

“From the Sea, Work”: Investigating Historical French Landscapes and Lifeways at Anse à Bertrand, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon

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Given its history and changing role within the French salt-cod fishery, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon was essential for French colonial expansion throughout the Atlantic World. Saint-Pierre's sheltered harbor paired with the archipelago's proximity to the Grand Banks made these islands an ideal locale for carrying out shore-based activities associated with the salt-cod fishery. In this way, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon can be viewed not only as an integral component of the French presence within the greater region, but also as a unique cultural landscape in its own right. With particular reference to Anse à Bertrand, a site on the south-eastern edge of the Saint-Pierre harbor, this article pieces together historical and archaeological data to explore the archipelago's maritime cultural landscape during the 300-year life history of the site. Through analysis of historical records, archaeological features, and over 19,000 artifacts, this study is an initial documentation of the “way of life” of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon's historical inhabitants, from the establishment of permanent European settlement during the late 17th century through to the collapse of the northwest Atlantic cod fishery in the late 20th century.

Compte tenu de son histoire et des transformations associées à l'industrie de la morue séchée et salée au cours des siècles, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon a été un élément essentiel de l'expansion coloniale française dans tout le monde atlantique. La proximité entre les Grands Bancs et le port de Saint-Pierre, une rade bien abritée, a fait de l'archipel un lieu privilégié pour la mise en place des activités terrestres nécessaires à la transformation de la morue. Ainsi, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon est non seulement un territoire associé à la présence française dans la grande région de l'Atlantique du Nord-ouest, mais est aussi un paysage culturel à part entière présentant des caractéristiques uniques. Avec comme point de départ le site de l'anse à Bertrand, cet article rassemble des données historiques et archéologiques permettant de reconstruire le paysage culturel maritime de l'archipel sur 300 ans. Grâce à l'analyse de documents historiques, de contextes archéologiques et plus de 19 000 artefacts, cette étude est une incursion dans le « mode de vie » des habitants de Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, depuis les premiers moments d'une colonie européenne permanente à la fin du XVII^e siècle jusqu'à l'effondrement de la pêche à la morue dans l'Atlantique du Nord-ouest à la fin du XX^e siècle.

Introduction

“*A mare labor*” is the official motto of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, a small self-governing overseas territorial collectivity of France situated in the northwestern Atlantic. Translating to “From the sea, work,” the motto and corresponding coat of arms are Saint-Pierre et Miquelon's only official symbols apart from those associated with Metropolitan France and the other French overseas territories, therefore signifying its inhabitants' distinct French identity. A motto is intended to reflect the spirit, beliefs, ideals, and even social organization of the people it represents. While the coat of arms beautifully commemorates the Basque, Breton, and Norman origins of the first Europeans to settle on the islands, it is the motto that is per-

haps most inspiring. The simple three-word phrase: “*A mare labor*,” neatly encapsulates the complex cultural identity of the islanders by highlighting the laborious act of fishing, their unique maritime setting, and the inseparability of the two. This was the way of life for European fishers in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon from the establishment of permanent settlement during the late 17th century through to the collapse of the northwest Atlantic cod fishery in the late 20th century. With “From the sea, work” as a conceptual framework and focus on the Anse à Bertrand site, this article pieces together previously unknown archaeological and historical information to better document past occupations and lifeways on the islands, and shed light on the archipelago's

changing role within the wider historical cultural landscape of the French salt-cod fisheries.

Historical Context of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon

Saint-Pierre et Miquelon is a small French archipelago less than 25 km off the southwest coast of Newfoundland (FIG. 1). The archipelago is made up of three main islands: Saint-Pierre, Miquelon, and Langlade, of which the last two are joined by a north-south isthmus. Prior to the establishment of permanent settlements, the archipelago was seasonally occupied by a number of different groups, indigenous and European alike. Sylvie LeBlanc's archaeological investigations (1999–2004) at Anse à Henry on the northern tip of Saint-Pierre, revealed traces of the Maritime Archaic, pre-Inuit, such as the Dorset, and even the

Newfoundland Recent Period and Beothuk peoples (LeBlanc 2008). Although there has been no archaeological evidence recovered to date, it is likely the Mi'kmaq also visited and used the islands as part of their seasonal rounds along Newfoundland's southwest coast before and after European colonization of the archipelago (Martijn 2003).

In 1536 migratory Basque and Breton fishing crews were already using the islands when Jacques Cartier, on his return voyage to France, stopped at the archipelago (Ribault 2016b: 13). It is widely accepted that Cartier's visit marks the moment at which the "Islands of Saint-Pierre" (aptly named after St. Peter, Roman Catholic patron saint of fishermen) became official French possessions (Andrieux 2006; Artur de Lizarraga et al. 2016; Ribault 2016b). A permanent French settlement was established on Saint-Pierre by 1670, shortly

