Economy of Cod

Trade, Connection, and Cultural Resilience in the French Atlantic

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Abstract

The fall of *Nouvelle-France* (1763) is intrinsically linked with the reorganisation of European powers in the Atlantic World. It ushered in an era of political instability as nations fought over the rights to exploit economic drivers such as sugar and cod. France was not immune to the power struggle as they fought to continue participating in the Atlantic economy and sought to establish or maintain overseas territories. However, the efforts to maintain Caribbean colonies eclipsed the crucial role of cod fishing in the Northwestern Atlantic in the shaping and maintaining of the French Atlantic World. In the period following the collapse of Nouvelle-France, the reorganization of the French Atlantic created a mobile constellational network that distributed cod to support the sugar trade and connected colonies across the Atlantic. This generated an interdependency that, when studied from an agency and actor-network perspective, was key to the continuation of the French commercial network despite war, violence, and political uncertainty. Further, this network created lasting cultural exchange between colonies that continues to today. By framing the French Atlantic as an intercolonial constellational network, the French reorganization and the distribution of goods creating an interdependency between colonies and people was at the core of the French success.

Key words: Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, Martinique, North Atlantic, Cod fisheries, Trade Networks, Agency

General Summary

France ceding its territorial holdings in North America to the British in 1763 set off a chain of events that led to the reorganisation of European holdings. It ushered in an era of political instability as nations fought over the rights to exploit economic drivers like sugar and cod. France was not immune to the power struggle, as the nation fought to participate in the Atlantic economy and establish or maintain footholds overseas. However, their efforts to maintain Caribbean colonies has eclipsed the crucial role of cod in the shaping and maintaining of the French Atlantic World. The reorganization of the French Atlantic created a new trade network that distributed cod to support the sugar trade and interconnect colonies across the Atlantic. This created a dependency that was key to the continuation of the French commercial network despite war, violence, and political uncertainty.

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From Saint-Pierre et Miquelon to Martinique

1.1 From Saint-Pierre et Miquelon to Martinique

Standing on the shores of Point May, Newfoundland you can see a distant rise of land on the misty horizon. Only 20 kilometers away from Newfoundland, the archipelago of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon is a French overseas territory where the language spoken is French, currency used is the Euro, and the tricolour flag is flown. Some of the families that still inhabit the island can trace their roots back to the earliest French fishermen who undertook the perilous transatlantic voyage and fought to maintain their homes. The tenacity of these fishermen and their families can be linked to the cod stock that was exploited from the banks surrounding Newfoundland and led to the hard-fought maintenance of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon for over 500 years. My studies initially focused on the material culture of the French fishery, which revealed gaps in the timeline of imported French materials to the North Atlantic. These supplies were imperative to the maintenance and perseverance of the French population (Champagne 2018; Champagne and Losier 2021). This theme eventually expanded to explore how else this overlooked node of the French colonial network impacted the greater Atlantic World. By evaluating the trade networks and how they function through representative materials, it is possible to determine the networks operating in the Caribbean and in the North Atlantic, and how each of those networks intersect. At its very core however, this study's focus is not on the materials but the people they represent, their connection and lived experiences through the tempestuous period that was the renegotiation of the Atlantic between 1763 and 1815.

France strategically fought to maintain the archipelago of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon from 1536 when French fishers frequented its shores, to its final retrocession in 1815. The

decision to maintain these territories was mainly to ensure access to the cod stocks of the North Atlantic. Rather than a consolation, the maintenance of Saint-Pierre was a conscious and strategic decision following the collapse of New France in 1763 to establish a firm anchor in the North Atlantic and continue the economic exploitation of the area (Losier 2021a:505). Further, by maintaining Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, an administrative center was instituted to support the seasonal efforts of the green fishery (those who stayed on the banks to process the catch on board ships) and the seasonal fishermen of the *Petit Nord*. The *Petit Nord* or French Shore spanned the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland (1713 to 1783 with a modification in its configuration between 1783 and 1904) and provided onshore shelter to transitory French fishermen on a yearly basis. By maintaining access to the cod stocks of the North Atlantic, France was able to provision the Atlantic markets with a lean, easily conserved and inexpensive protein. Cod was sought out as a rationing staple during France's economic expansion, as well as a culinary preference for those settled within Europe (Innis 1978:76; de la Morandière 2005:36).

While increased popularity generally attributed to religious penchant to consume fish on Fridays inflated cod consumption globally in the 17th century (Fagan 2006), there is also a strong link to the burgeoning sugar economy. More specifically, salt cod was a key ration on ships responsible for the forced transportation of humans from Africa to the Caribbean, and to those who resided in the European colonies of the Caribbean, North America and further afield (Innis 1978:76). By the 18th century cod became a dietary

staple to those involved in sugar production and demand continued to increase as the sugar era took off (Innis 1978:76; Losier 2021a; de la Morandière 2005:36).

Some 3610 km directly south of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon lies the southern anchor of the French Atlantic network, Martinique. While imperative to French interests, Martinique is commonly regarded as the main focus of French colonial expansion due to its access to the sugar trade, and position as southern administrative center. First colonized by the French in 1635. French settlers would shift away from diverse cropping strategies to focus on monocultural sugar cane cropping. As cane cropping to that scale was proven to be more labour intensive than tobacco, cacao, and coffee, by 1685 King Louis XIV enacted a decree to support and legalize the abduction, enslavement, and abuse of enslaved labourers (Miller 2008:28–30). Until abolition in 1848, these edicts would increase the enslavement and transportation of African people to the Caribbean to keep up with the raising global demand for sugar (Hardy 2014; Miller 2008:21; Schloss 2012:2)

Throughout the negotiations of the Treaty of Paris (1763), France kept or regained Martinique Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Marie-Galante, and Désirade in the Caribbean, French Guiana in South America, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon off the coast of Newfoundland, Belle-Île-en-Mer, off the coast of Brittany, and Gorée (present-day Senegal) in West Africa. By maintaining the colonies in the Caribbean, France was able to profit from the sugar economy. Along with these sugar islands, France also prioritized “supply colonies” in their negotiations, whose roles were to support sugar production. These roles were

fulfilled by Saint-Pierre et Miquelon for access to cod, with an attempt to establish French Guiana for other foodstuffs (Dull 2005; Losier 2021a; Mintz 1985:37–48).

To explore the impact these geopolitical events had on the French Atlantic from 1763-1815, three objectives were established: 1) to document the trade routes in the Caribbean and the provisioning ability of those entrenched in the plantation system; 2) to document the trade routes in the North Atlantic and the provisioning ability of fisherfolk who depended on it; and 3) to demonstrate, using objectives 1-2, the perseverance of the French Atlantic beyond the fall of *Nouvelle-France* and to frame the importance of the North Atlantic to the global French colonial project after 1763. Throughout each objective the impact these cultural connections had on the identity of the individuals within the trade network will be explored, to firmly center the narrative around the individuals of the labour force. By analysing labour sites that represent each location's key economic contribution, it is possible to evaluate the access individuals in these colonies had to the greater world. These analyses can similarly gauge the access these individuals had to each other and the interdependencies that were created to overcome the physical distances separating them. While vastly different, the colonies of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and Martinique each represent French footholds established to exploit resources that relied on the labour of displaced individuals. Martinique, and other Caribbean colonies, relied specifically on enslaved individuals who were forcibly displaced, whereas Saint-Pierre relied mainly on French transatlantic fisherfolk who sought opportunity in the Northwestern Atlantic.

Martinique was considered the administrative center of the French Caribbean. By evaluating the trade routes that intersected in Martinique it is possible to evaluate the distribution of goods on the island and into the Caribbean. More specifically, these routes can be viewed from a local provisioning perspective, ultimately determining the level of access those who were subject to French control (i.e. enslaved individuals) had to the trade routes. By studying the trade routes from official trade records and from the excavated ceramics on the Habitation Crève Coeur site, the realities of provisioning beyond the official narrative and the "required" rationing of the enslaved community can be documented. In actuality, a complex provisioning system of global and legal and illegal inter- and intra-colonial provisioning was necessary to feed the labour force. These routes resulted in lasting cultural exchange that is still found in local cuisines today. This analysis directly satisfies the first objective; to document the southern trade routes, the impact they had on individuals and the provisioning ability of those entrenched in the plantation system.

Where Martinique represents the southern portion of the Atlantic network, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon represent the little studied French North Atlantic throughout the politically tenuous period between 1763 and 1815. The French North Atlantic not only persevered but proved be a persistent and vital supplier of cod to the French Empire. By basing the perspective in the northern gate of the French Atlantic trade network, a nuanced view of the complex provisioning needed to support the French Empire can be gained. To determine the network that Saint-Pierre et Miquelon contributed to, the material culture excavated from the onshore fishing site of Anse a Bertrand was paired

with official shipping records to determine the level of distribution that occurred on-island. In a similar fashion to the analysis of records in Martinique, the official records will assist in determining trade interactions within metropolitan control; whereas the material culture represents the realities that were outside metropolitan control. By identifying the complexities of provisioning in the north Atlantic the cultural exchange of goods, ideas and people can contribute to an understanding of the ethnogenesis that occurred as fishers forged a new identity in their circumstances. Through this analysis objective 2 can be satisfied where the commercial networks operating in the north can be identified and the impact of the fisherfolk on the network explored.

By completing objectives 1 and 2, the overarching objective (3), to demonstrate the perseverance of the global French trade network past the reorganization of colonial interests in 1763 in both the Caribbean and North Atlantic, can be achieved. In order to determine this perseverance, it is prudent to analyse the dissemination of products at the base level of the trade network. Through the analysis of material culture at labour-related sites in both the North Atlantic and the Caribbean, when paired with official shipping records, it is possible to determine the real access that individuals would have had to global trade networks. Provisioning in terms of global, inter-, and intra-colonial connections can be identified and highlighted, and the people recognized as contributors to vital trade networks throughout the colonial era. These diasporic populations forged new cultural ties in order to provide for themselves in a system that proved to be unreliable and ultimately led to lasting identity formations and changed the structure of global networks.

1.2 Crève Coeur, Martinique and Anse à Bertrand, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon

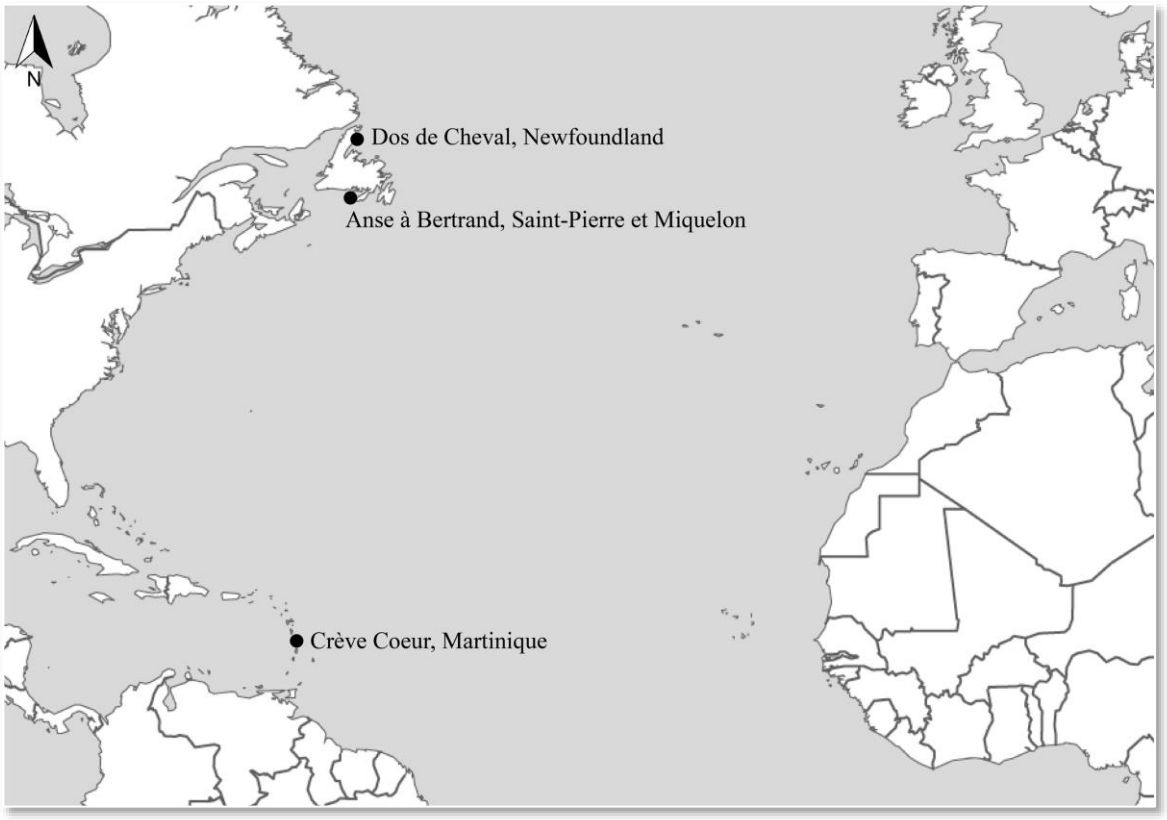

Figure 1.2.1: Location of study sites

To achieve research objective 1 and 2, two archaeological sites were chosen: Crève Coeur, Martinique in the Caribbean and Anse à Bertrand, Saint-Pierre in the Gulf of St. Lawrence (Figure 1.2.1). Crève Coeur, located in the southern commune of Saint-Anne, Martinique is an ideal case study for this research firstly, because Martinique is the French administrative center of the Caribbean, which parallels Saint-Pierre et Miquelon's role as the administrative center of the north. Secondly, Crève Coeur was an operational sugar estate throughout the time period in question (1763-1815), and the archaeological remains faced little disturbance in the years following its closure, allowing clear occupation periods to be studied. In terms of the individuals themselves, the enslaved

peoples who laboured at Crève Coeur and the fishermen on the North Atlantic represent diasporic (forced or otherwise) communities who were subject to the whims of the French regime and the geopolitical strife in the Atlantic. Each resolved to provision themselves through alternative means, through which emerged new identities outside French control.

Habitation Crève Coeur is ideal to understand how the global politics of the 18th and 19th century affected French Caribbean commercial networks. First appearing in the Moreau du Temple (1770) map of Martinique, the plantation is located at the base of the Crève Coeur mountains and would eventually expand to encompass neighboring plantations, lodging around 100 to 200 enslaved laborers over almost a century of its existence. In 1844, as demand for Caribbean sugar decreased, the plantation was put up for sale. It sold ten years later in 1854, six years after the abolition of slavery in 1848. Crève Coeur was sold to a former overseer who continued sharecropping until the 19th century (Blondel La Rougery 2009; Wallman and Kelly 2020:115). These later activities did not disturb the archaeological context of the enslaved peoples' village or the remains of the plantation features (Kelly 2010).

The Habitation Crève Coeur was first surveyed archaeologically in 1988-1990 by Jean-Baptist Barret, who identified four major industrial structures related to the plantation (Barret 1991) (Figure 1.2.2). Today the Habitation Crève Coeur contains the fenced-off ruins of industrial buildings. The excavations associated with this survey would be one of Martinique's first historic archaeological excavations and led Crève Coeur to be a designated protected heritage site (Barret 1991; Bérard et al. 2014:135; Kelly 2010:2). In 2004 Kelly identified seven different areas of occupation through

archaeological testing; four were recognized as enslaved community occupations, one was the plantation house, and two were known as domestic or dependant contexts, frequented by individuals serving in the plantation house. The latter two contexts were later reidentified as an infirmary and an enslaved community occupation (Kelly 2010:30; Wallman and Kelly 2020:117). For the purposes of this study two of the contexts associated with the enslaved community occupation, the plantation house and the infirmary, were examined as they represented the breadth of the site occupation and most closely aligned with the time period of interest. These selected contexts represent 68m^2 of the 125m^2 (plus shovel test pits) that make up the entire excavation. The ceramics excavated and studied from Crève Coeur contribute to satisfying objectives 1 (determine trade routes in Martinique) and 3 (determine the continuance of the French Atlantic).

Figure 1.2.2: Crève Coeur as it stands today

In the Gulf of St. Lawrence an onshore fish processing site was chosen to document the interactions of the French trade network in the North Atlantic. Anse à Bertrand, Saint-Pierre, represents an onshore French migratory fishing station. Anse à Bertrand, located on the outermost southeastern point of Saint-Pierre harbour. Maps of this have included depictions of fishery-related structures since the end of the 17th century (Gallica, *Plan du port de la colonie de l'iles de St Pierre,* 1680-1700). Archaeological excavations have demonstrated a continual occupation associated with the seasonal fishery until the government mandated expropriation in the late 20th century to secure the immediate area of the Saint-Pierre airport (Livingston and Losier 2021; Losier et al. 2018, 2019).

Anse à Bertrand was occupied by *habitants-pêcheurs* during the 17th and 18th century (residential fishing captains), before *armateurs-négociants* (industrial fishing and trading companies) took over in the 19th century. In these later periods some French fishermen would still elect to undertake the long transatlantic voyage for the inshore fishing season; however, as the town of Saint-Pierre expanded, these peripheral fishing premises would be occupied by local families of Saint-Pierre (Artur de Lizarraga et al. 2016:31).

Three extant structures still present at Anse à Bertrand reflect the complex history of the inshore fishery. Two houses associated with 20th century seasonal occupation, a *saline* (salt house) and the remains of the *graves* peeking through the grass. Put in place in the 17th century the swaths of rocks cobbled in large tracks near shore represent the enduring legacy of the transatlantic fishery, where fish were laid out to dry. The excavation of Anse à Bertrand from 2017 to 2022 documented the evolution of the fishery throughout time and the consumer practices of those who laboured and lived on the archipelago during this period (see Champagne et al. 2019; Champagne and Losier 2021; Livingston et al. 2018; Livingston and Losier 2021; Losier et al. 2019, 2023). While early contexts take into account the early migratory fishermen, the ceramics are primarily utilitarian in nature and largely sourced from the home regions where the fisherfolk originated from (Losier 2021b:7; St. John 2011:148). The utilitarian nature of these ceramics would remain consistent until a marked influx of non-utilitarian ceramics that would indicate greater access to global markets in the 19th century. The interaction with broader markets coincides with the time in history when local seasonal migrations shifted

the work area to encompass both domestic and labour-based activities, compared to the mainly labour based occupations of the past. The material culture analysis at Anse à Bertrand will focus on identified ceramics that speak to trends in provenance and market access. However, the post-depositional processes that affect the material culture of Anse à Bertrand have led to the quantity of unprovenanced ceramics within the collection leaving many sherds too small and abraded to allow macroscopic identification. As a result, an "unknown" category was created and could represents French, Iberian, and/or English ceramics. Materials taken into account encompass 130m^2 of open excavation along the shoreline and represent each phase of the fishery.

Figure 1.2.3: Post card depicting Anse à Bertrand c. 1904, courtesy of Loïc Detcheverry

Unfortunately, these contexts are not found in discreet stratigraphic levels, as the site has faced significant disruption and is actively threatened by shoreline erosion,

similar to other coastal contexts (Dubois 2010; Losier et al. 2019:17). The nature of the fishery itself, where fishermen would reoccupy the same sites on a yearly rotation, occasionally leveling and rebuilding between occupations, has impacted the archaeological context (Pope 2008:42). Occasionally, razing of the occupations between British and French reclamations did occur, adding to the potential disruptions to the archaeological deposit (Andrieux 1983:7; Ribault 2016:67). Taking into account the disturbed nature of Anse à Bertrand, the materials excavated have been separated into four relatively broad periods 17th and 18th century, 19th century, 20th century, and 21st century. However, by merging the data associated with the material culture and the archives, the analysis can better define the provisioning within this broad range, in relation to the site. This research will focus on the early period and the material most closely related to the 1763-1815 date range.

To date, the French North Atlantic has a distinct lack of archeological investigation pertaining to this time period. As such, a second, related site was consulted to bolster conclusions and represent a starting point for further research. Materials from Area C of the Dos de Cheval (also known as Champ Paya) (ExAf-09) in the Petit Nord will be used as this secondary site. Located within the limits of both iterations of the Petit Nord on Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula, excavations at Dos de Cheval found the remains of one of several fishing rooms lining the inner Cap Rouge Harbour, near present day Crouse. First documented in 1541 by Cartier, the Cap Rouge harbour sheltered Breton, Basque and Norman fishing crews. Materials at the site suggest French occupation on a continual, seasonal basis from the 17th century to the 1904 collapse of the

French Shore, with an English occupation between 1790 and1820. Excavation of Area C led by Peter Pope from 2006-2008 opened 82m^2, with analysis of French wares were undertaken by Amy St. John (2011). The combined materials of both Anse à Bertrand and Dos de Cheval contribute to satisfying objectives 2, documenting the trade route around Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and 3, determining the continuance of the French Atlantic, encompassing the nuances of both the onshore and migratory fishery.

1.3 Literature Review

The literature review situates each objective within the discipline, identifies gaps in research, and potential impacts this research could have to the broader study of the Atlantic. It needs to be mentioned that each chapter has an accompanying in-depth literature review to complement the specific objective addressed in the chapter. Research surrounding the first objective, to document the French Caribbean network, mainly contributes to French Caribbean colonial trade route studies (Curet and Hauser 2011; Honychurch 1997; Kelly et al. 2008; Kelly and Hardy 2011; Losier 2016, 2020; Marzagalli 2011), where the intercolonial exchange, access, and the impact of enslaved individuals, indentured individuals and colonists on the networks are examined throughout the Caribbean. This research will further the boundaries of the Caribbean previously established and seek to understand intercolonial trading within the Atlantic, specifically from a Martiniquan perspective. The work herein accompanies research which examine specifically the impact enslaved individuals had on the colonial Caribbean through provisioning, creolization, and cultural influence (Browne 2004; Champagne and

Losier 2021; Eichmann 2017; Horan 2010; Mandelblatt 2013; Miller 2008; Tomich 2016,).

Further, this study seeks to recognize the tangible and intangible archaeological record of the enslaved population in Martinique and highlight the disparity between the official record and the reality of enslaved provisioning. This body of work will join the growing studies that focus specifically on the French Caribbean and the interconnectedness of the Atlantic World to other colonies. Specifically, it will analyze the interpersonal connections within the Atlantic, an approach that is only accessible through the interdisciplinary evaluation of archaeological and historical materials (see also Barret 1991; Bérard et al. 2014; Beuze 1990; Fanning 2009; Kelly 2008, 2010; Kelly et al. 2008; Kelly and Wallman 2014; Scott 2017; Wallman 2014; Wideman 2011). The convergence of illegal and legal trade routes intersecting in Martinique will contribute to the discipline with a nuanced look at the trade routes in Martinique within the context of an active sugar estate (objective 1).

By taking a perspective anchored in the North Atlantic, specifically from the position of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, the aim to demonstrate the persistence of the French trade network in the North Atlantic will help redress the historiographical gap left by the capitulation of *Nouvelle-France*, and the general assumption that the French North Atlantic fell with it. This presumption is echoed in numerous publications over multiple decades (Canny et al. 1987; Elliott 2006; Falola and Roberts 2008; Forrest 2020; Marzagalli 1999; Thornton 2012) and influenced this work to challenge that assumption. By joining other authors who sought to redefine the French Atlantic, this work seeks to

frame the notion that Saint-Pierre et Miquelon was a pivotal French holding for the formation of the French Atlantic trade network. Recent years have seen an increase in literature from Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, highlighting its position in the development of the North Atlantic, (Andrieux 2006, 2011; Artur de Lizarraga et al. 2016; Dérible 2008; Dubois 2010; Heins 2021), and contribute to our understanding of the role of codfish not only to the fishery but to the global development of French colonies. This study will also laterally contribute to the increased recognition of the Indigenous presence on Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (Auger et al. 2020; LeBlanc 2008; Marchand et al. 2020; Schmit 1983).

This project, concerning Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, uses the cod fishery as the focal point of the research. It contributes to a burgeoning body of work that seeks to highlight the importance of the fishery to the colonization of the Americas (Brière 1992; Crompton 2015; Gaulton and Losier 2020; Losier et al. 2018; Morris 2012; Noël 2010; Pope 2004, 2008; Saunders and VanderZwaag 2010; Sauvage 2020). While the amassed body of work focusses largely on the fishers and the fishing practices in the north Atlantic, this research additionally seeks to emphasize the individuals who were implicated by the economy of cod. By taking this perspective, the individuals who consumed the fish and contributed to expanding or maintaining the network are looked to as meaningful contributors to the historiography. This point of view is providing a new position on the complex systems that made and maintained the French Atlantic throughout the centuries (Mandelblatt 2013; Mathieu 1981; Schnakenbourg 2016). By combining the official

records and material culture of Anse à Bertrand, the perseverance of the North Atlantic trade networks can be documented from the influence of the fishers, objective 2.

More directly, this research will join the expanding literature produced over the six-year study of Anse à Bertrand (Champagne 2018; Champagne et al. 2019; Champagne and Losier 2023; Livingston et al. 2018; Livingston and Losier 2021; Losier et al. 2018, 2023, 2024). By approaching this subject from an interdisciplinary methodology of archaeological and historical research, this body of work situates itself among the titles contributing to the repositioning of the French Atlantic. Bringing Saint-Pierre et Miquelon into focus as a gateway to the greater Atlantic and further abroad (i.e., the Caribbean), the boundary of what is considered the French Atlantic can be pushed. Specifically, to encompass the perspective and role of those who were imperative to its persistence, furthering our understanding of the continuance of the French Atlantic.

While these three objectives will contribute to the already vast body of literature surrounding the colonial Atlantic trade routes (Appleby 2021; Canny et al. 1987; Champagne and Losier 2023; Coclanis 2017; Dieulefet and Losier *in press*; Gijanto 2014; Greene and Morgan 2009; Leonard and Pretel 2016; Loewen 2004; Rushforth and Mapp 2016), by applying the approach highlighted above, an analysis that encompasses the individual, the trade networks, and their implications can be accomplished. Pushing the boundaries of this topic, this study will focus on the people caught at the center of the French Colonial expansion project and seeks to recognize them as individuals with impactful contributions to the historical record in both the Caribbean and the North Atlantic.

1.4 Methodology

To accomplish the three objectives outlined throughout this introduction, a methodology that encompasses the study of material culture and archival documentation was developed to bridge the knowledge between the official (governmental) narrative and the lived experiences of individuals. The methods developed to study the sites of Anse à Bertrand, Saint-Pierre and Crève-Coeur, Martinique were similarly constructed to promote comparison and tailored to each site to best encompass the work that has previously been done and to consider the time frame of the research (1763-1815). Material culture analysis of the ceramics of each collection was conducted in person, with the reanalysis in Martinique taking place over the course of one month and the ceramic analysis of Anse à Bertrand taking place over a period of two years. Each analysis was done with reference to available typological identification guides and published studies in both Saint-Pierre and in Martinique (Arcangeli 2015; Fanning 2009; Kelly et al. 2008; Losier 2016; Métreau 2016; Mock 2016; Samford 2002; St. John 2011). Identification was done by macroscopic inspection of the ceramics and using any maker's marks still present, patterns, glaze type, and ware type. Data from each site was compiled into an Excel database. Data included date of excavation, location and other provenience information as well as material identification and known provenance information related to each ceramic type. Any unknown types were also logged. Reference pictures of each data entry were also taken to reference later, if need be. Archaeological contexts that fell outside the period in study (1763-1815) were excluded (Table *1.4.1*).

Site	Sherds (n)	MNV (n)
Crève Coeur, Martinique	2, 747	95
Anse à Bertrand, St. Pierre	6,016	200
Dos de Cheval, Newfoundland	-	410

Table 1.4.1: Sherd and vessel count at each site

To complement the material culture study of these sites, archival shipping records concerning cargo entering and exiting port were also consulted to determine the trade networks active in Martinique and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. For Martinique, records were accessed online through the *Archives Nationale d'Outre-Mer Instrument de Recherche en Ligne* (ANOM-IREL) digital archives. At the time of this research ANOM-IREL was still in the process of digitizing documents. Those pertaining to Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (C12) had not yet been digitized, so transcription was undertaken from high-resolution pictures taken by Dr. Catherine Losier in 2018 from ANOM in Aix-en-Provence. The records were all transcribed and complied into similar databases to enable ease of comparison, with attention paid to the nature of the cargo imported and exported from these locations.

