

Chapter 5

Pêcher à Miquelon

Transatlantic Trade, Local Networks, and Martiniquan Cuisine

Mallory Champagne and Catherine Losier



While on a research trip to Martinique in the spring of 2019, a Martiniquan acquaintance made an offhand 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 foundation 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 in the necessary supporting role of supplying salt cod and other food (Losier 2020; Dull 2005; 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. Therefore, 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 (Honychurch 1997; Kelly 2008; Curet and Hauser 2011; Kelly and Hardy 2011; Marzagalli 2011; Losier 2016, 2020). 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 (Schnakenbourg 2016; Mandelblatt 2013). 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. We argue that 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.

MARTINIQUE AND GLOBAL AFFAIRS (1763–1815)

Indigenous groups settled in the Lesser Antilles in 3400 BCE, and agriculturalist groups were present in Martinique when Christopher Columbus first noted the island in 1493. Arawak and Kalinago 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 (Schloss 2012: 2; Bérard, Espersen, and White 2014: 133; Maisier 2015: 1–2). 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 seventeenth 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 to grow and harvest than tobacco, cacao, and coffee, it was favored due to sugar's economic demand in the eighteenth century (Hardy 2014; Schloss 2012: 2; Miller 2008: 21). 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 (Schloss 2012: 2; Miller 2008: 21). 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 2020; 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*, French traders were motivated by a desire for profit, leading to an increase in contraband trade with little regard to political affiliation (Losier 2020; O'Shaughnessy 2000: 229–30). Martinique's burgeoning colony was profitable, vulnerable, and effectively unregulated by the *métropole* leading up to the Seven Years' War (1756–63) and the Treaty of Paris (1763).

During the Treaty of Paris negotiations, France, rather than risk a permanent economic loss regarding sugar production, willingly forfeited extensive North American terrain to regain islands in the Caribbean, among other territories (Harding 2012: 313–16). 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 et 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 2020; Searing 2012: 286). Therefore, despite the loss of Nouvelle-France, the 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 gunpowder (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 (Losier 2020: 14; Haudrère 1997: 361). 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: 114–16). 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, the island's elite successfully lobbied in 1789 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 to 1802 (Schloss 2012: 27; Cormack 2019: 4). 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 (prerevolutionary France), specifically that of slavery, which also effectively minimized the already minimal rights of Free People of Color (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: 225–27).

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 prerevolutionary 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 often received pushback 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.

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 5.1). 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: 112–13). First appearing on the 1770 map of René Moreau du Temple, the plantation was held by one of the aforementioned wealthy and influential plantation owners, the Blondel family, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century (Wallman and Kelly 2020: 113).

The plantation was established at the base of the Crève Coeur mountain, near the Cul-de-Sac du Marin, an important ecological 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 (Wallman 2014: 59; Kelly and Wallman 2014: 17–18). Crève Coeur would eventually expand to encompass neighboring plantations and lodge around one to two hundred enslaved laborers over its existence, which lasted almost a century. In 1844, as demand for Caribbean sugar decreased, the Blondel heirs started the process of selling the plantation. In 1854, six years after the abolition of slavery in 1848, it was sold to a former overseer who continued plantation operations using sharecropping labor until the nineteenth century (Wallman and Kelly 2020: 115; Blondel La Rougery 2009). These later activities did not disturb the archaeological context of the enslaved peoples' village or the remains of the plantation features (Kelly 2010).

Today the Habitation Crève Coeur contains the fenced-off ruins of industrial buildings and has been designated as a heritage site with an easily hiked walking trail (Wallman and Kelly 2020: 115). The Habitation Crève Coeur was first recognized archaeologically in 1988–90 by Jean-Baptiste Barret, who identified four major industrial structures related to the plantation (Barret 1991). The excavations associated with this survey would be one of Martinique's first historical-archaeological excavations and

determined Crève Coeur to be a designated protected heritage site (Barret 1991; Kelly 2010: 2; Bérard et al. 2014: 135).