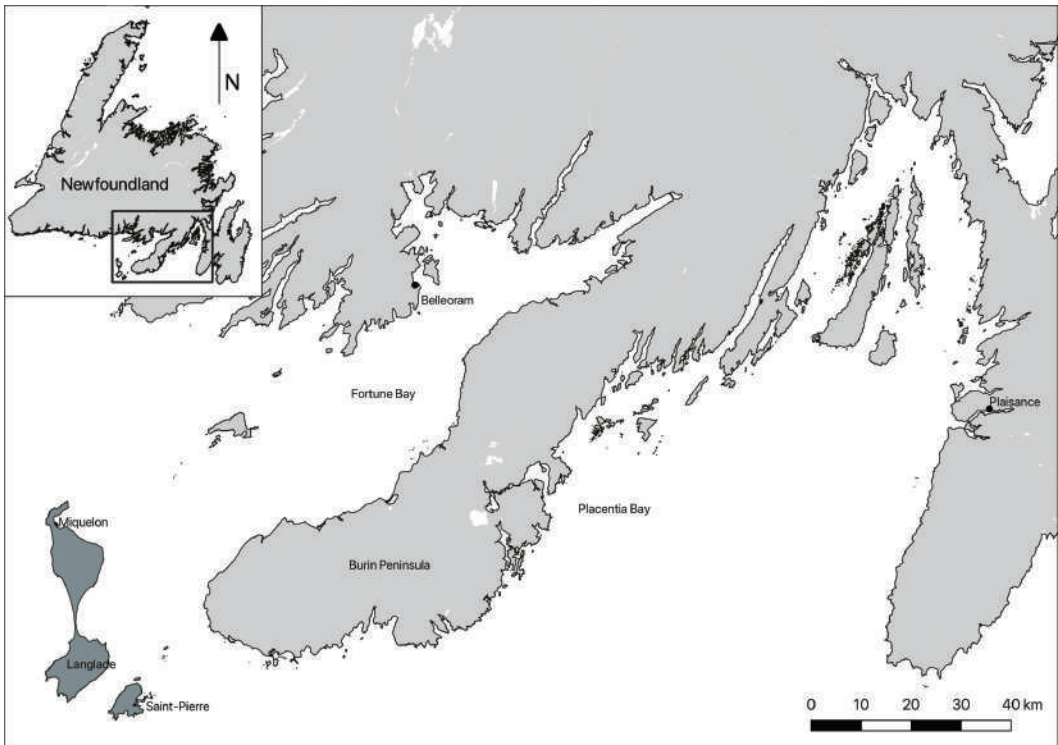


Figure 1. The small French archipelago, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, is off the southwestern coast of Newfoundland near the Burin Peninsula and the entrance of Fortune Bay. Anse à Bertrand is at the south-eastern edge of the harbor on the island of Saint-Pierre. (Base map Geogratis Canada; map by Catherine Losier, 2020.)

after the founding of the region's French "capital," Plaisance (Placentia, Newfoundland), which was settled in 1655 and fortified in 1662 (Crompton 2015: 54; Landry 2008: 17; Proulx 1979: 16; Ribault 2016b: 14). Like Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, Plaisance had a long history of seasonal migratory use before permanent settlement (Losier et al. 2018b: 221).

During this era of early European settlement, the archipelago and many other small harbors throughout Placentia and Fortune bays functioned under the stewardship of Plaisance. However, French governance in this region was short lived. In 1713, under the Treaty of Utrecht, Newfoundland became British territory and France lost Plaisance, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, and the accompanying "*baye dépendantes*" (Library and Archives Canada 1691). France retained the right to a seasonal fishery along part of Newfoundland's northern coast, an area that became known as the "French Shore" or "Treaty Shore," but settlement was not permitted there. Instead, displaced French residents were sent to settle at Île Royale (Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island), where they helped establish a new capital at Louisbourg, and the British proceeded to govern the islands of "Saint Peter's," "Miquelong," and "Langley" for the next 50 years (Cook 1763).

With the end of the Seven Years' War and the Treaty of Paris in 1763, France lost all of its remaining territory in North America. The British seized Île Royale due to its proximity to the British mainland, and the French were retroceded Saint-Pierre et Miquelon in its place (de La Morandière 1962; Hiller 1991; Miquelon 2001). The islands were to be an *abri*, or shelter, for French fishermen on the Grand Banks and to help safeguard the migratory fishery on Newfoundland's French Shore along the Great Northern Peninsula (Ribault 2016b: 45). In this process, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon became the last remaining permanent French settlement in the North Atlantic and, consequently, the administrative center supporting the French fisheries. Possession of the islands passed between French and British empires several more times until 1815 (TAB. 1). Following the second abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte, French settlers made their final return to Saint-Pierre et Miquelon in 1816, with the archipelago remaining under the governance of

France to this day (Andrieux 2006; Artur de Lizarraga et al. 2016; Ribault 2016b).

Saint-Pierre et Miquelon's Historiography

Saint-Pierre et Miquelon's tumultuous past has been researched by historians since the mid-20th century (de La Rüe 1944; Guyotjeannin 1986; LeBailly and Bechet 1988; Ribault 2016a, 2016b). When reviewing the historiography, however, it becomes clear that the main focus has been on the archipelago's 19th- and 20th-century past (Andrieux 2006, 2011, 2012; Dérille 2014; Girardin and Pocius 2006; Landry 2016a, 2016b; Pabois 2000). We hypothesize that the reasons behind this narrow temporal focus are twofold. First, it would appear that interest in this more recent history is sparked by the archipelago's current inhabitants, who are the descendants of those who immigrated to the islands from 1816 onward. Second, there are few archival resources, which prevents historians from further studying the islands' 17th- and 18th-century past. Admittedly, prior to 1713, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon was under the stewardship of Plaisance, meaning most surviving records pertain to this larger settlement instead. Moreover, as noted above, the archipelago fell under British control and occupation several times during the 18th century, completely disrupting the French settlement and fishery, and, by extension, further obscuring the early historical records.

The aim of this article is to provide a more comprehensive historiography of the European occupations of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon from the establishment of permanent settlement until the collapse of the cod fishery. When studying the historical events documented in the region, it is important to consider the undocumented local experience. The archaeological site at Anse à Bertrand serves as a case study to provide insight into the past lifeways on the islands from its first occupation around 1670 until the site's abandonment in the late 1970s. By documenting the distinct lifeways at Anse à Bertrand we are uniquely positioned to elucidate the archipelago's ever-changing political climate and the cultural landscape associated with the region's historic fishery. Ultimately, this research

Table 1. Changes in the governance of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon before 1816.

Periods	Governance	Number of Years
1536–1713	France	177
1713–1763	Great Britain	50
1763–1778	France	15
1778–1783	Great Britain	5
1783–1793	France	10
1793–1796	Great Britain	3
1796–1802	Unclaimed	6
1802–1803	France	1
1803–1814	Great Britain	11
1814–1815	France	<1
1815–1815	Great Britain	<1
1815–Present	France	200+

builds off existing knowledge in an effort to reveal the significant role of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon within the greater Atlantic World.