Due to the violent nature of the period and the time that has passed since they were initially written, the archival records missing from both Martinique and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon are not surprising. In addition to noting the cargo exchanged in the archival records, extra care was taken to identify gaps or missing information in the available records that could point to intercolonial relationships between the French colonies and the surrounding colonies, to try and pinpoint potential illicit networks operating in the area.

By keeping a similar methodology for the material culture analysis and archival record analysis for both Martinique and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, it is possible to compare the two contexts and evaluate them in relation to each other and the wider global and political contexts. The methodology undertaken ensured that a large quantity of data could be translated into analyzable tables, representing a specific cross section of time, and reflect the provisioning choices made by individuals behind these objects and archives. By applying this methodology to the northern (Saint-Pierre et Miquelon) and southern (Martinique) commercial complexes, it will ultimately lead to a nuanced reconstruction of the persistent French Atlantic network.

1.5 Conscious Consumption

The theoretical perspectives on which this research is based are linked the context in which they will be applied. Rather than the strict confines of a triangular trade network that is frequently assumed, the French Atlantic commercial network can be framed as a nodal network. The nodes of this mobile network are defined as points of contact between individuals and the larger network, such as Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and Martinique. To frame the nodal network, different scales of the theoretical framework will be applied as scales which function like Russian nesting dolls. The first scale and the overarching perspective will be agency theory (Dobres and Robb 2005; Hodder 2000; Wobst 2000). As a primary perspective taken throughout this manuscript, agency theory marries the broader historic macroscale represented by the archives and the local archaeological microscale represented by the ceramic materials to center the individuals found within each context in their own history. When applied to individuals in the Caribbean

(objective 1) and fisherfolk in the North Atlantic (objective 2), the perseverance of a global French trade network is apparent through their inter- and intra- colonial interactions (objective 3).

The second scale encompassed within an agency perspective in Anse à Bertrand, Saint-Pierre is Actor Network Theory (ANT) (Dolwick 2009). ANT enables a further focus on the microscale of the individuals' impact on the global commercial network, defining the actor as something making a discernable difference to their environment. In this case the global actors make up a constellation of nodes interconnected by the conscious consumption of materials that link them across time and space. By framing Saint-Pierre et Miquelon as the northern gate of the Atlantic trade network, the complex system used to provision the inhabitants and to circulate cod through the global economy, connects the fishers to the larger world. Ultimately, this establishes the fisherfolk of the North Atlantic as key nodes in the French network and highlights the importance of the fishery within the sugar era in the global economy (objective 2).

The third scale nested within agency and ANT is the concept of ethnogenesis (Voss 2015), which is applied to the cultural exchange that occurred in Crève Coeur, Martinique. By tracing the conscious provisioning tactics undertaken within the plantation context it is possible to identify and trace formed lifeways and identities through these networks. By examining the cuisine that persists in Martinique, access to networks and the intercolonial provisioning ability of enslaved individuals can be ascertained, ultimately lending commentary on how this ability had influence on identity formation (objective 1).

Agency helps frames the North Atlantic and Caribbean from the perspective of the individuals being studied. It centers the experience of the individuals outside the official historiography, focusing on their capacity to act of their own free will. While that ability does shift within the two contexts, enslaved individuals did still possess their own beliefs and ideals; power imbalance does not negate agency (Millward 2013:195). By taking on the broad perspective of agency it is possible to concentrate on the impact that conscious consumption of materials would have on the network and the cultural genesis that was borne from it.

The nodal networks not only enabled the transition from large territorial holdings to long distance colonial territories in 1763 but allowed legal and illegal networks to flourish and create a cultural connectedness. It is within this nodal network that the individuals form relations based on constraints and opportunities related to their position within the network. The persistence of the French Atlantic was possible through the populations who created and sustained the complex, mobile network.

The populations who inhabited these islands relied on each other in indirect but imperative ways that were essential to their shared survival. This research enables a unique opportunity to document the realities of trade outside official records, contributing to the recognition of the lived experience of the enslaved individuals in the Caribbean, fisherfolk in the North Atlantic, and the perseverance of a global French trade network through its inter- and intra- colonial interactions. The individuality and cultural impact highlighted through these theoretical lens' emphasises the humanity that is at the core of

the global French Atlantic network and re-centers these nodes as imperative contributors to the overarching network

1.6 Parts in this thesis

This thesis has been written as a manuscript, encompassing two articles, which constitute the two chapters (chapter 2 and 3) that follow this introduction (chapter 1). The discussion and conclusion chapter (chapter 4) is also framed as an article.

1.6.1 Martinique

Chapter two, *"Pêcher à Miquelon: Transatlantic Trade, Local Networks and Martiniquan Cuisine",* is dedicated to establishing the southern network that provisioned Martinique and more specifically the enslaved individuals within the plantation system. The main objectives are to; 1) Document the trade routes in and around Martinique through the period of 1763-1815; 2) determine the provisioning ability of those entrenched in the plantation system; 3) to ascertain the formation of a new identity that emerged from the actions taken by individuals to provision themselves. These three objectives will be investigated through the analysis of the ceramic collection amassed from the Crève Coeur sugar plantation in southern Martinique, excavated by Ken Kelly in affiliation with the University of South Carolina from 2005 to 2010.

In the analysis of the Crève Coeur collection any ceramics related to the sugar industry or infrastructure (i.e., sugar cones and roofing tiles) were omitted from this study, as they are not related to quotidian provisioning and consumption. Rather, as industrial infrastructure or sugar production, these materials fall outside the main

objectives of this research. To determine the minimum number of vessels (MNV), distinct lips/rims were identified throughout the collection. Analysis of 2,747 sherds determined an MNV of 95 in the Crève Coeur collection.

For Martinique, archival records were accessed online through the ANOM-IREL digital archives. Documents entitled *État Général du Commerce de la Martinique* (General State of Commerce of Martinique) (fond C16) were consulted, as they represent the broad state of commerce on the island. These archives were transcribed from French to English and entered into an Excel register, keeping track of ship name, captain name, origin, destination, tonnage, and nature of cargo. Records from the 1763-1815 period however were not consistent, and many years were missing from the online archive. The years not included (1763-1764, 1774, 1778-1780, 1787, 1790, 1792-1802, 1808-1815) likely represent missing/lost documentation or British possession of the island (1794-1802 and 1809-1815, respectively).

To tie this data together, agency is the primary theoretical perspective taken throughout the analysis (Dobres and Robb 2000; Hodder 2000; Johnson 2003; Johnson 2004; Millward 2013). By considering the archival documentation and material culture associated with Martinique and Crève Coeur from the perspective of the individual as highlighted by agency theory it is possible to take a "bottom-up" perspective. By considering the interactions of the individual and the community with the global network, the narrative of the French Atlantic can be reframed to encompass the reality of the networks in place and the impacts they have on the broader world. To complement agency, ethnogenesis (Voss 2015) was additionally adopted as a lens to discuss the

identity formation that resulted from the cultural connections borne from the provisioning efforts of the individual.

This paper was published in *Agency and Archaeology of the French Maritime Empire* (Gauthier-Bérubé and Dempsey 2023), under the same name *Pêcher à Miquelon: Transatlantic Trade, Local Networks, and Martiniquan Cuisine* (Champagne and Losier 2023).

1.6.2 Saint-Pierre et Miquelon

Chapter three, dedicated to "*The Persistence of the French North Atlantic (1763-1815) and the Perseverance of the Saint-Pierre et Miquelon Population"* focuses on remodeling the French North Atlantic trade network from 1763-1815. Frequently cited to have capitulated along with *Nouvelle-France* in 1763, the French North Atlantic trade network persisted and continued to adapt to the changing geopolitical environment of the Atlantic. The objectives of this paper are to demonstrate; 1) the perseverance of the North Atlantic trade network and 2) the ability of the fisherfolk in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon to provision themselves. By achieving these goals, it is possible to delve into3) the expression of agency and identity formation of the diasporic population of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon.

The material culture analysed from Saint-Pierre et Miquelon were excavated from Anse à Bertrand, Saint-Pierre. Amassed from 2017 to 2019 excavations held in Saint-Pierre in conjunction with Dr. Losier and the Memorial University field school, the site of

Anse à Bertrand demonstrates the material culture of a seasonally reused on shore fishing occupation from the 17th to 20th century.

Similar to Crève Coeur, the ceramic materials of Anse à Bertrand were analyzed, with the exception of infrastructure materials (i.e., brick) in order to maintain focus to the provisioning goods utilized throughout the site and better demonstrate the perseverance of the North Atlantic trade network though the maintenance of provisioning systems of the French fisherfolk. To better reflect the provisioning trends, sherds large enough and in good enough condition to be analysed and provenanced macroscopically were used. As the state of the collection did not allow for the identification of all ceramics, there is an added unknown category. Additionally, by studying the trends in materials, the overarching as well as the outliers, the agency and identity expressed through the conscious choice of consumer products can be perceived. MNV was determined through the presence of distinct rims/lips and encompasses 6016 sherds (MNV of 200).

In addition to Anse à Bertrand, materials from Dos de Cheval, Petit Nord were also consulted to ensure a more comprehensive understanding of the North Atlantic fishery and to offset the small number of studies currently focusing on the North Atlantic. Where Dos de Cheval is a known French seasonal fishing site in the Norther Peninsula of Newfoundland, the material culture there would equally represent the general trends in French fishing sites and give greater resolution to the nature of provisioning efforts in the Atlantic following the fall of *Nouvelle-France,* satisfying objective 2. The data from Dos de Cheval was taken from *An Interpretation of French Ceramics from a Migratory*

Fishing Station, Dos de Cheval, Newfoundland (EfAx-09) (St. John 2011) and takes into account 410 vessels analysed by Amy St. John (2011).

Documents entitled *Etat des batiment merchant Français arrivés a St. Pierre et Miquelon de leurs expeditions en Europe et au colonie l'Amerique* (Status of French merchant ships arriving in St. Pierre and Miquelon from their expeditions to Europe and to the colony of America) (fond C12) were compiled into an Excel database, taking into account ship name, captain name, origin, destination, tonnage, and nature of cargo. Of the 1763-1815 period only seven years were available: 1784-1788, 1790, and 1801/1802. Years 1801 and 1802 are grouped together as they are recorded in the archives as "ans 10" when calendar dates were briefly renamed during the French Revolution. These gaps in the archives can be similarly attributed to lost/missing documents or British possession throughout this period.

The theoretical perspectives taken to interpret this data is primarily Actor Network Theory (ANT) as defined by Dolwick (2009) to frame the global context of the network formation. When combined with agency (Hodder 2000; Wobst 2000) and ethnogenesis (Voss 2015), the resulting network can be interpreted from the perspective of the individuals who contributed to it, relied on it, and provided for it. By combining the larger global perspective (ANT) with the smaller scale individual perspective (agency and ethnogenesis) the cultural influence of the French North Atlantic trade network can be documented as not only existing but have a lasting, transformational impact on those who interacted with it.

These two papers explore the development of complex networks that operated in the Caribbean and the North Atlantic. Additional research related to this work can be found in *Cod Fish and Cooking Pots: Research on Trade Routes of the French North Atlantic* (Champagne and Losier 2021) and *The Cod Era* (Champagne in press). While they are linked by the economy of cod, it is the development of local identities that is the meeting points of these two papers. The influence of these networks on the populations of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and Martinique are exposed through the lasting cultural identities that formed from these connections.

These two chapters are followed by a concluding section (chapter 4).

1.7 The Cod Fishery in the Sugar Era

From the shores of Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, to Martinique, this manuscript covers a vast geographic distance. Yet, the connection between these places is one that can still be tangibly seen and experienced. The salt cod, sugar, and rum produced in each of these locales are inextricably woven into the fabric of each society, transcending time and space (Dieulefet and Losier, in press). The distance between each and the necessary efforts taken to procure those culturally significant items demonstrates the importance those items had and continue to have to the individuals on these islands. Cultural connection borne from necessity and the individuals who maintained it during a tumultuous period are the basis of this work. Their contribution to the global network impacted and continue to impact global consumption crossing all manner of time and distance as will be demonstrated in the following works.

By examining the French commercial trade network of the Atlantic following the reorganization of French colonial holdings in 1763, it is possible to adjust the spotlights, so they might accurately illuminate the importance of not only the sugar trade but the cod fishery as well. The salt-cod that is the foundation of the cultural connection to the north can be traced back to the fishermen of the north Atlantic. Saint-Pierre et Miquelon served as the administrative center for the French north Atlantic and was hard-fought throughout the politically unstable period of 1763-1815 to maintain fishing rights in the north. The importance of cod fish and those who laboured for it cannot be understated. The maintenance of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon as a French held territory for access to fishing grounds to this day proves this importance. The root of this economic support is the fishers who laboured along the shorelines and out at sea. The continuously reoccupied onshore fishing station at Anse à Bertrand is an example of the work and living space these fishermen occupied. This locale is where they gained access to the global network to provision themselves throughout the season. The materiality of their occupation when paired with the official record paints a complex provisioning network outside metropolitan control. Through the lenses of agency and ANT the focus of the individual that influenced that network can be seen. Specifically, the intercolonial and illicit provisioning networks that flourished throughout this period contributed to cultural connections that defined the people who laboured and lived in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. The contribution of these individuals changed the organization and connection of the Atlantic World.

The provisioning ability of the enslaved individuals housed on the habitation Crève Coeur can be seen through their material consumption within a plantation context in comparison to the global networks intersecting in Martinique. These macro and microscale studies enable the reconstruction of networks that proved to be more complex in reality than the envisioned nationalistic edicts the French government attempted to enforce. By evaluating the consumption practices of these individuals in relation to agency theory and ethnogenesis the formation of new lifeways and cultural identities can be further examined to understand the impact that provisioning had to the individual. The lasting cultural connections developed through provisioning and consumption created new lifeways that are still impactful and reliant on the connections established through the period. By studying the conscious consumption of goods on these labour sites, the networks these individuals interacted with can be reconstructed and compared to the official narrative, establishing the main routes and smaller inter- and intra-colonial routes that were created to serve the individual and the community. Ultimately, the backbone to the constellational network is the fishing and consumption of cod, directly linking the plantations in the south to Saint-Pierre et Miquelon in the north, and the success of the French Empire to the labour of individuals in the overseas territories.

2

Pêcher à Miquelon: Transatlantic Trade, Local Networks and Martiniquan Cuisine

2.1 Introduction

While on a research trip to Martinique in the spring of 2019, a Martiniquan acquaintance made an off-hand comment about a saying she grew up with: "*aller pêcher à Miquelon",* which could translate simply as "going fishing in Miquelon". I asked her to clarify if it meant going all the way to the North Atlantic to the colony of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. She shrugged, said she did not know, and explained that it was an expression that fishermen would use when they were going fishing far offshore. This anecdote stuck with me because it so clearly points to an interconnected history of the French colonies. A small colony in the North Atlantic that mainly provided fish is now used as a colloquialism an ocean away in Martinique centuries after Saint-Pierre et Miquelon's industry peaked.

This saying speaks to the casual knowledge of intercolonial relationships that colonized communities developed to survive their inception and exploitation throughout the colonial period. This research demonstrates that colonial expansion and life in the colonies relied not only on metropolitan France but also on the intercolonial relationships and the individuals who were exploited to facilitate the economic expansion of the French Empire. Diverse local and global provisioning networks were necessary throughout the initial French imperial expansion in the sixteenth century, as well as following the reorganization of the French colonial empire, a tumultuous period from the Treaty of Paris (1763) until the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1815).

The Treaty of Paris signed in 1763 put to rest the Seven Years War and redistributed the wealth of the European powers. The French ceded expansive territory, known as *Nouvelle-France* (New France), on mainland North America to maintain the more economically profitable colonies, notably the lucrative sugar islands in the Caribbean. Throughout the negotiations, France kept or regained Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Marie-Galante, and Désirade in the Caribbean, French Guiana in South America, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon off the coast of Newfoundland, Belle-Île-en-Mer, off the coast of Brittany, and Gorée (present-day Senegal) in West Africa. However, these territories were not a consolation prize: France made a conscious decision to profit from the "sugar era" by maintaining the French Antillean territories crucial to sugar production. France chose to maintain other territories, such as Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and French Guiana, to serve a necessary supporting role supplying salt-cod and other food (Dull 2005; Losier 2021a; Mintz 1985: 37-48). In this way, the Caribbean Island of Martinique was linked to other French colonies colloquially and physically by the fish caught in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon that were shipped to and consumed in Martinique. It seems that going "*pêcher à Miquelon*" was equally crucial for colonial Martinique as the official trade coming from France.

This research contributes to the literature surrounding French colonial trade routes, a theme common in French Caribbean colonies (Curet and Hauser 2011; Honychurch 1997; Kelly et al. 2008; Kelly and Hardy 2011; Losier 2016; 2020; Marzagalli 2011). However, few studies exist that concern routes in the French North Atlantic (Mathieu 1981; Turgeon 2001; Pope 2013; Crompton 2015), and even fewer that

encompass transoceanic and intercolonial links in the Atlantic that continued well past the reorganization of French colonial efforts following 1763 (Mandelblatt 2013; Schnakenbourg 2016). Through the documentation of trade routes via material culture and archival materials, it is possible to understand the provisioning ability of those entrenched in the plantation system and the identity born from it. Archaeological data offers a unique opportunity to go beyond the traditional interpretation of colonial networks that view transatlantic commerce as a West-East business. By delving into the materiality, we begin to understand communities and individuals' impact in building intercolonial provisioning networks.

Focusing on the period following the fall of *Nouvelle-France* in 1763 until the solidification of French colonial occupations in 1815, this chapter explores France's inadequate provisioning of Martinique, caused by political, prejudicial, and geographic constraints. The consequences of these events are seen in the development of a complex trade network operating outside metropolitan control. By evaluating the ceramic assemblage of the Habitation Crève Coeur and Martinique's shipping records from 1763 and 1815, it is possible to retrace the provisioning network of Martiniquan plantation communities at the local and global level. The unique material culture found at the Habitation Crève-Coeur in Martinique demonstrates the provisioning ability of the enslaved inhabitants that contributed to an intercolonial and local connectedness that transcends the boundaries of the metropolitan provisioning system. Moreover, it sparks a discussion regarding the impact that material culture and global political affairs had on

the birth of a new identity, visible through the cuisine and provisioning efforts that allowed individuals caught in the plantation system to express their agency.

2.2 Martinique and global affairs (1763-1815)

Indigenous groups settled in the Lesser Antilles in 3400 BC, and agriculturalist groups were present in Martinique when Christopher Columbus first noted the island in 1493 (Bérard, Espersen, and White 2014). Arawak and Kalina-go indigenous communities still resided on the island in 1502 when Columbus made official landfall and later when Pierre Belain d'Esnambuc claimed the island in 1635 as a colony of the French Crown. He established the first colony in present-day Saint-Pierre to the northwest of Martinique (Bérard, Espersen, and White 2014:133; Maisier 2015:1-2; Schloss 2012: 2). While indigenous groups attempted to resist the colonization of the island, it was without success. Martinique's indigenous population was entirely decimated by 1660, yielding control of the island to France and setting the tone for the violence that would accompany colonization (Wideman 2011: 3).

The mid-to-late 17th century saw an intensification of colonization efforts on the island. French settlers shifted away from exploiting diverse crops meant for exportation, implementing instead a mono-agricultural economy based on sugar cane. While cane was more labor-intensive than tobacco, cacao, and coffee, it was favored due to sugar's economic demand in the 17th and 18th century (Hardy 2014; Miller 2008: 21; Schloss 2012: 2). Peoples from Africa were abducted and forced into enslavement and transported to the Caribbean with increased frequency to mitigate the labor that cane crops required

(Miller 2008: 21; Schloss 2012: 2). In 1685, in order to meet these labor demands, King Louis XIV announced the "*Code Noir*"[1] which created a regime that supported and legalized the abduction, enslavement, and abuse of enslaved laborers (Miller 2008: 28-30). Following this proclamation, the transport of enslaved individuals increased exponentially, changing the political, cultural, and economic landscape of Martinique and the globe (Miller 2008: 30-31). The colonization effort in Martinique and other American territories and colonies was a violent movement that resulted in the genocide of indigenous groups and the enslavement of African people.

In addition to the *Code Noir*, the regnal proclamation *Exclusif* (1674) also had a large impact on trade in the colonies. This edict forbade French merchants from trading with foreign merchants within the French Atlantic (Losier 2021a; Miller 2008: 24). This decree attempted to maintain the clear lines of the French triangular trade and signified an attempt to encourage and enforce French nationalism in colonies that were physically distanced from the *métropole* (metropolitan France). However, away from the direct supervision of the *métropole,* a desire for profit motivated an increase in contraband trade with little regard to political affiliation (Losier 2021a; O'Shaughnessy 2000: 229-230). Martinique's burgeoning colony was profitable, vulnerable, and effectively unregulated by the *métropole* leading up to the Seven Years War (1756 - 1763) and the Treaty of Paris (1763).

1 France. 1765. "Recueils de Règlemens, Édits, Déclarations et Arrêtes Concernant Le Commerce, l'administration de La Justice et La Police Des Colonies Françaises de l'Amerique, et Les Engagés: Avec Le Code Noir et l'addition Audit Code." Paris: les Libraires Associés.

During the Treaty of Paris negotiations, France, rather than risk a permanent economic loss regarding sugar production, willingly forfeited extensive North American holdings to regain islands in the Caribbean, among other territories (Harding 2012: 313-316). The islands that proved to be more economically viable were the sugar-producing territories of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Saint Domingue. In the North Atlantic, Saint-Pierre and Miquelon afforded France access to the productive cod fishing grounds that were crucial in supporting the workforce in the mono-agricultural sugar estates of the French Antilles and other French colonies (Harding 2012: 322; Losier 2021a; Searing 2012: 286). Therefore, despite the loss of *Nouvelle-France*, the remaining French colonies of America were supposed to work interdependently in a cohesive system.

In the years following the Treaty of Paris (1763), Martinique's political and economic position more or less stabilized in the eyes of the Regime, and the productivity of the cane and coffee crops ensured a steady export of goods and the import of enslaved individuals to labor on the plantations (Hardy 2014). However, this regularity was short lived, as the American Revolutionary War broke out in 1775, and Martinique played a specific role in this conflict. Small, fast crafts bound for American shores used Martiniquan ports to smuggle gun powder (O'Shaughnessy 2000: 214). While having a direct effect on America's revolutionary effort, this smuggling also broke the *exclusif* that was, until that time, the theoretical key to keeping “foreign” trade to a minimum and maintaining the strict routes of the triangle. These efforts continued until France lent official support to American independence in 1778. As a result, smuggling on the island was no longer necessary, as America had legal access to French Antillean ports (Haudrère

1997: 361; Losier 2021b*:*14). Constraints due to inconsistent trade partners throughout this period were further compounded by hurricanes in 1780 and 1788. These events severely affected the colony to the point that planters claimed they could hardly feed the enslaved laborers and forced inhabitants to rely on the unreliable French Crown to supplement provisions (Cormack 2019:41; Sheridan 1976: 627).

In response to unstable provisioning compounded by conflict and natural disasters, a conspiracy emerged known as the "Famine plot". Planters felt that French merchants were withholding provisions and were to blame for the famine that crippled many plantations. This tactic was diversionary. It shifted the onus away from the planters for intentionally not providing enough sustenance to the population on their plantations and gave them cause to protest the *exclusif*. This notion of a conspiracy allowed the strain placed on a monocultural cropping system by a steadily increasing population to be ignored (Horan 2010: 114-116). Regardless of the reasons, imported provisions were rarely distributed among the lower levels of the plantations, and famine was a constant threat to the lives of enslaved individuals (Arcangeli 2015: 74; Horan 2010). Fearful that the suffering of the enslaved individuals would lead to unrest, in 1789 the island's elite successfully lobbied to have one port opened to foreign ships so a wider segment of the population could procure staples such as flour (Cormack 2019:42).

Discontent among the population came to a head when confirmation of revolution finally reached Martinique two months after its outbreak in the *métropole* (Cormack 2019:3). The French Revolution was less clearly defined in the French colonies, mainly due to distance from its epicenter. This social instability and civil unrest left Martinique

vulnerable and would result in the relatively unchallenged British conquest of the island from 1794-1802 (Cormack 2019:4; Schloss 2012: 27). Like the British conquest in the North Atlantic, the new governmental authorities allowed inhabitants to continue living in Martinique and engaging in their economic activities (sugar production) if they agreed to submit peacefully. Moreover, in collaboration with Martiniquan planters, the British conquerors would maintain the laws of the *Ancien Régime* (pre-revolutionary France), specifically that of slavery, which also effectively minimized the already minimal rights of Free People of Colour (Cormack 2019: 227). Along with the planter elite, the British actively blocked communications and denounced the success of the French Revolution. In turn, the British allowed the ruling elite to maintain an oppressive and subversive hold on the Martiniquan economy, but with open access to British trade routes (Eichmann 2017:115; Cormack 2019:225-227).

In 1803, following the Treaty of Amiens, France regained possession of Martinique. However, the political, social, and economic situation had not improved much from the pre-revolutionary period (Schloss 2012: 17-19). The social divides had deepened, and while rumors of abolition were suppressed, the question of rights and citizenship still permeated the social strata of Martiniquan society. The population of Martinique at the time of repossession (reported as "7,000 *européens ou creole blanc*: 12,000 *gens de couleurs*[2]: 90,000 *esclaves"*) reflected the effective French metropolitan administrative enforcement of decrees (Schloss 2012:17). The colonial administration

2 *Gens de couleur* referred to those who are of mixed racial descent who are manumitted or born free (Schloss 2012:2)

often received push-back from the higher socioeconomic strata and struggled to enforce metropolitan decrees. Throughout the revolutionary period, feelings of abandonment and alienation from the French *métropole* increased tension between the administration and planters in Martinique. This is evident from colonial officials of this period who noted a marked separation between the colony and the *métropole* (Schloss 2012:19). This disillusionment would set the stage for the formation of a new identity, separate from the nationalistic one encouraged by the *métropole.*

The loss of Saint-Domingue further exacerbated France's economic strain after the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804), which shifted the importance of the French Caribbean's commercial viability to Martinique. However, Martinique continued to suffer economically despite efforts to increase commerce with America and the *métropole*. To alleviate some of this strain, it was decreed in 1803 that all ports could be opened to vessels from neutral nations (Eichmann 2017: 117; Schloss 2012: 27). Throughout the period in question, Saint Lucie, Dominica, Saint Vincent, Tobago, Saint Eustace, and Saint Barthelemy all served as "Neutral Islands" at one point or another (Schnakenbourg 2016). Unfortunately, economic relief was short-lived as British naval forces enforced a blockade in 1804 of the main ports of Saint-Pierre and Fort Royal (Fort-de-France), negating any benefits these open ports should have afforded (Tomich 2016: 60)

By 1809 Martinique, along with Guadeloupe, fell to British conquest until France reclaimed them in 1814. From this point, a British blockade of all French West Indian sugar enforced throughout Europe severely impacted Martinique's sugar economy (Tomich 2016: 59-60). The deficit continued until 1815, with the end of the Napoleonic

War when Martinique was permanently retroceded to France. However, rather than fueling nationalistic ideals and reaffirming a French identity in Martinique, Britain's treatment of the colony amplified the gap between the colony and the French *métropole*. Isolation and economic strain renewed colonial complaints of abandonment by France and caused inhabitants to turn inward, becoming more self-reliant (Schloss 2012: 20).

Rather than enforcing a nationalistic homogeneity on the individuals forced to labor for the French Crown, these actions and policies created a tumultuous political period punctuated by unreliable and ineffective support and provisioning from the *métropole*. It ultimately resulted in an unstable sense of identity and subversive provisioning efforts at all socioeconomic levels. As such, these individuals formed their community and identity apart from their oppressors, demonstrated in the provisioning ability and adapted cuisine seen in Martinique's plantation system, more specifically in this case, on the Habitation Crève Coeur.

2.2.1 Crève Coeur

Habitation Crève Coeur's material culture has been analyzed to understand how global politics affected French Caribbean commercial networks (Kelly 2010). The Habitation Crève Coeur is a plantation located in the south of Martinique in the commune of Sainte-Anne (Figure *2.2.1*). The region of Sainte-Anne housed numerous plantations dedicated almost solely to cane agriculture and were owned by a small number of very powerful and wealthy families who formed a "privileged aristocracy" (Wallman and Kelly 2020: 112-113). First appearing on the Moreau du Temple map of 1770, one of the

aforementioned wealthy and influential plantation owners, the Blondel family, held the plantation from the 17th to the 19th century (Wallman and Kelly 2020: 113).