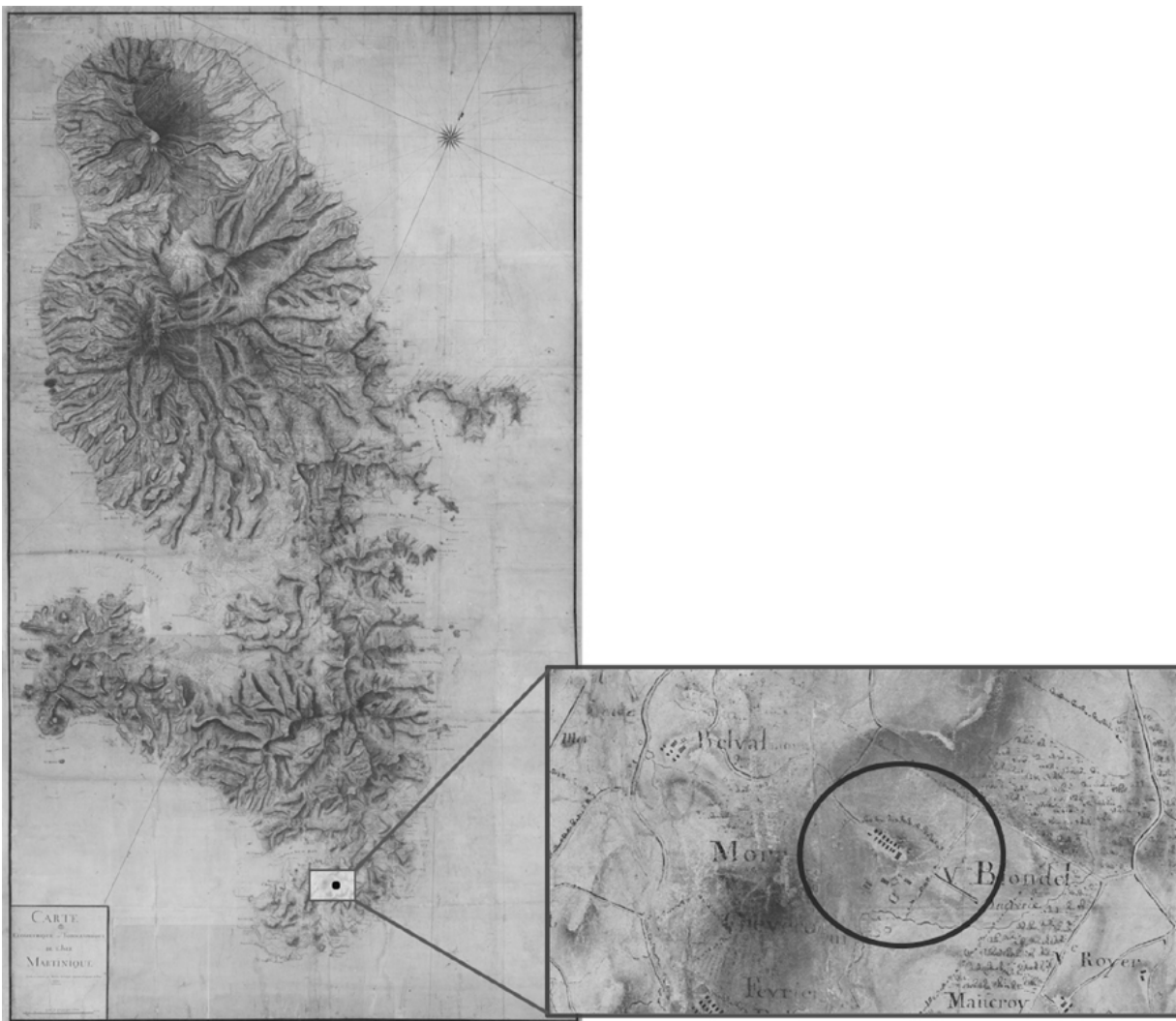


Figure 5.1. Location of the Habitation Crève Coeur. Carte géométrique et topographique de l'Isle Martinique by Moreau du Temple, 1770. Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et Plans, GE SH 18 PF 156 DIV 2 P 17, public domain. Adapted by © Mallory Champagne.

Reexamination 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, focusing 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 fourteen houses associated with the enslaved community village (Kelly 2008: 396; Kelly 2010: 3).

Table 5.1. Locus and affiliated context at Habitation Crève Coeur (Kelly 2010). © Mallory Champagne.