The Way of Life in a Maritime Cultural Landscape

Led by the late professor Peter E. Pope, the interpretation of archaeological sites associated with the French migratory fishery on Newfoundland's Petit Nord, or Great Northern Peninsula, was greatly influenced by the maritime cultural-landscape concept developed by Christer Westerdahl (Pope 2008, 2017; Westerdahl 1980, 1992, 2011). Pope and his team viewed fishing establishments as "landmarks within a wider cultural landscape and at the same time as miniature landscapes within their own right" (Pope 2008: 13). In a harbor or even an entire region, a fishing room was a landmark (Zedeño 2000), or a form of persistent place (Pope 2008: 51). However, due to the complex makeup and nature of each room (for example, stages, cobble beaches, cook rooms, etc.), it might also be understood as a small landscape. In this way, cultural landscapes can be conceptualized on multiple scales: smaller ones (that is, fishing rooms or

harbors) nested within larger ones (that is, regions or fishing zones).

In our multi-scalar analysis of the past fishing establishments at Anse à Bertrand, we first examine the "miniature landscape" of the site itself to highlight the traditional lifeways of its past inhabitants. The insights gathered can then be used as a proxy to better understand the greater cultural landscape and lifeways of historic Saint-Pierre et Miquelon as a whole, in turn illustrating the archipelago's changing role within the French North Atlantic throughout the colonial period, or at least for the 300-year life history of the site. Through the study of the historical French presence in the region we can begin to view French settler occupations in the Petit Nord, Plaisance, Île Royale, and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon as individual and integral parts of a singular large-scale entity— the French salt-cod fishery. Pope referenced his vision of a "vast maritime cultural landscape, the Gulf of St. Lawrence in its largest sense," constituting all the maritime zones exploited at one time or another by seasonal crews fishing and drying cod (Pope 2008: 51). Our ongoing work in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon specifically addresses the archipelago's role within this vast and shifting entity.

Finally, it is important to note that the maritime cultural-landscape concept affords the opportunity to examine Saint-Pierre et Miquelon even when the archipelago was removed from the French Empire. As demonstrated later in this article, despite being officially part of the British colony of Newfoundland for most of the 18th century, our research has revealed that the lived experiences of the islanders remained remarkably French. This is an instance of cultural continuity in the midst of drastic regional political change. Such an observation suggests that Britain's imperial quest was constrained by the enduring French knowledge of and engagement in the fishery, which, in turn, led directly to the formation of the unique Saint-Pierrais et

Miquelonnais cultural identity reflected in “*A mare labor*” and observed on the islands today.

Archaeology at Anse à Bertrand

Few archaeological investigations have taken place in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. Although excavations at Anse à Henry have documented over 4,000 years of Indigenous occupations at the site (Auger et al. 2020; Leblanc 2008), just two previous archaeological efforts have addressed the archipelago's colonial past. The research of Chapelot et al. (1987) surveyed the archipelago and identified five areas of archaeological interest from the precolonial period to the 18th century, but no excavations were conducted. In 2009, Martinot



Figure 2. Two fishing rooms with graves belonging to “M de. Bellorme” and “M. de la Hoguerie,” a chapel, and small fort at what is now known as Anse à Bertrand and la Pointe, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (no scale on original). (BnF Gallica 1680–1700).

(2009) excavated a small area at Roche à la Biche near the village of Miquelon, which was occupied from 1763 until the end of the 19th century, but unfortunately this project was discontinued after one year.

Since 2015, Catherine Losier's team from Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN) has been researching the colonial settlements of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. Following the example of Chapelot et al. (1987), a 2016 pedestrian survey of the archipelago identified a number of colonial sites, including Anse à Bertrand (Losier et al. 2016). A former fishing community outside the town of Saint-Pierre, Anse à Bertrand lies on the outer southeastern edge of the Saint-Pierre harbor and is also the general location of the islands' now-abandoned first airport. The historiography associated with Anse à Bertrand revealed the site was more or less continually occupied from the first European settlement of the archipelago onward. The earliest known map of Saint-Pierre (ca. 1680–1700) shows Anse à Bertrand with two fishing rooms and *graves* (large areas of stone and cobble built up for drying cod) belonging to “M. de Bellorme” and “M. de la Hoguerie” (FIG. 2). Between these fishing rooms is a chapel and small fort (BnF Gallica 1680–1700).

Subsequent documentary evidence, including historical maps and aerial photographs, shows continued occupation at Anse à Bertrand through to the late 1970s, when the *petits pêcheurs* (small fishermen) established there were forced to relocate in order to accommodate the expansion of the islands' first airport. This airport was abandoned in 1999 in favor of a new location at Pointe Blanche (Dérille 2014: 11). As a result of the expropriation of this neighborhood, only two houses remain at Anse à Bertrand today: Maison Briand (ca. 1860) and Maison Girardin (ca. 1921), standing testimonies of the site's former 19th- and 20th-century fishery (Girardin and Pocius 2006: 168).

Following the initial survey, a small team returned in spring 2017 to conduct a more in-depth study of Anse à Bertrand. The site's surface features were mapped, including the *graves*, the house foundations associated with the *petits pêcheurs*, and even the remaining features of the derelict airport (Losier et al.

2018a). In addition, five small (50 × 50 cm) test pits were excavated in order to begin documenting the site's stratigraphy and to confirm the presence of archaeological layers. Not only did these test pits afford a better understanding of the subsoil of Anse à Bertrand, but Units 4 and 5 (located nearest the shore) each revealed artifacts dating as far back as the 18th century (Losier et al. 2018a). The results of the spring survey informed the locations of two trenches (Sondages 1 and 2) excavated during summer 2017. It should be noted that these excavations (2017, and again in 2018) took place as part of MUN's annual archaeology field school. The two 2 × 5 m sondages excavated in 2017 allowed us to gain initial insights into two contexts (each representing multiple occupations) at Anse à Bertrand: one associated with the 17th to 18th centuries and the other with the 19th to 20th centuries.