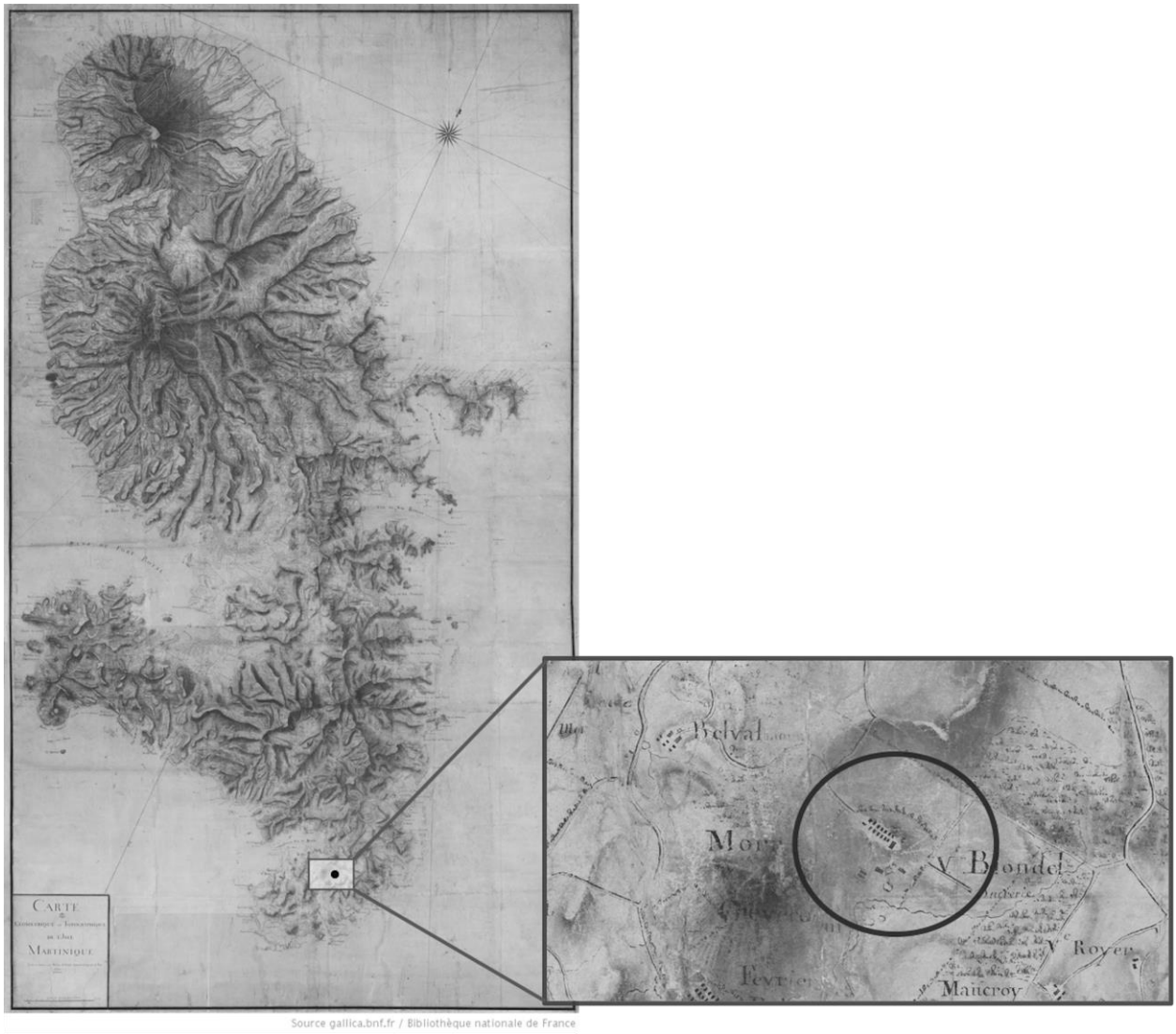

Figure 2.2.1: 1770 Moreau du Temple map showing the Crève Coeur plantation

The plantation was established at the base of the Crève Coeur mountain, near the Cul-de-Sac du Marin, an important ecologic and economic region with a well-sheltered harbor that housed a mangrove swamp with coral reef formations and an abundance of marine resources (Wallman and Kelly 2020: 112). These resources were sought out for

subsistence by the enslaved persons on the plantation (Kelly and Wallman 2014: 17-18; Wallman 2014: 59). Throughout its history Crève Coeur would house around 100 to 200 enslaved individuals and would expand operations into neighbouring lands. However, when the Sugar Era slowed and slavery was abolished in 1848, the plantation was put up for sale. It was eventually sold to a former overseer in 1854 who continued operations through sharecropping methods into the late 19th century (Blondel La Rougery 2009; Wallman and Kelly 2020: 115). The activities of the mid to late 19th century had little impact on the archeological context at Crève Coeur (Kelly 2010).

In 1988 Jean-Baptist Barret recognized Creve Coeur as an archaeological site. Over a two-year period, he identified four major industrial structures relating to its use as a sugar plantation and the ensuing excavations marked one of Martinique's first historical-archaeological investigations (Barret 1991). The results from this ultimately determined the Habitation Crève Cour to be a protected heritage site (Barret 1991; Bérard et al. 2014: 135; Kelly 2010: 2). A site-visit to Crève Coeur in 2019 showed it to be a designated heritage site with fenced-in ruins of industrial buildings and a well-advertised hiking trail nearby

Re-examination of Crève Coeur's archaeological potential was undertaken in 2005, when Kenneth G. Kelly, professor at the University of South Carolina, conducted five seasons of archaeological investigation, focused mainly on the enslaved community of the plantation (Kelly 2010: 2). Based on previous excavation and the 1770 Moreau du Temple map, plantation structures include industrial buildings, a *moulin à bête* (animal

mill), *maison de maître* (enslaver's house), and a row of 14 houses associated with the enslaved community village (Kelly 2008: 396; Kelly 2010: 3).

Kelly identified seven different areas, known as loci, through archeological testing associated with Habitation Crève Coeur occupation. Loci A, C, D, and H were recognized as enslaved community occupations and M as the enslaver's house. Locus E and F, while initially identified as a domestic or dependant context frequented by individuals serving in the planter house, were later identified as an infirmary and an enslaved community occupation, respectively (Kelly 2010: 30; Wallman and Kelly 2020: 117). Due to time constraints and the richness of the collection, loci C, E, F, and M were consulted for this study. They represent the variety of occupations across the site and are the contexts that fall within the 1763-1815 time period (See Table 2.2.1) (Kelly 2008). However, it should be noted that the contexts are subject to reuse throughout the sites history and do not conform to the strict period of study. The total excavation areas of Loci C, E, F, and M is $68m^2$ out of $125m^2$ that make up Kelly's investigation.

Locus	Context	Late-18th c.	Early-19th c.	Mid-19th c.	Late-19th c.
A	Enslaved Community Occupation		X		
C	Enslaved Community Occupation	X	X		
D	Enslaved Community Occupation			X	
H	Enslaved Community Occupation			X	X
E	Infirmary	X	X	X	X
F	Enslaved Community Occupation	X	X		
M	Enslaver's House		X	X	

Table 2.2.1: Locus and affiliated context at Habitation Crève Coeur (Kelly 2010)

Loci C is recognized as an enslaved peoples' community midden, M as the *maison de maître* or enslaver's house, E as an infirmary, and F as an enslaved peoples' community (Wallman and Kelly 2020). For the purposes of this study, the artifacts from these loci were re-inventoried using a modified database founded on the Parks Canada system for the purposes of this study. This system was previously implemented to inventory the Anse à Bertrand collection in Saint-Pierre and adapted to ensure consistency for comparative purposes. Ceramics associated with the sugar industry and construction were omitted (i.e., sugar cones and roofing tiles) to expedite re-consultation of the collection as they are associated with industrial infrastructure or sugar production, not day-to-day provisioning and consumption. The minimum number of vessels (MNV) was determined

through the presence of discernably distinct lips/rims. This analysis takes into account 2,747 sherds (MNV of 95 vessels).

2.2.2 Intentional Interferences and Materiality

The reorganization of French interests in the Atlantic following the Treaty of Paris (1763) led to unstable governance in its overseas possessions. Consequently, this also recentered much of the historiography on the *métropole.* As such, it is imperative to shift the spotlight to the individual and focus on a more "bottom-up" perspective that takes into account the people who enabled France's continued sovereignty. An agency perspective (Dobres and Robb 2000; Hodder 2000; Johnson 2003; Johnson 2004; Millward 2013) will lend this "bottom-up" perspective that centers on the individual, in consideration of the supply network of Habitation Crève Coeur and the identity formation that occurred in the Martiniquan plantation system. The perspective adopted throughout the analysis is the individual's interference and daily interactions with their objects and the resulting impact it had to their environment. In this case, "agency" will be based on its direct definition as an action or intervention made by a thing or person to produce a particular effect. Therefore, this chapter will consider agency as the ability of something or someone to exercise their capacity to act on their own will. Within the context of slavery and Martinique, these concepts frame the interpretation. Despite the nature of their enslavement, these individuals still possessed their ideals and beliefs; the struggle for power does not negate agency (Millward 2013: 195).

To offer a nuanced analysis, the local and global trade network that supplied Martinique will be methodically reconstructed via ceramic analysis and archival records. By implementing a multiscale study, the reconstruction of a supply network based on the "individual" can be undertaken, with the perspective that decisions are made by individuals in direct reaction to the events happening around them (Hodder 2000:25). Rather than viewing provisioning by its structuralist or capitalist inception, this research will view provisioning from the perspective of intentional actions made by the actors, specifically those entrenched in the plantation system. Rather than approaching it as a supply network dictated solely by European powers, by considering what the individuals need from the network, then what the network can supply to the individuals, agency can be discerned.

The formation of new identities, or ethnogenesis, is the corollary of newly forged lifeways. Ethnogenesis can be documented and understood through the agency of material culture. The artifacts used and interacted with represent conscious choices and agency in a hostile system that was designed to limit and remove the individual's independence. Agency allows the individual to express, create, and maintain cultural individuality and diversity apart from the historically Eurocentric narrative. By gathering data through the analysis of material culture and archival records, it is possible to more accurately determine global and local supply networks that served the enslaved individuals of Martinique and the Habitation Crève Coeur and understand the formed lifeways and identity that resulted from these networks.

2.3 Intersection of Local and Global Provisioning in Material and Archival Documentation

It is necessary to consult both the archival records (global) and ceramics from Crève Coeur (local), to form a nuanced perspective and document the global and local networks that would have provisioned Martinique. Firstly, archival cargo records from 1763-1815 were compiled through the *Archives National d'Outre-Mer* (ANOM)'s online IREL database to document the ships arriving and departing Martinique. This step enabled the identification of imported and exported goods and the port cities and territories engaging in that trade. Secondly, undertaken in person from the *Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelle* (DRAC) in Martinique, the provenance study of ceramic sherds from the archaeological collection of Habitation Crève Coeur was evaluated to determine the distribution of goods from the formal network and the related provisioning ability of individuals in the plantation system during the 1763-1815 time period and beyond.

2.3.1 A view of the global network from the Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer

To understand the broad trade routes that intersected in Martinique, I consulted the French records of the *État Général du Commerce de la Martinique* (General State of Commerce of Martinique) archival records from ANOM from 1763-1815. In order to enter the archives concerning the general state of commerce into a comprehensive register (encompassing the origin, destination, tonnage, and nature of the cargo), they were first transcribed from French to English. However, it should be noted that not every year was present in the online archives. The years not included are 1763-1764, 1774, 1778-1780,

1787, 1790, 1792-1802, 1808-1815. This sparsity is likely due to missing or lost documentation or British possession of the island which occurred from 1794-1802 and 1809-1815, respectively. As previously noted, when under British possession, Martinique was merely encompassed into British trade routes, and therefore not included in the consulted archival documentation (Eichmann 2017; Cormack 2019). It is necessary to understand which items had been imported the most. This was done by evaluating the nature of cargo through tonnes imported, number of boats, and unit price to determine the most vital provisions to the Martiniquan population. The total value of unspecified "diverse merchandise" will be omitted from the total amount imported to highlight the specific cargo that was most sought out. Enslaved individuals will also not be included in this cargo analysis, as they were individuals and will be treated as such in the subsequent discussion.

These records demonstrated that despite *exclusif* and the administration's efforts to encourage French trade, the Martiniquan economy exhibited a distinct reorganization of commercial transactions anchored in foreign nations' territory following conflict (i.e., The Seven Years War, American Revolutionary War, and French Revolution). For example, where American trade became more pivotal after the American Revolution, French trade following the first British possession markedly decreased. Regardless of subtle changes demonstrated over time, the majority of imported and exported cargo tonnage (47%, n=892,439) was associated with French ports, although the most frequent contributor of the tonnage entering port originated mainly from the United States of America (27%, n=501,073) and the "neutral" islands (10%, n=175,027) shown in Figure

2.3.1. These activities can attest to Martinique's frequent use as a smuggling port in the contraband network.

Overall, the majority of tonnage exchanged in Martiniquan ports was outfitted in France. The primary ports used to import provisions to Martinique from 1763-1815, based on tonnage, were Bordeaux (31%, n=228,707), then Marseille (18%, n=136,803), Alexandria (Virginia) (11%, n=83,973), and Le Havre (9%, n=66,941). The exports reflect similar routes, where they were sent mainly to Bordeaux (25%, n=146,835), Marseille (23%, n=135,986), Le Havre (11%, n=65, 231) and Bristol (11%, n=64,899). These ports were used primarily to supply Martinique and the Caribbean with what could arguably be called “French Staples”, represented by wine (26.28%), flour (21.55%), salt meat (15.67%), dry-salted cod (7.70%), and livestock (6.33%) (Figure 2.3.2**)**, based on the total value of imported goods). Exports from Martinique consisted mainly of sugar (50.84%) and coffee (32.36%), popular commodities worldwide (Figure 2.3.3).

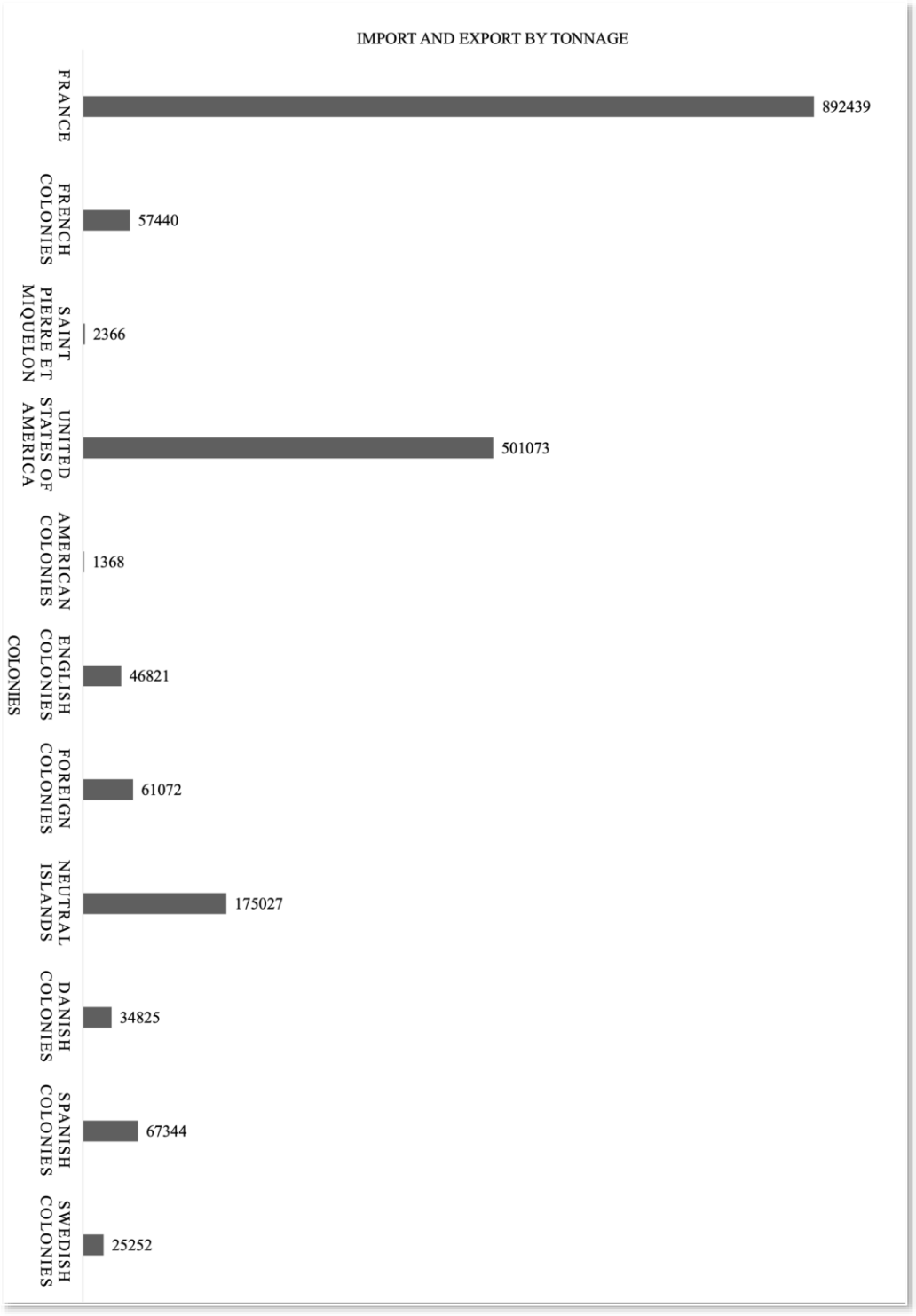

Figure 2.3.1: Imported and exported cargo in Martinique, by nation, in total tonnage from 1763-1815

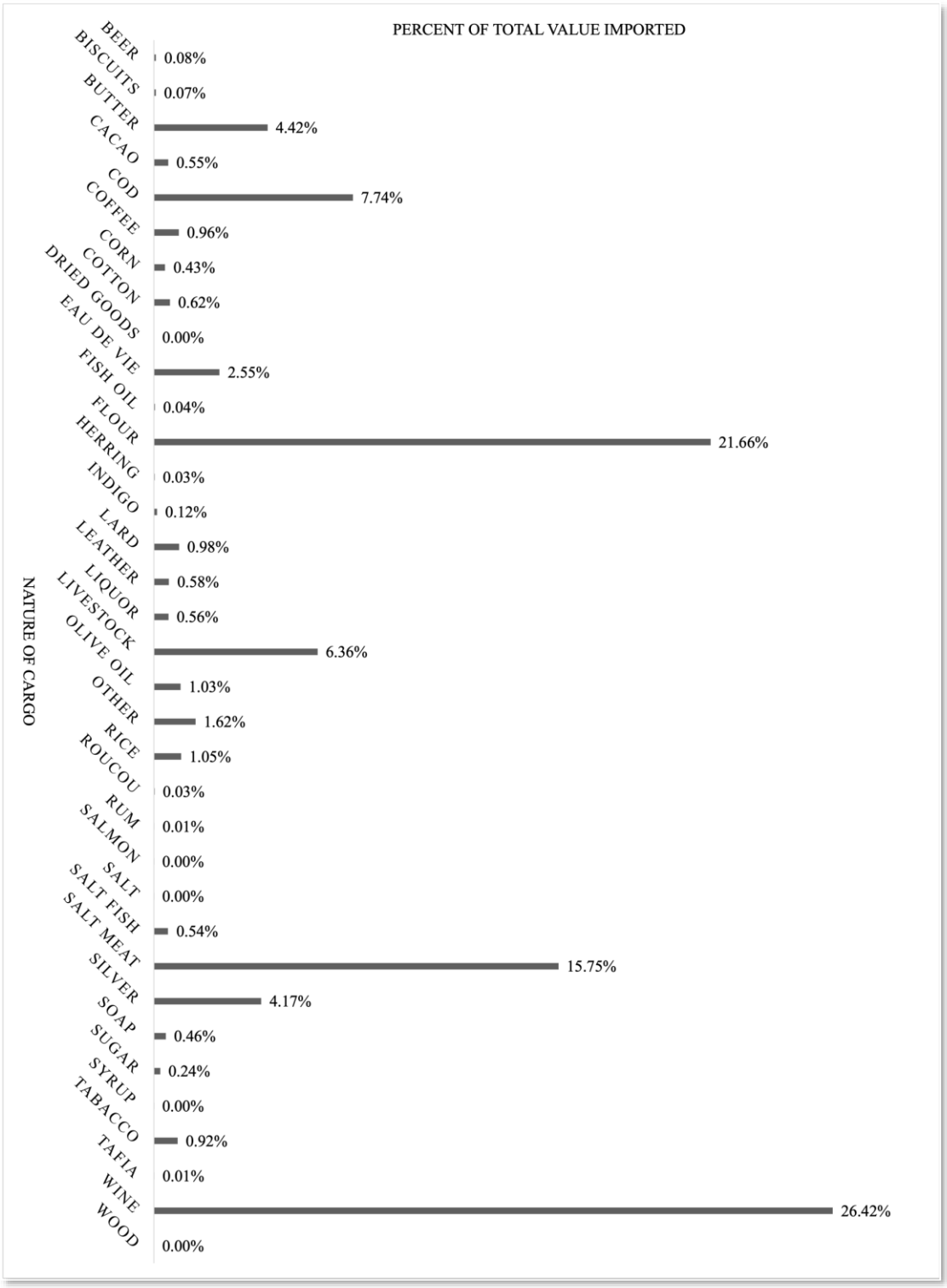

Figure 2.3.2: Nature of cargo by percentage of total value imported from 1763-1815

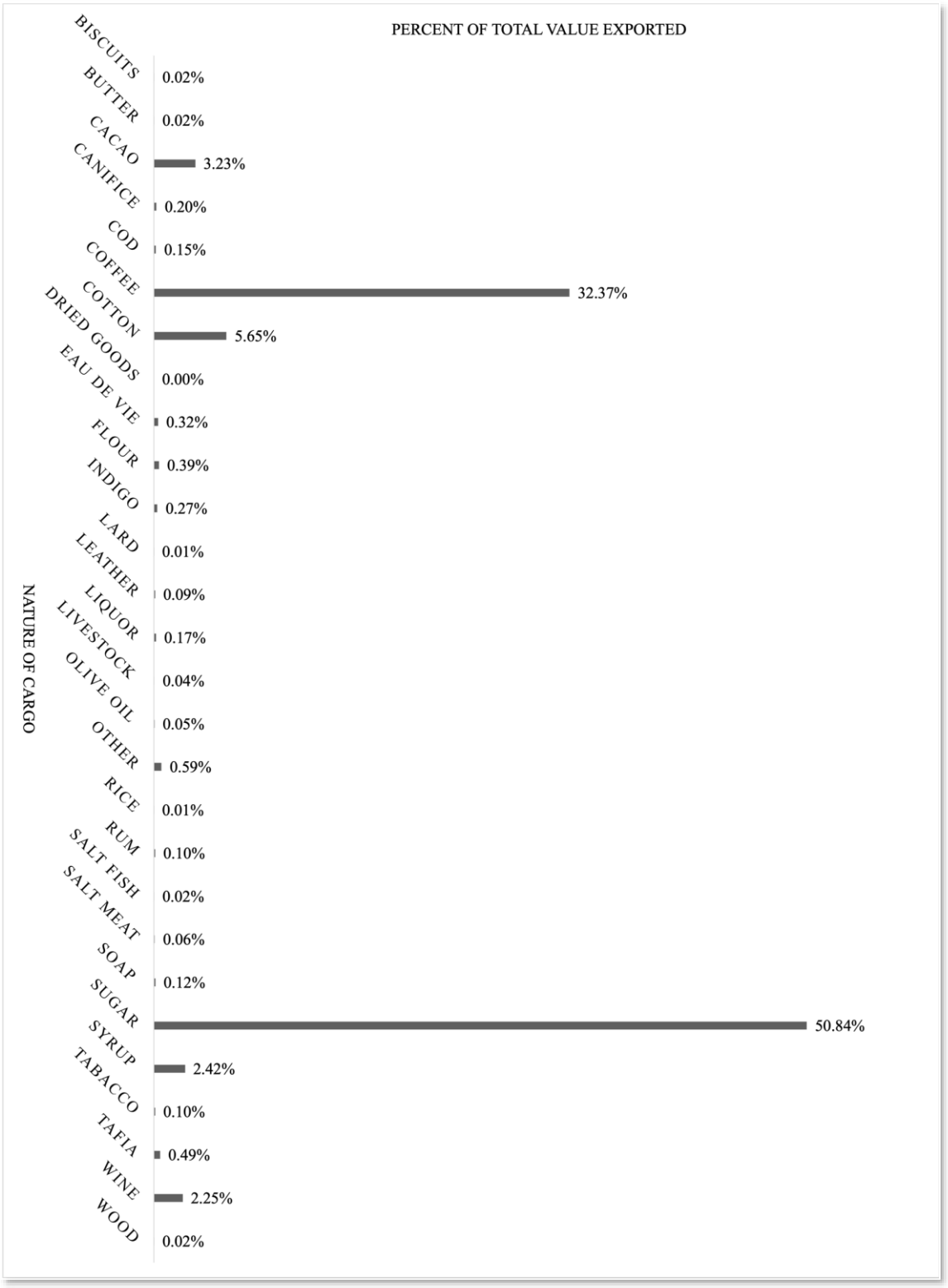

Figure 2.3.3: Nature of cargo by percentage of total value exported from 1763-1815

In total, throughout the fifty-two-year period in question, 12, 602 enslaved individuals passed through Martiniquan ports. These individuals are only those who were documented through the legal trade and do not take into account missing records, illegal transport of enslaved individuals, or periods that Martinique availed itself of the British trade networks. The individuals transported to Martinique were listed as coming from the Guinean Coast and from "Foreign Colonies." Which colonies constituted foreign colonies were not specified. Other contributors to the transportation and trade of enslaved individuals in Martinique were Danish colonies, English colonies, France, French colonies, neutral islands, Swedish colonies, and the United States of America. Of the individuals transported into Martinique, 1,104 were also transported out of Martinique and moved further through the French network. These individuals were transported to French colonies, Spanish islands, neutral islands, English colonies, Danish colonies, and the United States of America. The names of these individuals were not recorded in the records consulted.

2.3.2 Accessing the local network through the material culture analysis

While the archival records reflect broad trends in the trade network, including material culture from Crève Coeur, a clearer picture of local provisioning abilities can be ascertained. In the spring of 2019, a three-week research trip was undertaken to access the collection housed at the DRAC-Martinique. Through consultation of the initial inventory and various guidebooks and manuals, material, place of production, and function were ascertained. By identifying ceramic type, then place of production, these objects allow for a more concrete understanding of the commercial network. By determining the regional

origin of goods, a complete vision of the network associated with Crève Coeur is revealed, and it transcends the formal network documented through the archives.

The material culture analysis of the imported ceramics from Crève Coeur mimics the data recovered in the archives. Imported ceramic objects found at Crève Coeur point to a provisioning route coming primarily from France, with 38% (n=36) originating from France, 2% (n=2) from England, and 5% (n=5) from Italy. Of the 36 vessels originating from France, 42% (n=15) originated from the Atlantic coast, and 58% (n=21) originated from the Mediterranean basin, which is unsurprising as Mediterranean ceramics (specifically cooking pots) became very popular during the second half of the 18th century (Losier 2021b: 10). Of all the imported wares (including the Italian-made Albisola), 43 vessels, 60% (n=26) were imported through the Mediterranean, and 40% (n=17) were imported through the Atlantic. These data further confirm that trade networks provisioning the Caribbean were anchored more distinctly in the Mediterranean (Champagne and Losier 2022). Besides the routes functioning between Martinique and France, the prevalence of southern French port interactions were linked to the ships leaving France that descended the coast of Africa to serve as transatlantic transport for forcibly enslaved individuals.

While the data associated with imported ceramics were consistent with the archival analysis, we must consider that, as demonstrated in Table 2.3.1, the majority of the Crève Coeur ceramic assemblage did not originate in Europe. Rather, the majority of wares that made up the assemblage are of local origin (55%, n=52). These wares were

locally made low-fired coarse earthenware that primarily served as cooking pots (Kelly et al. 2008).

