framework merely provides a means to look through different lenses at once.

1.4.7. Selecting Archival Evidence

All primary archival evidence for this project comes from either L'Arche Musée et Archives in Saint-Pierre, or else from the Center for Newfoundland Studies at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Archival material at L'Arche was first accessed online. These online materials included newspapers, census records, some photographs, and passports. The newspapers were useful in understanding local political and social issues at play, while advertisements taken out for businesses gave an indication of the kinds of business taking place in the archipelago. Of these, I was especially interested in businesses listed under women's names.

Census records and passports dated from the late-eighteenth-century into the twentieth-century. These allowed me to examine population movements during these periods. Within these population movements I was interested primarily in the movement of women and the floating (transient) population in the archipelago. These documents allowed me to track settlement patterns which I could compare to the archaeological data to establish a chronology of settlement in the archipelago as well as examine any sudden changes in the settlement pattern.

Most of the photographs dated between the late nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries. I examined photographs both online and those available in person. In these photographs I was most interested in those depicting women, children, and families, especially those taken depicting work on the *graves*. I was also interested in photographs depicting *habitant* houses, fishing infrastructure, and lodgings for the *graviers.*

All other archival material was chosen with the aid of the staff of L'Arche Musée et Archives. With the focus of this project being women and children working in the fishery, the documents I examined consisted of collections of material related to women, particularly those involved in the convent who were involved in hospitals and education, as well as fishing contracts and governmental ordinances related to working conditions for men and boys.

The document retrieved from the Centre for Newfoundland Studies helped supplement secondary literature examined at L'Arche Musée et Archives. Though there was secondary literature detailing the role of L'Oeuvre des Mers (Darrieus 1990), the fishermen society, there were no primary documents concerning the society housed at L'Arche Musée et Archives. The Center for Newfoundland Studies held a copy of a doctor's notes from the L'Oeuvre des Mers hospital ship. These notes allowed me to examine more closely the health of those working in the fishery, the care available to them, and the role of social organizations such as L'Oeuvre des Mers in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon.

2. Men at Work: The Migratory Fishery of the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-centuries

The islands of Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon have been exploited since the late fifteenth century for the European salt cod fishery. Until the eighteenth-century, most fishermen working on the shores of Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon were seasonal workers. These men typically left ports in Britain and France in the spring to fish and returned to Europe in late autumn to sell their catch to European markets (Pope 2004:14). Settlement was initially prohibited at the beginning of the transatlantic fishery. Most fishermen that did overwinter consisted of those who could not afford passage home or those left behind because their shipmasters had gone bankrupt. Eventually shipmasters would also leave some men behind to protect their bays and fishing rooms from competing crews for the winter. (Nemec 1982:3-5). Migratory Basque, Breton, French, and English fishermen thus dominated the cod fishery in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon until the latter half of the eighteenth-century.

In the context of the historical migratory fisheries, the use of the term “fishermen” opposed to “fishing people” is appropriate. As Pope (2017:46) points out in his gendered analysis of the Breton migratory fishing room Champ Paya on the Petit Nord, *only* men and boys performed all tasks associated with the fishery during this period. Most members of the fishing crews were young men between the ages of twenty and thirty, but apprentices could be as young as nine up until they were fourteen or fifteen. Boys that had served as apprentices were able to enlist as sailors rather than apprentices by the age of sixteen if they had enough experience (Handcock 1989:92).

This chapter examines the social roles of men and boys in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century migratory fishery at Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon through the material culture at the Anse à Bertrand site. In order to achieve this, fishing operations in relation to men, and particularly children's work, which many scholars have neglected, must be examined. This will be done through an analysis of the material culture, from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century contexts at Anse à Bertrand, as it relates to age and gender. From this process, differences between the occupational and social roles for children and the other sailors can be obtained, and thus an informed picture of life in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon emerges.

2.1. Historical Context

2.1.1. The Transatlantic Fishery in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-centuries

The Northwestern Atlantic cod fishery of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries encompassed the region which now includes Newfoundland, Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and New England (Innis 1978; Lane Jonah and Dunham 2017; Vickers 1994). However, in New England, land was easy to acquire and could provide a secure means of living via farming. As a result, most settlers only relied on fishing as the source of their livelihood for a short period of time before turning their hand to something else (Vickers 1994:96). Furthermore, the fisheries in New England, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were primarily the occupations of settled peoples opposed to the migratory operations in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon and Newfoundland (Lane Jonah and Dunham 2017; Lear 1998). This needs to be kept in mind when studying the fishing operations taking place in the archipelago and the southern shore of Newfoundland.

Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon and the southern shore of Newfoundland served as the core of the Basque, and eventually French (Norman and Breton), migratory cod fishery throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries. While the Basque whalers operated primarily in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence from the port of Red Bay, the shores of the archipelago served as a key fishing station where Basque and Breton fishermen could salt and dry their cod (Losier, Loewen, et al. 2018:200). These operations differed significantly from British fishing operations in Newfoundland, which were shifting from a migratory fishery into a resident fishery much faster than in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. In Newfoundland, the first documentary evidence of women migrating to the island is associated with British colonial ventures in the early 1600s. The presence of women was one of the key driving forces behind the capacity to develop a resident fishery as their presence allowed the establishment of families and extended permanent settlement (Handcock 1989:31).

Even so, resident fishermen, also called planters, were outnumbered by migratory crews. While planters owned and operated approximately three hundred fishing boats, the migratory fishing boats numbered upwards of nine hundred annually (Pope 1992:74). In contrast, Norman, Breton, and Basque fishing operations remained almost entirely migratory until the settlement of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon in the latter part of the seventeenth-century. That is not to say that the regions occupied by the Basque or French for fishing purposes was apolitical. On the contrary, the seasonal presence of these crews sparked a competition and conflicts with British settlers and fishing ships over the rights to Northwest Atlantic fishing grounds. These feuds make up the backdrop of the

migratory fishery and directly impact the use and maintenance of fishing rooms in the archipelago and along the southern shore.

2.1.2. Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-centuries

The archipelago was used predominantly as a temporary lodging and a place where fish could be salted and dried during the fishing season until the eighteenth-century. Saint-Pierre is one of the oldest fishing harbours in the New World, and it has been frequented by the Normans, Basque, Bretons, English, Irish, and Portuguese since the sixteenth century (Cormier 1997:11). At the end of the sixteenth century the Spanish Armada had placed heavy taxes on Basque fishing activities in the North Atlantic, yet profits remained high enough to warrant the continuation of the migratory fishery (Hess 2010:554). In fact, colonial correspondence indicates that migratory Basque ships continued to dock at Saint-Pierre as late as the early nineteenth-century, followed by a large wave of Basque immigration to the archipelago during the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries (Losier, Loewen, et al. 2018:206). According to the archives, the first permanent settlement of the islands occurred in 1670; until 1713, the archipelago was stewarded by the larger French colony Plaisance (Placentia, Newfoundland) (Livingston et al. 2018:164).

Unfortunately, the attempt at establishing a smaller French colony proved unsuccessful, as John Leake captured Saint-Pierre and expelled its inhabitants in 1702 (Andrieux 2006:9–10). Fishing stations at Saint-Laurent, Colinet, Saint-Marie, and Trépassé were also destroyed along with a handful of French ships. Some fishermen did return to Saint-Pierre after the expulsion, but the archipelago soon fell under British jurisdiction from 1713 to 1763 (Andrieux 2011:5; Livingston 2022:2). This period is marked by the

signing, in 1713, of the Treaty of Utrecht between Britain and France over the sovereignty of fishing grounds and settlement rights in Newfoundland and the archipelago. The Treaty granted Britain sovereignty over Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. However, the French were allotted the right to establish fishing stations along the Petit Nord of Newfoundland, which would become known as the French Shore, as long as they did not permanently settle there (Noël 2010:12). The French were forced to withdraw the settlements that had been previously established at Plaisance and Saint-Pierre, and a new French colony was established at Île Royale, Cape Breton, though the French would continue to visit Saint-Pierre for some years before they were given sovereignty over the archipelago once more (Lane Jonah and Dunham 2017:67; Livingston 2022; Pope 1992:34).

Fishing activities would temporarily cease during the Seven Years War (1756-1763); however, France still chose to protect its fishing grounds in the Northwest Atlantic over its colonies in New France near the end of the war. The French fishing industry was one of the most vital of its colonial ventures, providing both substantial economic gains and a training ground for rural men and boys to learn naval techniques, making easy access to fishing grounds an invaluable resource that France was not keen to let go of (St. John 2011:1). The French right to process fish along the shores of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon would eventually be reinstated in 1763 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris (Noël 2010:12). Even after the Treaty of Paris had been signed, there was continued tension between England and France regarding Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon into the early nineteenth-century, until the archipelago was finally retroceded to France in 1815, and it

remained a French colony (Champagne 2022:3). With a sense of stability reinstated for settlers in Saint-Pierre, *grand négociants* [large merchants] could establish large fishing plantations with big crews of fishermen and *graviers* [shoreworkers] coming from France and Newfoundland. The rise of these fishing plantations would begin a new era of sedentary fishing that would characterize the next century.

2.1.3. Migratory Cod Fishery in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon

The Northwestern Atlantic Cod fishery was one of the first capitalistic ventures that drew Europeans to the New World. In fact, the fishery was exclusively a capitalist venture in its earliest days, as settlement was discouraged in favour of establishing a purely seasonal transatlantic fishing ground for easier maintenance (Pope 1992:95). The cod fishery market formed a triangular trade over a vast and complex commercial network stretching from the shores of West England and France to the Mediterranean. Northwest Atlantic cod was exported to Mediterranean and Iberian ports, while Mediterranean fruits, wine, and oils were exported to Western Europe, Western Europe then exported labour and supplies to Newfoundland and the archipelago to begin the cycle all over again (Pope 1992:95). For Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon this trade possessed additional trading routes that supplied cod to French plantations in the Caribbean in exchange for rum (Champagne 2022:9). Altogether, the Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon fishery made up nearly half of the entire French fishing industry's monetary value (Tapper 2014:12). The early transatlantic fishery appears to have been predominantly an inshore-dry fishery, wherein fish was salted and left to dry out entirely before being transported to Europe.

This method continued until the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, when the Grand Banks fishing grounds began to be exploited for the green fishery (Pope 1997:19).

The green fishery, *morue verte*, was also referred to as *la grande pêche*, or mercantile fishing. This fishery consisted of migratory fishermen, primarily from Normandy and Brittany, and the fish was normally only lightly salted and shipped fresh to France (Girardin and Pocius 2003:20–1). The *morue verte* rose with a decline in profits from the inshore fishery between 1714 and 1720; the price of salt cod did not regain its value until the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1763. Since the green fishery was primarily boat-based, the small portion of cod these migratory vessels still dried on shore meant a smaller shore crew, which significantly cut down on the cost of processing fish (Vickers 1994:155). The decline of the migratory inshore fishery combined with the Treaty of Utrecht led to Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon becoming the essential base of the overseas French fishery. It provided access to the offshore Grand Banks and the French Shore in addition to a safe, sheltered harbour where shore work could take place (Champagne et al. 2019:38; Girardin and Pocius 2003:12). It is primarily the work done on the shores of the archipelago that relates to the material culture found at Anse à Bertrand.

2.2. Material Culture and Social Relationships

The material culture from stratigraphic units dating to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries consists primarily of kaolin smoking pipes, coarse earthenware, stoneware, glass, and metal nails, totalling 511 objects (Table 2 and Table 3).

Table 3. Quantification of 17th & 18th Century Artifacts from Anse à Bertrand

Artifact Type	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNO/MNV
Coarse Earthenware	623	7.64%	28
Refined Earthenware	165	2.02%	13
Stoneware	570	6.99%	30
Kaolin Pipes	2498	30.61%	144
Glass	615	7.54%	28
Composite Material	5	0.06%	3
Organic Material	171	2.10%	32
Minerals and Inorganics	241	2.95%	59
Metal	98	1.20%	38
Iron Nails	3174	38.89%	136
Grand Total	**8160**	**100.00%**	**511**

Figure 8. Examples of 17th & Early 18th Century Artifacts from Anse à Bertrand (Losier 2021:12).

2.2.1. Ceramics

Ceramics compose almost three quarters of the material culture at Anse à Bertrand. The ceramic assemblage is predominantly of French origin from the seventeenth-century onwards (Losier, Loewen, et al. 2018:201). As seen below, of the 71 ceramic vessels in the collection, 30 are stoneware, 28 are coarse earthenware, and the remaining 13 are refined earthenware (Table 4).

In seeking to understand the relationships between gender and the material culture at Anse à Bertrand, a comparative analysis was conducted between this collection and Peter Pope (2017)'s gendered study of the eighteenth-century Breton fishing rooms of Champ Paya on the Petit Nord. The study was part of Pope's larger project, *The Archaeology of the Petit Nord*. Testing and excavations were done in the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, White Bay, and the Baie Verte Peninsula in relation to the migratory French fishery in Newfoundland (Tapper 2014:16). The artifacts recovered from Saint-Pierre dating to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries are similar to those found in the Petit Nord. This period is therefore associated with the same kind of seasonal fishing practices examined along the Petit Nord that would contrast with year round occupation and settlement (Livingston et al. 2018:166).

These artifacts primarily include pipe stems, French coarse earthenware and stoneware, Breton coarse earthenware, brown faïence, tin-glazed earthenware, creamware, and pearlware (Noël 2010:30–3). However, the primary analysis used in the gendered study of the Champ Paya migratory fishing room is the function of the artifacts, especially for glass and ceramics.

Table 4. Quantification of 17th & 18th Century Ceramics from Anse à Bertrand

Ceramic Type	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV
Stoneware	**578**	**42.56%**	**30**
Albany Glazed Stoneware	15	1.11%	1
Bessin-Cotentin Stoneware	364	26.80%	18
Domfrontais Stoneware	195	14.36	10
Westerwald Stoneware	4	0.29%	1
Coarse Earthenware	**615**	**45.29%**	**28**
Bretonware	142	10.46%	12
Buff Fabric Green Glazed Earthenware	67	4.93%	1
Glazed Coarse Earthenware	85	6.26%	3
Manganese Mottled Ware	2	0.14%	1
North Italian Slipware	1	0.07%	1
Saintonge	170	12.52%	1
Unglazed Coarse Earthenware	133	9.79%	6
Vallaris Earthenware	11	0.81%	1
Whorl Patterned Slipware	3	0.24%	1
Yellowware	1	0.07%	1
Refined Earthenware	**165**	**12.15%**	**13**
Brown Faïence	4	0.29%	1
French Faïence	143	10.53	5
Jaspée Faïence	1	0.07%	1
White Faïence	9	0.67%	2
Pearlware	7	0.52%	3
Refined Earthenware	1	0.07%	1
Grand Total	**1 358**	**100%**	**71**

As seen below (Figure 9), the quantification of ceramic vessel functions at Champ Paya is consistent with the function of vessels at Anse à Bertrand for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century contexts.

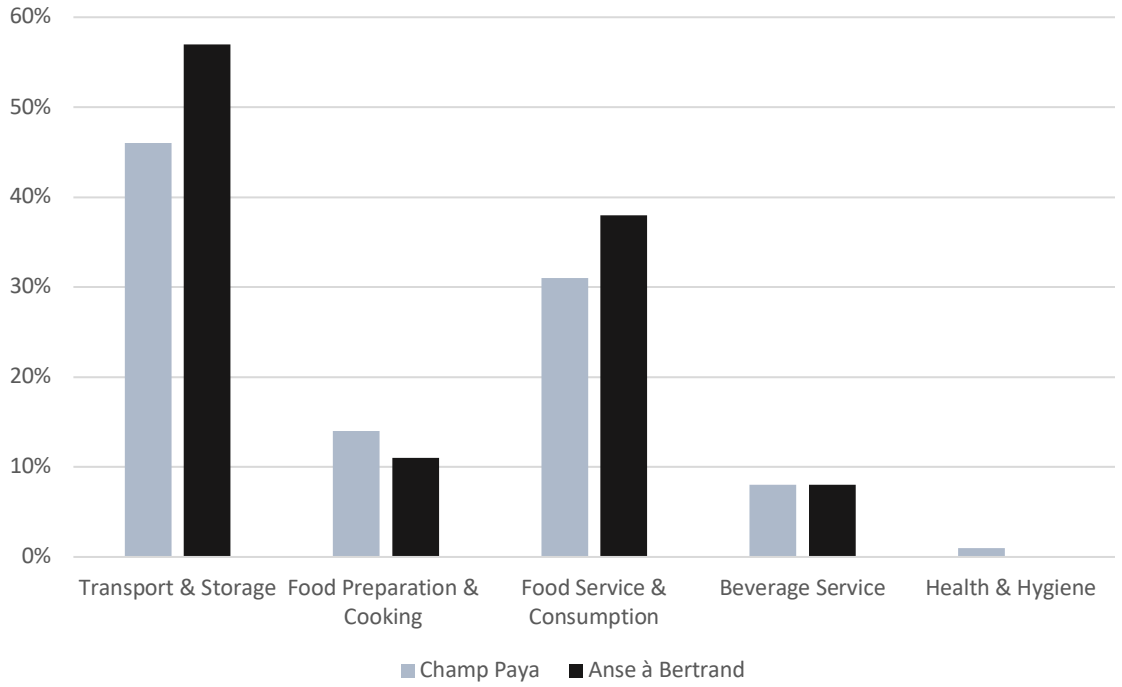

Figure 9. Comparative Graph of Ceramic and Glass Vessel Functions at Champ Paya & Anse à Bertrand.

The biggest discrepancies between the two sites are a greater number of storage and food service vessels at Anse à Bertrand as well as a smaller number of food preparation vessels. Generally, the ratios are still consistent between the two sites. Pope (2017) highlights the frequency expected of exclusively male seasonally occupied sites with the ceramic assemblage prioritizing storage, and with food preparation and service vessels falling second. This was not the case with the comparative sites in the Champ Paya study dating to periods of settlement with both men and women present, wherein storage and

transportation vessels fell second in terms of frequency, and preparation and service vessels were prioritized more (Pope 2017:53–4). The similarities between the Champ Paya ceramic assemblage and the Anse à Bertrand assemblage indicate that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century context in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon appears to be a masculine setting detailing fishermen performing seasonal work.

During the migratory fishing period, ceramics would have consisted of both a ship's outfit and personal belongings. The former might consist of vessels used for food storage, preparation, and serving, while the latter likely consisted of personal dining items (Losier et al. 2018b:218). Therefore, an additional function category, referring to the use of the object, is beneficial to the analysis of the ceramic assemblage, particularly for interpreting relative class amongst crew members. Stoneware composes most of the ceramic collection with 30 vessels. The function of most stoneware vessels would have been for the purpose of food storage and transportation. Aside from the Westerwald Stoneware vessel, which consists of a personal mug or tankard, most stoneware would have been part of the ship's outfit. Though animals on the archipelago, particularly seabirds (Pope 2009), were exploited for food, migratory fishermen had to bring most of their food supplies on the journey with them. The high number of Normandy stoneware vessels for transportation purposes in this instance is related to the transitionary nature of the migratory crew.

Coarse earthenware was another common form of ceramic used for transportation and food service. Coarse earthenwares that would have served this purpose are either unglazed or minimally glazed. Though the specific ceramic types of these vessels is

unknown, they are likely Bretonware originating from Brittany, France. The origin of these utilitarian ceramics is much more representative of fishing and trade networks since more “fashionable” ceramics were generally traded throughout Europe and Asia before reaching the Americas (Losier 2020:495), The high percentage of Breton coarse earthenware, Bessin-Cotentin, and Domfrontais stoneware indicate that these migratory crews were not only of French nationality, but also made port from these northwest shorelines of France. Unglazed coarse earthenware vessels also appear in forms used to cook and prepare food. While the act of cooking and preparing food in colonial periods is typically associated with women, the maleness of the migratory fishery makes that association null and void. Instead, the preparation of food becomes an inherently male activity, and one that is subject to the social class given to crew members upon leaving French shores.

The remaining ceramic vessels in the assemblage consist of tableware and other food-serving artifacts. These ceramics would be considered personal artifacts and are more reflective of the social class of individual sailors opposed to the more utilitarian vessels which ranged from lower to median cost to supply the fishing outfit as cost effective as possible. These other artifacts consist of both coarse and refined earthenware. There are only 23 different objects that serve the purpose of serving and consuming food (Table 2). Since fishing operations were purely migratory, fishermen likely took their personal ceramics back home to France unless they were no longer usable. However, this small collection can still give some insight regarding the types of ceramics crew members gravitated towards.

Table 5. Quantification of 17th & 18th Century Food Service & Consumption Ceramic Vessels at Anse à Bertrand

Ceramic Type	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV
Coarse Earthenware	**189**	**53.09%**	**11**
Bretonware	53	14.89%	4
Buff Fabric Green Glazed Earthenware	60	16.85%	1
Glazed Coarse Earthenware	14	3.93%	1
Manganese Mottled	10	2.81%	1
Unglazed Coarse Earthenware	48	13.48%	2
Whorl Pattern Slipware	3	0.85%	1
Yellowware	1	0.28%	1
Refined Earthenware	**156**	**43.82%**	**10**
French Faïence	143	41.17%	5
Jaspée Faïence	1	0.28%	1
Pearlware	7	1.97%	3
White Faïence	5	1.40%	1
Stoneware	**11**	**3.09%**	**2**
Albany Glazed Stoneware	7	1.97%	1
Westerwald Stoneware	4	1.12%	1
Grand Total	**356**	**100%**	**23**

Most of the coarse earthenware vessels that served as tableware or service vessels were categorized as low cost, as many used a slip glaze or else had an incised decoration around the rim. Objects considered to be the lowest cost consisted of unglazed earthenware and Bretonware with a simple glaze. Refined earthenwares also contributed to personal tableware, but the prices of objects within this category are much more varied. Apart from faïence vessels, the refined earthenware was low-mid cost in price range. The tin-glazed faïence vessels were the costliest vessels in this context. These personal

artifacts relate primarily to the range of disposable income, social class, and personal choices of crew members.

Overall, the ceramic assemblage at Anse à Bertrand for the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries relates to several different social aspects of migratory fishing operations. The makeup of the ceramic assemblage supports the assertion that the migratory fishery was a highly gendered industry, a career available *only* to men. In terms of the crew, the range of cost for personal vessels indicates that the overall social class of fishermen can be described as lower-upper working class depending upon one's income and by extension, one's place in the crew.

2.2.2. Kaolin Pipes

Aside from iron nails, kaolin pipes constitute the greatest number of objects in this collection, with a total of 144 (Table 3).

The abundance of pipes in relation to other material culture at the site can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, pipes are smaller, portable, and more fragile than most other forms of material culture found at this site. In comparison to other ceramics pipes were simply more liable to break. Secondly, people often smoked while working; it is probable to say a fair number of pipes may have fallen from shirt pockets or mouths while working on the *graves*. Finally, in an amalgamation of former points, members of fishing crews likely smoked a lot, and knowing that pipes were fragile and access to them was limited until the return trip to Europe in autumn, pipes probably composed an important part of a fisherman's personal belongings.

Despite their abundance, pipes do not serve well as indicators of class, age, or gender as tobacco use was extremely common amongst people of all social classes. Furthermore, apart from highly decorative pipes, most were very low-cost (Higgins 1995:47). Even though pipe fragments do not serve as social indicators, the relationship between a smoker and the use of tobacco did differ on account of their social position. In the context of the migratory fishery smoking tobacco was both a leisurely activity and a working one. Pipes would have been used while working, both on shore and on the boats, and at the end of the workday. Since the transatlantic salt cod fishery was a highly gendered masculine endeavour, smoking, particularly at the end of the day, was likely also associated with male comradery and bonding in addition to work.

2.2.3. Glass

Glass composes the next highest number of artifacts in the collection, totalling 28 objects in the glass collection (Table 6).

