



University of Toronto Studies in History

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THE EARLY
TRADING COMPANIES OF
NEW FRANCE

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THE EARLY
TRADING COMPANIES OF
NEW FRANCE

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF COMMERCE AND
DISCOVERY IN NORTH AMERICA

BY

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PREFACE

The substance of the following pages was presented to the Board of Historical Studies of the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1899, in supplication for the degree of Bachelor of Letters. Having successfully served this purpose, the thesis is now presented to the public in an enlarged and somewhat improved form in the hope that the new results which it embodies may not be without interest to those who desire to study the beginnings of trade and commerce in New France.

I am by no means so sanguine as to hope that the conclusions here set forth are necessarily final or indeed in every case valid. Since, however, their correctness or incorrectness can only be made clear by an examination of the foundations on which they rest, I have taken pains to state in all cases what my authorities are. The Appendix at the end of the work will be of use in further making clear on what foundations particular statements are based.

In preparing this essay I have had the kind assistance of many persons. To the authorities of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris my best thanks are due for the extreme courtesy with which they have always received my numerous demands. M. G. Servois and his able staff at the *Archives Nationales*, M. M. Chevrier of the French Foreign Office, and M. Victor Tantet of the French Colonial Office have also afforded me every facility in consulting their respective stores of documents. During my re-

searches at Rouen, M. Charles de Beaurepaire, the archivist of the Department of the Seine-Inférieure most kindly placed his great knowledge of Norman affairs continually at my disposition. To M. le Vicomte de Carné I am indebted for his generous communication to me of the results of his researches on La Roche, who is connected with his family, while several documents relating to Champlain were kindly brought to my notice by M. Th. Courtaux of Paris. My best thanks are also due to my friend Mr. E. G. Knoblach of London for some tiring researches carried out for me at the British Museum.

More particularly, however, I must thank Mr. H. A. L. Fisher of New College, Oxford, for his continuous criticisms of my work, and Professor W. J. Ashley of Harvard University for some valuable hints and suggestions. Mr. S. V. Blake of London has been good enough to read a considerable portion of my manuscript, while Professor G. M. Wrong of the University of Toronto has not only read the whole of it very carefully, but he and Mr. H. H. Langton, the general editor of the University of Toronto Studies, have been at the immense labour during my absence abroad of revising the entire work for the press. If, indeed, the results of my researches have been put before the public in anything like a readable form, it is mainly due to the labours of these two gentlemen.

To the Burrows Brothers Company of Cleveland, Ohio, my thanks are due for permission to copy, with some slight alterations and additions, the accompanying map from their edition of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents."

H. P. B.

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INTRODUCTION

The object of this essay is to trace the birth and growth of trade and commerce down to the year 1632 in that portion of North America subsequently called New France. France was associated so long and so intimately with the valley of the St. Lawrence that the visits of Spanish, Portuguese and even English explorers before Cartier are sometimes forgotten. A brief account of attempts on the part of the other European powers to occupy this region will form a fitting prelude to the history of its first occupation by the French.

In considering the achievements and failures alike of these early voyagers we must remember that they had in mind nothing that corresponds to the modern map of North America. Between Europe and Asia they expected to find only a few scattered islands. Not only was America as a continent unknown, the very possibility of its existence had not been dreamed of. Columbus tried to reach China by a direct route across the Atlantic, and when on the twelfth of October, 1492, he landed on the island of Guanahani he entertained no suspicion of having stumbled upon the threshold of a new and vast continent. Presuming that he had arrived at the outskirts of China, his proposed goal, he referred the names learned from natives to places in Cathay mentioned by Marco Polo.

Yet Columbus did not reach the mainland either on his first voyage or on his second in the following year. The first Europeans to do so, since the adventurous voyages of the Northmen five centuries earlier, were the crew of an English vessel from Bristol. John Cabot, a Venetian, was sent out by Henry the Seventh in the summer of 1497 with orders to find and discover "any islands or countries whether of Gentiles or Infidels which before this time were unknown to all Christians." Cabot made a landfall probably on the shores of Labrador or

Newfoundland. After following the coast to the north, perhaps as far as Cape Chudley, he is supposed to have turned and proceeded south until he reached the latitude of Cape Race in Newfoundland. Early in the following spring, before Columbus left Spain on his third voyage, in the course of which he too at last sighted the mainland, Cabot had again set sail from England. Coasting the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador as far north as on the preceding voyage, he is believed to have extended his explorations to the south as far as the Carolinas. Cabot was thus the first European since the Northmen to reach the mainland of America, and he was also the first to pass, without suspicion of its existence, before the mouth of the great waterway of the St. Lawrence.

Whether in deference to the protest of the Spanish ambassador at the English Court, or on account of the saving proclivities of the then occupant of the English throne, or for some other reason, English exploration in these regions ceased for a quarter of a century. It was the Portuguese who next hovered about the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Two years after Cabot's last voyage Gaspar Corte-Real, under a commission from his sovereign the King of Portugal, explored the eastern coast of Newfoundland. In the following year he set sail again with three vessels and passing north beyond Newfoundland examined the coast of Labrador. At some unknown point he sent back two of his vessels which safely reached Portugal in the autumn, but the third vessel, in which he remained, was never seen again. An expedition in search of him under his brother Miguel was equally unfortunate, and two only of the three vessels which composed it reached port, having accomplished nothing of importance. Thus Portugal, like England, explored the region about Newfoundland without lifting the veil which hung before the portals of the St. Lawrence.

From 1502 until 1520 nothing was done to advance discovery in the north. Spain indeed, from her centre in the Spanish Main, steadily extended her influence and in 1520 a caravel from Hayti made its way as far as the point afterwards called Cape Charles, near the 37th parallel of latitude. While the Spaniards

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were thus coming northward, the Portuguese were once more astir. In the year 1520 a fresh Portuguese expedition visited the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Alvares Fagundes of Vianna, after following the Portuguese fishing fleet which yearly visited the Banks, sailed into the Gulf by its southern entrance. After coasting the western side of Newfoundland as far north as the Straits of Belle Isle he turned westward along the northern or Labrador shore of the Gulf. When the Gulf began to narrow he crossed over to the southern side, and sailed out again by Gaspé and the Acadian peninsula. On his return he received a grant of these lands, yet he seems to have made no further attempt to explore them. Thus the Portuguese, like the English before them, had passed by the entrance of the great water-way of the St. Lawrence without discovering it.

A second and third English and a first Spanish expedition, which were sent out at this time, proved equally unsuccessful. They had however a new aim in view. Gradually in the course of these years, by reason of the numerous exploring expeditions which visited its coasts, the outline of America was becoming more definitely understood. Spanish and Portuguese explorations had made known the eastern coast of South America as far as the river La Plata, and since the voyages of Balboa, Cordeva, Grijalva, and Pineda had shown the continuity of this southern land with the peninsula of Florida, people began to suspect that from the Baccalaos or Cod-fish land in the north to the river La Plata in the south there stretched, not an archipelago, but one long unbroken line of coast. The return of the expedition of Magellan in 1522 proved that this was the coast-line, not of Asia, but of some hitherto unknown continent extending across the ocean mid-way between Asia and Europe. Magellan's expedition, which set out in the year 1519, not only discovered the straits to which his name is given, but passing through them crossed the southern Pacific Ocean and came home by way of Java, India and the Cape of Good Hope. Then at length some idea of the real significance of Columbus's discovery began to dawn upon men's minds. The chief interest still centred however not in this new world but in the gold and spices of the

East. The Portuguese had discovered a route to the East round Africa, and now the Spaniards had found another round South America. It remained only to find one shorter still, either to the north of Europe or else to the north of this new continent called America. The search for a north-eastern passage was not attempted until some years later. That for a north-west passage began in 1525 and during the succeeding decade one Spanish, two English, and two French expeditions were equipped for the purpose of finding it. The French attempts led to the discovery of the St. Lawrence.

The Spanish expedition was sent out in 1524, when Stephen Gomez, who had sailed with Magellan, was directed by the Emperor Charles the Fifth to find a passage in the north which should serve better than the one discovered by Magellan in the south. The northern passage would be nearer to Spain and it would also enable vessels to avoid a double journey through the tropics. Following the Spanish fishing fleet to the Banks, Gomez, like Fagundes, passed on into the Gulf by the southern entrance, but whether like the Portuguese he went no farther than the island of Anticosti we do not know. In any case he seems to have missed the river. On issuing from the Gulf Gomez coasted the Atlantic shore southwards to a point somewhere near Cape May. Thus he almost reached the latitude which had been already attained by vessels coming north from the Spanish Main, and in fact in the following year the intervening bit of coast was explored by a Spanish vessel the crew of which set up crosses to mark the Spanish claim. Explorers of this nationality had now virtually visited the whole coast from Florida to Gaspé, but still both the river St. Lawrence and the north-west passage remained undiscovered.

The two attempts made by English vessels to find the north-west passage had no results of importance. In 1527 two ships were sent out, apparently with this object in view, but one went down in a storm off Newfoundland and the other returned home in October after having paid a visit to the coast of Cape Breton. A fresh expedition some nine years later was equally fruitless. After some time had been spent at Cape Breton and

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Newfoundland, provisions ran so short that the ship's company were on the point of eating one another when the arrival of a French fishing vessel saved their lives.

Although the French fishing smacks had been voyaging yearly to the Banks since the beginning of the century, the sovereigns of France had been too much occupied in Italy to take part in western discovery. But about the end of the first quarter of the century there came a change. The expedition of Magellan having made clear the extent of the new land, the ambition of Francis the First was aroused. In the year when the Spaniard Stephen Gomez followed the coast from Gaspé to Cape May, Giovanni da Verrazano, a Florentine in the service of Francis the First, coasted northward from the Carolinas to Cape Breton. He was nearing the mouth of the St. Lawrence when his provisions ran short, and he was obliged to sail for home. Francis was then too fully occupied in his struggle with the Emperor Charles the Fifth to turn his attention to the western continent, and the battle of Pavia in the following year 1525 put an end for some time to any hope of further French activity. Nothing was done for a period of nine years. But in 1534 Francis was again enabled by cessation of hostilities and by the funds left him by his mother to despatch a fresh expedition in search of a north-west passage. None indeed was discovered, but Jacques Cartier, in the name of the King his master, took possession of the valley of the St. Lawrence. Except for the brief space of three years, from 1629 to 1632, this possession was henceforth undisputed until 1759.

CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERY AND OCCUPATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE VALLEY.

Notwithstanding that English, Portuguese and Spanish explorers had frequently passed before the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the existence of the river remained unsuspected by Europeans until the third decade of the sixteenth century. The energy and boldness of a Breton sailor of St. Malo drew back at length the veil. Jacques Cartier, who probably had already made numerous fishing expeditions to Newfoundland, set sail from St. Malo in the spring of 1534 with two vessels manned by crews drawn from the fishing boats which yearly visited the Banks. His orders were to refit in Newfoundland and then to sail on westward with the object of discovering a north-west passage to the East.¹ After an uneventful voyage of three weeks across the Atlantic they made for the fishing harbour of St. Catherine in Newfoundland, where during ten days of bad weather they remained to refit. With fairer weather, they sailed to the harbour of Brest in the Straits of Belle Isle and took on board wood and fresh water. On Monday the fifteenth of June the two little vessels set out for the unknown west. Curiously enough they followed the southern instead of the northern shore of the Straits, and instead of being led towards Anticosti and the Saguenay they continued along the western coast of Newfoundland as far as Cape Ray. Crossing from here to the Magdalen group, they sailed thence to Prince Edward Island. Ignorant that it was an island they followed its coast northward and entered the Baie de Chaleur which they took to be the north-west passage they were in search of.² Examination of this bay

¹ Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534*, 2^e partie: Documents Inédits, pp. 3-5. Paris, 1865.

² Michelant et Ramé, *Relation Originale du Voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534* (Paris 1867), pp. 27 et seq.: "Le Cap de ladite terre du Su nommé Cap d'Espérance, pour l'espoir que abuions d'y trouves passage. . . . à laquelle heure eumes congnoissance du font de ladite baye, dont fusmes dollans et maiziz."

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proved that they were wrong and they continued their route round the peninsula of Gaspé. The river now lay directly in front of them. Unfortunately, as soon as they caught sight of the northern shore of the Gulf, they sailed thither, and on reaching it turned eastwards, so missing the river and being led back to the Straits of Belle Isle whence they had set out. To them, therefore, the Gulf appeared to be a great land-locked bay; this indeed must also have been the impression of the Portuguese Fagundes who, some fourteen years before, had made a similar circuit, though from the southern entrance and in the contrary direction. Cartier however had not only set up crosses to mark the French claims but also brought home two Indians, who were soon able to learn sufficient French to be of service in explaining to some extent the principal geographical features of these new regions.

Of the reception met with by Cartier and his company on their return to France we know nothing. His report, however, and the statements of the savages seem to have made a favourable impression, for in the spring of 1535 he was again under way, and this time with three vessels, of which the largest was the *Grand Hermine* of one hundred and twenty tons. The ships were separated on the voyage out, and it was not until the twenty-sixth of June that they came together again, at the Baie des Châteaux in Newfoundland, which had been agreed upon as the place of meeting. When the vessels had been overhauled and wood and water were taken on board, they made their way through the Straits of Belle Isle towards the most westerly point reached in their former expedition. Opposite the island of Anticosti their two Indian guides informed them that they were now approaching the mouth of a great river, "which became narrower the further it went even unto Canada and continued so far westwards that they had never heard of any man who had reached the head of it."¹ After carefully examining the whole of the

¹ D'Avezac, *Bref Récit et Succincte Narration de la Navigation faite par le Capitaine Jacques Cartier aux Iles de Canada, etc.*, (Paris, 1863), p. 9 b: "Et nous ont lesdictz Sauuaiges certifié estre le chemin et commencement du grant Silencie de Hochelaga et chemin de Canada; lequel alloit tousiours en estroissement iusques à Canada, puis que l'on trouve l'aue douce qui va si loing que iamais homme n'auroit esté iusques au bout qu'ilz eussent ouy."

northern shore of the Gulf to make sure that there was no passage, they headed the vessels into the river "to go towards Canada."¹ On reaching the river Saguenay, where they made a short stay, they were informed by their guides that it led to a country and kingdom of the same name. Continuing their journey westwards, they arrived at the Island of Orleans near which was situated the Indian village of Stadacona. In a small harbour up the river St. Charles, which enters the St. Lawrence at this point, Cartier laid up the two larger vessels for the winter, while with fifty sailors in the *Hemerillon* he set off up stream to see what possibility there was of reaching the Southern Sea. Half way to the rapids of Lachine the channel they had chosen became too shallow for the sailing ship. In two of their boats however they safely reached the Indian village of Hochelaga where the rapids of Lachine checked further progress westward. The natives of the place informed them that "after passing three more such falls of water, a man might sail for the space of three months along that river and yet not reach the end."² It seemed therefore that for the present at least they must abandon all thought of reaching the Southern Sea by this route.

However, Cartier, before he left Hochelaga, unexpectedly received information of another nature, to which he was by no means indifferent. Although the principal object of both his expeditions was to find a north-west passage to the East, yet the hope of finding gold had never been wholly absent.³ Nothing of the kind had been met with on the first voyage, but now at Hochelaga he was told of the existence in these regions of a country as rich as the Mexico discovered by the Spaniards to the south. When he and his companions had gone to the top of Mount Royal

¹ *Ibid.* p. 11: "Nous appareillames du dict hablé le premier iour de septembre pour aller vers Canada."

² *Ibid.* p. 27: "Et nous fut dict et monstre par signes par nosdictz trois hommes du pais qu'il y avoit trois telz saulx d'aue audict fleuve . . . puis nous monstroient par signes que lesdiz saulx passez l'on pouvoit nauiguer plus de trois luns par ledict fleuve."

³ *Biblioth. Nat. Ms. Fr. 15628 fol. 213 verso no. 618*: "Et par la conduite de Jacques Cartier faire le voyage de ce royaume es terres neufes pour descouvrir certaines ysles et pays ou l'on dit qu'il se doit trouver grant quantité d'or et autres riches choses," etc.

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to see as far as possible over the land to the west, and were in despair at the evident impossibility of reaching the Southern Sea on this voyage, their Indian guides pointed towards the river Ottawa which enters the St. Lawrence a short distance off. "We thought it to be the river," says the narrator, "which flows past the Kingdom of Saguenay, and without any sign being made or question asked of them, they seized the chain of the Captain's whistle, which was of silver, and the dagger-handle of one of our sailors, of a yellow copper-gilt like gold, and gave us to understand that such objects came from up the said river."¹ The inhabitants of this country, of which they had heard the name when at the mouth of the Saguenay, were, it appeared, a very savage people who waged continual war against their neighbours. This was all the information that could be obtained at Hochelaga. When the boats had returned to Stadacona where the winter was passed, Cartier at once began to question the lord of the village, Donacona, about this rich kingdom of Saguenay. As far as Cartier could understand, Donacona had been there himself and knew the place well. In that land were to be found, said Donacona, not only great quantities of gold and silver, but also rubies and other precious jewels. The people were not savages, but were white like the French and wore woollen clothes, and the towns were large and very populous. Although it was possible to go there by the river Saguenay which, as they had been informed, flowed past the country, the better way was by the river St. Lawrence as far as Hochelaga and then by the Ottawa river, as the Indians of Hochelaga had explained. To the south indeed was another country where no ice or snow ever came and where grew in abundance oranges, almonds, dates, and other choice fruits. Here also the people went about clothed like the French, but the southern country contained, as far as Donacona knew, no gold. Cartier, therefore, like a true son of the sixteenth century, directed all his attention to the rich northern kingdom of Saguenay, for it seemed that the good fortune of a Cortez was to be repeated in his own case.²

¹ D'Avezac, *op. cit.*, p. 27 b.

Ibid. pp. 33 b et seq.

After a severe winter, during which many of his company died of scurvy, Cartier, in the spring of 1536, was at length able to fit out two of his vessels in preparation for the return voyage. The better to convince King Francis of the truth about the kingdom of Saguenay he seized Donacona and eleven of his people, that they might personally repeat to the King what they had already told Cartier himself. On Saturday, the sixth of May, the two vessels set sail from Stadacona and passing down the river and through the Gulf entered the Atlantic by the passage to the south of Newfoundland, the existence of which Cartier had suspected on the first voyage. After refitting and taking in water at the island of St. Pierre, they continued their voyage across the Atlantic and reached St. Malo in safety on the sixteenth of July, just two months and ten days after leaving Stadacona.¹

The news of the discovery of the great river must have created considerable interest in France, and though there seemed now slight hope of reaching the Southern Sea by this route, except perhaps after a long and tedious journey in small boats, yet the discovery of a rich country similar to that found by the Spaniards in the south was of a nature to remove any serious disappointment. Francis the First however was now too fully occupied in wars at home to send an armed expedition abroad, even with good prospects of gain. So, for a period of four years, the projected conquest of the kingdom of Saguenay remained in abeyance. During this time interest in the new world was not allowed to flag. To add to the excitement created in Europe by the news of the discovery and conquest of another rich country in the south called Peru, the savages brought home by Cartier continued to tell of lands in the north where people lived only on water, of others where the inhabitants had but one leg, of the land of the Piequemyans, whoever they might be, and of other countries besides the kingdom of Saguenay where gold was to be found in abundance.² But the years passed and nothing was done. Cartier began to find the maintenance of his twelve Indian guides

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 41 b *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, pp. 40 b *et seq.*

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a severe drain upon his modest resources. On applying to the Court for some relief, the King, in September 1538, sent him fifty crowns, with doubtless a word of encouragement.¹ In the following March three of the Indians were baptized, and it appears that about this time or shortly afterwards several of them died.² During the period of waiting Cartier enjoyed considerable honour in his native town of St. Malo and in 1540, twelve months before he again set forth, we hear of him entertaining a distinguished visitor from Ireland, who was on his way to Paris.³

In consequence of the armistice at Nice in 1538 and of the meeting of the sovereigns at Aigues Mortes shortly afterwards, Francis the First was once more at leisure to pay some attention to Cartier and his surviving Indians. After considerable deliberation it was decided to send out a large armed expedition to penetrate to the kingdom of Saguenay and, if possible, to effect its conquest as Cortez and Pizarro had effected that of Mexico and Peru. On the seventeenth of October 1540 the first step was taken when Cartier was appointed master-pilot of the fleet which was to convey the expedition. He had full control of the ships, the crews, and the navigation generally.⁴ The command of the soldiers, who were to form the principal part of the expedition, was in the following January given to Jean François de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval, who had gained experience serving under La Marck during the late wars in France and Italy.⁵ By the efforts of these two leaders, Cartier and Roberval, and with the aid of funds supplied by the King,⁶ a fleet of five ships was

¹ Paris, Biblioth. Nat. Ms. Latin, vol. 17059, no. 202.

² Archives Municipales de St. Malo, Série GG. 6; printed in *Collection de Manuscrits Relatifs à la Nouvelle France* i 29-30. Quebec 1883.

³ Gairdner and Brodie, *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, xv 246 and 328. London 1896.

⁴ Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, pp. 411-416. Paris 1612.

⁵ Harrisse, *Notes pour servir à l'Histoire, à la Bibliographie et à la Cartographie de la Nouvelle France*, pp. 243-253. Paris 1872. Biblioth. Nat., Pièces Originiales, vol. 2523 No. 56459 nos. 11-13; *Ibid.* Collect. Clairambault, vol. 134 fol. 1891 no. 5.

⁶ Lescarbot, *op. cit.* p. 410; Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de Jacques Cartier* (1865) 2^e partie, p. 25.

got ready in the spring of 1541 though deficiencies in the ranks had to be made up by taking out convicts.¹ As severe penalties were then imposed for light offences, these recruits were not necessarily of very bad character. All haste was being made with the preparations, with a view to setting sail about the middle of April.²

When reports of the expedition got abroad, the Spanish Government sent a spy to France to learn for what region the force was intended. He reported that the vessels were being sent to people a land called Canada where a fort was to be built. The Cardinal Archbishop of Seville however in a letter to a member of the Council of the Indies stated the true aim of the French. "Their motive is," said he, "that they think that land to be rich in gold and silver and they hope to do as we have done. But in my opinion they are mistaken, for the whole coast down as far as Florida offers no riches except the fishing. Consequently they will waste their efforts and return with the loss of most of their people and nearly all they have taken with them."³ According to an English report the ships and men were being sent "to seek the trade of spicerey by a shorter way than the Portingalles use."⁴ Unfortunately the forecast of the Archbishop proved only too correct.

The necessary preparations had been almost completed, the levies of prisoners, the small droves of cattle, the goats and the pigs had been already taken on board, when Roberval, after bid-

¹ Archives Nationales, U 754, vol. 53 verso *et seq.*; *Ibid.* K 1232; Archives de la Gironde, B 31 fol. 101; in HARRISSE, *op. cit.*, pp. 258 *et seq.*; Archives de la Seine Inférieure, Série G, No. 961; Joinon des Longrais, *Jacques Cartier*, pp. 27-36. Paris 1888.

² Buckingham Smith, *Coleccion de Varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras Adyacentes*, i 107 *et seq.* Londres 1857.

³ *Ibid.* p. 111. Translations of both documents will be found in a paper by l'Abbé Verreau entitled *Jacques Cartier: Questions de Calendrier Civil et Ecclesiastique*, in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, vol. viii, pp. 143 *et seq.* Montreal, 1891.

⁴ Gairdner and Brodie, *op. cit.* xvi 234 (London 1898): "Francis sends ships and 500 or 600 footmen to seek the trade of spicerey by a shorter way than the Portingalles use, *i.e.* by the Mare Glasearum. Their pilot Jacques Cartier thinks it will be navigable for three months in the year."

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ding adieu to his sovereign, at length reached St. Malo. He found the ships in the roadstead ready to weigh anchor. Unfortunately he had ordered some artillery which had not yet arrived, and unwilling to leave without it, he determined to fit out a fresh vessel at Honfleur, whither he believed it to have been sent. Cartier however was to sail at once in charge of the fleet now ready. Indeed orders to this effect arrived from the King and no further delay was possible. When therefore Roberval had taken muster and view of the gentlemen, soldiers and mariners chosen for the voyage, he gave orders to Cartier to "depart and goe before and to governe all things as if he had bene there in person. And these things thus dispatched, the winde comming faire, the foresayd five ships set sayle together well furnished and victualled for two yeere, the 23rd of May 1541."¹ After a stormy passage of three months, during the latter part of which they were obliged to feed the animals on cider, they reached Newfoundland. Here they refitted the ships and took on board wood and fresh water. As there was no sign of Roberval, Cartier ordered the fleet to get under way once more, and piloting it safely up the St. Lawrence he landed his large company at a spot a few miles above Stadacona, the point where he himself had spent the winter some six years before.

The situation now chosen was a pleasant one and at this season the climate was agreeable. Nor were signs wanting of mineral wealth. Close at hand they discovered a mine of iron ore, while near the water's edge they came across "leaves of fine gold as thicke as a man's nayle." Further on they picked up "Diamants the most faire polished and excellently cut that it is possible for a man to see: when the Sunne shineth upon them, they glisten as it were sparkles of fire."² In order that the King might know of this discovery and of the good prospects for the success of the expedition, Cartier in September sent back his nephew and his brother-in-law to show his Majesty what they had found and to inform him that Roberval had not yet arrived. After their departure, it was deemed advisable to make

Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, iii 233. London, 1600.

Ibid., p. 234.

an examination of the rapids above Hochelaga, so that during the winter preparations might be made for transporting the expedition past them in the spring. For this purpose Cartier and several others made their way up the St. Lawrence in two small boats. No mention is now made of Hochelaga, which seems shortly before to have been burned by a hostile tribe of Indians, the Iroquois. From the Indians close at hand however the French learned that though there were only two more such rapids to pass, yet the river was not navigable all the way to Saguenay. Evidently an overland march must be counted upon. With this intelligence Cartier and his men again returned to their fort where they received the ominous information that the neighbouring savages had ceased all intercourse with the French. It appeared that they were concerting measures against the newcomers. Alarmed at this intelligence, Cartier at once gave directions for everything to be put in order to resist attack.¹ What troubles did arise or what attacks were made we do not know, for at this point the story of Cartier's second winter on the banks of the St. Lawrence comes suddenly to an end. We do not hear of him again until after a lapse of six months. He was then on his way back to France whence Roberval had just set forth.

We left Roberval at St. Malo watching the departure of Cartier's fleet. He seems to have proceeded at once to Honfleur as he intended, but owing to shortness of funds and difficulties with owners of vessels it was the end of August before suitable ships had been secured and the artillery placed on board. He then deemed it too late in the season to set sail and passed the autumn and winter at various Breton ports, occasionally darting out to rob English merchantmen on their way home from Spain.² It was indeed not until the middle of April 1542 that he finally set sail from La Rochelle with two hundred persons, mostly male-factors, on board his three ships. After a voyage of two months, they reached the harbour of St. John's in Newfoundland. One

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 235-236.

² J. Kaulek, *Correspondance Politique de MM. de Castillon et de Marillac, 1537-1542*, p. 390. Paris, 1885.

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morning, while refitting here, they were greatly surprised to see Cartier's fleet enter the harbour. It appears that after preparations had been made to resist the savages the difficulties with them came to a head. Since Cartier did not deem his company strong enough to oppose them, he had decided to set sail for France. Now that he had unexpectedly run across Roberval, he made haste to show him some of the supposed diamonds and also a quantity of the supposed gold quartz. On the following Sunday the quartz was tried in a furnace and pronounced good. Highly delighted with this result, Roberval ordered the two fleets to return to the St. Lawrence. This Cartier and his people refused to do, and like Pinzon, in the first voyage of Columbus, "mooved as it seemeth with ambition because they would have all the glory of the discoverie of those partes themselves, stole privily away the next night and departed home for Bretaine."¹ Roberval, greatly put out at this breach of discipline, against which under the circumstances no remedy was possible, towards the end of June set sail up the St. Lawrence and at a point four leagues beyond the Island of Orleans landed his company and their effects, as Cartier had landed his in the previous year. Whether he occupied the buildings left vacant by Cartier cannot be made out with certainty from the meagre details preserved to us.

August and September were busy months, spent in discharging the vessels and making preparations for the winter. Two of the ships were sent home to report to King Francis what had been done and to bring out fresh stores in the following summer. Sanneterre, one of the commanders, was enjoined to inquire how his Majesty liked the diamonds which, as Roberval expressed it, he had ordered Cartier to carry back with him to France.² During the long winter the company suffered much from cold, famine, and their twin-brother, scurvy. By the ravages of this disease fifty persons were carried off and doubtless more were invalidated. With men taken from the gaoles and fed on scanty fare, it could not be expected that matters would always go

¹ Hakluyt, *op. cit.* iii. 240.

² *Ibid.* p. 241.

smoothly. One Michael Gaillon was hanged for theft; John of Nantes was placed in irons for some slight misdemeanour, while for other offences not a few were whipped, women as well as men. As the weather grew warmer and spring appeared the return of Sanneterre was eagerly expected. In January the King had given orders for the two vessels to return to the St. Lawrence with provisions,¹ but at the beginning of June they had not arrived. Roberval decided that he could wait no longer. The summer was the only period for action and too much of it must not be wasted in idleness. On the fifth of June therefore seventy men were embarked in eight small boats to make their way to the kingdom of Saguenay. This was all of the force available, for in consequence of the departure of the two vessels for home in the previous autumn and the ravages of the scurvy during the winter only thirty persons besides were left under Royeze to guard the fort, and some of these were women. The amount of provisions at the fort was small, owing both to the non-arrival of fresh stores and also to the heavy draft on the provisions for supplying the boats. Royeze accordingly was ordered to sail for home at the end of three weeks in case no help came before that date.²

In the meantime the eight boats set off up the St. Lawrence in the direction of the rapids above Hochelaga. Before reaching that point one upset and the whole of the crew were drowned. The boat which brought the news of this catastrophe to the fort carried back a small supply of corn and fresh orders from Roberval to delay their departure for three weeks longer. At this point, unfortunately, as in the case of Cartier's second winter on the St. Lawrence, our sources of information break off suddenly, and the adventures of Roberval and his men in their search for the kingdom of Saguenay remain a mystery. It should seem however that after proceeding for a considerable distance and finding their efforts unsuccessful, they returned to the fort, where they found the much-needed provisions which Sanneterre and

¹ Harrisse, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-3.

² Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, iii 241.

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Cartier¹ had after long delay succeeded in bringing into the St. Lawrence. Roberval, whose services were required in the wars at home, at once set sail, and in the course of the autumn the remainder of the ill-fated expedition returned to France. Sanneterre, who brought Roberval home, was sent to meet the others on their arrival with orders to pay off the soldiers and after selling the vessels, artillery and war material to divide the proceeds among those whom he thought entitled to some recompense.²

Such was the result of the first attempt on the part of the French to establish a foothold in the valley of the St. Lawrence. Armed expeditions, as the Archbishop of Seville had foretold, were doomed to failure in the north. The semi-civilized gold-producing countries of the south were a rich prey to bands of conquering adventurers, but it was the fortune or misfortune of the French to enter upon a region of very different character. Commerce, trade and manual labour were necessary before the riches of the St. Lawrence valley could be developed. The mines of Mexico and Peru have long ceased to yield remuneratively their precious metals, but the fisheries of the Banks of Newfoundland still offer profitable returns. In the following chapter we shall trace the birth and growth of this great fishing industry which in turn became the mother of the fur-trade, itself the foundation and corner-stone of all attempts made by the mother country to colonize New France.

¹ Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* 2^e partie, p. 29: "Et pour huit mois qu'il a esté à retourner querir le dict Roberval au dict Canada," etc.

² HARRISSE, *op. cit.* pp. 276-277.

CHAPTER II.

THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF TRADE AND COMMERCE 1497-1597.

Before the discovery of America, Europe received its cod, as to some extent it still does, from the fishing-grounds about Iceland. To this region fleets of considerable size went every spring from the principal ports of England, France and Spain. Columbus himself is reported to have made a voyage thither before his famous one across the Atlantic.¹ It was not Columbus, however but John Cabot and the Corte-Reals who first made known to Europe the existence of rich fishing-grounds in the west. On the return of Cabot from his first voyage in the year 1497 an Italian envoy in England wrote home to Milan that the sea in those parts had been found so full of fish that the sailors caught them by merely lowering a basket with a stone in it and hauling it up again. It was affirmed indeed that so many fish could be brought from this new fishing-ground that henceforth no more fleets would go to Iceland.² The Corte-Reals also, by their voyages in 1500, 1501 and 1502, contributed intelligence of the riches of these waters, and in 1506 a tax was laid on the cod brought thence to Portugal.³

¹ For this trade to Iceland, *vid. Prowse, History of Newfoundland*, chapter ii, appendix 1, pp. 24-28. London, 1895. Cf. also Loti, *Pêcheur d'Islande*, Paris 1886.

² Despatch of Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan dated 18th of December, 1497, in Markham, *Journal of Christopher Columbus*, etc. (London, Hakluyt Society, 1893) p. 204: "They affirm that the sea is full of fish, which are not only taken with a net but also with a basket, a stone being fastened to it to keep it in the water . . . they say they took so many fish that this kingdom will no longer have need of Iceland, from which country there is an immense trade in the fish they call stock-fish." It was Sebastian Cabot who said the "fishes somtymes stayed his shyppes." *Ibid.* p. 210.

³ Letter of Pasqualigo in *Passi Novamenti Retrovati*, (Vicentia 1507) cap. cxxvi: "Hanno grandissima copia de salmoni: Arenghe: Stochafis e simil pessi"; Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, vol. iii, fol. 417, Venetia 1556; Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung Americas*, p. 69, Munich 1859. According to Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (Stuttgart 1877), p. 262, note 3, a company was formed at this time in Portugal for colonizing Newfoundland.

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In the spring of 1501 Henry the Seventh granted Letters patent to some merchants of Bristol and to three Portuguese for trade in the new land. They were given a monopoly for ten years with permission to enter one vessel duty free for the space of four years.¹ It is not clear what products they expected to import, but it would appear that cod-fish formed part of the cargo.² In the following year fresh Letters patent were issued, but whether the object in view was fish or even furs is no clearer than in the former case.³

In 1506 we hear of some French fishermen on the Banks, and two years later one Thomas Aubert brought thither for the first time the fishermen of Dieppe.⁴ They gave glowing accounts of the riches of the new grounds and doubtless many others were soon induced to imitate their example. Thus in the year 1510, in which some vessels from Dahouet in Brittany were also on the Banks,⁵ fishermen from England, Portugal and France were engaged in this trade. Though notices are scanty and only occur at rare intervals, it appears on the whole clear that from the principal western ports of these countries fleets of considerable size made their way thither each spring. In 1527 as many as fifty Portuguese, French and English vessels were on the Banks,⁶

Nor was cod the only fish sought. Cabot's tale about the basket evidently referred to this fish, but in course of time other fish such as turbot and sturgeon were taken, and some vessels

¹ Biddle, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, appendix D. Philadelphia 1831.

² *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 126 et seq. London 1831.

Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. xiii, pp. 37 et seq. London, 1712. Cf. HARRISSE, *John Cabot the Discoverer of North America and Sebastien his son*, Syllabus no. xix, pp. 397-398. London 1896.

⁴ Ramusio, *op. cit.* iii 424; Estancelin, *Recherches sur les Navigateurs Normands*, p. 43. Rouen 1832; cf. also Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, i 90-91. Paris 1865.

⁵ La Borderie, *Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Bretonnes*, ii 153-156. Rennes, 1858. Also printed in *Annales de Bretagne*, ix 435, Rennes 1893. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 175, et seq which may or may not refer to an earlier trade. In 1511 Juan de Agramonte was to get his two pilots in Brittany. Navarrete, *Coleccion de los Viajes y Descubrimientos*, iii 122 et seq. Madrid 1829.

Herrera, *Historia General de los Hechos*, etc., Dec. ii, Lib. v, Cap. iii, p. 145. Madrid 1601. Cf. *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos de Ultramar*, tomo iv (Madrid 1888) pp. 57-60.

began to devote themselves to hunting walrus on the islands at the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, while others caught whales which were then plentiful in those waters. Fagundes after his exploration of the Gulf in 1521 appears to have engaged in the cod-fishing.¹ Two years later a Captain Coo managed after a lively struggle to get possession of a French vessel of Rouen which turned out to be on her way home from Newfoundland laden with fish.² In the same year there were five vessels from the single town of La Rochelle on the Banks.³ Not only had the French fleet reached a considerable size⁴ but the amount of English capital also invested in these fisheries was now so large that in the summer of 1522 Fitz-William, the Vice-Admiral, deemed it advisable to send several men-of-war to the mouth of the English Channel to protect the returning fleet from French privateers.⁵ When John Rut of Bristol entered the harbour of St. John's in Newfoundland one day in August 1527, he found "eleven sail of Normans and one Brittain and two Portugal barques and all a-fishing."⁶ Four years later the *Barbara* of St. Brieuc in Brittany was plundered at Ramsgate of her cargo of "fysshe of the New-founde Island."⁷

Cartier was much hampered in the preparations for his first voyage, in 1534, by several owners of fishing vessels at St. Malo

¹ HARRISSE, *The Discovery of North America*, p. 184. London 1892.

² BREWER, *Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII*, iv, Part 1, no. 83. The difficulty in taking her is made clear by a bill for £6 18s. for healing sixteen men "burnt at the taking of the Newfoundland ship."

³ G. MUSSET, *Les Rochelais à Terre-Neuve 1500-1550*, in the *Bulletin de Géographie Historique et Descriptive*, Paris, 1892, p. 254.

⁴ Cf. T. MALVEZIN, *Histoire du Commerce de Bordeaux*, ii 165 (Bordeaux 1892): "Le mouvement de la pêche à Terre-Neuve . . . occupait de 1520 à 1530 le nombre de soixante à quatre-vingts navires français principalement de Normandie et de Bretagne."

⁵ BREWER, *op. cit.* iii Part ii no. 2459:—"It would be too great a loss that the ships ordered westward should not be sent before the coming home of the Newfoundland Island's fleet." Cf. also no. 2458.

⁶ *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, The Third Part, p. 809. London 1625. Also printed in Brewer, *op. cit.* iv Part ii Appendix no. 113. Cf. also HERRERA, *op. cit.*, Dec. iii, Lib. x, cap. 9, p. 309.

⁷ GAIRDNER, *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. v, no. 627 (1) p. 285.

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who, evidently in fear of losing the season's trade, either hid their men or used intimidation to prevent them from offering him their services.¹ When during this first voyage the ships' boats were exploring the Straits of Belle Isle they came upon a large fishing vessel from La Rochelle which was looking for the harbour of Brest on the Labrador side of the Straits where Cartier's own vessels then lay.² Cartier himself before taking charge of such an important expedition had no doubt already visited Newfoundland many times as a fishing captain, and his crews were certainly old Banks fishermen.³ He notes with satisfaction that the good fishing continues even as far as the regions which he explored in 1534.⁴ One day near Cape Royal they took more than one hundred cod in the space of an hour.⁵ When passing along the north shore of the Gulf on the way home they saw smoke rising from a headland, upon which were a number of savages. Some of these at once put off to the ship and "came as freely on board as if they had been Frenchmen." They said they were on their way home from the Straits of Belle Isle whence a number of ships, well laden with fish, had just sailed for Europe.⁶ Cartier, when on his way home from his second voyage in the

¹ Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.*, 2^e partie, p. 4. The statement here made before they left home that they were to "passer le destroit de la baye des Chasteaux" certainly shows that these places were already familiar to the fishermen of St. Malo. Cartier was similarly hampered in 1535 and in 1541: *Ibid.* p. 17 et seq.; Joinon des Longrais, *op. cit.* p. 22.

² Michelant et Ramé, *Relation Originale, etc.*, p. 11.

³ Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.*, p. 47: "Et nous arrivéz audit navire, assemblasmes tous les cappitaines, pillottes, mestres et compagnons pour avoyr l'opinion et aduys de ce qu'il estoit bon de faire; et après avoir l'ung après l'autre dit que considerer les grans ventz . . . et aussi que les tormentes commençoient en icelluy temps en la Terre neufve," etc.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 9: "et là se fait grant pescherie," etc.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 15: "A deux lieux de cap Royal y a . . . la plus grande pescherie de grosses molues qui soit possible; desquelles mollues en prynnes plus d'un cent en moins d'un heure."

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 48-49: "auquel lieu vismes des fumées que les gens de ladite terre faisoient sur ledit cap . . . et eulx voyans que n'y aprochions, viendrent avec deux barques enuyron douze homes, lesquels vindrent aussi franchement à bord de noz nauyres comme s'ilz eussent esté François. Ilz nous firent entendre qu'ilz venoyent de la grant baye . . . et que les navyres estoient appareillez de la dite baye, tous chargez de poisson."

summer of 1536, after wintering in the St. Lawrence, met several French fishing vessels near the island of St. Pierre, where he stopped to take on board wood and fresh water.¹ In the same year a French vessel was seized on the eastern coast of Newfoundland by two English ships which had run short of stores.² From the town of La Rochelle alone eight vessels went to the Banks in 1537, while in 1541 the number had increased to thirteen.³ The fleet of five vessels which Cartier piloted up the St. Lawrence in that year was composed entirely of fishing vessels engaged in the Newfoundland trade, and doubtless many of those which the Spanish spy found in the harbours of St. Malo, Morlaix, Quimper, Harfleur, Honfleur and Dieppe, getting ready to sail the same spring, were also destined for the Banks.⁴

When Roberval reached St. John's, Newfoundland, in June of the following year he found seventeen vessels in the harbour, three more than Rut had found on an August day fifteen years before. Roberval was detained there until the end of the month in settling a dispute between his own countrymen and some Portuguese fishermen.⁵ It has been stated that at this time the French Newfoundland fleet amounted in all to nearly sixty sail and we know that in January and February of the years 1543, 1544 and 1545 ships left almost every day for the Banks from Rouen, Havre, Dieppe and Honfleur.⁶ It was apparently in the

¹ D'Avezac, *op. cit.*, p. 46: "Nous fumes esdictes yslas saint Pierre ou troumasse plusieurs nauires tant de France que de Bretagne," etc.

² Hakluyt, *op. cit.* iii 131.

³ Musset, *op. cit.*, pp. 256 et seq.