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	

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. Loci E and F, while initially identified as a domestic or dependent context where individuals serving in the planter house would frequent, 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 most likely fall within the 1763–1815 time period (see [table 5.1](#)). Loci C, E, F, and M encompasses 68 square meters of

the 125 square meters (plus shovel test pits) that make up the entire excavation.

Locus C is recognized as an enslaved peoples' community midden, M as the *maison de maître* or enslaver's house, E as an enslaved peoples' community, and F as an infirmary (Wallman and Kelly 2020). These were reinventoried 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 et Miquelon was adapted to ensure consistency for eventual comparative purposes. Ceramics associated with the sugar industry and construction were omitted (e.g., sugar cones and roofing tiles) to expedite reconsultation of the collection, as they are associated with industrial infrastructure or sugar production and 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).

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 interpretation perspective adopted is the intentional interference of individuals and the objects with which they interact. 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 an interpretation.

Despite the nature of their enslavement, these individuals still possess 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 methodologically 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). *The individual*, in this case encompasses the more abstract being, place, and event in history that is directed by the people living it or being considered. Rather than viewing provisioning by its structuralist or capitalist inception, this research will view it from the perspective of intentional actions made by the actors, specifically those entrenched in the plantation system. Rather than approaching the supply network as a provisioning system dictated solely by European powers, agency can be discerned by considering what the individuals need from the network, then by what the network can supply to the individuals.

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 remains 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.

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 to 1815 were compiled through the online IREL database of the Archives National d’Outre-Mer (ANOM) to document the Atlantic network’s arrival to and departure from Martinique. This evaluation 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 to 1815 time period.

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 to 1815. The records concerning the broad state of commerce were transcribed from French to English and entered into a register containing the origin, destination, tonnage, and nature of the cargo. It should be noted that not every year in question was present in the online archives. The years that are not included (1763–64, 1774, 1778–80, 1787, 1790, 1792–1802, 1808–15) likely represent missing or lost documentation or British possession of the island (1794–1802 and 1809–15, 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 were imported the most. This was done by evaluating the nature of cargo through tons 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 the *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 percent, n=892,439) was associated with French ports, although the most frequent contributor of boats entering port originated mainly from "neutral" islands (25 percent, n=3,527) and the United States of America (21 percent, n=2,866), shown in [figure 5.2](#). 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 to 1815, based on tonnage, were Bordeaux (31 percent, n=228,707), then Marseille (18 percent, n=136,803), Alexandria (Virginia) (11 percent, n=83,973), and Le Havre (9 percent, n=66,941). The exports reflect similar routes, where they were sent mainly to Bordeaux (25 percent, n=146,835), Marseille (23 percent, n=135,986), Le Havre (11 percent, n=65,231) and Bristol (11 percent, n=64,899). These ports were primarily used to supply Martinique and the Caribbean with what could arguably be called "French staples," represented by wine (26.28 percent), flour (21.55 percent), salt meat (15.67 percent), dry-salted cod (7.70 percent), and livestock (6.33 percent) ([figure 5.3](#), based on the total value of imported goods). Exports from Martinique consisted mainly of sugar (50.84 percent) and coffee (32.36 percent), popular commodities worldwide ([figure 5.4](#)).