Table 6. Quantification of 17th & 18th Century Glass from Anse à Bertrand

Glass Type	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV
Transparent Dark Green Glass	254	28.56%	8
Transparent Green Glass	153	10.71%	3
Transparent Olive Green Glass	33	7.14%	2
Colourless Glass	128	32.15%	9
French Blue-Green Tinted Glass	45	17.87%	5
Amber Tinted Glass	2	3.57%	1
Grand Total	**615**	**100.00%**	**28**

A variety of different tinted glasses of various thicknesses are present in the collection which have diverse functions. The most common by far is drink preservation and storage (Table 7).

Table 7. Function of 17th & 18th Century Glass Artifacts from Anse à Bertrand

Function	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV
Window Glass	29	4.72%	0
Drink, Preservation and Storage	479	62.76%	17
Food, Tableware	107	16.75%	11
Grand Total	**615**	**100.00%**	**28**

Like the ceramic vessels used for storage and transportation, glass objects that fulfilled similar purposes such as storage, preservation, and food containers can be considered crew artifacts used to supply the fishing vessel for the duration of its trip. While these would have contained other beverages such as water as well, a fair portion of them almost certainly housed spirits. In the seventeenth-century, fishermen in the Northwest Atlantic were consuming alcohol in quantities far beyond what was usual for people of their class. Though water consumption was less prevalent overall, on long voyages in particular, beer, wine, and other liquor were less easily contaminated by bacteria than stale water (Pope 1989:72). Alcohol consumption was also an important social aspect of fishermen's lives in terms of male comradery. Furthermore, the consumption of spirits and tobacco functioned as portable "little hearths" for warmth in a cool damp climate (Pope 1989:89). Having a drink and a pipe with fellow crew members to warm up once the workday

closed was likely an important daily social ritual that kept moral high in between long and strenuous workdays.

The rarity of window glass in this context should also be noted. As Pope (2017) points out in his study of the Champ Paya fishing rooms, these migratory fishing crews put most of their energy into the actual fishing process. Unlike settlers, they were not so concerned with building sturdy long lasting housing (Pope 2017:52). Window glass is one of the first indicators of settlement for the Northwestern Atlantic fishing colonies. There are some sherds of window glass from these stratigraphic units, but not nearly as many in comparison to later contexts when settlement was permanent and more common. The window glass in this context is likely not related to the migratory fishery, but the small number of inhabitants that occupied the archipelago over the course of the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries. A very small family-based fishing operation was situated in the archipelago (Crompton 2017:111), but the number of inhabitants in Saint-Pierre remained below 350 until the mid-eighteenth-century, when family-based fishing became the main form of the fishing industry (Girardin and Pocius 2003:7). The small amount of window glass found in earlier contexts can thus be associated with this small group of year-round settlers.

2.2.4. Flint

There are a total of 50 flint objects from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century contexts at Anse à Bertrand. Flint objects consist of the core, which were commonly used as ballasts in ships, flakes from the shaping of gunflints and the gunflints themselves. Gunflints are associated with both hunting and warfare in the context of the political climate of the

archipelago in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries. The eighteenth-century was characterized by conflicts between the French and English for the rich fishing grounds surrounding the archipelago and the island of Newfoundland and the battery at Saint-Pierre were located very close to Anse à Bertrand. Some gunflints were likely part of defensive measures to protect the French fishing implements at Anse à Bertrand. Guns also would have been used for hunting. In other migratory fishing sites along the Petit Nord, fishing crews often exploited local wildlife, especially seabirds (Pope 2009). Though crews brough provisions with them, hunting allowed access to fresh meat and ensured that they would have provisions left for the return journey home.

2.2.5. Metal

Most of the metal in the collection consists of nails, scrap metal, and other hardware related items that would have been necessary for the construction of temporary lodgings (Figure), boat repairs, and fishery infrastructure such as splitting tables. Similarly, the iron adze for wood working would have been a necessity to construct or repair fishing rooms and mend boats. The remaining artifacts are also directly associated with work, consisting of iron fishhooks and lead line weights; these would have been exclusively used by boating crews.

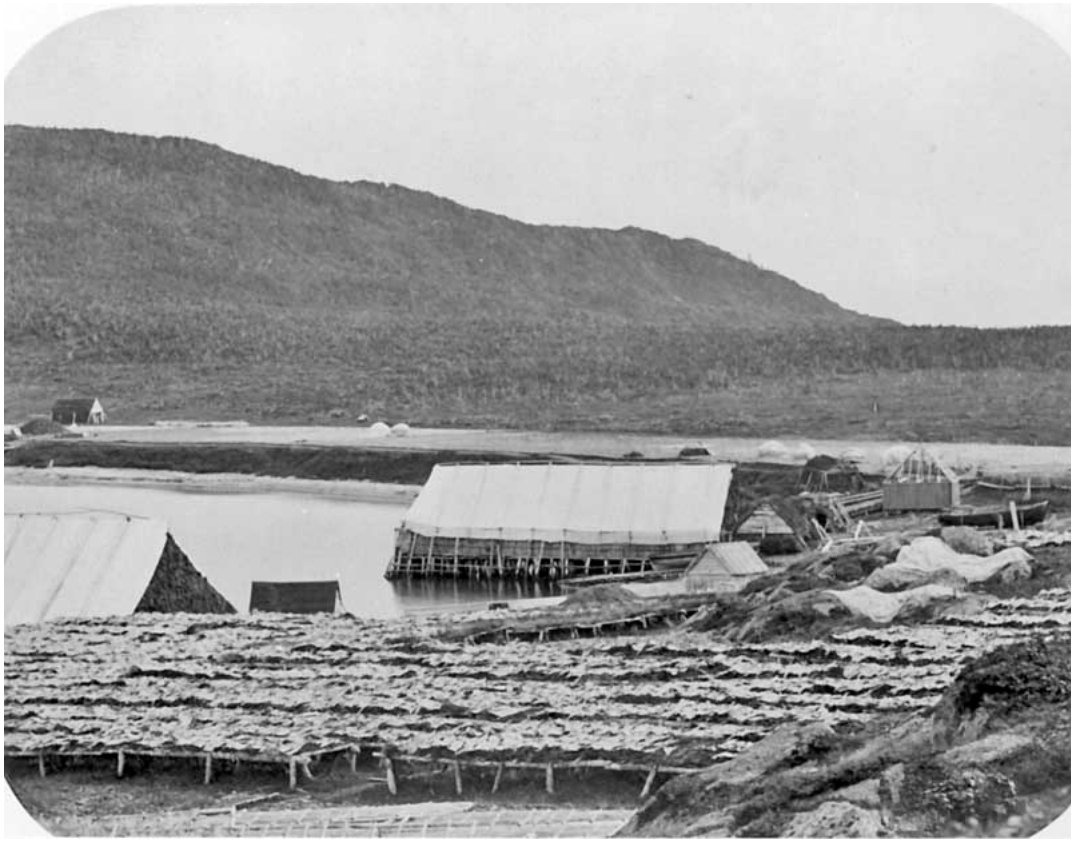

Figure 10. Chafaud et claies de séchage 1857-1859, Terre-Neuve, sur la photo on peut aussi voir des cabanes faites en matériaux périssables. Paul-Émile Miot Bibliothèque et Archives Canada PA-202290

2.2.6. Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Features at Anse à Bertrand

Features, meaning the aspects of archaeological sites that are not transportable, such as walls or soil stains, are one of the other highly gendered aspects of archaeological fishing sites. The shore-based fishery was both a masculine production and temporary habitation site (St. John 2011:6). Fishing rooms, though persistent places of seasonal occupation, were widely scattered throughout the archipelago and the Petit Nord, since cod favoured regions near steep rocky coasts unsuitable for a workable fishing rooms. These rooms were necessary infrastructure in relation to the migratory fishery. Fishing crews required a safe place to moor a ship, a sheltered harbour for protection, nearby fishing grounds, bait, wood to build stages or flakes, rocky areas to dry fish, a fresh water source, and

alternative food sources for the crew. Spaces that fit all these criteria were rare, and competition and the destruction of a competitor's fishing rooms were abundant. When people began to settle in the archipelago and Newfoundland, migratory fishing captains and shipowners even hired those overwintering to protect their fishing rooms (Pope 1992:59). However, as important as fishing rooms were to the migratory fishing operations, shore-based facilities often leave little traces in the landscape and in the archaeological record due to their brief and seasonal occupation. Apart from stages and *graves*, other onshore features were built to be temporary. While this made sense from an economic perspective, given the damage and destruction of these structures by English subjects, it means that little archaeological evidence of their existence remains (Gaulton and Losier 2020:831–2). However, the archaeological record at Anse à Bertrand does contain small remnants of such structures.

There are four features at Anse à Bertrand that date to the eighteenth-century. Two of these are remnants of stone structures and the remaining two are post holes. Though the former are more complete, it is difficult to tell their exact purpose beyond their association with eighteenth-century contexts. The post holes on the other hand do at least suggest wooden structures that could have consisted of temporary housing, stages, or splitting tables. Such structures would all have been both wooden and were important features of the migratory fishery landscape. Again, the absence of window glass and more permanent building materials such as brick or mortar reinforces the notion that the temporary occupation of space that was so prevalent in the archipelago throughout the course of the transatlantic salt cod fishery.

2.3. Life in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon

The migratory fishery poses an interesting relationship to social roles and occupational life, since work life was intertwined with any sort of leisure time allotted to sailors. The migratory fishery provided a uniquely male environment wherein social standing was based upon occupational roles and persisted from the time the crew left port in Europe in spring until their return in late autumn. One's position in the social hierarchy of occupational life was thus directly related to their position on board and role in the fishing, and this status could be elevated by the circumstances of their employment, in terms of whether they were indentured workers, stowaways, or had signed on to the crew of their own free will.

2.3.1. The Fishing Crew

The transatlantic fishery resulted in a temporary suspension of the social classes and distinctions that would have existed in Europe from the time ships departed in spring until their return in autumn. Apart from some of the higher-ranking crew members and surgeons on the ship, most migratory fishermen occupied the same relatively low social class. However, while on board fishing vessels and occupying fishing rooms along the Petit Nord and the archipelago, these fishermen were subject to a new delegation of class amongst their peers based upon their occupational status.

There were four distinct classes in French transatlantic fishing crews from the sixteenth to the eighteenth-century. Crews consisted of *mousses* [apprentices], novices, *matelots* [sailors], and officers. A secondary officer hierarchy differentiated between individual crews, but typically consisted of the captain, *pilotes*, masters, surgeons, and chaplains.

The first testing of this French naval class system was used on voyages to the Petit Nord from Poitou, d'Aunis, and Saintonge from 1681 to 1869 (Henry and Giard 1996:19). Novices on French crews were generally between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. These were inexperienced seamen who would eventually become sailors after completing a few fishing campaigns. *Mousses* were children hired for harsh tasks. In the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries these children could be between eight and ten, but an ordinance in 1670 meant that the age for apprenticeship was fixed between the ages of twelve and sixteen (Noël 2010:146–7). However, a school for the training of young sailors was established in France, using the fishing grounds in Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon as a training school, meaning that the age of some of the *mousses* on vessels to the Northwest Atlantic remained younger than average, with some still as young as seven or eight (Henry and Giard 1996:83). The fishing crew thus created a different form of social distinction while at work, wherein experience and rank determined social status rather than wealth and income.

Each crew class was responsible for a variety of activities, but some would be excluded from certain tasks. French law in 1745 required green fishing crews to take on at least two to six *mousses*, and most fishing crews were fairly young men who had not yet reached thirty (Brière 1997:50). The ship surgeon aboard *The Plymouth*, James Yonge, mentions "striplings," "boys," and "little boys" working in the Newfoundland fishery; it appears that boys and youngsters accounted for approximately fifteen percent of the fishing crew (Pope 2004:172). Very young *mousses* were typically bound to specific sailors or

fishermen, typically their older male relatives, while novices and *matelots* were older and had often been apprenticed in other trades back in Europe (Handcock 1989:62).

Mousses participated almost solely in the shore work associated with the migratory fisheries, making artifacts associated with this kind of work, such as structural remains, associated with them as well. *Mousses* assisted primarily with the heavy lifting. Untrained boys piled split fish in barrels for salting, washed the salted fish, transported the fish from the boats to the fishing rooms for drying, and helped spread fish on the *graves* to dry. However, the actual splitting and salting of the cod was left for more experienced hands due to its nuanced process and importance in the price of the finished product in European markets (Pope 1992:43, 2004:28). A crew of three manned the smaller fishing boats, or *chaloupes*, to catch the fish; this crew consisted of a *pilote* and two *matelots* or novices learning their trade (Tapper 2014:15). In this sense, artifacts associated with work on the boats, such as fishhooks and line weights, can be exclusively associated with crew members that possessed these ranks.

2.3.2. Spiriting and Apprenticeship Experiences

The respective agency of crewmembers as part of a fishing crew can be, to some extent, tied to their occupational position. For instance, crew members higher up on the occupational hierarchy would not have been part of any indentured work program. Of course, not all *matelots*, novices, or *mousses* would have been indentured labourers, but those that were would have fulfilled these crew positions. In England, the Poor Law required parishes to find apprenticeships and servitude for impoverished families; the fishing grounds served as a common sentence (Handcock 1989:190–1). Some of these

impoverished English subjects even served on French vessels; it was common for Irish youth to be picked up on the journey to west Atlantic waters (Henry and Giard 1996:109). To work the French fishing grounds in *Newfoundland* and the archipelago was probably also a popular sentence for those indentured as one of France's primary industries in the New World.

The servant trade operated on both a voluntary and involuntary basis. Volunteer servants willingly entered a contract in which their labour would be exchanged for passage from Europe to North America (Shannon 2017:438). Since the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Northwest Atlantic fisheries operated on a migratory basis, these servants would instead serve a wage contract before returning to Europe (Feniak and Tilsed 2018:414). However, even the voluntary servant trade was not entirely a display of individual agency as it served as a far more desirable alternative to execution, prison, or workhouses for political rebels, religious dissenters, vagrants, debtors, and orphans (Shannon 2017:438–43). In fact, stowaways can be considered some of the most voluntary of the crew members. Many French vessels had children and adolescent stowaways, and captains generally kept them on as surplus labour, especially since they were not required to pay them a wage by law. They were almost always returned to the same port from which they had departed with a small sum of money and experience they could use to gain a more desirable position on the crew by legal means (Brière 1997:53). Completely involuntary servitude was often reserved for the youngest of crew members. It was not uncommon for young pauper orphans to be kidnapped, which was often referred to as spiriting, to work on fishing crews. The *mousses* taken on through the practice of spiriting were generally

very young; some were so small they were unfit for duty and were abandoned at the earliest opportunity, often in a completely different country from where they had been picked up (Henry and Giard 1996:27). In this sense, we can look at work dedicated to these apprentices, and artifacts associated with such work, as a reflection of servitude rather than mere occupation.

2.3.3. Soe Longe As There Comes Noe Women

Age was directly related to the fishing class, and therefore the work, that men or boys performed. Children are generally not included in interpretations of the workforce despite ethnographic and historical records indicating that children participated in both domestic chores and wage labour, and despite the fact that the presence of working children alters the social dynamic between workers (Baxter 2008:165). In the context of the migratory fishery, this happens in a surprisingly gendered way with feminine roles persisting in an exclusively male environment. The French custom was for the captain and officers to eat separately from other crew members. Young *mousses* ate last, and they were allotted what food was left over from older crew hands (Pope 1997:24). *Mousses* were responsible for the disposal of food, generally cleaning, and occasionally assisting with food preparation (Henry and Giard 1996:155). In this way material culture related to the preparation, service, and consumption of food is tied to apprenticeship in a way beyond simply the eating of food. For *mousses*, this material culture is tied to work perhaps even more so than it is food consumption.

Notably, these domestic natured tasks are ones that generally would have been the responsibility of women in a non-male context. Typically, women and children's work

have almost always been tied together on the basis of women's responsibility for the rearing of children (Rosen and Newberry 2018:126). However, fishing crews did not possess any female crew members. Giving these types of tasks almost exclusively to the children on the crew suggests a kind of affinity between femininity and childhood, even when no women were present. While these tasks were practiced in an exclusively male context, it is important to note that these fishermen were living with and existing around women in an entirely different context for half of the year, meaning that the concept of domestic work being women's work would have existed in European domestic settings. However, this situation also would have created another kind of unique situation, wherein boys brought up on fishing crews possessed a far greater domestic skillset than many of their counterparts back in Europe. The notion of "soe longe as there comes noe women" with regards to keeping fishing practices migratory can therefore be amended to so long as there comes no women as long as there are boys to do women's work.

2.3.4. Male Comradery

The masculine exclusivity of the migratory fishery also resulted in the establishment of male comradery. Unless they met another fishing crew or the small number of settlers or merchants, the men and boys aboard each vessel would have only each other for company for half the year, working and living closely together for the duration of that time. While socializing was likely highly discouraged during working hours, mealtimes and the brief period before sleep were probably highly social affairs in the company of alcohol and smoking pipes. After inscription, young sailors were taught the dangers of alcohol, but wine was always served with supper and drinking was an important social expectation

aboard the ship and work on the shore (Henry and Giard 1996:167). Overall, entire fishing crews consumed significant amounts of alcohol (Pope 1989:72). In this sense, alcohol bottles (Figure 11) and pipes are directly related to male comradery as well as prevailing issues of alcoholism that plagued fishermen.

Figure 11. 17th/18th Century Onion Bottle. Taken from Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog.

2.3.5. Ethnicity and Individuality Overseas

Though vessels to Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon sailed under French flags the ethnic makeup of the crew members were far more nuanced. Most crew members came from ports in Brittany and Normandy; this is something reflected in the material culture of the site, primarily in the presence of utilitarian wares. Not only are storage vessels and large serving vessels coming from Normandy and possibly Brittany, but there are specific

regions from which they are coming as well. In Normandy, Bessin-Cotentin and Domfrontais are the two main regions stoneware jars and pots are coming from. More research is required regarding the regional provenance of the potential Bretonware in the assemblage, but the difference in fabric composition suggests that there may be three distinct types of Bretonware in the collection (Figures 12, 13, and 14). These vessels indicate a sense of individuality for fishing crews that set them apart from being simply French. It is possible, and even probable, that these fishing crews were often communicating with each other in their own languages, such as Breton or Basque rather than French. While the nature of their ceramics does represent a sense of cultural individuality that is accessible to us in material evidence, use of their own language aboard ships represents this individuality on a far more personal level for sailors.

Figure 12. Bretonware? Example I. Taken from Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog. 975 SP2-2019 US 708 INV#3688.

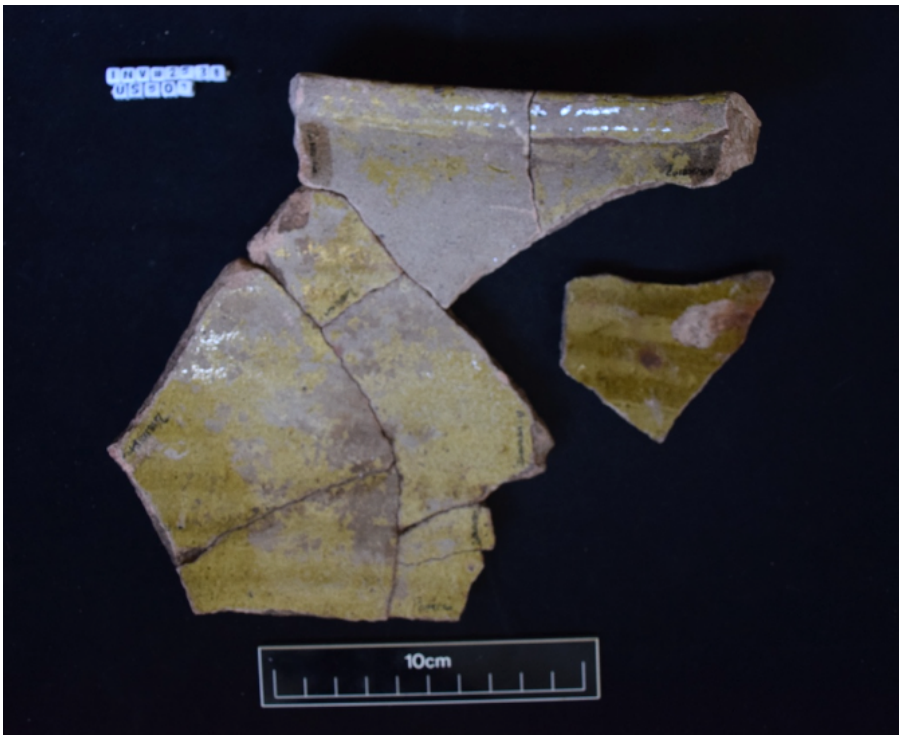

Figure 13. Bretonware? Example II. Photo Taken from Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog.

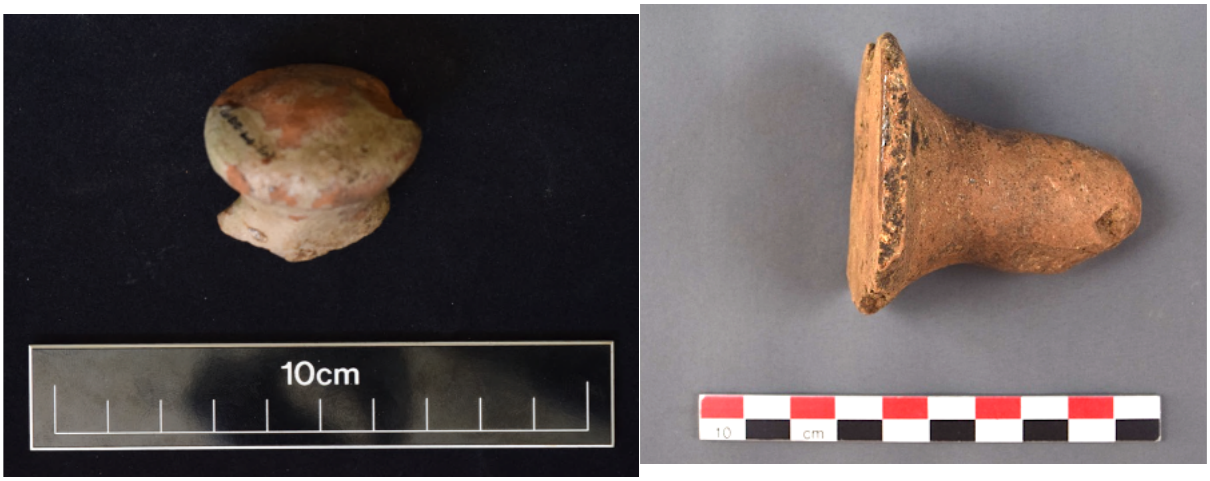

Figure 14. Bretonware? Example III. Taken from Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog. 975SP2-2018 US 608 INV#2680 and 975SP2-2019 US 705 INV#3464.

2.4. Conclusion

The cultural landscape of the seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century in the archipelago was one characterized by industry and masculinity. Conflict and interpersonal relations, among both nation states and crew members, are embedded within both of those characteristics. In terms of the former, the migratory fishery was one of the first major European capitalistic ventures in the New World, and competition over fishing grounds, particularly between the English and French, was rampant. The migratory fishing operations were thus entirely focused on industry.

In terms of addressing questions of empowerment, exploitation, and age in relation to work taking place in the migratory fishery, these aspects are intwined in this context with one's social standing in the crew. Empowerment in the context of the migratory fishery was likely severely limited to the captain and officer crew. Though sailors and volunteer apprentices demonstrated agency and some level of empowerment by signing on to the fishing crew, they often possessed significantly less agency and power while on a fishing campaign, where they were always working. Young apprentices who stowed away on ships also demonstrated similar agency to those who voluntarily conscripted. Although they were exploited much more easily upon arrival to the fishing grounds since they had no formal contract with the captain or shipowner. Apprentices and other sailors who had joined the crew involuntarily, whether by a court order or else spiriting are those who have the least amount of agency and empowerment. In the context of the migratory fishery then, empowerment and exploitation are directly related to both rank and the way in which they came to work on the crew.