⁴ Buckingham Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 107, et seq. The spy found two vessels at Croisic, thirteen at St. Malo, two at Morlaix, two at Quimper, two at Honfleur, two at Harfleur, while from Dieppe fourteen had already set sail and four more were preparing.

⁵ Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, iii 241; P. Garcie, in *Le Grand Routtier* (Poitiers 1542), 10 pages from the end: "Il est tout certain et notoire que mariniers vont . . . es terres neuves," etc.

⁶ Gosselin, *Documents Authentiques et Inédits sur la Marine Normande*, p. 13, Rouen 1876. Cf. also HARRISSE, *Notes pour servir*, etc., p. 273, where in a document dated January 1543 we read: "Nous commandons et enjoignons . . . à tous maistres, pillottes et mariniers nos subjects tirans et faisans le routte des terres neuves quilz ayent à vous accompagner et assister," etc.; and Biblioth. Nat. Ms. fr. 676 fol. 183 verso: "Le Cap de Chinchete est apres de la pescherie St. Christophe."

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autumn of 1544 that, according to Thevet, Roberval's niece was rescued from her desert island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence by a Breton fishing vessel.¹ In 1545 Newfoundland cod is put down as one of the regular articles of export from France into England.²

Although we find one reference to Spaniards as early as the year 1527, the Basques, who made a specialty of whale fishing, did not begin to frequent the St. Lawrence until the close of the first half of the century. The first Basque seems to have gone out in a French vessel and upon his favourable report numbers of his countrymen flocked thither direct from the Bay of Biscay. This founder of the Basque fishing visited the St. Lawrence twenty-eight times during the thirty-four years between 1545 and 1579.³

At St. Malo in the spring of 1560 there were twenty-five ships about to sail for Newfoundland and at Cancale five more were ready to join them.⁴ The next year, from the little towns of Jumièges and Vatteville and from La Bouille, a small place on

¹ Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle*, Tome ii, Livre xxiii, chap. v, fol. 1020, Paris 1575. Cf. Biblioth. Nat. MS. fr. 1382 (dated 1545), fol. 40:

" En terre neuve a de bons portz et hables,
Meilleurs deurope et fort belles rivieres
Grant pescherie," etc.

This MS. is really only a rhyming version of the *Voyages Aventureux* of Jean Alfonse, cf. appendix: *Jean Alfonse*.

² Biblioth. Nat. MS. fr. 3881, fol. 18 verso et seq., printed by Funck-Brentano in his edition of the *Traicté de l'Economie Politique de Montchrétien*, annex p. 379, Paris, 1889. For the year 1548 *vid. Lefèvre-Pontalis, Correspondance Politique d'Odé de Selve* (1546-1549) Nos. 419, 434, 479, 481, and 491, Paris, 1888. Cf. also *La Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée* for November 1880, pp. 376-379.

³ C. Fernandez Duro, *Arca de Nod* (Madrid 1881), pp. 313 et seq., cited by Prowse, *Hist. of Newfoundland*, p. 44. Stevenson, *Calendar of Foreign State Papers, 1561-62* (London 1866), p. 336: "Chamberlain alleged another reason to prove that the country (Spain) was not destitute of shipping that they have found a trade unto the New Found land for fish which they did not previously occupy so much." Cf. also Francisque-Michel, *Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation à Bordeaux* ii 337 et seq. Bordeaux, 1871. An English Statute of 1548 in regard to the trade will be found in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, iii 131.

⁴ Stevenson, *Calendar of Foreign State Papers 1560-61*, p. 76. London, 1865.

the Seine below Rouen, thirty ships sailed to the Banks.¹ Hawkins, when on his way from the Spanish Main in 1565, met a couple of French ships on the Banks and had of them enough fish to keep him plentifully supplied during the rest of the voyage.² Two years later in 1567 the Portuguese attempted to found a colony or a fishing settlement on Sable Island.³ A large company was formed at Rouen in 1570 for sending out vessels to the Banks.⁴

We have exceptionally definite information regarding the number of fishing vessels on the Banks in 1578. Anthony Parkhurst, who pointed out that accurate statistics were difficult to obtain since the number of vessels varied from year to year, reported that in the four years during which he had made voyages thither the English fleet had only increased from thirty to fifty sail because many still went to Iceland. About one hundred Spanish vessels arrived every year besides the twenty or thirty from Biscay. The latter went on into the Gulf for the whale fishing.⁵ The Portuguese numbered about as many as the English, but of French and Bretons the number was one hundred and fifty sail although as a rule their vessels were smaller than those of the other nations.⁶ In 1586 Thevet put the whole number of vessels, Spanish, French, English and Dutch, at about three hundred sail.⁷ Five and twenty years later Montchrétien stated that the French alone then amounted

¹ Gosselin, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Bréard, *Documents Relatifs à la Marine Normande*, p. 50. Rouen 1889. Cf also Stevenson, *Calendar of Foreign State Papers 1562*, pp. 234, 236 and 427. London 1867.

² Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, iii 521.

³ Jean Alfonse, *Voyages Avantureux*, p. 28. Poitiers 1559. Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, iii 155: "when the Portugals (about thirty yeeres past) did put into the same Island of Sablou both Meat and Swine to breede." Cf. also R. Lemon, *Calendar of Domestic State Papers 1581-1590*, no. 36 p. 38. London 1865.

⁴ Bréard, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 et seq.

⁵ Cf. Hakluyt, *Discourse on Western Planting*, in *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, 2nd Series, vol. ii (Cambridge, Mass., 1877), p. 48: "one or two hundreth Spanishe and Portingale shippes" etc.

⁶ Letter of Anthony Parkhurst in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, iii 132 et seq Cf. R. Lemon, *Calendar of Domestic State Papers 1547-80*, p. 554 no. 20. London 1856.

⁷ Biblioth. Nat., MS. fr. 15452 fol. 145.

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to double that number¹. Thus at the close of the sixteenth century the fishing trade of Newfoundland had reached very considerable proportions, and though in some years, that of the Spanish Armada for instance, the number declined somewhat, yet on the whole a large fleet of fishing vessels sailed yearly to the Banks from the principal countries of Europe.

In process of time the fishing trade had undergone division into several sections, of each of which it will be well to give a description. In the first place the cod fishing was divided into the green and the dry fishing. "The green," says Lescarbot, "are fished at sea on the Banks. Fifteen or twenty sailors have each a line of from forty to fifty yards in length, at the end of which is a large baited hook and a sinker three pounds in weight to carry it down. By means of this they fish for the cod, which are so greedy that no sooner is the bait down than they are caught, any where at least where the fishing is good. When the cod have been hauled on board they are prepared on benches in the form of narrow tables which run along the sides of the vessels. One man cuts off the heads and throws them overboard; another cuts the fish open and takes out its entrails, passing it on to the next who removes the greater part of the bones. This done, they put it in the salting barrel for four and twenty hours when at length it is pressed; and in this way they work continuously (not even stopping on Sunday) for the space of about three months, with sails down until the cargo is complete²." Such was, and is still, the deep-sea fishing as carried on over the whole of the Banks from the coast of New England up as far as Newfoundland itself. For the dry fishing, which, as we shall see, was probably the connecting link between the fishing trade and the earliest fur-trade, the process was different. "For the dry cod," says the same author, "the fishermen go ashore. There are

¹ Montchrétien, *Traité de l'Economie Politique*, edition of Funck-Brentano, pp. 231 *et seq.* Paris, 1889. Cf. also Joüon des Longrais, *op. cit.*, pp. 188 *et seq.*; Bréard, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 *et seq.* and pp. 73 *et seq.*; Green, *Calendar of Domestic State Papers 1591-94*, pp. 66, 231, 248, 265 and 451, London 1867.

² Lescarbot *op. cit.* (ed. of 1609) pp. 823 *et seq.* Cf. Kipling, *Captains Courageous* (London 1897), a work of fiction with some descriptions true to life.

harbours in great numbers both in Newfoundland and at Cape Breton where the ships remain at anchor for three months. At daybreak the sailors row out to sea and fill their boat with cod, which takes until about one or two o'clock in the afternoon. They then return to the harbour and throw the fish on a platform built at the water's edge. Here on a large table they are prepared as by the deep-sea fishermen. When the fish has been salted they are dried on rocks exposed to the wind or on the pebbles of the beach. At the end of six hours they are turned, and this is done several times until they are quite dry. They are then pressed. To dry them well, however, the weather must not be foggy or they will rot, nor too hot or they will perspire, but the temperature must be moderate with plenty of wind."¹

From the liver of the cod a valuable oil was and still is obtained. In the old days this was secured merely by tossing that portion of the fish into barrels which stood exposed in the sun. There was no fishing at night nor, according to Lescarbot, during the winter, but an English writer asserts that at the close of the sixteenth century the French fishermen made a winter voyage as well as a summer one and that when the Englishmen were going out in April they often met Frenchmen on their way home.² As a rule however all the fleets went out in April and came back in August. The profit varied from thirty to as high as fifty per cent. The vessels rarely exceeded one hundred and fifty tons although there was one, the *Jehan* from La Rochelle, of two hundred tons.³

The whale fishing was principally in the hands of the Basques who had gained their experience in the Bay of Biscay before the

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 832 et seq. Cf. also Thevet, *op. cit.* Tome ii, iv. xxiii, Chap. v.

R. Whitbourne, *A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland* (London 1622), p. 11: "the Banke, where the French use to fish Winter and Summer, usually making two voyages every year thither." Cf. also *Ibid.* p. 97; Hakluyt, *Discourse on Westerne Planting*, p. 83: "the Frenchemen, whoe, settinge furthe in January, broughte their banke fische to Roan in greate quantitie by the ende of May and afterwarde returned . . . againe to the fissinge and are looked for at home towards the fift of November."

² Bréard, *op. cit.* pp. 52 et seq. Musset, *op. cit.* p. 261. Cf. also *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, Tome iv, pp. 298 et seq. Rennes 1866. Malvezin, *op. cit.*, ii 167.

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whaling grounds of the St. Lawrence were known.¹ The centre of the trade was a harbour formed by a small river which enters the St. Lawrence just below the Saguenay, though some of the vessels also used the port of Tadoussac.² As soon as an anchorage had been found in one of these ports, the boats were sent off with a skilled harpooner in charge of each. If no whale were sighted a man was landed upon some neighbouring promontory from which he could announce the appearance of the expected prey. When an arrival had been signalled to the boats, these at once made chase, but on coming to close quarters approached cautiously. One of the boats advanced as close as possible until the harpooner, who stood ready in the bow, threw his weapon with great force. The animal feeling himself thus rudely pierced sank at once. If either his tail struck the boat or he started away rapidly the danger to its occupants was great. The line attached to the harpoon was paid out as fast as possible but in case of a tangle or if the progress of the animal was too rapid, it was necessary to cut it quickly with an axe. After the whale had reached the bottom he usually returned slowly to the surface where he was generally attacked in such lively fashion that he again made his way below, this time much weakened from loss of blood. When, some minutes after, he once more reappeared, he was soon killed outright. If many whales were about, the dead animal was simply anchored and left where he had been killed; otherwise he was towed ashore, cut up into pieces and the blubber boiled into oil in huge caldrons. Often as many as four hundred barrels were obtained from one whale but the quantity of oil of course varied according to the size of the animal.³ Walrus were at this time also plentiful in the Gulf, especially at the southern entrance to the Atlantic near Brion's

¹ A. Navagero, *Voyage en France en 1528*, in the *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, par N. Tommasco (Paris, 1838), Tome i p. 13: "A Bayonne et à Saint Jean-de-Luz on pêche tous les ans quelque baleine," etc.

² Laverdière, *Œuvres de Champlain*, Tome ii (Québec 1870), p. 55: "Un peu plus haut il y a une rivière qui va quelque peu dans les terres; c'est le lieu où les Basques font la pesche des ballaines." Cf. also *Ibid.* iii 140.

³ Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 226-228. Lescarbot, *op. cit.* (edition of 1866) iii 800-802. Cf. also the engraving in Thevet, *op. cit.* ii 1017.

Island. Towards the close of the sixteenth century many English vessels engaged in this trade.¹ Besides the fat and the skin of the walrus other parts were then thought valuable, and a physician of Bristol, who prescribed for his patients the teeth of this animal ground fine, found it "as souveraigne against poyson as any Unicornes horne."²

Cod, walrus and whale formed the bulk of the fishing industry; but other fish were also taken in smaller quantity. One man for instance saw a shoal of mackerel which covered a space "three times as large as the Markets at Paris."³ With such riches to tempt them, it is not surprising that the fishermen of Europe continued to flock to the Banks in ever increasing numbers. "In fact," says Lescarbot at the close of the century, "such a quantity go there every year that one cannot imagine whence comes such a host."⁴

The connecting link between this great fishing industry and the fur-trade with the savages is not easy to discover. It appears however that the fishermen who brought home the dry cod were the first to barter with the savages. On account of the necessities of this trade most of the vessels spent the whole three months during which it was carried on in one or other of the numerous bays and harbours of the coasts of Newfoundland and Cape Breton. Vessels having their own platforms were led naturally to return year after year to the same spot, especially if the fishing in the neighbourhood was good. Friendly intercourse with the natives must soon have followed and in time also an exchange of European goods for furs,—the only article of any value that the savages possessed. At first no doubt the barter was carried on in a haphazard way by a few masters or sailors desirous of improving the season's returns.⁵ As the fisher-

¹ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, iii 189-201.

² *Ibid.* p. 191.

³ Lescarbot, *op. cit.* (edition of 1866) iii 803: "Car en plusieurs endroits j'en ay veu des troupes serrées qui occupoient trois fois plus de place que les Halles de Paris."

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 796: "Car tant de gens et en si grand nombre en vont querir de toute l'Europe tous les ans, que je ne scay d'où peut venir cette fourmilierie."

⁵ Cf. Hakluyt, *Discourse*, etc., p. 88: "Which imposition of [*i.e.* on] two or three hundred shippes laden yerely with sondry sortes of fishe, trane oyle, and many kyndes of furrés and hides," etc.

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men and whalers pushed further into the St. Lawrence, and when experience had shown that the furs thus to be secured obtained high prices in Europe, this intermittent barter grew into an organized fur-trade. Jean Alfonse tells us in 1544 that the fishing near Anticosti and along the shore of the Gaspé peninsula was better than at Newfoundland,¹ and we know that about this time the Basques began to hunt the whale near Tadoussac. Lescarbot at the beginning of the seventeenth century notes that before the regular fur-trading companies were formed, the fishermen were in the habit of bartering with the savages in the lower parts of the river.² Notices of this fur-trade are found scattered through the records of almost the whole of the sixteenth century.

When John Cabot set out on his first voyage in the spring of 1497 "divers marchants of London" ventured small stocks in his ship, and according to the same authority "in the companie of the saide shippe sayled also out of Bristowe three or foure small ships fraught with sleight and grosse merchandizes, as course cloth, Caps, laces, points and other trifles."³ Verrazano in sailing along the Atlantic coast from Florida to Cape Breton found the savage tribes for the most part friendly, and although his principal object seems to have been gold, he often exchanged goods with them.⁴ He also made other voyages, ostensibly for spices.⁵

¹ Biblioth. Nat., MS. fr. 676, fol. 179 *et seq.*: "En ceste coste et à l'isle de l'Ascension y a grand pescherie de molue et de plusieurs aultres poissons beaucoup plus que à la terre neuve et est les poisson bien meilleur que celuy de ladite terre neuve," etc.

² Lescarbot, *op. cit.* (edition of 1617), p. 637: "Car avant les entreprises du sieur de Monts à peine avait-on ouï parler de Tadoussac, ains les Sauvages par maniere d'acquit, voire seulement ceux des premieres terres, venoient trouver les pecheurs des Mornais vers Bacaillos, et là troquoient ce qu'ils avoient, presque pour neant." For Charlevoix's opinion *vid. his Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Tome 1, p. 166. Paris 1744.

³ R. Markham, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus, etc.*, p. 200.

⁴ Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages* (reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1850) pp. 55 *et seq.* Cf. also Jacques Savary, *Le Parfait Negociant*, Tome 1 (Paris 1675), Liv. ii, p. 114: "En l'année 1520 trois freres appelez les Parmentiers découvrirent vers le Cap Breton l'Isle de Fernanbourg, où ils chargèrent leurs vaisseaux de riches marchandises."

⁵ Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, p. 11: "Master John Verazanas, which had been thrise on that coast," etc. Fréville, *Mémoire sur le Commerce Maritime de Rouen*, ii 432-434. Rouen et Paris 1857.

Gomez, who visited the Gulf in the year 1524, brought back with him a certain quantity of furs as well as a number of Indians. He reported that the country was exceedingly rich in marten, beaver and other furs.¹ Cartier's first contact with the savages of the mainland in 1534 certainly indicates that they had already traded in furs with Europeans. The ships had reached the Baie de Chaleur which Cartier hoped was the passage to the East, and a boat had been sent ahead to examine the coast. On rounding a headland it came suddenly upon about fifty canoes manned by savages who were paddling towards the shore. At the sight of the boat the Indians at once made signs that the French should also land, and even held up furs to them on their clubs. As the boat was alone it was decided to return to the ships, whereupon the savages sprang again into their canoes and paddled after her. Although they made friendly signs the French did not understand and fired a few shots over the heads of those in the leading canoe. The Indians at once turned back and made for their camp. On the morrow however nine canoes came to the point of land at the entrance to the bay where the ships were lying, and when two boats had been sent ashore to meet them, the savages bartered away their furs to such an extent that most of them were left stark naked. On the following day they came with more furs of deer, otter, and other animals, which they also bartered until the supply was exhausted.² On his second voyage the next year when the St. Lawrence was visited for the first time, Cartier everywhere found the Indians as familiar and as friendly as if they had known the French all their lives. They came freely on board with fish and other provisions and showed great joy at the sight of the strangers.³ In an agreement drawn up between Roberval and two ship-masters six years later, it was stipulated that after landing Roberval and his company in the St. Lawrence the masters should be allowed

¹ Ramusio, *op. cit.* iii 52: "Sono in questa terra eccellenti martori et zibellini et altre ricche federe, delle quali ne portò alcune pelle il detto Pilotto."

² Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 et seq. Thetvet, *Les Singularitez de la France Anarctique*, p. 401, edition of Gaffarel, Paris 1878.

³ D'Avezac, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

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to retain one-third of all that was obtained by barter from the savages.¹ In 1545 Jean Alfonse tells us that the Indians of Norumbega on the New England coast possessed large quantities of furs, and he mentions especially marten, a fur then so rare in Europe that only princes and great lords could wear it.² In 1558 Thevet incidentally records that the boat of a fur-trader was upset in the St. Lawrence by a whale.³ Twenty years later when seeking to refute the assertion that there was gold in the region of the St. Lawrence, this same writer enumerated the riches of the country as consisting solely in fish and furs. Since the skins used by the savages for clothing and coverings were those of the otter, bear, marten, fox, rabbit and elk, it is probable that these formed their principal articles of exchange.⁴ In the year 1569 David Ingram and two companions, who had made their way overland all the way from the Gulf of Mexico, were picked up near Cape Breton by a French vessel from Havre which "had a trade with the people there of divers sortes of fine furres."⁵ Eleven years later one Richard Whitbourne tells us that he brought home furs from Newfoundland. On setting out he had intended to go to that portion of the Gulf which lies near the Straits of Belle Isle in order to trade with the savages, but went instead to Trinity Harbour in Newfoundland where he

¹ Abbé E. Morel, *Jean-François de la Roque, Seigneur de Robecq, in Bulletin de Géographie Historique et Descriptive*, 1892, p. 285: "qu'ilz auront le tiers de tout ce qu'ilz pourront conquster par traphique de marchandizes avec les savages de la dicte terre," etc.

² Biblioth. Nat., Ms. fr. 676 fol. 185 *et seq.*: "Et y a entre eulx force pelletterie de toutes bestes . . . y a une ville qui s'appelle Norumbegue et y a en elle . . . force pelletteries de toutes bestes: les gens de la ville sont vestuz de pelletterie portant manteaulx de martres." Also his *Voyages Acatureux*, p. 29. Thevet, *Singularitez*, etc., p. 415, edition of 1878.

³ Thevet, *Singularitez*, etc., p. 440.

⁴ Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle*, Tome ii (Paris, 1575), fols. 1010 recto and verso, 1011 and 1013.

⁵ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1589), p. 561: "This Monsieur Campaigne was brought up into the COUNTRY by the said Examinee and his two Companions, by whose meanes he had a trade with the people of divers sortes of fine furres and leaves of trees for dying," etc.

obtained not only fish but also a good supply of deer, bears, beavers, otters and seals, which were sold at Southampton.¹

During the first three-quarters of the century it was principally those engaged in the dry cod fishing who bartered with the savages. The Basques about Tadoussac doubtless also carried on some trade with the natives of that region but further than this point boats did not care to venture. It appears indeed that on account of the seizure of Donacona and of the troubles which arose on Cartier's return in 1541 and during the winter of 1542-3 which Roberval passed on the St. Lawrence, trade could not with safety be carried on beyond Tadoussac. In 1581 however some merchants of St. Malo pushed once more into the upper St. Lawrence. In process of time the remembrance of old wrongs had faded away, so that the new generation, induced by gifts and other attentions, finally consented to re-open trading relations. In that year a barque of only thirty tons was sent, but so profitable was the return that a vessel of eighty tons was despatched in the following summer. To keep the matter secret however the vessel was hired in Jersey while the crew were engaged elsewhere. So great were the profits of the second venture that in the year 1583 the same merchants sent out three ships.² In the following year the number was increased to five and in 1585 ten ships were despatched. In 1584 two savages were brought home in order to facilitate trade and intercourse.³

¹ Whitbourne, *op. cit.*, Preface: "My first Voyage thither, was about 40 yeeres since, in a worthy Ship of the burthen of 300 Tunne . . . we were bound to the grand Bay, purposing there to trade with the Savage people (for whom we carried sundry commodities) and to kill Whales and to make Trayne oyle, as the Biscaines doe there yeerly in great abundance. But we bare with Trinity Harbor where we killed great store of Fish, Deere, Beares, Beavers, Seales, Otters and such like with abundance of Sea-fowle: and so returning for England, we arrived safe at Southampton."

² Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, iii 176 and 187. N. Sainsbury, *Calendar of Colonial State Papers, Addenda 1574-1674*, p. 20 no. 23. London 1893.

³ Hakluyt, *Discourse on Westerne Planting*, p. 101: "And nowe our neighbours, the men of St. Maloe in Brytaine, in the begynnyng of Auguste laste paste, of this yere 1584 are come home with five shippes from Canada and the contries upp the Bay of St. Lawrence, and have broughte twoo of the people of the contrie home, and have founde suche swete in that newe trade that they are preparinge tenne shippes to returne thither in January nexte," etc.

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A traveller who went to Newfoundland in the summer of 1583 stated that the country was noted for the export of the furs of martens, beavers, and foxes, and that the fur of the fox was then of great value.¹ In one cottage a sailor saw two hundred and forty elk hides which were afterwards sold in France for forty shillings a hide.² Hakluyt, writing about this time from Paris, announced that in one man's house he had seen, besides a considerable quantity of hides, the furs of beavers and otters which had been brought from the St. Lawrence to the value of five thousand crowns. He was then expecting fresh intelligence about this country from the towns of Rouen, Dieppe and St. Malo, whence the traders to these parts had set sail.³ So splendid were the returns that the French admiral, the Duc de Joyeuse, with the Cardinal de Bourbon and several others, thought of sending out a colony, and it was possibly in connection with this project that Thevet put forward the advantages of Prince Edward Island as the site for a settlement. Not only was the fishing good (over two hundred vessels coming there every summer) but at this point there was carried on, according to his statement, a considerable barter in furs.⁴ Stephen Bellinger of Rouen, who was sent out that year to explore the coast, "broughte home . . . divers beastes skynnes, as bevers, otters, marternes, lucernes, seales, buffs, dere skynnes, all dressed and painted on the innerside with divers excellent colours."⁵

In view of the dimensions which the fur-trade had assumed it is not difficult to understand why those who sought a mono-

¹ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* iii 153.

² *Ibid.* p. 175.

³ Sainsbury, *op. cit.*, p. 24 no. 31. Hakluyt does not mention the St. Lawrence by name but says "all these commodities and others of no less value are brought out of the most nether parts of those countries whereunto our voyage of inhabiting is intended." It was then his intention to sail with Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Cf. *Principall Navigations* iii 161: "Putabas te superiore iam Junio nos subsecuturum."

⁴ Biblioth. Nat., Ms. fr. 15452 fol. 150 verso.; Ms. fr. 15454 fol. 149 verso *et seq.*

⁵ Hakluyt, *Discourse Concerning Westerne Planting*, p. 26; cf. also p. 34: "and upp within the Graunde Baye, exceeding quantitie of all kynde of precious furren," etc., and p. 84.

poly of it should have met with considerable opposition. In 1588 an attempt of the kind was made. In that year two nephews of Cartier, Stephen Chaton, Sieur de la Jannaye, and Jacques Nouel, both captains in the navy, petitioned King Henry the Third for a monopoly of the fur-trade. They pointed out that there was still due to their uncle Cartier one thousand six hundred livres, the sum verified as correct by the commissioners appointed to regulate his accounts with Roberval in 1544. As compensation for the non-payment of this sum, and for the arrears of pay due to one of them as captain in the navy, they asked for a monopoly of the fur-trade of Canada for the space of twelve years. They had already, they explained, engaged in it for some years and had contracted very friendly relations with the savages of the country, several of whom had been brought home to France in order to facilitate future intercourse. Besides the trade in the furs of the buffalo, marten, sable, otter and other animals, they had discovered certain copper mines. If in addition to the monopoly they were given permission to take out sixty convicts a year they would be able both to work these mines and also to colonize the country. In January 1588 their request was granted.¹

The French fishermen and the merchants who had begun to make a specialty of the fur-trade at once made an outcry against the danger which threatened their interests. In an assembly of the Estates of Brittany held in March deputies were appointed to petition for the abolition of the new monopoly.² These remonstrances proved effective and in May the grant was revoked. According to the order in council setting forth the revocation, the King had never intended to put a stop to the freedom of trade with the island of Canada which was henceforth to be as free as it had always been. It was only in respect to new lands hereafter discovered by the patentees that a monopoly of the fur-trade could be conferred. The monopoly of the copper-mines

¹ Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de Jacques Cartier*, 2^e partie, pp. 34 et seq.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 44 et seq. Archives d'Ille-et-Vilaine, Registre des États C 2642, p. 635; printed in Michelant et Ramé, *Relation Originale, etc.*, (1867) 2^e partie p. 10. Joüon des Longrais, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 and 155-56.

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which they asserted they had discovered was however confirmed.¹ This failure of a few St. Malo merchants to secure a monopoly of the whole trade shows that it had already assumed very considerable proportions and that the number of those who had felt their interests threatened was by no means small. Henry the Third's successor, however, was bent on securing the occupation of the St. Lawrence, and convinced that no colonists would go out voluntarily, saw that some inducements must be given to the merchants in order to secure their co-operation in the work of colonization. He therefore granted a monopoly and upheld it even in the face of more vigorous opposition.

From the year 1588 until the close of the century, the trade went on unhampered, but no inhabitants of the motherland showed any inclination to emigrate to the colony. The trade was only a coasting trade which, though it brought out a certain number of vessels every summer, seemed unlikely to lead to any permanent settlement. A factor no doubt sometimes spent a winter with the Indians in order to familiarize himself with their language and habits, but between such occasional residence and colonization lies a wide gap. On the other hand it was becoming clear to the Government at home that unless something were done to fortify and hold the country, it might at any moment be seized by a rival power. From a French vessel captured at the mouth of the English Channel on her way home in the autumn of 1591 the fishermen of Bristol learned the exact position of the island of Ramea in the Gulf, where this vessel had shipped her cargo of train-oil.² Soon afterwards two English ships were despatched thither. One of them, reaching the island too late in the season to catch walruses, seized a vessel from St. Malo with her cargo almost complete. The other missed the island but, coming near Cape Breton, sighted "five or sixe boates . . . which were judged to bee Christians, which had some trade that way."³ In the year 1594 another English vessel, the *Grace* of

¹ Biblioth. Nat., Ms. fr. 8022 fol. 186 verso. Jotou des Longrais, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-159. Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de Jacques Cartier*, 2^e partie, pp. 48 et seq.

² Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, iii 189 et seq.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

Bristol, sailed as far as the island of Anticosti in the belief that wounded whales made their way there to die. Not finding any she returned to the Bay of Placentia in Newfoundland where nearly sixty fishing vessels had already arrived.¹ The walruscs at Ramea island were the prospective cargo of the *Hopewell* which set sail from London in the spring of 1597.²

Thus the number of foreign vessels entering the Gulf increased year by year and the danger from foreign occupation became thereby the greater. In the year 1584 Hakluyt had written that "if we did not fortifie ourselves aboute Cape Briton, the Frenche, the Normans, the Brytons or the Duche or some other nation, will not onely prevent us, of the mighty Baye of St-Lawrence, where they have gotten the starte of us already, but will deprive us of Newfoundland which nowe wee have discovered"; but his book on Western Planting was never published.³ At the close of the century he again sought to stir up his countrymen. "While the French, Bretons, Basques and Biscayans," said he, "do yearly return from these parts a manifold gain, we the English have merely stood still and been idle lookers on."⁴ In the face of this danger from English enterprise it had become necessary for France to bestir herself if she wished to retain the region of which Cartier and Roberval had taken possession in her name. Her first efforts to strengthen her claim were the despatch of the expeditions under La Roche in the summers of 1584 and 1598. Both of these failing, recourse was had to the plan proposed by the nephews of Cartier ten years before. The fur-trade, as has been already shown, was made a monopoly and given to a few merchants on condition that they should take out a certain number of colonists every year. No voluntary colonists had as yet come forward, and since the interests of the merchants were not in colonization but in trade they took out any persons they could get without regard to fitness. The number taken was generally far below that agreed upon. The offi-

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 194-5.

² *Ibid.* p. 195.

³ Hakluyt, *Discourse on Westerne Planting*, pp. 48, 87, and 102.

⁴ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, iii, 193.

cers appointed to see that the agreement was fulfilled of course complained, but as long as good colonists could not be induced to come forward the evil appeared irremediable. When finally, in despair, the Government withdrew the monopoly before its legal termination, the fresh group of merchants to whom a new monopoly was given acted generally just as their predecessors had done. One need not therefore be surprised that in the year 1628 at the time of the formation of the fifth company since 1600 the country boasted of but two families of colonists. Before however recourse was had to this system of a monopolized trade, an attempt was made to form a settlement on Sable Island.

CHAPTER III

THE TWO ATTEMPTS OF LA ROCHE AND THE FIRST FUR-TRADE MONOPOLY

It was doubtless to offset the danger of the occupation of the St. Lawrence by a foreign power that two expeditions were sent out under La Roche in 1584 and 1598. Troilus de Mesgouez, Sieur de Kermaolec and Marquis de la Roche, had been able, in his position of page at the Court, to gain the favour of Catherine de Médicis.¹ Through her influence he was made captain of Morlaix in 1565, and a few years later commander.² In this capacity he attempted to gain the command of the castle of Taureau, near at hand, but by his illegal extortions he had already roused the resentment of the inhabitants of Morlaix, and they formed a common fund to oppose his claim before the courts.³ Before the publication of the court's decision, which rightly was given against him, La Roche sought to take the matter into his own hands by forcibly seizing the place, but the arrival of several of the neighbouring gentry with their attendants induced him to agree to a compromise.⁴ It was in his quality of governor of Morlaix that La Roche presided at the meeting of the Estates of Nantes in 1574.⁵ Three years later a commission was issued by Henry the Third empowering him to occupy territories in Newfoundland not then in the possession of any allied sovereign. Although in 1578 he was made lieutenant-general and vice-roy

¹ G. Desfontaines, *Histoire des Ducs de Bretagne* (Paris 1739) Tome iii, p. 40: "C'étoit un Gentilhomme de basse Bretagne qui avoit été autrefois Page de la Reine Catherine de Médicis, et qui ayant, à ce qu'on dit, gagné la faveur de cette Princesse, avoit obtenu l'érection de la terre de la Roche en Marquisat."

² Ogée, *Dictionnaire Historique et Géographique de la Province de Bretagne* ii 60, art. *Morlaix* note. Rennes 1853.

³ It appears from the evidence furnished on this occasion that La Roche, though a former page of the Queen Mother, had fought with the Huguenots in several of the recent battles.

⁴ J. Daumesnil, *Histoire de Morlaix*, pp. 145-153. Morlaix 1879.

⁵ Michelant et Ramé, *Relation Originale, etc.*, 2^e partie, p. 8 note 1. Biblioth. Nat., Pièces originales vol. 1938 no. 44603 nos 3-5.

for the King in those parts, he did not set sail until 1584.¹ Unfortunately his largest vessel with over one hundred colonists on board was wrecked near Brouage and the voyage had to be abandoned.² At this time La Roche enjoyed the revenues of the Abbeys of Bonrepos³ and Landevenec,⁴ and in 1585 he was appointed to the command of the Castle of Fougères in Brittany.⁵ In July of the following year in consequence of this new appointment he resigned his post at Morlaix.⁶ He had been governor of Fougères for four years when on his way back from Paris in February 1589 he was seized by the orders of the Duc de Mercœur who imprisoned him for seven years in his Castle of Nantes.⁷ The Duc de Mercœur then secured possession of the Castle of Fougères which La Roche seems to have left ill-provided for defence, although in truth his own capture was the first notice he had had of the outbreak of hostilities.⁸ For a substantial ransom⁹ he was at length liberated in 1596, and he at once abused his liberty by engaging in an unlawful expedition against the island of Ushant, then in the possession of the governor of Brest who was also of the King's party.¹⁰ After a

¹ Dom Morice et Dom Taillandier, *Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne*, Preuves, Tome iii pp. 1439 and 1442. Paris 1746. Also in Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.*, 2^e partie pp. 5-10.

² Hakluyt, *Discourse on Westerne Planting*, p. 26: "and this yere 1584 the Marques de la Roche wente with three hundred men to inhabit in those parts whose voyadge was overthrowen by occasion that his greatest shippe of CCC tones was caste awaye over againste Burwage and so the enterprize for this yere ceseth." Cf. also Green, *Calendar of Domestic State Papers, Addenda 1580-1625*, p. 43. London 1872.

³ Morice et Taillandier, *op. cit.* Tome ii p. cliii.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. lxxxi.

⁵ Biblioth. Nat., MS. fr. 3309 fol. 71 verso.

⁶ Morice et Taillandier, *op. cit.*, Preuves iii 1482.

⁷ Morice et Taillandier, *op. cit.* Tome ii p. cclxxvii: "et au mesme temps pour commencer l'hostilité, il fit prendre le Marquis de la Roche, Capitaine de Fougères, qui revenoit de la Cour, lequel il a gardé sept ans prisonnier dans le Chateau de Nantes." *Défaite de l'Armée du Prince de Dombes* p. 12. Paris 1589. Cf. also Desfontaines, *op. cit.* iii 40.

⁸ Morice et Taillandier, *op. cit.*, Tome ii p. cclxxviii.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Preuves iii 1663.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii 453-454: "Dans le mois de Juin suivant le Marquis de la Roche fit une entreprise sur l'isle d'Ouessant qui n'eut pas de suite," etc.

chequered career in France during the civil war he turned his attention once more to the lands in the west.¹

An agreement was drawn up in March, 1597, between La Roche and Thomas Chefdestel, master of the Newfoundland fishing smack *La Catherine*, of one hundred and seventy tons, by which Chefdestel, on condition that La Roche should pay for one-half the cargo of salt at Brouage, one-half the wages of the crew, and the whole of the provisions, undertook to embark on board his vessel a company of soldiers and to land them on Sable Island.² When however a few weeks later La Roche applied to the Parlement of Rouen for certain prisoners who were to be of the party, these were refused him for lack of sufficient authorization.³ He was kept waiting until the following January before receiving the order by which he was empowered to take from the gaols of Brittany and Normandy such a number of criminals as he should deem advisable, seeing that on account of the length of the voyage, the fear of shipwreck and regret at the thought of leaving their friends no voluntary colonists had offered themselves.⁴ At the same time he was named lieutenant for the King in the lands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Labrador, Norumbega and Sable Island, where he was given the same powers formerly accorded to Roberval.⁵ Clothed with these powers La Roche at once began to make fresh preparations for the despatch of a colony to Sable Island. To transport thither the two hundred sturdy beggars, male and female, handed over to him at Rouen⁶ he concluded a fresh agreement with Chefdestel on the 16th of March, 1598, by which for the sum of six hundred crowns the latter agreed to transport them to their destination.

¹ P. Potier de Courcy, *Nobiliaire et Armorial de Bretagne*, ii 268 (Rennes 1890), makes him governor of St. Lô and Carentan in 1597.

² Bréard, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-78.

³ Rouen : Archives de la Cour d'Appel, *Registre des Séances de la Tournelle*, 17th April, 1597, cited by Gosselin, *Nouvelles Glanes Historiques Normandes*, p. 10. Rouen 1873.

⁴ Lescarbott, *op. cit.* (ed. of 1609), pp. 442-446. This is similar to the authority given to Roberval, cf. HARRISSE, *Notes pour servir*, etc., pp. 258 *et seq.*

⁵ Lescarbott *op. cit.* (ed. of 1866), Liv. iii chap. xxxii pp. 398 *et seq.*

⁶ Archives du Parlement de Normandie ; Archives Secrètes, 20th May, 1598 fol. 189 verso, 23rd May fol. 192.

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When the season on the Banks was over he was to return and pick up La Roche. Any furs or other goods secured in the interval were to be equally divided between Chefdestel, the owners of the *Catherine*, and La Roche.¹ Two days later a contract of a similar nature was entered into with Jehan Giroit master of the *Françoise*, who however was paid only one hundred crowns as his vessel was smaller than the *Catherine*.²

In spite of these elaborate preparations only sixty persons were actually landed on Sable Island. It appears that the remainder, before the vessels set sail, had paid La Roche to be released. La Roche himself continued his voyage towards the mainland, a slight examination of the island convincing him that it was not fit for settlement. Upon attempting to return to the island, after a suitable situation had been found on the mainland, he was driven by a storm all the way back to France. No vessel touched at Sable Island, and the sixty criminals and beggars were left to winter on this barren reef of sand. No relief came until the summer of 1603, by which time through dissension and famine their numbers had been reduced to eleven.³ Meanwhile La Roche on his return made an attempt to secure a fresh batch of prisoners, but since it had become known that less than half the former allotment had been transported, the Parlement of Rouen refused to give him any more.⁴ He died some three years later.⁵

Thus two attempts to check the encroachments of foreign fishermen and fur-traders by establishing a strong post on Sable Island or the coast near at hand ended in failure. Though in the first case the sea was apparently responsible, in the second the blame must rest with the leader for his choice of such a site for his colony. It was now some sixty years since the French claim

¹ Bréard, *op. cit.* pp. 79-81.

Ibid. pp. 81-83.

² Lescarbot, *op. cit.* (ed. of 1866), Tome ii p. 396 *et seq.* Gosselin, *op. cit.* p. 16.

³ Rouen: Archives de la Tournelle 17th October, 1598: "attendu le retour dudit de Mesgouet dudit pais fait exprez pour lever et mener personnes audit pais." These lines must have escaped the late M. Gosselin or he would not have given 1599 as the year of this expedition. Cf. his *Nouvelles Glanes*, p. 15.

⁵ Potier de Courcy, *op. cit.* ii 268.

to these regions had first been made, and yet with the exception of the yearly summer coasting trade no signs of possession were visible.

In the year following La Roche's expedition, a fresh application was made to the Government for a monopoly of the fur-trade by Pierre Chauvin, Sieur de Tonnetuit.¹ Although a Huguenot and born at Dieppe, Chauvin had been living for a number of years at Honfleur whither he had been sent as early as the year 1589 to occupy the post of captain of the garrison. Some five years later he became interested in the fur-trade of New France and soon possessed four vessels, the largest being of two hundred tons, which annually traded to the St. Lawrence. His application for a trading monopoly of ten years was accepted on condition that he should take out fifty colonists a year or five hundred in all. He appears to have assumed the title of lieutenant for the King in Canada although no Letters patent to this effect were issued.² With his former partner Francois Gragé, Sieur du Pont, like himself an old fur-trader and one who had often visited the St. Lawrence, he began to make preparations for carrying on the trade under the new conditions.³ A number of colonists were collected and orders were issued forbidding other vessels to trade in those parts. Early in the spring of 1600 the ships of the monopolists reached Tadoussac at the mouth of the Saguenay where the barter was usually carried on.⁴ Chauvin was of the opinion that the colonists should also be landed there. Dupont-Gragé however, who had visited the wooded and meadowy banks higher up the river, preferred a site further west and in this view he was supported by the Sieur de Monts, well known afterwards for his attempts to colonize Acadia. At this time however Monts was merely on a voyage of pleasure and his opinion did not have great weight. Thus notwithstanding these remonstrances Chauvin

¹ I cannot find any basis for Poirson's statement about the *Discours* of Hurault in connection with this company. Cf. his *Histoire de Henri IV*, iii 538, Paris, 1865, and HARRISSE, *Notes*, etc., pp. 279-80.

² Tabellionage de Rouen, 14th and 23rd February, 1600, cited by Gosselin, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

³ Bréard, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 *et seq.*

⁴ Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome v Chap. vi p. 41.

remained firm. It is said he cared less for the welfare of the colonists than for the gains of the trade. After the colonists had been disembarked here, the summer was devoted to barter. When they set sail on their return, instead of fifty sturdy settlers planted on good soil they left a miserable remnant of sixteen men, huddled together for warmth in a small log-hut on the bleak rocks at the mouth of the Saguenay.¹ Chauvin's profits enabled him to send out a larger number of vessels in the following spring, though it is doubtful whether a new batch of fifty colonists also formed part of his ships' companies. Champ-lain indeed goes so far as to assert that Chauvin never intended to fulfil this condition of his monopoly but had taken out a few men merely to throw dust in the eyes of the Government. This was doubtless the easier in view of the King's great confidence in him, which had been earned by his excellent behaviour when governor of Honfleur.²

Meanwhile the excluded traders of St. Malo, Dieppe, La Rochelle and other seaport towns were making the land ring with complaints. Having failed to prevent the registration of Chauvin's papers,³ they now petitioned the King, declaring that since the discovery of the St. Lawrence by Cartier they had always been in the habit of trading with the savages in that region, that by long intercourse they had rendered these Indians so friendly that one of their men had been left to winter in the country in order to examine into its geography, and moreover that their vessels had been made ready for the yearly voyage and that if these could not be despatched the loss would be very great.⁴ Henry the Fourth however remained firm. He seems to have been of the opinion that though these traders undoubtedly added to the wealth and commerce of the nation, it was at that moment of still greater importance to show Europe that France claimed these regions as her own. This the yearly coasting trade could never effect, and since colonists would not go

¹ *Ibid.*, Tome v Liv. i Chap. vi; Bréard, *op. cit.* pp. 85-86.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome v Chap. vi p. 44; Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 67.

³ Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.*, 2^e partie p. 12 No. iv.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 51 *et seq.*

voluntarily, a monopoly was only a just recompense for those who went to the expense of planting each year a certain number of settlers in the colony.

In the spring of 1601 Chauvin and his partners again despatched their vessels. It is probable however that had the passengers been counted they would have been found to fall far short of fifty, if indeed Chauvin did not altogether neglect to fulfil this condition of his privilege. The sixteen settlers at Tadoussac, who had been obliged to take refuge with the Indians, were doubtless relieved and we may even believe, in the absence of any information to the contrary, that they were taken home in the autumn. No others appear to have been landed and the whole summer was given over to trade. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find that the gains were as great as in the previous year.¹ The year 1602, though only the third in a monopoly of ten years, was the last during which Chauvin and his partners enjoyed their privileges in full. The persistent opposition of the excluded traders so far forced the hand of the Government that at length it promised to permit certain merchants of Rouen and St. Malo to take part in the trade on condition that these also bore their share in the expense of transporting colonists.² This admission however of a favoured few gave rise to as much hostility as before, and upon the declaration of the Town Council of St. Malo that the full and entire freedom of the trade would alone satisfy their demands, the King deemed it advisable that an inquiry into the whole matter should be instituted so that some mutually favourable arrangement might be arrived at. A monopoly granted ostensibly for a period of ten years was thus virtually withdrawn at the end of the third. Such indeed was so frequently the practice of the Government that at length the commercial element of the seaport towns lost faith in its word, and taught by experience refused to be bound by any severe conditions as to colonization.

The monopoly enjoyed during these years by Chauvin had embraced only the valley of the St. Lawrence. Along the

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome v pp. 43-44.

² Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.*, 2^e partie No. v pp. 12-14.

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Atlantic coast a number of vessels continued to barter as they had done in the days when a ship of Havre picked up David Ingram on his arrival from Florida. These consisted principally of French and English vessels, although, according to a report of Indians in the Bay of Fundy, the Basques also came there every summer for furs. A little further to the south an English vessel secured a good stock of skins of beavers, martens, otters, wild-cats, "with very large and deep fur," black foxes, rabbits and "other beasts' skins to them unknown."¹ As a result however of the inquiry now opened into the fur-trade by the Government this part of New France was included henceforth in the region to which the monopoly extended.

On the 28th of December, 1602, an order was issued commanding the Sieur de la Cour, first president of the Parlement of Normandy and the Sieur de Chaste, vice-admiral in the navy and governor of Dieppe, to repair to Rouen at the end of the following January and there, having summoned before them the deputies of that town, those of St. Malo and finally Captain Chauvin himself, to draw up some suitable agreement for the regulation of the fur-trade and for the colonization of New France. Their final decision was at once to be put in force by the Admiral of France, a position then occupied by the Sieur de Dampville.² A proclamation was issued forbidding any captain, master, or merchant to send out any vessel to the St. Lawrence or to carry on any trade beyond the promontory of Gaspé until the decision of the Commission was made known.³ The report of this Commission has not so far been discovered, but it appears that after hearing the parties interested, the commissioners recommended the admission of only two vessels, as the Government had at first proposed, one for Rouen and one for St. Malo. The owner of each vessel was however to pay one-third of the cost of colonization. The vessel of the St. Malo merchants was

¹ Archer's *Relation of Gomald's Voyage* in the *Collections of the Mass. Hist. Society*, 3rd Series viii 73. Cf. Brereton's *Brief and True Relation* in *ibid.* pp. 86 and 91.

² Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.*, 2^e partie pp. 15-17.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 17-21. This was addressed to the traders of Calais, Picardy, Normandy, Brittany, Guyenne and Biscay, which shows the extent of the trade.

placed under the charge of a Captain Coulombier while Captain Prevert was given the command of the one fitted out at Rouen.¹

It appears that shortly after the publication of this decision and before the vessels had been despatched for the season of 1603 Captain Chauvin died. His death does not seem to have disturbed the existing arrangements, his place being taken by the Sieur de Chaste, who, as one of the late commissioners, was conversant with the demands of the fur-trade. He had been governor of Limoges and was in command of the expedition sent to the Azores in 1583. Although, on account of the superior force of the Spaniards, the French and Portuguese were defeated, yet Chaste so distinguished himself that on his return Catherine de Médicis expressed her satisfaction at his conduct.² As governor of Dieppe, in which position he greatly distinguished himself during the civil wars,³ he must have been brought constantly into connection with the fishermen and traders of the St. Lawrence, while his recent duty as commissioner at Rouen no doubt gave him an adequate knowledge of the trade. Before Chaste set sail with a fresh contingent of colonists it was deemed advisable to make a thorough examination of the new regions in order that when more accurate information as to their resources and geographical position had been obtained, the new settlement might be planted in the most favourable spot available.⁴ This duty was consigned to Dupont-Gravé who had charge of the vessel belonging to Chaste, and with him was also associated Samuel de Champlain, a captain in the navy and a personal friend of Chaste. Champlain had just returned from the Spanish Main and was ready, now that his country enjoyed domestic peace, to devote his energies to the development and colonization of New

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 21 et seq. N. Valois, *Inventaire des Arrêts du Conseil d'Etat*, ii 129 No. 7566. Paris 1893. Laverdière, *op. cit.* Tome v chap. vii pp. 44 et seq.

² De la Chenaye, Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, Tome v p. 894. Paris 1865. On the expedition to the Azores *vid.* M. Thevenot, *Relations de Divers Voyages curieux*, Tome ii, 4^e partie. Paris 1696.

³ D. Asseline, *Les Antiquitez et Chroniques de la Ville de Dieppe*, Tome i, pp. 388 et seq., Tome ii, pp. 1-116. Dieppe 1874.

⁴ Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome v Chap. vii p. 45.

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France, an object which he kept steadily in view and pursued without intermission until his death in 1635.

Early in the spring of 1603 the vessel of Chaste as well as those in charge of Prevert and Coulombier set sail for New France. They carried no colonists, for while the two latter traded, Dupont-Gravé and Champlain were to seek a suitable spot for settlement. Prevert seems to have directed his course to Ile Percée near the Baie de Chaleur where he spent the summer in bartering. He also found time to examine some mines on the Acadian peninsula to which he was guided by a few Indians trading at Ile Percée. While the others were busy bartering with the savages who had come both from the upper St. Lawrence and from the Saguenay to Tadoussac, Dupont-Gravé and Champlain set off to explore the St. Lawrence as far as the rapids of Lachine. Several merchants of St. Malo had already made their way there since Cartier's time for trading purposes,¹ but the present was an official exploring expedition. Everywhere they found the land rich and fertile. "The further we advanced," says Champlain, "the finer the country appeared." An island at the mouth of the river afterwards called St. Maurice attracted his attention as a suitable spot for an inland post; for he learned that the Algonquin and Huron tribes who lived in the regions of the upper Ottawa River and Georgian Bay feared to make use of the waterway of the St. Lawrence lest they should be waylaid by their inveterate enemies the Iroquois who dwelt in the peninsula at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. If a strong post were established here, Champlain was of opinion that even the Iroquois might be overawed sufficiently to induce them to sue for peace.² After making their way to the rapids of Lachine

¹ Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii 236: "I have bene upon the toppe of a mountaine which is at the foot of the Saults," etc. Noel to Grouse 19th June 1587. Cf. also his *Discourse on Western Planting*, p. 115: "A man of St. Malowe this last yere (1583) discovered the sea on the back side of Hochelaga." *Annuaire du Conseil Héraldique de France*, Paris 1894, p. 50: "Et après Cartier plusieurs Normans, Biscains, Bretons et entre autres les Srs du Pontgravé et Prévvert dudit St-Mallo, Fabian de Mescoroua, lesquelz, trente cinq ans (1578) on environ, ont traffiqué dans le dit lac et andessus avecques les dits sauvages."

² Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome ii Chap. vi p. 30.

the expedition returned to Tadoussac where trading operations were still proceeding.¹ Here they remained only a few days before they again set off to explore the regions about Gaspé and the Acadian peninsula. Although they did not actually push their explorations in this direction beyond Ile Percée where Prevert was trading, they were able from him and from the Indians who had come from the south for barter to obtain a full account of the land beyond. Prevert also gave them a description of the mines he had visited, although, owing to the place being covered at high-tide, his examination was not as thorough as he had wished. The reports of this southern region must have impressed Champlain and Dupont-Gravé very favourably for it was doubtless in consequence of their advice that the colony brought out in the following year was taken to Ste. Croix in the Bay of Fundy instead of to the St. Lawrence.² Satisfied with the results of these investigations they once more returned to Tadoussac, and when the barter there was over again set sail for France.

The hopes of all were now centred upon Chaste in expectation of the despatch of a large expedition under his charge in the spring of the following year. Great must have been the grief and disappointment of Dupont-Gravé and Champlain on reaching Havre in September to learn that their trusted leader was dead. This brave old man, whose head, says Champlain, bore as many passers as grey hairs, and who notwithstanding his advanced age was still ready to place his services at the disposal of his country, had passed quietly away at Dieppe in the middle of the previous May.³ Champlain especially feared lest, when such an experienced adviser was no longer there, the Government might be

¹ According to the traders of St. Malo nine or ten other barques were also at the rapids this year. Cf. *Annuaire du Conseil Héraldique de France*, 1894, p. 50: "et y a environ de dix à douze ans seulement que le dit Champlain fut comme passager mené au premier sault par le dict Sr du Pontgravé de St-Mallo et en laquelle année se trouva une infinité de personnes de toutes contrées de la France jusques au nombre de neuf ou dix barques qui toutes ensemble négotierent au dit lieu."

² Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome ii Chap. x pp. 50 *et seq.* For the trade further south this year cf. Pring's Voyage in *Purchas*, Part Four, pp 1654-56. London 1625.

³ Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome v Chap. vii, p. 47.

induced to withdraw the monopoly, as the sea-port towns demanded. This year from Havre alone eighty vessels had visited the Banks, and since many of them were dry-fishers who remained the whole time in harbour, the restriction in regard to bartering was very unpopular.¹ Champlain saw however that without a monopoly colonization would never make great progress. In none too confident a mood therefore he set out for Fontainebleau where he presented to the King an account of their explorations, at the same time urging upon him the necessity of colonizing such a valuable tract of territory. Henry the Fourth, who was imbued with the same ideas, was especially pleased to hear that this new territory had turned out so fertile and valuable, and promised that the death of Chaste should in no way lead to the overthrow of the monopoly. A new man would be found and a new and more extensive company formed which should establish a colony, not in the St. Lawrence where the winters were severe, but in the warmer region of the Acadian peninsula, where in addition there appeared to be prospects of finding minerals.

With the death of Chaste, the monopoly originally granted to Chauvin and then extended to a few merchants of Rouen and St. Malo came to an end. The withdrawal of privileges legally with still several years to run, although in this case perhaps justifiable, as no colonists had been settled in the country, became afterwards a regular practice of the Government. It was generally excused on the ground that the condition as to colonists was never properly fulfilled by the monopolists. In the case of the withdrawal of Monts' monopoly, as we shall see, this excuse was the less justifiable, that he carried out that condition of his grant far better than even any of his successors. The history however of all the companies formed during these years for trade in New France is the same; first a monopoly is granted under circumstances ostensibly most favourable to the Government and to the privileged merchants; then follow the growls of the excluded traders, the lack of good voluntary colonists, the transportation to the colony of a few beggars, criminals or unpromising labourers; a

¹ Archives de la Seine Inférieure, Série C 1238 fols. 99 verso *et seq.*

drain on the company's funds in maintaining these during the long winter; a steady decrease in the number taken out; at length no attempt to fulfil this condition of the monopoly; the anger of the Government when made aware of the facts; and finally the sudden repeal of the monopoly several years before its legal termination.

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CHAPTER IV

THE TWO MONOPOLIES OF MONTS, 1604-1608

The man chosen to fill the vacancy created by Chaste's death was Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts. Like Chauvin he was a Huguenot and like him also had at one time held the post of governor of Honfleur.¹ During Henry the Fourth's struggles for the crown, Monts rendered good service in his cause and now enjoyed, as a reward, the governorship of the pretty little town of Pons in Saintonge.² As mentioned above he had already visited the St. Lawrence with Chauvin in 1600, and on other evidence he seems indeed to have made several voyages to those regions.³ He was now to profit by the recent survey of Dupont-Gravé and Champlain and to lead out to the warmer region of Acadia the colony of which the late commander Chaste was to have been the guiding spirit.⁴ To quiet the complaints of the excluded traders, it was decided to repeal the monopoly originally granted to Chauvin and in a fresh one, given for a similar term of years, to include as many of the merchants as desired to offer their names. The terms however upon which this new company was to enjoy the trade both of the St. Lawrence and of the Atlantic coast were so severe that at first no shareholders would come forward. While Chauvin had agreed to fifty colonists a year, the number was now required to be one hundred, or a total of a thousand colonists at the end of the ten years. To be sure, in case an insufficient number of good colonists came forward, idlers and beggars both in the towns and in the country might be seized, and the judges were instructed not to be too lenient in

¹ Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 68.

² Biblioth. Nat., Pièces originales, vol. 1421 no. 32147, nos. 4 and 5.

³ Lescarbot, *op. cit.* (ed. of 1866), ii 409: "confians . . . en la connoissance que vous avez de la qualité, condition et situation dudit pais de la Cadie pour les diverses navigations, voyages et frequentations, que vous avez faits en ces terres," etc.

⁴ Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome v Chap viii pp. 48 et seq.

the infliction of the punishment of banishment;¹ yet a very few conferences with the other merchants convinced Monts that the number must be reduced, and on the eighteenth of December he presented a petition to the King to this effect. The fact that unless some reduction were made no shareholders would come forward seems to have been of sufficient weight with the Government to cause it to reduce the number to sixty. The further request, however, to close the books of the Company at once instead of in the spring, on the specious pretext that otherwise the number of shareholders might be too large, was granted only in a measure. At the end of eight days from that date no more shareholders were to be admitted, although it was hoped that before then all who wished to do so would have given in their names. Henceforward trade in those regions was to be forbidden to all but the shareholders of the Company.² In pursuance of this last declaration an order was issued on the same day to the officers of the Admiralty in Picardy, Normandy, Brittany and Guyenne, informing them of the new monopoly of Monts and his partners extending from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of latitude. To make the prohibition more explicit it was declared to embrace the Gulf and River St. Lawrence with Gaspé and the coasts of the Acadian peninsula as far south as the fortieth degree. Any vessel caught bartering within these limits would be at once seized, and if convicted the owners would be obliged to pay a fine of thirty thousand livres.³

Notwithstanding that an endeavour had been made to include in this new company as many of the regular traders as possible, the publication of the new monopoly at once stirred up a vigorous opposition. Not only were many excluded merchants among its opponents but Sully the finance minister opposed

¹ Lescaubot, *op. cit.* (ed. of 1866) ii 408 *et seq.*

² Ministère des Colonies; Corresp. Générale, Acadie vol. i fol. 25 *et seq.*, fol. 38 *et seq.*, printed in *Collection de Manuscrits Relatifs à la Nouvelle France* vol. i pp. 44 *et seq.* It is unfortunate that the utility of this publication is so greatly decreased by the absence of any indication as to whence the documents have been taken.

³ Lescaubot, *op. cit.* (ed. of 1866) vol. ii p. 415; *Collection de Manuscrits*, etc., pp. 46 *et seq.*

both the monopoly and the whole scheme of colonization. In his opinion no riches could be found north of forty degrees and without gold and silver colonies were, he thought, useless.¹ When Monts sought to register his commission in the Parlement at Rouen he met with a repulse which was only overcome by the intervention of the King himself. This opposition was partly due, it appears, to the fact that Monts, a Huguenot, had been placed at the head of the undertaking which announced as one of its principal aims the conversion of the savages of New France to the Catholic faith. The assurance given by the King that Catholic priests should alone have control of the mission work, and the further statement that since the books had lain open for so long the absence of any name must be the fault of its owner, seem to have been successful in removing all further opposition.²

Nothing now remained but to draw up the articles of association among the shareholders. By the terms of the agreement signed on the tenth of February the new company, which was to engage in the fishing, timber and mineral trades as well as in the fur-trade, of which alone however it had the monopoly, possessed a capital of ninety thousand livres divided into five portions of eighteen thousand livres each. Two of these portions, or thirty-six thousand livres, were subscribed by the merchants of St. Malo, two more by those of La Rochelle and St. Jean-de-Luz, while the fifth portion was supplied by the merchants of Rouen, although more than half of it stood in the name of Monts himself. During the first year the Company was to send out five vessels,—four fur-traders and one whaling vessel. Two of the former were to be despatched by the merchants of St. Malo who were also to receive nine hundred livres for this purpose from the merchants of La Rochelle. These latter again were to send ten thousand livres to the Rouen merchants to aid in the despatch of the two

¹ Sully, *Economies Royales* (Paris 1664), vol. ii, chap. 26 p. 246. "Comme la navigation du Sieur de Monts pour aller faire des peuplades en Canada, d'autant contre votre advis, d'autant que l'on ne tire iamais de grandes richesses des lieux situez au dessous de quarante degrez."

² Harrisse, *Notes*, etc., pp. 280 *et seq.*; Gosselin, *Nouvelles Glanes*, etc., pp. 21 *et seq.*; Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.*, 2^e partie pp. 27 *et seq.*

trading vessels from Havre with the sixty colonists. With their own portion and what remained of that of the La Rochelle merchants, the merchants of St. Jean-de-Luz were to equip the whaler, since it was the Basques alone who seem to have taken part in this trade. On the return of the vessels in the autumn the results of the season's trade were to be sent to the offices of the Company at Rouen, but for the second year again all the profits of the previous year were to be expended in sending out the colonists and no dividend was to be paid until the close of the second season. In point of fact no dividend ever was paid, and the repeal of the monopoly when it had still seven years to run inflicted great loss on all concerned.¹

In the spring of 1604 however the prospects of the monopolists seemed bright and little difficulty was met with in preparing the vessels and despatching them. While the two trading vessels from St. Malo and the whaler of St. Jean-de-Luz made their way to the St. Lawrence, the vessels with the colonists sailed from Havre to the island of Ste. Croix at the mouth of the river St. John on the west coast of the Bay of Fundy, which after some hesitation was finally chosen as the site of the new settlement. When the ships had been unloaded one of them was at once sent to Cape Breton and Ile Percée to trade and fish, as it was found that the remaining vessel would be sufficient to carry home all the furs collected in the Bay of Fundy.²

Although the whole of the fur-trade along the coast from Tadoussac to beyond Ste. Croix was now in the hands of Monts and his Company, yet in practice it was extremely difficult to enforce the strict observance of their right. No doubt a certain amount of surveillance was exercised at the ports in France, but since the cod and whale fisheries were still open a ready pretext for departure was always at hand. If one of the Company's vessels happened to sail along the coast the fraud could of course be detected, but it must have been somewhat discouraging to those who sailed to Ste. Croix that the first vessel sighted after

¹ Gosselin, *Nouvelles Glaces*, etc., pp. 24-29; Beaulieu, *Notes sur Pierre du Gua*, in *La Normandie*, Rouen, Juillet 1893, pp. 10-11.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 26 et seq.; Lescarbot, *op. cit.* (ed. of 1866) ii 427.

reaching the coast of New France was a contraband trader hailing from Havre, the very port whence they themselves had set sail. The vessel sent from Ste. Croix to Ile Percée also captured four Basque interlopers whose captains were taken into custody. In fact during the course of the summer eight vessels at least were caught infringing the rights of the monopolists, which seemed to promise well neither for the success of the Company nor for its popularity at home in France.¹

While the Banks and the harbours of Newfoundland were swarming with the usual summer fishing fleets, assembled from nearly all the principal ports of Europe, and while the Company's vessels were busy bartering at Tadoussac, Gaspé, Ile Percée and Cape Breton, the new settlement at Ste. Croix had been made to present quite the appearance of a small town. To quote the words of one who afterwards visited the place, "During all this time Monsieur De Monts his people did worke about the Fort, which hee seated at the end of the Iland, opposite to the place where he had lodged his Canon. Which was wisely considered, to the end to command the river up and down. But there was an inconvenience, the said Fort did lie towards the North, and without any shelter, but of the trees that were on the Ile shore, which all about hee commanded to be kept and not cut downe. And out of the same Fort was the Switzers lodging, great and large, and other small lodgings, representing (as it were) a Suburbe. Some had housed themselves on the firme lande neere the brook. But within the Fort was Monsieur De Monts his lodging made with very faire and artificiaall Carpentrie worke, with the Banner of France upon the same. At another part was the store-house, wherin consisted the safety and life of everie one, likewise made with faire Carpentrie worke and covered with reedes. Right over against the said store-house were the lodgings and houses of these Gentlemen, Monsieur D'orville, Monsieur Champlein, Monsieur Champdoré and other men of reckoning. Opposite to Monsieur De Monts, his said lodging, there was a gallerie covered for to exercise themselves either in play or for the workmen in time of raine. And betweene the said Fort and

¹ Lescaobot, *op. cit.* (edit. of 1866) ii 424 and 426.

the Plateforme where lay the Canon, all was full of gardens whereunto everie one exercised himselfe willingly.¹ There was also a hand-mill for grinding corn and an oven for baking, doubtless similar to those now seen in all parts of the Province of Quebec. What was planted on the mainland grew well, but the soil on the island turned out very dry and the sun burnt up everything.² Towards the end of August when most of the fishermen had already set sail and the traders and whalers in the St. Lawrence were doubtless thinking of doing the same, preparations were made for sending home the vessel which had remained at Ste. Croix. In this ship, which carried fish as well as furs, Monts sent back his secretary Rolleau to inform the shareholders of the successful establishment of the colony and to beg that fresh stores might be sent as early as possible in the following spring. Owing indeed to the time lost before deciding upon the island of Ste. Croix as the site for the colony, the stock of provisions which remained for the winter was none too large. With Rolleau also returned the Sieur de Poutrincourt, a Norman gentleman, who had gone out in search of a suitable spot to which he might retire for the remainder of his days with his wife and family. The situation of Port Royal, on the Bay of Fundy opposite Ste. Croix, had particularly attracted his attention and as Monts had not hesitated to give him a grant of it, he was now setting out for home to put his affairs in order, so that he might return thither with his family as soon as possible.³

On the arrival of the Company's vessels in France the cargoes were at once unloaded and the furs forwarded to Rouen. On their way thither however twenty-two bales were seized at Condé-sur-Noireau, owing to the refusal of those in charge to pay the import duty. The customs officers, deeming New France a foreign country, wished to levy the same duty paid on goods coming from Spain, but the Company's agent would only pay

¹ Lescarbot, *Nova Francia*, Bk. i Chap. vi pp. 29 et seq. London 1609.

² Lescarbot, *Hist. de la N. France* (ed. 1866) vol ii pp. 449 et seq. Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 26 et seq., with map and plan.

³ Lescarbot *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (edit. of 1609), p. 481; Laverdière, *op. cit.* Tome iii Chap iv p. 29.

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the rate levied between the different provinces of France. Pending an authoritative decision the goods were temporarily released,¹ but although these events took place in November the decision was not pronounced until February 1605. It was then declared that since the new regions had been occupied in virtue of powers granted by the King, they necessarily came within the latter's authority and were therefore to be considered as a dependency of the kingdom of France. Commodities brought thence should therefore only pay the same duties as goods passing from one province of France to another. The King's displeasure was also intimated against his officers for this seizure whereby the Company had been prevented from obtaining the money necessary for the purchase of fresh stores for the coming year.² In ignorance of this decision more furs were seized at Avranches but when the King's commands were made known they were at once released.³ During the same winter proceedings were taken against the eight contraband traders caught during the previous summer. It turned out that not only had some of them been flying the colours of other nations but that foreign vessels had actually entered the St. Lawrence under the guidance of French pilots. To prevent a repetition of this, fresh injunctions were issued against any infringement of the Company's monopoly whether by their own countrymen or by foreigners. The cod and whale fisheries were declared to be still open to all, but any attempt to barter with the savages along the coast was to be severely punished.⁴

By the time all these difficulties had been removed, a new season had again come and preparations were made for sending off the Company's fleet to the usual trading grounds. If an English estimate of the success of the former summer be in any

¹ Lescaobot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (ed. of 1609), pp. 467 *et seq.*; Valois, *op. cit.* ii 217 No. 8903.

² Lescaobot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (ed. of 1609), pp. 467 *et seq.*; Ministère des Affaires Étrangères: Amérique Vol. iv fol. 17.

³ Valois, *op. cit.* ii 243 No. 9271.

⁴ Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 102; Ministère des Colonies: Corresp. Générale, Canada, Tome i fol. 52; Ministère des Affaires Étrangères: Amérique Vol. iv fol. 14.

way correct, money must have been plentiful,¹ and since little difficulty seems to have been met with in collecting a fresh batch of sixty colonists, the two vessels from Havre were able to get away in good time. Although the documents have unfortunately preserved for us no record of the departure of the two traders from St. Malo or of the whaler from St. Jean-de-Luz, these ships doubtless made their way, along with the great cod-fishing fleets, to the waters of the Gulf or the sea coasts near at hand.²

When the two vessels with the fresh colonists reached Ste. Croix they learned that the winter in that region had been quite as severe as that experienced by Chauvin's people at Tadoussac. During the autumn, indeed, all had been busy completing the buildings and exploring the neighbouring territory. Champlain had thus been able not only to examine a considerable extent of fresh coast-line, but also to establish trading connections with several fresh tribes to the south of Ste. Croix.³ When, however, the winter began and snow fell, the seventy-nine people had been obliged mostly to remain indoors. To feed so many for a whole winter, even under favourable circumstances, would be no easy task, but here the conditions were especially difficult. The severe cold froze the liquid stores so that cider was served out by the pound. As the island possessed no springs they had to content themselves with melted snow or run the risk of an accident in crossing to the mainland between the blocks of ice carried down by the rapid stream. To grind the corn, all they possessed was a small hand mill; but what with poor water and salted provisions, no one possessed sufficient strength to continue long at the task. Bread thus soon became a luxury. To add to their troubles, the daily fare of salted provisions affected the blood. Scurvy made its appearance and carried off in all thirty-five out of the seventy-nine persons in the settlement. One can

¹ According to this report, "The Frenchmen brought from Canada the value of thirtie thousand Crownes almost in Bevers and Otters skinnes only." *Purchas*, Fourth Part p. 1656. London 1625.

² Briard, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 *et seq.*

³ Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome iii Chap. v, p. 29 *et seq.*

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well understand therefore with what delight the arrival of the two vessels with provisions and news from home was hailed.¹

The fresh stores and warm weather soon put new life into all, and the summer's work was entered upon with good will. Monts however had made up his mind that owing to the unsatisfactory situation of the island with its sandy soil and lack of water a new site must at once be found. One further to the north was of course not to be thought of, but since his powers extended to the fortieth degree it was possible that in a southerly direction a situation might be found more suitable than Ste. Croix. Champlain, to be sure, had in his autumnal voyage discovered no such spot, but there was still a possibility of finding what was wanted beyond the limit of his exploration. Accordingly, soon after the arrival of the new colonists the coast was again examined as far south as Mallebarre (Nanset Harbour) but with no better success. Monts indeed was able both to renew the trading relations already established by Champlain with the tribes of this region and even to bring back a small stock of furs, but his efforts to find a new site proved as unsuccessful as those of his predecessor. Since the possibility of passing a second winter at Ste Croix could not be considered for a moment, it was finally decided to transport the colony to the beautiful harbour of Port Royal across the Bay of Fundy. Although in the same latitude as Ste. Croix, it offered many advantages not possessed by that place, and though this region had already been ceded to Poutrincourt, there seemed little chance that he would be able to occupy it for a year or so at least. In the meanwhile the search for a more southern site could be steadily pushed on. When this decision was arrived at, all the buildings, provisions, people, stores, and animals were transported across the Bay of Fundy. Here the buildings were again set up, not scattered about as at Ste. Croix, but in the form of a large square to assist in protecting the colonists against both winter and the Indians.²

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome iii Chap. vi pp. 43 *et seq.*; Lescarbot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (ed. of 1866) ii 450 *et seq.*

² Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome iii, Liv. i, Chaps. vii-ix; Lescarbot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (ed. of 1866), vol. ii, Chap. viii pp. 477 *et seq.*

While the colony was being thus transferred from Ste. Croix to Port Royal by means of the vessel kept there during the summer, the other three traders and the whaler were doubtless trading as usual along the coasts between Acadia and Tadoussac, although our sources tell us nothing but what took place in the Bay of Fundy. While it is possible that interlopers again made their appearance¹ even in the face of the repeated injunctions of the authorities at home, they seem to have kept out of the way of the Company's vessels, for no arrests are reported. The Banks and the best harbours of Cape Breton and Newfoundland were as usual the scene of great fishing activity,² and from these during the month of August departures for home took place nearly every day. Towards the end of that month the vessel at Port Royal was also made ready for the return voyage. In her returned not only Monts himself but also a considerable number of colonists, who, from the experience of the winter passed at Ste. Croix, had lost all desire of a further stay in the new land. Indeed only forty-five persons seem to have remained and these were placed under the charge of Dupont-Gravé, while Champlain became the official geographer and Chaupdoré the director of navigation.³ On the arrival of the Company's vessels in France no more trouble was met with in regard to the furs, which were safely transhipped to Rouen and Paris. It appears that they were usually bought by the hatters and furriers of the capital, among whom Hakluyt, in 1584, mentioned Valeron Perosse and Mathew Grainer, "the kinges skynners."⁴

During the two years of the Company's existence it had been able to pursue its commercial career more or less successfully. A good deal of precious time had certainly been lost in the summer of 1604 before Ste. Croix was chosen as the site of the settlement, and, though the choice proved unfortunate and the winter a severe one, yet during both years the trade had been good and the returns no doubt large. Now however in the third year of

¹ Bréard, *op. cit.* pp. 103-104.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.*, vi 98 et seq.

³ Lescarbot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (edit. of 1866) ii 479.

⁴ Hakluyt, *Discourse on Westerne Planting*, pp. 34-35.

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its existence a number of difficulties suddenly arose, which might have been overcome by patience and careful handling, but when capped by the unjust withdrawal of the monopoly itself brought the Company to a sudden and unfortunate end. The first difficulty met with was the impossibility of getting persons of any sort whatever to go out to Port Royal in the spring of 1606. Those who had passed a winter in New France had returned for the first time in the previous autumn and their description of the difficulties of life at Ste. Croix with salt food, no water, intense cold and little fuel was not of a nature to tempt many of their countrymen to follow in their steps. The ravages of the scurvy, a disease then little understood,¹ struck terror into more than one heart. It was therefore only in the face of great difficulties that Monts at length succeeded in bringing together a certain number of fresh colonists. Since he intended to remain in France himself, he induced his friend Poutrincourt to go out in charge of them and to occupy the post of governor during his absence.

Like Monts the Sieur de Poutrincourt had greatly distinguished himself during the recent civil wars in France. Henry of Navarre, when besieging the Castle of Beaumont, of which Poutrincourt was commandant, offered to reinstate him in the lordship of it, if he would surrender. This however the gallant nobleman refused to do, but after the King had gone over to the Catholic religion, Poutrincourt voluntarily offered his allegiance and soon rose so high in the royal estimation that Henry declared him to be one of the most valiant and chivalrous men of his kingdom.² Although Port Royal was granted to him in the summer of 1604 he had been unable so far to remove his family thither, but he was now willing, though not without some inconvenience to himself, to do Monts the service of taking charge of the colony. The vessel which was to transport him had been

¹ Lescarbot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (edit. of 1806) ii 451; "voici des maladies inconnues," etc.

² Lescarbot, *Relation Dernière en Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France* xv 379 et seq.; Pierre de L'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux* v 26, 32, 38 and vii 78, Paris 1878.

made ready by the shareholders of La Rochelle, but when she was on the point of setting sail, she was driven by a storm against one of the piers and sank in the harbour itself. This caused a delay of one month and Port Royal was not reached until July, though doubtless the other vessels of the Company found their way to the St. Lawrence at a much earlier date.¹ This delay, which one may call the second misfortune of the Company, cost it the season's trade in these parts, where a few Basque interlopers had been able, by their early arrival, to secure the whole of the winter's collection of furs from the natives. Moreover the winter at Port Royal proved as severe as at Ste. Croix. The scurvy again appeared, but out of seventeen struck down only twelve died. Spring passed into summer but no vessel arrived. Finally the provisions ran out. The colonists had made preparations for returning home in some of the vessels fishing on the coast and had in fact actually set out in two small boats to join these vessels, leaving only two of their number in charge of the settlement, when Poutrincourt's ship fortunately reached Fort Royal and the fugitives were recalled.² When they had once more returned to the old quarters and the provisions and fresh colonists were disembarked, preparations were made for facing the coming winter. The orders sent by Monts were to the effect that the colony should be at once moved to the south, but since no site had been found and the summer was now almost at an end, it was decided to remain at Port Royal. The men were at once set to work to cultivate and sow the cleared land, for owing either to a lack of seed or to their intended departure this had not yet been done. When some weeks later the tops of the Indian corn, wheat and rye, and of the turnips and other vegetables appeared, the outlook for the winter seemed more satisfactory.³

Towards the end of August or about five weeks after its

¹ Lescarbot, *Hist. de la N. France* (edit. of 1866) vol. ii Chap. x-xi pp. 484 *et seq.*

² Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome iii Liv. i Chap. xi ; Lescarbot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (edit. of 1866), vol. ii Chap. viii pp. 479 *et seq.*

³ Laverdière, *op. cit.* Tome iii, Liv. i Chap. xii ; Lescarbot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (ed. of 1609), Liv. iv Chap. xliii p. 588.

arrival, the vessel was again made ready for the return voyage. Owing to the loss of the six thousand furs taken by the Basques her cargo must have been much lighter than usual. Even then another interloper was reported at Canso, but when the Company's vessel touched there, he had made good his escape.¹ Nor unfortunately could any compensation be hoped from the results of the season's trade in the St. Lawrence where the number of foreign vessels was increasing yearly. Not only had Frenchmen again piloted these strangers up the Gulf but a company had actually been formed at Amsterdam for trade in the river. Remonstrances had been sent to the Estates General in the matter but they arrived too late to benefit the Company during that year. Thus while the Basques were stealing the furs along the Atlantic coast, the Dutch were carrying on an equally illicit and doubtless equally fruitful trade in the St. Lawrence. Although the whaler from St. Jean-de Luz may have gone home with as full a cargo as usual, it is doubtful if the same can be said of the vessels of the Company engaged in the fur-trade.²

Such then were some of the difficulties met with by the Company during the third year of its existence. It was also pestered with complaints about the illegal seizure of fishermen who continually declared that they had done no bartering³, and dissension arose within the Company itself because one of the shareholders named Bellois was found to have surreptitiously sent out a vessel to Tadoussac the previous autumn⁴. But the final blow, which eventually brought about the dissolution of the Company, came from another quarter. It appears that since the monopolization of the fur-trade the price of furs had risen considerably, so that the trades dependent on this material found themselves obliged to ask more for their goods. Naturally a falling off in the demand ensued. The great Hatters' Corporation of Paris, instead of bearing this in silence, at once complained to the finance

¹ Lescaobot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (ed. of 1609) p. 590.

² *Ibid.* p. 590; Beaurepaire, *op. cit.* p. 5; Berger de Xivrey, *Lettres Missives de Henri IV*, vii 465-66. Paris 1858.

³ Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de Jacques Cartier* 2^e partie, pp. 51 et seq.

⁴ Archives du Tabellionage de Rouen 18th Nov. 1606, 8th, 16th and 19th January, and 24th April 1607, cited by Gosselin, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

minister Sully. He from the first had been against any scheme of colonization, at least in a northern latitude, where he thought the search for gold useless. In a letter to President Jeannin written at this time he gave additional reasons for his view that French colonies would never succeed.¹ "I regretfully recognize," he wrote, "that the French are only interested in what is momentarily of importance or is continually brought before their eyes. Lands beyond the seas therefore can only entail considerable cost while being only of slight or extremely little use." Holding such opinions, it is not strange that when the complaint of the Hattés's Company was presented to him he at once took the rather startling decision to withdraw the monopoly of the Company when it had still seven years to run.² Thus, as in the case of the company formed by Chauvin, a monopoly legally granted for ten years was suddenly withdrawn at the end of the third. The effect of these frequent repeals in undermining the confidence of the commercial classes in the word of the Government cannot be too strongly insisted on. The next company to which a monopoly was given stipulated that not sixty colonists each year but only six families in all should be taken out.

It was one of the vessels from St. Malo which brought to Port Royal the news of the approaching dissolution of the Company. As this third winter had proved no milder than its predecessors, the prospect of returning to France cannot have been received with very great dissatisfaction. In a fresh attempt to discover a site to the south the explorers only succeeded in reaching a point half a degree beyond the extreme limit visited by Monts in 1604. The cold weather again brought with it heavy snow, continual confinement, deprivation of all but salted provisions, and last but not least the dread scurvy, which carried off seven of the company. Preparations for the return journey were made therefore with no great reluctance. When a few

¹ Biblioth. Nat., Collect. Colbert Cinq Cents vol. 203 fol. 236.

² Beaurepaire, *op. cit.* p. 10; Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome iii Chap. xvi, pp. 121 et seq.; *Ibid.* Tome v Chap. viii pp. 51 et seq.; Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (edit. of 1699), p. 630.

bad furs had been secured in the Bay of Fundy the vessel proceeded to Canso in order to complete her cargo with dry cod. Towards the end of August this had been secured, and the ship's company, with those who had remained at Port Royal to gather in the crops, set sail for home.¹ Of the movements of the other vessels of the Company during this season we have little information. It appears however that though the monopoly was officially repealed in July, they sought to uphold it against the numerous strange vessels entering the St. Lawrence. The result was that several disputes arose which had afterwards to be settled in the law-courts at home.²

To look elsewhere for a moment in estimating the work of the year, the Newfoundland fleet was as large as ever and vessels from England and occasionally those from France continued as before to take their cargoes to Italy or Spain and to carry home the products of those countries. In fact as Protestantism spread more and more in the north, the Catholic countries of the south became the great fish markets of Europe. About this time the fishermen of St. Jean-de-Luz, who had been in the habit of getting their salt in Spain, asked to be allowed to construct salt marshes of their own at the mouth of the Bidassoa which falls into the Bay of Biscay at Fontarabia. Thus it is clear that the cod-fishing was a prosperous industry at this port.³

On the return of the colonists and the vessels of the Company in the autumn of the year 1607 its affairs seems to have been at once wound up. During the three years of its existence the expenses had been considerable, and though the returns had not been small the balance was unfortunately on the wrong side. Monts himself reckoned his losses at more than ten thousand livres and he debated for some time whether he should not altogether sever his connection with the fur-trade of New France. On the advice of Champlain however he decided to keep up his

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome iii, Chaps. xiii-xvii; Lescarbot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (ed. of 1609), pp. 629 *et seq.*

² Valois, *op. cit.*, ii, 388, No. 11199 (14); Bréard, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-106; Arrêt du Parlement de Rouen 25th June, 1633.

³ Archives de la Gironde, Série C 3812, fol 62 verso *et seq.*

interest in it, but to transfer his efforts to the St. Lawrence. With a factory at the narrows in the St. Lawrence called Quebec, his agents would be able not only to establish fresh trading connections with the savages to the west, but also by means of the alliance thus formed be enabled to push on their investigation into the geography of those regions and, possibly, even to discover the long-sought passage to the East.¹ When at length Monts had decided to follow this advice, he thought it well to make his plans known to the King, hoping that if the true end of his efforts were made clear Henry the Fourth would see his way to give him some assistance. In this he was not disappointed. When he and Champlain announced their plans at Court, his Majesty at once granted Monts a fresh monopoly for one year with no condition as to colonists or other expenses. Delighted with this unexpected good fortune, Monts associated with himself a few of his old Rouen partners, who were only too ready to assist him in the enjoyment of the monopoly, when no outlay for colonists was demanded in return.²

Three vessels were despatched by these partners in the spring of 1608. While two of them made their way to the St. Lawrence, the third under the charge of Champdoré returned to the old quarters at Port Royal. Here everything was found untouched. In the fields stood the waving grain awaiting only the mower and his scythe. With the Indians of the neighbourhood, who were greatly delighted at his return, Champdoré was soon able to carry on a brisk trade, while at Ste. Croix and along the coast to the south, he secured a further supply of good furs.³ Meanwhile the other vessels, one of which had on board the materials for the new factory, sailed to the St. Lawrence and cast anchor at Tadoussac. In fact the vessels which crossed the Atlantic rarely went beyond this point,⁴ and even when the post

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.*, iii 135-136, v 127.

² *Ibid.* iii pp. 136-137; Valois, *op. cit.* ii 468, No. 12212; Lescaobot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (ed. of 1609), pp. 651 *et seq.*

³ Lescaobot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (ed. of 1609), pp. 652 *et seq.*

⁴ Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 149: "A Tadoussac où vaisseaux ne peuvent passer plus outre pour n'avoir la cognoissance du passage ny des bancs et rochers qu'il y a en chemin."

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at Quebec had been established, everything was transhipped here and sent on in small boats. A couple of Basque whalers found bartering refused to recognize the fresh monopoly given to Monts, and since superior force was on their side a decision in the matter was left to the judicial authorities at home.¹ While Dupont-Gravé was busy conducting the trading operations, Champlain set off up the river in a small barque of fifteen tons, having on board the materials for the factory to be erected at the narrows called Quebec. Such was the origin of this first permanent settlement of the St. Lawrence by the French, and except for the years 1629 to 1632, the *fleurs de lis* floated bravely above its ramparts until the victory of Wolfe in the autumn of 1759.