Country	Hydrographic Basin	Production center	Object (#)	Object (%)
France			**36**	**37.89%**
	Atlantic		**14**	**14.74%**
		Béarn	1	1.05%
		Beauvais	2	2.11%
		Biot	2	2.11%
		Brittany	1	1.05%
		Cox-Lomagne	1	1.05%
		Normandy	1	1.05%
		Provence	1	1.05%
		Rouen	1	1.05%
		Saintonge	2	2.11%
		Seine	1	1.05%
		Toulouse	1	1.05%
	Mediterranean		**22**	**23.16%**
		Biot	1	1.05%
		Huveaune	7	7.37%
		Vallauris	13	13.68%
		Marseille	1	1.05%
Martinique			**52**	**54.74%**
	Caribbean		**52**	**54.74%**
		Sainte-Anne	52	54.74%
England			**2**	**2.11%**
	Atlantic		**2**	**2.11%**
		Nottingham	1	1.05%
		Staffordshire	1	1.05%
Italy			**5**	**5.26%**
	Mediterranean		**5**	**5.26%**
		Albisola	5	5.26%
Grand Total			**95**	**100.00%**

Table 2.3.1: Provenance of ceramics found at Crève Coeur by hydrographic basin and production center

Locus	Object (#)	Object (%)
C	**35**	**36.84%**
Cooking	31	32.63%
Storage	1	1.05%
Preparation	2	2.11%
Service	1	1.05%
Table	0	0.00%
E	**21**	**22.11%**
Cooking	10	10.53%
Storage	3	3.16%
Preparation	1	1.05%
Service	4	4.21%
Table	3	3.16%
F	**21**	**22.11%**
Cooking	9	9.47%
Storage	1	1.05%
Preparation	6	6.32%
Service	4	4.21%
Table	1	1.05%
M	**18**	**18.95%**
Cooking	0	0.00%
Storage	15	15.79%
Preparation	1	1.05%
Service	2	2.11%
Table	0	0.00%
Grand Total	**95**	**100.00%**

Table 2.3.2 Function of vessels found at Crève Coeur, in relation to locus, by vessel count

With a total of 53% (n=50) across Loci C, E, F, and M, the vessels found within the plantation context that were primarily related to cooking and secondarily related to storage (21%, n=20). However, the majority of the storage vessels were found in Locus M (enslaver's house) which is also the only locus that does not reflect any cooking wares. Total distribution of service (11%, n=11) and preparation (10% n=10) wares are seen throughout the contexts, however, are in greater quantities in Locus F (enslaved community housing). There was a greater distribution of vessels meant for storage, preparation, and service, which were otherwise low or absent from Locus C and M,

demonstrated in Table 2.3.2. This indicated that the activities here differed from those in Locus C, despite C and F both being associated with the enslaved laborers' community. Furthermore, the results indicate that the same consumption practices were undertaken between these two locations or that the same actors were present in the activities that took place here, likely cooking done by enslaved laborers (Champagne and Losier 2022). Conversely, Locus E and F contain vessels mainly provisioned from France, 62% (n=13) and 67% (n=14), respectively (Table 2.3.3), suggesting that the activities that took place at these two locations were not suitable for the porous locally made low-fired domestic productions, and imported glazed vessels were preferable.

Provenance	**C**	**E**	**F**	**M**	**Grand Total**
England	0	2	0	0	2
France	7	13	14	2	36
Italy	2	0	1	2	5
Martinique	26	6	6	14	52
Grand Total	**35**	**21**	**21**	**18**	**95**

Table 2.3.3: Provenance in relation to locus by vessel count

Official records primarily took into account the transactions in the major ports of trade, and this data did not consider illicit trade. However, Crève Coeur is located farther inland and away from these major ports, so the distribution of legal (and illegal) goods at Crève Coeur may not reflect the same as that seen in plantations located closer to these centers. Additionally, the formal records did not consider the provisions sought out

through local community means, which was only represented by the prevalence of low-fired domestic productions within the ceramic assemblage.

By evaluating local and global means of provisioning, it was possible to bridge the gap between the historiography and reality of the French network between 1763 and 1815. By considering the shipping records and material culture found on Crève Coeur, it was possible to understand the provisioning ability of those within the French trade network following the reorganization resulting from the Treaty of Paris (1763). In conjunction with global political affairs, the material culture indicated the emergence of a new identity over time, identifiable by cuisine and provisioning efforts of those entrenched in the plantation system. The agency of the individuals was discernable from the empirical data simply through the disparity between what was shipped through Martiniquan ports and what appeared within the plantation context. The lack of resources left a void where more informal networks flourished, resulting in local provisioning efforts and interactions that contributed to the formation of a community and culture outside colonial control.

2.4 The (In)formal network

When considering the formation of the Atlantic World (Kelso 2010) from a historical archeological perspective, it is essential to frame the Atlantic Ocean as a bridge rather than a barrier. The Atlantic's maritime trade connected Western Europe, the Americas, and West Africa, bringing with it cultural exchange and eventually massmigrations of people (Coclanis 2017:116; Gijanto 2014: 572). By emphasizing the

individuals who were impacted by these colonial encounters, it is possible to understand their actions, choices, and responses as acts of resistance, resilience, and cultural hybridity (Gijanto 2014:575). In this light, the Habitation Crève Coeur's inhabitants can be seen as essential facilitators to the commercial networks that drove the inception of an "Atlantic World" and contributed to the melting pot of politics and culture. Demonstrated by the French ports of origin mentioned in the archives and the production regions of imported ceramics, it is clear that the French Caribbean transatlantic trade network was primarily anchored in the south of France and the Mediterranean Sea. However, there is a discrepancy where imported ceramics are outmatched in frequency by locally produced ceramics (45% imported vs. 55% locally produced). This discrepancy is highlighted by the absence of ceramics that reflect the variety of ports merchants came from, demonstrated in the shipping records. Martinique's role as the administrative seat of the French Antilles, southern *entrepôt,* and distribution center - and its position as one of the first windward islands reached following a transatlantic voyage - can explain this discrepancy (Wallman and Kelly 2020: 109).

The scarcity of material culture variety on the plantation itself compared with the international trade partners recorded entering Martiniquan ports would imply that the imported goods were not distributed beyond the ports they entered. Therefore, they are not found within the plantation system. The lack of ceramic diversity can also speak to the nature of the things being imported, including foodstuffs not stored in ceramic vessels (ex. stored in wooden barrels), building materials, and the ambiguous "European commercial goods" that may not leave any archaeological trace. However, this does not

encompass the nuances of human intervention and does not contribute to an understanding of the agency suggested by the overwhelming number of ceramic objects produced locally.

The prevalence of locally produced ceramic reflects the complexity of the provisioning networks that were actually in place. These networks thwarted the formal and nationalistic lines that French officials attempted to implement. Inter- and intracolonial trading (Mathieu 1981) and the goods acquired through a contraband network (Hauser 2011) would have gone largely unrecorded in the archives and yet have been equally as impactful to those who relied on them. This circumvention of edicts is reflected in the community-based provisioning that often took place when formal networks failed to provide. Official decrees, such as the *code noir,* were disregarded, often resulting in famine.

Planters minimized costs by inadequately provisioning their enslaved workers, forcing the enslaved community to provide for themselves and as resources become scarcer, eventually provide for the planters as well (Arcangeli 2015:73–74; Kelly and Wallman 2014:15; Tomadini, Grouard and Henry 2014:83). Enslaved people did not remain passive spectators in what looks like an immutable situation but actively altered the system that enslaved them (Voss 2015:288). By working together to grow gardens, maintain livestock, fish, harvest, and trade at local markets, forming a community inside and outside the plantation led to a cultural adaption to the environment and the socioeconomic context and, most notably to the development of a Martiniquan identity.

In addition to this local network, the intercolonial relations between Martinique, other Caribbean islands, and the North Atlantic were imperative to these newly developed communities, as demonstrated in the still-popular creole meal known as *ti-nain Morue*, a salt cod and plantain dish that marries the complex network of the Atlantic. The imported cod from the North Atlantic fishing grounds and the locally grown plantains are cooked in the popular stew pot forms, such as low-fired domestic productions and Vallauris earthenware, found abundantly on the plantation. *Ti-nain Morue* illustrates the interconnectedness and local resourcefulness of the Martiniquan community. One that transcended the French government's economic prescriptions and has persisted in a vital and meaningful way through cultural continuity and resilience.

However, community-based provisioning and provisioning outside the lines of the French trade networks does not necessarily explain why locally produced ceramics were so prevalent in all contexts of the plantation site, some of which were associated with the plantation owner's occupation. This presence is attributed to the adaptation and the reliance of colonists on enslaved individuals and the lack of support offered by French officials. Similarly observed in the presidios of San Francisco and the Habitation Macaille in Guadeloupe, over time, it seems that colonists came to rely on locally sourced and locally produced goods, their diets mirroring similar composition and preparatory style as that of the enslaved community (Tomadini et al. 2014; Voss 2015:231). This observation was reflected in the material culture of Habitation Crève Coeur, where a greater volume of the locally made product found in the enslaved individuals' community to that found in the planter house (77%, vs. 74% respectively).

While flooding Europe with international products and imported commodities, the transatlantic trade was less crucial to the daily lives of those who were providing the goods for European markets. It is clear that the networks formed to serve mainland Europe first and the overseas colonies second, leaving much of the provisioning required for the latter insufficient. The networks that did provision Crève Coeur and other plantations in Martinique evolved not by decree of the French government but despite it. The enslaved individuals who labored and lived on these plantations were forced to evolve community-based provisioning that intermingled with official networks but did not rely on them.

2.5 Low-Fired Domestic Production and Martiniquan Cuisine

Zooarchaeological remains analyzed by Diane Wallman at Crève Coeur, as well as in Guadeloupe confirm that enslaved individuals would provision themselves locally with the help of their whole community (Arcangeli 2015:73–74; Champagne and Losier 2022; Kelly and Wallman 2014:15; Tomadini et al. 2014:83; Wallman 2014:49). Kelly and Wallman (2014:27-31) determined that the enslaved laborers on the Habitation Crève Coeur accessed the majority of their food by foraging or acquiring locally grown items such as vegetables, fruits, and marine products. While the marine resources would have been easily obtained from the nearby Marin Cul-de-Sac, other items were grown by the enslaved laborers themselves or bartered for at nearby markets.

Famine, brought on by conspiracy or mismanagement of provisions and disregard for human life, was a constant threat to the lives of enslaved individuals. As a result, there

was a need to make the most of the resources available to them. The tradition of using resources to the maximum extent was exemplified by the popularity of stews in Antillean cuisine. They are theorized to have been so popular due to their suitability to extend the consumption of limited ingredients resourcefully. One such suitable pot used to cook stews and other bulk meals is imported Vallauris ware (Arcangeli 2015:95), which makes up 14% (n=13) of the assemblage. The locally produced low-fired domestic wares (Figure 2.5.1), which makes up 55% (n=52) of the assemblage, could be used for the same purpose but instead represents a supplement for a lack of imported wares and demonstrate cultural and socioeconomic independence apart from France (Kelly 2010:40).

Figure 2.5.1 Example of low fired domestic production excavated in 2007 from Locus C, Crève Coeur, Martinique

The presence of the low-fired domestic production at the planter house, while providing insight into the provisioning ability of the inhabitants of a plantation, among

other things can also signal an attempt to subvert individuality. The use of low-fired domestic production at the planter house can implicate the centralization and homogenization of materials to represent colonial manipulation of not only space, landscape, and labor, but of the home and personal life as well (Voss 2015:231). The control exerted over the expression of individuality in cuisine can equally explain the sudden abandonment of the low-fired domestic production following abolition (Kelly 2010). In this case, the compulsory fabrication of the low-fired domestic production, foraging, and sharing and preparing foods created a dichotomous relationship between identity and violence. Community-based provisioning represented an act of resistance and a tool of oppression.

Another facet of ware-use regarding the porous low-fired domestic production is the Antillean traditional acknowledgment of unglazed coarse earthenware's ability to absorb flavors and smells and equally their ability to impart a taste to the food being cooked in them. Thus, making the specific pot used while cooking both an ingredient and a tool. Consequently, cooking pots were carefully chosen, discarded, or new ones were sought out to make particular dishes (Arcangeli 2015:94). This demonstrated the suitability of glazed (Vallauris) versus unglazed (low-fired domestic production) wares for different recipes, which resulted in the sustained importation and manufacturing of both ceramic types that make up a combined total of 68% (n=65) of the assemblage.

It is clear then that the edicts of the *Code Noir* were being disregarded within the plantation system by the planters and, consequently, enslaved laborers. Planters were not providing necessary sustenance. Enslaved laborers were forced to provide their means on

and off the plantation grounds. By sourcing food through local procurement strategies, enslaved peoples socialized outside plantation walls and made meaningful cultural connections with other enslaved individuals and neighbouring plantations. Socialization outside the plantation between enslaved individuals created an opportunity for cultural practice, social practices, and biological needs to collide. Through the amalgamation of social identity and physical need, enslaved individuals were able to form an identity independent of, yet intrinsically linked to, the plantation system that enslaved them (Voss 2015: 250).

Whether obtained through European supply chains or local procurement strategies, the consumption of materials actively contributed to building the personal and social relationships between individuals and groups, both within and without the household or plantation walls (Beaudry and Cochran 2006: 197). The gradual cultural formation of traditional cuisine, which is entrenched in a history of colonial violence and cultural subversion, cannot be precisely categorized or attributed any one thing. Instead, it has formed a dichotomous space that has resulted in a rich and flourishing culture that persists today. Conscious interference with the materiality, admittedly due to need, regardless resulted in a transformation of the system, upending the provisioning network and allowing individuals to exercise agency and individuality.

2.6 Provisioning Martinique and Cultural Resonance

Provisioning Martinique was not simple. Inconsistent supply shipments hampered by nationalistic sentiments, prejudice, and geographic constraints strained the inhabitants,

often resulting in discord, famine, and ambivalence toward metropolitan control. The famine plot, in reality, was caused by the planters' actions, the *code noir,* the *exclusif,* and the general conflict among social strata and participation in the transportation and trade of enslaved individuals. As a result, the Martiniquan population was detached from the nationalism that the French administration hoped to inspire and instead fueled feelings of abandonment. This “othering” from the *métropole* led to Martinique's willing capitulation to the British in the late 18th and early 19th century. Aided by the island geography, ethnogenesis can be observed within a microcosm, both in the French Empire and in the plantation system. The dichotomy of access versus identity presents itself in this light, where cultural expression is controlled through restricted access to outside sources and the intersection of international networks. Thus, the inhabitants of Martinique would turn inwards to form cultural connections imperative to their adapted lifeways.

The networks that provisioned Martiniquan inhabitants and other French colonies from 1763-1815 continued to flourish in the French Atlantic. Despite the political upheaval following the collapse of *Nouvelle-France*, the complex intercolonial routes successfully distributed wares, goods, and food staples, such as flour, cod, butter, and alcohol. While the data attest to the network being anchored primarily in the south of France, the intersection of these legal, illegal, and local networks also attests to sourcing from America and other Caribbean colonies, upending outdated concepts of a strictly triangular trade. The Atlantic Ocean bridged these systems, making them functioning parts of a complex cultural exchange and provisioning network that spanned from the North Atlantic to Europe, Africa, Asia, South America, the Caribbean, and North

America. Those individuals who lived and labored on the colonies that supported the French Empire anchored this network.

In conclusion, provisioning networks were still operational despite the tumultuous political period. The material culture from the Habitation Crève Coeur reflects the wider social system in which the colony evolved. The artifact assemblage mirrors the racist, elitists, and Eurocentric system that enslaved individuals were thrust into. The lack of variety in ceramic type points to little distribution from these networks to the plantation level. With limited access to those international networks, local products, community sourcing, and reuse were pivotal to the enslaved individuals' material consumption. The material culture and provisioning ability of enslaved individuals point to a complex network within and without Martinique's physical boundaries, availing the use of intercolonial connections to support themselves in a concrete way. Antillean cuisine that developed throughout this period has since contributed to the emergence of a new identity. While "*pêcher à Miquelon*" speaks to the casual knowledge of intercolonial reliability that colonies needed to thrive, it also signifies a much deeper history that transcends the Atlantic and created long-lasting cultural connections.

3

The Persistence of the French North Atlantic (1763-1815) and the Perseverance of the Saint-Pierre et Miquelon Population

3.1 Revitalisation of the "French Atlantic"

The "French Atlantic" has been considered in a shifting light, in both its inception and endurance throughout history. Silvia Marzagalli (1999:71) defines the French Atlantic as emerging in the 17th century and ending in the North Atlantic with the capitulation of New France in 1763 with the aftermath of the Seven Years War. In the Caribbean it is signified with the loss of Saint-Domingue in 1804 in the aftermath of the Haitian Revolution. Alan Forrest (2020:19) echoed these sentiments in a less direct manner, stating that the loss of Canada in 1763 was a gamble that cost France her ability to provision the Caribbean holdings. These two essays fail to emphasize the important and calculated negotiations that took place. Negotiations resulted in the reclamation of the Saint-Pierre et Miquelon archipelago, located off the south coast of Newfoundland, six times between 1763 and 1815 and the equally hard-fought fishing rights in the North Atlantic which persisted until 1904.

During the negotiation process of the Treaty of Paris (1763), France relinquished colonial control of *Nouvelle-France* -an expansive territory that spanned present day Canada and USA- in order to keep Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Marie-Galante, and Désirade in the Caribbean, French Guiana in South America, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon off the coast of Newfoundland, Belle-Île-en-Mer, off the coast of Brittany, and Gorée (present day Senegal) in West Africa. This act essentially reorganized the French Atlantic, creating new strains and demands that would need to be met in order to maintain exploitation and production of colonial resources, and colonization projects in the Americas. Essential to this effort is the French North Atlantic. However, it has been largely overshadowed by the

mercantile importance of Caribbean sugar. Stated plainly by Marzagalli (1999:76), after 1763, the "French Atlantic basically relies on Caribbean trade". While sugar was a dominant commodity, this emphasis grossly undervalues the effort put forth to maintain Saint-Pierre et Miquelon as a French holding and the importance of the cod fishery to the French Atlantic to the development and the maintenance of the modern world.

Where the Treaty of Paris (1763) did result in the restructuring of French colonial interest, it did not signify a terminal period for the French North Atlantic. Rather, it can be seen as a strategic retreat. During the Seven Years War, France was economically and geographically stretched thin trying to maintain the expansive territory in the interior of North America (Baugh 2011). The negotiations allowed France to consciously choose its economic interests. Caribbean sugar, produced in Martinique, was a primary concern throughout negotiations, with support colonies, like Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and French Guiana being prioritized as provisioning colonies for their ability to provide dry-salted cod and other foodstuff (Losier 2021a:20; Dull 2005; Mintz 1985:37-48).

The designation of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and other territories as crucial supply colonies do not diminish their importance but rather elevates it. France negotiated to maintain what was needed for its economy to prosper, making these colonies, the land, and the people living on it indispensable to the imperial project. Specifically, to the sugar production that was at the foundation of the French colonial economy. The deliberate retention of these colonies throughout years of conflict leading up to the second Treaty of Paris (1815) can attest to their importance.

This chapter seeks to demonstrate that while the loss of the French-held territories in the treaty of Paris (1763) did mark a dramatic shift in the colonial organization, it did not end the French Atlantic, unlike what Marzagalli (1999), Forrest (2020), and countless others traditionally suggest. By emphasizing this persistence, I will demonstrate how colonies located outside of the Caribbean, and specifically Saint-Pierre et Miquelon in the North Atlantic, continued to represent crucial commercial and production nodes in the French Atlantic network after 1763.

The first objective will be to demonstrate the perseverance of the French North Atlantic after 1763. By analysing the artifacts found at Anse à Bertrand, located in Saint-Pierre, and by studying the archipelago's commercial accounts from 1763-1815 (export and import), it is possible to reconstruct the social and commercial networks of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. This contributes to the second objective, which aims to determine the ability of the fisherfolk of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon to supply themselves. By focussing on the individuals who were key to French economic relevancy in the North Atlantic, they provide not only undeniable proof that commercial routes were still operational but can also shed light on the nuances of those networks. The ability of this population to maintain their relevance in the Atlantic is shown through the individuals themselves and their continued presence in the North Atlantic.

The material culture excavated at Anse à Bertrand, Saint-Pierre, is a testimony to a population's agency and of the actions of a disenfranchised group of people engaging in intercolonial commerce. By determining the ability of these individuals to operate, both under and outside of metropolitan control, it is possible to understand how they in-turn

formed a social identity separate from, but related, to the French colonization project. The interrelated expression of agency and ethnogenesis is the third objective. Ethnogenesis can be seen in material culture and local practices to the present today. The analysis will ultimately lead to a characterization of the commercial networks after 1763, the involvement of local actors to sustain these networks and determine why the French Atlantic has been so underestimated in the historiography.

3.2 Internationalization of Fishing Activities and Global Affairs

When Portuguese and English explorers crossed the Atlantic around 1500, it confirmed rumours that there existed resource rich lands and waters teeming with fish and whales (Brière 1990). Following these reports Europeans began crossing the Atlantic with increased frequency, marking the beginning of a violent, hostile, and deadly period for the Indigenous groups who dwelt in the Americas. In the Caribbean and South America, Europeans gained access and the ability to produce highly sought-after exotic goods such as tobacco, sugar, coffee, and chocolate. These are all products that can be considered addictive, leading to increased dependency on the Americas to provide for European populations. The commercial exploitation of these lands (and waters) quickly engrained itself into European society. So much so that fashion trends even changed, encompassing the cotton and fur they could now access more readily, setting the tone for how fast and completely Europeans would come to rely on these foreign products (Appleby 2021; Forrest 2020:4).

In the North Atlantic, these traditions of exploitation had already been well established since the 16th century. After having depleted the waters surrounding Europe, Iceland, and Greenland, Europeans began travelling west in search of new fishing grounds and landed on the banks off the coast of Newfoundland (Bolster 2012). Demand for cod, the white fish abundant in the banks off the coast of Newfoundland, drove the North Atlantic industry. French and Basque presence in the North Atlantic would go on to characterize this early period of colonization, with records of a Breton merchant selling some 17,500 North Atlantic salted codfish in Rouen by 1515 (Fagan 2006:232).

3.2.1 Development of the French Cod Fisheries and Colonization

The Northwestern Atlantic French fishery took off quickly in the 16th century, with migratory fishermen making the transatlantic crossing each spring to coincide with the migration of the cod to more northerly waters. The migration would bring schools of these large fish onto the relatively shallow banks, allowing fishermen to easily catch them in abundance using non-industrial techniques, such as jigging. The fish were then processed (salted) either on the banks, in what was known as the green fishery, or taken back to shore to be salted and dried there, known as the onshore or dry fishery. They were then packed for export to European or Caribbean markets (Rose 2007). Aside from the European demand that fueled the increasingly exploitative fishery, cod have a generally lean meat that is easily preserved and suitable for the long transatlantic voyages. Despite a more direct relationship to Europe, the North Atlantic cod is also indelibly linked with the establishment of monocultural sugar plantations in the Caribbean and in South America based on the exploitation of an enslaved workforce. Cod not only supported a

burgeoning population but was also sold and traded in kind for sugar, tobacco, and rum (Innis 1940:76; de la Morandière 2005:36).

French colonization of North America can be traced easily to the fishery and exploitation of marine mammals (Jaenan 2001:155), as the initial colonists were seasonal fishermen, similar to the early 16th century Cartier-Roberval French settlement in Québec (Samson and Fiset 2013). Their familiarity extended largely to the water and shorelines, making continental colonization a much slower process (Brière 1990:3). Several failed attempts to establish a settlement, would result in famine, disease, death and violent interactions to both colonists and indigenous groups. Later, the French would establish *comptoirs* where goods such as cod, whalebone, ivory, oil, and later pelts could be traded for European goods. These coastal *comptoirs* meant that, as long as other colonists and Indigenous peoples continued to provide goods, there was little need to expand into the interior. Eventually, France would claim and document most of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and its valley. By the beginning of the 17th century, with Champlain having established permanent settlements in Acadia (1604) and Québec (1608), France had a point from which continental colonial expansion could be launched.

As Europeans sought to occupy strategic territories that offered easy access to marine resources in the North Atlantic, the cod fishery would bring conflict between France and England, especially over the control of Newfoundland. Conflict between France and England briefly came to an end in 1713 with the Treaty of Utrecht, where France would release claim of Plaisance (Newfoundland) and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon in favour of Ile Royale (Cape Breton Island) and seasonal fishing rights in the Petit Nord.

The Petit Nord, also known as the French Shore, is a large area along the Great Northern Peninsula whose boundaries shifted over time (Crompton 2015; Pope 2008; Andrieux 1987: 15). The first iteration, 1713-1783, stretched from Cape Bonavista to Point Riche, and the second, 1783-1904, shifted westward, extending from Cape St. John to Cape Ray. Following the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the governance of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon would remain British until the end of the Seven Years War (1756-1763). The negotiations of 1763 ensured France regained Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and kept seasonal fishing rights to the Petit Nord until 1904. While no permanent settlement could be undertaken in the Petit Nord, only the shore-based activities associated with seasonal cod fishing, the maintenance of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon ensured a French administrative center close to these desired fishing grounds (Gaulton and Losier 2020:832).

The three islands of the Saint-Pierre et Miquelon archipelago became the focus of colonization by the French Crown in the 17th century. However, Europeans were not the first to see value in the cluster of islands, as Saint-Pierre contains evidence of a multicomponent Indigenous occupation on its northern most point (Auger et al. 2020; Marchand et al. 2020; Lebailly 2015; Leblanc 2008). The first European to have documented Saint-Pierre et Miquelon is debated to have been Basque explorer Juan de la Cosa in 1500 (Cormier 1997) or Portuguese explorer Joas Alvarez Fagundes in 1521. The Portuguese explorer remarked that uninhabited islands had no value, but were close to the fishing banks, with Breton and Irish fishermen frequenting the area (Ribault 1962:11-12). While the “no-value” designation is debatable, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon is in close proximity to at least three fishing banks, the Saint-Pierre Bank, the Green Bank, and the

Grand Bank, a strategic position that elevated Saint-Pierre to be the second most important French fishing post after Plaisance in 1662 (Innis 1940:7; Ribault 1962:14). Plaisance, being favoured as the French administrative center (1670-1713) for its more defensible position in nearby Placentia Bay (Newfoundland), allowed France to claim rights to the fishing grounds (Crompton 2015; Gaulton and Losier 2020: 832). It is after this period that French fishermen, primarily Breton, Malouins, and Granvillés, became year-round inhabitants of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, lasting until 1713 (Ribault 1962:17).

Following the return of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon to France in 1763, the islands were described by a New England settler as "Barren and [desert]… Destitute of all the necessary of life, without materials for building houses or provisions to support them [through] the winter, they trust to our colonies for supplying all their wants and needs and invites a trade on very pathetic terms, promising to pay in molasses, French goods, or bills of exchange," (Public Records Office of the National Archives [PRO/TNA] Adm 1/482, 25 October, 1763, Lord Colville to Philip Stephens). This bleak assessment communicated by the English Rear-Admiral Alexander Colville suggests the trade between Saint-Pierre and New England to have a negative connotation, when in fact this was not the case. The trade that initially began out of necessity to rebuild would continue, undermining English decree and influence. In the year following the reclamation, the illicit trade between Saint-Pierre and New England prospered (Morris 2012:70-72; Thorpe 2002:72-73). These testimonies and actions from settlers prove that France was rarely able to provide for her colonies, even while fighting for it.