The question of gender dynamics among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century migratory fishing crews is also closely related to age and rank amongst crew members. Though these crews were exclusively male, tasks that were typically the responsibility of women on European shores, such as cooking and cleaning, still needed to be done. On the journey, and once the ship had reached the Northwest Atlantic fishing grounds, these tasks normally fell to the youngest and lowest rank of the crew: the *mousses*. In this sense these boys took on feminine roles associating children with women's work even before women were present in the fishery.

The material culture present at Anse à Bertrand supports the industry-focus of these fishing operations. The majority of the material culture at the site is related to the provision of the crew for the duration of their campaign. But the presence of alcohol bottles and smoking pipes also suggests that there were down-periods, wherein socializing could fit into an otherwise grueling workday. However, these leisure periods would have been brief, with work taking priority and most of the day. The intense focus on work throughout the period that fishing crews occupied the shores of the archipelago was implicit in the stability of crew classification during the transition from the workday to the brief resting period. Altogether, the image of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century transatlantic cod fishery is a masculine setting defined by occupation, wherein the social lives and interactions of crew members was coloured by both of those factors.

3. “A Hard-Working Stump of a Girl”: The Sedentary Fishery

By the middle of the eighteenth-century the archipelago had been firmly established as a successful fishing base for well over a century. During this period, those occupying Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon for its advantageous access to plentiful fishing grounds gained a sense of permanency with the gradual arrival of women who would become wives and mothers. Between 1778 and 1785 the number of families residing in the archipelago grew from two to ninety-one (Archives Nationales 1778; 1785). The presence of women, and eventually families, was pivotal in shifting the nature of the French fishing presence in the Northwest Atlantic. Though migratory fishing crews continued to arrive from Basque, Breton, and Norman ports in France, there was now a growing number of fishermen and their families establishing permanent residences in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon practicing their craft along its shores and remaining on the islands year-round.

This chapter further explores the gendered and aged roles associated with maintaining a fishing presence along the archipelago within two different fishing systems. The first of these explores the relationships and lifeways of fishing families and other permanent residents in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. The second of these explores the relationships and lifeways of the migratory fishermen and their apprentices during this period, including their relationships both to each other as well as to the residents of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon.

3.1. Historical Context

3.1.1. Transitory Period: A Moving Population

For most of the eighteenth-century, the fishery continued to be primarily a migratory endeavor; with crews fishing in the archipelago in the spring and returning to France in late autumn. Like in Newfoundland, a few permanent residences settled in the early part of the eighteenth-century. These new permanent settlements were referred to as *habitations* [plantations]. In French settlements, the inhabitants were called *habitants*. These settlements were generally small and relatively isolated from one another (Crompton 2015:56). However, until the mid-eighteenth-century, the fishing families in the archipelago were making modest contributions to the French fishery given their small number. Though there were other transitory elements in relation to the shift from a migratory to a residential fishery, such as methods of catching and processing fish, the greatest shifting force in transitioning from a migratory to sedentary fishery in the archipelago in the middle of the eighteenth-century was the growing presence of women and families (Saint-Pierre 1776).

The growing presence of women in the archipelago could be attributed to three factors: wives, daughters, and other relatives of the fishermen emigrating, unrelated women emigrating as servants in the fishery and military, and finally, those descended from the women in the first two categories (Handcock 1989:92). This final factor is likely the true driving force for women settling overseas with the establishment of family life in the archipelago. For instance, records of children being born in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon appear in census records from 1767 (Miquelon 1767), signifying a shift in the archipelago from a fishing ground to a fishing plantation. As more and more women began to settle in

the region, they became a stabilizing force within the resident fishery that former efforts had been lacking, with the addition of women to the workforce the inshore fishery could continue to thrive.

By the end of the eighteenth-century, women almost entirely replaced the migratory male shore crews of the early Northwest Atlantic salt cod fishery. Their role became even more critical following the economic downturn following the Napoleonic Wars. The household participation of women in the production of salt cod meant that employers were less concerned with paying high wages when fish prices were poor (Keough 2012:538–9). Without female family members working in the fishing industry, the sedentary fishery would have been unsustainable, and the migratory fishery would have most likely remained the primary fishing industry in the archipelago.

3.1.2. Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon in the Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-centuries

With a rising permanent population, there were many accompanying legalities that arose throughout the eighteenth-century in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. These acts and political decisions make up a much broader historical narrative surrounding politics during this period. It is therefore necessary to take these larger events and historical narratives into account to better understand how local social relationships might have played out given the surrounding circumstances.

The ownership of both the archipelago and the Newfoundland fishing grounds had been a matter of dispute between various European nations since the first transatlantic voyages to the North. Before 1713, the archipelago was stewarded by the larger French colony of

Plaisance (modern Placentia) in Newfoundland. Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon and l'Île-aux-Chiens (modern Île-aux-Marins) would change hands between the British and French several times throughout the eighteenth-century (Table 8), until the archipelago was retroceded to France in 1815 a final time (Livingston et al. 2018:164–5).

Table 8. Changes in the Governance of Satin-Pierre-et-Miquelon from 1536 to the Present. Translated from (Losier et al. 2022:6).

Period	Number of Years	Governance
1536-1713	177	France
1713-1763	50	England
1763-1778	15	France
1778-1783	5	England
1783-1793	10	France
1793-1796	3	England
1796-1802	6	Unclaimed
1802-1803	1	France
1803-1815	12	England
1815-Present	200	France

Until the final retrocession of the islands, it is clear that the population of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon was continually changing throughout this period. In 1763 the Treaty of Paris granted France the use of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon as a fishing base that would allow them to secure the fishing grounds on the western coast of Newfoundland which had been frequented by the French since the sixteenth century and would be henceforth referred to as the French Shore. In 1778, the British occupied the islands due to the American Revolution, during which 1 400 residents of the archipelago were expelled upon being accused of supplying American rebels with arms and ammunitions (Andrieux 2011:6). Many refugees fled to various ports in France (Lebailly 2015:92). In 1783 the islands

were once again returned to France with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. However, ten years later in 1793, the residents were once again expelled by a squadron of British soldiers arriving from Halifax. Under the orders of Sir John Wallace, the governor of Newfoundland at the time, the archipelago was annexed and placed under the jurisdiction of the Newfoundland governor.

The Treaty of Amiens brought an end to the constant change of ownership in 1802, but no further attempts were made to resettle the islands until the second Treaty of Paris confirmed the French right to fish in the region in 1815 (Andrieux 2011:6–7). Although the fishery was less and less transient, the people were not necessarily sedentary throughout much of this period until the early nineteenth-century. This transience must be considered when discussing the social relationships of people in relation to labour and the sense of impermanence that likely surrounded their work and attempts to establish consistent residency and workflow.

3.1.3. The Migratory Fishery in the Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-centuries

The migratory fishery continued to operate throughout the tumultuous eighteenth-century. The Grand Banks and the archipelago served as the recovery site of the transatlantic French fishery following the Napoleonic Wars, where the fishery could begin to regain lost profits and eventually rebuild fishing stations elsewhere in the region (Ryan 1983:50). With 3 000 French ships and 15 000 men employed between the Grand Banks and St. Lawrence offshore fisheries, France was unwilling to relinquish its hold on these fishing grounds given that the Northwest Atlantic fishing grounds were the backbone of the historical French fishery (Eccles 1990:223). Once smaller fishing families established

a sedentary fishery along the shores of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, this migratory fishery came to be known as *La Grande Pêche*, or mercantile fishing.

Large crews of men and boats embarked to Northwestern Atlantic waters from French ports. This was an offshore fishery operating along the Grand banks, the French Shore, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. This fishery consisted primarily of what was referred to as *morue verte*, or the green fishery. Rather than completely drying the cod with heavy amounts of salt on the shore, the crew would both fish from the schooners, or *goëlettes*, and prepare most of the fish on the ships. This fish was lightly salted and shipped fresh, in other words green, to France to be sold at European markets (Girardin and Pocius 2003:20). Some of the catch would have been brought back to the shore in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon to be dried, but not at the same scale as it had been in the seventeenth-century.

The migratory shore crew members were referred to as *graviers*, and they were responsible for processing any fish that was to be dried on the shore in Saint-Pierre, or in small impermanent fishing rooms located along the French Shore. Their employers typically paid them wages and arranged for their transportation, supplies, and living arrangements. By the nineteenth-century, this type of fishery would be replaced with line-trawlers (Girardin and Pocius 2003:20–2). The social dynamics in these crews would be similar to those from earlier migratory fishing voyages. However, the presence of a resident population, even an unstable one such as in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, introduces a new social dynamic that was not prevalent on earlier voyages. The *graviers* in particular would have the most contact with the *habitants* and their servants, but other crew

members and captains would now have access to trade and goods in the New World that had not been available previously.

3.1.4. The Sedentary Fishery in the Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-centuries

Starting in the eighteenth-century, Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon soon became a permanent residence for a small fishing populace. The archipelago was transformed from a seasonal fishing station occupied solely by men, to settlements with families. This settlement dawned a new era of fishing techniques for the French fishery which came be known as *La Petite Pêche*, referring to family inshore fishing. This fishery involved simple handline fishing from *doris* [dory], which are small boats as opposed to the larger *goëlettes*. Boats would depart early in morning and return once enough fish had been caught. The processing of the fish was a family affair that took place on the *graves* and fishing rooms scattered along the shores of the islands (Girardin and Pocius 2003:20). The adoption of the *doris* in the inshore fishery did not significantly alter methods used for fishing, but it did transform the organization of the fishery. Rather than six men fishing out of two or three small boats, two men were able to fish from a single boat in a fleet of twenty-four *dories*. This significantly increased the number of lines cast at a time (Chapelot et al. 1982:74). This fishery introduced this different organization and new interpersonal dynamics with new gendered and familial social relationships opposed to the male crew dynamic that characterized the migratory fishing boats.

Once the archipelago had been retroceded to France in 1815, the population of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon stabilized somewhat, which ultimately allowed the *Petite Pêche* to become the dominant fishery practiced in the archipelago throughout the nineteenth-

century. However, this growing population remained somewhat transient, with fishing folk living in Saint-Pierre during the winter and occupying smaller coastal fishing villages, such as Anse à Bertrand, Anse Ravenel, Savoyard, or Anse à Pierre, during the fishing season (Gaulton and Losier 2020:841). Fishing servants, who worked a seasonal contract for wages doing either domestic chores or assisting with the fishery were also a largely transient population, typically without any steady income.

Grands Negociants [merchants] also began to establish themselves in the Anse à Bertrand port during the nineteenth-century in order to optimize their own profits from the cod fishery (Losier 2021:5). The presence of merchants introduced two primary changes to the fishery. Firstly, it changed the way the trade of cod in Saint-Pierre operated. *Negotiants* were responsible for providing the *habitants* with the supplies necessary to conduct the fishery on their behalf in turn distributing the fish to markets in Europe, North America, and the Caribbean. Secondly, the presence of *negociants* was instrumental in the development of a more pronounced class system in the archipelago.

The *petits pêcheurs* or smaller *habitant* families operated smaller fishing industries in comparison to large *habitant* and *negociant* estates. These were small family-based establishments reliant on the good grace of *negociants* in a bad fishing season and the availability of fishing servants willing to work for the menial wages they could offer. In contrast, the *grands negociants* and *grands habitants* were among the gentry class in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. These people were literate and numerate, as was necessary to conduct business, and membership to this class was dependent upon the inheritance of wealth in assets (Pope 1992:279). These divisions of class, which comprised of servants,

petits pêcheurs, and *negociants*, would be recognizable in modern terms as low-, middle-, and upper-class divisions determined primarily by occupations.

3.2. Material Culture and Social Relationships:

Within stratigraphic units associated with the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century contexts (Table 2) ceramic and glass artifacts, apart from iron nails, continue to dominate the collection from Anse à Bertrand (Figure 15, Table 9). An increase in the number of artifacts and the presence of a larger variety of ceramic and glass typology are found in this phase. This increase is one of the very clear indicators suggesting settlement in contrast to the entirely migratory population seen preciously despite the continued transience of people moving between the shore and inland seasonally (Gaulton and Losier 2020:841).

Figure 15. Examples of Late 18th and Early 19th Century Artifacts from Anse à Bertrand (Losier 2021:16).

Table 9. Quantification of Late 18th & Early 19th Century Artifacts from Anse à Bertrand

Material	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV/MNO
Coarse Earthenware	341	5.13%	13
Refined Earthenware	1515	22.80%%	58
Porcelain	31	0.47%	7
Stoneware	307	4.62%	32
Glass	1557	23.43%	32
Composite Material	26	0.49%	10
Organic Material	234	3.52%	48
Metal	377	5.67%	75
Iron Nails/Screws	2147	32.31%	170
Minerals and Inorganics	109	1.07%	31
Grand Total	**6644**	**100.00%**	**476**

Iron nails account for ~32% of the collection, ceramics ~33%, glass ~24%, metal ~6%, organic materials ~3.5%, minerals and inorganics ~1%, and composite materials account for ~0.5%. The Minimum Number of Vessels/Objects totals 476 objects compared to 6644 fragments, the breakdown reflected in the percentage of the collection is relatively consistent.

3.2.1. Ceramic

Ceramics account for the largest material typology in the archaeological collection, primarily in objects related to foodstuff and tobacco use. Setting aside ceramics related to the latter, the total MNV for ceramic is 83 (Table 10).

Table 10. Quantification of Late 18th & Early 19th Century Ceramics from Anse à Bertrand.

Ceramic Type	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV
Coarse Earthenware	**341**	**22.97%**	**13**
Beauvais Earthenware	2	0.13%	1
Bretonware	175	11.67%	6
Glazed Coarse Earthenware	11	0.73%	1
Unglazed Coarse Earthenware	55	3.66%	2
Saintonge	52	3.46%	1
Portugese Redware	2	0.13%	1
Whorl Pattern Slipware	21	1.40%	1
Buff Fabric Green Glazed Earthenware	20	1.33%	0
Vallaruis	5	0.33%	0
North Italian Slipware	2	0.13%	0
Refined Earthenware	**820**	**54.47%**	**31**
Creamware	34	2.26%	1
French Faïence	7	0.46%	1
Jaspée Faïence	4	0.26%	1
White Faïence	56	3.73%	1
Pearlware	45	3.00%	3
Whiteware	601	39.91	23
Jackfieldware	13	0.86%	1
Brown Glazed Earthenware	16	1.06%	0
Brown Faïence	21	1.40%	0
Yellowware	23	1.53%	0
Porcelain	**31**	**2.06%**	**7**
Common Porcelain	25	1.66%	5
Fine Porcelain	6	0.40%	1
Stoneware	**307**	**20.50%**	**32**
Fine Stoneware	7	0.46%	2
Bessin-Cotentin	154	10.40%	17
Domfrontais	97	6.47%	6

Bray-Beauvais-Loire	3	0.20%	1
Coarse Stoneware	4	0.26%	2
Fulham-Lambeth	11	0.73%	2
Presumably French Stoneware	5	0.33%	2
Albany Salt-Glaze Stoneware	14	0.93%	0
Rhenish Brown	1	0.06%	0
Westerwald	10	0.66%	0
Grand Total	**1499**	**100.00%**	**83**

There is a significant increase in refined earthen ware and the accompanying decrease in coarse earthenware compared to contexts dating to the migratory fishery. These changes are related to two key factors: cost and availability. In relation to the former, the invention of creamware and pearlware in the late-eighteenth-century, which would eventually lead to other forms of affordable decorated whiteware by the early nineteenth-century, provided the option of a relatively low-costing but still decorative form of ceramic, particularly once transferprinting became available (Métreau 2016). Prior to this invention, decorative refined earthenware tended to be tin-glazed and very costly. Secondly, these types of vessels would eventually be mass produced on a scale that coarse earthenware was not. With people beginning to settle on the islands, refined earthenware was widely available amongst travelling merchants coming to the archipelago and remained cost effective for a population that was generally low-income and when income could not be guaranteed for each fishing season.

The coarse earthenware was often used for cooking, food preparation, and storage; it is likely that much of the undetermined coarse earthenware served this function as well,

with a small number of coarse earthenware tableware vessels (Table 11). Unlike the whiteware, pearlware, and creamware vessels, which were generally mass produced in England (Miller 1988:174), the coarse earthenware vessels are coming primarily from Brittany, Saintonge, and Beauvais and there appear to be several variations of these ceramics, which may be localized, particularly amongst Bretonware and Saintonge vessels. In this sense, despite English white earthenware dominating the collection, the few coarse earthenware vessels present indicate a far greater sense of individuality and linkage to the French Atlantic façade from which the fisherfolks of the archipelago originated. Not only do these vessels give a greater indication of where the people of the archipelago and those working on migratory crews are coming from, but they may also have served as a reminder of home or provided a representation of one's ethnicity while the object was actively in use.

Table 11. Quantification of Late 18th & Early 19th Century Ceramic Function from Anse à Bertrand.

Ceramic Type/Function	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV
Coarse Earthenware	**341**	**22.97%**	**13**
Food, Cooking and Preparation	93	6.20%	3
Food, Storage and Preservation	30	2.00%	3
Food, Tablewares and Service Vessels	117	7.81%	3
Food, Undetermined	71	6.96%	4
Porcelain	**31**	**2.06%**	**7**
Clothing	1	0.07%	1

Food, Tablewares and Service Vessels	28	1.86%	5
Games and Entertainment	2	0.13%	1
Refined Earthenware	**820**	**54.47%**	**31**
Food, Tablewares and Service Vessels	820	54.47%	31
Stoneware	**307**	**20.50%**	**32**
Food, Cooking and Preparation	1	0.07%	1
Food, Storage and Preservation	277	18.48%	25
Food, Tablewares and Service Vessels	21	1.40%	4
Food, Undetermined	8	0.55%	2
Grand Total	**1499**	**100.00%**	**83**

While white earthenware overtakes the ceramic collection within late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century contexts, most of these vessels can be very firmly placed in the nineteenth-century due to their manufacturing dates. These vessels typically ranged from low-cost, to low-median cost, to mid-cost depending on the way that they were decorated. Plain white earthenware vessels would have been low-cost, transfer-printed and simple decorated wares would have fallen in at a low-median cost, and hand-painted wares would have been the most expensive form of white ware at a median cost overall (Miller 1980:11). Most of whiteware in this collection falls within the second price-range with simple or transfer-printed decoration. Of the 27 whiteware vessels, only four are plain vessels and another five have painted decorations, leaving eighteen in that low-median cost range. All of these vessels served the function of tableware or service vessels (Table

11); and increase in ceramics with this function is one of the primary indicators of settlement (Pope 2017:47). These vessels were affordable and may have belonged to several different income-level families. Even the painted vessels were still in a mid-cost range, and while servant families or migratory fishermen might have struggled to purchase an entire set, most traveled only with what they could carry, and purchasing one plate or cup on the higher end of the scale was likely well within their means.

While these vessels do not reflect identity in the form of place, they do exhibit some sense of individuality with the very wide variations in decoration. This variation in decoration should also be noted in terms of the absence of matching sets. Tableware sets were uncommon until the nineteenth-century when the invention of transfer-printing made such sets both affordable and easily crafted. The incredibly diverse decoration styles of the different vessels may demonstrate one of two things. Firstly, it is a further indication of individual agency in the past particularly when it comes to fishing servants of migratory fishermen who would have possessed a small collection of ceramic tableware. In this sense, what draws someone to choose one ceramic piece over another, beyond the cost of the item, would have been a very personal matter. Secondly, sedentary fishing families did not engage in business through coin, but rather they possessed only the purchasing power that merchants granted to them. Finally, the mismatching ceramics also indicates the slow building of permanent settlement. With the conflicts between England and France waging in the North Atlantic throughout the eighteenth-century, many were probably hesitant to set down roots in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon for fear of expulsion. The variation in ceramic may therefore be seen as a slow accumulation of

household goods for sedentary fishing families and merchants as confidence in the islands' political stability grew throughout the nineteenth-century.

The remaining four refined earthenware vessels consist of Jackfield and three different types of Faïence. Jackfield was also a median costing ceramic type, but it appeared most often in the form of teapots. This vessel was more likely to be an object used in the home and likely belonged to a *negociant* or *habitant* home. Faïence present in the collection is the highest costing form of refined earthenware being mid-high cost overall due to its tin glaze and decorations typically being applied by hand. It was also found in eighteenth-century middle-class contexts in a study from New Orleans, and was generally present in almost every middle-class household, though beyond the means of lower-class individuals (Emery 2004:33–9). This indicates that cost was not the only determining factor in the purchase of ceramic (Barker and Majewski 2006:229). As faïence is one of the very few French refined earthenwares found on historical North American archaeological sites, this may have been an important deciding factor in its purchased. While these wares cannot be characterized as an ethnic marker, it is still true that people used their possessions to express identity or solidarity, and this may have been particularly important to the French residents of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon with the archipelago constantly changing hands throughout the eighteenth-century.

The other expensive ceramic form present in the collection is porcelain. It should be noted that porcelain was entirely absent from earlier seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century contexts. Being both a very fragile and costly type of ceramic, porcelain would not have been an ideal type of vessel to transport back and forth between France and the

fishing grounds around the archipelago and Newfoundland during the migratory fishery. Though porcelain is present there are not large quantities. Being a costly ceramic, it is most likely that these vessels belonged in the homes of *negociants*, who possessed the most disposable income though *habitants* may have acquired pieces through family heirlooms as well.

Porcelain also offers some of the greatest variety in terms of ceramic use, being the only ceramic type not used solely for foodstuff although most did serve that purpose. The other two functions of the porcelain in the collection were for clothing and games and entertainment in the form of a button and a porcelain doll's face (Figure 16). Porcelain buttons were fairly common clothing items, but a porcelain doll would have been a high-cost item and on that indicates the presence of families.

Figure 16. Porcelain Doll Face from Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog.

These dolls were mostly made of straw and only the face was porcelain. For this particular historical context the artifact was almost certainly a girl's toy. By the twentieth-century dolls such as these were common amongst many different income-level families, but most girls had rag dolls that were more susceptible to being thrown around or played with roughly (Chaulk Murray 2010:73). In the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries it most likely belonged to the daughter of a *negociant* or *habitant.* These were the only types of families established in the archipelago during this period, since most fishing servants were single men and women in their early twenties. Of the two, *negociants* had far more disposable income available to them, and their children had more time to engage with things like play, particularly for their daughters. The daughters of plantation owners

would be busy with the housework or caring for younger siblings, particularly during the fishing season while their parents or other older relatives oversaw the running of the fishing operations.

The final ceramic type present in the collection is stoneware. Notably, the amount of stoneware objects is on par with the number of refined earthenware vessels. These objects consist primarily of food storage vessels as well as a few tableware items and cooking vessels (Table 11). Like the refined earthenware, there is more variety in terms of the types of stoneware present in the collection compared to the stoneware assemblage from seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century contexts. While Domfrontais and Bessin-Cotentin stoneware remain the most common, finer stonewares that were used as tableware are introduced. The former most often appears in the form of storage jars and pots. These vessels occurred in two different capacities: as crew equipment on migratory fishing vessels and as plantation or store equipment for residents. Unlike in earlier periods, by the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century migratory fishing crews were able to purchase some supplies from traveling or resident merchants. However, they continued to bring most of the necessary crew equipment and food supply from France with them. Travelling and resident *negociants* most often traded with individual sailors for alcohol, but captains would sometimes purchase items like fresh meat or butter for their crews as well (Crompton 2017:122). Storage vessels were also necessary for sedentary residents as well as supply for the fishing season or else as a means of preservation and storage for food items during the winter months. Marketing information on eighteenth-century ceramics indicates that stoneware was a relatively low-median

costing ceramic, and it was common enough that shopkeepers did not appear to advertise such vessels compared to their refined earthenware and porcelain counterparts. Stoneware and many coarse earthenware objects constituted the majority of necessary, but not necessarily desirable objects (Hodge 2006:3). While they were of low-median cost, these vessels are unlikely to have belonged to individual fishing servants or sailors as they would be less concerned with food preservation and storage than plantation owners or captains.