This first structure, which was of wood, was built at the foot of the cliff and contained two stories. Outside ran a moat six feet deep and fifteen feet wide, while the place was made still more secure by cannon placed on mounds at the corners. The land close at hand was cleared and on part of it were planted the crops necessary for the sustenance of the inmates. These consisted of the interpreters and factors for the trade as well as of the workmen sent out to construct the building. Champlain, who had charge of the place, not only intended to do all in his power to develop the trade, but he was more particularly interested in the discovery of what lay beyond the rapids of Lachine. That was the most westerly point yet reached by Europeans and the geography of the regions beyond was absolutely unknown. The possibility of discovering a water-way to the Southern Sea, or even of coming upon that great ocean suddenly as did those who first crossed the Isthmus of Darien, appeared then quite within the region of the achievable.² During the next twenty-

¹ Arrêt du Parlement de Rouen 25th of June 1633; Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 140 *et seq.*

² As early however as 1586 Thevet had doubted of any such success. "Par quoy si ces entrepreneurs, qui sont encor de present en cest erreur, trouvent ce destroit, ils tromperont Thevet et plusieurs autres qui tiennent son party." *Biblioth. Nat., Ms. Fr. 15452 fol. 277.* In the map printed in the *Cosmographie Universelle* he depicts North America as a large continent with no northern passage.

seven years Champlain kept this object always in view and though he was necessarily doomed to disappointment, his labours added considerably to the geographical information then extant as to the regions of the west.¹

On the return of the three vessels in the autumn of 1608 the period of monopolies which had been inaugurated by Chauvin's Company in 1600 came finally to an end. By this last monopoly of one year, in return for which they were bound by no stipulation as to colonists, Monts and his partners had been able to repair to some extent their financial condition, while their new factory at Quebec gave them virtual control of a large extent of the best fur country. Twenty-eight men had been left there with Champlain during the winter, and though many of these died the continued presence in the country of these agents assured to Monts and his partners a marked superiority over the other traders in the period of open trading which was about to commence. The plan of granting trade monopolies had not colonized the country; we shall now see that the system of open trade was equally unsuccessful.

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 139 *et seq.*; Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (ed. of 1866), iii 595 *et seq.*

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CHAPTER V

THE FREEDOM OF TRADE 1609-1613

In the spring of 1609 the fur-trade was once more thrown open to the merchant marine of France as in the old days before the monopoly granted to Chauvin. To satisfy the complaints which had continually poured in from all quarters¹ the privilege granted to Monts for ten years was suddenly withdrawn at the end of the fourth. To be sure the King's council accorded him a compensation of six thousand livres which was to be levied on the traders of St. Malo and Bayonne, but unfortunately all attempts to obtain this sum failed. "It was," says Champlain, "like trying to drink the sea to enforce payment from the seventy or eighty vessels which now visited New France."² When an officer of the Court appeared at St. Malo to enforce the payment on pain of imprisonment, he was quietly informed that he had got hold of the wrong names and that the persons he sought were not those who had traded in New France.³ Besides these regular traders who once more set sail in the spring of 1609, it is probable that many of the dry-cod fishers again resumed their bartering operations with the Indians, if indeed they had ever ceased to do so.

At Quebec, of the twenty-eight who had remained for the winter, only eight men were left, ten having died of scurvy and five of dysentery. The cold had been so severe that the Indians of the neighbourhood also suffered much, though Champlain did

¹ "Autre requête du Maire et eschevins gens du Conseil . . . des villes, bourgs et parroisses de Bayonne, Sainet Jehan de Laz, Subibourre, Urongne, Handaye, etc." Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 18176 fol 4 verso.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 52: "Mais quelle despense luy eust-il fallu faire en tous les ports et havres, pour recouvrer ceste somme . . . sur plus de quatre vingt vaisseaux qui frequentent ces costes? C'estoit luy donner la mer à boire," etc.

³ Archives Municipales de St. Malo, série EE 4 no. 138.

all in his power to relieve them. At the same time he promised his neighbours the Montagnais Indians to assist them in an expedition against the Iroquois. He hoped by this not only to attach them more closely to French interests but also to see a good deal of the unknown region of the west, and if possible inflict such a defeat upon the Iroquois that they should soon sue for peace.¹

At this point it will be well to state briefly the condition of affairs among the Indian tribes of New France when Champlain made his first expedition against the Iroquois in the summer of 1609. When Cartier visited the St. Lawrence in 1535 he found the Montagnais Indians occupying the north shore of the St. Lawrence almost up to the narrows called Quebec. From that point to the Ottawa dwelt the Algonquins, the conquerors of the Montagnais, while beyond the Ottawa and still bordering the St. Lawrence lay the country of the Hurons, who acted as the allies of the Algonquins in their wars with the Iroquois. This great nation of the Iroquois, to which the Hurons also belonged, although the two branches were now at war, occupied the territory south of the St. Lawrence and south-east of Lake Ontario. The St. Lawrence was thus the dividing line between the two forces, and though marauding parties crossed it from the north and from the south it was not infrequently itself the scene of their battles.² At the time of Cartier's visit the balance of power seems to have been maintained, but during the course of the sixteenth century, or between the visit of Cartier and that of Dupont-Gravé and Champlain in 1603, the Iroquois power consolidated itself, and by this increased strength was at length able to drive its enemies far from the St. Lawrence. The Hurons took refuge in the peninsula between the Georgian Bay and Lake Huron. They still however kept up intercourse with the Algonquins, who had been likewise obliged after the destruction of

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 166 *et seq.*

² D'Arveac, *op. cit.*, fol. 29 a and b: "Lequel Donnacona nous dist que c'estoient des Trudamans devers le Sa, que leur menoient continuellement la guerre, et nous fut dict qu'il y a eu deux ans passez que les dictz Trudamans les vindrent assaillir jusques delans ledict fleuve, à une ysle qui est le travers du Saguenay, ou ilz estoient à passer la nuit tendans aller à Honguedo leur mener guerre," etc.

their towns to retire to the Upper Ottawa,¹ through the chain of lakes connecting the Ottawa River with the Georgian Bay. In fact until the middle of the seventeenth century this was the only route used for going to and from the Huron country to Quebec. The Montagnais now no longer dared to show themselves on the St. Lawrence west of Quebec and were confined for the most part to the region about Tadoussac. The Etechemins, who had sometimes joined the alliance against the Iroquois, inhabited the shores of the Bay of Fundy.²

The traders in their barter at Tadoussac and in the Bay of Fundy had first been brought into contact with the Montagnais and the Etechemins. The former in their turn were in the habit of re-exchanging the goods obtained from the French with the tribes of Lake St. John and the upper Saguenay.³ These goods had reached the Algonquins, and since expeditions even by the weaker party against the Iroquois were still common,⁴ the Algonquins had been led in the course of one of them to visit the French at Quebec. In dread however of an Iroquois ambush they did not come by the Ottawa River, but by the rivers St. Maurice and Batiscan.⁵ In fact the Algonquins' fear of an Iroquois ambush in the St. Lawrence had been in part the cause of the choice of Quebec as the site of the factory, in order that it might serve, by its position, as a check to the Iroquois and enable the friends

¹ Lescaillot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (ed. 1866), iii 828: "Les Iroquois jadis en nombre de huit mille hommes ont exterminés les Algonques, ceux de Hochelaga et autres voisins de la grande riviere." Hochelaga may even have been destroyed between 1535 and 1541 unless at this later date it is called Tutonaguy. Cf. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, iii 235; Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 189: "Ces lieux ne sont habitez d'aucuns sauvages pour le subject de leurs guerres et se retirent des rivieres le plus qu'ils peuvent au profond des terres, afin de n'estre si tost surprins"; and *ibid.* ii 41.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* ii 8-9, vi 196 and 232.

³ *Ibid.* ii 21-22: "Au bord desdites rivieres il y a quantité de cabannes, où il vient d'autres nations du costé du Nort, trocquer avec lesdits Montagnés des peaux de castor et martre, avec autres marchandises que donnent les vaisseaux françois aux diets Montagnés." Cf. also Tome iii pp. 143-144.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii 33: "où estoient cabannez et fortifiez les sauvages qui leur alloient faire la guerre."

⁵ *Ibid.* ii 27: "Du costé du Nort, il y a une riviere qui s'appelle Bastican, qui va fort avant en terre, par où quelques-fois les Algonques viennent." Cf. also pp. 30-31.

of the French to use the St. Lawrence without danger.¹ Having now such powerful auxiliaries the Algonquins and Montagnais would be satisfied with nothing less than that Champlain should aid them in taking revenge on their conquerors, and in the summer of 1608 he finally promised to accompany them on the warpath.²

The report of this proposed expedition and the conviction of its assured success induced the Hurons to come down for the first time in the summer of 1609. Until then they seem to have contented themselves with receiving their goods through the Algonquins.³ But curiosity and the pleasing expectation of revenge on their old enemies were strong magnets. Champlain and his men met them at the island of St. Eloi opposite the river Batiscan, where the Montagnais and Algonquins had already assembled. The expedition however could not proceed against the Iroquois until the new-comers had been gratified with a visit to Quebec as well as with a display of the marvellous effects produced by the fire-arms of the French.⁴ After five or six days at the factory, during which they seem to have bartered a certain amount of furs, a start was at length made for the mouth of the Richelieu River. Here, owing to some dispute, part of the Algonquins set off for home with their wives and goods,⁵ but the rest, along with

¹ *Ibid.* p. 31: "Aussi que l'habitation . . . seroit un bien pour la liberté de quelques nations qui n'osent venir par là, à cause desdicts Irocois leurs ennemis qui tiennent toute laditte riviere de Canadas bordée; mais . . . sous le faveur de laditte habitation, lesdicts sauvages viendroient librement sans crainte et danger."

² *Ibid.* iii 176: "Qu'il y avoit près de dix lunes, que le fils d'Yroquet m'avoit veu et que ie luy avois fait bonne reception, et declaré que le Pont et moy desirions les assister contre leurs ennemis."

³ *Ibid.* ii 47-48: "Ils nous dirent qu'il y a une nation qu'on appelle les bons Irocois, qui viennent pour troquer des marchandises que les vaisseaux françois donnent aux Algonnequins." Cf. also Tome iii p. 201.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii p. 177: "Et que maintenant ils me prioyent de retourner en nostre habitation, pour voir nos maisons et que pour signe de grande amitié et resiousance ie feisse tirer des mousquets et arquebuses," etc.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 181: "Oh il s'esmeut entre eux quelque different sur le subject de la guerre, qui fut occasion qu'il n'y en eut qu'une partie qui se resolurent de venir avec moy et les autres s'en retournerent en leur pays avec leurs femmes et marchandises qu'ils avoient traictées." It was evidently the Algonquins who returned, for the Hurons coming prepared for war had doubtless brought neither their wives nor their furs. Cf. *ibid.* p. 177: "qu'ils n'avoient point d'enfans avec eux, mais gens qui sçavoient faire la guerre," etc.

the Hurons and Montagnais continued their way up that river and into what is now Lake Champlain. On the shores of the lake they came suddenly upon a band of almost two hundred Iroquois, who like themselves were proceeding only at night. In the battle which took place the next morning, the sight of Champlain and his two companions, and the deadly effect of their mysterious fire-arms, so wrought upon the fears of the Iroquois that in a very few moments they broke and fled. Champlain and his allies had not lost a single man. With ten or twelve prisoners, reserved for torture, they returned in triumph to the St. Lawrence, whence the Algonquins and Hurons at once set off for home. Both nations promised to return again in the following summer, and so delighted were the Hurons with their reception at Quebec and with the aid given them by Champlain in the war that they even promised to take him to visit their country whenever he should care to do so.¹

Such were the results of the summer in the St. Lawrence region. Of the trade carried on at Gaspé, Ile Percée, Port Royal and Ste. Croix we have very little information. Doubtless Champdoré and others made their way as usual to the Bay of Fundy, for when the English captain, Hudson, was on his way south this summer, he came upon several French shallops on the coast of Acadia full of Indians, who said they were in the habit of bartering their furs to ships from France. Hudson himself was able to secure a good supply of furs here, giving in exchange red cassocks, knives, hatchets, copper kettles, beads and other trifles.² Several fishing vessels dried their cod as usual in the harbours of Gaspé and Ile Percée while on the Banks was to be seen the great annual international fleet.³ Dupont-Gravé and Champlain returned to France in the autumn with their ships. They left the factory with its fifteen interpreters and agents in charge

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 198-199: "Les Algonnequins s'en retournerent en leur pays et aussi les Ochatequins . . . fort contents de ce qui s'estoit passé en la guerre et de ce que librement j'estois allé avec eux . . . et me dirent si ie ne desirois pas aller en leur pays pour les assister tousiours comme freres : ie leur promis."

² *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, iii 586.

³ Laverdière, *op. cit.* ii 49-50: "Tous cesdits lieux de Gachepay, Baye des Molués et Isle Percée sont les lieux où il se fait la pesche du poisson sec et verd."

of a Captain Chauvin, Sieur de la Pierre, who had already gained considerable experience of the fur-trade under Dupont-Gravé.¹

During the winter of 1609 and 1610 Monts made a fresh application for a monopoly of the region visited by Champlain during the expedition against the Iroquois. He was unsuccessful and according to Champlain unjustly so, for his demands were fair and reasonable.² It appears however that Henry the Fourth, to whom Champlain's account of his adventures as well as a few presents brought from New France had given great pleasure, was not altogether a free agent in the matter and that in this as in other affairs he was obliged to follow the advice of his council. Here Sully had considerable influence and his views were quite opposed to any fresh monopolies of the kind. In consequence of this, Monts and his partners debated for some time what their future course of action should be. The opening of the upper St. Lawrence to the public seemed to preclude any hope of more than a moderate return which might not even be sufficient to pay the running expenses of the factory at Quebec. On the other hand this permanent post in the country, as well as the aid recently given by Champlain to the Algonquins and Hurons against the Iroquois, appeared to assure to Monts and his friends a superiority over their competitors which it seemed a pity to forego. After a conference of the partners at Rouen it was finally decided to maintain the factory at Quebec and even to push on the exploration of the western part of the St. Lawrence valley.³ Their only desire, they said, was to serve their country well, and the discovery here of a short route to the East would bring considerable glory both to them and to France.

¹ *Ibid.* iii 200 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* iii 202-203: "Le sieur de Monts chercha moyen d'avoir nouvelle commission pour les traictes des nouvelles descouvertes . . . où auparavant personne n'avoit traicté: Ce qu'il ne peut obtenir, bien que les demandes et propositions fussent iustes et raisonnables."

³ *Ibid.* iii 202: "Le Sieur de Monts se delibera d'aller à Rouen trouver ses associez les sieurs Collier et le Gendre marchands de Rouen, pour adviser à ce qu'ils avoient à faire l'année ensuivant. Ils resolurent de continuer l'habitation et parachever de decouvrir dedans le grand fleuve S. Laurens, suivant les promesses des Ochateguins, à la charge qu'on les assisteroit en leurs guerres comme nous leur avions promis."

While therefore Dupont-Gravé was to continue to take charge of the bartering operations and to endeavour to secure as many furs as possible in the face of the new competition, Champlain was to assist the Hurons in their wars in order to visit under their guidance the supposed salt sea which, as they reported, lay not far to the west of their home.¹ With a spirit no whit inferior to that of Monts, his old friend Poutrincourt also decided to return this spring to New France and make his permanent home in the old buildings at Port Royal. This site, it will be remembered, had been originally granted to him by Monts on their first arrival in the Bay of Fundy in the summer of 1604; but until now he had not been able to remove there permanently with his family.²

Although the trade had actually been thrown open in the summer of 1609, advantage was not generally taken of this freedom until the following year. It is not surprising therefore that the number of vessels in the St. Lawrence in the summer of 1610 was large. After passing one trader near Gaspé,³ Champlain and Dupont-Gravé found several more already at anchor at Tadoussac.⁴ When the strangers saw these last arrivals tranship their goods into small boats and proceed up the river to Quebec, they at once followed suit. Since the representatives of Monts and his partners now enjoyed no special privileges in the river, they were obliged to accept in silence this invasion of their old territory. All was well at the factory, but an expedition projected by Champlain to the north in search of Hudson Bay had to be postponed as his Indian guides refused to accompany him.⁵

¹ *Ibid.* ii 41-48.

² Lescarbot, *Histoire de la N. France* (edit. of 1866) iii 608.

³ Laverlière, *op. cit.* iii 296-7; "Estans le travers de Mentiane nous rencontrames un vaisseau de S. Maslo, où il y avoit un ieune homme qui beuvant à la santé de Pont-gravé . . . tombast en la mer et se noya."

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 297: "Le 26 du mois (Avril) arrivames à Tadoussac où il y avoit des vaisseaux qui y estoient arrivéz dès le 18 ce qui ne s'estoit veu il y avoit plus de 60 ans." This would be a further proof of the early existence of the fur-trade if one could be sure they had come for furs.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 298: "Qu'après le retour de leur guerre, il me meneroient descouvrir les trois rivieres jusques en un lieu où il y a une si grande mer qu'ils n'en voyent le bout et nous en revenir par le Saguenay audit Tadoussac: et leur demanday s'ils avoient encore ceste mesme volonté: Ils me dirent qu'ouy; mais que ce ne pouvoit estre que l'année suivante."

Preparations were made instead for meeting the Algonquins and Hurons further up the river, to accompany them on the war-path against the Iroquois in case they wished to make a second expedition. With Champlain and his sixty Montagnais allies set out also not only the four boats belonging to the factory but also the traders who had followed him up the river from Tadoussac. Here again nothing could be done to prevent them. They followed him in fact all the way to the Algonquin and Huron barter which took place at the mouth of the Richelieu River. On Champlain's arrival, news was brought that a band of Iroquois had been surprised and surrounded further up the river by some Algonquins. A general rush at once took place to the spot, and though the enemy were entrenched in a log fort, the arquebuses of Champlain and of one or two of the rival traders who had also come on soon made short work of the little Iroquois band. When the palisade was broken down, the inmates of the fort were all massacred except fifteen, reserved for death by torture.

On the morrow, when passions had had time to cool, the barter with the Algonquins, who had come down almost two hundred in number, finally took place. Although both Champlain and Dupont-Gravé were present in the interests of Monts and his partners, the new arrivals in the river both outnumbered them and also secured a larger share of the furs. "Thus," says Champlain, "had we done them the service of finding new nations in order that they might carry off all the booty without running any risk or taking any trouble."¹ So little respect indeed did these newcomers show either for the savages or themselves, that they actually stripped the blood-stained furs from the bodies of the dead Iroquois.² The following day

¹ *Ibid.* p. 218 : "Cedit iour on traicta quelque pelleterie, mais les autres barques emporterent la meilleure part du butin. C'estoit leur avoir fait un grand plaisir de leur estre allé chercher des nations estrangeres, pour après emporter le profit sans aucune risque ny hazard."

² *Ibid.* p. 217 : "Quand ce fut fait, il vint une autre chaloupe et quelques uns de nos compagnons dedans, qui fut trop tart : toutesfois assez à temps pour la despoille du butin, qui n'estoit pas grand chose : il n'y avoit que des robes de castor, des morts, plains de sang, que les sauvages ne vouloient prendre la peine de despoiller, et se moquoient de ceux qui le faisoient, qui furent ceux de la dernière chaloupe : Car les autres ne se mirent en ce vilain devoir."

arrived the Hurons, who were greatly distressed at having missed the fight with the enemy. Their barter, with its feasts, pipes of peace and other ceremonies, lasted three days, and seems to have passed without cause of complaint against the other traders on the part of the representatives of Monts. When the others had left, Champlain persuaded the Hurons to take back with them a young French boy while he in his turn accepted a young Huron who later accompanied him home to France.¹ After completing the palisade about the factory, Champlain made his way to Tadoussac where a second barter was usually held in July.² Even with this however a number of the new-comers were unable to get rid of their merchandize and when Champlain set out for home in August some of them still lay at Tadoussac with all their goods on board. "Many," said he, "will long remember the loss they suffered this year."³

Along the Atlantic coast Poutrinecourt had managed to collect a fair number of furs, and one of his company, writing from Port Royal to a friend in France, said that if he had brought some men with him he could secure annually furs to the value of almost seven or eight thousand livres. "I assure you," he continued, "there is nothing pleasanter than trading in these parts and making every year a good round sum."⁴ The trading vessels which came here seem to have ranged the coast from Ile Percée as far south as below Ste. Croix.⁵

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 219 *et seq.*; *Ibid.* v 170 *et seq.*; Lescarbot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (ed. of 1866) iii 603 *et seq.*

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 223: "et moy i'y fus aussi pour voir ce qui reussiroit de la seconde traite," etc.

³ *Ibid.* p. 224: "Or après avoir seiourné trois ou quatre iours à Tadoussac, et veu la perte que firent beaucoup de marchans qui avoient chargé grande quantité de marchandises et équipè bon nombre de vaisseaux esperant faire leurs affaires en la traite de Pelletterie, qui fut si miserable pour la quantité de vaisseaux que plusieurs se souviendront long temps de la perte qu'ils firent en ceste année."

⁴ Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. 1 (Cleveland 1896) pp. 120 and 122: "J'espererois faire trafic tous les ans de sept ou huit mille livres en Castors et Pelletterie . . . Vous assureant qu'il fait beau trafiquer par deçà et faire un beau gain."

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 66: "De-là il vint à la riviere saint Jehan . . . où il trouva un navire de S. Malo, qui troquoit avec les Sauvages du pais," Cf. also pp. 98 and 168-70; Bréard, *op. cit.* pp. 117 *et seq.*; Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 226: "et

The season of 1611, the third during which the trade was open, in most respects was merely a repetition of that of the previous year, except that the competition was even greater than before. While the factors at Quebec had become acclimatized and no longer suffered from cold or scurvy, Poutrincourt and his people at Port Royal enjoyed no such happy immunity. This was partly due no doubt to the lack of fresh stores. His vessel, in charge of his son Saint-Just, had reached France in safety with its load of furs the previous autumn and preparations were made to return immediately with a supply of provisions. When Saint-Just was leaving Court however, after having expressed to the Queen-mother the regrets of his father and himself at her recent bereavement in the death of the late King, one of the ladies present asked if he would take back a couple of Jesuits to convert the savages, as his father had promised King Henry. He made no objection to this proposal and two Jesuits were requested to be at Dieppe by the twenty-fifth of November ready to set sail for Port Royal. They appeared at Dieppe on the day appointed but here a difficulty arose. The two merchants who had fitted out the vessel and were in partnership with Poutrincourt in the fur-trade absolutely refused to allow the Jesuits to embark. The report that the murder of King Henry the Fourth had not been without some connection with this Order had stirred both Catholics and Huguenots against it from one end of France to the other. The merchants offered to accept Benedictines, Franciscans, Trappists or any other Order whatsoever, or in case the Queen-mother would send all the Jesuits to New France, they offered to find the necessary means of transport, but a small company of two they declared should never go in their vessel. As express orders from the Queen to receive the priests failed to secure obedience, a collection in behalf of the two Jesuits was made at Court and with this sum the shares of the two merchants in the vessel were bought up. The priests thus embarked, not as guests or passengers, but as part-owners of the vessel and her cargo. This intermixture of the arrivages à l'isle Percée le lendemain [14th August] où nous trouvâmes quantité de vaisseaux faisant pêche de poisson sec et vert."

spiritual with the commercial did not in the end prove very successful.¹

The vessel set sail from Dieppe in January but did not reach Port Royal until the end of May. Champlain who had not set out until the first of March found her still struggling in the ice floes near Cape Breton when he passed up the St. Lawrence to Tadoussac.² In the meantime Poutrincourt and his twenty-two friends and dependants suffered considerably from cold and from the absence of fresh provisions. Some of them were sent to live with the savages, where the food though ill prepared was often, at least, more plentiful. When the vessel did at length arrive she brought little relief. She had been four months at sea, and during that time most of the stores she was bringing out were consumed. To make matters worse, other vessels had arrived before her and had carried off all the furs in that region so that the remaining supply was not large.³ Now however that Madame de Guercheville and other ladies of the Court had become interested in the settlement through the Jesuit missionaries, Poutrincourt hoped that some sort of trade monopoly might possibly be accorded to him, and in this hope he took charge of the vessel himself on her return voyage.⁴

In the St. Lawrence the competition was even greater than it had been the previous summer. Although when Champlain and Dupont-Gravé reached Tadoussac snow still covered the ground, they nevertheless found three vessels in port before them. The effect of last season's excessive competition on the savages of this region was at once seen, for they refused to engage in any bartering operations until more vessels still had appeared.⁵ While Dupont-Gravé was thus meeting with considerable

¹ Thwaites, *op. cit.* i 138 *et seq.*; *Ibid.* ii 172 *et seq.*

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 238-39; Thwaites, *op. cit.* ii 176.

³ *Ibid.* p. 180: "Le retardement susdit est cause que lesdits navires et autres estans arrivés devant ledit Saint Just, ils ont enlevé tout ce qui estoit de bon au pais pour le commerce des Castors et autres pelletteries," etc. Cf also p. 100: "Si quando in Gallicas naves incidebamus, ut sepe incidimus," etc., and p. 178.

⁴ *Ibid.* i 190, ii 6, iii 192.

⁵ Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 240: "encore voulurent ils attendre qu'il vint plusieurs vaisseaux ensemble afin d'avoir meilleur marché des marchandises; et par ainsi ceux s'abusent qui pensent faire leurs affaires pour arriver des premiers: car ces peuples sont maintenant trop fins et subtils."

difficulty in securing furs from the Montagnais at anything like the old rate of exchange, Champlain proceeded in a small boat to Quebec, where all were found well. He at once set to work to prepare to meet the Algonquins and Hurons who were to assemble this summer at the Lachine rapids. This year as last he was followed up the river by a host of other traders, though he had taken no pains at Quebec to hide his wish that they should not accompany him.¹ Since the savages had not yet arrived at the rapids, he spent the interval in examining the land close at hand. To observe the height reached by the spring floods, he erected a small wall at a spot which he thought offered a good site for a new factory. Quebec indeed was not far enough west to intimidate the Iroquois. The need of a fresh post had soon become apparent. At this very time a report reached him that four hundred Hurons, who had set out to come to the barter, had returned home on hearing that the Iroquois were lying in ambush near this spot. The island opposite he named St. Helen's Island after his *fiancée* Helen Boullé, whom he married some years later.²

On the first of June arrived Dupont-Gravé followed closely by a considerable number of other traders. He had remained at Tadoussac until the increasing competition of the fresh arrivals had pushed prices up to such a height that a satisfactory gain was impossible.³ With the continuous arrival of fresh boats however, it did not seem that the outlook at the rapids was much better. In fact when on the thirteenth of June the first batch of two hundred Hurons appeared, with the French boy lent them by

¹ *Ibid.* p. 242 : "Je fis cependant diligence de faire accommoder nostre dicte barque. Et comme elle fut preste, un ieune homme de la Rochelle appelé Tresart, me pria que ie luy permisse de me faire compagnie audit saut, ce que ie luy refusay, disant que l'avois des dessins particuliers et que ie ne desirois estre conducteur de personne à mon preiudice et qu'il y avoit d'autres compaignies que la mienne pour lors, et que ie ne desirois ouvrir le chemin et servir de guide et qu'il le trouveroit assés aisement sans moy."

² *Ibid.* pp. 242 et seq. and p. 251.

³ *Ibid.* p. 245 : "Le premier iour de Iuin le Pont arriva audit saut qui n'avoit rien secu faire à Tadoussac ; et bonne compaignie le suivirent et vindrent après luy pour y aller au butin car sans ceste esperance ils estoient bien de l'arriere. . . . Le lendemain arriva quatre ou cinq barques . . . d'autant qu'ils ne pouvoient rien faire audit Tadoussac."

Champlain, there were in all thirteen boats ready to trade with them. As in the previous summer, Champlain did not spare his strictures on the rival traders. Monts and his partners were keeping up the factory at Quebec, aiding the savages in their wars, entering into relations with new nations, and endeavouring in every way to discover the nature of the regions to the west while the new traders, solely bent on gain, would bear none of the burdens and yet expected to share all the rewards.¹ A month later twenty canoes full of Algonquins arrived, but since they were on a war expedition their supply of furs was not large. "Each," Champlain remarks, "took what he could get."² Fourteen canoes which arrived three days later brought little consolation for their stock also was small.³ The dissatisfaction was not confined to Champlain and Dupont-Gravé. On account of the small supply of furs brought to the rapids, most of the other traders as well found themselves with a large surplus stock of goods still on hand. The Indians too were no better pleased. The number of new faces so frightened the Hurons, many of whom had never seen a white man before, that on their arrival they built a barricade about their camp and, a report arising that a plot was hatching against them, soon after hastily set off on a pretended hunt. They sent word to Champlain however to come to them secretly further up the river. There they told him that they were always ready to guide him to their own country, and that in case he wished to do so they would even allow him to erect factories there, but they begged him when next he returned not to bring any strangers with him. These new-comers, who seemed only intent on gain, alarmed them. Their old friend only too readily promised that when next he returned matters should have im-

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 252-253: "Après tous ces discours finis, ie leur dis qu'ils traitassent ce peu de commodités qu'ils avoient, ce qu'ils firent le lendemain, dont chacune des barques emporta sa piece: nous toute la peine et aventure, les autres qui ne se soucioient d'aucunes decouvertes, la proye, qui est la seule cause qui les meut, sans rien employer ny hazarder."

² *Ibid.* p. 262: "et qu'ils traitassent paisiblement: ce qu'ils firent et chacun en emporta ce qu'il peut."

³ *Ibid.* p. 263: "le 15 iour du mois arriverent quatorze canots . . . Le lendemain ils traitterent ce peu qu'ils avoyent," etc.

proved. Hurons and Algonquins having each accepted one of his boys, they all separated the best of friends with promises to meet again the following summer.¹

As a sign of the increasing intercourse between Old and New France it is interesting to note that not only did Champlain go home in a vessel from La Rochelle,² but that two vessels engaged in the fur-trade on the Atlantic coast left men to winter in the Bay of Fundy. A Captain Plastrier took up his quarters in the old buildings at Ste. Croix, while at the river St. John were quartered young Dupont-Gravé and some of his friends.³ One wonders indeed whether, had the trade remained open, these small beginnings would not in time have developed into permanent settlements. They had their basis in trade, they did not support any non-productive colonists and seem indeed to have possessed all the requirements of a successful colony. Many of the towns in Newfoundland had a similar origin; in that very autumn John Guy and his family took up their quarters at Cooper's Cove.⁴ Even now however when the trade was open these budding colonies were not left alone. Saint-Just in his official capacity of Vice-Admiral of Acadia insisted on receiving from each man one-fifth of the furs he had managed to collect.⁵ No wonder that, resenting this interference, they abandoned their settlements the following spring.

These three years of open trade thus had their good and their bad side. For the owners of the factory at Quebec of course the balance inclined rather in the latter direction. The factory, instead of proving an advantage, was becoming a burden. The cost of keeping it up throughout the winter was great, and in

¹ *Ibid.* p. 257: "et me prièrent que revenant avec mes compagnons ie n'en amenasse point d'autres. Je leur dis que ie ne les amenois pas, ains qu'ils me suivoient sans leur dire et qu'à l'advenir i' yrois d'autre façon que ie n'avois fait . . . dont ils furent fort contents."

² *Ibid.* p. 265: "Après avoir mis ordre à ce qui despendoit de nostre habitation, suivant la charge que ledit Sieur de Monts m'avoit donnée, ie m'embarquay dedans le vaisseau du capitaine Tibaut de la Rochelle, l'onzieme d'Aoust."

³ Thwaites, *op. cit.* ii 26 *et seq.* Cf. also pp. 178 *et seq.*

⁴ *Purchas*, vol iv pp. 1877 *et seq.*; Prowse, *op. cit.* Chap. v.

⁵ Thwaites, *op. cit.*, vol. iii 198 and 210.

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the season the vessel which had just arrived enjoyed the same facilities as the men who had passed the whole winter in the country. Only one expedition, that of 1609, had been despatched into the interior, and since then nothing had been done in the way of discovery. To be sure, agents had been sent to winter among the Hurons and the Algonquins but any trader in the river was at liberty to do the same, and Bouvier, a stranger, had in fact sent one of his boys to winter with the Hurons that very year.¹ It is not surprising therefore that in the autumn of 1611 the two partners of Monts signified to him their intention of giving up their interest in the factory. Here again the patriotism and high spirit of Monts showed themselves. Rather than suffer the *fleurs de lis* to be lowered and retire from this advanced post in the west he decided to buy out his old partners and to keep up the place himself. After his great losses at Ste. Croix and Port Royal this spirited action deserves the very highest praise. It was indeed by simple acts like this that the French colonial empire became what it did. To Champlain, intent on finding a northern passage to the East, this change was of course not unwelcome, as he now hoped to have more liberty to push on his explorations.² In the spring of 1612 however, owing it seems to a fall from a horse, Champlain was unable to go out to the St. Lawrence, so Dupont-Gravé alone superintended the transfer of the factory to Monts. Doubtless most of the old factors and interpreters were retained, although, on account of the absence of our principal informant, we know very little of what took place this summer on the St. Lawrence. Over two hundred Algonquins and Hurons came down to the rapids where they were met by an unusually large number of traders who tended more and more to neglect Tadoussac and to press on up

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.*, *ibid.* 260.

² *Ibid.* p. 266: "Ledit sieur de Mons . . . estant retourné à Paris parla à ses associez, qui ne voulurent plus continuer en l'association pour n'avoir point de commission qui peut empescher un chacun d'aller en nos nouvelles decouvertes negotier avec les habitans du pays. Ce que voyant . . . il convint avec eux de ce qui restoit en l'habitation de Quebec, moyennant une somme de deniers qui leur donna pour la part qu'ils y avoyent: et envoya quelques hommes pour conserver ladite habitation sur l'esperance d'obtenir une commission de sa Maiesté."

the river. The non-appearance of Champlain was a great disappointment to his Indian friends, with whom he had hitherto always kept his word. A false report of his death, spread by the rival traders, only induced the Indians to declare that if this were the case, they would never return to the rapids. They knew that the others only sought immediate gain; Champlain alone was generous enough to help them in their wars.¹

Along the Atlantic coast and on the Banks, the fishing and fur trades went on at this time much as before, but the settlement at Port Royal was not successful. Saint-Just, in demanding from the traders at Ste. Croix and the river St John one-fifth of their furs, of course forfeited their friendship, so that when, soon after the departure of the vessel, the provisions ran out, no help was to be expected from them. A voyage along the coast to the south gave small relief, for the Indians had little corn and even less furs. In this expedition Saint-Just discovered something of which he was not in search. This was the English fort, abandoned by the northern branch of the Virginia Company in 1609. The English had in fact seized Captain Plastrier when he was wintering at Ste. Croix and had only set him free on obtaining a promise that he would not trade again in those parts. To counteract the English claim, Saint-Just now set up the arms of France on the most conspicuous height near at hand and the little company once more returned to Port Royal. For some time its outlook was not bright. At the end of January, however, the vessel, which Poutrincourt had been able to fit out by means of aid given by Madame de Guercheville, at length arrived, and the rest of the spring and summer passed without incident.²

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 266-67: "disans que plus de deux cents sauvages estoient venus, pensans me trouver au grand saut S. Louys, où ie leur avois donné le rendez-vous, en intention de les assister en ce qu'ils m'avoient supplié: mais voyans que ie n'avois pas tenu ma promesse, cela les fascha fort: toutesfois nos gens leur firent quelques excuses. . . . Mais plusieurs autres qui avoient quitté Tadoussac, trafic encien, vindrent audit saut avec quantité de petites barques pour voir s'ils y pourroient faire leurs affaires avec ces peuples, qu'ils asseuroient de ma mort," etc. Cf. also p. 291.

² Thwaites, *op. cit.* ii 30 *et seq.* and 228 *et seq.*; *ibid.* iii 198 *et seq.*; Jean Héroard, *Journal sur l'Enfance et la Jeunesse de Louis XIII.* ii 75 (Paris 1868); Carayon, *Première Mission des Jésuites au Canada*, Letter V pp. 44 *et seq.* (Paris 1864).

Thus during the summers of 1609, 1610, 1611 and 1612 the fur-trade had been open to all comers from the Lachine Rapids as far south on the Atlantic coast as the fortieth degree of latitude. Although such freedom was conducive to the increase of the trade itself and doubtless led to a considerable addition to the number of vessels which yearly visited the coast, yet this very increase bore hardly upon Poutrinecourt and Monts. Both had posts, the one for trade, the other for settlement, which could only be continued on condition of a fair return each year from the fur-trade. Their competitors, not hampered by the expenses of such posts and generally more energetic in getting away early from France, succeeded in securing the larger share of the trade. The efforts of Poutrinecourt to obtain relief had only resulted in the despatch of the Jesuits and the subsequent admission of Madame de Guercheville as a half-partner. Monts had also been unable to secure a monopoly for the upper St. Lawrence, although it seemed to Champlain most unfair that Monts should keep up the post at Quebec and he himself spend his summers in enduring the fatigues of long canoe voyages through the wilds of the west, only that in the next year a few St. Malo traders should reap the whole benefit of their pains. He had promised the Hurons in the summer of 1611 that when he again returned to the rapids he should be accompanied only by his friends, and during the summer of 1612, which he passed in France, he made considerable efforts to keep his word. The best solution which presented itself to his mind, and the one indeed which was finally adopted, was to form the better class of traders who yearly visited the St. Lawrence into one large company. By means of a common outlay they would be able both to push on discovery beyond the rapids and as the trade increased to erect new factories farther west.¹ In order to safe-

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 283: "Le desir . . . de faire nouvelles découvertes . . . ensemble d'amener ces pauvres peuples à la cognoissance de Dieu m'a fait chercher la facilité de ceste entreprise, qui ne peut estre que par le moyen d'un bon reglement d'autant que chacun voulant cueillir les fruits de mon labour, sans contribuer aux frais et grandes despences qu'il convient faire, à l'entretien des habitations nécessaires pour amener ces desseins à une bonne fin, ruine ce commerce par l'avidité de gagner," etc.

guard themselves against an ending as disastrous as that which had happened to Chauvin and to Monts, Champlain proposed that the support of some noble powerful at Court should be secured. In return for such protection the company would allow him a certain yearly income. The man proposed by Champlain to fill this rôle of protector for the company was the Comte de Soissons, uncle of the young King¹.

Charles de Bourbon, Comte de Soissons, the youngest son of Louis de Bourbon, first Prince de Condé, had fought with Henry the Fourth both at Arques and at Ivry. Offended, however, first at the King's opposition to his courtship of the Princess Catherine, and after his marriage to another lady at the King's refusal to allow her to wear the *fleurs de lis*, he retired from the Court in anger. At the death of the King, he threatened to make trouble but was bought off with the government of Normandy. Although a man of narrow intelligence and loose morals, who sought to hide under a mock gravity a character without worth and full of dissimulation, he yet possessed a certain amount of influence at Court due rather to fear of his ambition than to respect for himself. By means of this influence, the request of Champlain that the King's council should in some way regulate the fur-trade resulted in the appointment of Soissons as Viceroy of Canada with a monopoly of the fur-trade from Quebec westward, for twelve years.² Unfortunately, just when this monopoly was about to be published in all the ports and harbours of France, the Comte de Soissons died. At Champlain's request the vice-regency and the monopoly were then transferred to Soissons' nephew, the young Prince de Condé.

Henri de Bourbon, third Prince de Condé, spent the first six

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 284: "Il me sembla à propos de me jeter entre les bras de quelque grand . . . Or cognoissant Monseigneur le Comte de Soissons . . . ie m'adressay à luy," etc.

² *Ibid.* p. 285: "Aussi tost après le presentay à sa Maiesté, et à Nosseigneurs de son Conseil une requeste avec des articles, tendans à ce qu'il luy pleust vouloir apporter un reglement en cet affaire . . . et pource sa Maiesté en donna la direction et gouvernement à mondit Seigneur le Comte, lequel deslors m' honora de sa Lieutenance"; Due d'Anmale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé* iii 11 et seq. Paris 1886; Zeller, *Marie de Medicis et Sully* (Paris 1892), passim; Archives du Parlement de Rouen 4th March 1613.

years of his existence in the prison of St. Jean d'Angély where his mother was confined on suspicion of poisoning her husband. In July 1595, through the influence of Thou and his friends, she was again set at liberty, and her son, now recognized as heir to the throne, was installed under Catholic tutors in the Château of St. Germain. Summoned a few years later about the person of the King, he played for some time a conspicuous rôle in the fêtes and ceremonies of the Court. His marriage to Mademoiselle de Montmorency caused him to lose the favour of the King who had himself fallen a victim to her charms. Since the King's importunities still continued, even after their marriage, Condé decided to withdraw with his wife to his castle of Valery.¹ When shortly afterwards the King summoned him to return, he set off indeed with his wife but discreetly turned the horses' heads towards Brussels where he hoped she would at length be safe. Notwithstanding that the Pope urged Condé to lead back his wife in the interests of peace, he remained firm and an attempted abduction by force on the part of the King was not more successful. After the King's death they both quietly returned. Though Condé was now urged by Sully to give his support to the Queen-mother in securing the peace and the improvement of the kingdom, his course was exactly the opposite. He spent his time in finding fault with all that the Regent did and though an office or occasional grant of money would for a time secure, if not his good will, at least his silence, yet at the end of a few months he became as troublesome as before. Just before the death of his uncle, Soissons, Condé had supported him in his quarrels with the Court and it was doubtless partly as a sop for

¹ It was on this occasion that Malherbe put the following into the mouth of the King:

Mon soin n'est point de faire
 En l'autre hémisphère
 Voir mes actes guerriers ;
 Et jusqu' aux bords de l'onde
 Où finit le monde,
 Acquérir des lauriers,
 Deux beaux yeux sont l'empire
 Pour qui je soupire ; etc.