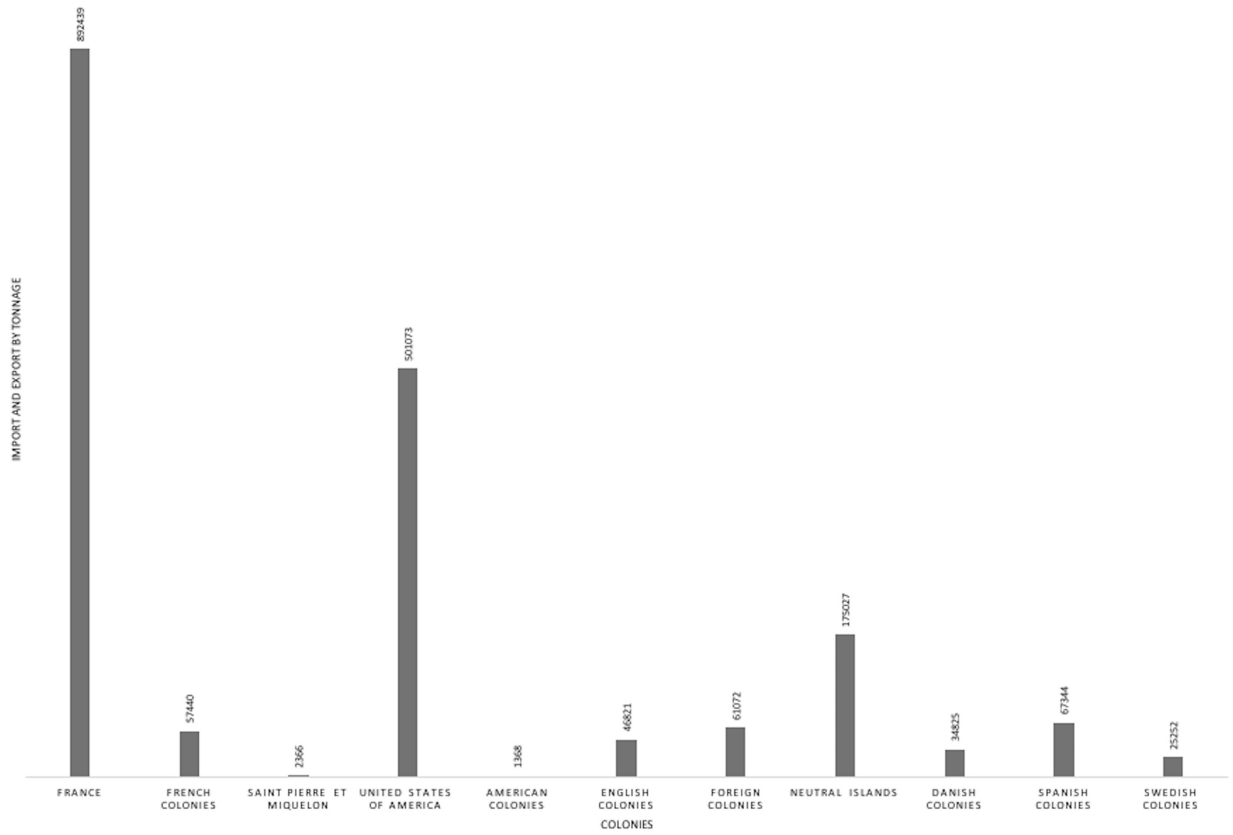


Figure 5.2. Imported and exported cargo, by nation, in total tonnage from 1763 to 1815. © Mallory Champagne.