The 2018 fieldwork revolved around three distinct goals: (1) to identify the limit of site erosion before the shoreline was reconstructed at the beginning of the 21st century, (2) to better document the 19th- to 20th-century features identified in the southwest corner of Sondage 1, and (3) to further document the 18th-century context and features identified in the east of Sondage 1 (Losier et al. 2019). As illustrated in Figure 3, Sectors 3, 4, and 5, each 2 × 5 m, expanded the west, south, and east borders of Sondage 1, whereas Sector 6, a smaller 1 × 5 m trench, was excavated in the north in order to locate the shoreline-reconstruction fill and determine the limit of the site in proximity to archaeological features located the previous year. Within what was still a relatively small area of excavation (55 m²), the two archaeological contexts clearly represent two distinct fishing traditions, or ways of life, at the site. The first was a late 17th- to the end of the 18th-century migratory-fishing context; the second, a 19th- to late 20th-century local familial-fishing context. Together, these contexts represent over 300 years of more-or-less continual seasonal use of the site. Interestingly, these distinct deposits can not only be linked to large-scale historical events that took place within the wider maritime cultural landscape of the French fishery, but they also demonstrate significant changes in local fishing practices and lifeways over time.



Figure 3. The excavation area, remaining structures, surface features, and graves located at Anse à Bertrand, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. (Figure by Catherine Losier, 2020.)

Saint-Pierre et Miquelon's Seventeenth- to Eighteenth-Century Migratory Fishery

The presence of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon on the earliest European records and maps of the North Atlantic and Gulf of St. Lawrence suggests the archipelago has been a navigational landmark known to Europeans of various nations traveling and fishing in the region since the 16th century (de Hoyarsabal 1579; Losier et al. 2018b). However, it was the French who settled the islands on a year-round basis. A 1670 letter from Jean Talon, the first intendant of Nouvelle-France, records 13 fishers and 4 residents living there (Ribault 2016b: 15). Talon goes on to suggest that Saint-Pierre is a good location to establish a larger colony due to its advantageous geography, including the naturally sheltered harbor of Saint-Pierre and the islands' proximity to rich fishing grounds (Ribault 2016b: 15). It is known that during the late 17th century the French fishery was generally run by ship-owners, or *armateurs*, and that the islands

shifted from seasonal European use to permanent settlement.

However, the initial excavations at Anse à Bertrand failed to determine whether there was evidence of permanent settlement at the site (Livingston et al. 2018; Losier et al. 2018a). To date, the team has not uncovered remains of the fort, the chapel, or any sizable 18th-century buildings. Yet it is worth noting that the *graves* or, at least, parts of them that remain intact on Anse à Bertrand's surface today may have initially been built during this early period. Following the 2018 season, we hypothesized that, despite the presence of a small town in Saint-Pierre's inner harbor, the late 17th- to late 18th-century context uncovered at Anse à Bertrand represents a migratory-fishing occupation (Livingston et al. 2018). The associated artifacts and features therefore attest to the first French fishing tradition and way of life on the islands.

Over two field seasons the team uncovered rich 17th- to 18th-century layers with many ceramic sherds (934), smoking-pipe fragments

(1,616), and even some glass (299). These deposits are characterized by French ceramics, especially the presence of Normandy stonewares (for example, Domfront and Bessin-Contentin), Saintonge and other green-glazed French coarse earthenwares, and even some Breton coarse earthenware (Losier et al. 2018a). Overall, the material culture uncovered at Anse à Bertrand bears a striking resemblance to Pope's findings on the Petit Nord, with Normandy stoneware and Breton coarse earthenware in particular seemingly diagnostic of the French migratory fishery (St. John's 2011). Indeed, if Normandy stoneware is present on the majority of French colonial sites in North America, the quantities found in Newfoundland and again in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon far exceed any recorded elsewhere (Champagne and Losier, this issue; Gervais 2017). The objects found at Anse à Bertrand are associated with a predominately seasonal working environment instead of the presence of families or even year-round occupations (Pope 2017). Our interpretation is especially convincing when considering the ceramics, where emphasis is placed on storage (consistent with migratory crews), with few vessels used for food preparation or cooking (TAB. 2).

The 17th- and 18th-century features uncovered at Anse à Bertrand represent the remains of structures that were intentionally impermanent and not suitable for overwintering, especially at a site so exposed to the harsh environment. Strengthening our argument for early migratory-fishing occupations is the fact the site never had year-round occupations in its later history (the 19th- to 20th-century context). The 2018 excavations revealed a feature (US 509) centered on a large tabular rock extending into the natural soil. This rock was surrounded by a thick, black silty layer with a high concentration of artifacts throughout and a linear arrangement of smaller rocks intentionally positioned around it (FIG. 4). The working hypothesis is that this feature marks the landward end of an early fishing stage, a structure that would have been built over the large rock, using it as a foundation (Champagne et al. 2019). What is perhaps most convincing about this theory is the fact that this tabular rock feature aligns with a large linear arrangement of rocks out in the water that become exposed at low tide. It is believed that this is where the

stage once stretched out into the water, supported by large posts and rocks (piled together between horizontal timbers attached to the posts).