Malherbe, *Œuvres* i 165. Paris, 1862.

this as well as at Champlain's request that the viceroys and the monopoly were now transferred to him.¹

By the terms of the new monopoly, granted for twelve years, the trade westward of Quebec was to be confined to the members of the new company about to be organized by Champlain. On account however of the delay caused by the death of the Comte de Soissons and by the opposition of the merchants of St. Malo to this new monopoly, there was not sufficient time before the season began to organize the company. It was therefore decided to postpone that proceeding until the autumn. For this summer, Condé would grant a certain number of passports to future shareholders of the company, which would enable them, and them alone, to trade above Quebec.² Below that point and on the Atlantic coast the trade was still open to all, but any boat caught bartering above it would be confiscated and the owners fined three thousand livres. All traders to New France were forbidden to sell fire-arms to the savages, and Frenchmen caught piloting foreign vessels into the St. Lawrence were to be seized and dealt with in a summary manner. In order to encourage a new branch of industry, it was announced that all the timber brought from New France would be admitted into the mother country free of duty.³ This clause was due to the fact that Champlain for the first time in the autumn of 1611 had brought home some oak and the experiment had evidently proved successful.⁴

Seven vessels obtained passports from Condé for trade above Quebec in the summer of 1613, and while doubtless obliged to

¹ Zeller, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 *et seq.*; Duc d'Aumale, *op. cit.* iii 1-110.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 286: "Quelques brouillons, qui n'avoient aucun interest en l'affaire, l'importerent de la faire casser, luy faisant entendre le prétendu interest de tous les marchans de France, etc. . . . leur malice estant recogneüe furent reiettées avec permission seulement d'entrer en l'association . . . le temps de partir nous pressoit fort. Ainsi se fallut contenter pour cette année d'y aller sans autre association, avec les passeports," etc. Cf. p. 287: "joint aussi que les marchans de S. Maslo s'y opposerent." A copy of their petition will be found in the *Annuaire du Conseil Héraldique de France*, 1894, pp. 48-53.

³ Archives du Parlement de Rouen, 4th. March 1613; *Ibid.* Archives Secrètes, Année 1613-14 fol. 123 verso *et seq.*

⁴ Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 264: "et fis charger du chesne de fente pour faire l'espreuve en France," etc.

pay him a certain sum for this privilege, they were also bound to furnish Champlain with four men each, in case he wished to undertake an exploring expedition or make a campaign against the Iroquois.¹ When however they reached the rapids on the twenty-first of May, they found no savages but learned that a small troop of Algonquins had just set out on their return home from an expedition against the Iroquois.² A few days later three canoes arrived. Their occupants informed the traders that owing to the unfair treatment met with in the previous summer, when a report was also spread that Champlain was dead, the savages did not intend to come to the rapids any more. Over one thousand of them, despairing of any aid from the French, had gone off alone on a war expedition against the Iroquois. This news was a great blow to the traders, who saw before them a lost season and an unrequited outlay. It was an immense relief therefore when Champlain proposed to make a voyage up the Ottawa and to investigate the statements of Vignau, one of the *coureurs de bois* who, on returning home to France in the autumn of 1612, had reported that he had seen a great sea in the north. On its shore were even, he said, the remains of an English vessel, cast away shortly before, while the scalps of the crew adorned the neighbouring wigwams. Since Hudson had not returned from his search for a north-west passage, begun in the year 1610, there seemed a probability that the account was a true one and that the ship had belonged to him. Besides, even if Champlain did not reach this sea, he hoped to be able to examine a considerable stretch of country and also to urge the Indians to come and meet the traders then awaiting them at the rapids.³

¹ *Ibid.* p. 286: "Les passeports de Monseigneur le Prince . . . furent donnés pour quatre vaisseaux, lesquels estoient in préparés pour faire le voyage; savoir trois de Rouën et un de la Rochelle, à condition que chacun fournirait quatre hommes pour m'assister, tant en mes decouvertes qu'à la guerre." Cf. also p. 322: "pour m'avertir que le sieur de Maison-neuve de S. Maslo avoit apporté un passeport de Monseigneur le Prince pour trois vaisseaux."

² *Ibid.* p. 290.

³ *Ibid.* p. 291: "Que le mauvais traitement qu'avoient reçeu les Sauvages l'année precedente, les avoit degoutés de venir plus, et qu'ils ne croyoient pas que ie deusse retourner jamais en leurs pays . . . et pource 1200 hommes estoient

Champlain and his five men travelled laboriously up the Ottawa. His presence, so far from Quebec, excited everywhere considerable surprise. On reaching an Algonquin village on the Lake des Allumettes the deceit of his guide was at length suddenly exposed. The chief Tessouat declared that this man had spent the winter with them and had never been beyond their village. Vignau himself then confessed that the whole story, including the tale of a northern sea and the English vessel, was a fiction, invented merely to gain credit; the possibility of a search being actually undertaken had never entered his mind. In fact except for the two French boys and an odd interpreter or so, no Frenchman had until then advanced beyond the rapids of Lachine.¹ Notwithstanding that the attempt to find the north sea had thus proved a failure, the second object of Champlain's journey, to urge the savages to go to the rapids, met with more success. He assured them indeed that his failure to meet them in the previous year had been altogether due to an accident, that henceforth only trusted friends would be allowed to come to the rapids and that there were then awaiting them at that point six or eight of these with barques and goods. This news and the assurance that Champlain himself would be there to conduct the barter soon led to the despatch of over eighty canoes. The Algonquin chiefs also informed Champlain that if ever he carried out his intention of erecting a new post at the rapids they would then lead back their nation to its old quarters there under the shelter of the French guns.² By means of Champlain's energy the merchants were able to make a good season's trade, though some of them got into difficulties with the traders who had not been allowed to proceed above Quebec. These men waylaid several of the boats on their way from Quebec to Tadoussac, where the sea-going vessels were lying, and robbed them of all the furs they had secured at the rapids. In the end however

allez à la guerre. . . . Ces nouvelles attristerent fort les marchans . . . ce qui me fit resoudre en faisant mes descouvertes, de passer en leur pays, pour encourager ceux qui estoient restés, du bon traitement qu'ils recevroient," etc. Cf. also p. 311.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 292 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* pp. 313, *et seq.*; Arrêt du Parlement de Rouen 25th June 1633.

this policy defeated itself for when the matter was reported in France the area of reserved trade was extended from Quebec as far as Gaspé, as we shall presently see.¹

While such were the conditions of trade during this summer in the reserved area above Quebec, on the Atlantic coast events of a more extraordinary nature were taking place, before which the question of trade takes a subsidiary place in the records of the time. While the two Jesuits as interested partners in the fur-trade were at Port Royal, disputes were continually breaking out between them and Saint-Just, who resented the advice of men unaccustomed to the direction of commercial affairs. To such a height indeed did feeling run that the Jesuits finally requested Madame de Guercheville, who had already helped them to come to New France, to provide the funds necessary for the establishment of an altogether new colony. As a result of this demand, in the spring of that year a vessel called at Port Royal and took on board Fathers Biard and Massé. They were to have complete liberty of action for their proselytizing efforts in a new settlement founded at the expense of Madame de Guercheville, to whom the rights of Monts in this region had just been transferred by the King. In sailing down the coast a storm drove the vessel ashore at Mount Desert where the beauty of the spot and a mutiny of the crew finally induced them to establish their home. While however they were in the act of unloading the vessel and erecting quarters, an English vessel suddenly entered the harbour and after a short skirmish took more than half of them prisoners.

As has already been mentioned, the colony sent out by the northern branch of the Virginia Company returned again to England in the spring of 1608. It was indeed the remains of their settlement which Saint-Just had discovered two summers later when in search of food.² At Jamestown in Virginia however the southern branch of the same company still continued to maintain a flourishing settlement, and since their charter embraced the territory as far north as the forty-fifth degree of

¹ Archives du Parlement de Rouen 14th December 1613.

² W. Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, chap. viii pp. 162 *et seq.* London (Hakluyt Society) 1849. Stith, *History of Virginia*, bk. ii pp. 74 *et seq.* New York (Sabin's reprint) 1865.

latitude, complications were bound to ensue with the holders of French charters whose powers extended south to the fortieth degree of latitude. Saint-Just had indeed at the time of his visit set up the French arms, to show that France's claim was the earlier and more valid one. Just however as it was an English fishing vessel which had seized Captain Plastrier and forbidden him to trade in that region, so now it was another English fishing vessel sent north from Jamestown, which captured the colonists about to settle at Mount Desert.¹ She had been making her way to an island in the neighbourhood, where the fishing boats were left during the winter, when some savages, mistaking her for a French vessel, informed her captain, one Argall, of the presence on the coast of the vessel at Mount Desert. Proceeding thither, Argall attacked the settlement so suddenly that a firm resistance was out of the question. Two Frenchmen, one of them a priest, lost their lives in the short skirmish which ensued. Of the remaining members of the colony, thirty made their way home in fishing and trading vessels met with along the coast, while fifteen were carried off as prisoners to Virginia.² Their arrival and the account of the destruction of the young settlement at Mount Desert created considerable excitement at Jamestown. The Virginia Council not only unjustly considered this attempt to found a colony on the coast as an infringement of their own rights but also declared that if the report were true that Poutrincoourt had seized an English vessel and was about to

¹ The discussion in *Mass. Hist. Collections*, 4th Series, vol. ix, pp. 41 *et seq.* has not convinced me that this attack was premeditated. If so how did word of the arrival of the French vessel at Mount Desert reach Jamestown and why did Argall return there before attacking Port Royal? It was in truth a voyage similar to that of the previous summer. *Vid. Purchas*, Part iv, pp. 1758-62 and 1764-1765. Cf. also Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 117: "Depuis que ces Anglois se sont establis aux Virgines, afin de se pourveoir de moutons, ont accoustumé de venir faire leur pesche à seize lieus de l'isle des monts deserts: et ainsi y arrivans l'an 1613 estans surpris des brunes et iettez à la coste, des Sauvages de Pemetegoet, estimans qu'ils estoient François, leur dirent qu'il y en avoit à Saint-Sauveur. Les Anglois estans en necessité de vivres, et tous leurs hommes en pauvre estat." etc.

² Thwaites, *op. cit.* ii 246 *et seq.*, iii 274 *et seq.*; *Purchas*, Part iv, p. 1768; Hamor, *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia* (London, 1615) pp. 36 *et seq.*; Bréard, *op. cit.*, pp. 121 *et seq.* Fleury's account mentioned by Gosselin in his *Nouvelles Glanes*, p. 43, has not yet been discovered.

fortify himself at Port Royal with thirty cannon, the further existence of that place was a standing menace to their own security. Argall was accordingly officially despatched to drive the French from the coast. In truth however not only were these reports untrue but the French right to this region was the better and more valid one. When Argall had destroyed all vestiges of the French occupation at Mount Desert and Ste. Croix, he made his way to Port Royal where the surprise was as complete as it had been on the earlier occasion. Most of the men were busy peacefully working in the fields. The marauders took no prisoners but burned down all the buildings with the exception of the barns and the mill which, being a little way off, were hidden from view.¹

On account of these events one hears little of the state of the fishing or fur trade on the Atlantic coast during this summer. From the French or the savages however the English learned that the trade in these regions was extremely good and that in some years a single vessel would carry home furs to the value of eight thousand pounds. They therefore made arrangements with the savages for bartering the furs formerly taken by the French, who thus saw themselves gradually restricted to the region about the St. Lawrence.² With the close of the season of 1613 the outlook for the French fur-trade was indeed not a brilliant one. English competition was henceforth to be feared in the Bay of Fundy while the whole of the St. Lawrence as far east as Gaspé was reserved for the company which Champlain was on the point of forming. The trader therefore who did not join this company had only the coast of New France from Gaspé to Cape Breton at his disposition. On top of the competition of the English from Virginia soon came that of the Dutch at Manhattan and later that of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. The only road to commercial salvation for the ordinary trader lay in joining the company about to be formed by Champlain.

¹ Thwaites, *op. cit.* ii 264 *et seq.*, iv 30 *et seq.*; *Purchas*, Part iv, p. 1808; Carayon, *op. cit.*, Lettre vii, pp. 106 *et seq.*

² Hamor, *op. cit.*, pp 36 *et seq.* Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 288: "Le 15 [Avril 1613] nous eumes un grand coup de vent, accompagné de pluye et gresle, suivi d'un autre, qui dura 48 heures, si impetueux qu'il fit perir plusieurs vaisseaux à l'isle du cap Breton." Cf. also *Ibid.* vi 100 *et seq.*

CHAPTER VI

CHAMPLAIN'S COMPANY 1614-1620

Although the St. Lawrence above Quebec had been closed to the general trader in the summer of 1613, the lower part from Quebec to the Gulf as well as the Atlantic coast as far south as the fortieth degree of latitude had been left open to all. When however the robberies committed on the privileged traders between Quebec and Tadoussac in the autumn of that year were reported to the Viceroy in France, he determined to obtain the inclusion of this area in his monopoly. On the 14th of November the King, at his wish, issued new Letters patent wherein Condé's monopoly, which had still eleven years to run, was extended from Quebec as far down as to the river Mantanne in the Gaspé peninsula. The penalties to which a merchant who traded above this river made himself liable were similar to those formerly attached to trading on the St. Lawrence above Quebec.¹

It had always been Champlain's intention, when the protection of a powerful noble had been secured, to form the better class of merchants who traded to the St. Lawrence into one large company. With the danger of a sudden repeal of the monopoly removed and competition reduced to a minimum, he felt that the future of the St. Lawrence valley would be assured. The negotiations carried on in the spring of 1613 had led to no result, having been interrupted by the departure of the vessels for the season's trade. However in the autumn of that year they were again resumed and in the spring of 1614 the articles of the new Company were at length agreed upon. The shares were to be divided into three portions, one to be subscribed for by the merchants of Rouen and the other two by those of St. Malo and La Rochelle. In return for the enjoyment of the monopoly

¹ Archives du Parlement de Rouen, 14th December 1613. Although the term used is "strangers and pirates," the French interlopers are evidently the people intended.

during the space of eleven years they agreed to pay Condé one thousand crowns a year and to take out six families each season to people the country. Champlain, as Condé's lieutenant, was to receive a salary and to have at his disposal every summer four men from each vessel in the river. With these he might either make war against the Iroquois, explore the interior or, if he wished, employ them during the whole summer at Quebec. Although these terms had been accepted by the representatives of the merchants of the three towns mentioned above, when the moment came for affixing the signatures, the representatives from La Rochelle failed to put in an appearance. Nothing remained but to divide the whole of the shares among the merchants of Rouen and St. Malo.¹

In the summer of 1614 therefore the factory at Quebec once more changed hands and became the property of the new Company, in which however the former owner, Monts, was also a shareholder. The Company's trade this year in the St. Lawrence, which was now closed to all other traders as far down as Gaspé, must have been a very considerable one, but owing to the absence of Champlain, who again remained in France, we know almost nothing of what took place in the river. After his promise to build a fort at the rapids, his non-appearance and the absence of all preparations to this end were a great disappointment to his savage friends. An expedition which they were to undertake together against the Iroquois had thus to be postponed until another year.

The closing of the St. Lawrence led naturally to increased competition along the Atlantic coast, for this was now the only region open to the independent trader. Madame de Guercheville attempted no fresh colony but contented herself with representations to the English Court. King James however declared that the Virginia Company had been quite within its rights, and there the matter ended.² To the south of Mount Desert both the Dutch

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.* iii 326. *Ibid.* v 237-238. No copy of these articles has turned up so far unfortunately.

² Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial* i 15. London, 1860. *Ibid. Addenda* pp. 52-53, London 1893. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations* iv 68 *et seq.* Cf. also *Mass. Hist. Collect.* 3rd Series vi 72.

and the English were now doing considerable trade. In 1614, as a result of Hudson's discovery, some Dutch merchants obtained from their Government a monopoly of the fur-trade at Manhattan for three years.¹ The English were still nearer to the French. Although the colony sent out by the northern branch of the Virginia Company returned in 1608, Sir Francis Popham continued to despatch a vessel to the abandoned settlement every summer for trade.² In the year 1614 Captain John Smith arrived on the same coast and though the season was over he yet managed to secure 1100 beaver skins, 100 martens and as many otters. To the south of him were two French vessels and Sir Francis Popham's ship, while to the north his "commodities were not esteemed, they were so near the French, who affords them better."³ Among the latter was perhaps Poutrincourt, who on reaching Port Royal in March and finding all his buildings destroyed and the cattle killed decided to collect what furs he could and transport his people back to France. To build a new settlement was beyond his means; even when finished it might after all only suffer a fate similar to that of the earlier one. Although Poutrincourt himself was shortly afterwards killed, fighting for his sovereign at Méry-sur-Seine, his son Saint-Just returned in the following year to Port Royal where until the year 1621 he acted as agent for some fur-traders of La Rochelle.⁴

These traders of La Rochelle who had at the last moment refused to join the Company formed by Champlain somehow in this summer obtained from Condé a passport into the St. Lawrence for one of their vessels. This permission was a direct infringement of the Company's monopoly and led to a great deal of legal warfare between Condé, the Company and the La Rochelle mer-

¹ E. B. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, i 74-76. New York 1846. Brodhead and O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, i 13-14. Albany 1856.

² *Brief Relation*, etc., in *Mass. Hist. Collect.*, 2nd Series ix 4. Cf. also Georges' *Briefve Narration* in *Ibid.*, 3rd Series vi 57 et seq.

³ *Description of New England* in *Mass. Hist. Collect.*, 3rd Series vi 103-104.

⁴ Lescarbot, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France* (edition of 1617), pp 687 et seq. Arrêt du Parlement de Rouen 12th July 1633. Cf. also Bréard, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124.

chants. In fact the matter was not finally settled until the year 1633.¹

Whether the troubles in which Condé now found himself involved at home were the cause both of this illegal permission to trade and also of the absence of Champlain from the St. Lawrence that summer we do not know, but this explanation is *prima facie* not unlikely. Although it had been hoped that the viceroys of Canada would have quieted Condé at least for some time, in January of this year 1614 he was again in arms and, contrary to the general expectation, had a considerable following. The alarm of the Court was great and no time was lost in assembling troops and in preparing for the gravest eventualities. Fortunately however the difficulties of the situation were overcome by the coolness of the Chancellor de Sillery who continued to urge prudence at the moment of the greatest tension. By means of his efforts, the affair passed off without bloodshed. By the terms of the treaty of Sainte-Menehould, the Regent agreed not only to hand over to Condé some 400,000 livres but to assemble the States-General for the discussion of the affairs of the realm. Even after this however Condé refused to appear at Court, and learning of the ill-treatment of some of his followers at Poitiers he sent another of his familiar admonitory letters. This however found Marie de Médicis in no conciliatory mood. Advancing with her army on Orleans she forced Condé, now in great fear of being taken prisoner, hastily to decamp. During the rest of the summer the Court continued its triumphant progress through the west, while the Viceroy of Canada wandered aimlessly hither and thither without plan or friends. On a report reaching Bordeaux that he was approaching that place, the citizens announced that they would shut the gates in his face. It was not indeed until September, on the eve of the King's majority, that, receiving a polite invitation from the Regent, Condé finally consented to make his reconciliation with the royal family. That these troubles, disputes and wanderings were not without some connection with the passport illegally granted to the merchants of La Rochelle

¹ Archives du Parlement de Rouen, Arrêt du 25 Juin 1633.

for trade in the St. Lawrence and with the absence of Champlain from Canada during this same summer is at least probable.¹

The demand made by Condé for the assembling of the States-General was carried out in the autumn of this year and was not without its effect on the trade of New France. The St. Malo merchants had for some time opposed the registration of Condé's monopoly and only joined the new Company when further opposition became useless. It was indeed a question of doing this or of losing their share in the trade of the St. Lawrence. The deputies however from Brittany to the States-General were requested to obtain the repeal of the monopoly and one of their most innocent-looking proposals virtually contained such a clause. Champlain soon got wind of the affair and obtained, through Condé, permission to state to the Assembly the real facts of the case, whereupon the article was at once erased.² Another article whereby the salt for the Newfoundland fishery was freed from all taxes actually received the King's assent; but this unfortunately does not imply that it was ever carried into effect.³ In fact few if any of these demands of the third estate were afterwards enforced.

At the opening of the trading season of 1615 the outlook for the new Company seemed bright. Condé was at peace with the Court and had promised to give no more special trading licenses. The barter took place as usual both at Tadoussac, where the sea-going vessels remained, and at the rapids, whither the traders made their way in small boats. On account of his failure to appear in the previous summer, Champlain found his Indian allies rather sceptical about his intention to aid them against the Iroquois. To prove the sincerity of his intentions and at the same time to search for the western passage, he decided, after a consultation with Dupont-Gravé, to spend the whole of the coming winter among the Hurons. With a score or so of Frenchmen to accompany him he hoped not only to render the Indians

¹ Zeller, *Marie de Médicis et Villeroy*, Chaps. viii and ix (Paris 1897). Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé* iii 21 et seq.

² *Des Etats Généraux et Autres Assemblées Nationales* Tome xvii (Paris 1789), 2^e partie, p. 132. Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 240 et seq.

³ *Des Etats Généraux, etc.*, xvii 2^e partie, pp. 29-30.

valuable assistance in their wars but also to prepare them to some extent by such an intercourse for the reception of the Gospel which was henceforth to be preached to them by four Recollect Fathers, brought out that summer to Quebec. A few years later their number was increased to six, who were supported and maintained by the Company as long as its monopoly lasted.¹

As had been agreed, therefore, Champlain with Father Joseph, one of the Recollects, and twelve other Frenchmen spent the winter of 1615-16 among the Hurons in their homes on the peninsula between Georgian Bay and Lake Huron. The journey thither by way of the Ottawa river, Lake Nipissing and Georgian Bay proved very long and very difficult to the white men. To Champlain the pleasure of exploring these regions made him oblivious of the difficulties of the route. On reaching the Huron country he not only seized every opportunity of examining it in all directions but he carefully inquired of all strangers the nature of the regions further to the west.² During the course of an expedition which the Hurons made against the Iroquois, he was able to visit Lake Simcoe, the Trent river and the Bay of Quinté as well as that portion of New York State which borders on the eastern end of Lake Ontario. The attack made on the Iroquois fort near Lake Geneva proved however unsuccessful. The French indeed reared a wooden platform from which the musqueteers were able to command the village and to drive its defenders from their palisade but though the Hurons seized this occasion to place flaming bundles against the undefended woodwork, they placed them to leeward of it so that the palisade did not catch fire.³ During the remainder of the winter Champlain was busy contracting alliances with the tribes who were the neighbours of the Hurons. Just as, up to the time of their expedition against the Iroquois in the summer of 1609, the Hurons had been content to receive the French goods from the Algonquins, so the tribes in

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.* iv 14 *et seq.* Sagard, *op. cit.* i 36 *et seq.*

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* iv 25: "Je donnay une hache à leur Chef . . . et communicant avec luy, ie l'entretins sur ce qui estoit de son pais, qu'il me figura avec du charbon sur une escorce d'arbre," etc. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 58 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.* iv 39 *et seq.*, v 258 *et seq.*

this region had hitherto never visited the rapids but had received the French goods from the Hurons, to whom they gave in exchange the furs collected during the winter. Thus not only the Hurons but also the Algonquins and Montagnais brought to the St. Lawrence their own furs and those also of the tribes that lay beyond them. In 1608, for example, Captain John Smith, when on a voyage up country from Jamestown, heard of a tribe called the Massawomeekes who had received "their hatchets and such like tooles from the French who inhabit the river of Cannida."¹ It was now Champlain's endeavour to induce these neighbours of the Hurons to come to the rapids themselves, not only in order to increase the barter but also by this closer intercourse to learn more of the regions to the west and to the north. He of course promised liberal aid to all against their enemies and received in return the much-desired invitation to visit their country; for in this way he hoped to discover finally the long-sought passage to the East.² In the spring of 1616 indeed some Algonquins had promised to guide him as far as Lake Superior, but owing to a quarrel between them and his Huron hosts the expedition had to be put off.³ Everywhere however he received reports of a most encouraging nature. One tribe informed him that not far from them, near the setting sundewelt a white people like the French, who enjoyed a high state of civilization. "I do not know," says Champlain, "what to think of this, but in order to discover the truth a good deal of time and money must be spent." He doubted whether the keenness of the Viceroy or of the shareholders for discovery would reach the point of sending him on such a long and expensive journey.⁴

¹ Smith's *Works* (Arber's Edition, Birmingham 1884) p. 119; Cf. also p. 117.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* iv 141: "J' avois passé par plusieurs et diverses nations . . . non cogneus aux François, ny à ceux de nostre habitation, avec lesquels l'avois fait alliance, et juré amitié avec eux, à la charge qu'ils viendroient faire traicte avec nous, et que ie les assisterois en leurs guerres."

³ *Ibid.* iv 61 et seq., v 277 et seq.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv 72: "quelques prisonniers leur ont rapporté y avoir des peuples semblables à nous en blancheur et autres choses . . . Je ne puis que penser là dessus, sinon que ce fussent gens plus civilisez qu'eux, et qu'ils disent nous ressembler: il seroit bien besoing d'en sçavoir la verité par la veué, mais il faut de l'assistance," etc. Cf. Tome v pp. 287 et seq.

After having urged as many nations as possible to come to the rapids during that summer, Champlain, with Father Joseph and the twelve Frenchmen, set off towards the end of May on the return journey. Dupont-Gravé and the other factors were waiting for them at the rapids, and as many canoes arrived they doubtless did a good season's trade. Before the Hurons departed Champlain promised his host of the winter, as he had already so often done the chiefs of the Algonquins, that as soon as possible a fort should be built at the rapids to hold the Iroquois in check and render safe the navigation of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence.¹ This summer the factory at Quebec was strengthened and enlarged. Since the Recollects had also taken up their quarters there the old accommodation was no longer sufficient, and before he set out for France, Champlain superintended considerable alterations in the buildings.

During the summers both of 1615 and 1616 the trade along the Atlantic coast seems to have gone on much as usual. Besides others, a vessel from La Rochelle came every spring to visit Saint-Just at Port Royal, and young Dupont-Gravé, who had wintered once or twice at the river St. John, still kept up his old intercourse with the savages there.² According to Captain John Smith's estimate this Atlantic trade was very good indeed. A vessel could get as a rule from six to seven thousand furs in a summer. In the year 1616 the French got twenty-five thousand furs, "of which," he adds boastfully, "we may have as good parts as they, if we take good courses."³ At the Baie de Chaleur the skins principally bartered were those of the beaver and the elk.⁴ The Newfoundland fishery was also on the increase and in the year 1615 steps were taken both in England and in France to

¹ *Ibid.* iv. 104: "et que . . . nous faisons une autre habitation au sault Sainct Louys, pour leur donner la seureté du passage de la riviere pour la crainte de leurs ennemis," etc.

² Arrêts du Parlement de Rouen, 25th June and 12th July 1633. Bréard, *op. cit.* pp. 125-128.

³ *Mass. Hist. Collect.*, 3rd Series, vol. vi, p. 115.

⁴ Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 102, "L'on fait en ce lieu bonne partie de traite avec les habitans du pays. Pour des marchandises ils donnent en échange des peaux d'eslan et quelques castors."

check some abuses. The worst was the destruction or the removal of platforms. It appears that the earliest arrivals among the dry-fishers were in the habit either of seizing the best platforms in any bay or of tearing them down and putting them up again elsewhere. A vessel was never sure in fact whether she would find her old platform on her return and the erection of a new one demanded considerable time. For the French fishermen Louis XIII issued an order forbidding any one to tear down or remove such platforms, which were henceforth to be regarded as private property. The stones carried out on the outward voyage for ballast were not to be thrown into the harbours, which might in process of time become filled up, but were to be dropped at sea or carried on shore.¹ In the same year an English sea-captain, Richard Whitbourne, was authorized to check the same abuses,² but neither of these attempts proved very effectual. According to Whitbourne there were at this time two hundred and fifty English vessels engaged in the trade with a total aggregate tonnage of 15,000. These ships gave employment in all to no less than five thousand persons.³ The French, Basque and Portuguese vessels numbered altogether about four hundred, although this included those who went "to the Coast of Canady."⁴ It was also becoming more and more usual for the English vessels to take their cod to Spain, southern France or Italy, and to bring home to England the products of these countries.⁵ It should seem that the abolition of the duty on Canadian timber in the year 1612 led to a considerable development of that trade, for

¹ Archives Municipales de St. Malo, EE 4 no. 139.

² R. Whitbourne, *Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland* (London 1622), Preface: "In the yeere 1615 I returned againe to New-found-land carrying with mee a Commission out of the high Court of Admiralty, under the great Seale thereof, authorizing me to impannell juries, and to make inquiry upon oath, of sundry abuses and disorders committed amongst Fishermen yeerely upon that Coast."

³ *Ibid.* pp. 11-12.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 11.

⁵ *Ibid.* preface: "Letting passe my Voyage that I intended for Naples;" "Although I was bound from thence to Marseilles;" cf. also p. 11: "Yea some men are of opinion that the people of France, Spaine, Portugall and Italy could not so well live, if the benefit of the fishing . . . were taken from them."

Montchrétien, no man witness, tells us that at this time the supply which formerly came from Denmark, Sweden and Russia was now obtained from the St. Lawrence.¹

On reaching France in the autumn of 1616 after his winter among the Hurons, Champlain was both surprised and alarmed to learn that Condé had once more got himself into trouble. Although he had been reconciled to the Court in the autumn of 1614, at the time of the King's majority, the peace had been of short duration. He was indeed preparing to give further trouble early in the following year when a sudden illness put an end to his plans. This attack seemed to him the more unfortunate as he thought the Huguenots were prepared to back him up. By the terms of the peace of Loudron in May 1615 he received, in addition to the posts already held, the government of Berry and the usual donation of some nine hundred thousand livres. "Adieu, d' Aubigné," cried Condé, as his friend left the sick room, "get off to your Dognon," a small unhealthy spot near La Rochelle. "And you to the Bastille," called back the other in truly prophetic words.² In fact the Regent, alarmed at Condé's growing popularity and at the rumours of his designs on the Crown, secured his arrest on the morning of the first of September 1616, when he came to the Louvre to attend the ordinary Council meeting. Notwithstanding his mother's efforts to rouse the populace of Paris they remained unmoved, and a few days later the doors of the Bastille closed on Condé for three years.³

When Champlain landed at Honfleur a week later, the news of the Viceroy's imprisonment was soon made known to him. "I concluded at once," he tells us, "that the enemies of the Company would not be slow in vomiting forth their poison," and his forecast did not prove incorrect.⁴ Condé's arrest had been carried out by a Gascon officer, M. de Thémînes, who received as his

¹ Montchrétien, *op. cit.* (edition of Funck-Brentano), pp. 324-325.

² Duc d'Annamo, *op. cit.* iii 66.

³ *Ibid.* iii 82 *et seq.*

⁴ Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 310: "Estant arrivé en France, nous eumes nouvelles de la detention de Monseigneur le Prince, qui me fit iuger que nos envieux ne tarderoient gueres à vomir leur poison, et qu'ils feroient ce qu'ils n'avoient osé faire auparavant."

reward the staff of a marshal of France. He was urged further to seize the occasion to apply for one or two of the numerous offices held by Condé. The viceroys of New France, worth a thousand crowns a year, he soon obtained without much trouble. The same friend who had urged this step now announced to the Company that unless the Viceroy's salary were increased by five hundred crowns, which he meant to keep for himself, the monopoly would be taken from them. With the fate of Chauvin and Monts before them, the shareholders were alarmed at this threat, the more so perhaps as the possibility of a powerful protector like Condé being arrested had never entered into their calculations. Condé on the other hand by no means intended to lose the office without a struggle, and sent word to the Company from prison that if they paid Thémisines they would be obliged to pay twice, for he by no means intended to forego his own salary. The affair then entered the domain of law where it remained until the autumn of 1617. During this interval, the importance of the dispute and the prominence of the persons concerned drew public attention to the country in question. The total absence of colonists of any sort, in the face of the explicit condition stipulated when the monopoly was granted, excited open comment. To calm matters, Monts, as the shareholder of most experience, hurriedly drew up a fresh agreement by which, in return for a few new privileges, the Company offered to take out the stipulated number of colonists, to support them for two years, and to fortify the country as well. As usual, or as Champlain puts it, "by some strange accident," public interest in the matter soon cooled and so did the zeal of the Company to fulfil its engagements.¹

The undertaking to ship colonists was not altogether unobserved however, for in the spring of 1617 one family was at length taken out to Quebec, though under conditions scarcely likely to induce many others to follow in their footsteps. Louis Hébert, a Parisian chemist, whose father had been in the service of Catherine de Médicis and who himself had been at Port Royal with Poutrincourt, was urged by Champlain at this time to take

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 312 *et seq.*

up land on the St. Lawrence. When application was made to the Company, they appeared only too pleased, and offered not only to support him and his family for two years but to give him two hundred crowns a year as well for three years. Delighted with the offer, Hébert sold his house in Paris and with suitable goods set off with his family to Honfleur. Here however matters changed. Instead of two hundred crowns they now offered only one hundred, while in return he was obliged to sign an agreement that not only himself, but his wife, his children and his servant would serve the Company diligently during the whole of that period. Instead of becoming a colonist he was to be a servant of the Company and could only clear his land and build his house when the chief factor at Quebec had no need of his or his family's services. At the end of three years he might grow tobacco or wheat and other cereals, but he must sell his produce to the Company, not at prices suitable to the condition of affairs in a new country but at the prices current in France. He was further strictly forbidden to engage in any shape or manner in the fur-trade, and finally his services as apothecary were to be continually at the service of the Company without any payment in return. In the impossibility of returning to Paris, Hébert reluctantly accepted these conditions, but it is not difficult to understand why his example was not followed by others.¹ At Quebec matters had not gone well. As nothing had as yet been planted, all were dependent on supplies from France, and this year the stock ran out before the vessels arrived. On his arrival Champlain scolded the factors, as he had always done, and during his stay did all he could to prevent a recurrence of scarcity by clearing and sowing the land near at hand. But after his departure everything was again neglected. It seems indeed that as soon as the boats full of furs disappeared round Point Lévy to join the sailing-vessels at Tadoussac, the factors gave themselves up entirely to six months of perfect idleness. Champlain would be almost certain on his return each spring to find everything just as he had left it in the previous autumn.¹

¹ *Au Roy sur la Nouvelle France* (1626), pp. 10 et seq.

² Sagard, *op. cit.* i 52 et seq.

The barter at the rapids this summer was unusually large, for all the tribes visited by Champlain during his winter among the Hurons now came down to the St. Lawrence for the first time. The new-comers were indulged in a round of perpetual feasting, then as now considered a not ineffectual method of securing a second visit. While on the one hand the Company was thus reaping the fruits of Champlain's labours during the winter of 1615-16, on the other the news that the Dutch traders on the Hudson had finally succeeded in concluding an alliance with the Iroquois confederation showed that little hope could henceforth be entertained of any trading connections in that direction.¹ The future for French trade clearly lay then among the tribes of the west and of the north. At Tadoussac this summer the Recollects for the first time erected a small chapel. During the trading season the place presented a busy appearance, for here gathered the tribes from the regions of the Saguenay as well as those from the southern shore of the St. Lawrence. This was the harbour also where the ships of the Company passed the summer; beyond this point navigation was deemed too difficult for ocean-going vessels. During the winter nothing was to be seen but the boats used for transporting the goods to Quebec, which were left drawn up on the shore.²

Along the Acadian coast young Dupont-Gravé and the other French traders continued their yearly bartering voyages,³ while the Banks and the harbours of Cape Breton and Newfoundland presented every summer the same busy appearance. From the port of St. Malo alone there sailed now over one hundred and twenty vessels;⁴ the total of all nations must have reached nearly a thousand.⁵

¹ O'Callaghan, *op. cit.* i 78. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York* (New York 1853), p. 88.

² Sagard, *op. cit.*, i pp. 47 et seq.

³ Bréard, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁴ Archives Municipales de St. Malo, Série EE 4 no. 139. This fleet alone gave employment to over six thousand men.

⁵ The estimates vary from "many thousands" to "six or seven hundred." Cf Whitbourne, *op. cit.* p. 2; *Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis* (Paris 1879), vii 379; *Mass. Hist. Collect.*, 3rd Series, vi 110.

Champlain, on his return to France in the autumn of 1617, found that the dispute about the viceroyship had been finally decided in favour of Thémimes, who retained Champlain however as his lieutenant. With Champlain also returned the Recollect Father Dolbeau, who sought, as one of his colleagues had already done, to obtain further aid from the Company in mission-work. The Company's invariable reply was that in supporting six priests they were doing as much as they could for the spreading of the Gospel. Fresh aid, they said, should come rather from the great lords of the Court who would then be employing their time to better purpose than they now were in forcing the poor merchants for protection's sake to hand over every year a large portion of their just earnings.¹ During the winter of 1617 and 1618 some disaffected Breton merchants once more made an attempt to break down the Company's monopoly in the St. Lawrence. Profiting by Condé's imprisonment and by the appointment of a new viceroy, they caused a clause to be inserted in the articles of the Estates of Brittany requesting that the fur-trade might be free for that province. This article received the King's ratification before its true meaning was perceived. Champlain however, ever on the alert against such tactics, soon heard of it and begged the King's Council to suspend the article until both sides of the question had been heard. In the negotiations which ensued the Bretons based their claim on the historical right established by their countryman Cartier. Champlain and the Rouen shareholders of the Company, after insisting on the fact that when their Company was formed all who wished to join it had been at liberty to do so, combated their opponents' arguments by "citing authors worthy of faith." This evidently means nothing more than that from the beginning the trade had been general and not confined to Brittany. This view was finally accepted by the Council who thereupon annulled the article. The Bretons were informed that the trade along the Atlantic coast was still open to all, but that none but shareholders of the Company could be allowed to barter in the St. Lawrence.²

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 313 *et seq.*; Sagard, *op. cit.* i 52.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 314-315.

About this time Champlain presented to the Chamber of Commerce at Paris a statement of the various trades which might be fostered in New France, if only proper means were taken to encourage them. As a description, not of what was then actually the case, but of what might exist, if capital were directed to the country, this document possesses an academic interest. Suffice it here to say that he speaks of fisheries, the fur-trade, lumbering, cattle-raising, mines and finally the cultivation of wheat, barley, maize and peas.¹ At the same time he presented to the King and his Council a request that the colony might be properly fortified. If, he informed them, this were not soon done, the English and Dutch, already settled close at hand and hostile to the French, would repeat the exploits of the former at Mount Desert and Port Royal. The value of the valley of the St. Lawrence was too great to allow of much hesitation on the course to be taken. The King here possessed a country nearly two thousand leagues in length which abounded in rolling plains, beautiful forests, and rivers full of fish. Besides giving an opportunity of spreading the Gospel in so large a territory, further exploration might lead to the discovery of the long-sought passage to the East. All the ships in Christendom would then pass that way in order to save time and avoid pirates. From the duties levied on these vessels a revenue would be secured ten times greater than what was then collected throughout France; with this money a city about as large as Saint-Denis, to be named Ludovica, could be built on the site of the factory at Quebec, and besides the other numerous large buildings of this city would be erected a beautiful temple called the Redeemer and dedicated to Christ in token of his love for the heathen of the New World. Here fifteen Recollets would daily minister to the spiritual wants of this large community. Such was Champlain's beautiful dream of the future of the St. Lawrence valley. Unfortunately no passage existed, so that the dream was never to take practical form. At that time however all seemed to promise fair. The enthusiasm of the dreamer had infused itself into those to whom he spoke,

¹ *Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, vi 387 et seq., nos. viii and ix.

so that while the Chamber of Commerce agreed that the monopoly of the present Company should be allowed to run its course, it yet insisted that attention should be paid to the stipulation about colonists and that as long as its privilege lasted ten families should be taken out every year. Although notice to this effect was sent to the Company,¹ the latter waited for the Government to move in the matter; but the Government remained inactive. Indeed when the trading season of 1619 opened nothing in the way of obtaining colonists had been done, although Champlain, still hopeful, left the further negotiations on the subject in the hands of one of his friends.²

We hear nothing of this year's barter at Tadoussac. That in the upper river, which took place between Quebec and the rapids, had been in progress some days before Champlain arrived. As usual the factors had totally neglected everything at Quebec so that not only had they themselves suffered from famine but the whole place had fallen into ruin. For some time before the arrival of the vessels they had even been living on wild roots. Champlain did his best to put matters right, but this repeated neglect of all his express orders and of all that tended to the welfare of those at the factory gradually caused him to lose patience, and in the remaining years of the Company's existence he began to tighten the reins of control.³ When at length he was able to set out for the barter, he met a boat returning to Quebec for the purpose of bringing up everything exchangeable in the storehouse. On account both of Champlain's visit to the Huron country and of the hospitable reception accorded to those who had come down in the previous summer, the concourse of savages was this year greater than ever. Although the Indians welcomed Champlain with every expression of delight, he was not able to return this feeling in kind. The reason was that some years before two servants of the Company had disappeared from Quebec and were believed to have lost their way or been drowned. This spring however the tide had thrown the bodies

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 324-325.

² *Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis* vi 378 et seq., nos. vi and vii

³ Laverdière, *op. cit.* iv 128. Sagard, *op. cit.* i 58.

high and dry on the beach, when it was discovered that after having been foully murdered the bodies had been sunk in the river with stones. Only the rotting of the cords had revealed the crime. The unanimous voice of the assembly was that vengeance should at once be taken on the murderers. To find them however was not an easy matter. After some deliberation Champlain and Dupont-Gravé decided that in view of this difficulty and of the danger, by hasty action, of estranging all the savages there assembled and thus doing immense harm to the trade, it would be better for the present at least to arrange the matter amicably. When the barter was over therefore, Champlain informed the assembled savages that until some trace of the culprits had been discovered nothing would be done. By next year he hoped that some information on the subject would have been obtained, and with the three hundred soldiers that the King had just promised him he would then secure justice.¹

Along the Atlantic coast young Dupont-Gravé traded as usual, while another fur-trader from Dieppe was captured by the English.² Foreign vessels seem indeed to have now become more numerous on the coast. In a letter addressed by Saint-Just this autumn to the Town Council of Paris he warned them that if they did not send out colonists to that region or build a few forts on the coast, the French would soon be altogether dependent on the English for the "manna of Europe," the Newfoundland cod. If the Town Council, he said, could only see their way to helping people for the first two years, they would easily get along afterwards, for the land was fertile and game and fish were abundant.³ In the same autumn Champlain also, on his return to France, sought to stir up the shareholders of his Company in this matter of colonization. The monopoly had only been given on this condition and the Chamber of Commerce at Paris urged him to see that the Company carried it out. With the exception indeed of the Vienne couple and the Hébert family, there is no trace in the

¹ Laverdière, *op cit.*, iv 114 *et seq.*, and 131 *et seq.*

² Bréard, *op. cit.* p 130.