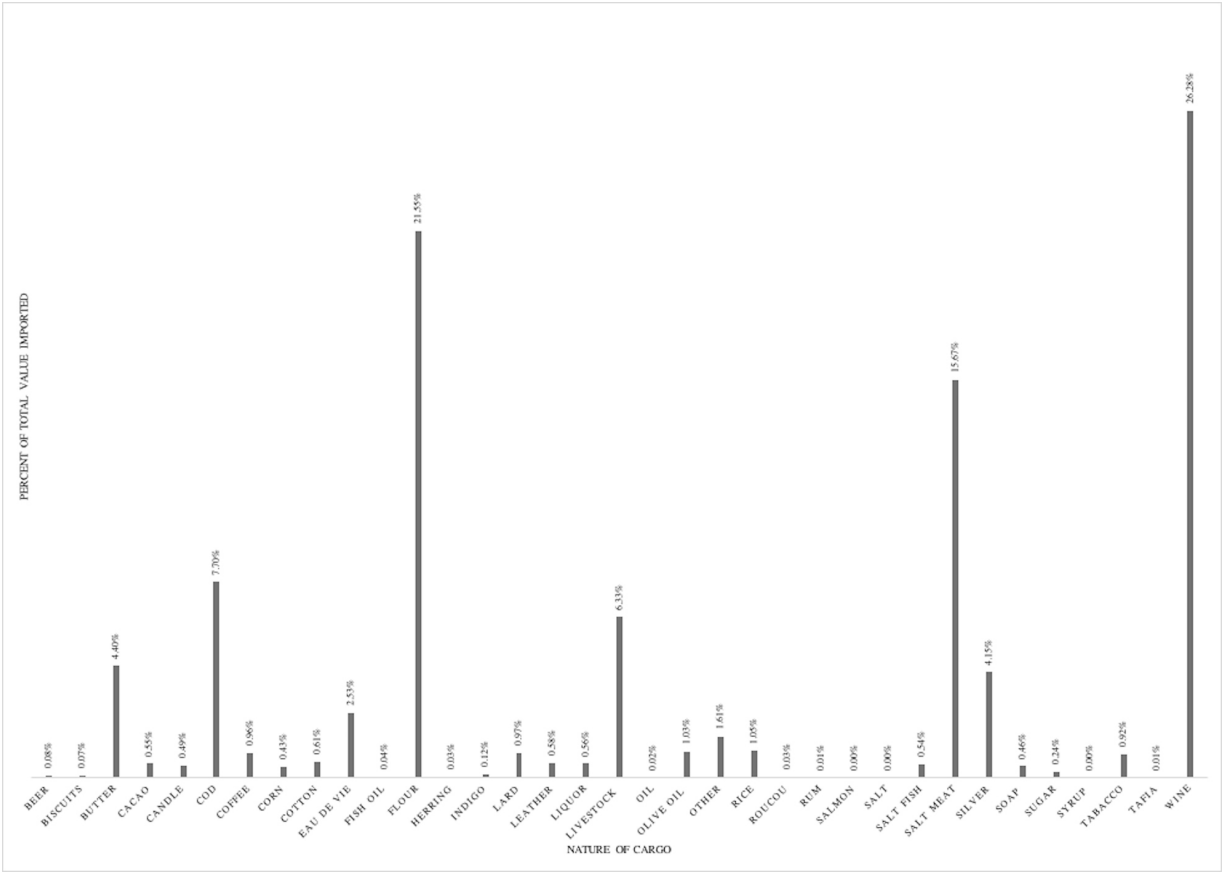


Figure 5.3. Nature of cargo by percentage of total value imported from 1763 to 1815. © Mallory Champagne.