3.2.2. Pipes

Aside from ceramic vessels, the other main form of ceramic in the Anse à Bertrand collection is smoking pipes. Since only the pipe bowls with complete heels and decorative pipes can be counted as separate objects, the total Minimum Number of Pipes is likely severely underestimated, with 27 pipes out of 695 fragments.

The number of pipes is slightly less than the amount present in seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century contexts, but it is clear that pipes were still in heavy use throughout the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. Pipes were most used with tobacco, and the practice of pipe smoking was incredibly common. Many people smoked throughout the day, during both working and leisurely hours. In this way it was both a working and social practice. In the former, it likely served to break up the workday with preparing the pipe to smoke and to make time go by quicker. In the latter, smoking would have functioned as a social activity amongst evening chores or conversation.

An important thing to note is the position of smoking in terms of gender, class, and age. Smoking of was commonplace amongst all genders and classes. While it is not clear the

age at which people began to smoke pipes, it was likely something picked up before adulthood, particularly for those working with the migratory crews. Furthermore, the relationship to smoking throughout the workday was probably very different between those that did manual labour and merchants running their store.

Additionally, we can consider the fact that women often had evening chores where men in sedentary households did not. Thus, while an evening pipe may have been leisurely for men, it would have still been associated with labour for women despite the actual act of smoking transgressing gender. In this sense while smoking was something almost everybody practiced in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century, the relationship between an individual and the act of smoking might have changed depending on class and labour, and, by extension, age and gender through their intersection.

3.2.3. Glass

Glass makes up the next biggest percentage of material in the collection. Like ceramics, the biggest difference between the glass collection from the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries and previous contexts is in quantity and variety, with later contexts having more of each (Table 12).

Table 12. Quantification of Late 18th & Early 19th Century Glass from Anse à Bertrand.

Glass Type	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV
Blue Glass	47	3.02%	4
Colourless Glass	1037	66.60%	16
Dark Green Glass	230	14.77%	4
Green Glass	217	13.94%	3
Pink Glass	17	1.09%	2

Brown Glass	9	0.58%	3
Grand Total	**1557**	**100.00%**	**32**

The increased variety of glass objects occurs in both glass type and function. The new glass types were primarily in brown, pink, and blue glasses, and there was a significant increase in the amount of colourless and regular green glass and a corresponding decrease in dark green glass. However, though the significant increase in colourless glass can be found in both time periods, there is more from nineteenth-century contexts. Part of the reason for this is that colourless glass is comprised mostly of window glass (Table 13). In fact, nearly 50% of the total glass assemblage from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century contexts is window glass. This is significant as its presence is a good indication of settlement, as previously noted with the lack of window glass found in seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century contexts.

Table 13. Function of Late 18th & Early 19th Century Glass Artifacts from Anse à Bertrand.

Function	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV
Cosmetics	2	0.13%	2
Construction Material (Window)	779	50.03%	0
Drink Storage/Preservation	457	29.35%	18
Fastener (No Identification)	8	0.51%	0
Food, Tableware	24	1.54%	2
Lighting	10	0.64%	1
Medication	67	4.30%	5
Sets/Jewellery	1	0.06%	1

Storage, Undetermined	208	13.38%	2
Tools	1	0.06%	1
Grand Total	**1557**	**100.00%**	**32**

As with the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century, most of the glass objects found served the purpose of drink preservation and storage, with many being used for alcohol. Unlike previous contexts, the alcohol may not have been part of a crew's initial equipment. By the late-eighteenth-century, merchants from Halifax and New Brunswick were coming to Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon to trade their wares. Alcohol was a standard part of hired fishermen or fishing servant's rations for the season, as indicated by the following breakdown:

> *Guidelines for fishermen in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. The fishing of cod from the islands of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon was to begin on the first of April and finish on the 29th of September. The rations of each fisherman should comprise of the following:*
>
> *1kg of fresh bread, or 750g each day;*
>
> *1 litre of brandy each week;*
>
> *500g of butter each week; 500 g of lard each week;*
>
> *Fresh cod at the captain's discretion; 125g of veggies a day; and Prussian beer [German style beer] at discretion (Bulletin des actes du gouvernement, 1816 à 1854 1825).*

It would not be until the twentieth-century that there would be a well-established anti-alcohol league to try to combat alcoholism amongst fishermen and sailors, particularly amongst the *mousses* and the *petits graviers* (Le Réveil 1904a). Otherwise, these storage bottles would be associated with the *habitants* and *negociants* as plantation and store

supplies. As a serving of alcohol per day was a typical part of a fishing servant's rations, alcohol would be an important part of plantation supply as *habitants* were responsible for the wages and rations of any fishing servants they had hired.

Pharmaceutical bottles are also objects associated with work in the fishery. While salt cod was the main export derived from the fishery in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, cod liver oil was an important by-product of processing fish on shore. Alternatively, *habitants* were also responsible for the health of any fishing servants or *graviers* that they had hired, and by the nineteenth-century cure-all medicines were common amongst working classes as most could not afford patented medicines meant to treat specific ailments (Cowie 2011:111). An increase in medication bottles is a factor that also tracks the establishment of families, with increasing concerns over health and hygiene typically following an influx of women and children when compared to an entirely male operation such as the migratory fishery (Pope 2017:47).

Other glass objects are associated with women, such as perfume bottles and glass pieces of jewelry, though these pieces may have belonged to men as well. The surge of women during these periods also led to an increase in settlement, which was accompanied by a decline in migratory fishing activities and a rise in sedentary ones with the growing importance of the dry cure for the settlers of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon (Keough 2001:189). As seen in Ferryland, the permanent extended settlement required to sustain a sedentary based fishery necessitated families. Thus women, particularly lower-class servants, were essential to beginning the settlement process in a working colony (Pope 1992:218). Beyond settlement, women were also essential to keeping the sedentary

fishery afloat. Female family members and female fishing servants that could be hired for less than their male counterparts helped keep the cost of wages down for *habitants*. In a particularly bad fishing year, a *habitant* could be ruined from the combination of merchant credit and servant wages (Cadigan 1995:85). Without the presence of workingwomen in the archipelago it would have been a struggle to establish any sort of sedentary fishery and impossible to keep one sustained.

Apart from objects that were directly associated with the fishery or women, other artifacts provide further indication of settlement such as glass tableware, lighting, and decorative objects. All these objects would be associated with households, since these artifacts are fragile and not suited to the transient lifestyle of fishing servants or migratory fishermen. While it is true that *habitants* and *negociants* were generally transient as well, moving to the shore during the fishing months and inland for the winter, they typically had two permanent residences and thus, while they were transient their houseware may not have been. The collection from Anse à Bertrand is associated with a summer residence. All in all, the glass artifacts associated with the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-centuries demonstrate a transitory period in the archipelago wherein the fishery slowly becomes sedentary driven by the increased presence of women.

3.2.4. Flint and Other Minerals

Flint and slate are the only kinds of minerals and inorganic material present in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century contexts from Anse à Bertrand. Most of the minerals present occur most often in the form of flakes, and, of the two types present, only flint is present in discernable objects. There are a total of 41 flint objects associated

with the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. These consist of gunflints and flint cores from which new gunflints or fire starters could be struck. These objects are associated with hunting or war. In the context of the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-centuries in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, these objects likely served both functions. The politics at play during the eighteenth-century are characterized by conflict; the islands were subject to various attacks and constantly changed hands between Britain and France until 1815. The collection contains both British and French flint. While these are not ethnic markers, the presence of both in the form of an artifact associated with warfare in the context of eighteenth-century Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon can be considered a material reflection of conflict at the time.

While these objects may have certainly belonged to garrison forces, residents of the archipelago may have also wanted to equip themselves. Furthermore, gunflints would have also been necessary pieces of equipment for the establishment of sedentary fishing, particularly in the initial stages of settlement. Hunting was an important subsistence activity, especially when plantation owners and *negociants* were just beginning to settle in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon as animal husbandry may have taken some time to take root with people perhaps not wanting to invest too heavily in livestock in the event a new nation taking governance would expel them from the archipelago.

3.2.5. Metal

Most of the metal present in the collection from early-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century contexts consists of iron nails and scrap. There are a total of 170 nails in the collection

with 2147 fragments. The other metals in the collection consist of copper, iron, lead, and tin (Table 14).

Table 14. Quantification of Late 18th & Early 19th Century Metal Artifacts (Excluding Iron Nails) from Anse à Bertrand

Metal Type	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNO
Copper	26	6.90%	18
Iron	340	90.19%	48
Lead	10	2.65%	8
Tin	1	0.26%	1
Grand Total	**377**	**100.00%**	**75**

Most of these objects consist of hardware related objects like strappings or hinges which, like nails, indicate the presence of structures. The remaining artifacts are related mostly to fishing and clothing. Iron and lead appear to be the primary working material for fishing tools such as hooks, squid jiggers, and fishing weights. Notably, these objects are all associated with the male aspect of the sedentary fishery, as boat crews leaving from the shore were solely made up of men. Moreover, these crews would likely be comprised of lower-class hired fishermen, or else male family members of the *grave* owner, as *habitants* were often too busy with the actual running of the fishing plantation to take to the boats themselves (Lane Jonah and Dunham 2017:74). The only non-scrap or hardware related iron artifact that would not be associated with fishing is the handle of a coffee grinder. This artifact is a clear indication of trade, as coffee was an imported good. If it was popular, it may have been a standard item in local *negociant* stores or as part of traveling merchant wares.

Clothing and other such metal artifacts appear to have been made primarily of copper. These include items such as button, buckles, fasteners, and clasps. Copper was a common material for these kinds of clothing implements and was inexpensive to buy. The other form of copper object present is a coin. Though it may seem contradictory, possession of physical money was found with the lower-class fishing servants than with the *habitants*. Fishing servants were paid in wages, while *habitants* supplied their plantations and homes using merchant credit more so than coin.

3.2.6. Organic Material

The organic material from late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century contexts at Anse à Bertrand consist primarily of bone, leather, and other textiles. The animal remains present consist of fish, birds, mammals, and shell. The fish and shells may be related to fishery activities such as the splitting of fish and the collection of bait, but they can also be associated with subsistence practices. The fish in particular may even be connected to fishing servant wages, as it was common for them receive some of the salt-cod in addition to their monetary wages (Cadigan 1995:71). The bird and mammal bones are directly related to subsistence activities, but these may include both hunting and animal husbandry.

Of the bone artifacts, most notable are those that have been repurposed. These include a bone needle and a bone pipe stem. The bone needle was likely used to mend fishing nets. Though this task may have been done by either women or men, men would be required to have some skill in mending nets so that they could make a quick fix in a broken net to catch their quota before returning to shore. In this sense, though a needle would

commonly be associated with sewing and feminine tasks, there is a clear indication that in a fishing context men had to possess some of this knowledge and skill as well. In terms of the bone pipe stem, kaolin pipes were very low-cost and quite common. The presence of a bone pipe may simply indicate the individual preference of a specific smoker. Alternately, it may demonstrate the reliance on travelling merchants and the stock *negociants* in the archipelago for goods. An avid smoker was likely to find another means of tobacco consumption if their kaolin pipe broke, or became unusable, whether it was through snuff or by whittling a makeshift pipe until a trade ship came into port.

3.2.7. Late-Eighteenth- and Early-Nineteenth-century Features at Anse à Bertrand

There is only one feature associated with the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century contexts at Anse à Bertrand. This feature is the remnants of a building situated in stratigraphic units 203 and 805, associated with the nineteenth-century. This building therefore was likely a more permanent fishing room set up once the political conflicts surrounding the archipelago began to settle. While fishing rooms often housed all the necessary equipment for fishing, they were most often used as places to quickly store fish that was not finished drying if the weather turned foul. For this reason, such buildings got most of their use from women, children, and hired fishing servants as everyone working on the shore would have been expected to help haul the fish out of the weather to not ruin the cure.

3.3. Life in Late-Eighteenth- and Early-Nineteenth-century Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon:

3.3.1. Migratory Fishermen

Despite the move towards a sedentary based fishery in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon in the late-eighteenth-century, the migratory fishery continued to operate around the archipelago. The archaeological collection is consistent with other migratory fishing stations along the Petit Nord of Newfoundland with pearlware, Normandy stoneware, Brown Faïence, and French faïence (Noël 2010:34). Though control over the archipelago was constantly changing throughout the latter half of the eighteenth-century the collection suggests that migratory fishing activities remained primarily French (Livingston 2022:11; Losier 2021:5). While there are a few English ceramics that find their way into the collection, these are overwhelmingly tableware that are more likely to be associated with inhabitants or stationed garrisons. Furthermore, since nearly all white earthenware is coming from England and is an extremely common ceramic throughout all North American sites, it is not a good indication of ethnicity though it does indicate some trade between English and French jurisdictions. Storage vessels, such as Normandy stoneware, Saintonge, or Bretonware, were regional vessels more likely to be purchased in the vicinity of the port from which the vessel set sail. Thus, the archaeological collection indicated that French migratory crews continued to depart from the Western ports of France to fish Northwest Atlantic waters despite conflicts with the English over fishing grounds.

For migratory fishermen, work life continued much in the same way as it had throughout the previous centuries. Those on the boats operated with the same naval class system that

had been used in the seventeenth-century, which characterized their social hierarchy for the months at sea. This hierarchical division often translated into who would perform the least desirable tasks and who was most likely to suffer punishment if something went wrong. At sea, conditions aboard the ships were reportedly severe with sickness running rampant, particularly amongst the youngest sailors (Henry and Giard 1996:19–26). Once on shore, the work day consisted of the catching, splitting, salting, and drying of fish from sun up to well after sunset on some nights (Pope 2017:46).

However, the presence of settlers, though transient, upon the archipelago and the French Shore of Newfoundland offered some degree of comfort to migratory fishermen that had not been available to them before. Though still occupying impermanent fishing rooms and shelters, seasonal crews were now able to purchase some supplies while in North America, which had not been available to them before. Seasonal shipmasters and crews traded mostly for alcohol, as they still brought enough basic provisions with them from Europe to supply the journey and their stay in the form of predetermined rations, but occasionally preserved meat and butter were purchased as well (Crompton 2017:122). This increased availability in terms of alcohol can be seen in the significant increase in

the number of glass bottles generally used for preservation and storage in comparison to earlier contexts (Figure 17).

Young sailors were taught the dangers of alcohol once they had been enlisted, but wine was always served with supper and remained an important social ritual aboard the ship and with the work ashore (Henry and Giard 1996:167). Though the increased availability of goods led to some aspects of life overseas being more enjoyable, it also likely contributed to an increase in alcoholism and overconsumption as the amount of alcohol allotted to each sailor before would have been a fixed and relatively small serving.

Figure 57. 19th Century Preservation and Storage Bottle. From Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog. 975SP2-2019 US 706 INV#3632.

3.3.2. Mousses

Though by the late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century, apprentices on boats and children working in English fisheries were older children in their late teens, a naval school remained open in France using Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon as a training school. Thus, the age of some of the *mousses* on vessels to the Northwest Atlantic were

younger than most, with some as young as seven and eight years old (Henry and Giard 1996:83). Spiriting continued to be practiced, with young orphans or paupers still most often the victims of such practices (Shannon 2017:334). Some of the boys were so small they were declared unfit for duty and were subsequently abandoned at the earliest opportunity, often very far from home (Henry and Giard 1996:27). In this sense, the *mousses* on French vessels to Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon often began their career at sea at a severe disadvantage. Being entirely inexperienced and far younger than was normal, it would have been very easy for captains and other sailors to take advantage of the *mousses* working in the Northwest Atlantic.

The young age of the *mousses* working in the Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon and Newfoundland fisheries would likely also have contributed significantly to the development of issues such as alcoholism. Given that alcohol was an important part of the daily rations for fishermen (Bulletin des actes du gouvernement, 1816 à 1854 1825), these young apprentices would have been introduced to it at a young age and would have consumed it daily. Thus, the glass bottles in the collection associated with the preservation of drink (Figure 17) can in part be associated with the *mousses* along with the rest of the crew. Therefore, by extension, these bottles reflect a working culture centered around heavy alcohol consumption. Not only were fishermen consuming alcohol daily, which very likely contributed to a dependency, but even migratory fishing was typically a familial affair, with sons becoming fishermen if their fathers were as well. Since alcoholism carries a strong genetic component, and there was an immense social

pressure to consume alcohol, it is likely that many of these young apprentices became young alcoholics.

These boys typically took on the least desirable tasks, such as the disposal of food and cleaning. Though menial, this work was important in contributing to the general hygiene aboard the ship (Henry and Giard 1996:155). However, conditions aboard the ship were often unsanitary. Even by the nineteenth-century the number of berths was often far less than the number of crew members; the resultant double bunking of sailors allowed for lice, germs, and parasites to run rampant amongst the crew (Chapelot et al. 1982:78). These conditions, accompanied by the lack of infrastructure onboard for the proper disposal of human waste, resulted in typhoid fever being a common illness aboard the ships. As the *mousses* took care of most cleaning duties and likely were the first to share a berth over the older sailors, they were often the first victims of the fever (Henry and Giard 1996:26). Considering this tendency to fall ill, some of the artifacts related to health and hygiene may be associated with some of these younger crew members, particularly those with family aboard the ship. Though crew members did not burden themselves heavily with objects related to health and hygiene, there was always a surgeon aboard that was responsible for the health of the crew. However, if sickness was running rampant amongst the entire crew it is very likely that attention and resources would be shifted towards the care of older sailors that performed tasks essential to the completion of the fishing season.

3.3.3. Fishing Servants and the Petits Graviers

Fishing servants in the eighteenth-century were often single young men and women coming to the archipelago from Europe. Men and boys were generally hired by merchants to work a wage contract for a fishing season or two before returning to Europe (Feniak and Tilsed 2018:414). These fishing servants either worked on the boats catching fish or processing it on shore. The latter workers were referred to as the *graviers* in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. The servant trade in Europe operated on both a voluntary and involuntary basis. Volunteer servants willingly entered a contract in which their labour would be exchanged for passage from Europe to North America. However, the servant trade also operated as an alternative to execution, prison, or workhouses for political rebels, religious dissenters, vagrants, debtors, and orphans. Most of those crossing the Atlantic as servants were between the ages of 15 and 24, but young orphans or paupers were more likely to have been indentured by the law, or else were victims of spiriting (Shannon 2017:438–43). Most of the *graviers* consisted of these younger servants, while older fishing servants were more likely to work in the boats or performing more skilled tasks such as splitting fish. Thus, material culture associated with the catching of fish such as fishhooks and line weights have both a gendered and aged association, being exclusively used by older fishermen.

The youngest of these shoreworkers were often referred to as the *petits graviers* (Figure 18). In general, working on the *graves* was grueling and tiresome work. Furthermore, seasonal *graviers* were not paid well for their long hours, often living in cramped spaces and with many becoming alcoholics (Artur de Lizarraga et al. 2016:25). Like the *mousses*

working on migratory fishing vessels, the *graviers* were young, inexperienced, and alone overseas. The *graviers* likely also took advantage of traveling merchants, such as Henri Brunet, who made several trips to various fishing stations along the French Shore and the archipelago to trade with fishing masters, crews, and *habitants (*Crompton 2017*:*116*)*, for extra alcohol beyond their daily stipulation.

Figure 18. Graviers au travail sur une grave. A gauche tas de morues séchées. L'Arche Musée et Archives. **Catalog ID.** ***1 J15 674.***

As fishing servants, women worked in two areas: in the fishery as shore workers or in *habitant* homes as domestic servants. During the fishing season, *habitant* families needed domestic servants to take over child care and other domestic chores from fishing wives, so that their mistresses could perform their other duties on shore (Keough 2012:539). Thus, pieces of the ceramic assemblage associated with households (Figure 19) must then

also be associated with these domestic servants since they would be performing most of the cooking and cleaning.

Figure 19. Examples of 18th/19th Century Whiteware Associated with Households. From Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog.

Girls and young women were hired as fishing servants as well as cooks, involved in the processing of fish alongside *habitant* wives (Schwerdtner Màñez and Pauwelussen 2016:198). It was not uncommon for female servants to marry other fishing servants or amongst the *habitants* themselves (Pope 2004:217). In fact, the marriage of these servant girls to male members of sedentary fishing households was one of the primary driving forces behind permanent settlement and the eventual establishment of families in the archipelago. It was also common for married fishing servants to be hired by one household at the same time, though it should be noted that husbands were often paid a higher wage and they would generally only receive a single share of fish between them

(Cadigan 1995:71). Thus, the features and material culture associated with structures related to shore work, such as nails, hardware, and building remnants, can be associated with the work of lower- and middle-class men and women.

3.3.4. Habitants and their Families

The *habitants* were analogous to Newfoundland planters. These were sedentary fishing households in possession of fishing rooms, boats, and, in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, *graves.* The ownership of such infrastructure associated with the fishery was prime capital in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries (Chapelot et al. 1980:47). This possession of capital rendered *habitants* the middle-class of the archipelago though they were typically not wealthy in coin, with most of their portable possessions coming from the credit they held with local *negociants (*Pope 1992*:*268*)*. However, most *habitants* also had dealings with traveling merchants from New Brunswick and Halifax. The most significant sales were wine and brandy, food stores, clothing, marine gear, tobacco, and rum (Crompton 2017:119). These wares likely would have been purchased with the little cash they had, or else were traded for dry-cured cod. The few ceramics that might have been purchased from these traveling merchants would have therefore consisted of some of the lower costing simply decorated vessels. More expensive ceramics would have only been within *habitants* means if they were brought with them from France or if they came from the local *negociant.*

The work of most *habitants-pêcheurs* involved running the operation opposed to participating in the catching and curing of cod. They outfitted their plantation with fishermen and supplies and took charge of selling the fish to *negociants*. In this sense,

habitants were the foremen of the fishing plantation; those with very large operations were sometimes able to extend into overseas trade and become *negociants* themselves (Lane Jonah and Dunham 2017:74). However, this was not necessarily the case near the beginning of settlement. Until *habitants* fishing operation were well-established, they were likely active participants in the fishery, but on shore more so than in the boats. *Negociants* valued the price of fish by the quality of its cure, which rested almost entirely on the production process on shore (Cadigan 1995:70). Thus, it is no surprise that *habitants* may have wanted to oversee this aspect of work within the fishery.

Habitant wives and children would not be excluded from this participation. Prior to the nineteenth-century, it was common in colonial North America for women to work alongside their husbands (Voss 2006:112). Women's roles included splitting, washing, salting, and drying cod. These roles were considered highly skilled physical labour. Shore crews had actually been paid higher wages than fishing crews in the migratory fishery, since heavy fish tubs had to be carried over rocky shores and cliff faces and critical judgement during the curing process was vital to ensuring the fish could be sold at market (Keough 2012:539). It was not uncommon for the wives of *habitants* to oversee much of the drying process while their husbands settled accounts and ensured everything was running smoothly, and therefore, the structures associated with the drying process and perhaps the *graves* themselves, can be partially interpreted as spaces of feminine work and sovereignty. Additionally, it would have been essential for the children of *habitants* to learn how the fishery operated to continue the family business. Children, especially

sons, likely would have been expected to help with the washing and spreading of fish on the *graves*.