³ *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France* i 57-59.

records of any other colonists in the country at this time. The wife of the former had died soon after her arrival, while if the accounts given be true the Hébert family were extremely badly treated. The terms of the agreement on which they had come out seemed hard enough, but in practice the factors of the Company went even beyond it. "In fact," says Sagard, "the Company treated these people in the most rigorous manner possible, thinking that they would thereby discourage others from following in their footsteps, unless indeed they came as slaves."¹ On the other hand the shareholders declared that as long as things were so unstable and the viceroy continually being changed, they could not engage in any great outlay as to colonists. For all they could tell their monopoly might be repealed at any moment. Their trade was also continually interrupted by interlopers, especially those of La Rochelle, who, since the unfortunate passport given by Condé, had never ceased to injure the Company's commerce in the St. Lawrence. When a decision was given against any citizens of La Rochelle, it could not be enforced. If one of the Company's agents appeared at La Rochelle, the mayor would inform him that he was conferring no slight favour on him in advising him to retire again as quickly as possible, for if his arrival became known even he, the mayor, would have no power to prevent the townspeople from throwing him into the sea.² It appears indeed that religious hatred was not altogether absent from these disputes; and this may indeed have been the cause why

¹ Sagard, *op. cit.*, i p. 53: "Hébert, qui depuis un an estoit arrivé à Kebec . . . en intention de s'y habiter et y perseverent encores à present, nonobstant les grandes traverses des anciens marchands qui les ont traiteés avec toutes les rigueurs possibles, pensans peut estre leur faire perdre l'envie d'y demeurer et à d'autres messages de s'y aller habiter qu'en condition de serviteurs ou plustost d'esclaves."

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 321: "Et de plus, combien ont-ils eu de proceés contre les Rochelois, qui n'en vouloient perdre leur part, souz des passe-ports qu'ils obtenoient par surprise, sans rien contribuer? et autres sans commission se mettoient en mer à la desrobée pour aller voler et piller contre les defenses de sadite Maiesté, et ne pouvoit-on avoir aucune raison ny justice en l'enclos de leur ville: car quand on alloit faire quelque exploit de Justice le Maire disoit: *Je crois ne vous faire pas peu de faveur et de courtoisie, en vous conseilant de . . . vous retirer au plustost. Que si le peuple scait . . . vous courez fortune d'estre noyez dans le port . . . à quoy ie ne pourrois remedier.*"

the merchants of La Rochelle refused at the last moment to join Champlain's Company. In fact the Huguenots who did join only planted dissension and distrust among the shareholders. Each party so mistrusted the other that it kept its own factors and agents at the factory, whereby of course the expenses were doubled. In the face of these troubles one is not surprised that Champlain's efforts to rouse the Company to its duty in regard to colonization came to nought. On the contrary his complaints only made his future relations with it more difficult.¹

When he arrived at Honfleur at the opening of the trading season of 1619 he was informed that the Company had decided to hand over the charge of the factory at Quebec for the future to Dupont-Gravé. If Champlain cared to do so he was at liberty to continue his explorations but otherwise his authority was at an end. Champlain however knew too well the true condition of affairs not to treat such language in the way that it deserved. He pointed out that, as the representative of the King and the Viceroy, it was his duty to tell them what they should do. The only result of such ill-considered action would be to make him more exacting in the future as to the fulfilment of all the conditions stipulated by them. Dupont-Gravé had long been his friend and he hoped would still remain so, but even at the risk of such a loss, he intended to allow no interference with the King's authority. Some disaffected shareholders, urged on by one Boyer, still held out, so that when permission to embark on the Company's vessels had been explicitly denied him, he returned to Paris and presented his case to the King. At Court he received full acknowledgment of the justice of his claims and soon after, in a public meeting of the Exchange at Rouen, Boyer was obliged to offer an apology for his behaviour.² We must regret this quarrel especially because on account of the absence of Champlain which it involved we know almost nothing of what took place this summer in the St. Lawrence. Along the Atlantic coast there was the usual fleet of traders and among them the

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 325 *et seq.*

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 322 *et seq.*

vessel of young Dupont-Gravé as well as one from La Rochelle.¹

In the autumn of this year, 1619, about the time the vessels were returning from Acadia and the St. Lawrence, Condé was once more set at liberty. As a salve to his feelings he was reinstated in the office of Viceroy of New France, although he voluntarily relinquished it shortly afterwards for a good round sum. At the time of his dispute before the courts with Thémines, the Admiralty Board had deemed it necessary to appoint a representative to look after its interests. This man, the Sieur de Villemenon, had then convinced himself that in the interest of French shipping the Navy Board should be given the control of the colony. Now especially, when Champlain's power over the Company seemed on the wane, Villemenon advised Montmorency, the Admiral of France, to have the viceroyship transferred to himself. The matter was then broached to Condé who agreed to consent, provided he received some recompense for the loss of his salary. In return for a sum of eleven thousand crowns the viceroyship was made over to the Admiral of France.²

Henry, second Duke of Montmorency, at this time the darling both of the Court and the town, had been appointed Admiral of France and Brittany in the year 1612 when only seventeen years of age. The duties of the office were performed by subordinates. The man who really took over the functions of Viceroy of New France was a certain Sieur Dolu of whom little else is known. He was instructed by Montmorency to inquire into the present condition of affairs in the colony and to report on the manner in which the Company was performing its engagements. In the course of this examination, in which he received considerable aid from Champlain, Dolu had no difficulty in persuading himself that the present Company was by no means doing its duty. Not only had it taken out no colonists, refused to recognize the authority of the King's lieutenant and left the river absolutely unfortified, but even after twelve years of existence, the factory

¹ Bréard, *op. cit.*, p. 130. Arrêt du Parlement de Rouen, 12th July, 1633.

² This was doubtless at the rate of 1000 crowns a year for the eleven years of the monopoly. Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 326-327.

at Quebec was still dependent on France for its annual supply of food. With the English in Newfoundland and the Dutch at the mouth of the Hudson, such a policy was exceedingly hazardous. Dolu informed the Company therefore that if they did not bestir themselves their monopoly would soon be taken away. The Company as usual took no steps to improve matters.¹ When Champlain reached Quebec in the summer of 1620 he found that during his absence the whole place had been allowed to fall into decay. Not only did the rain enter the factory from every side but the storehouse had almost literally fallen to pieces. The dirt and filth of the court-yard showed that even the common rules of health had been neglected. He at once set to work as usual to try and make the place habitable, for he had brought his wife and intended to remain for the winter. To Dolu however he sent back an account of the state in which he had found matters, at the same time pointing out the evident hopelessness of expecting any improvement from the present Company. So much indeed had to be done before the winter arrived that Champlain could not even find the time to pay a visit to the barter, at which he had not been present since the summer of 1618. Doubtless both above Quebec and also at Tadoussac things went on much as usual, for this was really the only piece of business to which the factors did pay any attention.² As a result of the report sent home by Champlain this autumn on board the returning vessels, Dolu at length decided to cancel the present Company's monopoly, though it should legally have run on until the year 1625. That this step was unexpected or even undeserved can hardly be maintained. On the other hand however the new Company to which Dolu regranted the monopoly for a fresh term of eleven years turned out no better than its predecessor. It was in the period of this Company, organized by the Caëns, that Quebec was taken by the English in 1629.

¹ *Ibid.* v 326 *et seq.*, vi 3 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* vi 5 *et seq.* Le Clercq, *Etablissement de la Foy* (Paris 1691), i 159 *et seq.*

CHAPTER VII

THE CAENS' COMPANY AND ITS UNION WITH CHAMPLAIN'S 1621-1627

On receipt of Champlain's account of the condition in which he had found the buildings at Quebec, Dolu, the agent of the new Viceroy, came to the conclusion that the immediate withdrawal of the monopoly from Champlain's Company was the only course left open. Next to nothing had been done during the six years it had been in existence, either for defence or colonization, and the decayed state of the factory showed how lightly it viewed even its most elementary duties. Since several groups of merchants had been for some time endeavouring to obtain the monopoly, Dolu had no lack of applicants. His choice soon fell on two Huguenot merchants of Rouen, William de Caën and his nephew Emery. In consideration of the enjoyment of the monopoly for eleven years, they agreed to conditions similar for the most part to those which the old Company had accepted but had left unfulfilled. Montmorency was to receive the usual Viceroy's salary of one thousand crowns a year, while Champlain, who with his family was to live at Quebec, was to be paid two hundred crowns. He was also to have every summer at his disposal ten of the Company's men, whom he might use as workmen or soldiers according as circumstances demanded. As before, six Recollects were to be maintained for missionary work among the savages, as well as for the purpose of supplying the spiritual needs of the Company's men at Quebec. During the course of these eleven years, six families of not less than three persons each, were to be taken out to New France, but, like its predecessor, this Company was only obliged to pay them for their produce the prices current at home in France. On the whole, these conditions were very similar to those which obtained

under the old Company and they were fulfilled as little in this case as in the other.¹

The members of the old Company, having heard various rumours of impending changes, begged Dolu for some assurance that no harm was intended against them. If injustice were done them, they said, it was the new Viceroy himself who should finally bear the consequences. In reply, Dolu informed them that the change of Viceroy had cancelled all former commissions. Besides this, he had learned that in addition to neglecting all the conditions under which they had received the monopoly, they even contemplated handing the country over to a foreign power. Indeed this rumour, he said, had been chiefly instrumental in causing the Admiral of France to place the colony under his own control.² While it was thus quite plain that their worst fears were to be realized and the monopoly taken from them, yet the shareholders did not intend to submit without a struggle. Convinced that they had been calumniated, at least in what related to handing the country over to a foreign power, they appealed to the King for justice. No reply however had been received when the season of 1621 opened, so both Compagnies thought themselves justified in sending out their vessels to the St. Lawrence

The first to arrive at Tadoussac was a vessel belonging to the new Company, with letters for Champlain informing him of the withdrawal of the monopoly from the old Company and of the formation of the new one. He was further ordered by the Viceroy to confiscate the goods of the old Company found in the factory, as a punishment for its neglect to spend money on colonists and fortifications. When this was about to be effected, the chief factor asked to see the order from the King. Since none had arrived and since the other factors, clerks and interpreters of the old Company backed up their head-man, Champlain was at length obliged to assert that until such an order did arrive not only would their goods be left intact, but they alone should be at liberty to trade in the river. He sent word however to

¹ Biblioth. Nat., Ms. fr. 16738 fol. 143 *et seq.*, and fol. 148 *et seq.*; *Ibid.* Ms. fr. 8022 fol. 181 *et seq.*

² Biblioth. Nat., Collection Colbert Cinq Cents No. 203 fol. 188 *et seq.*

the factors of the new Company at Tadoussac that as soon as the King's order or the decision of the Council arrived, it was to be at once sent on to Quebec. Until the King's Council had given its decision, said he, everything was to go on exactly as in former years. The next vessel to cast anchor at Tadoussac was one belonging to the old Company with Dupont-Gravé himself in charge. Fearing lest, on account of his recent attempt to seize their goods, resort might now be had to reprisals, Champlain ordered the half-finished fort on the top of the cliff to be put in a state of defence, and prepared, as far as the means at his disposal permitted, to uphold the King's authority. Dupont-Gravé however was more surprised than annoyed at this reception. Though he had left France before the Council had given its decision, he by no means intended to oppose that decision when once it was announced. On the contrary, expecting that it would probably be given against his Company, he had brought out no fresh stores for the winter as he intended to take the old Company's men back with him to France. When all cause of anxiety had thus been removed, he and his friends continued their preparations for the barter. Having been again assured by Champlain that until the decision of the Council arrived they should not be disturbed, they departed with their goods to meet the savages up the river.

These factors of the old Company had been bartering almost a month before William de Caën at length reached Tadoussac with the long-expected decision of the Council. As signified to him "by sound of trumpet" in the harbour of Dieppe, this decree ran, that for that year 1621 both Companies should trade in the St. Lawrence. In the autumn however they should either unite their interests or agree to form an entirely new Company. Since Champlain had already allowed the old Company to trade and had also sent word to the barter as soon as Caën's arrival was announced, nothing now remained for Caën but to take full advantage of what was left of the trading season. Strange to say however, this Caën utterly refused to do. He asserted that until the vessel of the old Company commanded by Dupont-Gravé, which had set sail without its charter-party, had been

handed over to him that he might attack some interlopers seen when approaching Tadoussac, he would not move from that port. In the decision of the Council cognizance had been taken of the departure of this vessel without its charter-party and any such breach of the regulations was strictly forbidden for the future. As to the interlopers, Champlain who had come down to Tadoussac, was of the opinion that Caën's own three vessels with their one hundred and fifty sailors were quite sufficient to attack two small barques.¹ Caën however remained obdurate; but on discovering, after he had forcibly seized Dupont-Gravé's vessel, that she was not so well armed as he had hoped, he at once restored her. Although he now gave up the idea of pursuing the interlopers, he still refused to take any share in the trade, though for what reason is not quite clear.² Yet he did not return to France empty-handed. For the merchandize brought out in the first vessel the old Company, which had alone enjoyed the trade this year, paid him seven hundred beaver-skins. As they had also brought out no stores for the winter, they were obliged to buy them from Caën at the price of one thousand skins more. The old Company was thus able to leave thirty of its factors and servants for another winter, while Caën himself left eighteen of his men.³

In one of the vessels of the old Company returned home two butchers and their wives, who, although sent out by the old Company in the previous summer as prospective colonists, had according to Champlain done nothing since their arrival but "hunt, fish, sleep and get drunk."⁴ Since they only served as a useless drain upon the winter's stores, their return was an advantage. At the same time Father George, one of the Recollets, bore back to France a petition to the King begging him to pay some attention to the colony. Not only should a garrison be sent to Quebec and a watch-tower be erected at Tadoussac, but justice and law should be better enforced in the colony. It

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 27 and 31.

² *Ibid.* pp. 27 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.* pp. 30 and 31.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 35: "ne faisant que se donner du bon temps à chasser, pescher, dormir, et s'enyvrer avec ceux qui leurs en donnoient le moyen."

was lamentable enough to see a man like Caën openly flout the King's authority, but when it was considered that robberies, murders, assassinations, lust and blasphemy were only too common among the factors and interpreters, the need of some control became rapidly apparent. For themselves the Recollects wanted money to build a seminary at Quebec, while at the same time they desired the exclusion from the colony of all heretics. This last demand was doubtless due to the troubles occasioned in the summer by Caën, but since in some of his vessels nearly two-thirds of the crew were Huguenots, its enforcement was not an easy matter.¹

In the previous winter the Pilgrim Fathers made a landing on the New England coast. Though at first the necessity of constructing a settlement gave them little leisure for trade, yet in time they were able to pay more attention to this matter. The savages at first kept aloof, on account of a pestilence which broke out among them after the capture of a French fur-trader some years before. As time passed however this fear was overcome and the Plymouth settlement became a rival trading-post, which limited considerably the area open to the French traders on the Atlantic coast.² The number of English vessels here and on the Banks now reached three hundred and gave employment to some ten thousand seamen.³

The dispute between the rival Companies for the trade in the St. Lawrence was at length settled in the spring of 1622. By a decree of the King's Council the new Company received an extension of its monopoly until the year 1635. Up to that date it could in no way be deprived of this privilege by any change of viceroy or other official. On the other hand it was ordered to pay to the old Company the sum of ten thousand livres for the four years during which the monopoly of the latter should still have run, or, if they preferred it, they might hand over five-

¹ Sagard, *op. cit.* i 90 *et seq.* Le Clercq, *op. cit.* i 187 *et seq.* Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 121: "car ils estoient presque les deux tiers de huguenots," etc. Cf. also Biblioth. Nat., Ms. fr. 16738 fol. 143 *et seq.*

² J. A. Doyle, *The English in America: The Puritan Colonies*, (London 1887 i 70. *Mass. Hist. Collect.*, 4th series, iii 98.

³ Sainsbury, *Calendar of Colonial State Papers* i 25, no. 54.

twelfths of their capital to the shareholders of the old Company and unite the two Companies into one. After some deliberation, the latter course was chosen and the two Companies became one with a monopoly guaranteed against all interference until the year 1635. In truth, this United Company did enjoy the trade until the summer of 1633, but not uninterruptedly nor always with the consent of the Government.¹

During the years 1622 and 1623 the trade was carried on by this United Company without the occurrence of any incident worthy of notice. Whether it was the baneful influence of the shareholders of the old Company however or a like indifference on the part of the new, no efforts of any kind were made during these years to fulfil the conditions stipulated as to colonists and fortifications. When in the summer of 1623 the Company's vessels reached the St. Lawrence rather later than usual, the factory was as empty of supplies as ever, the men having had recourse as usual to roots and berries. This is the more surprising as Champlain had been living continuously at the factory since the summer of 1620 and had had plenty of opportunity to cultivate a local source of supply. In the autumn of 1622 he had indeed prepared some land but nothing was planted until the following April. No result could therefore be hoped for before August at the earliest.² The barter in the summer of 1623 took place at the river Richelieu where assembled more than sixty canoes of Hurons and Algonquins alone. On the 27th of July arrived other tribes who dwelt further west. They complained bitterly of the treatment meted out to them on their way down by the nations through whose territory they were obliged to pass. The Algonquins, not content with a heavy toll, had also robbed them of their furs, while the Hurons had actually tried to stop their passage. Champlain calmed these troubles as best he could.³

¹ Biblioth. Nat., Ms. fr. 16738 fol. 143 *et seq.* Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 38 *et seq.*

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 55 and 58.

³ *Ibid.* p. 62: "Le 17 dudit mois arriverent des sauvages, qui firent une assemblée entr' eux, touchant les passages qui n'estoient pas libres aux Hurons, que les Algommequins les traittoient mal, leur faisant contribuer de leurs marchandises et . . . les déroboient," etc.

In a large assembly, held after the barter, the Indian who had murdered the two servants of the Company some three years before was pardoned. Having openly confessed his ungrateful return for the kindness of the French, he and the savage who had assisted him publicly demanded forgiveness from Champlain. When this had been given, a naked sword was thrown into the St. Lawrence in token that all was to be henceforth forgotten. On the return journey thirteen interpreters and three Recollects set out with the savages. It was the duty of these interpreters both to perfect themselves in the various Indian dialects and also to see that the savages came down in the following summer with a plentiful supply of furs.¹ After the barter Champlain returned to Quebec where he drew up the plans for a new factory. The old building, originally erected in 1608, had suffered badly both from storms and neglect and no longer sufficed for the needs of the increasing trade. As soon as the design of the new building had been decided upon, eighteen men were at once set to work upon it.²

Along the Atlantic coast fishermen and fur-traders had been as busy this summer as ever. Many of the vessels of this Company now carried home fish from Gaspé in addition to the furs loaded at Tadoussac.³ On the other hand many of the whalers which came to Tadoussac bartered furs whenever an occasion offered.⁴

This summer an attempt was made to set up a colony in Acadia from a quarter whence one would hardly have expected such an effort. Stirred by the accounts of the foundations of New Spain, New France, New Holland and New England, a Scot, Sir William Alexander, was moved with ambition to see a

¹ *Ibid.* p. 66: "Deux autres François furent donnez aux Algonnequins, pour les maintenir en amitié et inciter à venir en traite"; Sagard, *Grand Voyage au Pays des Hurons* (Paris 1865), i 69.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 67-69.

³ *Ibid.* p. 61: "Miscou, où estoit le sieur de la Ralde en pescherie"; p. 67: "et Deschernes de s'en aller à Gaspey . . . pour faire faire diligence de la pesche du poisson." Cf. also p. 84.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 53-54: "qu'un vaisseau de 50 à 60 tonneaux estoit arrivé à Tadoussac pour faire pesche de baleine . . . ayant à la valeur de six à sept cents escus de marchandises, pour traiter." Cf. also p. 120.

part of this new world called New Scotland. He received encouragement in this design from Sir Ferdinand Georges, one of the members of the Plymouth Company, who even pointed out to him the beauty and richness of the region to the north of New England,¹ which, since the expedition of Argall in 1613, seems to have been generally looked upon as belonging to England. Pleased at this encouragement Alexander at once applied for a patent to this region, and since King James and his Scottish Council were both favourable, the Charter passed the great seal in September, 1621. Without regard to the earlier French grants, of which Alexander at least was by no means ignorant,² King James granted to him the huge peninsula between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean. This territory included the present provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as well as that portion of Quebec which borders the St. Lawrence at Gaspé. In fact, all that tract of land cut off by an imaginary line drawn from the mouth of the river Ste. Croix to its source and thence northward overland to the St. Lawrence was made over to Alexander in this charter.³ Although Sable Island, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton Island were also included, the two latter were a few days later granted to Robert Gordon of Lochinvar to form the barony of Galloway.⁴ In the summer of 1622 Alexander sent out his first vessel, which carried, besides agricultural labourers, an artisan, a blacksmith and a minister of the Scottish Church. When nearing Cape Breton the ship was suddenly driven back to Newfoundland, and since the summer was then well-nigh spent, the company decided to winter here while the vessel went home for fresh supplies.⁵ On his side Robert Gordon had also been busy; but the two ships which he was fitting out at Beaumaris in the Island of Anglesea were not ready when

¹ According to Georges the prime mover was John Mason, the author of a tract on Newfoundland. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Collect.*, 3rd Series, vi 78 *et seq.*

² J. Félix, *Voyage à la Nouvelle France du Capitaine Daniel* (Rouen 1881), introd. p. 6.

³ D. Laing, *Royal Letters Charters and Tracts relating to the Colonization of New Scotland* (Edinburgh 1867), Charters, pp. 1 *et seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 16 *et seq.*

⁵ Sir W. Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, etc., pp. 32 *et seq.*, in Laing's *Royal Letters*, etc. Félix, *op. cit.*, introd. pp. 5 *et seq.*

winter arrived. Although in the spring of 1623 fresh preparations were made for despatching them and Gordon even received encouragement from the Spanish Ambassador at the English Court, yet, for some unknown reason they never set sail.¹ For the present therefore Cape Breton remained untenanted by Europeans. Alexander's vessel did not reach St. John's on its return until late in the summer of 1623. It was then found that the men who had remained there for the winter had already hired themselves out in the numerous fishing vessels which thronged the place. Those on board contented themselves therefore with reconnoitring the coast of Acadia, and after securing a cargo of cod at Newfoundland they set sail for home.² Thus at the close of the summer of 1623 Saint-Just had been in no way disturbed in his peaceful trading operations at Port Royal. It appears that he also returned to France this autumn.³ He ceded his rights at Port Royal to a friend, young La Tour, whose quarters were at Cape Sable to the south of Port Royal. Here La Tour and a few of his friends continued the same half-trading, half roving life which Saint-Just himself had been leading since the destruction of his home in 1613.⁴

In the summer of 1624 the concourse of savages at the barter in the upper St. Lawrence was greater than ever. Although Champlain had not been beyond the rapids since the year 1615, yet owing to the annual winter visits of the interpreters,⁵ and to the gradual extension of the area in which the French merchandise circulated, fresh tribes continued to make their way nearly

¹ Félix, *op. cit.*, Introd. pp. 7 *et seq.*

² Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, etc., p. 34.

³ Dr. Patterson's article in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*, second series, vol. ii, 1896, p. 127. *Biblioth. Nat., Collect. Colbert Cinq Cents No. 148 fol. 436. Laverdière, op. cit.* vi 83 and 313.

⁴ If the English contention be correct, Saint-Just could only cede a limited right to young La Tour. Public Record Office, Foreign Corresp.: France, Dorchester to Wake, March 2nd 1631: "and this accord [between Alexander and this La Tour's father] need be the lesse stood upon, because it is no other than the self same which was presented to Sir Samuel Argall by one Biencourt (a Frenchman remaining then in that place as chiefe of that nation) who demanded a protection of Argall to depend upon his late Majesty as King of England."

⁵ Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 65-66 and 80-81.

every summer to the place of barter. This summer was made especially noteworthy by the arrival of thirty-five canoes of Iroquois. Two years before this, two Iroquois warriors had come to the Montagnais of their own accord in order to try and conclude a treaty of peace. But as they were not official representatives Champlain induced four of the Montagnais, specially deputed to conclude a peace, to return with these Iroquois.¹ On their arrival in the Iroquois country they met with a good reception and a permanent treaty was drawn up.² Thirty-five canoes of Iroquois had now arrived both to trade and to sign the peace. Although the nations and tribes were thus very various, no difficulty arose, so perfect were the arrangements made by Champlain. Each nation had its own interpreter. After the ordinary business of the barter, there was the feast of friendship with the presents given by both sides. Then followed the dances and other festivities. Finally the whole was brought to a close by the conclusion of the long-hoped-for peace between the Iroquois, the Hurons and the French. Although no new post had been erected at the rapids, it certainly looked as if the end thereby sought had been already attained. All hoped that with peace in the land a new era had dawned for the trade and prosperity of New France.³

In one of the returning vessels Champlain and his wife set sail for home. Since the summer of 1620 he had been continuously at work in the colony and the results now obtained seemed to warrant a short rest. With him also returned Father Iréné, one of the Recollects, to secure if possible the aid of the Jesuits in their missionary work among the savages. In the course of their labours, the Recollects were continually hearing of fresh tribes further to the west and to the north. For a field which tended thus to enlarge itself indefinitely, they felt that the six men of their own Order were by no means sufficient. The Jesuits with their great wealth and better organization would prove, they hoped, a valuable ally.⁴

¹ *Ibid.* vi 46 et seq.

² *Ibid.* p. 80: "Ils furent tres bien receus des Yrocois qui leurs firent tout plain de bonne reception, pour achever de faire cette paix."

³ Le Clercq, *op. cit.* i 259 et seq.

⁴ Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, iii 783.

Along the Atlantic, the open coasting trade as well as the fishing trade went on much as before. In a dispute with some savages one vessel lost five of her crew. Three Recollects who came out to Acadia in a vessel from Bordeaux were able to make their way overland and join their brethren at Quebec.¹

Shortly after the return of the vessels to France in the autumn of 1624, there were rumours of an impending change in the vicereignty, which in the course of the winter were verified. As Montmorency informed Champlain, he found the duties of the office of Viceroy of New France more troublesome than those of Admiral of old France, and he finally made up his mind to hand the position over to another.² This resolution was carried into effect in January 1625, when the young Duc de Ventadour was gazetted to the vicereignty.³ Henri de Lévis, Duc de Ventadour, peer of France, Prince of Maubuisson and Comte de la Voulte, had succeeded his father in the government of Languedoc in December 1624 when only twenty-eight years of age. Shortly before his father's death he had married Marie Liesse of Luxembourg who had been brought up by his own mother and who, though now only thirteen years of age, was one of the richest heiresses of the kingdom. Of the personal capacities of the new Viceroy we know little. The fact that in the year 1629 he and his wife separated in order to devote themselves to a religious life so impressed their contemporaries that few other facts about either of them have been recorded.⁴ By the terms under which the United Company was granted its monopoly, the change of Viceroy was to have no effect on its rights. Nor did it. Cham-

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 83; Le Clercq, *op. cit.* i 293.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 85: "Les anciens et nouveaux associez, eurent plusieurs contestations . . . cela en partie donna suiet à mondit seigneur de Montmorency, de se deffaire de sa charge de Viceroy, qui luy rompoit plus la teste, que ses affaires plus importantes."

³ *Ibid.*: "La remettant à Monseigneur le Duc de Ventadour, qu'il voyoit porté à ce saint dessein, convenant avec luy d'un certain prix, tant pour la charge de Viceroy, que pour l'interest qu'il avoit dans ladite Société," etc. Biblioth. Nat., MS. fr. 20163 fol. 239.

⁴ For an uninteresting account of their lives *vid. Le Duc et la Duchesse de Ventadour—un Grand Amour Chrétien au XVIIe siècle, par X.* Paris, 1889.

plain was maintained in the post of lieutenant for the Viceroy in the colony and other arrangements were left as before.¹

During the summer of 1625 Champlain remained in France in order to look after his own affairs.² On this account we are again without any record of what took place during the summer in the St. Lawrence valley. We know however that the disputes between the Catholic and Huguenot shareholders still continued. Caën, being a Huguenot, gave umbrage to the Catholics by allowing his co-religionists to hold their services openly and by requesting the Catholics also to assist at them. When this was reported to the new Viceroy, he ordered Caën to place a Catholic in command of the fleet for the future, who should give orders forbidding all psalm-singing of any sort when the Newfoundland Banks had been passed.³ There were also continued bickerings between the shareholders of the old Company and Caën who could never get on peaceably for long with anybody. They frequently dragged one another before some tribunal or other, but with what result is not always clear.⁴ The invitation addressed by the Recollects to the Jesuits had been at once accepted by that Order. The new Viceroy generously furnished the funds for the first year and five members left France for the St. Lawrence in the spring of 1625.⁵ As a result of this preliminary visit a vessel of eighty tons was hired in the following year, in which they embarked the materials for a college at Quebec as well as twenty workmen to construct it.⁶

As usual after a period of absence, Champlain, on his return

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 88 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* p. 87: "me promettant pour icelle année de demeurer proche de luy, pour l'instruire des affaires dudit pais et donner ordre à quelques miennes autres que l'avois à Paris."

³ *Ibid.* p. 93: "De plus que mondit seigneur avoit du mescontentement dudit sieur de Caen, sur ce qu'on luy rapporta qu'il avoit fait faire les prieres de leur religion pretendues, publiquement dans le fleuve saint Laurent: desirant que les Catholiques y assistassent," etc. Caën, it is only fair to add, denied this charge. *Ibid.* p. 94.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 94-95.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 86: "Il en envoya six, à ses propres cousts et despens, dès l'année mesmes," and the note on this.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 95-96.

to Quebec in the summer of 1626, found everything in complete disorder. The new factory, which he had left almost completed, had never been finished, though all the necessary material had been ready at hand. No one had paid any attention to the gardens or the crops, so that when the vessels were late, recourse was had as usual to roots and berries.¹ Without a moment's delay, Champlain set everybody to work. The factory was first completed according to the original plans, whereby at least a shelter for the winter was assured. He next turned his attention to the little fort on top of the hill. Although this building, commenced in the year 1620,² had been finished before his departure for France, he now deemed it too small to hold all the colony in case of need, especially if the garrison promised by the King should ever be sent out. The fort was therefore torn down and a larger one built on the same foundation.³ The cattle were transported to the rich meadows at Cape Tourmentary to avoid the necessity of bringing hay thence to Quebec. Here huts "like those in Normandy" were constructed for the beasts besides one for the cowherd and his family. As the twenty workmen brought out by the Jesuits had also made good progress on their building, the once desolate promontory began to present an animated appearance.⁴

During this time the annual barter had been going on as usual further up the river. It was learned however from the Iroquois present that trouble had broken out between them and the Dutch, and that five of the latter had even been massacred.⁵ A rupture of this sort would prove of course of great advantage

¹ *Ibid.* vi. p. 123: "Voilà les risques et fortunes que l'on court la pluspart du temps, d'abandonner une habitation et la rendre en telle nécessité qu'ils mourroient de faim, si les vaisseaux venoient à se perdre . . . Ce n'est pas que souvent ie n'en donnasse des advis, et representé les inconveniens qui en pouvoient arriver: mais comme cela ne touche qu'à ceux qui demeurent au pays, l'on ne s'en soucie." Cf. *ibid.* p. 167: "L'utilité demeure aux associez et à nous le mal."

² *Ibid.* p. 6.

³ *Ibid.* p. 126: "Je considéré que le fort estoit bien petit, pour retirer à une nécessité les habitans du pays, avec les soldats qui un jour y pourroient estre . . . qui me fit resoudre de l'abatre et l'agrandir, ce que ie fis iusqu'an pied."

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 127 et seq.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 129.

to the trade of the French. In the course of the barter the Huguenot crews of several of the barques disobeyed the rule of the new Viceroy by holding their prayers publicly. As this was apt to give the Indians a poor idea of the unity of faith among the French, such practices were again forbidden for the future.¹ Although for the Algonquins and Hurons the shortest route to the barter was the one *viâ* the Nipissing lakes and the Ottawa river, for the tribes to the south of them about Lake Ontario the river St. Lawrence offered a much more convenient line of communication. When however a Recollect missionary among the Neutrals on the Niagara peninsula urged them to use this route, the Hurons at once interfered. The new route meant in fact the loss to them of their annual toll. They therefore spread a report among the Neutrals that the priests exercised evil influences. As the life of this missionary was soon afterwards threatened, he had before long to be recalled to the central mission-station in the Huron country.²

Along the Atlantic coast, the fish and fur trades went on much as before. La Ralde, the new Catholic Admiral of the fleet, who had remained at Miscou and Ile Percée to fish, was successful in capturing several interlopers, though one of the numerous contraband traders from La Rochelle managed to escape.³ Several men were left for the winter at Miscou to barter some goods which he had not been able to exchange during the summer. Although attacked by the scurvy, these managed to survive and doubtless presented La Ralde with a good supply of furs on his return in the spring of 1627.⁴

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 128-129: "D'aucuns dirent qu'il y avoit des pretendus reformez qui faisoient leurs prieres en quelques barques, s'assemblant au descèdudit Emery de Caen," etc.

² Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, iii 800 *et seq.* According to this same writer the attempts to bring about peace with the Iroquois were unpopular with the shareholders lest part of the furs of the Hurons should then go to the Dutch on the Hudson. *Ibid.* p 811.

³ Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 129: "De la Ralde m'escrivit qu'il avoit treuvé plusieurs vaisseaux qui avoient traité des peleteries, contre les deffences du Roy," etc.; also pp. 121-2

⁴ *Ibid.* p 133: "à Miscou . . . de la Ralde avoit laissé quelques François hyverner, pour traiter quelque reste de marchandises," etc. *Biblioth. Nat., Ms. fr. 16738 fol. 143 et seq.*

Early in that year before the arrival of the vessels, the peace with the Iroquois was unfortunately broken. The savages who dwelt beside the Dutch had sent presents asking the Montagnais and Algonquins to help them against the Iroquois, who when they had killed the five Dutchmen had also massacred twenty-four of that tribe. In an assembly held near Quebec no decision was come to, since opinion on the subject was divided. It was agreed to wait until the vessels had arrived, when the other nations should have come down for the barter. During the interval however some Algonquins went off on the war-path and a few light-headed young Montagnais braves caught two Iroquois on Lake Champlain. Although Champlain was able to induce the savages assembled at the barter to send back these prisoners with presents and an expression of regret for what had occurred, yet his efforts were too late. On reaching the Iroquois country the embassy was at first well received, but when news was brought of the ravages committed elsewhere by the Algonquin warriors who had gone on the war-path, all the members of it were speedily massacred, without distinction of French or Indian. "While you," said they to the victims, "talk here of peace, your friends already wage war on us and kill our people." Thus by the action of a few rash young warriors the peace, concluded after so many efforts and calculated, had it continued, to be so rich in good results for French trade, was irrevocably broken. New France was destined indeed long to repent this rupture of peace with the Iroquois.¹ Perhaps on account of this very event however the trade in the St. Lawrence this summer was better than it had been for some time.² An ordinary season yielded from fifteen to twenty thousand furs; in a good year like the present the total reached as high as twenty-two thousand. While the gain from such a traffic must have been considerable, the beaver skins alone selling in France for ten francs or two dollars each, yet the expenses were also heavy. Besides the salaries of the Viceroy and of Champlain, a good interpreter received as much as a thousand

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 133 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* p. 144: "La traite, qui fut l'une des bonnes que se fust faicte il y avoit long temps."

frances; the wages of a sailor were about six hundred, while those of the factors and other servants doubtless fluctuated between the two.¹

The presence of the Dutch and the English on the Atlantic coast was now beginning to have its effect on the French trade. The Company established by the Dutch in 1621 was hampered by no restrictions in regard to colonists and thus devoted all its energies to the fur-trade. In the summer of 1626 it sent home 7246 beaver skins, 850 of otter, 81 of mink and 36 of wild-cat. These realized in all a sum equal to over nineteen thousand dollars. In this year 1627, owing no doubt to the troubles with the Iroquois, the total was slightly less.² The Pilgrim Fathers were still nearer to the French. At first indeed it was they who were in fear of a French raid, but in time they gradually usurped the territory where the French had formerly traded.³ In the year 1623 Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic nobleman, sent out a colony to Ferryland in Newfoundland. In this year, 1627, he came out himself with two priests and about forty people.⁴

With such settlements all about them and the prospect of another in Acadia, ordinary prudence would have demanded that some attention should be paid to strengthening the French post at Quebec. To this fact Champlain himself was keenly alive but he had many obstacles to contend against. Although he had pressed on the fort as fast as possible, Caën, who objected to any such fortification, would not give him the men for the work.⁵ Cannon and other arms indeed had been sent out but there was no powder for the muskets and no gunners for the cannon.⁶ But the weakest point was the absence of any local source of supply.

¹ *Relations des Jésuites* (Quebec 1858), i; Lettre du P. Charles L'Allemant p.5.

² Brodhead and O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, i 37-38. O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

³ *Mass. Hist. Collect*, First Series viii 253: "Hither [Buzzard's Bay] the Dutch or French or both use to come," etc. Cf. *Ibid.* pp. 236, 241, 243, 244 and 245.

⁴ Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 94, no. 59.

⁵ Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 148: "Un des déplaisirs que ie recognu en ceste affaire que l'on estoit faché que ie faisois construire un fort au dessus de l'habitation," etc. Cf. p. 147.

Ibid. pp. 32-33.

In case the vessels were prevented from entering the St. Lawrence, the whole place was at the mercy of the smallest trader. In this very autumn the Jesuits had been obliged to send home the workmen engaged on their college on account of the non-arrival of their vessel with winter supplies.¹ Affairs at the factory were not much better. Although the vessel with the greater portion of their supplies had also never appeared, none of the fifty-five people there set sail for home.² "I was however," says Champlain, "greatly surprised how they could leave us so very badly off for the winter."³

It cannot be said that in the autumn of 1627 the outlook for the Company was a bright one. The shareholders, besides being only intent on their gain of forty per cent., were continually at daggers drawn among themselves, foreign nations were establishing posts near the St. Lawrence, the peace with the Iroquois had been broken and already on the 20th of September it was announced that a large force of that nation was on the march against Quebec, the provisions at the factory for the winter were miserably insufficient, and the priests and the two families of colonists were almost equally badly off. The only bright side to this picture was Champlain himself. Although Caën gave him no men for the fort, although he saw the peace with the Iroquois, for which he had striven so hard, broken by the action of a few silly savages, and although the winter's supply of food was small, he never despaired. He had sent word home to the Viceroy of Caën's negligence in regard to the food and of his refusal to furnish men to work at the fort, and he hoped, as human nature always does, that next year things would be better. As is not unusual however they were worse. The fleet, sent out in the following spring, besides not being that of the United Company, whose monopoly had been guaranteed through all changes of Viceroy until 1635,

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 144-145: "Leur vaisseau n'estoit venu leur apporter des commoditez qui leurs estoient necessaires pour la nourriture de vingt sept à vingt huit personnes."

² *Ibid.* p. 146: "Nous demeurasmes cinquante cinq personnes . . . assez mal accommodéz de toutes les choses necessaires pour le maintien d'une habitation . . . et en attribuoit on les defauts à la prise d'un petit vaisseau par les Anglois."

³ *Ibid.* p. 146

was captured by the English and the colonists and crews were taken prisoners. Champlain indeed refused to surrender the factory to the victors but their success was only a question of time. On account of the small supply of food left in the autumn of 1627 provisions at Quebec had run very low indeed. In the summer of 1629 the place was finally starved into submission.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMPANY OF NEW FRANCE, 1627-1629

While the United Company had been trading during these years in the St. Lawrence, a man made his appearance at the council board of the King who was destined first to suppress the office of viceroy and then to revoke the monopoly of the Company as suddenly and as effectually as his predecessors had revoked those of Chauvin and Monts, notwithstanding that its rights had just been guaranteed, through all possible changes of viceroy, until the year 1635. This is not the place to discuss the political work of Richelieu. As the enemy of Austria and the oppressor of the Huguenots, he may have been successful, but his attempts to reorganize the trade and commerce of his country shew how unreasonable it was to place the direction of such affairs in the hands of one whose knowledge of them was inadequate. Indifferent to the value of facts and figures, he seems in regard to trade to have dwelt in a realm of pure theory, where gigantic commercial corporations were formed and dissolved again by a mere stroke of his ecclesiastical pen. For the scholar at the Sorbonne such powers of imagination proved of value; when exercised by the guardian of the commercial interests of a nation, they proved extremely harmful. After a short tenure of office under Marie de Médicis, from November 1616 to April 1617, Richelieu finally entered the Council, with the full consent of the King, in August, 1624. He had in the meantime been made a member of the Sacred College and had seen enough of the intrigues of the Court to take proper steps to secure his own position. He began by quickly settling several matters which, like the marriage of Henrietta Maria with Prince Charles of England, had been hanging fire for some years. As time passed his influence increased. In October 1626 he was named Grand Master, Chief and General Superintendent of the

Navigation and Commerce of France.¹ After suppressing in the following January the office of admiral² he at length turned his attention to the fulfilment of the duties of his new office. Among these was the consideration and examination of all proposals, articles or treaties in regard to foreign trade or to the formation of trading companies for home or foreign commerce. One of the first of the proposals submitted in regard to foreign trade was that of the great Company of Morbihan.