3.2.2 The North Atlantic Market, Commercial Networks and Conflicts

The *Exclusif* (1674) mercantile decree introduced by King Louis XIV forbade French merchants to trade with foreigners within the French Atlantic (Losier 2021a; Miller 2008: 24). This decree attempted to maintain the clear lines of the French trade and control the exchange of goods in its overseas holdings, specifically favouring French goods. It was also a naïve attempt to encourage and enforce French nationalism in colonies that were physically distanced from the *métropole.* However, given the distance from Europe, upholding these decrees would have been nearly impossible (Losier 2021a; Haudrère 1997). Away from the direct supervision of the French administrators, economic profit and food insecurity motivated an increase in illicit trade, with little regard to political affiliation (Forrest 2020: 20; Losier 2021a; Morris 2012: 70-72; O'Shaughnessy 2000: 229-230; Robson 2009; Thorpe 2002: 72). Following the Treaty of Paris (1763), Saint-Pierre et Miquelon saw an economic rebound due to disregard for *l'Exclusif.* Trade and exchange with other nations occurred illegally until the eventual relaxation of regulations known as *l'Exclusif mitigé* in 1768, that opened ports to foreign merchants (Losier 2021a; Morris 2012: 76-77, Thorpe 2002).

Similar to the previous French colonies in the area in their time (Plaisance and Isle Royale) and its contemporaries (Martinique), Saint-Pierre et Miquelon was positioned to become a prosperous port for illicit American trade (Thorpe 2002: 72). Speaking to this, one French advisor predicted that, if unimpeded, Saint-Pierre's economy could flourish as a place where England could obtain Antillean products (Ribault 1969:288). Indeed, the administration foresaw the economic growth and political advantages that could occur

from a partnership with the New England states. Saint-Pierre et Miquelon was strategically positioned to benefit as a supply connection to multiple regions. They would supply Antillean planters with salt cod for rationing, Europe with salt cod for consumption, North America with French products at a competitive price, and New England distillers with Caribbean molasses (Gaulton and Losier 2020: 830; Pope 2004:27; Thorpe 2002:72). It seems that the molasses and French goods, deemed as pathetic by Colville, were exactly the economic protractor needed for Saint-Pierre et Miquelon to flourish following conflict such as the Seven Years War and the American War of Independence.

The English on their part attempted to limit trade between French merchants and English colonists. In the hope that it would eliminate the American presence in Saint-Pierre's harbour, Governor Palliser decreed in 1764 that French inhabitants of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon could cut timber on Newfoundland's south coast (Morris 2012: 71; Thorpe 2002:73). However, France would continue to trade with New England, and the partial relaxation of *l'Exclusif* in 1768 would increase the commercial partnership of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon with America (Thorpe 2002:73). At the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War in 1775, Saint-Pierre harbour was allegedly used to smuggle not only goods but also guns and black powder for the American rebels (Andrieux 1983: 9; Morris 2012: 71; O'Shaughnessy 2000: 214; Thorpe 2002: 72). When France officially lent support to the American effort in 1778, the French government was accused of procuring guns and black powder for American rebels which prompted British forces to attack and seize Saint-Pierre et Miquelon the same year (1778) (Libraries and

Archives Canada [LAC], MG1-C12:F569, 18 March 1766. M. Duff to baron de l'Espérance). Subsequently, the British razed the town of Saint-Pierre and expelled the population (Andrieux 1983: 7; Morris 2012: 72).

The Treaty of Versailles (1783) returned Saint-Pierre et Miquelon to France along with the French Shore, which shifted to the west coast of Newfoundland and the Great Northern Peninsula. Following the reorganization of French interests in 1783, France decided that Saint-Pierre should serve as not only a fishing post, but also a military post (Andrieux 1969:17; Ribault 1962: 67). The French Crown, however limited its support in reestablishing the colony, mainly focusing on providing support to the military detachment and a few select administrators (Ribault 1962: 88-91). Consequently, it was left to the administration to provision the population, with emphasis on using French ports and commercial networks (Ribault 1962: 88-91). However, due to inconsistencies and delayed deliveries, colony officials turned to American ports and merchants to acquire the necessary provisions (Ribault 1962: 88-91). Saint-Pierre et Miquelon would then see a resurgence of the unofficial network the French government had tried so hard to snuff out. The growing economy and provisioning of the inhabitants relied so much on American trade that American merchants made it known they wished to establish a *maison de commerce* (trading house) in Saint-Pierre (Ribault 1962:91). While this wish was never fulfilled, Anglo-American merchants were not an uncommon sight, with 26 American merchants recorded in the Saint-Pierre harbour in 1787 (Ribault 1962).

Hostilities between the British and French in the years preceding the retrocession of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon in 1783 choked the cod market. As a result, demand for cod

and the labour of skilled fishermen rose to almost unforeseen levels in 1783, so much that the post-1783 period marked a boom in the French cod fishery (Brière 1992: 201-202). The demand for skilled workers was such that a decree was passed where fishermen were not pressed into peacetime Naval service, reserving their skills exclusively for the cod fishery (Brière 1992:205). The rapid rise, however, was followed by an equally rapid decline, in part due to market over saturation. As cod became more available, the prices fell as the French Revolution of 1789 approached. The cost of labour, however, did not decrease, meaning outfitters could not afford to maintain the crew numbers needed. This was the case in St. Malo and Granville as early as 1786 which significantly impacted the inshore fishery (Brière 1992: 207). The limited employment opportunities would coincide with increased price of food staples like grains and cereals in France. This ultimately led to the decline of the Banks fishery (Brière 1992:207).

A rising trend of captains being violent towards fishermen in the 1780's may have signaled the growing pressures on fishermen to compensate for the declining profitability of the cod fishery (Brière 1992: 207). The legalization of violence equally exemplifies an increasing social tension between socioeconomic classes. In addition to poor support offered by the French Crown to the trans-Atlantic fisherman and the Saint Pierrais and Miquelonnais people, a tense stage was set leading up to the French Revolution.

Like in the other overseas colonies, the French Revolution was a relatively ambiguous event in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. Its conception is believed to have commenced following an altercation between a metropolitan commander and a *habitant pêcheur*, with protests erupting against the treatment of the habitants by the *metropole*

(Ribault 1962:97-98). Meanwhile the strained provisioning of the population increased, along with government attempts to stifle the contraband American trade; all while continuing to send ships with more passengers for the colony and too few provisions, creating further tensions. In response, the minister turned to the colony's American "foster fathers" and sent an emergency request to New York for aide in the form of provisions (Ribault 1962:101). Following the protests of the Saint-Pierrais, a colonial committee was formed in 1789, which drafted demands on behalf of the occupants. The first concerned the provisioning of the people, making statements against the foreign merchants who served as extra mouths to feed for a colony that could ill afford it (Ribault 1962:102-103). Thus, showing how underprovided the French colonies continued to be despite periods of economic success.

With the outbreak of war between France and England in 1793, the French Crown sent a letter to the colony, imploring them to fight against the English with an odd mix of patriotism, encouragements, and threats (Ribault 1968: 123-124). In Saint-Pierre, an additional barrel of rum was procured to further encourage Saint-Pierrais involvement. Despite the best efforts of the administration however, the lack of ammunition resulted in the complete non-action of the Saint-Pierrais when the English did arrive. Without any violence the population was captured and sent to Halifax prior to repatriation to France in 1793 (Ribault 1968: 123-124).

The archipelago remained in British hands until 1796, when French Vice-Admiral Richery attacked and destroyed Saint-Pierre, expelling the British and laying waste to the settlement. The islands supposedly remained unceded between 1796-1802, when they

were officially returned to France with the Treaty of Amiens (1802), in an attempt to settle the British/French conflict. One year later, however, the official start of the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) led Britain to reclaim Saint-Pierre until the Treaty of Paris (1814), declared its retrocession to France. The British would reclaim it less than a year later and maintain it for an equally short period of time during the Hundred Days War, until the Second Treaty of Paris (1815) finally, and permanently, declared Saint-Pierre et Miquelon a French colony (Aldrich and Connell 1992:35; Ribault 1962: 129-133; Saunders and VanderZwaag 2010:212-213).

The almost uninterrupted years of British occupation in the Atlantic through 17931802 was detrimental for the French Atlantic, where blockades and counter-blockades between the French and English made trade a dangerous endeavour that devastated port cities (Forrest 2020). While the forced internationalization of markets broke edicts like *l'Exclusif* and allowed "neutral" vessels to trade relatively freely, the conflicts surrounding the French Revolutionary Wars (1793-1802) and the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) largely smothered fishing activities and dislocated trade routes and intercolonial relationships (Forrest 2020: 225). The Atlantic became a dangerous place, with privateers constantly threatening the cargo and safety of those who legally or illegally attempted to engage in any trade activities. It would remain this way until the relative peace offered by the second Treaty of Paris (1815) that would enable the reestablishment of maritime activities in the Atlantic.

The complex geopolitical environment that Saint-Pierre et Miquelon was enmeshed in was ever-changing and had a significant impact on the ability of islanders to

interact with and rely on the world outside their borders. Using the material culture associated with the onshore fishery throughout this period and archival records the more precise impact that remaining inhabitants had on the French Atlantic can be explored, as well as the subsequent impact the French Atlantic had on them. By exploring their roles through the lens of actors exercising their own agency within a system, the consequential cultural genesis that occurred in this politically uncertain period can be shown. Ultimately, it is in this complex context that the persistence of the French Atlantic will be studied, and it is in this environment that its people provision themselves and persevered despite adversity.

3.3 Social theory, Agency and Ethnogenesis in a Nodal Network

As stated in the introduction of this chapter, it is traditionally assumed that the North Atlantic had little to contribute to the French Empire after the loss of French continental territories in North America in 1763. By maintaining this view, which undervalues the importance of the North Atlantic fisheries, it also effectively disregards the people who maintained their contentious place in the changing modern world and who have contributed to an enduring cultural footprint. While it is true that the tumultuous geopolitics and changes in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon governance during the 18th century caused disruptions in the French commercial network, these did not eliminate trade activities and did not interrupt the use of the French Shore. These historical and cultural contexts call for a theoretical perspective rooted in three concepts; Actor Network Theory (ANT), agency, and ethnogenesis to delve into the impact the provisioning systems had on the individual scale.

To understand the provisioning network in the North Atlantic, ANT, as defined by Dolwick (2009), will establish the primary perspective taken throughout this research. The official historiography relating to the Atlantic World has traditionally adopted a global, often Eurocentric, macroscale perspective that focuses largely on the imperial relationship between Europe and the colonies mainly in a "west to east" supplying direction (see also Canny and Morgan 2012; Greene and Morgan 2009; Losier et al. 2024; Marshall 2009). ANT and agency perspectives allow the emphasis to be shifted to a local microscale that will shed light on colonial actors (i.e., the fisherfolk) which the macroscale narrative tends to ignore. Where the archival records represent broader trends and international networks, and archaeological data focuses on local, even individualistic experience. ANT can marry the two sets of data and shed light on the smaller, individualistic scale of the global network

By conceptualizing North Atlantic trade as a network made up of multiple individual nodes, a 'nodal network' can be discerned. Nodes are the points of contact between individuals and the larger network, such as the sites of Anse à Bertrand (SaintPierre) and Dos de Cheval (Newfoundland). Through these anchoring points, it is possible to assess the position of these nodes in relation to one another and evaluate the constraints and opportunities created by these relations (Collar et al. 2015: 2).

The actor, distinguished as "something that acts or something that modifies a state of affairs by making a perceptible difference" (Dolwick 2009:39), is defined here as the population of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (and more broadly, the North Atlantic) associated with French settlements after 1763. Quite literally, by continuing to frequent the French

shore, the fishing banks, and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, fishermen, residents, and merchants made a perceptible difference to the Atlantic World and world history in general. The ANT is distinguished as an interactive network of actors co-operating on nodes that leave a physical trace of some prior activity (e.g., noticeable conflict/controversy, flows of labour, effort, people) (Dolwick 2009:39). Specifically, in this research it is represented by the maintenance of the population in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, their material culture, and the sustained flow of goods (e.g., cod) to Europe and the Caribbean, and vice versa. With this perspective in place, it is possible to frame the strength and importance of SaintPierre et Miquelon through its associations and the persistence of its population.

Linked to ANT, agency theory (Hodder 2000; Wobst 2000) adds a layer of intentionality and local involvement and impact to the analysis. Agency is expressed as the intentional, small-scale decisions that are in direct relation to everyday events and other individuals' decisions (Hodder 2000:25). Agency is related to the nodes and materialized relations that connect people, where the collective of individual choices led to the establishment of a node in each area. This perspective also emphasizes the individual contributions to the Atlantic network. Intentionality is hard to demonstrate, but it can be readily acknowledged that there is a certain amount of control exerted by the crown, and there is equally an amount of individual choice exerted by the consumers, merchants, and traders (Wobst 2000). The material culture of a small, continually used fishing site such as Anse à Bertrand can highlight that individual choice. The material culture will be used to document the agency of those who were the proverbial cogs in the

machine and define the provisioning network from which they partook. Using agency to analyze the network from the point of view inhabitants makes it possible to document the reality of the provisioning network outside of official reporting.

By focussing on individuals and the impact of their actions on the French commercial network from 1763-1815 it is possible to better understand the French Atlantic and the socioeconomic context which framed the ethnogenesis of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon society. The cultural changes and specificities can be seen in the conscious consumption of material culture sourced from outside and within the community which occurred in direct relation to the network (both the literal and figurative) that supplied Saint-Pierre. This network was equally impacted by the conflicts that plagued its history as it was by the people who sustained it. So, the material traditions of the fishermen do represent a cultural connection to their origins, their new position, and their provisioning ability within the French network. The persistence of the fishery provided the French Atlantic a place and a connection to the greater Atlantic World.

3.4 Method: Global and Local Approaches to Individuality.

In order to document the interactions of the French trade network in the North Atlantic, the material culture of the French migratory fishery excavated between 2017 and 2019 in Anse à Bertrand, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, was analyzed. Anse à Bertrand is located on the southeastern point of Saint-Pierre harbour. Maps of the point have included depictions of fishery-related structures since at least 1680-1700, specifically depicting two *échaffauds,* a structure, and *graves* belonging to a M. Hoguerie (Hongrie) (Gallica,

Plan du port de la colonie de l'iles de St Pierre, 1680-1700). Archaeological excavations have demonstrated a continual occupation associated with the seasonal fishery until the government mandated expropriation in the late 20th century (Livingston and Losier 2022; Losier, Livingston and Champagne 2019; Losier et al. 2018).

The lots along Anse à Bertrand belonged to the inshore *habitants-pêcheurs* (residential fishing captains) during the 17th and 18th century, before passing to *armateurs négociants* (industrial fishing and trading companies) in the 19th century. During this time some fishermen would still undertake the long transatlantic voyage for the inshore fishing season, however as the town of Saint-Pierre expanded, these peripheral fishing establishments along the shoreline (like Anse à Bertrand) would be occupied by the families of Saint-Pierre (Artur de Lizarraga, Detcheverry, and Girardin 2016:31).

Three extant structures still present at Anse à Bertrand reflect the complex history of the inshore fishery. Two 20th -century houses associated with seasonal occupation, a *saline* (salt house), and the remains of the 18th-century *graves* peeking through the grass represents both the early and late phases of the fishery. The excavation of Anse à Bertrand over three years encompasses one 1mx5m, five 2mx5m, and two 5mx4m trenches, totalling 130m^2 of open excavation. An additional year of excavation took place in 2022 but the data from this excavation are not used in this paper. These data allow the initial documentation of the evolving fishing and consumer practices of those who laboured and lived on the archipelago throughout history (see also Champagne and Losier 2022; Champagne et al. 2019; Livingston and Losier 2021; Livingston et al. 2018).

The material culture excavated, and archaeological contexts identified during the three field seasons, reflect the evolution of the fishery. Earlier contexts echo the daily lives of the initial migratory fishermen who frequented the shores in the second half of the 17th century to the final retrocession of 1816. They primarily brought with them essential products, usually sourced from their home region (Losier 2021b: 7; St. John 2011: 148). The almost strictly utilitarian nature of wares seen in this early migratory period was maintained until a marked influx of utilitarian and non-utilitarian materials that suggest a greater access to the global markets in the 19th century. The increased occurrence of these wares coincides with the local seasonal migration of the 19th century, when the occupation could be characterized as encompassing domestic as well as labourbased activities. Previous research on the material culture of Anse à Bertrand has determined that the majority of wares throughout the entirety of its occupation are of French origin, attesting to the maintenance and/or reestablishment of French trade networks throughout the politically uncertain period between 1763 and 1815 (Champagne 2018).

The archaeological context of Anse à Bertrand is significantly disturbed and actively threatened, similar to many other coastal sites. Significant shoreline erosion affecting the archipelago as whole has likely contributed to the loss of features and material culture associated with the site (Dubois 2010; Losier, Livingston and Champagne 2019:17). The archaeological context has also been disturbed by the subsequent occupations, as it was the trend for seasonal fishermen to reoccupy the same strategic locations year after year. It was also not unheard of for a site to be leveled and

rebuilt between each fishing season (Pope 2008:42). To add to the complexities of the archaeological deposition at a seasonal site, the razing of occupations between British and French reclamations was also recorded in the historical record (Andrieux 1983:7; Ribault 1962:67). The culmination of these effects is a rupture in the archaeological context at Anse à Bertrand. As a result, the materials have been relegated to the relatively broad periods of 17th and 18th century, 19th century, and 20th century. This chapter focuses on the material most closely related to the 1763-1815 date range, which would encompass potentially earlier, and slightly later materials given the state of the archaeological record.

To determine the extent and the continuity of the France's global trade network in the Atlantic following 1763, the material culture recovered over three years of excavation at Anse à Bertrand and archival records from this period were consulted. Records entitled: *Etat des batiment merchant Français arrivés a St. Pierre et Miquelon de leurs expeditions en Europe et au colonie l'Amerique* (Status of French merchant ships arriving in St. Pierre and Miquelon from their expeditions to Europe and to the colony of America) were reviewed to document the shipping activity in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon from 1763-1815. As the C12 (Saint-Pierre et Miquelon) records are not yet digitized, high-resolution pictures taken from the *Archives National d'Outre-Mer* (ANOM) by Dr. Catherine Losier in 2017 were analyzed.

From the 1763-1815 period only seven years were available: 1784 to 1788, 1790, and 1801 and 1802. Years 1801 and 1802 are grouped together as they are recorded in the archives as "ans 10" when calendar dates were briefly replaced during the French Revolution. These records were translated and input into a records database highlighting

the origin/destination, ships, captains and nature and amount of cargo entering and exiting the port of Saint-Pierre. These records take into account what will be called “Québec”, meaning the Province of Québec in British North America, and referring to an expanse of eastern North America in 1774 that extended from Labrador down the St. Lawrence River Valley through the Great Lakes and to the meeting point of the Ohio and Mississippi River. This region would later become part of the United States in 1783 and Upper and Lower Canada in 1791. While using the same name, it is important to note the territory being referenced exceeded the boundaries of present-day Québec. The documentary review will offer concrete and complementary evidence to the material culture analysis that addresses the first objective, the perseverance of the French Atlantic in the post-1763 period and will contribute to establishing the nodes of the actor network.

To complement the global and official point of view of the exchange networks in the North Atlantic, the material culture, specifically the ceramic materials offer a more nuanced, local point of view, highlighting other networks of trade and provisioning taken up by the inhabitants of Saint-Pierre. Ceramics have the ability to reflect real-time commercial trends and the reality of accessing markets that may not always match the official historiography. As the excavation reflects continual occupations from the 17th century to the 21st century, only those layers that represent the 17th -18th and 19th century occupations will be included in the analysis to most accurately characterise the 1763-1815 time period.

In total the analysis took into account 200 vessels, represented by 6016 fragments. The origins of ceramics will be discerned through material typology as well as any

available maker's marks to determine the regions that supplied the North Atlantic trade network. The intersection of other networks that supplied the remaining population following the fall of *Nouvelle-France* contributes to the second objective of documenting intercolonial and illicit trade activities and highlights the agency of the people who adapted and evolved to express their own unique culture.

However, to understand the material culture in a global perspective, further data from the French Atlantic following the capitulation of the French Regime were needed. To date however, there is a distinct lack of archaeological excavations that explore this component of French history. Undeniably, more data would bring greater resolution to this facet of research, however limitations do not preclude this analysis. It will represent the beginnings of what is hopefully more research. Data from Area C of the Dos de Cheval (ExAf-09) (sometimes referred to as Champs Paya) in the Petit Nord will be used for comparative purposes, however it should be noted that the analysis encompasses exclusively the French wares present at the site. Nevertheless, this will bolster our understanding of the distribution of French ceramics throughout the North Atlantic. Located within the limits of both iterations of the Petit Nord on Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula, Dos de Cheval represents the remains of one of several fishing rooms lining the inner Cap Rouge Harbour, near present day Crouse. The harbour was first documented in 1541 by Cartier, who observed Breton, Basque and Norman crews in the area. Materials at the site suggest French occupation on a continual, seasonal basis from the 17th century to the 1904 collapse of the French Shore, with an English occupation between 1790 and 1820. Excavation of Area C led by Peter Pope from 2006 to 2008

opened 82m^2, and analysis of French wares undertaken by Amy St. John (2011) takes into account 410 vessels.

By consulting in tandem both the documentary records and archaeological material, insight regarding the global network and local provisioning strategies can be obtained. In tandem, these sites demonstrate the breadth of the actor-network and the agency of the population's provisioning strategies aid in framing a discussion surrounding the third objective, the ethnogenesis and perseverance of the French North Atlantic and the ethnogenesis of the Saint-Pierrais culture.

3.5 Perseverance Reflected in Data

By consulting archival records that document commerce over a yearly period, post-1763, the continuance of trade networks in the Atlantic can be observed. However, these records mainly offer the official state-sanctioned trade and exchange in these ports, a perspective that does not encompass the complex (and sometimes illicit) inter-colonial relationships and local efforts needed to supply isolated or distant overseas territories. In order to reconstruct the network from the perspective of the actors, an actor network perspective in consultation with archival shipping record analysis will be adopted.

The records that have been made available and consulted take into account the commerce in Saint-Pierre harbour during the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary period between 1784 and 1790 and the interwar period between 1802 and 1803. While providing an important view of these periods, the sparsity of records can be a limiting factor when assessing the holistic interpretation of trade activities post-1763. During this time a total of 422 boats were recorded entering Saint-Pierre's harbour, with a majority of ships

(85%, n=365) originating from France, and from America (6%, 26) and the Caribbean (5%, 24) in relatively equal measure (Figure 3.5.1). Exports from Saint-Pierre demonstrate that of the 411 ships that departed, the majority (81%, 340) of trade went directly to France. Following this, 64 (15%) ships went directly to the Caribbean, in comparison with the 24 (6%) that arrived in Saint-Pierre from this region. This would suggest that the circulation of goods coming through Saint-Pierre are moving against the flow of goods coming through the triangular trade (Figure *3.5.2*). Boats and the goods they brought were more often coming from France then on to the Caribbean, rather than from the Caribbean to Saint-Pierre (Champagne and Losier 2022).

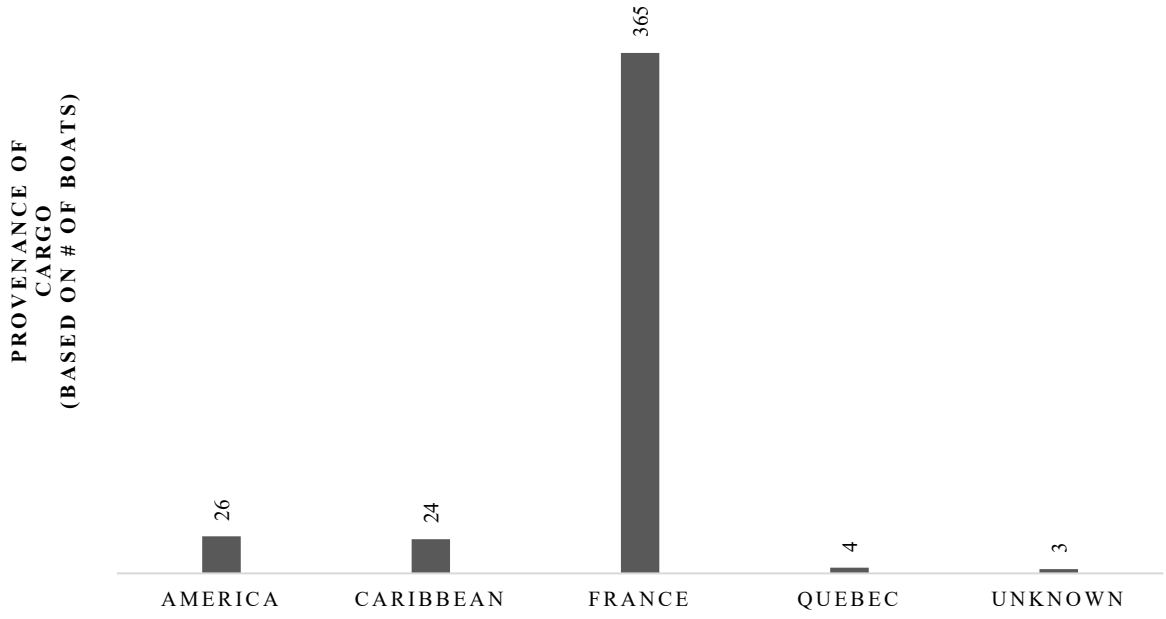

Figure 3.5.1: Provenience of cargo entering St. Pierre port from 1785-1790; 1802-1803, based on number of boats

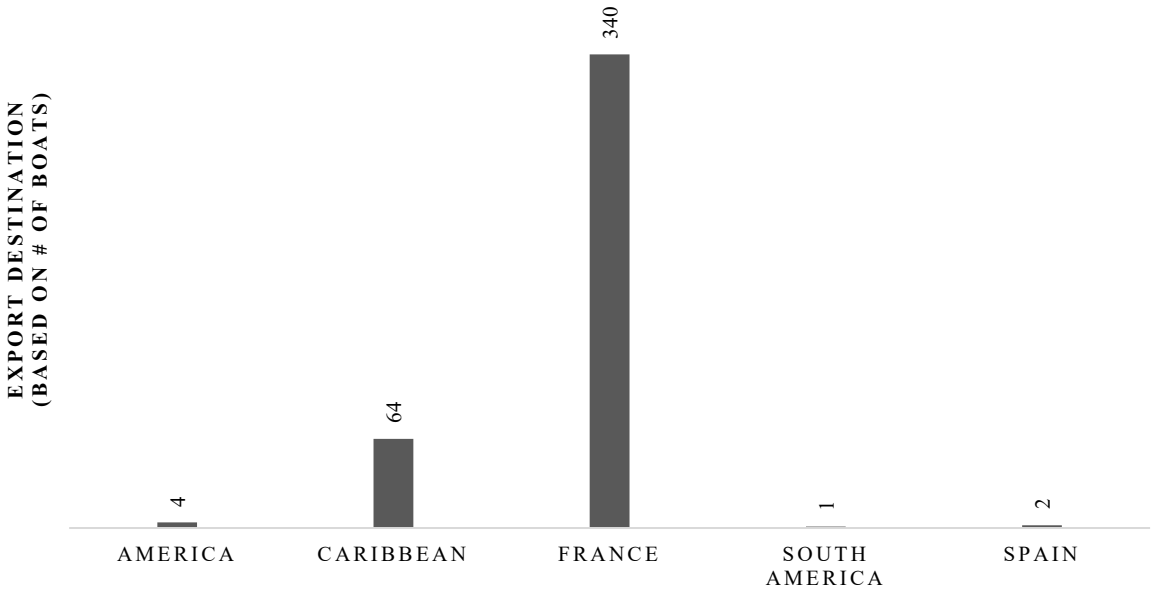

Figure 3.5.2: Destination of boats leaving Saint-Pierre from 1784-1790; 1802-1803, based on number of boats

Of the goods being imported, shown in Table *3.5.1*, the most frequently recorded items are salt, foodstuff (ie. bread, flour, lard, salt meat), and alcohol (ie. wine, rum, taffia, brandy). Salt, a key provision for the fishery, was being imported to Saint-Pierre from France, mainly from the French Basque country.