3.3.5. Merchants and their Families

Merchants were the upper class of the archipelago throughout the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. Opposed to a society of orders, wherein the nobility and clergy were of the higher classes, French social orders in North America were instead driven by wealth with the boundaries between nobility and the lower classes far more blurred. This is in part due to the capitalist nature of colonial enterprises, such as the fishery, and the absence of a family-determined gentry class at the beginning of these enterprises (Emery 2004:25). *Negociants* in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon and Newfoundland had greater control over their clientele because of their isolated locales, use of a credit system, and their clients absolute dependency upon them and the fishing industry, whereas in places like New England, a fisherman could move his business to the next town over or else turn his hand to farming (Vickers 1994:106). Fishing households in the archipelago on the other hand, were tied to both the fishing industry and a handful of *negociants* they could choose from; most would only deal with a single *negociant* on account of the credit system in place.

The role of the *negociant* in a fishing context was to provide contracted labourers and supplies to sedentary fishing households in exchange for the dried salt cod to be sold to markets in Europe and plantations in the South (Ryan 1983:38). While *negociant* households were amongst the upper class of Northwestern Atlantic fishing society, the wives and daughters of *negociants*, while not quite so involved in the fishing industry,

were still expected to be literate in both reading and arithmetic so that they could handle some of the burden of accounting, particularly in autumn when the *habitants* would submit the last of their fish for the year and receive supplies for the winter (Ewen 2021:7). Therefore, a very large portion of the collection can be associated with *negociants* and their families as part of their store inventory. While some of the items were undoubtedly a part of the *negociant* household and servants and migratory fishermen brought some personal items from Europe, anything that had been purchased after settling in the archipelago would have come from *negociant* stores. Though the *negociant*-client relationship in a fishing context undoubtedly had a power imbalance in favour of *negociants*, fishermen also benefitted from the relationship by gaining access to an easy credit system and goods that other labouring classes may not have had access to or could afford (Vickers 1994:109). Essentially, this meant that sedentary fishing families may have had access to higher costing ceramics and other items they would not normally be able to afford in other contexts on account of the credit system.

3.4. Conclusion

The eighteenth-century was generally characterized be a sense of instability throughout the archipelago. This can be seen in the continued transience of those occupying the archipelago. While most of the fishing practiced from the islands of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon had become sedentary, migratory fishermen still made use of the archipelago. Furthermore, there were only a small number of sedentary *habitants* and *negociants*. Most of those working in the fishery were transient fishing servants employed by *habitants* and *negociants*. Even those who had settled remained somewhat transient between being

expelled from the islands with British takeovers or else simply transitioning from inland to the shore for the fishing season. This transitory period between sedentary and permanent settlement is reflected in the material culture. While there are certainly indications of settlement such as fragile glass and ceramic tableware and the presence of window glass, these items tend to increase in frequency for contexts associated with the more stable nineteenth-century. The eighteenth-century contexts are still dominated by storage vessels and simple tableware, indicating there was some settlement occurring, but not to the same scale as the nineteenth-century.

This period is also significant because it would shape the overall social class structure of the archipelago that would remain until the twentieth-century. In the Northwestern Atlantic, the nature of occupations associated with the fishery became the strongest determining factor for one's social class. In the archipelago, this hierarchy translated to fishing servant, *habitant*, and *negociant*, with each defined by waged labour, possession of capital, and the possession of both capital and wealth respectively.

There was also a reliance on every member of the community to keep the sedentary fishery operational. Notably, this included encompassing wives, children, and even hired female and young fishing servants. The presence of women can be tied expressly to the establishment of settlement. The archaeological record supports this, as artifacts associated with more permanent settlement are found in the same contexts as artifacts that are more likely to be feminine, such as perfume bottles. Without women, the establishment of families, and therefore permanent settlement, becomes impossible. Like the formation of new social orders, transatlantic settlement related to the fishery also

brought with it the shaping of new gender roles. Women worked for both wages and alongside their families to process fish, handle financial accounts, and continue to take care of general domestic work.

Like in the migratory fishery, the question of empowerment and exploitation in work associated with the sedentary eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fisheries is directly tied to position, age, and gender. Almost all members of the fishery experienced some form of each. Fishermen and *habitants,* while in charge of the fishing operations, remained reliant upon the good will of *negotiants*. Furthermore, while their wives and daughters experienced some form of social empowerment given their responsibilities on the shore and their performing some of the work that men also performed, they were still legally far less powerful than their male counterparts.

Resident fishermen and women also held a certain degree of power over transient fishing servants. However, fishing servants were also able to jump to a different employer once their contract was fulfilled allowing them a certain degree of agency. The oldest of the fishing servants likely were in a better position to negotiate better contracts for themselves compared to the *petits graviers*. Furthermore, the *petits graviers* were usually performing the least desirable tasks in the fishery, while suffering through cramped living spaces and resulting illnesses given their inability to speak on their own behalf. In this sense, the fisheries may have been a web of empowerment and exploitation for most, but for the *petits graviers*, it was the latter more so than any other character working in the fishery.

In short, while the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-centuries in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon are periods of instability and uncertainty in many regards, this instability was accompanied by both growth and change when it comes to societal roles, responsibilities, and relations. While some aspects of the class system certainly meant that it was easier for those in higher social classes to exploit people's labour, particularly regarding the way *negociants* ran their credit system and the treatment of the *graviers*, it is also true that the nature of the fishery allowed for women in particular to work in some of the same positions as men, and for *habitant* women to be in a position of authority when it came to the processing of cod. While women were still not afforded equal treatment, being paid lower wages and still legally dependants if they were married, there was still a far greater balance in relationships between men and women that is directly related to the establishment of the sedentary fishery in the late-eighteenth-century.

4. Fish, Family, and Spirits: The *Petits Pêcheurs*

The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries brought forth another transformation of the Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon fisheries. The migratory Grande Pêche fishery on the Grand Banks continued its operation in the Northwest Atlantic from Breton ports in France, though with intermittent periods of decline on account of economic crises and the outbreak of World War I and II. The sedentary family fishery also continued operations throughout the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, but this fishery also experienced a decline after the failure of the Saint-Pierre based cod fishery in 1903. Furthermore, World War I completely restructured the fishing fleet in Saint-Pierre with only two longline vessels remaining following the war (Andrieux 2011:8; Losier 2021:16). After the *entente cordiale*, an agreement between England and France to settle Anglo-Franco relations, was signed in 1904, the French fishery in the Northwest Atlantic was essentially limited to the sedentary fishery on the islands of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon throughout the cod crisis, though the primary source of income for those living in the archipelago would soon turn to liquor during American Prohibition (Chapelot et al. 1980:34).

The final transformation of the fishery in the archipelago can be attributed to the implementation of the fish plant in the early twentieth-century, which drastically altered the way cod was processed. With refrigeration more readily available, frozen fish proved a far more efficient and cost-effective method of preserving cod compared to salt (Wright 2001:345). *The* habitants salt fishery had always been a form of petty capitalist production, but the advent of the fish plant signified a more industrial capitalist

production (Cornell 2020:403). The Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon fishery has remained an industrial facility since the early twentieth-century.

This chapter explores the persistence and resilience of the people occupying the archipelago throughout the changes to the fishery and two World Wars in relation to labour and social relationships. An examination of the surrounding historical context, the material culture related to labour in the fisheries, and the social relationships and class status of those occupying the archipelago will allow me to speak further about the complex social relationships at play in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon throughout the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth-centuries. Fundamentally, this chapter will reveal the changes to family life as it relates to labour in relation to the permanent settlement of the archipelago.

4.1. Historical Context

4.1.1. Establishing Permanency: The Immigration Wave from the Basque Country and Newfoundland

Following the retrocession of the archipelago to France in 1815, Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon finally gained a semblance of stability in juxtaposition of the political upheaval that characterized the politics of the islands throughout the eighteenth-century. This newfound stability brought additional waves of immigration from France, primarily from Basque counties; the descendants of these immigrants comprise the majority of the archipelago's islands today (Livingston et al. 2018:164). It is important to note that in most of North America, the French immigrant experience was not "the transplantation of a homogenous people sharing a monolithic culture" (Waselkov 2009:624). While Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon had a distinctive Basque presence following the mass wave of immigration in

the nineteenth-century, Breton fishermen continued their seasonal use of the archipelago throughout this period.

Small groups of settlers also arrived in the archipelago from Newfoundland in the nineteenth-century. Around 85% of these settlers were female domestic servants who would help with the domestic chores during the summer months while Saint-Pierreais women would work in the fishery. Some of these young women would then stay in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, marrying other fishing servants or the young men from *petits pêcheurs* families (Girardin and Pocius 2003:11). These waves of immigration and points of contact between different groups of people shaped the ethnic makeup of the archipelago during the first long term permanent settlement on the islands in the mid nineteenth-century. The descendants of these groups have continuously occupied the archipelago since that time.

4.1.2. The Cod Crisis, War, and the Fortune of Prohibition

The nineteenth-century was a fruitful period for the archipelago. The islands were politically secure for the first time and possessed a steady population growth and a bountiful fishery both inshore and offshore. While the nature of fishing communities meant that there was always some lingering sense of uncertainty in terms of the security of one's livelihood, Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon was graced with a stability in the early nineteenth-century that allowed it to become a bustling colony rather than the small fishing outpost it had been previously. However, the stability of these resources and the livelihoods of those occupying the archipelago began to shift once again in the late nineteenth-century and into the early-twentieth-century.

In 1888, the Newfoundland Bait Bill was passed in Newfoundland, which forbade Newfoundland fishermen from selling bait to the French to dissuade French fishing along the French Shore because the cod stock was in decline around both Newfoundland and the archipelago (Girardin and Pocius 2003:8; Korneski 2016:102). The French Shore referred to the Western Coast of Newfoundland and the Great Northern Peninsula. After the archipelago had been retroceded to France, French fishing companies had obtained the exclusive rights to fish on the French Shore, where they were granted the rights to dry fish onshore on the condition that they were not to overwinter nor set up settlements there (Artur de Lizarraga et al. 2016:11). The issue of the French Shore was so important that electoral campaigns in Newfoundland often featured the slogan "Terre-Neuve aux Terre-Neuvians" (Lebailly 2015:139). The eventual decline of the offshore fishery on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland can be attributed to several factors: modernization, foreign taxes on product, the Bait Bill, the abandonment of the French Shore in 1904, and the availability of motors in 1911 for the *petits pêcheurs* that allowed them to fish further from shore (Lebailly 2015:144–5).

The *petits pêcheurs* quickly became the primary actors of the fishing industry practiced along the shores of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, though they too experienced a decline with the cod crisis in the early-twentieth-century. The local paper, the *Journal Républicain*, reported that the finances of the colony were deplorable; *petits pêcheurs* had created a petition to protest the establishment of a whale fishery in Miquelon since whaling disrupted fishing grounds that were already in crisis (Le Réveil 1905). Between the struggle for fishing rights and the decline of the cod population, neither the offshore nor

inshore fishery in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon appeared to be sustainable when the twentieth-century rolled around.

The population of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon was then stuck with a serious dilemma. Most of the permanent population were fishermen and their families. With the cod decline, their entire livelihoods became scarce. Census records from 1911 revealed a 35% decline in the population in Saint-Pierre and a 12% decline in the population in Miquelon-Langlade from the previous census, which were attributed to people leaving the archipelago on account of the economic crisis (Miquelon-Langlade Census 1911; Saint-Pierre Census 1911). Passports issued during the economic crisis were issued for Newfoundland, Canada, the United States, and France. The most common destinations appear to have been New York, Montréal, and France (Passeports pour l'etranger 1901).

The outbreak of World War I in 1916 brought with it a different set of complications for the archipelago. Of the 500 Saint-Pierrais men that formed the contingency sent to the frontlines, 100 perished. In terms of fatalities, World War I was significantly more devastating than World War II, where there were only 27 fatalities (Doody 2004). Since fighting was constrained to the European continent during World War I, it was the labour shortage and impact of the war on European markets that had the greatest effect on the lives of people in the archipelago. As in other regions that had sent soldiers to the frontlines, women picked up the extra work in helping to sustain the fishery, but with so many fishing servants and *graviers* unavailable the large plantation fisheries that had dominated the nineteenth-century were not able to be sustained into the twentieth-century.

The combination of the cod crisis and World War I propelled small family fishing operations to the forefront of the Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon fisheries.

Luckily, the cod decline in the early-twentieth-century occurred around the same time Prohibition arose in the United States of America, from 1920 to 1933. Though rum smuggling had been an important part of the Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon economy since the nineteenth-century, the local paper, the *Hebdomadaire*, reported the smuggling of spirits to Newfoundland via the cod fishery as early as 1866 (Hebdomadaire 1866). The practice quickly became as vital to the economy as the fishery had once been with the cod fishery collapse. The trade of alcohol to American smugglers was so fruitful to the Saint-Pierre economy that this period of time was referred to as "Les Grands Jours de la Prohibition" (Andrieux 2006:183). Given that this period was framed by two economic declines, the cod crisis and the Great Depression, it is no surprise that the Prohibition was viewed as a time of great prosperity and grandness to the people of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon.

World War II was a far more eventful affair for the archipelago than the first war, though it was less bloody, with only 27 fatalities of 550 soldiers (Doody 2004). As a French colony, the archipelago was also subjugated to the jurisdiction of the "Vichy France" order, the new government formed under the Nazi regime in France following Germany's occupation of France in 1940; the radio station in Saint-Pierre was used to spread pro-axis propaganda to allied territories in North America (Foyer 2019:23). Throughout this period all French fishing trawlers and crews were ordered to remain in Saint-Pierre. With the sudden boom in population and incapacity to sustain such a large population with foreign trade halted famine was a real possibility. Canada and the US would eventually provide a

relief fund of 80 000 USD a month to address such concerns (Doody 2004). However, this was done with some reluctance given the axis-aligned governance of Saint-Pierre for this period.

The majority of people on the islands, like other French colonies, were sympathetic to the Free French government that was based in London, having been exiled during the Nazi takeover of France. On Christmas Eve, 1941, the Free French admiral Emile Muselier, under orders from the Free French leader Charles de Gaulle, led a naval force of three ships and a submarine which disembarked in Saint-Pierre. Within twenty minutes the islands fell under the control of the Free French with absolutely no bloodshed. The archipelago became the first French territory to be officially liberated from the Nazi regime (Foyer 2019:25–7). Though certainly more eventful on a political scale, World War II also had a significant impact on the fisheries. With the ordinance that all French steam trawlers were to be sent to the islands, steam trawling became far more readily available in the archipelago, which was essential in propelling the fisheries to an industrial level.

4.1.3. Industrialization of the Archipelago: The Fish Plant

The end of the Prohibition era in the United States resulted scale back in the alcohol smuggling being done from the archipelago. Some industrialized fishing had begun just before the start of Prohibition, with the building of the Frigo, a refrigeration facility, on the north shore of the harbour in 1920 for the processing and storage of fish and with the introduction of artificial cod dryers (Girardin and Pocius 2003:8). The initial use of the Frigo was simply to refrigerate cod caught by the *petits pêcheurs* before being shipped to

Europe, but this process initially rendered the price of cod unaffordable in markets. The building was promptly abandoned and instead served as a warehouse for alcohol throughout the Prohibition (Andrieux 2006:240). Steam trawlers had also arrived in Saint-Pierre by the turn of the twentieth-century, but steam trawling did not become a standard operation in the fishery until the end of World War I (Girardin and Pocius 2003:15). The delay in the industrialization of the fishery in the archipelago can be attributed to three primary factors: the cod crisis at the start of the twentieth-century, two World Wars, and the economic boom of the Prohibition.

Though these events appeared disastrous for the archipelago's fisheries, the decline in fishing activities during this period had allowed the cod population to rise once again, and the fishery could resume its place of importance in the Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon economy, this time on an industrial scale. Following World War I, the Frigo resumed its intended purpose as an industrial means of processing fish, this time with steam trawlers supplying most of the fish and artificial cod dryers taking the place of a shore crew (Andrieux 2006:240). By this time, the use of *graves* along the shores of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon was waning. With the creation of the fishing conglomerate SPEC in 1951, which was replaced by Interpêche in 1973, fishermen and women could work for set wages rather than having to rely solely on the good graces of merchants and a good fishing year (Girardin and Pocius 2003:8)

Similarly, the introduction of the fish plants also meant more women working for wages in Saint-Pierre than ever before, with the processing of fish occurring in the plant rather than on family-owned *graves* or salines. The spaces previously occupied by many

kilometres of *graves* filled with drying cod and fisherfolk were rendered unnecessary. These spaces would eventually become encompassed by urban expansion, and very few are still visible in the current landscape of Saint-Pierre. The move towards factory fishing in the mid-twentieth-century marks the complete transformation of fishing practices in the archipelago since the arrival of European ships in the Northwest of the Atlantic in the sixteenth century.

4.2. Material Culture and Social Relationships

The archaeological collection from Anse à Bertrand that falls into the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century context has the greatest variety in terms of materials present as well as the types of objects found compared to older contexts (Table 15 and Figure 20).

Table 15. Quantification of 19th/20th Century Artifacts from Anse à Bertrand

Material	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV /MNO
Coarse Earthenware	571	4.24%	14
Porcelain	75	0.56%	17
Refined Earthenware	1921	14.25%	79
Stoneware	224	1.66%	23
Kaolin Pipes	681	5.05%	27
Glass	3727	27.65%	72
Minerals and Inorganics	47	0.35%	12
Metal	306	2.27%	63
Nails and Screws	4897	36.33%	482
Composite Material	61	0.45%	3
Organic Material	865	6.42%	17
Plastic	104	0.77%	13
Grand Total	**13479**	**100.00%**	**822**

Figure 20. Examples of 19th & 20th Century Artifacts from Anse à Bertrand. (Losier 2021:20).

Several factors account for this variety. Firstly, the stratigraphic units associated with this period (Table 2) are the most recent deposits in the collection. This means greater preservation of fragile artifacts, typically those made of organic material, which do not appear to be present in older contexts even if they had been deposited, such as cod bones. Secondly, there are new materials, primarily plastic, that were not produced until the early twentieth-century and not on a widespread scale until after World War II (Geyer et al. 2017:1). Finally, permanent settlement likely also played a key factor in the increased consumption of goods with belongings no longer limited to what people could carry on their person. However, even with this increased variation of materials, nails, ceramic, and glass still dominated the collection (Table 15 and Figure 20).

4.2.1. Ceramics

Ceramics account for approximately 20% of the overall assemblage between the late nineteenth-century and 1970. The overall breakdown for ceramic quantification is as follows (Table 16): Coarse earthenware accounts for approximately 20% of the total number of fragments but with only 14 vessels, porcelain accounts for only 3% of the overall material, but there are at least 17 different objects, stoneware accounts for 8% with 23 objects, and refined earthenware comprises the biggest portion of ceramics at 69% and 79 objects. The discrepancy present in terms of the amount of coarse earthenware fragments in comparison to objects is due to many of these fragments being considered part of objects already present in eighteenth-century contexts. Overall, there is a significant increase in the amount of refined earthenware and porcelain and a decrease in utilitarian stoneware and coarse earthenware between the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century context and previous eighteenth-century contexts.

Table 16. Quantification of 19th/20th Century Ceramics from Anse à Bertrand.

Ceramic Type	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV
Coarse Earthenware	**571**	**20.46%**	**14**
Bretonware	85	3.05%	4
Buff Fabric Green Glazed Earthenware	29	1.04%	1
Saintonge	61	2.19%	3
Coarse Earthenware	24	0.86%	1
North Italian Slipware	188	6.74%	1
Glazed Coarse Earthenware	63	2.26%	1
Yellowware	121	4.32%	3
Porcelain	**75**	**2.69%**	**17**
Common Porcelain	19	0.68%	4

Fine Porcelain	10	0.36%	2
Hard Paste European Porcelain	34	1.22%	7
Porcelain	12	0.43%	4
Refined Earthenware	**1926**	**68.82%**	**79**
Brown Glazed Earthenware	62	2.22%	1
Brown Glazed Redware	18	0.64%	1
Clear Red Slip Glazed Refined Earthenware	1	0.04%	1
Creamware	13	0.47%	3
French Faïence	4	0.14%	1
Jackfield	5	0.18%	1
Jasper Faïence	1	0.04%	1
Pearlware	183	6.56%	12
White Earthenware	1508	54.03%	52
White Faïence	30	1.07%	1
White Granite	25	0.90%	1
Yellow-Glazed English Brown	24	0.86%	2
Yellowware	52	1.67%	2
Stoneware	**224**	**8.03%**	**23**
Albany Feld Glazed Stoneware	7	0.25%	1
Albany Salt-Glazed Stoneware	10	0.36%	2
Bessin-Cotentin Stoneware	73	2.62%	7
Domfrontais Stoneware	112	4.01%	8
Bristol Stoneware	2	0.07%	1
Fulham-Lambeth Stoneware	1	0.04%	1
Glazed Coarse Stoneware	9	0.32%	2
Westerwald Stoneware	10	0.36%	1
Grand Total	**2796**	**100.00%**	**135**

The makeup of the collection is indicative of the permanency being established on the archipelago throughout this period. This indication comes from both the large variety of ceramic types and forms that do not relate to foodstuff such as dolls (Table 17). Notably, the objects that comprise these forms are mostly made of porcelain.

Table 17. Quantification of Function for 19th/20th Century Ceramics from Anse à Bertrand

Ceramic Type	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV
Coarse Earthenware	**571**	**20.46%**	**14**
Drinks, Preservation and Storage	2	0.07%	2
Food Preparation	76	2.72%	3
Food Storage and Preservation	127	4.55%	6
Tablewares and Food Service	366	13.12%	3
Porcelain	**75**	**2.69%**	**17**
Clothing	6	0.21%	5
Decoration	1	0.04%	1
Tablewares and Food Service	65	2.31%	10
Games and Entertainment	3	0.13%	1
Refined Earthenware	**1926**	**68.82%**	**79**
Tablewares and Food Service	1920	68.78%	78
Construction Material - Floor Tile	1	0.04%	1
Stoneware	**224**	**8.03%**	**23**
Drinks, Preservation and Storage	5	0.18%	1
Food Storage and Preservation	215	7.70%	21
Tablewares and Food Service	4	0.15%	1
Grand Total	**2796**	**100.00%**	**135**

Porcelain, being both fragile and typically more expensive than other ceramics, is entirely absent from the contexts associated with the solely migratory fishery and the seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-centuries. While porcelain did appear in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century contexts, there is a significant increase in later contexts. This increase is related to permeance and an increased availability in terms of material in the late nineteenth-century.

While some of the forms present, such as porcelain buttons, would have been fairly common and not overly high costing, porcelain tableware and dolls are typically higher cost items (Miller 1980:4). In the late nineteenth-century these vessels were more likely to be found in the homes of *grandes négociants* or business owners, where there was often more disposable income available, but it was not uncommon for finer ceramic vessels to be passed through generations or through marriage. By the end of the nineteenth-century porcelain still cost more than other types of ceramics, but it would have been far more affordable, particularly with the increase in disposable income throughout the twentieth-century with the profits reaped during Prohibition, soldier wages in World War I and II, and the industrialization of the fishery which increased wage labour to an extent that had not previously existed in the archipelago.

The one object that served the function of games and entertainment is a Frozen Charlie Doll. These dolls were popular during the latter half of the nineteenth-century. The dolls were dubbed Frozen Charlotte or Charlie, depending on the gender depicted on the doll, due to their resemblance to a frozen corpse. They were often baked into children's puddings or pies, usually around Christmas, as a surprise gifts that could also serve as a

warning to bundle up during the winter months lest they end up a Frozen Charlie (Stanonis and Wallace 2018:14). This doll undoubtedly would have belonged to one of the families occupying the archipelago, but it is impossible to say to which class the owner may have belonged.

However, the potential warning intended by the gift may have rung more pointedly with children from *petits-pêcheur* families that were performing household work, such as those fetching firewood in the winter months or boys old enough to accompany their fathers in the dories during the fishing season, when the wind and water could still be freezing despite the warmer weather. The fact that the doll appears to be a Charlie and not a Charlotte and that these colder outdoor chores were typically boys' work, makes this artifact appear to have more of a male association despite the common association of dolls with girls.