Following fieldwork, further archival research was undertaken to investigate the migratory fishery in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and to tease out as much as possible about the occupations at Anse à Bertrand specifically. A review of French national archives brought to light many interesting finds, including documents pertaining to our study area's first known inhabitants: Bellorme and Hongrie. A 1694 "letter to the minister" by Jacques-François Monbeton de Brouillan, the governor of Plaisance, remarks on the establishment of Sieur Jacques Simon de Bellorme as the first governor of Saint-Pierre, "where I had chosen him to command on the King's behalf" (de Brouillan 1694: 19). Brouillan goes on to state Bellorme had recently taken to wintering in Fortune Bay, Newfoundland, despite his discovery of Indigenous groups living in the area, explaining they were "unwarlike" and "given only to hunting" (de Brouillan 1694: 20). The location of Bellorme's winter settlement would go on to be recorded as "Bellorme's Place," now known by its anglicized name, "Belleoram" (Taverner 1718). After the French ceded Plaisance, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, and all associated outposts to the British in 1713, a Newfoundland-born English planter, William Taverner (1718: 232), was appointed to survey the coasts of these former French possessions. In his "Second report relating to Newfoundland," Taverner records:

[A]t Bandalore [Belleoram], a large Beech, several houses wch belong to Monsr. Belorm, a Malouin Gentlemen, who hath winterd, in that place 20 Years, Sucesively one after the other. I took from him at that place in the Time of the late Warr, the Value of Three Thousand pounds, he took the Oath according to the Treaty of peace, keeps his ffishery the Summer at St. Peters [Saint-Pierre], because there is no Codfishing at Bandalore, nor St. Jacques, but in the Mos. Of Septembr, October, and Novembr, and at that Time, no great Quantity. (Taverner 1718: 232)

While little has yet to be revealed about Sieur Charles Lucas de la Hongrie, through Brouillan's letter and Taverner's report we know Bellorme was not just an *armateur*, but rather a *habitant-pêcheur*, or resident fisherman,

Table 2. Artifacts from Anse à Bertrand's late 17th- and 18th-century contexts sorted by function to inform the types of activities being carried out at the site and help characterize the lifeways of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon's early migratory-fishing tradition.

	Function	Objects (N)	Objects (%)	Fragments (N)	Fragments (%)
Food & Beverage	Transport/storage	11	9.91	572	19.69
	Preparation/cooking	2	1.80	123	4.23
	Service/consumption	4	3.60	297	10.22
	Indeterminate	4	3.60	111	3.82
	Subtotal	21	18.91	1,103	37.96
Hunting & Fishing	Fishing	3	2.70	4	0.14
	Fishing/farming	1	0.90	8	0.28
	Hunting/war	23	20.72	170	5.85
	Subtotal	27	24.32	182	6.27
Leisure	Smoking	61	54.96	1,616	55.63
	Games	0	0.00	0	0.00
	Subtotal	61	54.96	1,616	55.63
Other	Clothing/adornment	1	0.90	1	0.03
	Health/hygiene	1	0.90	3	0.10
	Commerce	0	0.00	0	0.00
	Subtotal	2	1.8	4	0.13
	Total	111	100	2,905	100
Note: Ecofacts, architectural materials (that is, window glass, nails), and indeterminate metals were omitted from this analysis					

who chose to stay on this side of the Atlantic year round and adopt a semimigratory way of life while employing seasonal transatlantic migratory crews. Since Taverner noted that Bellorme took "the Oath," we also know his fishery persisted at Anse à Bertrand for at least some time after 1713. Interestingly, this very detail may account for the presence of some artifacts in the early French assemblage, including (at least) 10 clay tobacco pipes made by Reuben Sidney, a Southampton pipe maker between 1687 and 1748 (Gaulton 1999: 45). While it is known some *habitants-pêcheurs* tried to stay on Newfoundland's southwest coast despite British rule, most only managed a slight delay in their deportation and would be forced to abandon the region within a few

years following 1713 (Janzen 1987: 186). That said, the desire to stay is interesting in and of itself, attesting to the quality of fishing in and around Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, as well as the *habitants-pêcheurs'* hesitance to leave this particular way of life and start anew at Île Royale.

Saint-Pierre et Miquelon's Nineteenth- to Twentieth-Century Inshore Family Fishery

With the islands' first retrocession to France in 1763, the coast of Anse à Bertrand becomes the property of more *habitants-pêcheurs*: Pierre Bertrand, Charles Philibert, and Pierre Dalair (BnF Gallica 1783). In 1783, and again in 1816, the Bertrand and Philibert fami-