	Count of cargo	Sum of tons
Alcohol	**15**	**1229**
Caribbean	7	700
France	8	529
Construction material	**6**	
America	2	
England	2	
Unknown	2	
Diverse merchandise	**12**	**2358**
Caribbean	1	55
France	11	2303
Fishing equipment	**4**	**450**
France	4	450
Foodstuff	**31**	**760**
America	22	
Caribbean	3	290
France	5	470
Unknown	1	
Household items	**4**	
Québec	4	
Molasses	**8**	**735**
Caribbean	8	735
Salt	**311**	**28212**
France	311	28212
Sugar	**1**	
Caribbean	1	
Grand Total	**392**	**33744**

Table 3.5.1: Goods imported by the ton, based on import location

Salt, while also demonstrating direct links, equally demonstrates the necessity of a continued French trade network to the fishery population. An essential such as salt did not find itself outside the purview of nationalistic and elitist sentiments, where certain goods may not have been readily obtained or traded with other nations. John Collins (1625-1683), an Englishmen who served as accountant for the Royal Fishery Company, wrote

several observations on the North Atlantic fishery. One such observation was that French salt would cause fish to become dirtied and yellowed, and not fit for consumption (Collins 1682: 113). Another example specifically calls out salt gathered in La Tortuga in the Caribbean as being injurious to the fish it was meant to cure and sold mainly to treat the refuse-fish (Antczak 2019:183). This commentary, while made from a biased point of view, offers insight into the exchange of goods between nations and how it may not easily occur if government officials were present in port. Biases such as these indicate that goods were viewed through a nationalistic lens at the official level.

The goods being exchanged for export are recorded exclusively as cod and its byproducts, specifically: dry salted cod, green cod, cod tongues, cod oil and cod eggs. This highlights cod's role in the French colonial expansion and the reason it was so critical to the French Regime. Dry salted cod and cod tongues were the products with the highest demand, with almost 5 million cod sent to France through the Nouvelle-Aquitaine region, specifically the lower portion associated with the French Basque country, as shown in Table 3.5.2.

Exported Cod Products from 1784-1790, 1802-1803	Cod Products				
	dried (quintals)	green (indv.)	tongues (indv.)	oil (barrels)	roe (barrels)
France	**449,407**	**184,940**	**4,506,988**	**2,435**	**326**
Basque Country/Nouvelle-Aquitaine	246,502	4,618	2,895,329	489	252
Nouvelle-Aquitaine	102,476	56,689	624,903	736	31
Brittany	79,077	68,486	536,750	931	32
Normandy	9,506	28,517	351,000	160	9
Pays de la Loire	8,398	26,630	90,006	120	3
Provence-Alpes-Côtes d'Azure	3,448		9,000		
Caribbean	**81,444**	**3,222**	**279,900**	**40**	**3**
Martinique	62,756	1,182	196,000	30	3
Guadeloupe	8,833		10,000		
Saint-Domingue	8,870	2,040	73,900	10	
Tobago	985				
South America	**36**				
French Guiana	36				
Spain	**1,616**		**44,000**	**1**	
Basque Country	1,616		44,000	1	
Grand Total	532,503	188,162	4,830,888	2,476	329

Table 3.5.2: Exported cod products by value and destination

Martinique received most of their direct cod shipments from Saint-Pierre. Their position as the administrative seat for the French Antilles made it their responsibility to ensure the redistribution of goods to other French-held Caribbean territories, and to French Guiana (Wallman and Kelly 2020: 109). In a way, they were the gateway to the Caribbean, as Saint-Pierre was the gateway to the North Atlantic. Well before 1763, the use of cod as an economic commodity became crucial to European interest in the Caribbean (De La Morandière 2005:36; Goucher 2014:13; Innis 1978:76). Europe's intense focus on profiting in the sugar economy led to the vital need for a cheap, easily procured, and abundant protein ration for the ever-increasing number of enslaved

individuals transported from Africa, in addition to their own colonists. In an age where cod was still considered abundant in the North Atlantic, the dried salted fish took on that role so effectively it has since become ingrained in Caribbean culture (Arcangeli 2015:91; Champagne and Losier 2022; De La Morandière 2005:36; Goucher 2014:13; Innis 1978:76). Popular dishes such as *ti-nain morue*, *feroce d'avocat*, *chiquetaille*, *acras*, and *gratin* are still served in the French Antilles and all feature dry salted cod.

Cargo returning to the French Basque region, specifically the ports of Bayonne and St. Jean de Luz in 1784-1788, 1790 and 1801, boasts the most importation of dried cod (246,502 quintals), tongues (2,895,329 indv.), and salted cod eggs (252 barrels) (Table 3.5.3). In total upwards of, 4.5 million cod (based on the number of tongues) were traded in France during those seven years. While archaeological remains of cod do not always withstand the test of time, it is important to underline that almost every part of the cod was exploited for economic gain during its heyday. One of the lesser-known elements, cod eggs, also known as *raves* or *rabes,* were salted and packed in barrels for consumption in France and could be used "to make a [sauce]" (Collins 1682: 113). Additionally, there is a tradition among Spanish Basque fishermen to eat the raw roe as a snack, spread on toast (de Zulueta 2000: 268). The raw cod roe is also high in vitamin C and consumption would effectively fend off scurvy among fishing and whaling crews, thus contributing to the success of Basque fishing and whaling endeavours (De Zulueta 2000: 269). Whether consumed out of necessity or desire, there was undoubtedly a small but persistent market for roe. This delicacy, known as *huevas de bacalao* is still popular in Spain, which borders and shares a cultural region with southern France. A propaganda

book circulated in 1951 to encourage the consumption of cod advertises cod eggs or "rogue" as being suitable for brining and distribution to sardine fishermen as bait (Le Comité de Propagande pour la Consommation de la Morue 1951:15).

Exported Cod Products to French Ports, 1784-1790, 1802-1803	**Cod Products**				
	dried (quintals)	green (indv.)	tongues (indv.)	oil (barrels)	roe (barrels)
Basque Country/Nouvelle-Aquitaine	**246,502**	**4,618**	**2,895,329**	**489**	**252**
Bayonne	95,738	2,358	1,819,329	359	167
St. Jean de Luz	150,765	2,260	1,076,000	130	85
Nouvelle-Aquitaine	**102,476**	**56,689**	**624,903**	**736**	**31**
Bordeaux	59,663	35,180	401,103	196	20
La Rochelle	38,075	20,909	185,800	483	10
Rochefort	4,738	600	38,000	57	1
Brittany	**79,077**	**68,486**	**536,750**	**931**	**32**
Brest	6,694	11,425	29,000	47	
L'Orient	9,054	10,350	9,000	146	2
Port-Louis	1,058				
St. Malo	62,272	46,711	498,750	739	30
Normandy	**9,506**	**28,517**	**351,000**	**160**	**9**
Dieppe		17,117	41,000	7	
Granville	9,506	11,400	310,000	153	9
Pays de la Loire	**8,398**	**26,630**	**90,006**	**120**	**3**
Nantes	8,398	26,630	90,006	120	3
Provence-Alpes-Côtes d'Azure	**3,448**		**9,000**		
Marseille	3,448		9,000		

Table 3.5.3: Exported cod products to French ports from 1784-1790, 1802-1803

The sustained flow of cod product and by-products into Europe and the Caribbean, whether fueled by palate preference or need injected necessary goods needed to sustain markets. These networks were maintained for such reasons despite the conflict throughout this period. The persistence of export activity strengthens the notion that Saint-Pierre and the access it granted to the North Atlantic was still vital to the French

colonial effort. However, these official records omit the illicit trade that was no doubt occurring in the area, signaled by the conspicuously blank import and export details coming from and going to America.

The data reflected in the archives mirror only the official, government sanctioned trade network. In this light it is clear in Figure *3.5.2* that most of the official trade came from France the French Atlantic façade. Additional provisioning came from the New England coast of America, and small amounts from the Caribbean itself. The provisioning undertaken in Saint-Pierre is related mainly to the French ports that transatlantic fishermen are known to have come from.

Archaeological data allows us to grasp another dimension of the French North Atlantic network that is not accessible by looking solely at the archives. A matter with integrating official records with archaeological evidence, relates not only to issues of time and space, but also the lack of archaeological remains associated with the goods being imported. The majority of goods imported in barrels would have long ago fallen victim to the acidic soils of the North-East or been consumed, leaving little to no trace. The ceramic and glass vessels would largely be unmarked for their original use and will have likely been reused for many different purposes. However, another challenging facet is the lack of terrestrial associations in the fishery. The many fishermen and merchants who partook in the green fishery and transatlantic trade were largely confined to the vessels they resided on during the fishing season, leaving relatively little archaeological trace to testify to the breadth of their own global interactions.

Regardless, the material culture that is recovered can speak to the global networks that directly supplied or were brought with the fisherfolk who occupied the shorelines of Saint-Pierre. The material culture excavated from Anse à Bertrand and the published data from Dos de Cheval in the Petit Nord (St. John 2011) offers two perspectives on the ceramics utilized by French fishers during the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, that will shed light specifically on the 1763-1815 period. While both sites represent smaller scale occupations of the transatlantic fishing operations, they are a point of entry into the cultural resilience that the fisherfolk represent.

Shown in Table 3.5.4 the Anse à Bertrand collection demonstrates that the highest percentage of identifiable ceramic wares are from the Normandy region (19%, n=32), followed closely by those of the Breton region (17%, 28). At Anse à Bertrand, distribution favours three main production centers: Pabu (Brittany) (13%, 21), Bessin-Cotentin (Normandy) (13%, 21) and La Chapelle-des-Pots (Charentes-Maritimes) where Saintonge is made (6%, 10). It should be noted that the "unknown" category does represent 40% of the collection, where sherds were ultimately too damaged or too small to identify without microscopic analysis. At Dos de Cheval the French wares show a similar trend, where the majority of wares (48%, 198) were from the Normandy region and the Ligurian region (19%, 79). "Ligurian" here refers to the Northern Italian region that borders France, where wares of French and Italian origin are nearly indistinguishable (i.e., Albisola) (St. John 2011:68-71).

Region of Origin based on Ceramic Type from Anse à Bertrand	# of Objects	% of Objects
America	**1**	**1%**
Unknown	1	1%
England	**8**	**5%**
Southampton	4	2%
Staffordshire	1	1%
Unknown	2	1%
East-Midlands	1	1%
France	**87**	**53%**
Alpes-Maritimes	2	1%
Basse-Provence	3	2%
Brittany	28	17%
Charent-Maritimes	10	6%
Midi-Pyrénées	1	1%
Normandy	32	19%
Pyrénés-Atlantiques	3	2%
Unknown	3	2%
Seine-Maritimes	2	1%
Gironde	3	2%
Germany	**3**	**2%**
West Germany	3	2%
Indeterminate	**66**	**40%**
Grand Total	**165**	**100%**

Table 3.5.4: Ceramic assemblage based on region of origin from 1763-1815

The Normandy stonewares (Bessin-Cotentin and Domfront) and Breton coarse earthenwares (Pabu and Saint-Jean-de-la-Poterie types), that were so ubiquitously found in the Petit Nord and at Anse à Bertrand, represent utilitarian wares needed to provision the fishermen for the entire season. Specifically, the Bretonwares (5%, 6) from Saint-Jean-de-la-Poterie are associated with salt production in La Roche Bernard in Brittany but are seen in low quantities in Anse à Bertrand (Table 3.5.5). Normandy stonewares and Bretonwares are frequently used for storage and preservation of provisions such as salt meats, butter and wine, crews often times bringing these provisions with them from home

(Flambard Héricher and Brocquet-Liénard 2016; Pope 2016; Pope et al. 2008; St. John 2011: 100-101). Saintonge coarse earthenwares, on the other hand, are mainly associated with food and beverage preparation and service, with no evidence that they were ever used for cooking (Chapelot 2016; St. John 2011). However, regardless of their initial purpose it is essential to remember that these vessels would have all been reused once introduced into the fishing room, so their true purpose is indeterminate and likely varied. In the case of Anse à Bertrand, there is evidence of heat altered Saintonge wares that could indicate reuse for cooking.

France production centers	**Imported wares (n)**
Bessin-Cotentin	21
Pabu	21
La-Chapelle-des-Pots	10
Domfront	9
Saint-Jean-de-la-Poterie	6
Béarn	3
Unknown	3
Sadirac	3
Albisola	2
Beauvais	2
Rouen	2
Vallauris	2
Cox-Lomagne	1
Quimper	1
Huveaune	1
Grand Total	**87**

Table 3.5.5: Imported wares at Anse à Bertrand from French production centers

The regions where these wares originate often housed smaller, vernacular pottery industries that were intrinsically linked with the transatlantic fishery in North America. However, despite the smaller size of the regions where they originated, these wares were

synonymous with the French fishery (Gervais 2017; Pope et al. 2008). The vernacular industries of the European countryside ran on similar schedules to the fishing season, to ensure adequate provisioning for their transatlantic fishermen. Provisions such as salt, bread, butter, salt meat, wine, cider, and the vessels they were packed in were made on an almost seasonal basis to keep up with the demand of the fishing season. The distribution of the wares associated with these vernacular industries in North America are a litmus test for provisional links, crewing, and transatlantic trade partners in France. In this light it is clear that following 1763, Norman and Breton fishermen continued to frequent the North Atlantic fishing grounds and likely provisioned themselves from the regions in which they themselves originated (Pope 2008: 49; St. John 2011: 148).

While there are similarities between the general origins of ceramics from Dos de Cheval and Anse à Bertrand, there are also a number of disparities, mainly the variety found at Anse à Bertrand. Firstly, Dos de Cheval was a true seasonal migration site, where fishermen brought most of their provisions with them at the beginning of the season. They brought sufficient quantities in the expectation that they would last until the end of the fishing season, when they would return to Europe. Anse à Bertrand on the other hand was a migratory site that represents the transitional period from transatlantic migration to intra-island migration. The fishermen would either migrate from France on a seasonal basis or settle in town and travel the short distance to Anse à Bertrand to reside there for the season prior to returning to town. Secondly, Anse à Bertrand would have theoretically benefitted from the close proximity to the Saint-Pierre Harbour, where the distribution of goods would have taken place.

Saint-Pierre's role as administrative and distribution center for the French North Atlantic fishery can explain these incongruities with the Petit Nord. However, recorded French ports of origin do not necessarily match the ceramic assemblage of Anse à Bertrand. Ships entering port are mainly from the French Basque Country (39%, 163) and Brittany (38%, 120). There is a strong link with Brittany in the records (St. Malo, Brest, l'Orient, Conquet, Vannes, Paimpol), similar to the ceramic assemblage. The high instance of Bretonwares at Anse à Bertrand may reflect the demand for salt, as Breton salt began to be widely exported in the 18th century (Pope et al. 2008: 57; Pourchasse 2006). Normandy, where the stonewares prevalent at Dos de Cheval and Anse à Bertrand originated, only contributed 9% (38) of merchant vessels. Perhaps reflecting the wider distribution of Normandy stonewares in the neighbouring Breton region in the 18th century (Pope et al. 2008:59) (Table *3.5.6*).

Import Regions (1763-1815)	Boats In (%)	Boats In (n)
America	**6%**	**26**
Maine	1%	3
Massachusetts	3%	11
New Hampshire	1%	6
New York	1%	3
Rhode Island	0%	1
Unknown	0%	2
Caribbean	**6%**	**24**
Guadeloupe	1%	6
Martinique	3%	12
Saint-Domingue	1%	5
Tobago	0%	1
France	**86%**	**365**
Basque Country/Nouvelle-Aquitaine	39%	163
Brittany	28%	120
Normandy	9%	38
Nouvelle-Aquitaine	9%	40
Pays de la Loire	1%	3
Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azure	0%	1
Quebéc	**1%**	**4**
Cape Breton	0%	2
Magdalen Islands	0%	2
Unknown	**1%**	**3**
Unknown	1%	3
Grand Total	**100%**	**422**

Table 3.5.6: Import regions according to archival documentation (1763-1815)

While we can conceptualize Saint-Pierre at the center of a constellation of networks, there is a certain degree of independence in the fishery that creates branches and nodes that are indirectly reliant on each other. The migratory nature of the fishery means that crews would often be seasonal, and mainly self-reliant. Support from SaintPierre would be available, but it seems like the Petit Nord was fairly independent, or inter-reliant on other fishermen inhabiting the Petit Nord, establishing French nodes along

the shores of Newfoundland. Saint-Pierre served as the administrative center for the French North Atlantic, but not necessarily the provisioning center. The crews that participated in the green fishery represent another facet, where they mainly stayed aboard their vessels, and would travel to and from the shore to drop off the catch and restock on necessary items like salt. Finally, Saint-Pierre itself is the hub of this network, housing transient and permanent settlers, receiving goods from international (i.e, American) suppliers, and redistributing among the populace and crews who might have only been in port temporarily. The archival and archaeological remains help us to understand the complex intersection of networks in the North Atlantic that continued to contribute commercially to eastern North American and the fishing economy. Thus demonstrating not only the perseverance but the vitality of the North Atlantic to French economic success, and the actors who contributed to the interconnected network that was key to this success.

3.6 Reliance on Intercolonial Provisioning and Illicit Trade

Disparities between Anse à Bertrand and Dos de Cheval reflect the complex network operating in the North Atlantic. These disparities are reflective of agency within the systemic network in place between fishing establishments. Ceramic assemblages are representative of the complexities associated with need, affiliation, and personal preference within the French North Atlantic fishery. By analysing the variance in collections, a discussion on the second objective concerning the reliance of French provisioning and the development of an alternative, and at times illicit, trading network is required.

Official documents written by or for government would undoubtably demonstrate a bias towards "official" trade, excluding or simply leaving out the illicit provisioning efforts of the population. However, at times when wars dislocated trade routes provoking insufficient supply or when changing governance led to uncertain provisioning, alternative networks were needed in order to ensure the persistence of colonies. This is especially true for the colonies like Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, considered to be located on the periphery of the Atlantic World or in a marginal place with regard to traditional commercial hubs (Losier 2021b:4). In order to look past the politics, perhaps what is not written in the records is equally as important as what is; the presence of absence, so to speak.

Following the 1763 Treaty of Paris, France was not the only country faced with upheaval. By this period Britain dominated much of the global colonial space, and in doing so amassed massive debt (Desmarais 2019: 1; Isreal 2017: 52). Discontent among the American colonies began to increase when the British leveed taxes among the colonists to offset costs associated with their efforts, while also attempting to limit foreign trade in order to benefit English manufacturers. Discontent with British sovereignty led to revolt among the thirteen colonies (Isreal 2017: 55). This in turn led to a strengthened relationship between America and France, that was further cemented in 1775 with the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783). It seems they were united in their individual fights with the British.

France covertly supported their bid against the British in 1776 when America signed the Declaration of Independence, severing their political alliance with England.

The illicit support of America came two years before France formally entered the war in 1778 with King Louis XVI's signing the treaty of Alliance (Desmarais 2019: 12). With French aid, the American territory became officially defined and was officially separated from England in 1783 with the Treaty of Versailles (1783). As France's support to the American bid was so vital, they were implicated in the treaty negotiations, most importantly, to maintain fishing rights in the North Atlantic (Gaulton and Losier 2020:832).

The pre-revolutionary period following the Treaty of Versailles (1783) was marked by an economic boom and decline in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. The colony faced the strains of increased population and insufficient support and supply (Ribault 1962: 81-91). Left to their own devices trade with the New-England colonies swelled, reflected by the increased documentation of ships from a variety of American ports trading in Saint-Pierre harbour. Officially, the details are conspicuously absent in some instances. Incoming, between 1786 and 1788, twenty-one ships were noted coming into port from unknown places with no cargo details and no commentary, noting only the tonnage which falls between 50-100 tons. Comparably, cargo of other ships weighing within the 50 to100 ton range mainly carried salt, and occasionally foodstuff and alcohol. These ships of unknown origin stopped in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and returned to France or the French Antilles with a cargo of fish products, and one with 19 casks of whale oil bound for the French Basque Country.

These unknown ships could represent the supressed network functioning between Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and America. Supporting this theory there is an entry in 1785,

where three ships entered port from Boston with unknown cargo prior to departing for France. The practice of noting the ports of American trade could have been phased out after 1785 to downplay the economic relationship between America and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, likely due to the displeasure of the French Administration who would have preferred French-only trade.

In 1787, American trade partners were sought out to import provisions. Of the seventy ships entering port that year, 33 are suspected to have been engaged in illicit trade. Of those 33 ships, 24 were directly outfitted in USA, mainly the New England states, but unlike previous entries, their cargo was recorded. The American ships' cargo included mainly foodstuff (i.e., flour, butter, salt meat), construction material, tobacco, alcohol, and livestock. The origin of these other ships are as follows: Two from the Province of Québec (Canada), two from British colonies (present day Canada), and three from unknown ports. The ships from the Province of Québec are from the Îsles de la Madeleine (Magdalen Islands) and from the British colony of Cape Breton, which is entered under the name Île Royal. These four ships were responsible for the importation of charcoal. Île Royale, as it was known, was taken by the British in 1763 and by 1787 was officially known as the British colony of Cape Breton.

The Acadian territory was lost to the British during the Seven Years War, and their inhabitants deported during the Great Upheaval of 1755 until the British granted their return in 1764. The designation of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon as an *abri* for French fishermen in the negotiations of the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, paved the way for the acceptance of Acadian refugees during the *grand derangement* (~1750-1780). Following

the Acadian expulsion from Nova Scotia, groups were recorded on Miquelon in 1766 (Rannie 1877: 37). More upheaval resulted in the deportation of the Acadians from Saint-Pierre et Miquelon to France and back again in the following years, when their presence on Miquelon become more established. This lasted until the 1790's, when upheaval struck again. In 1793 at the outbreak of yet another British-French conflict, the abée on Miquelon, a Jacobin priest loyal to the crown, fled with his 250 Acadian parishioners to les Îles-de-la-Madeleine (Magdalen Islands) (Aldrich and Connell 1992:35; Ribault 1968:123). The presence of Île Royale and the Magdalen Islands in the records could indicate a relationship with those returning Acadians, who were famously loyal to the French Crown, and speaks to the persistence of relationships between the French speaking populations in the North Atlantic.

The records from 1787 are suspected to indicate potential illicit trade mainly due to the conspicuous lack of records of exported cargo. Those thirty-three records relating to foreign trade have no information regarding the cargo that was exported on these ships or the locations where they were bound. While the lack of records could indicate that there were no export activities, they could equally indicate an intentional concealment of trade details from the French government. Indeed in 1787, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon only recorded twenty-four ships from France and three from the Caribbean, equalling twenty-seven ships. This means that the French government supplied less than half of the required provisions, and more than likely provided the provisions for the military establishment, not the fisherfolk (Ribault 1968: 90). In this context, interloping trade could be a local answer to the fact that King Louis XVI left the provisioning of the Saint

Pierrais and Miquelonnais people up to the colonial administration, with a strong emphasis that it should be through French ports (Losier 2021a; Miller 2008: 24). Archival data suggest that the Saint-Pierre et Miquelon administration did not comply with the *metropole* policy. The American connection suggests that Saint-Pierre et Miquelon desperately needed more support, which they sought outside the purview of the French Crown.

The following year, 1788, records eighty-five ships from France and the French Antilles arrived in the Saint-Pierre harbour, with no American trade. This may reflect an effort on the part of France to address the under-provisioning that was a constant plague to the archipelago's residents and an impact of the French Revolution. However, this commercial boost was short lived. The provisioning crisis continued in Saint-Pierre, and more than likely illicit trade was excluded from the records as one account from 1790 speaks of a request for aid in the form of provisions being sent from New York (Ribault 1968: 101). However, there was no trade with America recorded in 1790. While there are no reflections of overtly American wares on the site of Anse à Bertrand, it does not necessarily mean they did not avail themselves of the American commerce in Saint-Pierre. It suggests that if any occurred it was not in significant amount or occurred through means of distribution that would not leave an overt American archaeological trace.

The benefit of this small network functioning between the North American mainland and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon was not unilateral. In reality, North American producers equally benefitted from the French-held archipelago's unique position as a

bridge between Europe, North America, and the Caribbean. The American provisions that Saint-Pierre so badly needed were frequently bought or exchanged for French products at lower prices than the other European competitors. For example, New England distillers gained access to Caribbean molasses through the port of Saint-Pierre to use in their distilleries (Thorpe 2002: 72). More recently, this relationship still proved to be mutually beneficial. Throughout the prohibition era in North America (1920-1933), Saint-Pierre was used as an offshore warehouse for alcohol smuggling, allowing both American and Saint-Pierrais to profit from the enterprising relationship (Heins 2021; Thomelin 2017; Andrieux 2012).

The illicit trade, or obscured trade, demonstrates that the residents of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon were sourcing what they needed regardless of colonial affiliation. In fact, they may have done this in spite of French policies, which, as the historiography has shown, were inconsistent and unreliable, often times neglecting the labourers they relied on for economic success. This exemplifies the existence of a small intercolonial network occurring in the North Atlantic between the New-England states, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, and the Province of Québec (Canada).

Moreover, the export records with these merchants are entirely absent, obscuring the distribution of French goods outside the French colony. The variety and volume of international merchants in Saint-Pierre reached a pinnacle in 1787, only two years prior to the outbreak of the French Revolutionary War. Following the outbreak, the records only reflect interaction with French ports and French Antillean colonies, with increased Captains and ships with no provenance or cargo recorded, indicating that the illicit trade

continued despite the intensified political tension in the Atlantic. Following the short interwar occupation of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon in 1801 and 1802, provisioning was dismal, apparently relying exclusively on France.

Unfortunately, the illicit trade is next to impossible to detect through material culture studies. The majority of goods which would have been brought in by this means would have been the foodstuff and goods necessary for the daily activities of Saint-Pierre inhabitants. These necessities may not have required ceramic vessel. At this time, innovations in the Staffordshire region of England flooded the markets with readily available wares (ie. pearlware, creamware). These wares were widely circulated in the second half of the 18th century and early 19th century, and not necessarily a signal of an illicit trade networks. The point here being that the importance and presence of illicit networks are demonstrably difficult to pin-point through material and archival remains, leaving us to rely on scant written and oral records that these networks were so imperative to the survival of the colony.

By analysing the archival records, it is clear that other means of provisioning were not only necessary but undertaken. Through the relationships established between the administration, traders, and fishers - and the nodes they represent within the constellation of the North Atlantic network – the residents were able to express a degree of agency in where, when, and by whom they provisioned themselves. The expression of agency in this context, where it undermines direct governmental decree, also proves the inability of France to provide for the territories it fought for. Settlers of French colonies

instead turned to New England traders or to other illicit trade, undercutting French profit and ultimately governmental control.

3.7 Agency and Ethnogenesis in Materiality: Fisherfolk of Anse à Bertrand Saint-Pierre

The material culture of Anse à Bertrand lends insight into the local provisioning efforts of the fisherfolk who occupied the shorelines throughout the fishing season. Studying the material culture of a fishing establishment outside the town limits, representative of the "everyday" fisher that populated the workforce, distances the narrative from the few, higher socio-economic actors, such as captains, merchants, négociants, etc. Daily life in the fishery would have been culturally impacted by external factors, such as access to commercial networks and provisioning ability in general. Analyzing the formal network through archival documents and pairing it with local agency, it is possible to address the ethnogenesis that occurred in Saint-Pierre. By focussing on the individuals who inhabited Anse à Bertrand and were directly responsible for the material culture left behind, a more nuanced view of fisherfolk society is possible. The material culture study of these remains can point to the complex identity formed prior to and throughout the second half of the 18th century associated with these inhabitants.

As stated above, the assemblage of Anse à Bertrand demonstrates a prevalence of wares from the Pabu (Brittany) and Bessin-Cotentin (Normandy) manufacturing centers. It is not shocking that the distribution is broadly from the Breton and Norman regions, with a high probability that the site was frequented by fishermen who at one point originated from Brittany. However, when speaking of identity, it is the few instances of

anomalous wares that speak more to the individuals of the past. Ceramic cargo was reflective of a ships outfit, but the personal wares brought with the sailors/fishers were reflective of their personal identity and cultural affiliation (Dagneau 2009: 425; Losier, Loewen, and Egaña Goya 2018: 218). Therefore, looking at the ceramics that appeared in low or infrequent quantities can bring into focus the regional identities and affiliations that make up Saint-Pierrais society.

The assemblage demonstrates nominal amounts of ceramics from the Northwest, Southwest, and Southeastern regions of France (Figure 3.7.1). The vernacular industry in France is intrinsically linked with its overseas colonies. Industries that supply salt, bread, beans, butter, salt meat, fishing equipment and accessories, wine and ciders, and the pots that would provision them worked on a seasonal basis, similar to the fishermen who relied on those products (Pope 2008:51). Provisions coming from Saint-Malo were based heavily on the high-quality Norman stoneware products, easily accessible and produced in great quantity. While Normandy stonewares became popular in the Brittany region as well, the Breton port of Saint-Brieuc was a common distribution center for the Breton coarse earthenwares found at both sites (i.e., Pabu, Saint-Jean-de-la-Poterie, Bretonware (Pope 2008:48-5)). The presence of Saint-Jean-de-la-Poterie unglazed coarse earthenware pots are also strongly associated with the salt production region of La Roche Bernard in Brittany (Pope 2008:48-51).