There is one other piece of ceramic that has a purpose other than food: a ceramic floor tile made of refined earthenware. This tile, accompanied by the abundance of linoleum flooring is further indication that permanent settlement had finally reached the archipelago with people putting more care and effort into dwelling spaces than they had before. This is likely related to an increased feeling of security and stability arising in the late nineteenth-century with nearly half a century between the retrocession of the archipelago and no further threats to the establishment of a permanent settlement in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon.

The other functions of ceramics present in the collection remain related to foodstuffs. Tableware and food service objects make up much of the collection for the nineteenth-

and twentieth-centuries, comprising over 80% of the total collection. This differs from eighteenth-century contexts, where these types of vessels, though far more frequent than in the seventeenth-century, are evenly distributed with utilitarian wares meant for storage. As Pope (2017:53-4) mentions, an increase in tableware and service vessels is an additional material index for permanent settlement. Nearly all of the tableware and service vessels are refined earthenware; in fact, with the exception of the floor tile, the entire refined earthenware assemblage consists of these items. Of the 78 vessels, 33 are low-mid cost wares, 42 are median cost wares, and the remaining three are mid-high cost wares. The higher costing wares are all tin-glazed faïence, but for the most part, it appears that people were choosing to purchase low-median costing ceramics.

Also of note is the rarity of matching vessels, which can be an indication of a disregard for propriety (Brighton 2010:41), particularly once the nineteenth-century begins. It is likely that though *négociant* families were considered higher class and there were certainly some affluent *habitant-pêcheurs* and rum smugglers, the small populace of the archipelago, the nature of life in a fishing based community, and the economic crises that would strike in the early twentieth-century would slow nineteenth-century houseware ideals that were prevalent amongst the American middle and upper-middle class (Brighton 2010:32). It is important to note that these low costing refined earthenware vessels also would have belonged to the *graviers* working on the shore as part of their crew equipment. Being personal effects, they would likely only burden themselves with a few tableware possessions for the length of their contract.

Stoneware and coarse earthenware also appeared in tableware and service forms, but this was not their typical purpose. The singular stoneware vessel that served as tableware was a Westerwald tankard. The three coarse earthenware objects were all vessels associated with the service of food, such as platters and jugs. The remaining coarse earthenware present had two other purposes: the preparation and storage of food. Except for two generic coarse earthenware bottle stoppers, the remaining vessels dedicated to these purposes are all Bretonware. These vessels may be either household or cargo items. However, the offshore fisheries in this period continued to be operated from Brittany; shore crews, though not as big as they once were, still occupied the archipelago seasonally. With the establishment of *négociants* in both the archipelago and generic North Atlantic region, crews no longer had to bring absolutely everything they needed for the entire fishing season, but they still required supplies for the long journey from France to the Grand Banks and back again. These storage items and cooking vessels would have been important implements on the offshore *goëlettes*, as a means of providing food to the crew. The same can be said for the stoneware vessels providing this function. Most of these vessels were Normandy or other French Stoneware, but some English types can be found as well.

If these food storage vessels were not ship cargo, then they were household items or merchant wares. Some of the Bessin-Cotentin vessels appear to have been butter pots (Figure 21 and 22). While these vessels could have served simply as food storage on both ships and in homes, they also would have featured in daily chores related to aimal husbandry, such as butter churning (Keough 2001:235).

Figure 21. Bessin-Cotentin Storage Jar. Taken from Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog.

Figure 22. Bessin-Cotentin Butter Pot Rim. Taken from Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog.

These artifacts can be thought of as gendered in direct relation to the chores to which they relate. For instance, if the food preparation vessels were not part of a ship's cargo, then

they are associated with part of the work women and girls performed, whether it was a wife, daughter, or working girl. In fact, even if vessels did belong to the shore crew they may still be associated with women's labour as reports recording the living conditions of the *graviers* sometimes indicated that the wives of *petits pêcheurs* would cook for them (Parre 1912). Or else, they were staying at a boarding house where women of a convent would often provide the cooking and such. In this sense, these vessels were transitory in terms of their use and gendered association. While aboard the ships, they were solely male possessions, but they could very well have become feminine through their use on the shore.

Overall, the ceramic assemblage at Anse à Bertrand dating to the late nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries confirms that settlement was becoming more fixed in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon throughout this period. Furthermore, the collection indicates a strong working-class presence, with some families doing quite well given the increase in higher cost ceramics. There are many different actors at play during this time period in terms of gender, age, class, and occupation; the material culture present would have a complex relationship to each, with many possibilities regarding ownership, use, and the resulting implications that can be drawn. In this sense the collection can be considered somewhat transitory, with its associations and implications changing as it is applied to different social groups.

4.2.2. Kaolin Pipes

Kaolin pipes are a cornerstone of historical archaeological sites, and Anse à Bertrand boasts its fair share, particularly in early contexts. However, the number of pipes does

slowly decrease throughout time. For instance, while there were a total of 144 pipe present in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century occupation of the site, the total number of pipes present in the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century is a meager 27 (Table 15). As discussed in previous contexts smoking while working was an extremely common activity for men, women, and even children alike which continued well into the twentieth-century. What changed was the method of smoking. Throughout the twentieth-century pipes were slowly replaced by cigarettes and were popularized during World War I as cigarettes were far more convenient for soldiers (Doll 2004:3). Cigarettes were easier to carry and did not require as many accessories to use such as pipe cleaners or stuffers. People did not stop smoking, but rather were switching to methods that do not leave archaeological traces. Whether it was a pipe, a cigarette, a cigar, or snuff, the act of smoking had more social implications than the method. Both men and women practiced smoking, and it served the similar purpose of socializing or else breaking up the workday. As a social activity it could become gendered or aged or classed depending on the context of the social interaction in terms of who was socializing at the time, but generally, smoking was a remarkably non-gendered, and to a certain extent a non-aged, activity, especially with regards to labour.

4.2.3. Glass

Glass comprises the biggest portion of artifacts aside from iron nails (Table 15), comprising approximately 27% of the entire collection with 72 objects (Table 18).

Table 18. Quantification of 19th/20th Century Glass from Anse à Bertrand

Glass Type	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV
Colourless Glass	2304	61.82%	33
Green Tinted Glass	1018	27.31%	15
Olive Green Glass	56	1.50%	2
Dark Green Glass	168	4.51%	7
French Blue-Green Tinted Glass	110	2.95%	7
Amber Coloured Glass	51	1.37%	4
Purple Tinted Glass	20	0.54%	4
Grand Total	**3727**	**100.00%**	**72**

While glass makes up a significant portion of the assemblage for all periods there is a significant increase in glass artifacts for the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries, with a conservative estimate of 70 objects. Several factors contribute to this increase. Firstly, and most importantly, huge quantities of alcohol, all in glass bottles, were processed through Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon to rum runners from the United States of America during the Prohibition period. Secondly, glass tableware, particularly stemware and drinking glasses, were becoming more common with permanent settlement. Given the fragility of glass tableware, these vessels were not suited to the transient lifestyle of migratory fishermen or fishing servants. The increase in permanent settlement allowed for households to outfit their dwellings with more fragile objects with less worry. While people with homes often moved between the inland in the coast with the seasons, they likely would have kept some cooking and food service implements in their secondary

homes. Furthermore, if they could not afford to outfit two separate dwellings, they were not carrying these objects very far.

Looking at the function of the glass artifacts (Table 19), many glass objects in the collection had the function of drink preservation and storage, with 55 of 70 vessels serving this purpose. While not all these vessels may have contained alcohol many of them would have.

Table 19. Quantification of Function for Glass Artifacts from Anse à Bertrand

Function	Total Number of Fragments	Percent of Total Material	Sum of MNV
Construction	1391	37.32%	NA
Drink Preservation and Storage	2246	60.26%	55
Tablewares and Food Service	46	1.23%	7
Medication	17	0.46%	6
Lighting	25	0.67%	2
Games and Entertainment	2	0.06%	2
Grand Total	**3727**	**100.00%**	**72**

There are some identifiable bottles, for instance there are several Heineken bottles and a Ricard liquor bottle, but most are generic green, brown, or clear tinted bottles. While some of these would have been associated with Prohibition, it is important to note that the Prohibition was confined to the United States of America and did not affect the availability of alcohol for those living in the archipelago. However, there were efforts to control the level of alcohol consumption in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon with the establishment of an Anti-Alcohol League (Le Réveil 1904b). In addition, the fishermen's

society L'Oeuvre de Mer also served as an anti-alcohol affiliation (Darrieus 1990:89). In particular, the league sought to encourage sobriety amongst both the *petits pêcheurs*, but especially amongst the *graviers*, many of whom struggled with alcoholism, so much so that despite the commonness of ailments aboard the ships on the crossing from France, alcohol was considered the great plague of the migratory fishermen (Darrieus 1990:41).

Glass tableware may also be associated with alcohol consumption, as the seven tableware vessels present consist of stemware, which was commonly used for wine and liquors, though they may have been used for non-alcoholic beverages as well. These wares were likely part of the household collection rather than belonging to seasonal workers. Similarly, the objects that serve the purpose of lighting appear to be decorative glass light fixture covers opposed to the glass of an oil lamp covering. As such, these objects are undoubtedly the fixtures of households or other permanent infrastructure such as boarding houses, hospitals, or businesses in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. Though given the decorative nature of these fixtures they are more likely to belong to a household or boarding house.

The other collection of objects associated with the permanency of residents is window glass. Window glass comprises around 37% of the glass collection from Anse à Bertrand (Table 19). Despite this, there are no definitive objects that serve the function of window glass since it is impossible to tell how many objects are present without the full window in its frame. However, there are multiple windows present as the glass has varying tints and degrees of thickness. Is also appears to be a combination of general window glass and car window glass. Apart from providing material evidence for the introduction of motor

vehicles and further indication of permanency, the window glass, though abundant, is not overly archaeologically significant.

The final two types of glass objects can be understood in terms of health and hygiene and leisure activities. Firstly, it should be noted that there is an increase in the number of pharmaceutical bottles present in the collection. From the nineteenth-century onwards Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon was producing its own medication in the form of cod liver oil as a by-product of the fishery (Josse 2010:75). It is very likely that most households, but particularly fishing households, that were instrumental in the making of the product, would have this product on hand. Furthermore, the hospital had been established at this time as well, making medication and hygienic objects more accessible to the residents of the archipelago. While typically artifacts related to health and hygiene are used to indicate higher class (Cowie 2011:106), the involvement of the *petits pêcheurs* in the production of some medication would make it accessible.

Additionally, the naval hospital La Société des Oeuvres de Mer, which was established to support those working on the offshore fisheries in the Grand Banks, was responsible for the wellbeing of fishermen while they served their contracts, including the administration of medication. The services of the hospital expanded to treat the *petits pêcheurs* within a year of its establishment (Chapelot et al. 1982:92). The *petits pêcheurs* were also required to provide medication to their fishing servants if they were in need (Listes Nominatives 1900). The only lower-class people who may not have been able to afford such products would have been domestic servants consisting primarily of young women.

The final type of glass object in the collection are marbles. Though other objects used for games and entertainment such as dolls, would have belonged to children of *negotiants* or *petits pêcheurs*, marbles could have belonged to any child or adult. Marbles were available at a variety of prices, dependant on material, so that they could be sold to children from a variety of different socioeconomic classes (Bunow 2009:22). Marbles were also small and transportable; *graviers* or *mousses* working in the migratory offshore fishery may have taken them aboard as personal objects, able to store them in their pockets. Despite the hardworking conditions and excessive smoking and drinking they were still children working on board who may have, on their menial allowance of downtime, engaged in play (Figure 23).

Figure 23. La salle de repos de la chambre de Famille des Oeuvres de Mer à Saint-Pierre, fréquentée par les marins en escale et les graviers (vers 1910) Collection Société des Oeuvres de Mer. **Catalog ID.** ***23 Fi 62.***

4.2.4. Flint

Flint makes up a very small portion of the archaeological collection for this period, with a total MNO of 12 (Table 15). For reference, the MNO for flint for the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries was 35. There are two primary functions of flint: as a firestarter and as part of a gun, in particular a flintlock, for firing. With that in mind, there are two primary reasons for the decrease in flint found in later contexts. The disappearance of flint can be attributed to the introduction of friction matches in the early nineteenth-century and the eventual invention of the lighter. Newer friction matches began to be manufactured in 1827 and provided a safe, cheap, and more convenient means of firelighting (Bone 1927:495).

The decrease in the presence of gunflints can likewise be attributed to new technologies with the introduction of the percussion gun lock mechanism in the mid nineteenth-century. The gun could be fired from the inside via a hammer striking a mercury capsule versus the flintlock which used flint to create a spark to light power loaded on the outside of the gun (Moller 2011). These newer guns were more weather resistant which was likely appealing to people living in a place like Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon where weather was often unpredictable and hunting still contributed to people's diets. The small number of gunflints in this context likely belong to flintlock guns which were still being made into the late nineteenth-century, though it is more likely these belonged to older guns that were simply still being used. Opposed to a flint light strike, a working gun was not an item hastily thrown away; given the fluctuant nature of fishing incomes unnecessarily replacing something that could still be used would not have been the norm. In this sense,

the decreasing amount of flint reflects a slow transition to new forms of material culture from a working-class perspective, with the introduction of new technology occurring as older technology begins to cause problems opposed to when new things became available.

4.2.5. Metal

Metal comprises most of the collection, due to the amount of iron nails in the collection (Table 15). Despite a total of 482 nails and screws, there is very little that can be said about them other than the indication that structures were present. Metal objects may have included other hardware and tools such as hinges, locks, hammers, and strappings. The second greatest type of metal artifact present in the collection are fishing weights and hooks, though many of these structural remains were likely implements related to the fishery as well such as splitting tables, fish tubs, and salines. However, these fishing implements are not related to the same kinds of fishing work. The fishing weights and hooks are related to the actual fishing from the dories, a task only men and older boys performed in the household fishery. This masculine aspect of family fishing was also the most dangerous. Most deaths associated with the fishery were caused by drowning when dories capsized in bad weather. As indicated by the registry numbers between 1885 and 1897, approximately 418 fishermen, more than a quarter of the total, lost their lives on the job (Chapelot et al. 1982:86).

In contrast, the artifacts related to structures would be related more so to the shore work where women, children, *graviers,* and some of the men would work on the *graves* (Figure

24). These groups would process the cod by drying it using salt. During this period fish was also sometimes smoked, particularly in the Frigorifique (Figure 25).

Figure 24. Pesage de la morue séchée sur une cale au sud, vers 1950. **Catalog ID.** ***7 Fi 257.***

Figure* 25*. Les morues au séchoir (de la Morue Française ou du frigorifique), vers 1960.* Catalog ID. *7 Fi 263.

This process involved hanging fish to dry in a structure where a fire would be lit. The stove found may have been a part of this type of structure. Women were most often the supervisors of this process. The young *graviers* working on the shore would have been involved in the salting and heavy lifting process. In terms of work delegation, the older *graviers* and male family members would likely be the ones performing the splitting of fish, which was a task requiring precision and skill to ensure the cut of the fish would receive a good price from the *négociant* or European markets. While splitters were often older men, women sometimes took up the knife (Figure 26), and adolescent *petits pêcheurs* fishermen would usually learn this skill from their fathers or uncles (Figure 27). This method of processing fish would eventually be replaced by factory-based processing; the structures associated with these artifacts would lose their important to the

overall operation of the Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon fishery by the time the site was abandoned.

Other metal objects in the collection are varied, including clothing items such as buttons or buckles, spoons, bullet casings, coins, and a single knitting needle. There is not a lot to say about these objects, but the bullet casings do confirm that the types of guns used for hunting activities and defense were changing. Additionally, the buttons and knitting needles relate to the work required of women and girls. Until the establishment of boutiques and clothing stores in Saint-Pierre women were responsible for creating the clothing, blankets, and rags necessary for everyday life. These activities took place at night and during the off-season when women might have more time (Keough 2001:233). Sewing and knitting were some of the earliest ways girls contributed to their family until they were old enough to begin working on the *graves.*

Figure 26. Île-aux-Marins, femme tranchant la morue, septembre 1941. **Catalog ID.** ***8 Fi 27.***

Figure 27. Ile-aux-Marins petits pêcheurs tranchant la morue. **Catalog ID.** ***7Fi 886.***

4.2.6. Organic Material

The organic material present in the collection is mostly plastic. The non-plastic objects consist of bone, wood, and shell. The bone present is mostly mammal, which would be related to consumption and potentially animal husbandry. There is also a bone needle present that would have been used for mending fishing implements like nets and sails. This practice would have been done by both men and women. The shell likely relates to the collection of bait for fishing, as shellfish that could be collected from nets close to shore such as mussels or scallops were commonly used as bait. The collection of bait was generally the responsibility of women and children, particularly for the *petits pêcheurs* families. The wood consists of both clothing items like buttons and remnants of structures related to shore work.

By far, the most common item made of plastic are buttons. These date to twentieth-century contexts when tailors and clothing stores are beginning to open. Such items can be considered material evidence for female enterprise with the growing number of women owning and operating clothing related businesses, which can be seen from the various advertisements in the local paper *Foyer Paroissal* from 1924 onwards. Of course, many women still sewed some clothing, and lower-class women may have still exclusively made clothes for their family with newer and affordable materials such as plastic.

Other notable plastic artifacts include toy items. These include objects such as easy lock building bricks and what appears to be part of a doll house. These objects were part of a nineteenth-century context, but according to a vintage toy collector's blog, the bricks were not released until the mid-1950s (Coopee 2020); the doll house is likely from a

similar period. Most notable about this period is the generic shift throughout the Western world regarding the notion of childhood. While even working children in previous historical periods had always engaged in some form of play, by the early to middle part of twentieth-century play was now expected and encouraged.

Children would have still been expected to help with household chores, and they may have even worked odd jobs for extra cash, but by this time the days of working on the shore day in and day out during the fishing months had ended. In Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, this shift was driven by the establishment of both the fish plant and French education laws. Though processing fish in the plant setting remained women's domain children were now eliminated from the process. In many ways, this is very different from the introduction of industrialization elsewhere though this introduction, wherein industrialization resulted in more children working in even more dangerous conditions than they had previously. In the archipelago the industrialization of the fishery resulted in less children working and the shaping of modern conceptions of childhood that prioritized learning and play.

4.2.7. Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Features at Anse à Bertrand

There are only a few features from the occupation of Anse à Bertrand (Table 20). As many structures associated with the inshore fishery were made of wood, the only remnants are iron hardware and small wood fragments that have survived. Some remnants of these structures remain *in situ* in the form of post holes and buildings with stone bases. Most of the features present are associated with incomplete fishing infrastructure. Included in these features were the posthole, capstan, wall, and salines. The capstan is a

device that looks like a pole with long spokes around the circumference. It is typically used aboard larger ships to lower and raise the anchor. In principle, it gives more force to the pulling and releasing of cables to lift or drag heavy objects.

Table 20. 19th/20th Century Features from Anse à Bertrand

Feature	Stratigraphic Unit	Context	Description
Post Hole	105	20th Century	Post Hole North of Stone Structure
Pit	308	20th Century	Pit Dating to Prohibition, Bottle Stash
Capstan?	405	20th Century	Stone and Mortar Structure Surrounded by Bricks
Wall	409	19th/20th Century	Stone Wall Poorly Constructed
Saline	505	20th Century	Stone Base with Wooden Border
Saline	704b	20th Century	Stone Structure Associated with Stove
Electricity Pole	808	20th Century	Base of Electricity Pole

Onshore, it may have been used to easily pull dories ashore or to pull large quantities of fish over the bank.

The salines would be the other primary feature associated with the fishery. Salines were fishing rooms where salting fish could be stored if there was bad weather and when it had finished drying. On family owned *graves* these fishing rooms also housed fishing gear and were commonly used as a storage for meat and vegetables in the winter (Girardin and Pocius 2003:27). The saline at Anse à Bertrand belongs to the Baslé family. The structure associated with a stove may have functioned as a smoker in the early twentieth-century,

which was a different way of preserving fish, and favourable if there was a particularly long stretch of bad weather.

There are two features that do not appear to have been associated with the work of the fishery. The first is the base of an electricity pole, which would have serviced *les Maisons Girardin et Briand* in the twentieth-century. The Girardins and Briands were two *petits pêcheurs* families that had owned fishing plantations overseeing the port at Anse à Bertrand since the nineteenth-century (Losier 2021:5). The other is a pit associated with numerous bottles dating to the Prohibition period. This may indicate that during the Prohibition fishing stations were repurposed for the storage of liquor to be deported. In contrast, it may be a material indication of the heavy drinking common amongst the seasonal fishermen and *graviers*. Though the *Grande Pêche* fishery came to a close in the early twentieth-century and only small family orientated fishing occurred in the archipelago (Losier 2021:5), records of *graviers* employed by the *petits pêcheurs* in the archipelago certainly appear for this period.

4.3. Life in Late Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon

4.3.1. Les Grands Pêcheurs

The *Grand Pêche* had been a steady practice in the archipelago since the eighteenth-century. It came to an end in the early twentieth-century when the larger fishing trawlers and fishing operations could no longer be supported due to declining cod numbers, and these fishing ventures ultimately moved on to more abundant fishing grounds (Losier 2021:5). The social relationships and crew delegations aboard these ships had not changed much since the sixteenth century (Henry and Giard 1996:19). Class and

importance were dictated by a man's position on the crew, which often related to age experience. Archaeologically, there is little to no material culture related to the men working aboard these ships. The *morue verte* operated directly from the boats. The only crew members that habitually occupied the shore were the *graviers*, though ships would have occasionally stopped in port for supplies and other crew members would have been able to take advantage of the businesses, taverns, and the services the L'oeuvre de mer offered.

Otherwise, sailors and apprentices were isolated on the boats for weeks or months at a time, often at the mercy of their captains' whims. With alcohol more readily available than ever before through stops at ports and travelling merchants, alcoholism was an epidemic amongst sailors (Henry and Giard 1996:169). Captains and crewmasters were just as likely as sailors to struggle with alcohol, and this overconsumption may have incited some instances of drunken rage. In 1875, 53 sailors and *graviers* lodged a complaint against their crew master for mistreatment, but there was usually hesitation to file complaints or incidents against one's employer no matter how often the mistreatment occurred. As such, the records of such incidents are scarce, and most existing records are likely housed in Brittany as these cases were typically dealt with in courts back in France not while on campaign in Saint-Pierre (Chapelot et al. 1980:57).

Despite the abuse of sailors aboard the ships, working in the migratory fisheries on the French Shore appears to have been more fruitful than toiling in the fields of France. There was also a social pressure within the family unit to maintain an occupational identity. If the father was a fishermen his sons were often drawn to the sea as well (Josse 2010:128).

In this sense, the migratory fishing venture can be seen as a key event in a generational cycle, with hard working-conditions and mistreatment cycling from father to son, with the mistreatment in question stemming from ship masters or captains rather than from within the family.

4.3.2. Mousses et Graviers

Mousses and *graviers* were both crew positions in the migratory fishery that young men and boys typically fulfilled. The *mousses* were apprentices that remained on ships and were responsible for the disposal of food and cleaning. This work was essential though undesirable in the maintaince of hygiene for sailors aboard the ship (Henry and Giard 1996:155). *Mousses* were typically younger than the *graviers*, especially those accompanied by a father, uncle, or older brother on the crew. It was not uncommon for a *mousse* whose work was unsatisfactory to receive physical blows from a captain or officer. If the apprentice was fortunate enough to have an older male relative on the crew, they could generally avoid some of the harsher punishments.