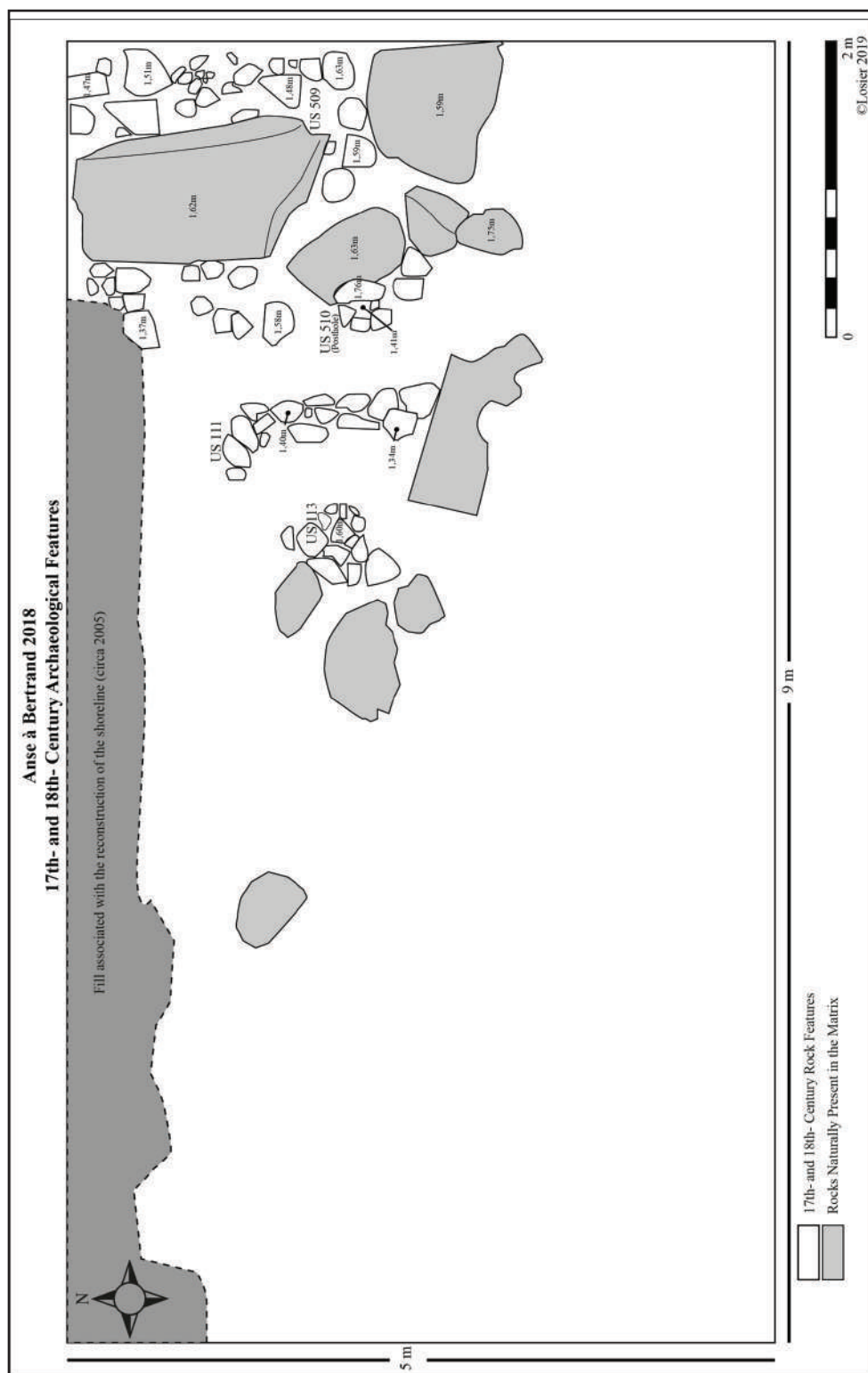


Figure 4. The late 17th- and 18th-century archaeological features uncovered at Anse à Bertrand, 2017-2018. These features are associated with the early French migratory-fishing tradition at Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. (Figure by Catherine Losier, 2020.)

lies return to Saint-Pierre after deportation to reclaim their properties and *graves* (Claireaux 2013: 4). However, according to local historians, during the 19th century the *graves* around the harbor become the property of *négociants* (Claireaux 2013). *Négociants* were traders (in this case, of cod) who owned and operated large properties and establishments, many of which were located along the south side of the harbor (Claireaux 2013; Simon 2019). A few records and historical photographs dating sometime after 1816 suggest *négociants* do come to settle at Anse à Bertrand (if not directly on the site, at least very close by). The link, however, between the returning *habitants-pêcheurs* and the arrival of *négociants* at la Pointe remains unclear.

Regardless of precise date, the distinct shift in the organization of the archipelago's fishery and the departure from the 17th- and 18th-century way of life is noteworthy (Livingston et al. 2018). Evident through the archaeology at Anse à Bertrand is a later settlement of *petits pêcheurs* who made up Saint-Pierre et Miquelon's small-scale family inshore fishery, established elsewhere on the islands since 1816 (Artur de Lizarraga et al. 2016: 27). According to locals, these families would winter in town and move out to small neighborhoods such as Anse à Bertrand for the duration of each fishing season. In a sense, this is a continuance of the earlier migratory-fishing tradition and even the *habitants-pêcheurs* semi-migratory lifeway, but with the transhumance taking place on a geographically smaller scale.

Many artifacts uncovered at Anse à Bertrand pertain to this later period, including whiteware sherds, glass fragments, and fishhooks. The function of these artifacts is still generally utilitarian, but when compared to the earlier context the ceramics are far more colorful and decorative, and a greater variety of functional types are present, including more food-and-beverage service objects (TAB. 3). Like the earlier occupations, this context also contained high numbers of pipe fragments (926), but with a significant increase in the numbers of glass fragments (2,020), including different bottle types and even stemware pieces. This assemblage seems to represent the more "settled" nature of the occupations. By "settled," we mean the inhabitants were still living at Anse à Bertrand on a seasonal basis in

the 19th and 20th centuries, but they were now at least permanently based on the archipelago and, evidently, could easily bring their domestic objects with them. We, therefore, observe not only material possessions directly associated with fishermen, but also with entire families (Champagne et al. 2019). Indeed, the late 19th- to late 20th-century archaeological collection is not only indicative of more people, but also of the presence of women and children (that is, soles of women's shoes, doll fragments, a perfume bottle, marbles). Overall, the 19th- and 20th-century context revealed many artifacts associated with changes in the maritime work environment impacting the overall way of life at Anse à Bertrand. Examples of this include later ceramic types, fishhooks and jiggers, and even a few carbon rods that, beginning in 1911, were used to power motorized dories in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (Artur de Lizarraga et al. 2016: 10).

The features found during the 2017 and 2018 excavations also appear to be associated with the reorganization of activities sometime after 1816. Within the 20th-century context, the team uncovered a flat and almost circular rock feature (US 405) that locals suggest could be the base of an older style *cabestan*, a shore-based capstan used by the *petits pêcheurs* at the end of each day to haul up dories loaded with cod (FIG. 5). Another rock feature (US 505) located in the southeast corner of the excavation area has been identified as the foundation of a 20th-century *saline*, or shed, used to store a family's fishing gear. The proximity of these two features reinforces the idea that the first could indeed be a *cabestan*, possibly even the one shown in the Figure 6 photograph. Due to the expropriation, in the late 1970s, of the lands occupied by Anse à Bertrand's fishing families, we know these features and artifacts are associated with the last fishing occupation at the site.

Anse à Bertrand's recent past is not only of interest to local historians, but also to the local populace as a whole. This last period of the fishery is still very much a part of the living memory of the Saint-Pierre community, and we quickly came to realize that the 20th-century layers and finds are by far the most meaningful for contemporary Saint-Pierrais et Miquelonnais. Nearby residents frequently visit the site to check in on our progress. Many are excited to share their personal stories and

Table 3. Artifacts from Anse à Bertrand's mixed nineteenth- and twentieth-century contexts sorted by function to inform the types of activities being carried out at the site and help characterize the lifeways of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon's family inshore-fishing tradition.