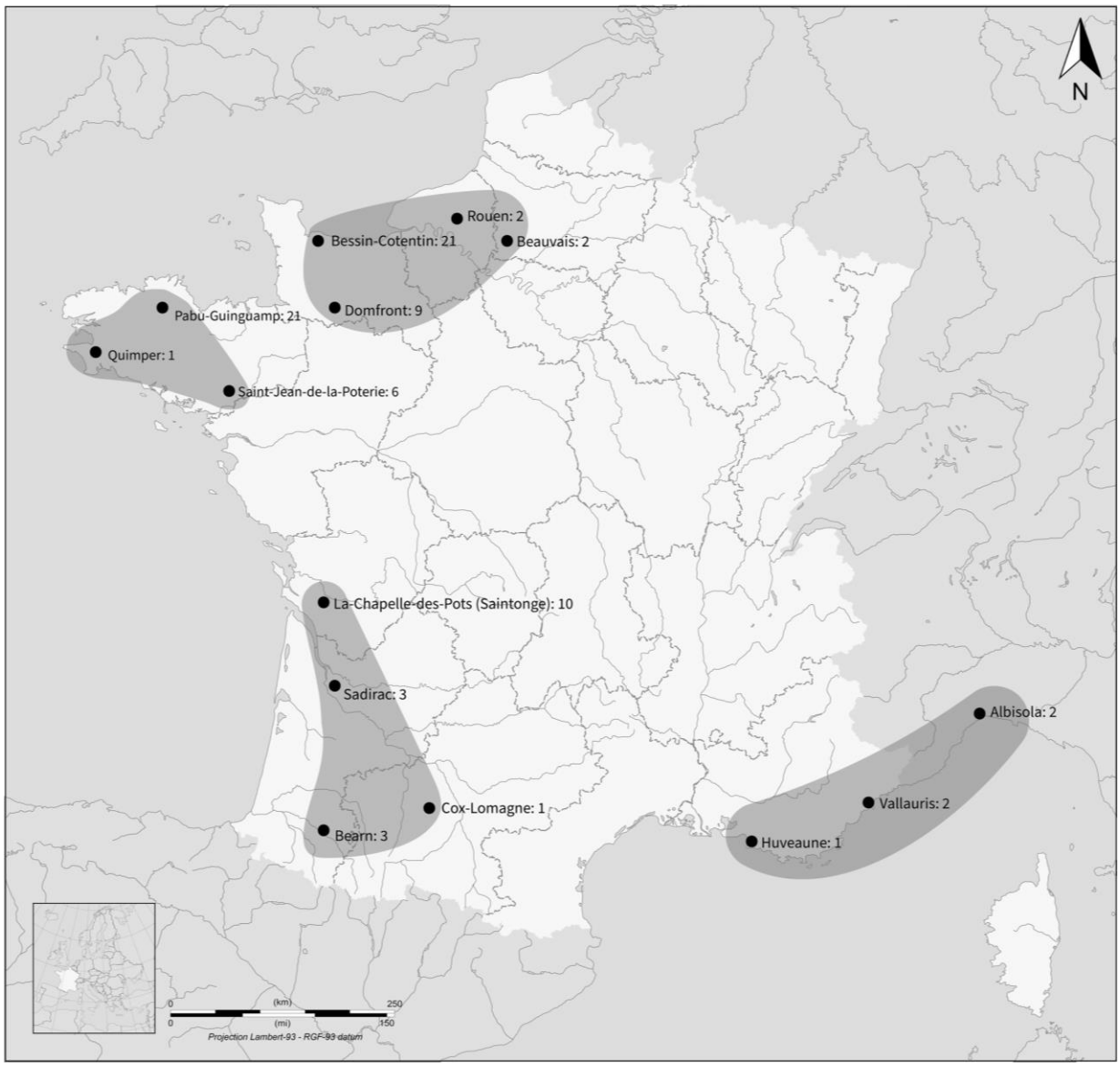

Figure 3.7.1: Saint-Pierre et Miquelon import regions in France based on material culture

The Brittany, Normandy, and Basque ceramics of Anse à Bertrand point to an affiliation with these regions and an agency to use these vernacular products over others. Demonstrated by the discrepancies between the seasonal fishing settlements of Anse à Bertrand and Dos de Cheval, there was some choice by the fishers in what products they used. In these differences, human choice can be teased out. Found alongside the French wares at Saint-Pierre are also American stoneware examples, broadly known as Albany

Stoneware (early 19th century – 20th century) (Samford 2002). Their presence indicates a relationship between the fishermen of Anse à Bertrand and the North American network. More succinctly, this means they did not exclusively use French wares, mirrored similarly in the archives, and supports the theory of a New England network that was pivotal to the colony.

Agency, while certainly hard to demonstrate, should not be discounted when retracing the trade routes and suppliers of the North Atlantic. The fishers themselves may have had limited influence sway in large scale networks, but they did still have preference, and therefore influence, associated with regional affiliation and cultural affiliation, or even an act of rebellion against the crown that failed to provide. Even within a labour-based economic system, these individuals can still be considered as contributors to the Atlantic Network by exercising their own agency and forming materialized relationships with immediate and distant suppliers, as demonstrated in the minute differences in material culture at fishing sites. The illicit trade that began out of necessity to rebuild continued by choice and, undermined both English and French decree and influence. These choices allowed the network between Saint-Pierre and New England to develop and prosper (Morris 2012:7072; Thorpe 2002:72-73). The actions of settlers not only attest to France's inability to provide for her colonies but shows the bottom-up, agency-led economic restructuring and cultural exchange that forms from it.

The inhabitants of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon were uniquely positioned in the Atlantic World, where they served as a hub for key economic activities. The intersection of fishing and commercial trade in the archipelago allowed the development of complex

trade networks with Europe, the Caribbean, and North America. These networks provided much-needed provisions and cultural interaction to the inhabitants of the archipelago and assisted with the birth of a distinct society (i.e., ethnogenesis), that is still seen today. Specifically, the strong link between Saint-Pierre and the Basque country highlighted throughout this paper can still be seen in the annual Basque Fest that occurs on a yearly basis. Besides that, Basque surnames, sports, and foods are testaments to the cultural affiliations adopted throughout history. The economic draw of the cod fishery ultimately led to the persistence of the French North Atlantic, and is especially highlighted in this scenario, where it not only led to the persistence, but the perseverance of a location, a population and a cultural identity.

3.8 The Perseverance of a Population and Persistence of the French North Atlantic

This thesis has argued that the loss of mainland North America in 1763 can be conceptualized as a tactical retreat, allowing France to focus on more economically viable interests. Explicitly, these interests were sugar and cod. Cod specifically was important to provision Europe and the French Antilles (Losier 2021a). Consequently, the fishery can no longer be undervalued and the individuals who maintained it are highlighted as persevering and leaving a cultural footprint that has survived its contentious beginning and lasted into the present day. By revaluating the North Atlantic post-1763 the cod fishery itself can equally be lauded in a more influential light and recognized for its contributions to a globalized and interconnected economy.

The perseverance of these people and the North Atlantic network as a whole is largely due to the transition from large territorial holdings to a near-mobile nodal-

network. Made up of anchor points in strategic places such as Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, and equally important transitory seasonal anchors, such as Anse à Bertrand and Dos de Cheval, the network was physically connected by the ships that carried cargo and people from node to node. In this light, the "network" itself was able to adapt to changing global circumstances and persevere despite conflict and political disruptions. It not only allowed the economic perseverance of France in the Atlantic but also allowed the actors in the network to be connected and form relationships outside the prescribed nationalistic trade pattern.

That is to say, the population in the North Atlantic, and populations elsewhere, could not rely only on France to provide adequate supplies to ensure their survival (Champagne and Losier 2022; Losier 2021a). Despite encouragement to only seek out French supplies from French suppliers, when put in the position of a deficit of necessary items the network expanded to incorporate foreign and illicit partners. The illicit exchange network operating on demand in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon highlights not only the east-west/European-Colony trade but emphasizes, north-south/ American intercolonial trade that has just as, if not more, economically and provisionally important to the colony of Saint-Pierre as the official network emanating from France. The dependence of SaintPierre on the American illicit network formed a complex inter-reliant system within the North Atlantic, where Saint-Pierre provided goods from the Caribbean to New-England, and in turn welcomed necessary supplies and formed a strong cultural and economic relationship with America. The connections provided through the illicit New England network contributed to an increasingly globalized and culturally complex

population in Saint-Pierre. It is this more complex network that persists past the fall of *Nouvelle-France* in the North Atlantic.

The complexities of an increasingly globalized world, even to a small population in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, led to the question of identity. When being French can no longer be defined a "coming from France" or living under the French governance, one's identity changes intrinsically throughout time. Influenced by regional identities, comingled identities, cultural collisions, and the melting pot that is a diasporic settlement, being "French" is no longer a simple moniker. Through relationships cultivated through a conflicted and contentious place in history, the population of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon have formed their own cultural identity. Influenced by the network that brought both people and goods to the islands, an ethnogenesis of the population has contributed to lasting cultural affiliations too complex to simply dismiss as merely "French".

The population of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (and the North Atlantic as a whole) was not only influenced by their interactions but also proved to be influential. The population not only survived but impacted the far-reaching nodes within their network by providing cod fish and related products. Seemingly pedestrian, cod fish is not to be undervalued. It fueled a global economy and connected places and people in a way that lasts even to the present day, and perhaps this is why the French North Atlantic has been so discounted. The element they were so apt at distributing is prosaic and unglamorous, and a little smelly, but is still important in the cuisine of so many places in the world. Dishes like *ti nain morue* (Martinique), *huevas de bacalao* (Portugal), New England baked cod (America), cod tongues with scrunchions (Newfoundland), and *morue*

dauphnioise (France) link the international cod network in a tangible and lasting culturally significant way. The cod trade is seemingly eclipsed in the historiography by the sugar trade, a move that shifts the spotlight to the Caribbean and has discounted the importance of the North Atlantic. Cod, and the population that was producing it, is an enduring and connective element to the globalization of the world economy since the beginning of the 16th century.

4

Discussion and Concluding Thoughts:

4.1 Connection Through Culture

In a recent visit to the Canadian Museum of History in Ottawa, there was a plaque named "British North America from 1763-1815". It begins, "*following the British conquest of Canada, France ceded nearly all of its North American possessions to the victorious British".* The statement of the "victorious British" proves the effectiveness of British propaganda against the French as the notion is persistent nearly two hundred and sixty-one years later. More specifically however, the British conquest of the Americas and the domination of the Sugar Era continues to eclipse the persistence of the French Atlantic cod fishery. The research presented in this thesis challenges this assumption and aims to recenter the colonies maintained by France from 1763-1815 as vital contributors to the French Atlantic and to the global economy as a whole. French involvement in the global trade network through the distribution of cod created an interconnected and inter-reliant cultural milieu during a period of political uncertainty and war. In particular, the populations in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and Martinique were indelibly linked by the exploitation of economic drivers such as cod, sugar, rum and salt. Each were reliant on the other to provide the necessary means to continue their own industry.

As a result, smaller, fluid trade networks formed outside the prescribed triangular route, adjusting and moving to encompass the needs and the changing political environments of the populations that depended on them. Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, Martinique, and the other French colonies existed in contradiction to the British propaganda of the 18th century. They reshaped their access to the global network to remain vital, if not victorious, to the French Crown. To see these connections and

relationships, archaeology offers a unique lens. By studying provisioning ability through material culture and archival documentation of the seasonal fishing site of Anse à Bertrand in Saint-Pierre and the Crève Coeur sugar plantation in Martinique, the complex trade networks vital to these populations are apparent.

Three objectives have been outlined in this thesis to document and determine the impact of these networks. Firstly, to understand the well populated European shipping lanes in the Caribbean, the routes established in and around Martinique have been delineated through the official documentation and the materials recovered from a sugar plantation (Chapter 2). This objective determined the level of access those entrenched in the plantation system, who represented the lowest economic strata of society, had to the provisioning networks. Secondly, to determine the shipping routes operational in the North Atlantic and the level of access the fisherfolk in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon had to them (Chapter 3), a similar search of official documentation and material culture studies determined the perseverance of the trade networks in the north and their reach. These two objectives ultimately led to the observation that the French trade network linking the North Atlantic and the Caribbean persisted after 1763 and can be documented, as well as the influence it had on the populations who relied on this network. Adopting a theoretical perspective based on agency theory and Actor Network Theory (ANT) (Dobres & Robb, 2005; Hodder, 2000; Wobst, 2000) the broad historiography (archival analysis) can be linked with the local evidence represented by the archaeological material culture. Combined, they place emphasis on the capacity of the 'individual' to exert their own free will and tangibly alter their environments to better serve themselves. These three

objectives demonstrate that the French Atlantic did persist though the politically tumultuous period of 1763-1815; moreover, it had a direct impact on the populations who relied on it, resulting in a cultural ethnogenesis and the formation of complex and lasting inter- and intra-colonial trade networks

4.2 Martiniquan Provision Strategies

Caribbean sugar was a key staple that flowed through not only the French network, but the Atlantic as a whole. To stay economically relevant in the sugar era, the labour-intensive production of sugar was a large focus of the French Empire, resulting in the transportation of thousands of enslaved individuals into the Caribbean. Due to distance and an increasingly expanding population, Martiniquan colonists faced consistent food insecurity. For the enslaved individuals, their access to the commercial network for provisions was even more restricted- if not non-existent. As a result, colonists and more so the enslaved were forced to provision by other means. Previous research attest that this was often done by foraging, fishing, gardening, and bartering among other enslaved individuals on the island (Kelly & Wallman, 2014: 27-31). By analyzing the material culture paired with official records, the complexities of the network can be studied alongside the community created outside metropolitan control.

In Chapter 2 it is argued that these intercolonial links in the French Atlantic were key to the perseverance and success of France during the reorganization of colonial holdings in the post-1763 period until the solidification of territorial possessions in 1815. The individuals who relied on commercial networks to access necessary provisions were responsible for the formation of a complex nodal network that often circumvented the

strict confines of the East/West and triangular trade network and enabled connection and access to rations necessary for survival (i.e., cod, a cultural staple still used in many creole dishes today).

The wider social system in which the colony evolved is reflected in the material culture from the Habitation Crève Coeur. The artifact assemblage mirrors the racist, elitist, and Eurocentric system that enslaved individuals were thrust into. Shown in Table 4.2.1, there is a limited variety in ceramic types and a high frequency of locally made vessels, which points to little distribution of international products from these networks to enslaved individuals. With limited access to those international networks, local products, community sourcing, and reuse were pivotal to the enslaved individuals' material consumption.

Low-fired domestic production, frequently made in the form of a cooking pot, was found in significant quantities (55%) throughout Crève Coeur. Interestingly, the locally made ceramic was also found on neighbouring islands, indicating that the enslaved individuals likely participated in an inter-island exchange network (Kelly et al., 2008). In addition, the use of international materials, specifically Vallauris, lends insight to the food-ways and consumption patterns on the sugar plantation. The glazed coarse earthenware pot is a traditional stew pot and makes up 14% (n=13) of the collection. Along with the low-fired domestic production (55%, n=52), that means 69% of the ceramic materials are associated with cooking. Specifically cooking stews which allow the extended consumption of limited ingredients and are culturally associated with Antillean cuisine (Arcangeli, 2015: 95; Kelly, 2010: 40). The presence of both imported and locally made

wares on the Habitation Crève Coeur attest to a reliance on both local and international networks, with a higher dependence on the local one (Champagne & Losier, 2021).

In contrast to the 55% of locally sourced ceramic materials found on Crève Coeur (see Table 4.2.1), imports by ton from France itself represent 48% (n= 892, 439 tons) of total cargo brought to the island, with America representing the next most prominent trade partner with Martinique (27%, n=501, 073 tons) (Table 4.2.2). The disparity between these statistics, where official trade patterns are not reflected in material consumption in local milieus, hint at a lack of distribution of products through local economies and/or the nature of the materials being traded. This indicates that the enslaved communities would have had very little access to the provisions and goods being traded through government controlled ports (Champagne & Losier, 2021).

While American trade was infrequently recorded due to the illicit nature of it, there is a definitive network spanning the coast of America. Of the 4952 boats from the United States[3] recorded entering and exiting Martiniquan port, 15% (n=761) are from Alexandria, 12% (n=571) from Bristol Rhode Island, 7% (n=341) from New York, and 3% (n=129) from Baltimore. In total, boats from 118 US ports were recorded interacting with Martinique, extending the inter-colonial trade networks up through America (Table 4.2.2).

[3] While the United States of America were not united until they gained independence in 1776, for clarity purposes the territory that is now the US will be referred to as such.

Country of Origin	Hydrographic Origin	Production Centers	MNV (n)	% of total
France			**36**	**37.89%**
	Atlantic		15	15.79%
		Béarn	1	1.05%
		Beauvais	2	2.11%
		Biot	2	2.11%
		Brittany	1	1.05%
		Cox-Lomagne	1	1.05%
		Marseille	1	1.05%
		Normandy	1	1.05%
		Provence	1	1.05%
		Rouen	1	1.05%
		Saintonge	2	2.11%
		Seine	1	1.05%
		Toulouse	1	1.05%
	Mediterranean		21	22.11%
		Biot	1	1.05%
		Huveaune	7	7.37%
		Vallauris	13	13.68%
Martinique			**52**	**54.74%**
	Caribbean		52	54.74%
		Sainte-Anne	52	54.74%
England			**2**	**2.11%**
	Atlantic		2	2.11%
		Nottingham	1	1.05%
		Staffordshire	1	1.05%
Italy			**5**	**5.26%**
	Mediterranean		5	5.26%
		Albisola	5	5.26%
Grand Total			**95**	**100.00%**

Table 4.2.1 Provisioning sources reflected in ceramics from the Habitation Crève Coeur

Country of Origin	Tonnage imported	% of Total
France	892439	48%
French Colonies	57440	3%
Saint Pierre et Miquelon	2366	0.1%
United States of America	501073	27%
American Colonies	1368	0.1%
English Colonies	46821	3%
Foreign Colonies	61072	3%
Neutral Islands	175027	9%
Danish Colonies	34825	2%
Spanish Colonies	67344	4%
Swedish Colonies	25252	1%
Grand Total	**1865027**	**100.00%**

Table 4.2.2: Martiniquan imports by tonnage from 1763-1815

Extending this trade span further, there is also evidence of intercolonial trade directly with Saint-Pierre et Miquelon recorded in the archives. However, the presence of a single piece of Normandy stoneware – the material that can be found in association with the French cod fishery - in the enslaved peoples' community occupation at Crève Coeur provides more insight to trade distribution. While these products may have come directly from France, the Normandy sherd could also suggest a link with the fisheries of the north. The vessel can represent a connection between the French North Atlantic network and the colonies in terms of its ubiquitous use throughout the cod fishery. Like sugar, cod held a place in supporting and participating in the slavery system of the French Antilles, where it was used as a rationing resource. This sherd of Normandy stoneware speaks to the access enslaved people would have had to the North Atlantic and the intercolonial networks beyond the immediate boundaries of Martinique.

The multiscale study of the material culture in combination with historical records offers a nuanced view of how geopolitical events impact colonial populations, where French trade patterns reflected in the archives were not the reality of material culture present at sites. This disparity speaks to strains individuals would have had to mitigate when sourcing and provisioning themselves. The material culture represents objects and vessels used by individuals who had variable access to the trade networks. Further, they act as markers of the ethnogenesis that occurred over time due to - and in spite of - colonial pressure. These materials can be considered acts of cultural resistance and culture-formation apart from the "French" nationalist system, where they were distributed through a complex nodal network that circumvented the strict confines of the East/West triangular trade network. These global and local trade networks are founding influences in the creolization that occurred within Martinique's boundaries, and the ceramic remains are evidence of this process.

4.3 Saint-Pierre as a Nodal Anchoring Point

Shifting the lens away from sugar and towards cod, Chapter 3 aimed to resituate the North Atlantic as an important and impactful contributor towards global cultural evolution in the colonial world. The cod caught in the North Atlantic that was processed or shipped through Saint-Pierre et Miquelon was part of a larger global network that distributed cod to every level of society. By maintaining possession of these islands, France was ensured access to the cod fishing grounds and a stake in the profitable fishery. This encouraged France to fight to maintain a population on the archipelago throughout the period of 1763-1815, despite being continually challenged and expelled by the British.

Anse à Bertrand is an example of a seasonal fishing site that reflects the history of the residential onshore fisheries of the 17th and 18th century, as well as the industrialized company use in the 19th century. The material culture associated with the occupations at Anse à Bertrand encompasses these periods of the fishery and the commercial networks operational during each phase. The fishery was key to supporting the breadth of the French colonial empire by supplying and sustaining overseas populations such as Martinique and other sugar producing islands. These supply routes lend themselves to distinguishing the importance of the cod fishery on a global stage, where previously the sugar industry overshadowed it, and highlight the imperative of sustaining a French North Atlantic.

To effectively demonstrate the commercial networks that allowed the French Atlantic to establish itself as a pillar of the French colonial venture, and the impact this had on the individuals involved, three objectives were established. The primary objective of demonstrating the French North Atlantic's perseverance following the fall of *Nouvelle France* was accomplished through the analysis of artifacts excavated from Anse à Bertrand and the archipelago's commercial activities (import and export accounts) related to the period of 1763 -1815. Using the ceramic assemblage as a proxy for real-world trade patterns, the social and commercial networks operating in Saint-Pierre were reconstructed for the 17th- 18th and 19th century. Given the non-discreet state of the archaeological context at Anse à Bertrand the combination of archives and ceramic analysis lend themselves to determining the trends from the period relating to 1763-1815. These studies contribute to the second objective which was to determine the ability of the individuals

(i.e., fisherfolk) to provision themselves within these networks. By focussing on the nuances of the intersecting commercial routes (both legal and illicit in nature) reflected through archival materials and ceramics. (These routes lend themselves to distinguishing the breadth and continuity of the French presence in the North Atlantic, and the various trade partners implicated in it. Further, these objectives ultimately lend themselves to the third, to document the agency of the disenfranchised population engaging in complex intercolonial commerce. This study has highlighted the ability of the population to operate within and outside of metropolitan control, contributing to an identity formed apart from but related to the French colonization project. The intersectionality of agency and ethnogenesis found in the provisioning ability of the Saint-Pierre fisherfolk from the 17th and 18th century to the 19th century and can be seen in the material culture and contributed to the local practices still present today. When viewed through the lens of ANT and agency, the interpretation of the data can shift focus from the influence of metropolitan France to the colonial actors (i.e., fisherfolk) and their authority over the greater network.

The material culture amassed at this site reflects regional specificity associated with the place of origin of the fisherfolk who populated the shoreline (Gervais, 2017; Pope et al., 2008). Notably, the collection boasts large amounts of Normandy stoneware and Bretonware. Normandy stoneware generally denotes the stonewares produced in the regions of Bessin-Cotentin and Domfront. They make up 31% (n=31) of the collection and Bretonware from Saint-Jean-de-la-Poterie/Malansac 6% (n=6), and Pabu 21% (n=21) (see Figure *4.3.1*). Normandy stoneware specifically is a material characteristic of the French

fishery (St. John, 2013), found in high quantities along the French occupied shorelines of Newfoundland, with Dos de Cheval boasting 48% (n=197) of its collection of French ceramics as Normandy stonewares and Bretonwares at 8% (n=34) (Table 4.3.1) (St. John 2013). The wares were primarily used for food and salt storage (Saint-Jean-de-la-Poterie/Malansac and Pabu) and storage of perishable items (Domfront and Bessin-Cotentin), such as salt meats, butter, and wine (Pope, 2008; St. John, 2011). These items likely reflect the home regions of the Breton and Norman fishermen who would have occupied the shoreline (Dagneau, 2009: 425; Losier et al., 2018: 218). The lack of variety among the French wares at Dos de Cheval point to a provisioning strategy that relied heavily on bringing provisions from home ports to support themselves through the fishing season. A similar form of self-reliance would have brought an influx of locally specific wares to the permanent residents of Saint-Pierre and insinuate a potential sheltering from or lack of access to the global network.

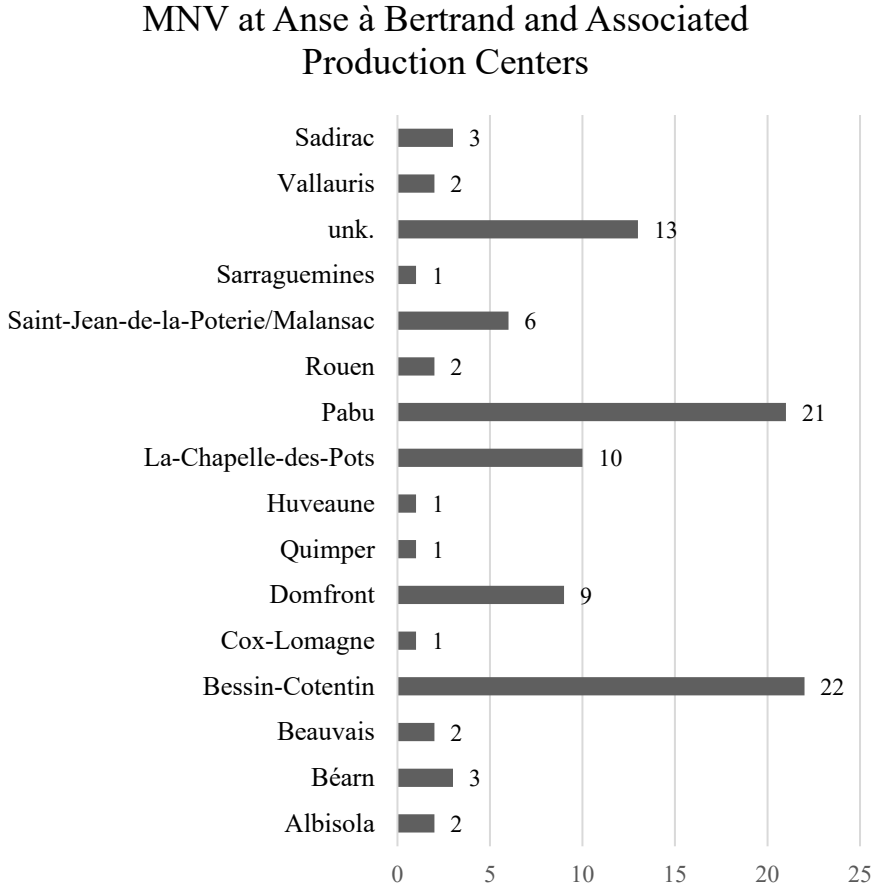

Figure 4.3.1: Minimum Number of vessels and associated production centers in the Anse à Bertrand ceramic assemblage

Ware Type	MNV (n)	MNV (%)
Beavaisis CSW	1	0%
Breton CEW	34	8%
Brown Faiance	37	9%
English CEW	6	1%
French CEW	31	8%
Ligurian Style	79	19%
Normandy CSW	197	48%
White Faiance	25	6%
Grand Total	**410**	**100.00%**

Table 4.3.1 Minimum number of vessels at Dos de Cheval, based on ware type

When combined, the ceramic and archival analysis help shift the focus from metropolitan French influence to the influence colonial actors themselves (i.e., fisherfolk) had on the Atlantic World (Dolwick, 2009). This influence reflects the agency exercised by the fisherfolk and their influence in increasing the scope of the greater network (Hodder, 2000; Wobst, 2000). Reoccurring scarcity of essential provisions forced the fisherfolk of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon to incorporate foreign and illicit partners into trade activities. The illicit exchange network operated on demand, where inhabitants sought out American merchants to circumvent trade edicts and self-provision, similar to activities occurring in Martinique and elsewhere (Ribault, 2016a: 101). They would also provision and trade directly with the colonies further south, providing codfish in return for other goods, like salt and rum (Figure 4.3.2 and Figure 4.3.3). Provisioning in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon highlights not only the east west/European-Colony trade but reflects the north-south/ intercolonial trade that was so economically and provisionally important to peripheral colonies. The subversive access provided by these intercolonial networks

benefitted not only the individuals but the metropole as well, as it ensured that labourers could keep up with economic demand and ensured the survival of the islands through politically uncertain times. Without the support from these other colonies, the cod fishery would not have been able to persist and would not have been able to feed the other dependencies (Dull 2005; Losier 2021b: 20; Mintz 1985: 37-48).