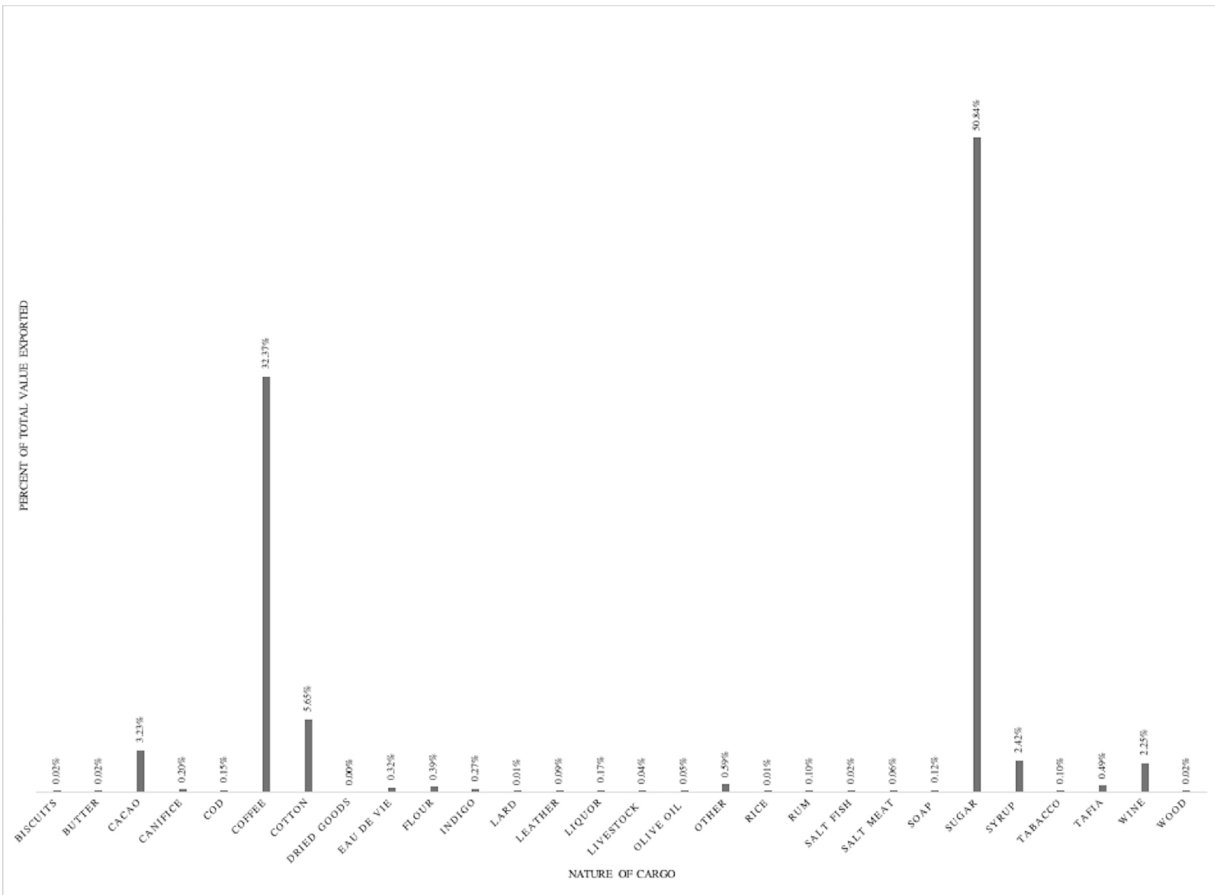


Figure 5.4. Nature of cargo by percentage of total value exported from 1763 to 1815. © Mallory Champagne.

In total, throughout the 52-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 the figure does 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.

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 type, then place of production, these objects allow for a better understanding of the commercial network in a more concrete way. 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 that can be 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 the 38 percent (n=36) originating from France, 2 percent (n=2) from England, and 5 percent (n=5) from Italy. Of the thirty-six vessels originating from France, 42 percent (n=15) originated from the Atlantic coast, and 58 percent (n=21) originated from the Mediterranean basin, unsurprising as Mediterranean ceramic (specifically cooking pots) became very popular during the second half of the eighteenth century (Losier 2020: 10). Of all the imported wares (including the Italian-made Albisola), forty-three vessels, 60 percent (n=26), were imported through the Mediterranean, and 40 percent (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 2021). Besides the routes functioning between Martinique and France, the prevalence of southern French port interactions were linked to the ships leaving France, which descended the coast of Africa to serve as transatlantic transport of forcibly enslaved individuals.

While the data associated with imported ceramics were consistent with the archival analysis, we must consider that, as demonstrated in [table 5.2](#),

the bulk of the Crève Coeur ceramic assemblage did not originate in Europe. The majority of wares that made up the assemblage from Locus C (enslaved community housing) were of local origin (74 percent, n=26). The same trend was seen in Locus M (enslaver's house), where 77 percent (n=14) were also of local origin (table 5.3). These wares, known as *coco neg*, were locally produced coarse earthenware that primarily served as cooking pots (Kelly et al. 2008).

Similarly, the vessels found within the plantation context were related to cooking (68 percent n=6) and food preparation (12 percent n=11), with 33 percent (n=31) originating from Locus C (enslaved community housing) and 16 percent (n=15) from Locus M (enslaver's house). While Loci E and F contained 11 percent (n=10) and 9 percent (n=9), respectively, there was a greater distribution of vessels meant for storage, preparation, and service, which were otherwise low or absent from Loci C and M, demonstrated in table 5.3. This indicated that the activities here differed from those in Locus C, despite C and F both being associated with the enslaved laborers' community. This likely indicates 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, Loci E and F contain vessels mainly provisioned from France, 62 percent (n=13) and 67 percent (n=14), respectively (table 5.4). This suggests that the activities that took place at these two locations were not suitable for the porous *coco neg*, and imported glazed vessels were preferable.

Official records primarily took into account the transactions in the major ports of trade, and this data did not consider illegal or illicit trade. However, Crève Coeur is located farther inland and away from these major ports, so the dissemination of legal (and illegal) goods at Crève Coeur may not reflect the same distribution 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 *coco neg* within the ceramic assemblage.

Table 5.2. Provenance of ceramics found at Crève Coeur by hydrographic basin and production center. © Mallory Champagne.

Country	Hydrographic Basin	Production center	Object (#)	Object (%)
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 %
		Toulous	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 %
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Table 5.3. Function of vessels found at Crève Coeur, in relation to locus, by vessel count. © Mallory Champagne.

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 5.4. Provenance in relation to locus by vessel count. © Mallory Champagne.

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

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, these material remains indicated the emergence of a new identity, 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.