There have been documented cases of captains killing or grievously injuring *mousses* while dealing out disciplinary punishment. For instance, a doctor's report from the naval hospital ship in Saint-Pierre read as follows:

> *With five patients, three of whom were dying, as well as eight shipwrecked sailors, it was imperative to put in to port immediately, especially since one of them – a ship boy battered by an entire crew- was in such a state of suppuration, that dressing his wounds took two hours daily, with the stench nauseating everyone on board (Balsara 1898:17).*

However, these cases rarely made it to trial and the captain's resultant punishment was often a mere fine. There are some allusions to occurrences of sexual abuse, but there is no concrete evidence. In 1905, a captain was convicted of a "special attack" on a *mousse*. Given that murder and other forms of physical assault appear to be explicitly documented in court records, it is possible that this "special attack" refers to one of the few documented cases of sexual assault related to the migratory fishery. Apprentices would sometimes even jump ship rather than continue suffering abuse. As a common "remedy" for trauma, many of the *mousses* whom were the sons of alcoholics, would become alcoholics themselves before the age of 16, continuing a generational cycle of occupation, abuse, and addiction (Josse 2010:210–11).

The *graviers* working on the *Grand Pêche* were granted a small amount of freedom compared to other crew members simply by the nature of their work. The *Mourue Française* typically hired over seventy *graviers* each season (Nombre de Graviers 1909). Processing cod on the shores of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, they at least were not always in reach of a captain's punishments, though they struggled in other ways. Young Breton boys between the ages of 15 and 18 were doing the work on the *graves* for the *Morue Française.* While Chapelot *et al* (1980:39) suggests that unlike the *mousses* aboard the ship they would have had no real maritime training, the general age range of the *graviers* aligns with the age that *mousses* might end their apprenticeship, and they would have been expected to help aboard the ships during the crossing.

The primary struggles the *graviers* faced often came in the form of lodgings, overwork, and addictions. The oldest and strongest of the *graviers* typically found easy work and

decent lodgings. The youngest, between the ages of 11 and 15, were not so lucky. Reports indicate that they were often left cold and hungry, particularly if they were stowaways aboard the ship since they had not been allotted rations and berths before departure. In port, some of these children were fortunate enough to be housed by the House of L'Oeuvre des Mers where they received food and shelter. Those not admitted in the house would sometime cause enough trouble to be thrown in prison for a night, which was considered a favour to them (Darrieus 1990:133). Between the years of 1906 and 1912 [excluding 1907], there were a total of 1286 disciplinary infractions and other petty crimes registered with l'Inscription Maritime for the *graviers*. The Maritime Registration attributed all cases of disciplinary infraction to overindulgence in spirits, made easier by the low prices set for alcohol in establishments the *graviers* frequented (Chapelot et al. 1982).

In terms of struggles with alcohol, some of the *graviers* may had had addictions for several years, particularly if they had served as *mousses* before taking a position on shore. However, alcohol was also widely available in the archipelago, being included in rations and with extra readily available for sale at only 20 sous for a 90 proof litre (Balsara 1898:3). In fact, the French fishing agency in Saint-Pierre in charge of commissions and consignations for fishermen also sold wine and spirits (Foyer Paroissal 1926). From the moment they arrived in the archipelago spirits were made readily available. Despite the attempts from the L'Oeuvre des Mers to stifle the consumption of alcohol, alcoholism remained one of the primary afflictions of the *graviers*. In this sense, the prevalence of alcohol bottles in the collection does not merely represent *Les Grandes Jours de la*

Prohibition, but also cycles of trauma and addiction for the men and boys working in the *Grande Pêche* (Figure 28).

Figure 28. 19th Century Storage and Preservation Bottle. Taken from Losier (2021:14).

A journal from employees at l'Inscription Maritime from 1904 demonstrates that the typical workday ran from 5:00 in the morning to 7:00 or 7:30 at night during the summer months (Chapelot et al. 1982:982). Not only were hours long, but the work itself was gruelling and *graviers* were usually not paid well for the long hours spent in the hot sun spreading cod over the *graves* only to end the day returning to cramped and overcrowded living spaces (Artur de Lizarraga et al. 2016:25). It is really no surprise that the tavern was a preferable place to spend the evening. The younger *petits graviers* were said to have little time to even wash their clothes and often returned to France with a meager sum of 150 francs after seven to eight months abroad (Bouvier 1916). Though these seasonal

workers were performing the same work as the resident shore crew they were doing so without the benefit of a family to support them or hired domestic work to take care of the additionally things that needed to be done from day to day. In this sense, some of food preparation items, particularly Bretonware, may be associated with the extra work the *graviers* would have to do at the end of the day if they were not fortunate enough to stay in the house of l'Oeuvre des Mers or in a boarding house providing these services. The *graviers* operated on work, meager rations, an abundance of spirits, and little sleep in uncomfortable living situations.

4.3.3. Fishing Servants and their Families

Fishing servants were seasonal workers hired by the *petits pêcheurs* families that owned *graves* to assist with the drying of fish or the care of children. Some may have lived in the archipelago but did not have the resources available to purchase *graves* or establish their own family fishing practices. In this sense, these fishing servants are represented by the ceramic assemblage at Anse à Bertrand in two ways. Firstly, as a means of supplies their own residences, and secondly, for women, as domestic workers preparing and serving food for the *petits-pêcheurs* or *négocitant* family they worked for. Others were migratory *graviers* from Basque Country or Brittany that held contracts with *petits pêcheurs* rather than with the *Grande Pêche*. In 1862 405 *graviers* were working on the *graves* in Saint-Pierre, with an additional 97 in Île-aux-Chiens (Île-aux-Marins) and 23 in Miquelon-Langlade. Altogether, the *graviers* comprised 29% of the population in the archipelago (Chapelot et al. 1982:53). Records show that most *graviers* departed ports at Auray and St. Malo (Cautions 1928).

The *petits pêcheurs* were hiring anywhere from five and ten *graviers* each season, though some of the bigger fishing households hired upwards of twenty (Nombre de Graviers 1909). A list of the *graviers* at a residence in Île-aux-Chiens indicate ages ranging from 16 to 20 with a few older *graviers* as well (Gendarmerie Coloniale Modèle 1909). Unlike the *graviers* working in the migratory crews, the families hiring *graviers* were required to provide lodgings for them. This is not to say that there were no problems with the general cleanliness and space associated with those lodgings as well. In 1851 a new declaration set the following conditions into place regarding the lodgings and diets of the *graviers* to address problems that had arisen:

> *The lodgings of the graviers was to be enclosed, clean, dry, and sanitized with bleach between the 1st and 15th of April before the arrival of the graviers from France and it was to be sanitized with bleach again at the end of June. A fine of 50 francs was set for noncompliance.*
>
> *The number of beds was to be equal to the number of graviers. A fine of 20 francs was set for noncompliance.*
>
> *Latrines had to be close to the lodging, and at least two metres in length. A fine of 50 francs was set for noncompliance.*
>
> *Négociants and grave owners had until June to convert their gravier lodgings.*
>
> *A fine of 100 francs was set to négociants and grave owners if they were to provide liquor in any quantity to graviers below the age of 18, and that older graviers were only to receive the boujaron [tin gauge containing one-sixteenth of a litre to measure drinks for seafarers] in brandy. The graviers who are not to receive the boujaron would be allowed a quart of wine.*
>
> *The Chief medical officer was to complete a special report between the 1st and 15th of each month, to ensure that the terms*

> *set out by this declaration were being followed (Bulletin des actes du gouvernement 1851).*

While these fines seem to be quite small, neither the *petits pêcheurs* nor even *négociant* families were in possession of a large amount of coin; most could not afford to rack up fines every month due to unsuitable lodgings for their *graviers*. In some cases, the master of the *grave* was reported to be lodging with the *graviers* to ensure the living conditions were suitable (Parre, J. 1912). Still, this declaration gives some indication of the precarious living conditions of the *graviers* in the nineteenth-century. Despite the attempt of the declaration to control alcohol consumption, particularly to the *petits graviers*, the only stipulation was that their employers could not provide it. Problems with alcohol abuse amongst the *gravier* of the *petits pêcheurs* remained as prominent as it was amongst their comrades working in the *Morue Française*.

Apart from the *graviers* there were many fishing servants who, were still transient but not migratory. A census record from 1887 indicates that the floating population, those with no permanent residence, was comprised of fishing, domestic, and religious servants, was composed of a lot more families where previously it had consisted primarily of single young men and women (Miquelon-Langlade 1887). It was not uncommon for a wife and a husband to be hired by the same family to help with the fishery or domestic tasks. These fishing servants were typically immigrants from other French colonies and Newfoundland. While fishing servants were always in need, it was probably far cheaper to hire the younger *graviers* from France for most tasks, filling the positions that required more experienced fishermen or shore workers with servants from Newfoundland, particularly when the price of cod dropped in the early-twentieth-century.

Fishing servant families operated slightly differently than the *petits pêcheurs*. Work for wives was likely far more plentiful, as merchants and shopkeepers had far more domestic servants while the *petits pêcheurs* only hired one to two every season (Saint-Pierre 1892). In this sense, some of the more expensive service vessels such as porcelain and faïence may be associated with domestic servant women in a working context. Additionally, women could hold onto domestic positions longer than their husbands who only worked during the fishing season. Though husbands and wives that worked for smaller families were likely both laid off at the same time, more affluent families might have kept their domestic servants on to assist with household chores year round. In this sense, during the winter months servant families operated on a reversal of conventional gender roles wherein women, though still performing domestic labour, did so outside of the living area while men stayed home arranging contracts for the following season and in the meantime attending to finances. If the family was fortunate enough to afford small living quarters, husbands might spend the winter collecting firewood, hunting, and keeping up living arrangements. Thus, during the fishing season, structures associated with shorework and food service vessels related to domestic work are reflecting conventional gender roles for fishing servants, but these roles are less defined in relation to this material culture throughout the off-season.

4.3.4. Petits Pêcheurs and their Families

By the turn of the twentieth-century, *grands négociants* and affluent *habitants* plantation fisheries were no longer sustainable because of the cod crisis and the loss of many fishing servants to the more profitable Prohibition racket and enlistment. Instead, small family-

orientated fishing operations were the backbone of the fishing industry in the twentieth-century (Losier 2021:5). This type of fishery was essentially the same as the sedentary fishery that had begun in the late-eighteenth-century but on a smaller scale, although reports on fishing activities in Saint-Pierre from 1909 counted 644 *petits pêcheurs* in the colony (L'Arche 1909). The goal of this family fishing practice was to sustain a household economy, and every family member contributed in some way.

During the fishing season, fathers and older sons would catch the fish while mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, and younger sons would salt and dry the fish, garden, and preserve food (Wright 2001:343). Though both men and women were salters, salting was really the specialty of women (Ferguson 1996:106). By extension, artifacts related to the catching of fish, such as fishhooks and fishing weights (Figures 29 and 30) are related to the work of older male family members, while artifacts and structures related to domestic chores and shore work relate to other family members from a labour perspective (Figure 31).

Figure 29. Iron Fishhook. Taken from Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog.

Figure 30. Lead Fishing Weight. Taken from Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog.

Figure 31. 19th/20th Century Service Vessels. Taken from Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog.

It is important to note that family based fishing did not necessarily mean one single household; it was common for multiple households of extended family to have a single operation. On the shore, large groups of women would work together on the *graves*, with older women, usually the matriarch of the family, generally in charge of the entire shore

operation. This matriarch would hold much of the authority with regards to giving tasks to fishing servants, *graviers,* her family members working on shore, and children. While children were expected to help move fish from the *graves* to salines if the weather threatened the fish, many women did not begin training on the *graves* until after they had married. Instead, young girls often took charge of some of the domestic duties while older women processed the fish (Ferguson 1996:131–3). "As inshore fishing families were often never far from poverty, women's toil made the difference between survival and starvation" (Wright 2001:344). Without female family members, the *petits pêcheurs* would have had to hire extra fishing servants to account for the work women performed; the extra wages may have tipped many families into poverty had that been a reality.

Oral historical explanation for the lack of female participation on fishing crews in Newfoundland was simply that women already had enough work to do on land rather than suggesting an incapacity or some superstitious explanation for the exclusion of women on fishing crews (Keough 2001:251). In Saint-Pierre, there are photographs of women manning the dories helping to bring fish from larger boats to the shore which suggests a similar viewpoint in terms of women's capabilities (Figure 32). Certainly, women's chores were not in any short supply. On top of general domestic work like sewing, childcare, and cooking, kitchen gardens supplemented a household's subsistence. While men would help to prepare the beds in the spring, the maintenance of these gardens was left to women as these were typically summer crops and men were out in the boats (Keough 2001:229).

Figure 32. Saint-Pierre groupe d'hommes et des femmes dans des doris. L'Arche Musée et Archives. **Catalog ID.** ***5Fi 73.***

Women and children would also be in charge of berry-picking in the summer and early autumn, in addition to preserving any of the crops by bottling them or making jellies (Porter 1985:113). Furthermore, women tended most of the animals kept on the homestead as well, which is likely the source of some of the mammal bones in the collection. Men would take care of them in the winter, but these animals were typically left to graze freely during the fishing season. Women were responsible for keeping track of the animals and the milking of cows and goats (Keough 2001:321). The healthcare need of the family was also often women's work. Homemade recipes and cures were concocted from herbs grown around the community and in gardens (Chaulk Murray 2010:186).

Women managed all these chores with the aid of domestic servants and unmarried daughters. Men may have also aided with the tending of gardens and some of the animal husbandry chores when the fishing was wrapped for the day. When men did women's work or women did men's work it was viewed as one helping the other opposed to a temporary shift in gender roles. Nor was helping women finish their chores considered an unrespectful practice for men to be engaging in (Keough 2001:254). Yet still, "a poor man works from sun to sun/ But a poor woman's work is never done" (Chaulk Murray 2010:56). Even with men contributing to some of women's work, women would often still have sewing or cooking in the evenings. Though fishermen undoubtedly worked extremely hard and doing dangerous work at times, the workload of women was at times overwhelming. In many ways women were the backbone of keeping the entire household economy running smoothly.

As members of the household, children were an important part of this operation as well. Girls may have assisted with women's work on the shore in exceptional cases, such as if the matriarch of the family had passed away, but for the most part they did household chores (Chaulk Murray 2010:63). If a family, could not afford domestic help and older children were still too young to take care of younger siblings, then women would sometimes place very young children in fish tubs near the *graves* while they worked (Ferguson 1996:134). Girl's work included other domestic chores such as removing twigs and other foreign matter from wool since women were often too busy with the fishery in the summer and vegetables in autumn to get around to it (Chaulk Murray 2010:47).

A folklore study of early-twentieth-century fishing rooms in Bonavista indicates that fishing skills were continually learned from childhood onwards. Children's chores on the *graves* were often helping to carry fish from the splitting tables to the *graves* as well as scraping liver and fish guts from the splitting table (Ferguson 1996:96–108). As girls generally did not work on the *graves* until marriage, these tasks were more often delegated to sons not old enough to out in the dories and to the *petits graviers* from France. Picking berries was one of the few chores both boys and girls did. Most families picked berries to supplement their income, selling them to visiting and travelling merchants. It was not uncommon for someone to pick ten or twelve galleons a day. At the height of the berry picking season, if it was a good berry year, people could pick up to twenty galleons a day (Chaulk Murray 2010:42). In many ways, children were just as integral as women when it came to getting the household work done, and even more so when it came to the transference of these skills to continue work in the fishery.

Though some days, such as those spent berry picking, would have been entirely full, mostly children's chores could be done sparingly with moments of rest in between to allow for play. The presence of toys in the collection indicates that this is the case, despite their small number (Figure 33). One reason for this is likely the fact that most toys were fashioned from everyday objects around the house: a spool of thread could become a bubble wand, tiny wheelbarrows and "flat cars" could be made of leftover wood and rungs from barrows and bent wire from a handle (Chaulk Murray 2010:72–3). Many of these objects simply would not have been recognizable as toys, and many would not have preserved well due to the material. The presence of toys suggests that parents and other

caregivers invested, and perhaps more relevantly, *viewed*, their children as children and not merely labourers (Silliman 2000:152).

Figure 33. Toys from 19th/20th Century Contexts. Taken from Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog.

The move to the fish plant, accompanied by new education laws, resulted in a change in the idea of childhood. Without the household fishery men and women were generally home to tend to the household chores in the evenings. While children may have still been asked to contribute, there was much less need of it. Boys especially would have more time than ever for play, as girls likely still cared for younger siblings when needed while parents worked. Furthermore, the Ferry law passed in 1882 requiring children attend school from the age of six to thirteen at no cost and with the stipulation that educators were not to be affiliated with religious orders (Singer 1975:416). This law meant that

until children were at least thirteen, most days were taken up by schooling. By the twentieth-century parents now invested heavily in their children's development as children, with a greater focus on schooling and allowing for play. Where the structures and material culture on the *graves* had previously been a means to learn the fishing trade as children, this type of association was absent from the fish plant. Childhood was transformed from a preparatory time for a specific occupation to a preparatory time simply for adulthood.

The biggest shift and discrepancy in terms of occupation and social relationships can be found in children. The introduction of the fish plant and labour laws of the mid to late twentieth-century resulted in the end of a laborious childhood for the children of the archipelago, especially for those belonging to middle-class *petits pêcheurs* families. Previously, children were expected to help with chores related to the fishery during the fishing season, helping with the most undesirable tasks, the fish plant provided parents with steady wages and a reasonable end of day allowing for housework to be completed. Certainly, this did not mean a total end of work for children. Household tasks and perhaps caring for younger siblings when school was out, and parents were working were still necessities for lower-income families that could not afford domestic help. Furthermore, children might still have engaged in work as shop assistants or in odd jobs once they reached a certain age, but this type of work was generally not the same kind of hard labour children were engaged with in the fishery. It is the same kind of children's work we might see today. Beyond simply the existence of child labour, the main social implication of this change was the break in the overall cycle of generational occupation.

While children may still have been influenced to seek careers like their parents or within the same socioeconomic class, they were no longer training to do so from the moment they were bodily capable.

While certain socioeconomic class discrepancies may be visible within the material culture at Anse à Bertrand and within historical context of the various class relations amongst fishermen, fishing servants, and merchants, the discrepancies in the treatment of children perhaps demonstrates this most clearly. The most prominent marking of this is the presence of toys in the collection accompanied by archival reports that state that the seasonal *graviers*, some of whom that were as young as 11 or 13, had little time even to do their laundry. While the presence of toys indicates that parents still allowed their working children to be children and engage in play activities, the same was not true of the *graviers*. A similar idea emerges when considering the work program set up by L'Ouvroir Saint-Vincent for orphans or very low-income families though perhaps not quite as severe. Though childhood as we would understand it today throughout the nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-centuries was limited for most children, there is also a clear correlation between class and which children were allowed the privilege of play and the amount of play they were free to engage with.

4.3.5. Religious Orders and Public Servants

Religious orders were often affiliated with public works in the past. As the populations of Saint-Pierre had nearly always been essentially Catholic, the orders in question were also Catholic. Most charitable public works were left in the care of nuns. Some of the most notable charitable organizations established in the archipelago of this kind included the

l'Oeuvre des Mers, the orphanage, and boarding schools. While the l'Oeuvre des Mers, the naval hospital, treated all kinds of sailors, the focus of most of these establishments was upon children, whether it was to treat ailments, provide board, or teach general skills to carry them through to adulthood.

The l'Oeuvre des Mers was a society dedicated to the wellbeing of French sailors. While not a strictly religious organization, a group of nuns oversaw the running of the hospital and boarding house. The tough conditions and working life of the *graviers* often resulted in sickness and accidents on the job (Chapelot et al. 1982:186). Apart from accidental death, sickness was the most common cause of death, with approximately 10% of sickness related deaths occurring on the boats and 15% in the hospital or on the hospital ship from l'Oeuvres de Mer. Ailments seemed to run particularly rampant amongst the *petits graviers,* and the hospital ship was a regular visitor on the shore of Saint-Pierre. In 1913, the ship took five trips and brought aboard 52 patients (Chapelot et al. 1982:86–92). Doctors and sailors ran the hospital ship, while the sisters of St. Joseph Cluny took over the care of patients in the naval hospital on shore under the charge of a medical doctor.

L'Oeuvre des Mers also served as an anti-alcohol affiliation. Alcohol abuse amongst sailors was the main enemy of the institution dedicated to their wellbeing (Balsara 1898:3). They handed out religious literature and health-orientated journals. The sisters running the institution attempted to combat the alcoholism amongst sailors using a pledge against alcohol, but it appeared to have been an unsuccessful endeavour (Darrieus 1990:89). At the very least, there was a strict ban against alcohol for children fortunate

enough to find housing with the l'Oeuvre des Mers over the course of their contract, being offered hot drinks and activities as an alternative to the local taverns (Darrieus 1990:133). Therefore, artifacts related to the service of these types of drinks, such as teacups, tea and coffee service vessels, may be related to Anti-Alcohol efforts on behalf of sailors.

One nun was extremely active in the naval hospital. Soeur Césarien Cavaigne arrived in the colony in 1869 in service of the hospital. She was instrumental in the production and export of cod liver oil as a remedy for sickness, for which she received a silver and bronze diplomatic medal (Le gouverneur des îles St. Pierre et Miquelon). A by-product of the fishery, cod liver oil had a variety of purposes. Industrially, it was used in leather making to tan hides as it was amber brown in colour and produced a beautiful cure. But the most common use by far, and the one for which Soeur Césarien Cavaigne was credited, was in pharmaceuticals. The oil was a cure-all of sorts, used to treat several afflictions such as apathy, gout, rheumatism, constipation, urinary afflictions, and Ricketts. The oil is rich in vitamins A and D, and it was used to promote bone growth and skin elasticity as well (Josse 2010:75). In this sense, pharmaceutical bottles in the collection can be associated with both the production and use of health and hygiene materials, in this context being both produced and applied by religious women. All in all, between the commonality of illness, the prevalence of alcoholism amongst the *graviers* and other sailors, and the production of cod liver oil, the l'Oeuvre des Mers hospital ship and house were busy during the fishing season.

The sisters of Saint-Joseph de Cluny were the primary order of nuns in Saint-Pierre. In addition to overseeing the House of l'Oeuvre des Mers, the order was also responsible for the establishment and operation of Saint-Vincent Ouvroir. Saint Vincent opened on the first of August in 1865 and operated until the first of May in 1905. Though programs at Saint-Vincent changed throughout the course of its life, it always remained under the care of the sisters of Saint-Joseph-de-Cluny. The primary function of Saint-Vincent was as an educational institution. The sisters provided young, orphaned girls a primary education in reading, writing, and simple arithmetic until the age of 13. At which time, the girls could begin their professional education in domestic work until the age of 18 or 20 (Reux-Bonin 1987:42–3).

The work program was the highlight of the institution for many. The program at the orphanage allowed impoverished families easier access to female domestic education. The colony was commended for this establishment for the public good (Création d'un ouvroir 1865). For poor families, Saint-Vincent provided a means to alleviate the pressure of feeding many mouths and for their daughters to learn professional skills. But the conditions for impoverished families to admit their daughters to the institution called for the situation to be dire. Conditions for the girls living at Saint-Vincent were reportedly miserable from 1892 to 1900. There was a consistent number of deaths at Saint-Vincent in the last decade of the nineteenth-century due to a persistent outbreak of tuberculosis. Furthermore, the medical service for the girls was confined to one doctor (Reux-Bonin 1987:124–131). The severe conditions were likely the driving force behind the eventual

closure of the institution in addition to new education laws calling for secularization (Singer 1975:416).

Schooling for girls was confined to Saint-Vincent and what was learned within the family unit. Schooling for boys on the other hand was one of the only charitable religious works run by men. The Jesuit order of priests ran the boarding school on the island, the Pensionnat (Saint-Pierre Census 1911). Boys' schooling was more focused upon general education opposed to the professional education that girls received. The changing importance of formal education rather than just focusing upon occupational education for children in the late nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries is further indication of the shift in the idea of childhood. It can also be noted that the shift in this idea appears to have happened sooner for boys than girls and differed dependent upon class. For instance, while children of *petits pêcheurs* and *négociants* were still expected to work their fair share during the fishing season, they were still granted time to play and attended school throughout the rest of the year. In contrast, the *petits graviers* were always working when they were in Saint-Pierre and would not have time to engage in similar activities.