With whom the idea of this gigantic undertaking first originated is not quite clear, but the plan would certainly do honour to a Russian or Prussian staff-officer of the present day. The whole of the trade and commerce of France by sea as well as by land was to be placed in the hands of one huge company composed of the principal merchants of the country. In the town of Morbihan, in Brittany, where the company was to have its own courts and jurisdiction, were to be built docks, warehouses, shipyards, arsenals, powder factories, schools of navigation, and in fact everything pertaining to the exercise and control of the whole commercial life of the nation. Fortunately for France however, commerce did not lend itself, like politics, to such extreme centralization, and when the edict was denied the assent of the Parlement of Paris, the plan was quietly allowed to drop.³ Undismayed by this defeat, Richelieu next had recourse to a mixed French and Dutch company. The Dutch were already gaining an European reputation as traders and it was hoped that their knowledge and experience would be of service to their neighbours. *La Compagnie de la Nacelle de St. Pierre fleurdelisée* was also to carry on all the trade of the country by sea and land like the Company of Morbihan.⁴ In addition it was to work all mines, develop all colonies and in fact control the commercial

¹ Isambert et Taillandier, *Recueil Général des Anciennes Loix Françaises* (Paris 1829), xvi 194 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.* p. 198.

³ A copy of these articles is in the Ministère des Colonies—Correspondance Générale : Canada, Volume i, Folio 71 *et seq.* Cf. also Avenel, *Richelieu et la Monarchie Absolue* (Paris 1887), iii 210 *et seq.*, where they are erroneously attributed to the year 1629.

⁴ These articles will be found in the *Mémoires de Mathieu Mole*, i 423-448. Paris 1855.

life of the nation in the same way as the army controlled its defence. Yet this proposal pleased no more than its predecessor, so that the plan of one great company had finally to be abandoned. Recourse was then had to a number of small companies for specific purposes. One of these was the Company of New France which replaced the United Company in its enjoyment of the monopoly of the fur-trade of the St. Lawrence.

While the author of the two former proposals seems to have been Richelieu himself, the father of the Company of New France was the Chevalier de Razilly. Isaac de Razilly, a younger son of an ancient family of Touraine, had early taken to the sea and in the course of his wanderings had visited the "four parts of the world." He was therefore, as he expressed it, better versed in the customs of the living than in the literature of the dead when he addressed to Richelieu in 1626 a memorandum on the need of reform in matters of trade and commerce. According to him, the low state of commerce generally was due to the idea entertained by the Government that foreign trade was not necessary to the nation's welfare. This notion he easily refuted by the example of the King of Spain, who, accustomed formerly to a small revenue drawn from oranges and lemons, now possessed an empire upon which the sun never set.¹ The great hindrances to French foreign trade were inferior ships and the fear of Turkish pirates. If larger and better-armed vessels were sent out, the French would soon lose their nickname of the "sardines of the sea."

With reference to America and the trade of New France, Razilly's plan was as follows. A large company should be formed, capable of holding the English in check by colonizing the country with three or four thousand good colonists. Previously, the colony had been given over to about twenty-five traders who

¹ L. Deschamps, *Isaac de Razilly, avec mémoire inédit* (Paris, 1887; an extract from the *Revue de Géographie* for October, 1886), p. 17: "Aussi chacun sceyt qu'il n'y a que six vingts ans que son plus grand revenu estoit en oranges et citrons, et depuis les advys receus de Christophle Collen et qu'il a armé par mer, il a tant conqny de royaumes que jamais le soleil ne couche dans ses terres," etc. Two memoirs by his brother, for they both gave Richelieu advice, will be found in the *Biblioth. Nat.*, Ms. fr. 4826 folios 1-12.

were merely intent on gain and did nothing for colonization or defence. A large company, with a capital of some three hundred thousand livres and a good director at its head, would soon increase French power and influence in that region.¹ As Richelieu was hopelessly ignorant of all matters connected with trade and commerce he at once proceeded to put into execution the advice so honestly given. He first bought from Ventadour the office of Viceroy of New France and incorporated it with that of Grand Master of the Navigation of France. He was then in a position to annul the monopoly of the United Company notwithstanding that it had been guaranteed to them, even in case of a change of Viceroy, until the year 1635. Richelieu seems indeed to have taken small pains to find out what the rights of that company were. It was sufficient justification, he thought, for the step he was taking, that during the seven years of its existence it had made no efforts to take out the stipulated number of colonists.² Having thus made a *tabula rasa* of all the old conditions he found the way clear for the establishment of the large company suggested by Razilly.

Notwithstanding that none of the companies to which the monopoly had already been given had ever fulfilled, even in a small degree, the conditions under which that monopoly was usually granted, yet with a *naïveté* truly most remarkable those same conditions were now again repeated in the case of the Company of New France. In return for a monopoly of fifteen years, this company agreed to take out three hundred colonists a year, or some four thousand by the year 1643. In addition to this, the King ceded to the Company the full ownership of the whole of the St. Lawrence valley, and all merchandize entering the mother-country from those parts was to pay no duty during a like period of fifteen years. None but French Catholics might be taken out by the Company as colonists, and it was further to

¹ Deschamps, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

² *Collection de Manuscrits Relatifs à la Nouvelle France* i 63: "Ceux qui avoient jusques à présent obtenu par eux seuls tout le commerce esdits Pays, ont eu ay peu de pouvoir ou de volonté de le peupler que . . . encore jusques à présent qu'il y a sept ans que les articles furent dressez, ils ne se sont mis en aucun devoir ni commencé de satisfaire à ce dont ils s'estoient obligez."

support in each settlement three priests until the community itself was able to undertake that charge. The stipulation that an artisan who had plied his trade in New France for six years, should, on his return to France rank as a master-workman, did not receive the assent of the Parlement of Paris. These were the conditions under which the land of New France as well as its trade and commerce were handed over to the Company of New France for an indefinite period.¹

Since the King had granted twelve titles of nobility to be distributed among the shareholders, little difficulty was experienced in finding the necessary amount of capital. While those who had formerly engaged in the trade were mostly provincial merchants from Rouen, St. Malo and La Rochelle, the majority of the shareholders of the new Company were Parisians and it was there that the Company's offices were situated. The capital, in all three hundred thousand livres as Razilly had suggested, was divided into one hundred shares of three thousand livres each. Although each share could be again sub-divided, it was only entitled to one representative at the meetings of the Company.² At the annual meeting of the shareholders in January were elected the president and the board of twelve directors. The condition that six of the directors, who held office for two years, must be domiciled at Paris, shows the preponderating influence of the merchants of the capital in the Company. The negotiations with Richelieu about taking over the country and its trade, and the subsequent labour of forming the Company itself, had consumed so much time that the directors begged to be allowed to postpone sending out the first consignment of colonists until the year 1629. A naval war seemed also on the point of breaking out with England, which made the prospects for the year 1628 none too good. The Government however refused to agree to any delay and a fleet of four vessels was made ready at Dieppe in the spring of that year. On the 28th of

¹ *Edits, Ordonnances Royaux etc.* (Québec 1854), pp. 5-20.

² It appears that the actual number of shareholders was thus 120. Biblioth. Nat., Ms. fr. 16738 folio 132 verso: "La Compagnie de la Nouvelle France de six vints associés," etc.

April these vessels at length got under way, having on board a large number of colonists, with provisions, cattle, and the material for the construction of numerous buildings at Quebec.¹ On board of one of the vessels were four agents of the old Company, who were to be allowed to dispose of the goods still remaining at Quebec and to arrange for the return to France of any of their men who did not care to take service with the new Company.² Thirteen or fourteen Newfoundland fishing vessels seized this opportunity of sailing under the protection of the guns of the Company's fleet, as the naval war with England which had been threatening had finally broken out.

Although Charles the First was married to King Louis' sister this matrimonial connection had not removed all causes of dissension between the two Crowns. Charles egged on the Huguenots in France and absolutely forbade the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in England. When in August 1626 some difficulty arose in regard to the Mass celebrated in the Queen's private chapel, he unceremoniously bundled the whole of her Catholic household out of the country. Bassompierre, who was sent over to patch matters up, might possibly have succeeded had not a man-of-war appeared one day at Falmouth, while he was still there, with three rich French prizes in tow.³ Feeling in France soon rose high and on the 10th of October the Parlement of Rouen ordered the seizure of all English goods found in that town.⁴ The "English merchants trading for France" at once complained, and since similar seizures were reported elsewhere, King Charles at length gave the order for the arrest of all French ships and goods found in England.⁵ The French answer to this was the seizure of the English wine fleet of two hundred sail at Bordeaux.⁶ Since Bassompierre, who was himself insulted in the streets of London, could promise no relief, King Charles

¹ Sagard, *Histoire du Canada* iv 858. Asseline, *Les Antiquitez et Chroniques de la Ville de Dieppe* (Dieppe 1874), ii 235.

² *Biblioth. Nat.*, Ms. fr. 16738 vol. 143 B verso *et seq.*

³ *State Papers, Domestic*, Vol. xxxvi No. 31.

⁴ *State Papers, France*, 11 October 1626.

⁵ Rymer, *Fœdera* (London 1726), xviii 802-3.

⁶ *Court and Times of Charles the First* (London 1848), p. 180.

sent a fleet of twelve men-of-war along the French coast with orders to burn all the war material found and to release all English ships held in custody.¹ On the 19th of March 1628 permission was given to grant letters of reprisal, "as the only means of securing satisfaction," and one month later this permission was extended to letters of marque.²

Among those who applied for the latter was Jarvis Kirke, a merchant of London, who had spent nearly forty years of his life in Dieppe. Indeed he had married and brought up his family there.³ He had in all five sons, who besides knowing French well were not altogether unacquainted, from their long residence at Dieppe, with the state of affairs in New France. This outbreak of hostilities had seemed to Jarvis Kirke an excellent opportunity of securing the region of the St. Lawrence for the English Crown, and in conjunction with a few other London merchants a small fleet of three ships was prepared for this purpose in the spring of 1628. The vessels, which carried in all some two hundred men, were under the chief command of David Kirke, while with him were associated his brothers Lewis, Thomas, John and James. Setting forth from England in March with letters of marque, the vessels first made their way to Miscou where the fishing huts and other buildings were destroyed.⁴ On their way up the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Tadoussac, they managed to capture several fishing vessels and whalers, as well as the ship sent out with fresh stores for the Jesuits. In one of the barques left at Tadoussac, Kirke despatched his brother Lewis to Quebec with a letter to Champlain informing him of what had already been done and demanding the surrender of the factory. On the way, this boat destroyed the crops at Cape Tourmente and also killed all the cattle there, in order that they should not serve

¹ State Papers, Domestic, vol. lvi Nos. 18, 85 and 90. Cf. also *Negotiation du Mareschal Bissonpiere en Angleterre* (Cologne 1668), p. 284 *et seq.*

² Rymer, *Fœdera*, xviii 861 and 887.

³ H. Kirke, *The First English Conquest of Canada* (London 1871), appendix A, p. 206.

⁴ One of these was "un batiment contenant plusieurs demeures de planches doubles, dehors et dedans, fortifié de palissades tout autour," which La Ralde had ordered to be constructed. *Bibl. Nat. Ms. fr. 16738 fol. 143 C. verso.*

to re-provision the factory. It was from this point that the news of the enemy's approach was conveyed to Champlain.

At Quebec things were not going at all well. On account of the loss in the previous summer of the vessel which was conveying the greater part of the winter stores, and on account of the retention, notwithstanding this, of the workmen engaged on the fort, provisions at the factory had run very low. It was only this spring in fact that, for the first time in the history of the colony, a pair of oxen had been harnessed to the plough. Hitherto the little land cleared had been cultivated by hand.¹ Two more servants of the Company had been secretly murdered by the savages and relations with the latter were consequently somewhat strained.² Notwithstanding these difficulties, Champlain was not one who gave in easily. When Lewis Kirke presented the letter written by his brother calling upon him to surrender, Champlain returned a fearless answer. Although it was true, he replied, that their stores were not too plentiful, yet with order and economy the supply could be made to last for a considerable period. Kirke himself was too brave a man not to understand what little respect the French would have for themselves if they gave up the place without a struggle. They preferred that he should first try his cannon and powder, nor did they think he would find the conquest so easy as he anticipated.³

When David Kirke at Tadoussac received this answer he made up his mind that an assault on Quebec would become unnecessary if he could intercept the supplies coming up the river. Thereupon he ordered his vessels to stand down the Gulf and to keep a sharp look-out for French sail. As we have seen, the first fleet despatched by the Company of New France left Dieppe in April. After parting company on the Banks with their convoy of fishing vessels, the ships made their way to Gaspé where they first received word of the presence of Kirke's fleet in the river. Although the vessels were overladen with colonists,

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 160-161.

² *Ibid.* pp. 150 *et seq.*

³ Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 173 *et seq.* Hist. MSS. Commission, 12th Report, Appendix i. p. 374 *et seq.*

merchandise and building materials, there was nothing for it but to fight, if Quebec was to be relieved. Sailing on therefore they soon met Kirke's fleet coming leisurely down the Gulf. The engagement lasted for several hours and the French were finally obliged to yield, although with the loss of only two persons killed. On the English side no one seems to have been injured. The principal French officers were distributed throughout the English fleet, the men being sent home in two of the vessels which had just been taken. The other vessels were guarded as prizes, and English crews were put on board to sail them. Near the island of St. Pierre, Kirke captured more Newfoundland fishing vessels. His fleet now numbered fourteen sail, with some six hundred prisoners. Most of these he sent back to France, and he sank the poorest of the prizes. He then directed his course for England, feeling certain that until the following spring no fresh supplies were likely to be sent to Quebec.¹

In this same summer Alexander had also been able to send out his colony to New Scotland. After the return of his vessel from the second voyage in the autumn of 1623, the loss involved had forced him to the conclusion that paper charters alone would not build up colonies. The two voyages made by his vessel had cost him a considerable sum. The King was kind enough to offer to charge this on the Exchequer, but the guardians of the latter had sense enough not to pay the demand.² Something must be done however to raise fresh funds. In this connection the colonization of Ulster seemed to offer a model. During the years 1611 to 1622 over two hundred English landowners had become baronets of Ulster, and a sum of something like two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds had been thereby obtained. Alexander now determined to institute a similar baronetcy of New Scotland or Nova Scotia, for the benefit of Scottish landowners and the younger sons of the nobility. The whole territory of

¹ Sagard, *Histoire du Canada* iv 862 et seq. Hist. MSS. Commission, 12th Report, Appendix i pp. 375 et seq.

² Rev. C. Rogers, *The Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters relative to the Affairs of Scotland and Nova Scotia* (Edinburgh 1884) vol. i, Introduct. p. xviii.

Nova Scotia was accordingly divided into two provinces, each made up of a certain number of dioceses and counties. These latter were each again subdivided into ten baronies, which were to extend three miles along the coast and ten miles inland. The only condition for obtaining such a barony was the despatch thither of six colonists and the payment to Alexander of three thousand marks. The holder received the hereditary title of "sir" and came in order of precedence after the youngest sons of viscounts and the Lords Barons of Parliament. At first however no one came forward, and when the sum had been reduced from three thousand to one thousand marks only eight persons took out baronies. In November 1625 the lesser barons of Scotland complained that not only was this new institution an interference with their hereditary dignities, but that it was, in their opinion, by no means necessary to Alexander's plan of colonization. The only result of their action was the removal of Lord Melrose, for this and other reasons, from the post of Secretary for Scotland, and the appointment of Sir William Alexander in his place.¹ In his new position Alexander was able to explain his plan clearly to King Charles, who had just succeeded his father on the throne. In March 1626 the new monarch ordered his Chancellor to confer the order of knighthood, without extra charge, on the sons of those baronets of New Scotland who had already attained their majority. A week later a proclamation was made at the "Mercat Croce" in Edinburgh "to wairne all and sundrie the gentrie of this kingdome that they either procure the said dignitie for thameselffis or not repyne at othis for doing of the same."² This royal exhortation produced its effect and in January 1626 two ships were made ready at Dumbarton. They were not finally despatched until the following spring when with two others they took out seventy colonists and landed them at Poutrinecourt's old quarters at Port Royal.³ From his home at Cape Sable young La Tour, whose father had been taken prisoner by the Kirkes, surveyed with some surprise this invasion of the

¹ *Ibid.*, Introduction pp. xix and xxii.

² *Ibid.*, Introduction p. xxiv and pp. 18, 29 and 119.

³ *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, edited by W. Fraser, vol. ii p. 200, Edinburgh 1863. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 84, nos. 22 and 23.

rights he had inherited from Saint-Just. Yet as his was the weaker side, he could make no effective opposition. The two rival posts thus remained facing one another during the whole of the winter.

In the autumn of 1628 Alexander heard of the success of the expedition of Jarvis Kirke and his partners and at once laid claim to this territory as coming within the limits of his charter. In reality his rights did not extend beyond Gaspé but this fact was unknown to Kirke and his friends. Frightened therefore at the possibility of seeing their efforts frustrated when on the point of being crowned with success, they offered to let Alexander have not only Acadia but also the shores of the St. Lawrence up to within ten leagues of Tadoussac, on condition that all the region west of that point should fall to them.¹ After some further deliberation, during which the Scottish Privy Council requested King Charles to see that no injustice was done to Alexander, the latter at length agreed to unite his interests with the Kirkes.² In the winter of 1628-1629, they formed the Scottish and English Company for trade in the St. Lawrence. On the fourth of February 1629 they were given a monopoly of the fur-trade in the Gulf and River of Canada and the parts adjacent, with permission not only to seize all French vessels but also to destroy all French settlements in that region.³ No mention was made of colonists.

In the spring of 1629 this new Company sent out two fleets to New France. The one made its way to Port Royal in order to relieve the colonists there while the other was despatched to the St. Lawrence. Young Alexander, Sir William's son, who was in charge of the fleet for Port Royal, first landed Lord Ochiltrie and fifty fresh colonists at Cape Breton. On arriving at Port Royal he found that thirty people had died during the previous winter. All the attempts of the Sieur de la Tour, who on his arrival in England as a prisoner had married one of the Queen's French maids of honour and who had now come out to

¹ Hist. MSS. Commission, 12th Report, appendix Part i pp. 376-377.

² Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 130, no. 15. Rogers, *op. cit.*, Introd. p. xxvii.

³ State Papers, Colonial, Vol. v No. 2, printed in Kirke's *English Conquest of Canada*, appendix D.

win over his son to the English side, proved ineffective. The son despised his father's submission and refused even to enter into negotiations with him. During the summer the English vessels at Port Royal managed to carry on a considerable trade in furs along the coast of the Bay of Fundy, and with young Alexander returned home in the autumn an Indian chief of this region who was desirous of concluding an alliance with the English and their King.¹

The second fleet of the same Company under the command of David Kirke had steered for the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Near Gaspé they captured a pinnace sent down the river by Champlain to obtain provisions from some of the fishing vessels. From the occupants of this boat they soon learned the condition of affairs at Quebec. In putting on a bold front in the previous summer, Champlain had hoped that at least one of the vessels destined for his relief might avoid the English fleet. As the summer wore on however and none appeared he concluded that Kirke had really succeeded in capturing them all. The outlook for the winter was thus not pleasant. Their sole provision consisted of peas, which they managed to grind into a sort of flour. During the autumn they exchanged the furs in the warehouse for eels, but the savages, seeing their necessity, only gave ten eels for one beaver-skin. During the winter they occasionally secured an elk, also sharing part of the produce from Hébert's farm as well as that from the field cleared by the Jesuits. But this relief was so slight that by the end of May they were in extremities. Provisions of every sort were exhausted and their hunger was only allayed by roots and wild berries gathered in the woods. A canoe sent to Tadoussac, to offer to any vessel found there the trade of the river if she would relieve the factory, returned and reported that no sail was in sight. Shortly after this the savages from the upper country began to arrive for the annual barter. With them were the twenty interpreters, priests and factors who had spent the winter among the Indians and who now swelled con-

¹ *Court and Times of Charles the First*, ii 60. Sainsbury, *op. cit.*, i 104 no. 41. Rogers, *op. cit.*, Introd. p. xxx. Denys, *Description Géographique et Historique des Costes de l'Amérique Septentrionale avec l'Histoire Naturelle du Pais* (Paris 1672), i 68 et seq.

siderably the number to be fed at the factory. The new arrivals were obliged for the most part to search for roots and berries like the others, though it was now difficult to find a spot near the factory which had not been thoroughly worked out. A boat sent to Gaspé obtained no better news than the canoe which had gone to Tadoussac. No vessels were to be seen, though the savages reported that a fleet of six English ships had been sighted off the coast. While affairs were in this state and the savages who had come down for the barter were on the point of returning home, three strange vessels were one day perceived approaching Quebec.¹

Fully informed by the men captured in the small boat of the weak condition of the factory at Quebec, Kirke had made his way from Gaspé to Tadoussac and from there at once despatched three of the smaller vessels in charge of Lewis and Thomas Kirke up the river to Quebec. These three vessels were the strange ships now seen approaching behind Point Lévy. Although Champlain sought to obtain as favourable terms as possible, he was in no position to dictate conditions to the new-comers. On the 20th of July Quebec surrendered and two days later the English flag was run up on one of the bastions. The French, who were promised a free passage home by way of England, were allowed to march out with arms and baggage, the head-men carrying all their furs, the factors, servants and workmen one beaver-skin each. These however were at once bartered to the victors for food and fresh provisions. As the savages had not yet set out on their return journey, the new-comers were able to trade for the furs which the Indians had brought with them, besides buying from those about Quebec the 1200 beaverskins which had been returned to them during the winter by the garrison for provisions.²

Although the vessels of the English and Scottish Company had thus reached the St. Lawrence first, the Company of New France had not altogether neglected its interests there. The loss of their fleet in the previous year had greatly discouraged the

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 180 *et seq.* Suard, *Histoire du Canada* iv 884 *et seq.*

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 187.

shareholders, but they only did their duty in fitting out a fresh one in the summer of 1629. Richelieu had promised men-of-war to convoy this one and care was also taken to make the vessels themselves as strong as possible. But in the midst of these preparations negotiations for peace were begun. With the fall of La Rochelle in October 1628 the English had lost all chance of securing a foothold in France. French corsairs were also playing havoc with the Newfoundland fishing fleet,¹ while the interruption of all trade with France was beginning to cause uneasiness among the English commercial classes. The spring of 1629 therefore found Charles not altogether disinclined for peace, which was finally concluded, by the mediation of Venice, at Suza on the 29th of April. Since there still remained many vessels at sea with letters of marque it was further agreed that anything taken during the space of two months after the peace should be restored on both sides. All danger from English vessels being thus removed, Richelieu cancelled the order for the men-of-war that were to convoy the fleet of the Company to New France.² Although it had already waited two months for these ships, the Company's fleet was thus obliged to set sail without them.³ On the voyage out the ships became separated. One vessel, with the fresh stores for the Jesuits and their workmen who had been sent home in the autumn of 1627, was wrecked off the coast of Cape Breton.⁴ Another vessel reached Gaspé in safety but at once set sail again for France when it was learned that the English were already in the river.⁵ Captain Daniel, who had had charge of the whole fleet, on reaching New France first made his way to Cape Breton to get some information about the state of affairs at Quebec. There he received the unexpected information that Lord Ochiltzie, who with fifty colonists had been deposited at that spot when young Alexander was on his way to Port Royal,

¹ Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 93 *et seq.*, nos. 56, 57, 61 and 62. Numbers 56 and 57 are printed in full in Kirke, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-153.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 264-265.

³ Rymer, *Fœdera* xix 66. *Le Mercure François*, vol. xv, 2^e partie, Paris 1631, pp. 147-149 and pp. 480-1.

⁴ Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 304 *et seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 263-264.

had built a fort and was now exacting one-tenth of their cod from all the fishermen who visited the locality. James Stewart, the fifth Lord Ochiltrie, had taken an active part in the colonization of Ulster, where however he seems to have lost most of his fortune. He next obtained a grant of land in Cape Breton Island and with the help of some five hundred pounds given him by the King had now taken colonists thither in the hope of retrieving his fortunes. In response to the complaints of the fishermen of the neighbourhood, Daniel at once assembled a small force, and after approaching the place as a friend, suddenly made himself master of the inmates. The buildings were razed to the ground and the prisoners treated with undue rigour. Daniel constructed a fresh fort with the same material in another harbour close at hand, where he left a garrison of forty men. He then set sail for home without attempting to enter the St. Lawrence. Of the prisoners who were carried back, packed like sardines in the hold, forty-five were put ashore at Falmouth while the remaining sixteen were imprisoned at Dieppe.¹ This was the French retort to the expedition of Argall in 1613. Another French vessel in charge of Emery de Caën reached the St. Lawrence in safety and even succeeded in getting past Tadoussac without being discovered by Kirke's vessels that were at anchor there. Between Tadoussac and Quebec however she ran across the largest of the three vessels that had taken Quebec. This ship was now on her way back to Tadoussac, having on board several of the prisoners and a considerable quantity of furs. After a short engagement, during which the English had one sailor killed, the French vessel yielded.² She was then brought to Tadoussac where were collected in all some nineteen French and Basque prizes.³ Thus for the second year of its existence the Company of New France had to deplore not only its exclusion from New France but also the virtual loss of a second fleet.

When the prisoners taken at Quebec had been distributed among the vessels and Lewis Kirke had been placed by his

¹ Félix, *op. cit.* passim and Appendix A. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 299-304. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 104 *et seq.*, nos. 41, 46 and 47.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 251 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 290.

brother in command of the factory with a store of fresh provisions for the winter, preparations were made for setting sail for England. As a report got abroad that some French men-of-war were waiting for them at Gaspé, the vessels kept as close to the Island of Anticosti as possible. On the 27th of October they reached Dover in safety and here the prisoners were landed preparatory to their return to France. Champlain however, as soon as he heard that peace had been concluded in April, made his way to London to urge upon the French ambassador there, M. de Châteauneuf, the necessity of at once pressing for the restoration of Quebec.¹

On the return of this fleet and of the one sent to Port Royal under young Alexander, the Scottish and English Company had every reason to be satisfied with the results of the summer's work. The whole trade of the St. Lawrence had now become theirs while their post at Port Royal gave them command of the greater part of the trade in the Bay of Fundy. On the other hand, Daniel's new fort at Cape Breton and the presence of young La Tour at Cape Sable still gave to the French an entry into the country. The conclusion of peace with France also made it doubtful whether the capture of Quebec could now be maintained. On his arrival in London indeed Champlain at once gave an account of what had occurred to M. de Châteauneuf, the French ambassador. At the same time he wrote to Lauson, the president of the Company of New France, urging him to come to England himself, or to request Richelieu to forward proper instructions to Châteauneuf in the matter.² Armed with the information supplied by Champlain, the French ambassador soon presented a demand for the surrender both of Quebec and of Port Royal.³ The claim was couched in no hesitating terms, for feeling on the subject in France was beginning to run high. To show that his intentions in concluding the recent treaty had been sincere, Charles the First gave his word that the matter would

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 292 et seq. Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, iv 911 et seq.

² Laverdière, *op cit.* vi pp. 296 et seq.

³ Avenel, *Lettres Instructions Diplomatiques et Papiers d'état du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Paris 1858) iii 446, 451 and 455.

be favourably considered and even promised that Quebec at any rate should be restored. From that moment the restoration of New France was only a question of time. The negotiations dragged on until the spring of 1632 before the terms of restitution were finally settled. By the Treaty of St.-Germain-en Laye, the French once more took possession both of Acadia and of the valley of the St. Lawrence. During the intervening years 1629 to 1632 the Scottish and English Company continued to enjoy unhampered the fur-trade in the St. Lawrence. Let us see what success it met with.

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CHAPTER IX

NEW FRANCE UNDER THE SCOTTISH AND ENGLISH COMPANY, 1629-1632

Although Champlain had written to Lauson, the president of the Company of New France, to press for the restoration of the colony, the persons interested in what had been seized at Quebec were not the directors of the Company of New France but the shareholders of the old United Company. Its monopoly had indeed been repealed by Richelieu at the close of the year 1627 but the Company had never, up to the time of the capture of Quebec, been able to withdraw its goods from the factory. All the vessels, sent out for this purpose, had, like the fleets of the Company of New France, been captured by the English. Thus, though the Company of New France as titular owners of the land pressed for its restoration, yet the goods and furs seized at Quebec belonged to the old United Company. Since all goods seized within two months after the proclamation of the treaty of Suza were to be restored, Caën set off for London in the autumn of 1629 to obtain re-possession of these furs. Although he succeeded in obtaining from the Court of Admiralty the appointment of a commission consisting of two Frenchmen and two Englishmen, he afterwards refused to allow it to proceed on account of the intermeddling of a certain Mr. Chamberlain, of whom nothing further is known. At the request of the French ambassador the furs were placed in a warehouse under the seal of the Admiralty Court.¹

At the same time, as Champlain and Lauson requested, the French ambassador continued to press for the surrender of New France itself. Not only was it demanded that Quebec be restored in the same state in which it had been taken, but the French

¹ State Papers, Colonial, vol. v, No. 48. Avenel, *op. cit.* p. 472. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 297, and appendix vi, where the State Papers connected with the above will also be found. Cf. *Ibid.* appendices ii-v.

also asked for the restoration of Port Royal and of a vessel captured during the summer by young Alexander. Since a report had also begun to spread that the seal of the Admiralty Court had been broken and the furs stolen from the warehouse where they had been temporarily placed, Châteauneuf begged that an inquiry into the matter might be at once instituted. To make these several demands more effective, three English prizes at Dieppe and at Calais were ordered to be detained until the English King should show a disposition to negotiate favourably.¹ In reply to these demands King Charles assured the French Government, through Dorchester, his minister for Foreign Affairs, that he still remained firm in his former resolution to restore Quebec. The question of the robbery of the furs placed under the seal of the Admiralty Court would be inquired into, and should it be found that the Scottish and English Company had been guilty of any irregularity, they should be brought to justice.² No mention was made of Port Royal nor of the vessel seized by young Alexander. This reply, which reached Paris in the spring of 1630, seems to have satisfied Lauson that the restoration of Quebec was actually intended. Preparations were therefore at once begun by the Company for the despatch of representatives to receive possession of it from the Kirkes.

In fitting out their third fleet the Company met with some difficulty in regard to funds. Of the total capital of three hundred thousand livres, nearly two hundred and seventy thousand had been already spent on the first two unsuccessful ventures. Only thirty thousand livres were now left. In fact the losses of the two previous years had almost ruined the Company. In view however of the fact that the land of New France was their own property and that one of their principal aims, apart from trade, was the propagation of the Gospel among the savages,³ it was

¹ Avenel, *op. cit.*, pp. 478 and 519. State Papers, Colonial, vol. v No. 50, printed in Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi appendix vii.

² State Papers, Colonial, vol. v No. 51, in Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi appendix viii.

³ *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, i 76: "Cette nouvelle perte ruina presque cette Société . . . on crut qu'il falloit faire un effort pour ne laisser pas périr une si belle occasion d'aller porter la lumière de la foy dans un pais infidèle" etc.

determined to proceed with the despatch of this third fleet by borrowing some forty thousand livres. By means of this loan four vessels were made ready in the spring of 1630. The six men-of-war promised in the previous year were again ordered to accompany them, both as a safeguard against attack and also to overcome any possible hesitation on the part of the English garrison about retiring.¹

The news that these men-of-war were being prepared greatly alarmed King Charles. He feared lest under cloak of the re-occupation of New France a renewal of hostilities might be intended. Complaint was therefore made to the French ambassador in England that in view of the assurances already given and of the efforts to see that Caën received full justice in regard to his furs, such an action could only be regarded as an unfriendly one. When this was reported at Paris, Richelieu countermanded for the second time the order for the six men-of-war. Shortly after this hostilities broke out between France and Spain in Italy and the negotiations with England for the surrender of New France at once came to a standstill. Thus not only was the Company's fleet obliged to set sail alone, but all hope of securing re-possession of New France during that summer had also to be given up.² The four vessels prepared by the Company set sail nevertheless for the west. Two of these, which had been fitted out at Bordeaux, made their way to young La Tour's fort at Cape Sable. Here they were enthusiastically received. Young La Tour, who had resisted all his father's efforts to win him over to the British side, recognized in the arrival of these vessels a personal compliment to himself and an encouragement to further patriotic action. Letters indeed to this purport were presented to him from the directors wherein he was exhorted to continue firm for the future. Arms and provisions were supplied to him and preparations were being made to set up a strong fort at this spot, when La Tour's father, finding the outlook for himself at Port Royal not so good as he had hoped, came over again to his own people and informed them of the condition of affairs among their

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.*, vi 312.

² *Ibid.*, p. 313.

rivals. The British, he reported, had no intention of retiring from Port Royal even if Quebec were handed back. Their occupation of this region had, they said, been projected several years before the war, and though it had been actually made during the progress of hostilities, it could in no way be affected by the terms of the treaty, which only referred to seizures taking place during the two months following the peace. To circumvent their enemies therefore and hold them in check on every side, La Tour and his friends decided to build a second fort at the mouth of the river St. John. Here La Tour the elder was to have command while his son remained in charge at Cape Sable. As the material brought out in the two vessels was only sufficient to strengthen the post at Cape Sable, the smaller vessel was immediately sent back without any cargo, to inform the directors at Bordeaux of this decision and to ask for sufficient fresh material for a new fort at the river St. John. The second vessel returned more leisurely to Bordeaux with a small cargo of fish and furs.¹ The other two vessels of the fleet of the Company of New France made their way to the fort built by Captain Daniel on Cape Breton Island. They found on their arrival here that twelve of the garrison had died during the winter. Although few savages were about, the traders managed to collect some furs, but the principal portion of the cargo of both vessels on their return consisted of fish. The fort was supplied with fresh stores and a sufficient garrison left to ward off any attack.²

Meanwhile the Scottish and English Company had been enjoying the trade both in the St. Lawrence and along the Atlantic coast. It was found that fourteen of the garrison had died at Quebec during the winter, but fresh provisions soon put matters right. To prevent a repetition of this, the land cleared by the Jesuits and Recollects, who had all gone home in the previous year, was planted by the English, in order that henceforth they should have a local source of supply. Of the amount of trade done this summer by the vessels sent to Port Royal we

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 313 et seq. Denys, *op. cit.* i 68 et seq.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.*, vi 319-20.

know nothing; the two sent to Quebec brought back three hundred thousand pounds weight of furs.¹

Owing to the ravages of the French and English privateers in the summer of 1628 the number of vessels which frequented the Newfoundland Banks had rapidly fallen off. Although in the year 1629, at Lord Baltimore's request, an English man-of-war was sent thither, yet owners were afraid to allow their vessels to set sail. Indeed only some forty English vessels put in an appearance.² Lord Baltimore himself was not finding Newfoundland quite to his taste as a permanent home. During the winter of 1628 and 1629 the cold had been most severe from October until May. His house, he said, resembled more a hospital than a private residence. Since however, to use his own words, "his inclination still carried him to proceedings in plantations," he received a fresh grant of land in Virginia and to this milder climate he soon after removed with his colony.³

On account of the continuation of hostilities between France and Spain in Italy, no further progress had been made since the spring of 1629 in the negotiations for the restoration of New France. But the efforts of Caën at London to secure re-possession of the furs found at Quebec kept the English Government from altogether losing sight of the matter. When Caën had refused the commission appointed by the Admiralty Court shortly after his arrival in England, the Lord Mayor of London proceeded to deal with his complaints. On the 9th of April 1630, by the Lord Mayor's decision, the furs were sold to Caën in public auction at twenty-five shillings per pound. When however men were sent to weigh and deliver them, the key of the warehouse could nowhere be found. A domiciliary visit at the home of the Kirkes failing to discover its whereabouts, the order was finally given to break the warehouse open. This forced entrance disclosed the fact that of the seventeen hundred odd beaver-skins originally stored there only three hundred now remained. A certain Thomas Fittz was arrested as the guilty

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 320 *et seq.*: "Ils avoient rapporté pour Trois cens mille livres de peleterie, et estoit mort quatorze Anglois de nonante qu' ils estoient," etc.

² Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 96, No. 3.

Ibid. pp. 100 *et seq.* Nos. 27, 39 and 40.

party and confined to the Fleet. On promising, in July, to restore the stolen goods, he was again set at liberty. Caën was finally able to obtain possession of all the furs brought from Quebec, but he now declared that the total left there was not seventeen hundred but five thousand, and he claimed composition for the three thousand three hundred missing skins. Though the Scottish and English Company continuously maintained that they had found no more than the number already sworn to as correct, Caën still held out and finally, indeed, gained his point in the peace of 1632.¹

It was however not until January 1631 that the negotiations about New France were again resumed at the point where Châteauneuf and the English ministers had left them at the outbreak of war in Italy, in the spring of 1630. At the next meeting of the representatives of the two countries, which was held in Paris on the 21st of January 1631, it was agreed that all the vessels and goods taken since the peace which were in *esse* should be restored, while the value of those already sold should be paid back according to the inventories drawn up at the time of seizure. King Charles on his part also agreed to restore Quebec, while the French expressed their readiness not only to cancel several acts of outlawry passed against the Kirkes, but also to see that justice was done to the English merchants whose goods had been seized at Rouen. There only remained the question of Port Royal. Here however the French made a firm stand. The English proposal that it should be left "as a disputable point" for separate negotiation with M. de Fontenay, who had succeeded Châteauneuf as French ambassador in England, was rejected at once. Its immediate restoration was demanded conjointly with that of Quebec, as "both agreeable to reason and to the treaty itself."² The English representatives in Paris also recommended this step to Dorchester, the English Foreign minister. According to the best information they could get, the French trade there in former days had never exceeded one thousand elk-skins

¹ State Papers, Colonial, vol. v, Nos. 79, 81 (i, ii, iii), 92, 96 and 97. Most of these will be found in Laverdière, *op. cit.*, vi Appendices x-xiv.

² Public Record Office—State Papers: France, De Vic to Dorchester, §§ January, 1631; *Ibid.*, §§ January, 1631.

and about as many beaver-skins. Rather than endanger all the negotiations for this one point, and the French would prefer to "hazard new misunderstandings than fall from their pretended right thereto,"¹ let Alexander be given a fresh grant elsewhere on the same coast. Such at least was their advice. At this point however the negotiations were again interrupted by the departure of the King for Compiègne. The diplomatists were referred to that place for the next meeting.

In view of the firm position taken up by the French on the subject of Port Royal, which, since it had been occupied before the close of the war, could in no way be brought under the terms of the treaty of peace, King Charles thought fit on his side to press for the payment of the remaining portion of his wife's dowry.² It was only fair, he thought, that if the question of Port Royal, which had no connection with the treaty, were brought into it, the question of the portion money should also be introduced. Dorchester warned De Vic, the English agent, that he was not "to make tender of his Majesty's giving contentment in the point of Port Royal by way of bargain, which were a marchandly proceeding and in no way becoming negotiations betwixt Princes," but if King Charles' demands were fully accepted "Port Royal should not breed any interruption to a total agreement."³

In the meantime King Louis had at length become stationary at Dijon, and here at the end of March the negotiations were again resumed. Lord Montagu, a special envoy in France, who reached the Court before the others, informed the French commissioners that all their demands had been accepted in England and that the terms of the treaty could be at once drawn up. When the English commissioners arrived however they declared that they had no instructions to conclude the treaty. The French demands in writing must be again sent to England and accepted there before this could be done. When also they broached the subject of the dowry the French commissioners grew very

¹ *Ibid.*, De Vic to Dorchester, 14th January, 1631.

² *Ibid.*, Dorchester to De Vic, February 17th, 1631.

³ *Ibid.*, Dorchester to De Vic, March 2nd, 1631.

"colde," nor would they give any assurance of satisfaction being received in this matter until the announcement was made that in return for this Port Royal should be restored as they demanded. Richelieu then went so far as to state that when he had seen the King, he would fix a day for the payment of the dowry.¹ A certain amount of progress had thus been made when the French in their turn again introduced a fresh demand. It appeared that when Châteauneuf was ambassador in England he had drawn up certain regulations as to trade which he wished the two countries to enforce. The war in Italy and his own return to France, where he then occupied the post of Keeper of the Seals, had prevented the matter from being concluded. He now demanded that these regulations should be embodied in the treaty.² As they were totally unknown to the English commissioners, who had not even a copy of them, they said that they must write to England for instructions. On account of this, all hope of completing the negotiations in time for the surrender of New France in the summer of 1631 had to be given up.³

For another season therefore the Scottish and English Company enjoyed the fur-trade of New France. The reports of their great gains had excited other English merchants to fit out vessels for this trade, notwithstanding that the Company had been given the monopoly of it. But word of this reaching the harbour authorities at London the suspected vessels were at once stayed.⁴ The Company sent out its vessels as usual both to Port Royal and to Quebec. Before the arrival of the vessels destined for Quebec, the agents there were greatly surprised one day at the unexpected appearance of Emery de Caën. He informed them that since the countries were now at peace and the restoration of Quebec only a question of time, he was quite within his rights in trading in the river. Lewis Kirke, who was in command at the factory, allowed him to land his merchandize, but when it was found, after the arrival of the Company's three vessels from

¹ *Ibid.*, De Vic to Dorchester, March 22 1631.

² *Ibid.*, and De Vic and Angier to Dorchester, March 22 April 2 1631.

Cf. Avenel, *op. cit.*, iv 143.

⁴ State Papers : Colonial, vol. vi, Nos. 4, 5, 27 and 33, printed in Laverdière, *op. cit.*, vi Appendices xv, xvi, xx and xxi.

London, that the barter this year would not be large, he was forbidden to take any share in the trade. Leaving his goods at Quebec in charge of one of his men, he returned to France in a violent rage.¹ The whole trade therefore was as usual taken by the Company's three vessels. On the arrival at Port Royal of the other fleet of the same Company with colonists and cattle, the outlook for that settlement began to seem bright. King Charles assured his Scottish Privy Council that he was still ready to grant baronies to all who would aid in colonizing New Scotland which would continue as before to be the object of his solicitude.²

The Company of New France, on its side, also despatched two ships. Though the vessel sent back empty to Bordeaux had been received none too joyfully by the directors, yet they at once proceeded to load her with the materials demanded by the La Tours and she arrived in due course. The new fort at the river St. John was therefore soon constructed and the elder La Tour placed in charge, while his son still continued to govern at Cape Sable.³ This time on her return the vessel bore back a cargo of fish and furs.⁴ On the arrival of the other vessel of the Company in charge of Captain Daniel at Cape Breton, it was found that a dispute had broken out among the garrison there. The commander Gaude, who had shot one Martel of Dieppe, was put in irons and a new commander appointed in his place. After landing provisions for the winter, the vessel proceeded to Miscou where she intended to fish and if possible to trade. Her crew however soon became involved in a dispute with some Basque fishermen and with some Indians who sided with them. In a skirmish which ensued Daniel lost one of his crew. A pinnace sent up the river to Tadoussac secured a good supply of furs, but they were unfortunately taken from her again by one of Kirke's vessels met with on her way back. Daniel was thus obliged to set sail for home completely empty-handed.⁵

¹ State Papers : Colonial, vol. vi no. 23, in Laverdière, *op. cit.*, vi appendix xix ; *Ibid.* pp. 339 *et seq.*

² Rogers, *op. cit.*, Introd. p. xxxviii.