	Function	Objects (N)	Objects (%)	Fragments (N)	Fragments (%)
Food & Beverage	Transport/storage	63	20.00	1824	35.93
	Preparation/cooking	4	1.27	23	0.45
	Service/consumption	30	9.52	1,439	28.34
	Indeterminate	36	11.43	500	9.84
	Subtotal	133	42.22	3,786	74.56
Hunting & Fishing	Fishing	43	13.65	56	1.10
	Fishing/farming	18	5.71	93	1.83
	Hunting/war	47	14.92	134	2.64
	Subtotal	108	34.28	283	5.57
Leisure	Smoking	36	11.43	926	18.24
	Games	2	0.64	3	0.06
	Subtotal	38	12.07	929	18.29
Other	Clothing/adornment	25	7.94	64	1.26
	Health/hygiene	7	2.22	11	0.22
	Commerce	4	1.27	4	0.08
	Subtotal	36	11.43	79	1.56
	Total	315	100	5,077	100

Note: Ecofacts, architectural materials (that is, window glass, nails), and indeterminate metals were omitted from this analysis

local knowledge. When it comes to the 19th- and 20th-century contexts, this interest has proven to be an incredible resource, and the archaeology team has come away with a much deeper understanding of the site. For example, thanks to the community, we know that the excavated *saline* (US 505) belonged to Monsieur Maurice Gautier's grandfather, Jean-Baptiste Baslé, and that the family home was located directly across the road along with a few other houses and even, at one time, a café. The connection formed with the local community has been the most rewarding aspect of our summers at Anse à Bertrand. In order for our research to become even more meaningful to locals, we have also implemented an "archaeology for a day" program, where youth are

invited to join the MUN Field School students in excavations two afternoons a week. This extremely positive experience allows MUN students to learn best practices in archaeology while offering the general population direct access to our work.

Anse à Bertrand in the Present

Although fishing activities ceased at Anse à Bertrand in the late 1970s, some important facts and thoughts supported by additional archaeological findings need to be shared regarding the current condition of the site. In the context of both coastal erosion and the threat that climate change poses to archaeological sites, excavations at Anse à Bertrand revealed the

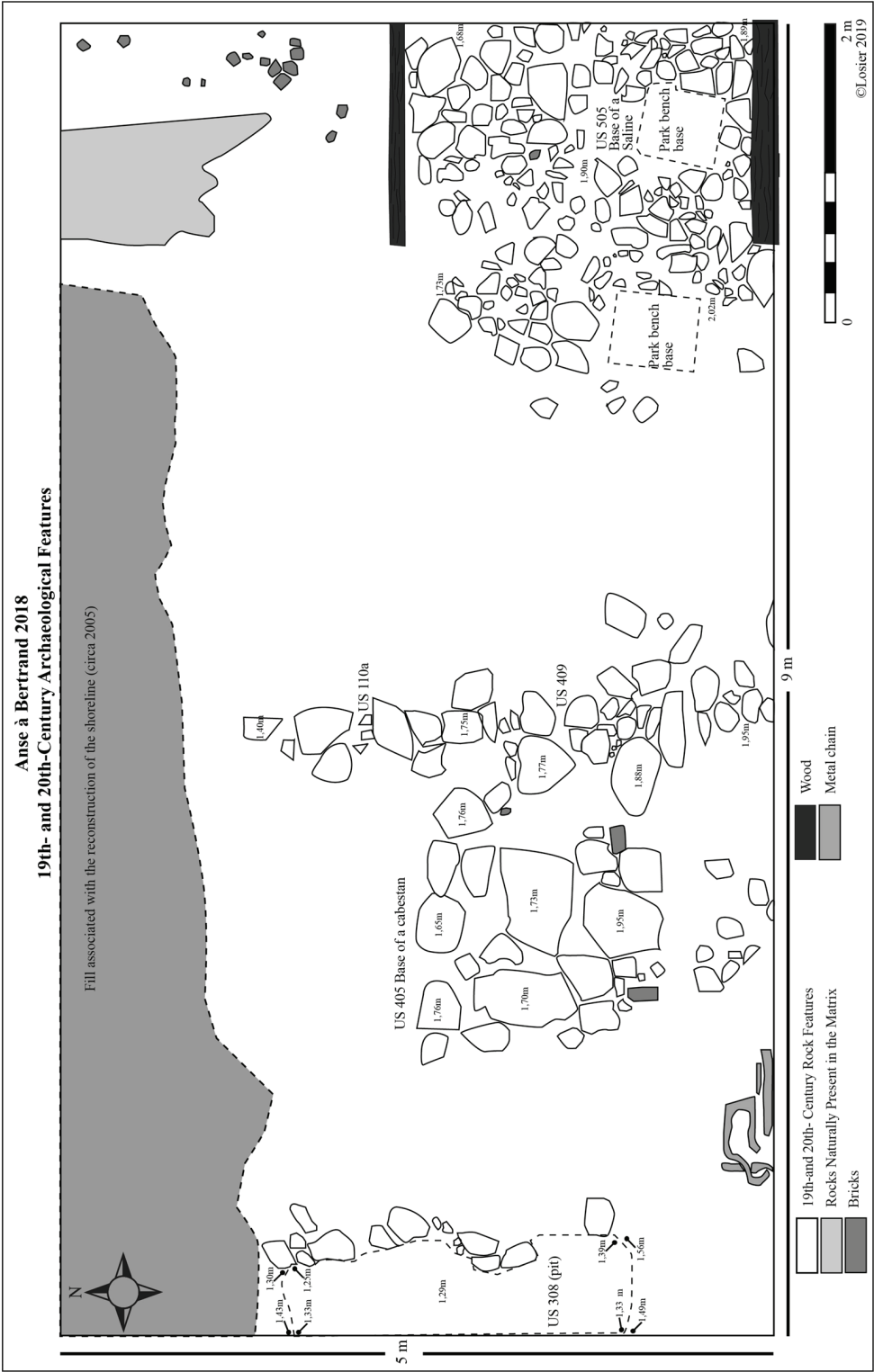


Figure 5. The 19th- and 20th-century archaeological features uncovered at Anse à Bertrand, 2017-2018. These features are associated with Saint-Pierre et Miquelon's family inshore fishery known as *le petit-pêche* or the small fishery. (Figure by Catherine Losier, 2020.)