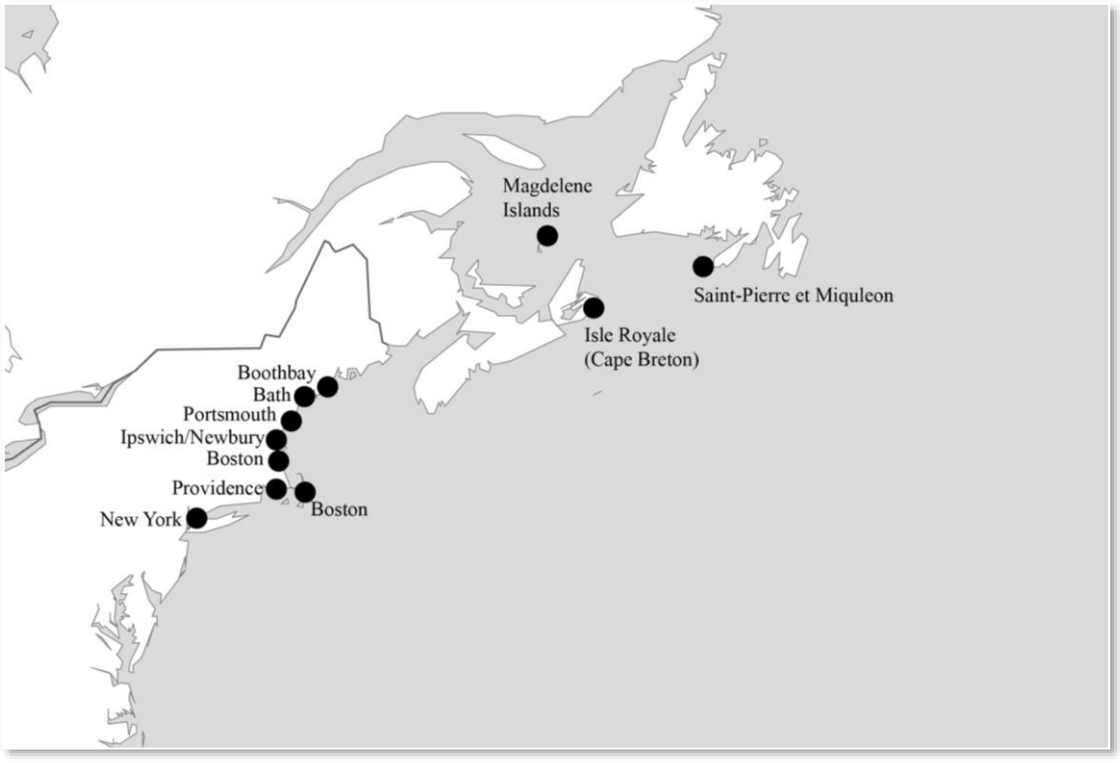

Figure 4.3.2: Saint-Pierre's American trade partners as outlines in the archival records

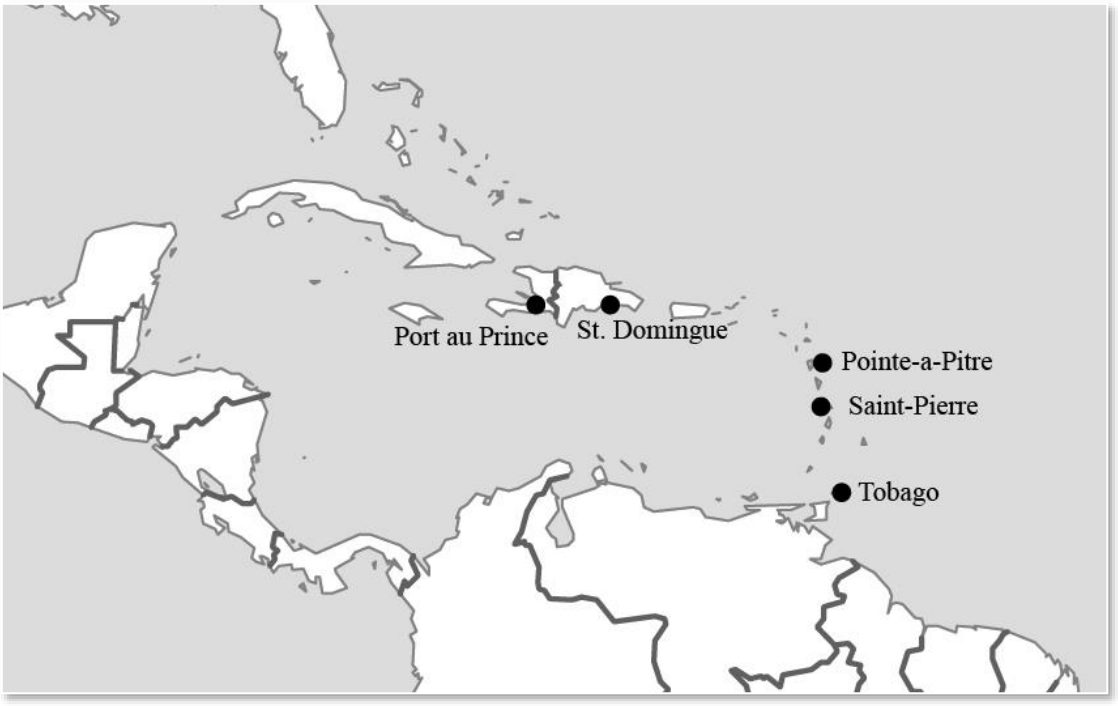

Figure 4.3.3: Saint-Pierre's Caribbean trade partners as outlined in the archival records

By reframing the importance of the non-sugar producing colonies like Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, the impact of the French North Atlantic is clear: Saint-Pierre et Miquelon served not only as a hub for the dispersal of goods, but as a primary provider of cod for export. Between 1763 and 1815 the archives show that at a minimum 4.8 million cod (based on the count of individual cod tongues) were fished and exported from Saint-Pierre. Martinique alone was the recipient of at least 62, 756 quintals of cod, which translates to over 6.2 million kilograms (13.8 million pounds) of dried cod (Table 3.5.2). Similar to the effects o other mass exports (i.e., sugar, molasses, rum) cod and its by-products globally, enmeshed the North Atlantic into cultural milieus. From France, the Basque country, the Caribbean, South America, and America, cod has been adopted within the cuisine, in ways that speak to each culture's diverse roots. In this light, it is clear that the Sugar Era and other French colonial endeavours would likely not have been sustainable for France without

the support of the “peripheral” colonies like Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and the establishment of intercolonial trade networks.

However, the emerging intercolonial network distributed not only cod, but wares, goods, and food staples, such as flour, cod, butter, and alcohol as well (Figure 4.3.4). The intersection of these networks shows the many varied streams of provisioning that were relied upon by individuals in the French Atlantic. The intersection of these legal, illegal, and local networks attests to sourcing from France (Figure 4.3.5), the Caribbean (Figure 4.3.6), and America (Figure 4.3.7) during the 1763-1815 period despite sever political upheaval. By framing the Atlantic as a whole the network can be seen not just from the sugar-producing centers but also from the cod-producing centers, expanding the lens of what is considered the “French Atlantic”.

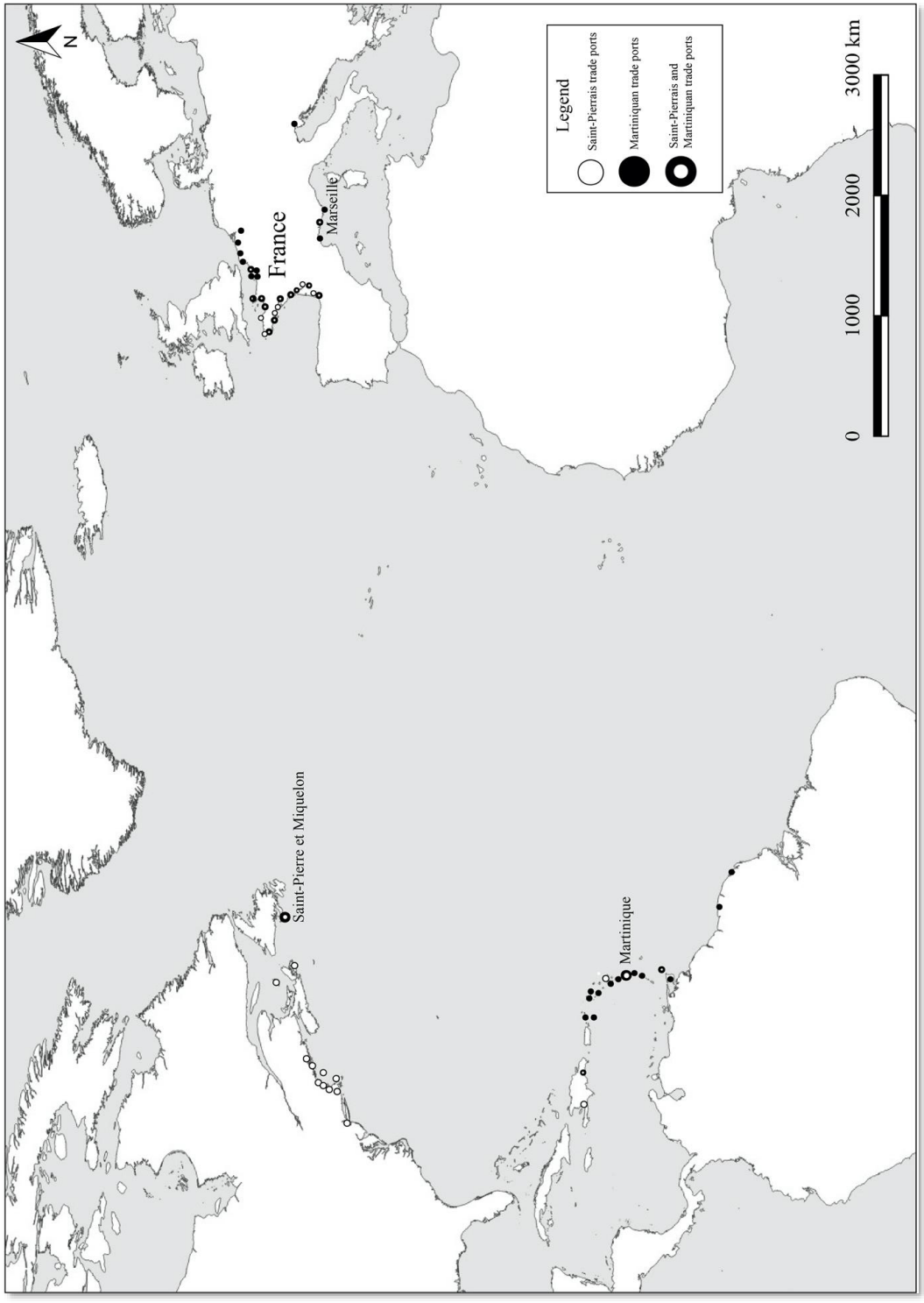

Figure 4.3.4: the French Atlantic Nodal Network as expressed through ceramic materials of Saint-Pierre and Martinique

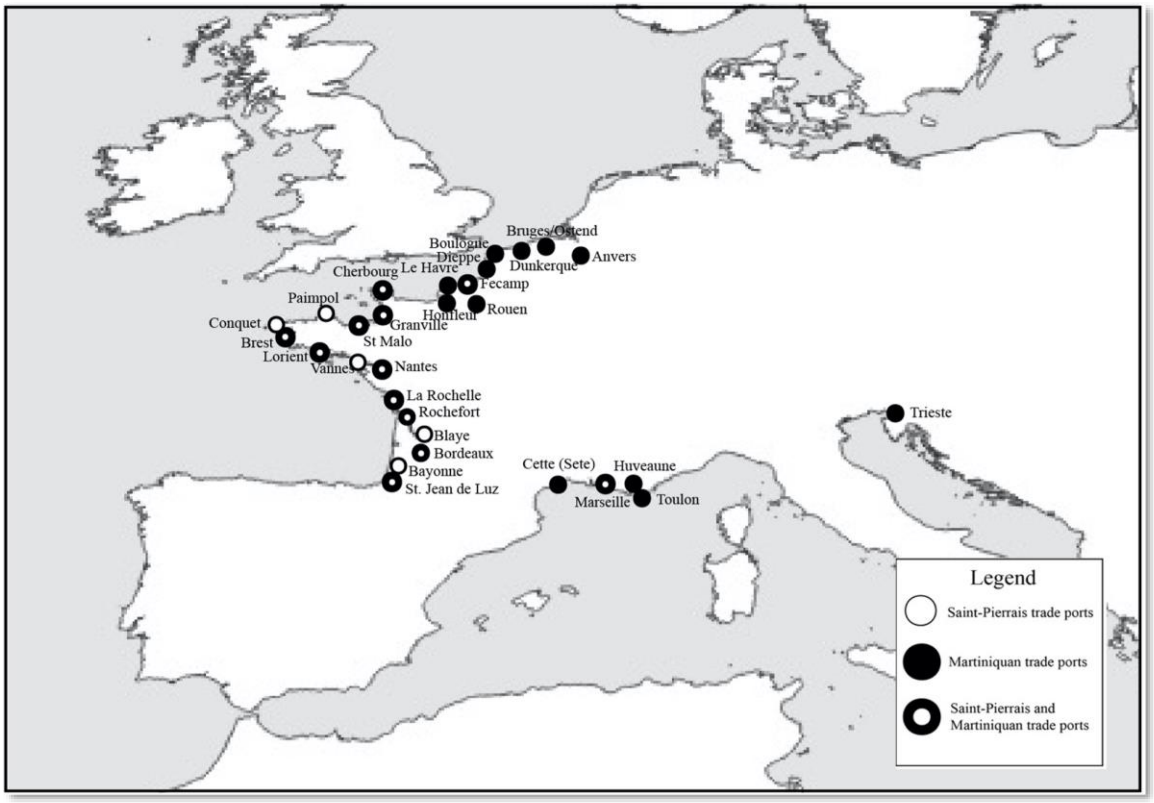

Figure 4.3.5: French ports of trade within the nodal network

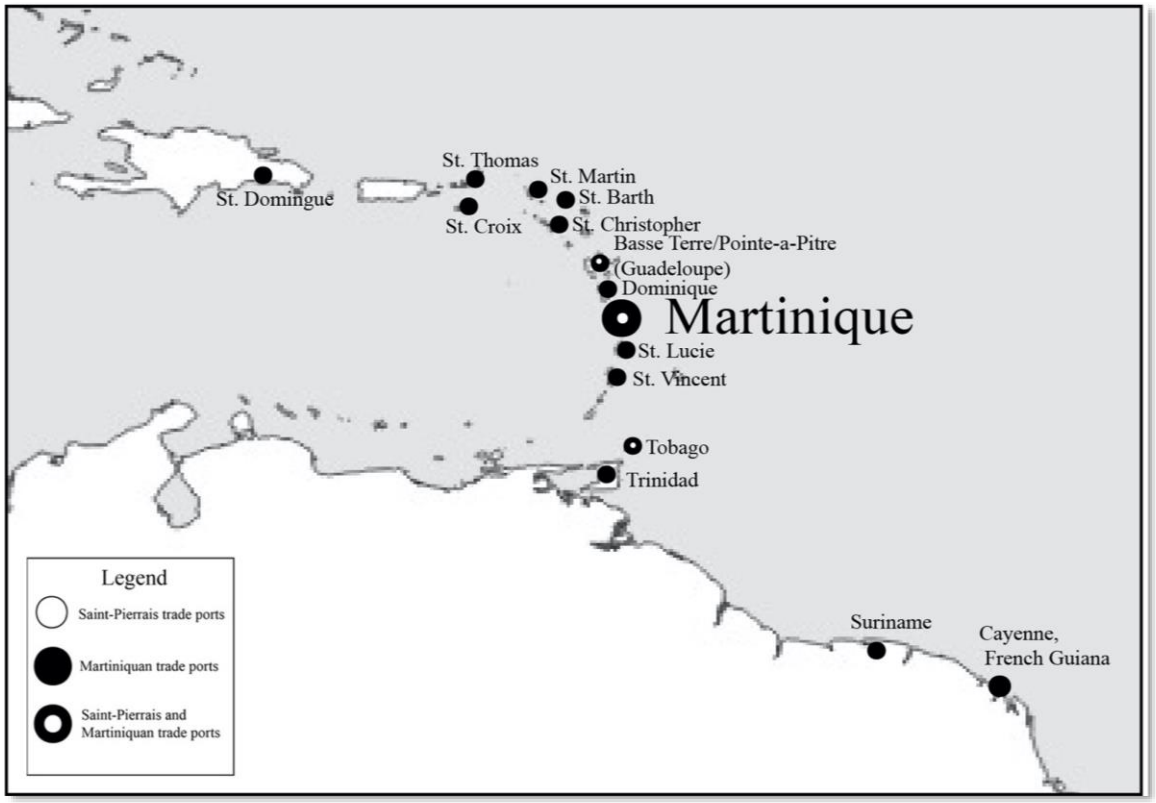

Figure 4.3.6: Caribbean ports of trade within the nodal network

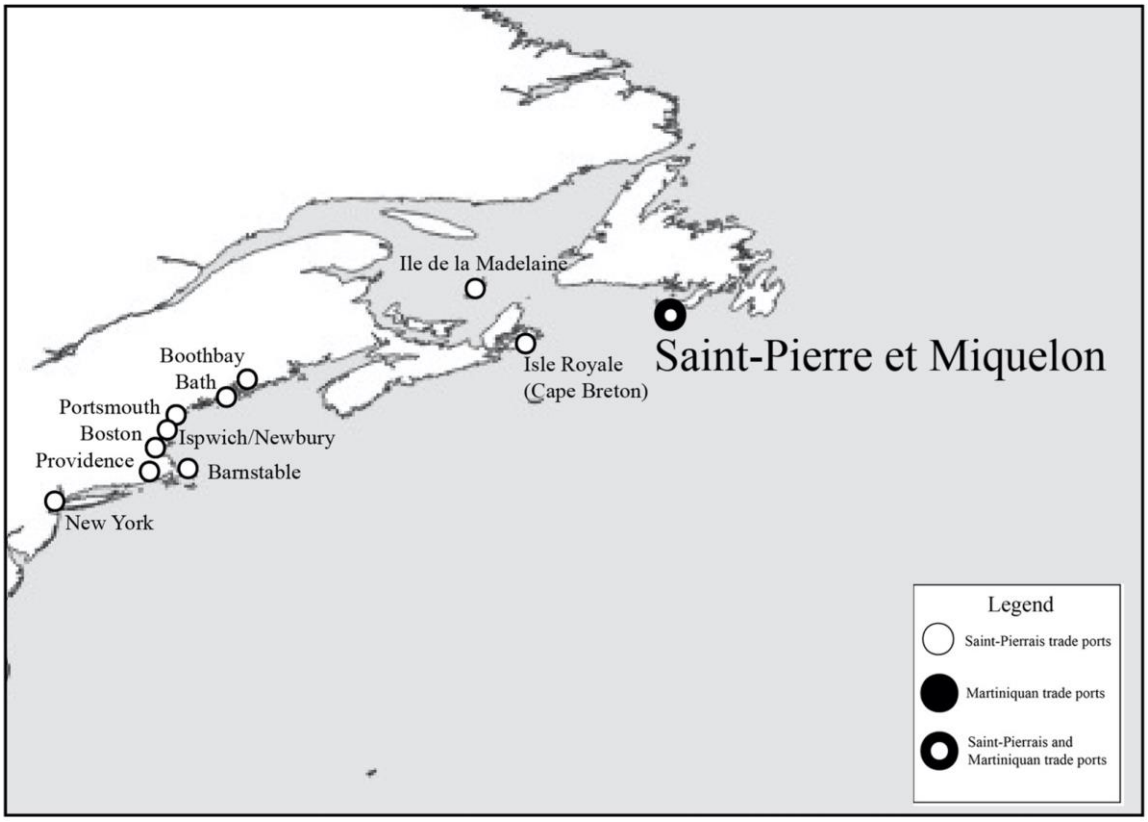

Figure 4.3.7: North Atlantic ports of trade within the nodal network

4.4 An Economy of Cod

The focus of this research is not only the materials, but the people they represent, their connections, and their lived experiences during the political and economic renegotiation of the Atlantic between 1763 and 1815. Within this context it is clear that the survival of the French Atlantic depended on individual circumvention of national edicts, upending the boundaries of the triangular trade. The constellation network relies on near and distant colonies to support each other, betraying the notion of the "Triangular Trade" and "Sugar Era". The simplistic explanation of trade patterns examines these historiographical frameworks as lacking the nuances of agency and intercolonial support necessary for an empire to persist through time. Further, a sugar-centered perspective

discounts the role that Saint-Pierre et Miquelon played in supporting the complex French Atlantic networks. The position of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon created a distribution hub with access to the Americas, as well as a consistent supply of lean meat to the whole of the Atlantic.

The French North Atlantic and the importance of the cod fishery through the 18th and 19th century have been eclipsed by sugar in the French historiography. While sugar was a primary economic driver for French colonisation of the Americas, this study illustrates that the cod fishery was the economic backbone for the perseverance of the French Atlantic following 1763. The reorganization of colonial holdings following the Treaty of Paris (1763) allowed France to shift emphasis on to its smaller, economically profitable, overseas territories like Martinique and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. Retaining Martinique through the 1763-1815 period allowed France to participate in the exploitation of labour and remain relevant in the "Sugar Era". Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, on the other hand, was responsible for maintaining France's foothold in the North Atlantic cod fishery. When broken down, the trade patterns within the French Atlantic reflect inter-reliant colonial relationships that positioned the North Atlantic in a seat of power that was as economically important to the French expansion as the role of sugar and sugar producing colonies (Figure 4.4.1)

However, the geopolitical events and general lack of responsibility taken by the French government fostered an environment of food insecurity and unreliable provisioning conditions in its colonies. These conditions forced inhabitants to form intercolonial connections outside of metropolitan control to supplement their needs. By studying the material culture and official cargo documentation for each island through the lens of ANT,

a nuanced view of the commercial networks and individual provisioning choices are reflected in the data. As a result, meaningful cultural ethnogenesis occurred throughout the colonies, where intercolonial relationships baulked against French nationalism and created lasting cultural ties that continue to persist today, seen particularly in regional cuisine.

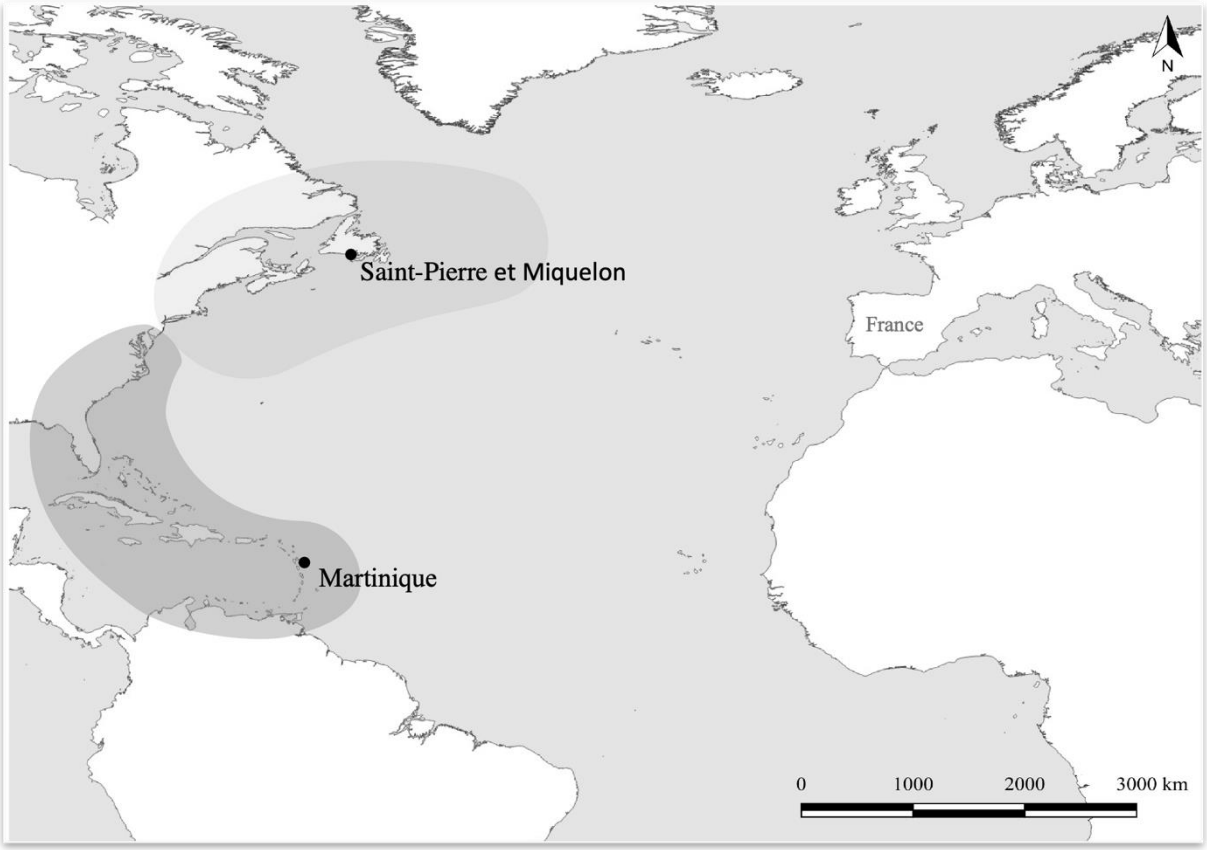

Figure 4.4.1 Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and Martinique trade spans through the Americas

Throughout the reorganisation of French interests following the collapse of *Nouvelle-France,* restructuring of trade within the Atlantic allowed intercolonial exchange to flourish. Driven by the needs of the individuals, the complex constellational network dispersed goods, wares, and necessary food staples like cod, butter, flour, and alcohol to French overseas territories. The intersection of these local, legal, and illegal networks shows sourcing not just from France but a reliance between American, Caribbean, and

French colonies. Further, the people at the core of these networks show a cultural reliance on these relationships. Certainly, items sourced through the network become associated with the evolving culture in each milieu, ensuring the continued interaction with the legal and illicit networks to access these products. Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and Martinique represent critical nodes that allowed the dissemination of these legal and illegally gotten products though the French Atlantic network. By decentralizing the focus from the "Victorious British" and the sugar industry, space can be made to recognize the role individuals had in the creation of the complex trade networks and the role cod fish had in supporting the French Atlantic. The work herein demonstrates that the French Atlantic not only distributed goods from France but also provided crucial supplies, through legal and subversive means, necessary for the survival of the colonies. Cod fished and exported through Saint-Pierre was a crucial commodity during the 1763-1815 period, ensuring French relevancy through an economy of cod.

4.5 Conclusion

The research herein identifies the trade networks that continued to be operational in the French Atlantic following the ratification of the Treaty of Paris (1763). By studying the material culture and archival records from the north (Saint-Pierre et Miquelon) and the south (Martinique), it was possible to reconstruct the trade network as a constellation of nodes that broke the strict confines of the east/west Triangular Trade. Rather, it was found that these nodes provisioned the inhabitants through legal and illicit intercolonial means, directing trade flows as more north/south and extending to the surrounding colonies – regardless of governance. The networks' ability to persist proved to have had a

meaning cultural influence on the populations who interacted with them, such as fishers in the north and enslaved in the south. Further, by shifting focus away from the sugar industry, it is clear that French economic relevancy throughout the 1763-1815 period relied heavily on the cod fishery to support its other endeavours (i.e, sugar), ultimately framing the North Atlantic as a vital element to the French colonial expansion.

This work is an entry point to further explore the role the north Atlantic cod fishery held globally. The waters surrounding Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and Newfoundland were aggressively exploited for cod, linking these islands to the greater world in a tangible and culturally lasting way. Where flags of many nations were witnessed in those waters, the reach and breadth of the fishery is far from being fully explored.

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Appendix A: Martinique Archival Records Database

Appendix B: Saint-Pierre et Miquelon Archival Records Database