4.3.6. The Rum Runners, Business Owners, and Négociants

The gentry class of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon had always been the *négociants*, who provided supplies and fishing servants to the *habitant-pêcheurs*, and eventually the *petits pêcheurs*, who would trade each year's catch to *négociants* in turn (Feniak and Tilsed 2018:414). While *négociants* still operated with the shift in the fishery to family orientated fishing, huge plantation operations had ceased. However, the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth-centuries also brought free enterprise to the archipelago, particularly

once the Prohibition was well under way. Throughout various editions of the local paper, *Foyer Paroissial*, several advertisements for businesses in the archipelago appear. Women appear to be the primary proprietors of many of these businesses. A small sample reveals that they were selling all manner of things from clothing, spirits, home décor, lingerie, furniture, groceries, cookware, cosmetics, flowers, and much more. Artifacts present in the collection related to these product types can thereby be associated with female enterprise before they were ever associated with anyone else in the archipelago.

Notably, while many of these female shop owners are married women or widows, there are also some going by the title *Mlle*, indicating they were either single business owning women or deliberately choosing not to affiliate their business with their husband's family. Also of note is the fact that some of these shop owners were part of old affluent *négociant* families such as the Landry family (Connections Productions 2007). Since the daughters and wives of *négociants* were expected to be literate in both writing and arithmetic so that they could handle some of the accounting burden (Ewen 2021:7), the merchant system that had dominated the sedentary fishery ultimately provided women belonging to those families the skills required to successfully run their own businesses in terms of handling finances, calculating inventory, and keeping track of things like credit.

Though Prohibition only lasted a mere decade, the rum runners and alcohol smugglers left their mark on the archipelago. American rum runners from the Eastern seaboard of the United States were smuggling liquor back to America to be sold discreetly in speakeasies and to those willing to purchase smuggled goods in defiance of Prohibition. The warehouse owners in Saint-Pierre and the Canadian distilleries from which the liquor was

procured were not considered smugglers, as Prohibition had no effect on the sale of Canadian liquor to France nor the sale of liquor to Americans when they were not in their country (Faucher 1984:314). Such smugglers may have left their mark upon the material culture of Saint-Pierre by the initialing of bottles, which was used to mark to whom a shipment of liquor was going to or else to mark the contents of the bottles (Figure 34). Most smugglers and warehouse proprietors were men, but there is at least one invoice where the wife of one of the most prominent bootleggers, Henri Morazé, signed off on a delivery (Morazé 1924), suggesting that women may have been involved in a similar capacity to the wives and daughters of *négociants* in previous centuries. Overall, the Prohibition was a highlight for Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon in the early-twentieth-century, bringing business, profits, and building materials in the form of liquor crates to its shores in droves. This period accounts for the surplus in bottles related to alcohol storage and consumption in the archaeological collection. Apart from pro-Prohibitionists, these bottles represented an era of economic growth, stability, and profit in *Les Grandes Jours de la Prohibition* (Figure 35).

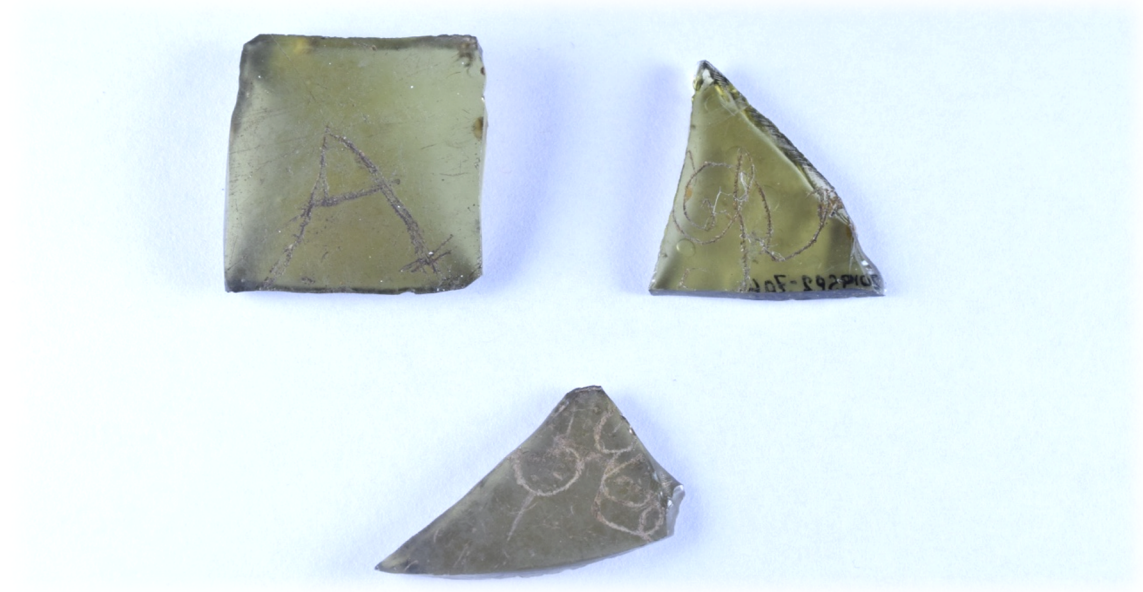

Figure 34. Marked Bottle Fragments. Taken from Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog.

Figure 35. Collection of Bottles from Multiple Contexts. Taken from Anse à Bertrand Photo Catalog.

4.4. Conclusions

The late nineteenth- and early-twentieth-centuries in the archipelago are curiously marked by both prosperity and economic insecurity. With the sedentary fishery proving to be profitable throughout the previous nineteenth-century, and with products outside of salt fish such as cod liver oil and roe beginning to be more common exports, it should be of little surprise that the archaeological record indicates an increase in permanent settlement throughout this period. While the population dropped in the initial onset of economic downturn, those that stayed would find prosperity throughout Prohibition, or else would be instrumental in bringing the plantation era of the fishery to a close in favour of smaller family practices and finding some stability with the introduction of factory fishing.

Within these various shifts one thing that stands out is the strong tie to occupation and identity throughout the turmoil, especially in the early-twentieth-century. The fishing industry, from servants, to *petits pêcheurs,* to *négociants*, and even amongst the migratory fishermen, was a family affair. The constant maintenance of this generational cycle in family businesses likely strengthened the importance of occupation for identity for people in the archipelago. Even when the fishery transitioned into factory-based fishing, male fishing servants and fishermen would still fish, but for a company rather than a merchant, and women would still process fish though they would have lost the authority that they held maintaining *graves* on shore. Likewise, the names of local business owners arising in the early-twentieth-century indicates that *negociants* might transition to free enterprise establishments opposed to the credit system they had maintained before.

The relationships between empowerment and exploitation more or less remained the same for the *petits pêcheurs* as it had for the *habitants* and their employees. This relationship shifted somewhat when the fishery transitioned to a fish plant. The plant brought fixed income to many families in the archipelago and women remained an important part of the fishery, though without the power that they had formerly held on the *graves*. Overall, the fish plant was less exploitive than its predecessors with children now in school rather than processing fish and with a fixed contract for those working there. However, on the same note, it was also less empowering for some, namely for women, who had previously held far better social positions than their peers in other contexts because of the work they did in the fishery. Thus, though the transition introduced certain benefits such as limiting exploitation and childhood labour and allowing the people of the archipelago a fixed and secure income, it also limited some of the empowerment that had come from the work on shore.

The archaeological collection, in tandem with historical data, associated with the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries reflects that people were engaging with the same kinds of material culture differently depending on their age, class, gender, and occupational duties. With this, some semblance of what life was like, particularly regarding labour, emerges for a variety of people. All in all, this study reveals a sense of resilience and persistence that characterizes the archipelago, whether it is in relation to the resilience required to sustain an industry as unpredictable and sometimes as unforgiving as the fishery, or the persistence shown by withholding against the turmoil of the early-twentieth-century.

5. Waifs, Women, and Work: Discussion

5.1. Waifs

The term waif is used to describe a person, especially a child, that is removed by hardship, loss, or helpless circumstance from their original surroundings. This definition most aptly applies to the *mousses* and *petits graviers* working in the fisheries in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, particularly if they had been taken onto crews through indentured servitude or spiriting. These boys were primarily treated as workers from the time of the purely migratory fishery in the sixteenth century to the *petits-pêcheurs* fishery of the early twentieth-century. They were expected to work the same, if not longer hours, as their older counterparts and partake in contemporary fishing social constraints. However, despite this, there is some indication that these workers were still partially viewed as children, with many records often referring to them as boys and not men. Furthermore, the regulations put out by the French government with regards to alcohol consumption for the *petits graviers* and the quality of their lodgings suggests that by the mid-nineteenth-century these boys were starting to be viewed more as children than merely workers.

Despite these changes, it is also clear that though the *petits graviers* and *mousses* were starting to be seen as children, they were still workers first to their employers and the community even into the twentieth-century. This phenomenon is most aptly seen in the differences between the expectations of the *gravier* in comparison to Saint-Pierrais children. Both kinds of children were expected to work and contribute to the fishing season, but at different levels and in very different ways. Saint-Pierrais children, whether during the sedentary fishery or small household fishery, but especially during the latter,

were expected to contribute to work on the *graves* and in the household to help support their family and to learn their trade. However, they were not expected to work as long as adults or do the same kinds of work. Rather, their work can be contemporarily understood as chores to help supplement the household with time still to engage in play. In contrast, the hired children working in the fishery worked the same long hours as the adults, and while they would not have done some of the more skilled work such as splitting fish, they did do more of the same work as other fishing servants compared to the children of *habitants* or *petits pêcheurs.* Additionally, they took part in more adult orientated activities during their sparse leisure hours such as drinking and card games at the public house.

The way children were viewed and treated in the context of the working fishery was therefore intersected with work and residency, and by extension, class. This continued well into the twentieth-century, even with the implementation of education laws, though they did mean working children were older than they had been before. The true turning point for childhood in the archipelago turning into childhood as we would recognize it today was the implementation and subsequent takeover of the fish plant opposed to the use of the *graves* for processing fish. Workers in the fish plant were solely adults and there was a far greater focus on formal education, play, and household chores though these no longer involved work on the *graves*. Perhaps more significantly, the implementation of the fish plant brought an end to the work of the *petits graviers* and the *mousses* which was far more detrimental to the health and wellbeing of those children.

5.2. Women

A fishing economy refers to the primary occupation of a society or subgroup of that society, in which fishing constitutes an important resource that would change the standard of living and lifeways of those participating in said economy. In contrast, a fishing community refers to the social settings that occur in regions where the economy is focused upon fishing. However, these developments are not transferable across all fishing communities. Location, the kind of fishery in place, and other cultural constraints all have a role in shaping the identity of fishing communities (Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988:4–5). Not only does a male-centric representation of fishing communities underestimate women's contributions to the social, cultural, and economic factors in fishing communities, but it also results in the underestimation of the immense pressure the fishery placed on coastal communities (Schwerdtner Màñez and Pauwelussen 2016:194).

A variety of studies regarding women in fishing communities from Scotland, England, and Yorkshire emerged between the 1970's and 1980's (Frank 1976, Thompson 1985, Nadel-Klein 1988, Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988)At the same time and shortly thereafter, academic work on women in the Newfoundland and Labrador fishery was also emerging (Porter 1985, Thompson 1985, Neis 1993, Keough 2001; 2012). In North American contexts, women undeniably played an important role in the establishment and sustainability of sedentary based fishing throughout the Northwestern Atlantic. Furthermore, men in the Northwestern Atlantic fisheries often do not hesitate in crediting women with the work that they did (Porter 1985:117). The women working in Northeastern Atlantic fishing communities had far different experiences. As this fishing

was generally offshore, and salted fish was not quite as important in the European fisheries in comparison to North American fisheries as fish was more often sold fresh or smoked (Thompson 1985:8–9). These key differences between historical European and North American Atlantic fisheries resulted in very different manifestations of women's work and social relationships between men and women.

5.2.1. Working Women in Fishing Communities in Western Europe

One of the key differences between the fishery in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon and Newfoundland in comparison to European fisheries is that the North American fishery was an inshore based fishery, while those in Europe tended to be offshore. In England and Yorkshire, women participated in the herring fishery by mending drift nets, collecting bottom shellfish like mussels, gutting and kippering, as well as selling the family's catch as "fishwives" at local markets. Akin to the salting process in Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon fisheries, women were generally in charge of the smoke houses, where fish was prepared for market with brine and smoke (Thompson 1985:8–9). However, aside from gathering bait on cliffsides and skaning (removing meat from shellfish and attaching them to hooks) bait, which was still hard physical labour, and the selling of fish, the preparation of bait was generally done in the home (Frank 1976:63). There was a short period of time during the nineteenth-century when Yorkshire women also split and salted fish on flakes. However, this practice did not continue into the twentieth-century as it had in Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon as most fish was sold locally opposed to being shipped overseas. By the 1970's, the practice of salting fish in English fishing communities was beyond living memory (Frank 1976:70).

Despite the fishery being a different nature to the one in North America, the Western European fishery was still a household-orientated practice that required both men and women's work to be complementary and mutually supportive to remain sustainable (Nadel-Klein 1988:194). Yet, studies of male hostility and oppression in maritime communities have been based on communities where men are at sea for months at a time (Porter 1985:107). Men at sea are particularly dependent upon women's work on the shore collecting bait and rearing children; in comparison to the inshore fishery of the Northwest Atlantic, there is a greater division in gendered labour. Furthermore, fishwives differed from other women selling their wares because their products, though produced in a household-orientated setting, did not appear to be as tied to the household. Instead, these women were unofficially tied to each other, and those outside of the fishing community viewed them as public working women (Buis et al. 2016:179). This dependency coupled by public perception outside of the fishing community possibly spawned feelings of inadequacy among fishermen, contributing to male hostility towards their spouses in European fishing communities.

5.2.2. The Transatlantic Shift: The Transformation of Working Women's Roles in Fishing Communities from Europe to the New World

Transatlantic movement of populations has almost always resulted in changes to social roles and relations. The distortion of gender roles and gender relations in fishing communities is often linked to the capitalist nature of the industry (Holm 2016:37). Given that the fisheries in both Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon constitute one of the earliest facets of capitalist expansion, the demands of running a stable fishery and the influence of women upon that industry are in support of that claim. Women in the

Northwestern Atlantic inshore fisheries were involved in the production of salt fish for market. Within their own class, they were essential workers who carried out vital tasks complementary to the ones men performed (Keough 2012:538).

Unlike the European fishery, wherein labour was heavily divided by gender due to the nature of the fishery. In contrast, the sedentary fishery and the isolated geography of both Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon and Newfoundland, resulted in male and female tasks being far more integrated than that of the European fishery (Cadigan 1995:65). Women in the North American salt cod fishery also performed labour not attached to their households as fishing servants. These women may have performed domestic labour or else worked on the *graves* drying cod. In this sense, it was possible to be a "fishingwoman" and not merely a "fishwife" as was the case in Western European fishing communities, although fishingwomen in North America were still not equal to fishermen, particularly for female fishing servants (Neis 1993:194).Throughout early settlement, the feminine ideal in North American fishing communities was that of "a good, hard-working stump of a girl" (Keough 2001:209). Additionally, documentary evidence from Ferryland suggests that women were running plantations as *femme sole*, which is to say not as the wives of planters, but as planters themselves (Keough 2001:212). Similar to this, in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, there are records of women owning the *graves* that the fish would be processed upon, specifically widows. This suggests that an older matriarch may take have provided oversight on fishing operations if her husband dies and her sons were not yet ready to take over the plantation (Matricule des habitants de Miquelon 1848).

On account of the merchant credit system in place in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, women generally kept track of the family's expense and merchant accounts that operated on credit. While male family members typically were the ones that actually dealt with the merchants, they did so on the advice of a female family member who had actually kept track of what they needed to ask for and barter. It was not unheard of for women to send their husbands or sons back to the merchant for a better deal nor for women to take over dealings with the merchant entirely (Keough 2001:335). In comparison to the social relationships between men and women in the Western European North Atlantic fisheries, men and women in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon and Newfoundland appear to have far more of a reciprocal relationship in terms of labour required both for the fishery and the household.

All in all, women working in the Northwestern Atlantic fisheries had vastly different social relationships with those around them compared to women working in Western European Atlantic fisheries. Feminist studies centered around the Newfoundland fisheries have found women to be relatively independent, with few instances of domestic violence, and to have a vibrant and positive culture of womanhood (Porter 1985:107). Thompson (1985:19) argues that women were viewed as essential but subordinate workers, rarely being the owners of property and expected to serve men once the workday was out and domestic activities had to be attended. This may have been very true for female fishing servants, but the matriarch of the family was generally the one overseeing the entire shore operation. Male fishing servants working on the shore would be expected to follow her directives. Furthermore, while women certainly did have more domestic chores than men,

it was not uncommon for men to pick up some of these chores during particularly busy seasons (Keough 2001:663).

In a study of power in relation to family dynamics, it was found that the occupational status and access to resources were key factors in the distribution of power. Women in families with low resources appear to have been at a more equal standing with their spouse. Age was another key factor, with women gaining more power as they approached middle age and beyond (Conklin 1979:35). The relationships between these intersecting social factors and associated agency can certainly be seen in the context of the historical salt cod fishery, with the woman in charge of the shore for each *habitant* or *petit-pêcheur* family generally being an older matriarch. Though the fishery can be seen as an extension of the home, men working in this industry would then also be performing domestic labour. Legally, women working in the Northwest Atlantic fisheries remained subordinate to their husbands, but socially they appeared to sustain healthy reciprocal based relationships and received respect for the work that they performed.

5.3. Work

Labour has been the great defining feature of social roles and expectations in the archipelago since the earliest voyages in the sixteenth century when one's place in the crew defined one's place in the social hierarchy while at sea. Upon settlement, this translated into the implementation of new social roles based upon labour. Where class in other colonial contexts was based more upon income, in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon it was based primarily on occupation in terms of fishing servant, the owner of a fishing operation, and merchants and business owners respectively. Labour also shaped gender

roles and relations and the way children were viewed. The involved nature of sustaining an inshore fishery meant that men, women, and children all had to work extremely closely together to keep their family operation running. This translated into a reciprocal relationship between men and women wherein while they were not legally equal, socially they were on a more even footing with their male counterparts compared to their contemporaries in other colonial contexts. For the people of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, work related to the fishery was a key defining factor in their lives, shaping both day-to-day life and the broader social roles developed for the time. The motto of Saint-Pierre, *A Mare Labour* [From the Sea, Work] encompasses the importance of work in the fishery to the people occupying the archipelago.

6. Conclusion

At the start of this project three objectives were outlined: (i) to re-analyze the archaeological collection from Anse à Bertrand and identify which objects were associated with women, children, and families (ii) to reconstruct the historical chronology regarding the fishing industry and settlement patterns in Saint-Pierre (iii) and to reconstruct the historical narrative reflecting the ways socio-economic status, labour, gender, and age intersected with daily life to determine to which extent work in the historical salt cod fisheries at Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon could be considered empowerment, exploitation, or some combination of the two. An examination of each phase of the fishery using these objectives led to the conclusion that empowerment and exploitation in relation to work in the fishery is most often a complex relationship between the two; whether something can be considered one or the other was highly dependent upon age, gender, labor, and circumstance.

The changes in the operation of the fishery in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon over three centuries are primarily related to shifts in settlement patterns and political stability, which are traceable through the changes in material culture found in the archaeological collection. These factors were influential in shaping both the way the fishery operated and to whom tasks were delegated. When the fishery was purely migratory in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries it was an exclusively male endeavor and yet despite this, work traditionally associated with women, such as cleaning and serving food, were still necessary. The crew classification system that had been implemented on French vessels

in the sixteenth century persisted into the twentieth-century. It allowed for young apprentices to take charge of such chores that were traditionally construed as women's work. In this sense, women's work was seen as necessary but beneath that of the men of the crew. This would change as women began to settle the islands and began to play more important roles in the fishery, but it is important to note that at this period of time, migratory crews' interactions with women were with women in Europe, where the traditional roles of women were still in place, which allows for the association of these young apprentices with a certain degree of femininity through their labor.

When people began to settle in the archipelago in the eighteenth-century, the class division based upon labour delegation remained in place. However, given the instability of the newly established sedentary fishery, the small number of male residents alone could not sustain it themselves. This reason, more than anything else, was the driving force behind the reorganization of gender and social roles that would shape life in the archipelago. Women's contributions in performing the skilled labour that had been reserved for some of the most experienced fishermen in the migratory fishery, became the sector of the fishery where women thrived. By the late-eighteenth-century, the large plantations that been made possible by *grand negociants* buying up large sections of the *graves* on Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, which was prime real estate, were hiring men, women, and even children, to help with the salting of cod, with women and children taking up most of the jobs on the shore.

These plantations were sustainable up until the end of the nineteenth-century, when declining cod populations and various economic and political crises rendered such large

operations impossible. While fishing before had still been a family affair, with fishing servant families often working together for a single *habitant* family, and the latter working together to keep the plantation running, the twentieth-century ushered in a similar but smaller operation, that was more dependant than ever upon the family unit. Women, children, and extended family members all had to work in mutually complementary roles to sustain their livelihoods.

The implementation of the fish plant in the earth twentieth-century changed the household dynamic of the fishery drastically. Rather than the entire household having to cooperate to sustain a fishery, parents could go to work in a factory while children could spend the day in schools and being responsible for simpler household chores. However, the fish plant still did not usher in the general 1950's suburban lifestyle. Many women still worked, and in factory positions, but they did not hold the same authority they had previously held on the *graves*.

The fishery was perhaps the most influential socioeconomic force in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon. As the backbone of the society its transformations in the way the work was done. It shaped gender roles, class formations, and the overall relationships people had with one another. In terms of whether work in the historical salt cod fishery can be considered empowerment or exploitation for women and children, circumstance is perhaps the key deciding factor. Women rarely experienced the latter, except perhaps in the case of fishing servants if some happened to have been indentured. For the most part though, female fishing servants made informed decisions about crossing the Atlantic to work in the fisheries. If we consider the work on the *graves* to be an extension of the

household, then women working in these positions are still working in the household. Furthermore, the authority they held over workers on the *graves* would translate to authority held by women in other contexts within the household. However, apart from the men fishing from boats, this would also translate to men working in a domestic context as well. This factor is why the historical salt cod fishery served as a great equalizer between men and women and resulted in establishing healthy relationships in terms of authority, power, and gender between men and women of equal social standing.

For children on the other hand, it was not necessarily an issue of empowerment and exploitation but exploitation and expectation. While it is easy to pinpoint the treatment of these young workers as exploitation from a modern standpoint, whether their contemporaries considered it as such is somewhat less clear. For the boys working in the migratory fishery, it depended on the circumstances of their employment. Boys taken on through spiriting and indentured servitude were more likely to be exploited, but those who volunteered were nearly just as easy for captains or employers to exploit. Most of the *petits graviers* and *mousses* were subject to social roles associated with fishing that had been invented with older sailors in mind. While there are certainly some indications that contemporary people took some issues with the treatment of the *graviers* and *mousses*, their continued employment and access to alcohol within the community also indicates that others did not.

Throughout the lifecycle of the fishery in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon work was always the driving force behind life in the archipelago. During the fishing season it occupied every waking hour in both the migratory and sedentary fisheries. For residents of the

archipelago, the fishery shaped most aspects of daily life. Even during the off season, the relationships between men, women, and their children which had been established in the working season, persisted into the winter months. Overall, the fishing industry in Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon was consistently the lifeforce of the community, creating a unique culture of cooperation, hard work, resilience and persistence.

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