Figure 6. The Baslé family *saline* (associated with US 505) and *cabestan* (possibly associated with US 405) at Anse à Bertrand in the late 1970s (L'Arche Musée et Archives, 20Fi90, 1961).

northernmost limit of the site and a fill deposit that was put into place around 2005 to rebuild/stabilize the embankment and prevent further erosion. This previous stabilization effort is a tangible example of the contemporary populations' strategic attempt to mitigate the impact of climate change on the archipelago's shorelines and, by extension, on its archaeological heritage. Through our ongoing archaeological investigations, we are monitoring and assessing the threat that erosion and climate change pose to archaeological sites and are providing solid, evidence-based data for the local government to formulate effective action plans and policies to counter the impacts of climate change on the material heritage of the archipelago.

Frequently found today at the most scenic locations on the islands are park benches. The former presence of one such bench was indicated in the archaeological record at Anse à Bertrand by two concrete blocks acting as its base and as a testimony to the site's recent use. Today, Anse à Bertrand is a place for leisure activities, such as dog walking, running,

cycling, and sometimes even parasailing. The recent inclusion of the site's Maison Girardin to France's list of built heritage recognizes its importance to the heritage of the archipelago. Interestingly, the late Monsieur Jules Girardin used to collect objects associated with the "*petite pêche*" and display them at his ancestral home, in essence using it as a privately owned museum that he called "*la Maison du Pêcheur*." Since the collapse of the fishery and the 1992 cod moratorium, the archipelago's economy has come to rely increasingly on tourism. In this context, Maison Girardin, the coastline of Anse à Bertrand, and la Pointe in general have the potential to become an important heritage-based tourism hub. In fact, the local heritage association, Sauvegarde du Patrimoine de l'Archipel, is already working toward this goal, and we are proud to contribute to these efforts by partnering with them in the ongoing Anse à Bertrand Archaeology Project.

Taking inspiration from the fisherfolk, these heritage initiatives demonstrate that the way of life associated with fishing is still the

greatest economic resource for Saint-Pierre et Miquelon going into the 21st century. At Anse à Bertrand there is a visible reorganization of activities between the late 20th and early 21st century, although this time it is not a transformation from one type of fishery to another. Instead, the shift is from the exploitation of cod to the safeguarding of the archipelago's built and archaeological heritage associated with the historical fisheries to enhance tourism activities. This trend continues with local government and community members now working toward the inclusion of the archipelago on the UNESCO World Heritage List. If successful, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon would be formally recognized as a persistent cultural landscape emblematic of the French participation in the northwest Atlantic cod fishery from the 17th century to the present day.

Historic French Landscapes and Lifeways at Anse à Bertrand

By piecing together archaeological and archival data on Anse à Bertrand, this article documents the historical occupations and lifeways of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and sheds light on its emergent role within what Pope (2009: 58) aptly called "one of the oldest persistent European landscapes" in North America. During the 17th and 18th centuries, Anse à Bertrand was a locus of seasonal, migratory-fishing activities, a practice that was anchored (by ships, provisions, and people) in France. Artifacts and features associated with these contexts are therefore a testimony to ephemeral yet recurrent occupations, and of specific lifeways wherein work was at the forefront and most of a fisherman's home life was located elsewhere (across the Atlantic in mainland France). During this period, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon was but one part of the vast maritime cultural landscape constituted by the growing French salt-cod fishery and was in company with the larger capital of Plaisance and the smaller associated outposts, as well as the Petit Nord.

By the early 19th century, historical evidence indicates that Anse à Bertrand was owned by *négociants*, but two seasons of archaeological evidence reveal a shift from the transatlantic migratory fishery organized by semi-migratory *habitants-pêcheurs* to the small-

scale inshore fishery established by the *petits pêcheurs*. This later fishing tradition was fixed on the archipelago, with seasonal transhumance taking place at the local level between Saint-Pierre and smaller fishing communities, including Anse à Bertrand. Activities in these outer neighborhoods centered on fishing, but also speak to the permanence of the population on the archipelago at the time. The *petit pêcheur* family home, for example, was typically accompanied by a vegetable garden to help families sustain themselves year-round. By that time island inhabitants were quite literally putting down roots through such practices as gardening, while the archipelago's external links to Metropolitan France and the French overseas territories were maintained by merchants rather than the fishermen and inhabitants themselves.

Following the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon became the last remaining part of Nouvelle-France to remain under French governance. According to Pope (2008: 38): "It was not a colony that France protected in Newfoundland, but an industry: the salt-cod fishery," which persisted in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon beyond the end of the French migratory fishery in 1904 until the catastrophic collapse of the cod fishery in 1992. Saint-Pierre et Miquelon became the administrative center (ca. 1763) and eventually sole foothold (ca. 1904) for France's salt-cod fishery; and cod remained a staple circulated throughout the French Atlantic World, supporting not only those in Mainland France but also the freed and enslaved populations of the French Antilles and French Guiana for centuries (Champagne and Losier, this issue).

Despite major changes in both governance and the mode of production on Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, it is intriguing to find an underlying cultural continuity throughout the 300-year life history of Anse à Bertrand. Insights into the archipelago's eventful past have been garnered from the archaeological investigations of this site, yet what remains most clear is the fundamental role traditional fishing practices and historical lifeways played in the formation of these islanders' distinct "Frenchness" and the unique cultural identity maintained in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon today. Embodied in their motto, "From the sea, work," the islanders' maritime setting and distinct centuries-old

relationship with the sea remain at the core of their cultural identity.

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