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 mass migrations 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 percent imported versus 55 percent locally produced). This discrepancy is highlighted by the absence of ceramics that reflect the variety of ports merchants are coming 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 (Wallman and Kelly 2020: 109) can explain this discrepancy.

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 (e.g., 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 ceramics 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 intracolony trading (Mathieu 1981) and the goods acquired through a contraband network (Hauser 2011) would have gone largely unrecorded in the archives, and yet these 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 became scarcer, and they eventually provided for the planters as well (Kelly and Wallman 2014:15; Tomadini, Grouard, and Henry 2014: 83; Arcangeli 2015: 73–74). 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 as a community to grow gardens, maintain livestock, fish, harvest, and trade at local markets, forming a community inside and outside the plantation led to a cultural adaptation 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, 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 *coco neg* and *Vallauris*, 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 is attributed to the adaptation of 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, it seems that colonists came to rely on locally sourced and locally produced goods over time, 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 locally made product, such as *coco neg*, was found in the enslaved individuals' community in equal proportion to that found in the planter house (74 percent versus 77 percent, 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 practices that intermingled with official networks but did not rely on them.

COCO NEG AND MARTINIQUEAN 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 (Kelly and Wallman 2014:15; Tomadini et al. 2014:83; Wallman 2014: 49; Arcangeli 2015: 73–74; Champagne and Losier 2022). 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 and other items 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 the imported Vallauris ware

(Arcangeli 2015: 95). That makes up 14 percent (n=13) of the assemblage. Similarly, the locally produced *coco neg*, which makes up 55 percent (n=52) of the assemblage, could be used for the same purpose, but it could equally represent a supplement for a lack of imported wares and demonstrate cultural and socioeconomic independence apart from France (Kelly 2010: 40).

The presence of *coco neg* at the planter house, while providing insight into the provisioning ability of the inhabitants of a plantation, can also signal an attempt to subvert individuality. The use of *coco neg* at the planter house can implicate the centralization and homogenization of materials to represent colonial manipulation of not only space, landscape, and labor but also of the home and personal life (Voss 2015: 231). The exerted control over the expression of individuality in cuisine can equally explain the sudden abandonment of *coco neg* following abolition (Kelly 2010). In this case, the compulsory fabrication of *coco neg*, 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 *coco neg* 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 and discarded, or new ones were sought out to make particular dishes (Arcangeli 2015: 94). This demonstrated that the suitability of glazed (Vallauris) versus unglazed (*coco neg*) wares was taken into account for different recipes. This resulted in the sustained importation and manufacturing of both ceramic types that make up a combined total of 68 percent (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 people socialized outside plantation walls and made meaningful cultural connections with other enslaved individuals. 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, materials that were consumed 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 cultural formation of traditional cuisine, so entrenched in a history of colonial violence and cultural subversion, does not allow for precise categorization. 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, resulted in a transformation of the system, upending the provisioning network and allowing individuals to exercise agency and individuality.

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 eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Aided by the island landscape, 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 an island would turn inward to form cultural connections imperative to their adapted lifeways.

The networks that provisioned Martiniquan inhabitants and other French colonies from 1763 to 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 the strict confines of the 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, elitist, and Eurocentric system that enslaved individuals were thrust into. The lack of variety in ceramic types 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.

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Mallory Champagne began in archaeology as an undergrad at Memorial University and started working with Dr. Catherine Losier at the debut of the Saint-Pierre project as field assistant and lab manager. She completed her BA Hons. and transitioned immediately into her MA, expanding her focus on the ever-important trade networks that supplied the French Atlantic and the liaisons between colonies and cod fish.

Catherine Losier is an associate professor in the Department of Archaeology at Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador. Her research in historical archaeology focuses on colonialism and its enduring legacies, cultural interactions, colonial economies, and identities. The interaction between territories is one important aspect of her research. To examine the plurality of French colonial experience, she is conducting research in several former French colonies including Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and French Guiana.

NOTES

1. France, "Recueils de Règlements, Édits, Déclarations et Arrêtes Concernant Le Commerce, l'administration de La Justice et La Police Des Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique, et Les Engagés: Avec Le Code Noir et l'addition Audit Code" (Paris: les Libraires Associés, 1765).
2. *Gens de couleur* referred to those who are of mixed racial descent who are manumitted or born free (Schloss 2012: 2)

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