³ Denys, *op. cit.* i 38.

⁴ Laverdière *op. cit.* vi 330

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 331 *et seq.*

In the meantime the negotiations for the surrender of New France, which had been transferred from Dijon to London, had been quietly proceeding between the new French ambassador and the English ministers. Since the goods of some English merchants had been seized that spring at Rouen and the merchants themselves ill-treated by the townspeople, De Vic had sought to induce Châteauneuf to forego his commercial regulations by pointing out to him the many causes of complaint on the English side. Châteauneuf's only reply was that the English should state these complaints in writing.¹ In England, Fontenay and Dorchester had made such good progress that in May Dorchester informed his agents in Paris that he would "very speedily have all in ripenes to speake with the French ambassador of the meanes to putt every thing into final execution." Yet this would require a "sending over once more to that syde" to agree about the time for delivering the ships and for restoring Quebec and Port Royal. There was no studied delay, as the French seemed to think, but only so much as was necessary for an affair of such importance.² Ten days later the affair was "in that forwardnes" that a final issue might soon be expected.³ At the beginning of June however King Charles desired that the negotiations should be again transferred to Paris that it might not appear that the difficulty of reaching a final agreement lay with him and his ministers.⁴ The point where matters now stuck was the dowry. King Charles wished a guarantee in the treaty itself. The French ambassador would only give verbal promises. It was at length agreed that the dowry should not be mentioned in the treaty but that Burlamachi, a London merchant, on going over with all the papers "to shutt up this long negotiation" should receive the money in person.⁵

It was the end of August before Burlamachi reached Paris.

¹ State Papers: France, De Vic to Dorchester, April 13th 1631; Memorial of the Merchants, ^{April 29}_{May 8} 1631.

² *Ibid.*, Dorchester to Wake, May 1st 1631.

³ *Ibid.*, Dorchester to Wake, May 14th 1631.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Dorchester to Wake, ^{May 20}_{June 7} 1631.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Dorchester to Wake, ^{May 29}_{June 8} 1631.

The English ambassador in France was now Sir Isaac Wake who had just arrived from Italy. He at once took charge of the negotiations, until then carried on by De Vic and Augier, the two secretaries at the Embassy. In informing Wake of the then condition of the negotiations, King Charles stated that the restoration of Port Royal was not being done in ignorance, for he well knew that it did not come under the Treaty of Suza. The real reason was "an affection and desire to comply with our good brother the French king, in all things that may, friendly and reasonably, though not rightly and duly, be demanded of us."¹ The real truth seems to be that Port Royal was sacrificed on account of the King's pressing need of money. Owing to the refusal of the Parliament to vote subsidies in 1629, which was the last year it had met, the Government was experiencing considerable difficulty. The payment to the troops in Germany was greatly in arrears, and at home the army and the navy were continually breaking out into mutiny on account of arrears of pay. It was hoped that the payment of the dowry would enable the Government to meet the most pressing of these demands. Burlamachi was presented at Court on the second of September and soon after made a round of official visits to the ministers. He had hardly completed these before the King left Paris and Court and commissioners were obliged to follow.² At the same time it was learned that preparations were being made to sell the two English vessels at Dieppe, which according to the terms of the treaty were to be handed back intact. King Charles, who had all along shown a friendly attitude, was furious and told Fontenay plainly what he thought of such behaviour. When this was reported to Richelieu he ordered the sale of the ships to be stayed until further orders.³ From Compiègne, whence the King soon after set out for Monceaux, Burlamachi wrote to Dorchester that in view of the exorbitant demands of Caën and the shareholders of the United Company, who affirmed that the

¹ *Ibid.*, The King to Wake, June 11 1631.

² *Ibid.*, Burlamachi to Dorchester, ^{August 26} ~~September 5~~ 1631.

³ *Ibid.*, Dorchester to Wake, 7th September 1631. Avenel, *op. cit.* iv 202 and 203 note. Cf. also State Papers : France, Brown to Dorchester, Sept. 11 1631.

furs bought in London were only about one-third of those left in the factory in the autumn of 1627, it would be well for the Scottish and English Company to send over all the papers they had for their defence.¹ After a short stay at Monceaux, his Majesty again set out for Troyes. Their journey, as Burlamachi wrote to Dorchester, was beginning to have all the appearance of a wild-goose chase.² Indeed it was not until the beginning of October, when the King had finally made a halt at Fontainebleau, that the course of the negotiations was resumed.

At the first conference, held on the tenth of that month, it was agreed that the English demands for wrongs suffered and ships seized should be examined by M. de Bouthillier, the secretary for Foreign Affairs, while Wake, the English ambassador, should check off those of the French merchants and traders. As to New France, Wake informed them that he had no procuracy, but a donation which he would deliver when all had been adjusted, for it was an act on his master's part not of obligation but of "pure courtoisie, whereas he did require nothing of them but what they were bound to give in virtue of treaties."³ A second conference followed some ten days later. Wake began by demanding that having first ratified the conclusions reached in England by Dorchester and Fontenay they should next come to some final agreement about the reciprocal pretensions of the merchants and fix a day for mutual restitution. When the first point had been settled, they for some time discussed the second. Finally the proposal of Maréchal de Schomberg that all the French and all the English claims should be lumped together, and Burlamachi and a French merchant be made respectively responsible for the totals, was accepted by both sides. No day however was yet fixed for the mutual restitution.

Although Wake had gained his principal points in this last conference, he found, on looking into matters, that they did not really profit him very greatly. There existed among his papers, he found, neither an inventory of the English goods sold in

¹ *Ibid.*, Burlamachi to Dorchester, Sept. 17 1631.

² *Ibid.*, Burlamachi to Dorchester, Sept. 22 1631.

³ *Ibid.*, Wake to Dorchester, ^{September 20} October 10 1631.

France, nor one of the French goods sold in England. For the absence of the former, he wrote home, some one was to blame, and if the merchants lost by the treaty they would only have themselves to thank for it.¹ His difficulties were further increased by the repeated affirmation of the shareholders of the United Company that the number of furs in the factory at the time of its capture was 4,266 while Kirke and his men swore on oath that they had only found 1,713.² Although copies of these sworn depositions were forwarded from London to Wake, they did not, according to Burlamachi, completely refute the statements of Caen and his people.³

Hardly had these two conferences at Fontainebleau been concluded, when the Court was once again under way. After following it about for some time, without any occasion presenting itself of resuming the negotiations, Burlamachi quite lost patience. On reaching Château-Thierry he expressed to the French ministers his intention of returning at once to England. He had now, he said, been in the country some six months and during nearly the whole of that period he had been on the march. Bouthillier begged him in Heaven's name not to think of such a step. The King's movements had been quite unexpected and as uncomfortable for his ministers as for the foreign representatives. He concluded his apology by promising that at the next place where a halt was made, the whole matter should be wound up.⁴ On reaching Metz all made preparations for the next conference which took place in fact in that town on the twenty-sixth of January 1632.

Although the Scottish and English Company had sent an agent to France with all the papers they thought necessary to uphold their case, this man did not go beyond Paris. According to Burlamachi he was afraid of getting his boots muddy on the country roads. The conclusions reached recently at Fontainebleau having been taken as the basis of the present conference,

¹ *Ibid.*, Wake to Dorchester, October 11, 1631.

² Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 103 no. 37.

³ State Papers: France, Burlamachi to Dorchester, October 11, 1631.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Burlamachi to Dorchester, Dec. 15, 1631.

all went well until it came to the question of the demands presented by Caën. On account of the failure of the agent of the Scottish and English Company to appear, Caën's statement that the number of furs left at Quebec was 4,266 was accepted as valid. As to his other demands, a total was after some debate agreed upon, which, though it included some items considered by Wake to be incorrect, was nevertheless not as large as the sum he himself had calculated. Châteauneuf and Bouthillier were then requested to draw up the treaty. "When this has been done," wrote Wake, "we have nothing more to do but to sign it."¹ According to the terms finally agreed upon, all the vessels and goods which had not been sold were to be restored intact. In the case of goods already disposed of, a return was to be made in money according to the value of the object as specified at the time of seizure. During the summer of 1632, in the course of which both Quebec and Port-Royal were to be handed back, the trade of New France was to be open to the subjects of both the contracting States. On the twentieth of March, after the Court returned to Paris, this treaty was finally signed at St.-Germain-en-Laye. Wake then handed over the orders for the surrender both of Quebec and Port Royal, while at the same time Burlamachi received the securities for the payment of the remaining portion of the dowry.²

The terms of the treaty as finally concluded were greatly in favour of the French. Discontent in England was therefore general. Kirke wrote to Wake that it was plain the statements of the French had been always accepted, while those of the English had been wholly rejected.³ Although Alexander had been supported throughout by the Scottish Parliament, which only in the previous July informed that nation that King Charles, far from quitting his title to New Scotland, "will be verie careful to maintean all his good subjects who doe plant thameselfs there,"

¹ *Ibid.*, Wake to Dorchester, January 11 1632.

² *Mercure François*, xviii 39-56. Rymer, *Fœdera* xix 361 et seq. *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la N. France* i 86 et seq. State Papers: France, Wake to Dorchester, March 11 1632.

³ State Papers: Colonial, vol. vi, No. 53.

he seems to have taken the surrender of Port Royal very lightly. He had already been named viscount, and a royal warrant of £10,000 was now made out to aid him in removing his people from Port Royal. Even at this date however King Charles hoped that he would begin a fresh colony elsewhere and informed his subjects that they were to help and encourage the same.¹ In fact in August Viscount Sterling (Alexander's new title) was ordered to communicate to the baronets such propositions as might best serve "for making the right use hereafter of a plantatione and trade in these boundis."² But though he became a member of the Council of New England, he never attempted a fresh colony and died in the year 1640, heavily in debt.³

To King Charles himself the terms of the treaty were also an unpleasant surprise. It was found indeed that the claims of the French exceeded those of the English by some £14,330 which his Majesty was now called upon to pay. Although the remaining portion of the dowry amounted to 400,000 crowns, or about the same number of pounds,⁴ the payment of the former sum greatly displeased King Charles. He said however that for the sake of his honour he would not disavow the burden cast upon him and ordered the money to be paid.⁵

Equally unpopular was the surrender of Quebec and Port Royal, which took place as agreed upon in the summer of 1632. It was not however the Company of New France which took possession of Quebec but the old United Company that had been in possession at the time of the capture by the English. In consideration of its losses through this capture and through the sudden withdrawal of the monopoly before its legal termination, Richelieu granted them the trade in the St. Lawrence for this

¹ Rogers, *op. cit.*, *Intro.*, p. xxxvii; *Ibid.* pp. xxxv-vi, where State Papers: Colonial, vol. v No. 102 (1) will be found; cf. also *Ibid.* p. xxxix for State Papers: Colonial, vol. vi No. 56.

² Rogers, *op. cit.*, *Intro.* p. xi.

³ *Ibid.* p. li.

⁴ An approximation of values is difficult. Both coinages had been much debased but the French more than the English. This is estimating the crown at three livres fifteen sols and making the whole equal to an English pound.

⁵ State Papers: Colonial, vol. vi No. 45, in Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi Appendix xxiv.

summer. On the 13th of July Lewis and Thomas Kirke at length embarked their people, the expenses of whose return were, according to the terms of the treaty, to be borne by Caën and his associates.¹ Besides the furs already secured by trade this summer in the St. Lawrence, the Scottish and English Company also obtained a considerable indemnity from some English interlopers who had been infringing their monopoly earlier in the year.²

The fort at Port Royal was taken over by the Company of New France, which now possessed three other posts—at Cape Breton, Cape Sable and the river St. John. Razilly, the original promoter of the Company, received possession of the fort from young Alexander and landed in place of the returning Scotch the first batch of colonists which, during the four years of its existence, the Company of New France had ever succeeded in landing in the country. Another post was established at Pentagotet, south of the river St. John.³ Yet not one of these posts ever became very prosperous and two years later Razilly wrote home that though fifty thousand crowns had been expended not a single *denier* had been gained in return.⁴ It was not until the summer of 1633 that the same Company was at length able to instal itself at Quebec. The old United Company, whose monopoly should have gone on unaltered until the year 1635, then retired and the agents of the Company of New France took possession. For the loss of its monopoly during the remainder of this period the United Company obtained a compensation of seventy-nine thousand livres.⁵

With the entry of the Company of New France into posses-

¹ Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, v 10 et seq. Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères : Amérique, Tome iv fol. 119 et seq. State Papers : Colonial, vol. vi No. 75, in Laverdière *op. cit.* vi Appendix xxx.

² State Papers : Colonial, vol. vi No. 66, 66 (1) and 66 (2), in Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi Appendix xxx Nos. 1, 2 and 3. Winthrop's Letters in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 3rd Series vol. ix p. 238.

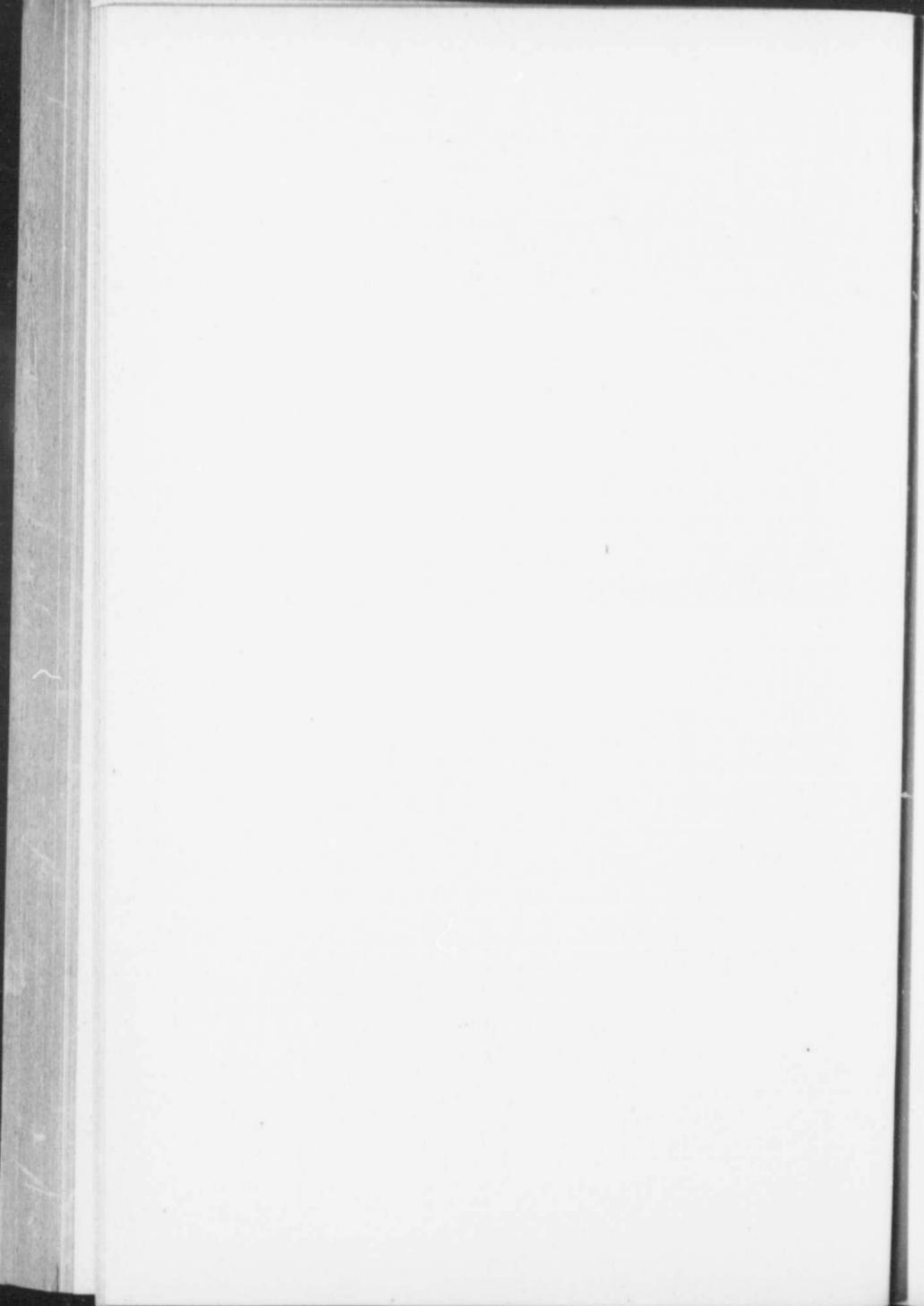
³ Denys, *op. cit.* i 2 and 54.

⁴ Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères : Amérique, Vol. iv fols. 122 and 130. *Memoires des Commissaires du Roy pour la Délimitation de l'Acadie* (Paris, 1755), ii 491.

⁵ *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France* i 77.

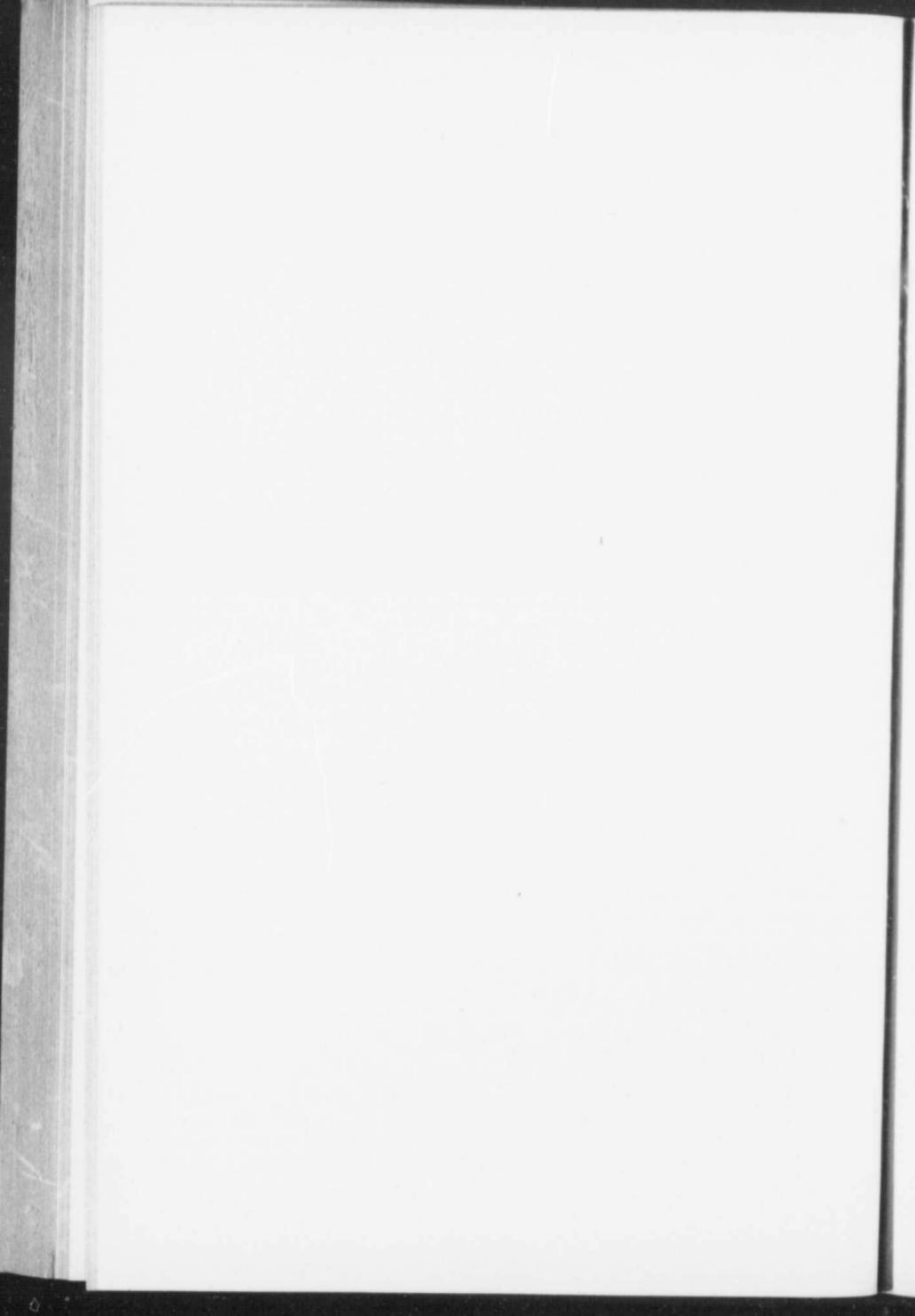
sion at Quebec in the summer of 1633 the period of the early trading companies comes to an end. Until the year 1663 this one trading corporation continued to control the political and commercial destinies of New France. In looking back over the period covered, one or two points force themselves into prominence. The first of these is that from the time of Roberval to the year 1632 and even up to the present day the French have not cared to leave their native land. While New England grew up through persecution and New Holland through the great inducements offered to any one who would take up land there, New France never had above one or two families of colonists during all these years. This was due perhaps partly also to the treatment meted out to those who did venture to settle in the colony. Not only were they forbidden to engage in any way in the fur-trade, the staple industry of the country, but they had to sell all their produce at half or even less than half its real value, as well as to pay the very high charges demanded by the Company for all the articles brought from the mother country, and finally they were often treated by the Company's servants not as free settlers but as mere dependents. This remark brings us to the second point, that of the monopolized companies. It is certain that though intercourse between the old France and the new had existed throughout the latter part of the sixteenth century, no one ventured to settle there until Chauvin took out his sixteen people to Tadoussac in the summer of 1600. When that system was once adopted, it should have been enforced more logically. If it was found that the number of colonists stipulated was too large, the Government should have reduced it. As it was, each company, finding the burden too great, did nothing; and this breach of its promises after a few years caused the monopoly to be withdrawn. The open system, in force between the years 1609 and 1614, would doubtless have succeeded in time, had the Government taken over the post at Quebec and left discovery and trade to look after themselves. But then as now France had a strong centralized government at home and could hardly be expected to do things on a different system in her colony. Thus between the two evils of no colonists and excessive governmental control, New France during these years never prospered.

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APPENDIX

THE SOURCES



THE SOURCES

INTRODUCTION

The sources of the early history of New France form merely one section of the sources of French history in general during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In addition to the documents already brought to light many more in so vast a field doubtless still remain unknown. Until more detailed catalogues of the great stores at the Archives Nationales and other centres have been published, small results can be looked for from the efforts of individual research.

Since the sources of the early history of Canada and those of the history of France are the same for the period in question, the guide to French sources in general prepared by MM. Langlois and Stein will be found of inestimable value.¹ By means of the indications given in that work, I have been able not only to search the French manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale,²

¹ Langlois et Stein, *Les Archives de l'Histoire de France*, 2 vols. 8°, Paris, 1891-94.

² The French MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale are in three divisions. Of the first, called *ancien fonds* and comprising nos. 1-6170, a detailed catalogue has been prepared under the title of *Catalogue des Manuscrits français*, 4 vols. 4°, Paris, 1868-95. The fifth and last volume is in the press. The second division, called *nouveau fonds* and comprising nos. 6171-33264, has only been catalogued in a summary manner under the title of *Catalogue général des Manuscrits français*, which comprises nine volumes published since 1895. The third division called *nouvelles acquisitions*, begun in 1860, already embraces ten thousand manuscripts. A catalogue of nos. 1-10,000 was published by M. Henri Omont in 1899 and 1900. Since 1891, M. Omont has however published every two years a list of the new acquisitions in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, (Année 1898, pp. 81-135.) Besides these manuscripts, there are also the numerous collections of French manuscripts copied or collected at home or abroad. Full information as to these will be found in Langlois and Stein, *op. cit.* pp. 857-870, while the catalogues are given on pp. 92-94 of the useful little book entitled *Catalogue Alphabétique des Livres Imprimés mis à la disposition des lecteurs dans la salle du travail du Département des Manuscrits*, Paris, 1895, 8°.

but also those of the other large libraries at Paris,¹ as well as the Archives Nationales² and those of the French Foreign³ and Colonial⁴ Offices. The naval archives of which a general catalogue has been published⁵ are now stored at the Archives Nationales, but contain, nothing bearing on this portion of the history of New France. In the catalogue of manuscripts preserved in the various provincial libraries, I have found little for the period dealt with in this work.⁶ On the other hand, the archives of those Departments which border on the sea often contain papers relating to New France, but the search for them involves much labour.⁷ Several towns such as St. Malo and Bordeaux contain in their municipal archives documents bearing on New France; the catalogues however are not always complete.⁸ Private collections should also not be disregarded; the Château de Roberval in the Department of the Oise still contains papers relating to the first viceroy of Canada.⁹ Provincial law offices should some day bring to light

¹ H. Martin, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, 7 volumes 8°, Paris, 1885-1896. H. Molinier, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, 4 volumes, Paris, 1885-1892. Ch. Kohler, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, 2 volumes 8°, Paris, 1893-96.

² *État sommaire par séries des Documents conservés aux Archives Nationales*, 4°, Paris, 1891. *Catalogue des Manuscrits conservés aux Archives Nationales*, Paris, 1892. Langlois et Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-44.

³ Langlois et Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-50. There has been since published a *Supplément au Fonds France et au Fonds divers*, 8°, Paris, 1896.

⁴ The only catalogue of the archives at the Colonial Office is the one made by M. Marmette and published by Mr. Brymner in his *Reports on Canadian Archives* for 1883, 1885, 1886 and 1887. Ottawa: Government Printing Office.

⁵ *État sommaire des Archives de la Marine antérieures à la Révolution*. Paris 1898.

⁶ *Catalogue général des Bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements*, vols. 1-37, and still in course of publication.

⁷ *Catalogue des Manuscrits conservés dans les Dépôts d'Archives départementales, communales, et hospitalières*, 8°, Paris, 1886. *Collection des Inventaires sommaires des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790*, 250 volumes 4°, and still in progress. Langlois et Stein, *op. cit.* pp. 67-271.

⁸ *Collection des Inventaires sommaires des Archives communales antérieures à 1790*, about fifty volumes already published. Langlois et Stein, *op. cit.* pp. 273-442.

⁹ Abbé E. Morel, *Jean François de la Roque seigneur de Roberval, vice-roi du Canada* in the *Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive*, Paris, 1892, pp. 273 et seq.

much fresh material¹ and the legal archives at Rouen, which I was unable to consult, certainly contain documents relating to the early history of New France.²

For English manuscripts relating to New France the search is made extremely simple by the *Calendars of State Papers*,³ which contain short synopses not only of the papers in the Public Record Office but also of those in the British Museum and of any others, wherever found, which the labours of the Historical Manuscripts Commission may have brought to light.

The early printed books relating to New France as well as the early maps of that country have been carefully catalogued by Mr. HARRISSE in a work published in 1872.⁴

For convenience, in the critical examination of these sources, I have divided them into the three classes of official, narrative, and anonymous. Although this division is slightly irregular, it still serves to mark them off into classes of documents which can be conveniently treated together. In the first class are contained all charters, grants, letters patent and other documents of a purely formal character, which I have simply placed in chronological order. It is only in the second division, narrative sources, that the critical work actually begins. As the value of the narrative depends altogether on the character and personality of the author and the opportunities he enjoyed for observing the events recorded, I have endeavoured to give first of all a brief account of his life, and have then sought to estimate, in the light of this evidence, the value of his testimony. Official documents preserved by these authors of narratives have been catalogued in the first division since their value as historical evidence depends not so much on him who has preserved them

¹ Ch. et P. Bréard, *Documents Relatifs à la Marine normande*, p. xi. Rouen 1889, 8°.

² Gosselin, *Nouvelles Glanes Historiques Normandes*, p. 6. Rouen 1873.

³ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, London, 1860 etc., 8°, nine volumes published, of which four relate to America.

⁴ *Notes pour servir à l'Histoire, à la Bibliographie et à la Cartographie de la Nouvelle France et des Pays Adjacents, 1545-1700*, Paris, 1872, 8°. In 1885 M. Gabriel Marcel published an additional list of maps in the *Revue de Géographie*, vol 16 pp. 186-194, 282-289, 359-365, 442-447, and vol 17 pp. 50-57.

as on their own character and style of expression. Letters, though not always strictly narrative sources, have yet been included under that head, as their value depends altogether on the personality of the author, who is in most cases here noted also one of the writers of narrative.

In the third and last class are contained the anonymous sources. In estimating their value I have generally followed the plan of first eliminating the authentic material embodied by the writer in his work and then discussing the question of authorship, upon which necessarily hinges the value of the remainder.

THE SOURCES

PART I: OFFICIAL

September 1510¹. Pardon granted to Guillaume Dobel, mate of a Newfoundland fishing vessel, who had pushed one of his men overboard. *Annales de Bretagne* ix 435-436. Rennes 1893.

October 1511. Sobrecarta of the Queen Doña Juana containing the agreement made with Juan de Agramonte for a voyage of discovery to Newfoundland. Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes y Descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Espanoles*, etc., iii 122-125, no. xxxi.

October 1511. Order from Queen Juana confirming the appointment of Agramonte as captain of the expedition. *Ibid.* iii 125-127, no. xxxii.

14th December 1514. Act passed at Paimpol in Brittany between the monks of Beauport and the inhabitants of the island of Bréhat wherein the former claimed one-tenth of all the fish brought from Newfoundland. *Annales de Bretagne* ix 177-182.

27th March 1523. Letter from Joao da Silveira, Portuguese ambassador in France, referring to Verrazano's approaching voyage. *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi pubblicati dalla R. Commissione Columbiana* Parte V, Volume ii 245. Roma 1894.

27th March 1523. Agreement of the Emperor Charles V with the pilot Estevan Gomez for a voyage to the Moluccas. *Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las Posesiones Espanolas de América y Oceania*, etc., Primera Serie, xxii 74.

¹ A chronological list of the documents referring to the Cabots will be found in R. Beazley, *John and Sebastian Cabot*, (London 1898), pp. 265-291. The few documents relating to the voyages of the Corte-Reals have been very carefully edited by Mr. HARRISSE in his work entitled *Les Corte-Real et leurs Voyages au Nouveau Monde*, large 8°, Paris 1883, with a postscriptum. Mr. HARRISSE in his *Notes pour servir à l'Histoire, etc., de la Nouvelle France* (pp. 243-354) also gave a list similar to the above and printed several unpublished documents.

25th April 1523. Another letter with information about Verrazano's departure. Murphy, *The Voyage of Verrazano*, pp. 162-163. New York 1875.

29th September 1525. A "Clameur de haro" on behalf of Jean Verrazano. De Costa, *Verrazano the Explorer*, preface. New York 1881.

11th May 1526. Jean Verrazano gave a power of attorney to his brother and another. *Revue Critique*, 10^e année, Tome I, p. 22. Paris 1876.

12th May 1526. Verrazano gave a special power of attorney to Adam Godeffroy. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Circa 1526. Agreement between Chabot, Ango and Verrazano for a voyage for spices. Fréville, *Mémoire sur le Commerce Maritime de Rouen*, ii 432-434. Paris 1857.

22nd July 1527. An order in regard to the sale of cod. N. E. Dionne, *La Nouvelle France de Cartier à Champlain*, pp. 346-347. Quebec 1891.

24th December 1527. Letter from Joao da Silveira mentioning that Verrazano was to set sail in the spring. *Memorie della Società Geografica Italiana*, vii (parte prima) 190. Roma 1897.

18th March $\frac{1533}{1534}$. Six thousand livres paid to Cartier to fit out his first expedition. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 15628, fol. 213 verso, no. 618.

19th March $\frac{1533}{1534}$. Order forbidding the fishing vessels of St. Malo to leave for Newfoundland until Cartier had completed his crews. Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de Jaques Cartier au Canada en 1534*, 2^e partie, pp. 3-5. Paris 1865.

30th October 1534. Letters patent from Admiral Chabot authorizing Cartier to prepare three vessels in the following spring for the completion of his discoveries. *Ibid.* pp. 5 *et seq.*

12th December 1534. Receipt given by Roberval for the sum of 100 livres for his pay for three months as ensign in the company of the Maréchal de la Marck. Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales, vol. 2523, no. 56459, no. 11.

3rd March $\frac{1534}{1535}$. Meeting of the community of St. Malo wherein complaint is made of the detention of the Newfound-

land fleet in order that Cartier might complete his crews. Jotou des Longrais, *Jacques Cartier*, pp. 21-23. Paris 1888.

6th March ¹⁵³⁴/₁₅₃₅. Receipt given by Roberval for his pay as ensign for October, November and December 1534. Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales, vol. 2523, no. 56459, no. 12.

30th March 1535. 3,000 livres paid to Cartier to equip his second fleet. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 15632, fol. 170 verso, no. 571.

31st March 1535. Complaints at a meeting of the community of St. Malo against a ban ordered by Cartier; roll of the crews. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 8-12, also Jotou des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 126-142.

5th October 1535. Receipt given by Roberval for his pay as ensign during the three months of April, May and June 1535. Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Clairambault, vol. 134, fol. 1891, no. 5.

10th May 1537. King Francis I makes a present to Cartier of the vessel *Hermine*. Archives Nationales, Série J 962 (12), no. 10.

14th September 1538. Payment of 3499 livres 4 sols and 6 deniers to Cartier by the King for the expenses of his two voyages. Archives Nationales, Série J 962 (15), no. 23.

22nd September 1538. Order from Francis I to his treasurer to pay to Cartier fifty crowns for his salary and to aid in the keep of the savages brought from Canada. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Latin 17059, no. 202.

22nd October 1538. Receipt given by Roberval, lieutenant in the company of Captain de Sedan, for 62 livres 10 sols, being his salary for the months of April, May and June 1538. Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales, vol. 2523, no. 56459, no. 13.

25th March ¹⁵³⁸/₁₅₃₉. Baptism at St. Malo of three of the savages brought home by Cartier from Canada. *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, i 29-30. Quebec 1883, 4^o.

17th October 1540. Letters patent granted by Francis I to Cartier appointing him chief pilot of the fleet which formed the third expedition in 1541. Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, ii 387 *et seq.*, Paris 1866; Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 12-17.

20th October 1540. Commission from the Duke of Brittany to Cartier empowering him to take away any prisoners found suitable for the purposes of the expedition. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 17-19.

12th December 1540. Order from Francis I to the Sénéchal at Rennes ordering him to inquire into the attempts made at St. Malo and elsewhere to discourage pilots and sailors from offering their services to Cartier. *Ibid.* pp. 19-21.

15th January $\frac{1540}{1541}$. Letters patent from Francis I to Roberval appointing him to the leadership of the expedition against the kingdom of Saguenay. HARRISSE, *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, pp. 243-253; *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, i 30-36.

15th January $\frac{1540}{1541}$. Order from Francis I to Roberval empowering him to enrol men and to provide himself with all arms and provisions necessary for the expedition. HARRISSE, *op. cit.* pp. 265-268.

4th February $\frac{1540}{1541}$. Fleuryot, one of Cartier's men, appointed guardian of some children. Jôion des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 24-25.

7th February $\frac{1540}{1541}$. Letters patent from Francis I to the Parlements of Paris, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Rouen and Dijon ordering them to hand over to Roberval or his lieutenant any prisoners whom they might select as suitable to accompany them to Canada. HARRISSE, *op. cit.* pp. 258-264.

26th February $\frac{1540}{1541}$. Order of Parlement for the delivery of prisoners to Roberval. Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Paris, Ms. Fr. 6650, fol. 56.

27th February $\frac{1540}{1541}$. Power of attorney given by Roberval to Paul d'Auxilhon for the South of France. HARRISSE, *op. cit.* pp. 254-258.

27th February $\frac{1540}{1541}$. Power of attorney given by Roberval to his brother-in-law Guillaume de Magdailan for Paris and Dijon. Archives of the Château de Roberval.

4th March $\frac{1540}{1541}$. Fleuryot, one of the men chosen by Cartier, freed from a guardianship. Jôion des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 25-26.

9th March $\frac{1540}{1541}$. Order from Francis I to the Parlements of Paris, Toulouse and Poitou to cease their obstruction to the

delivery of criminals to Roberval. Archives Nationales, série U, reg. 754, fols. 65-66.

9th March ¹⁵⁴⁰/₁₅₄₁. Order of the Parlement of Rouen for the delivery of prisoners to Roberval. Harris, *op. cit.* pp. 268-271.

11th March ¹⁵⁴⁰/₁₄₄₁. Power of attorney from Roberval to Civile for Rouen and to Pierre Martin for the region round about. Archives Nationales, série U, reg. 754, fols. 66-68 verso.

29th March ¹⁵⁴⁰/₁₅₄₁. Thomas Monsler guilty of theft at Dieppe handed over to Roberval at Rouen. Archives de la Seine-Inférieure, série G, no 961.

20th April 1541. Roberval acknowledges the return of a power of attorney given to his brother-in-law Magdaillan. *Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive*, Paris, 1892, p. 297.

8th May 1541. Roberval and Cartier hire the *Marie* of eighty tons at St. Malo. Archives of the Château de Roberval.

19th May 1541. Arrival of thirteen prisoners, 8 men and 5 women, at St. Malo to form part of the expedition to Canada. Jotien des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 27-36.

19th May 1541. Cartier makes his will before setting sail. *Ibid.* pp. 39-43.

20th May 1541. Cartier intervenes in a dispute between a cobbler and a sailor. *Ibid.* pp. 44-48.

23rd May 1541. Notice of Roberval's departure from St. Malo to Honfleur one week previously. *Ibid.* pp. 37-38.

17th June 1541. Roberval buys the shares of Pierre Guehemenc and Jean Peppin in the *Marie*. Archives of the Château de Roberval.

19th June 1541. Roberval contracts for the hire of two vessels, the *Valentine* of 92 tons and the *Ste. Anne* of 80 tons, for the voyage to Canada. *Ibid.*

June 1541. Roberval acknowledges the receipt of a prisoner named Fournier. *Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive*, 1892, p. 298.

10th July 1541. Letter of Chancellor Poyet to the Parlement of Rouen complaining of Roberval's delay in setting sail. Archives du Parlement de Rouen. Vid. Gosselin, *Nouvelles Glanes Historiques Normandes*, p. 6. Rouen, 1873.

18th July 1541. Reply of Roberval addressed. *Ibid.*

12th November 1541. Registration of Cartier's will made the 19th of May. Jotjon des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 49-50.

22nd February ¹⁵⁴¹/₁₅₄₂. Letter of Marillac, French ambassador in England, mentioning the complaints made there of Roberval's piracies. Kaulek, *Correspondance politique de MM. de Castillon et de Marillac*, p. 390. Paris 1885, 8°.

8th March ¹⁵⁴¹/₁₅₄₂. One Buffon of St. Malo still in Canada. Jotjon des Longrais, *op. cit.* p. 51.

9th September 1542. Roberval grants pardon to Auxilhon for the murder of one of the sailors of the *Ste. Anne*. HARRISSE, *op. cit.* pp. 273-276.

1st December 1542. Cartier gives evidence at St. Malo as to the price of wheat in 1540. Jotjon des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 52-54.

26th January ¹⁵⁴²/₁₅₄₃. Order from Francis I to Auxilhon to take charge of the vessels destined to bear fresh provisions to Roberval. HARRISSE, *op. cit.* pp. 272-273.

11th September 1543. Order from Roberval to Auxilhon to sell the material belonging to him at La Rochelle. *Ibid.* pp. 276-277.

3rd April ¹⁵⁴³/₁₅₄₄. Commission from Francis I to Robert Legoupil of Rouen ordering him to verify Cartier's accounts and to examine the differences between him and Roberval. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 21-23.

10th April ¹⁵⁴³/₁₅₄₄. Cartier acts as Portuguese interpreter at St. Malo. Jotjon des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 57-58.

21st June 1544. Report of Legoupil and the other commissioners on Cartier's accounts. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 24-31.

17th December 1544. Cartier gives evidence as to there being no vessels of 300 tons in all the duchy of Brittany. Jotjon des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 59-60.

23rd April ¹⁵⁴⁴/₁₅₄₅.
27th May 1545. } Cartier present at St. Malo as a witness in
18th July 1545. } various cases. *Ibid.* pp. 61-62.

18th July 1545. Receipt given to Roberval Yon, a merchant at Paris, in return for a payment for arms. *Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive*, 1892, pp. 298-299.

18th May 1546. Cartier present at the division of his father-in-law's property. Jotou des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 63-65.

18th July 1546. Receipt given for 20 crowns paid by Roberval to Guillaume Barre of Fécamp for service with his vessel. *Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive*, 1892, p. 299.

19th July 1546. } Cartier present at St. Malo as a witness.
2nd January ¹⁵⁴⁷/₁₅₄₈. } Jotou des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 66-67 and
27th July 1548. } pp. 5-6.

1548. An Act passed in England against illegal exactions by officers for licenses to trade to Newfoundland for fish. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, iii 181. London 1600. Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, pp. 53-54. London 1895.

23rd March 1549. Memorial of Jacobo de Ibaceta, master of a vessel bound for Newfoundland, begging church ornaments for a priest he was taking on board. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce*, legajo iii, no. 2. In the Depósito Hidrográfico at Madrid.

29th November 1549. Cartier and his wife found an office for the dead in the cathedral at St. Malo. Jotou des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 68-69. F. G. Manet, *Biographie des Malouins célèbres*, p. 52. St. Malo, 1824.

5th February 1550. Cartier names a child. *Collection de Manuscrits Relatifs à la N. France*, p. 39.

23rd December 1551. Cartier as a witness before the Court at St. Malo. Jotou des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 6-7.

29th January ¹⁵⁵¹/₁₅₅₂. Cartier gives evidence against a thief, Pasdalot, who insults him. *Ibid.* pp. 70-72.

12th June 1552. Cartier names a child. *Ibid.* p. 80, note 2.

15th October 1552. Cartier present as witness at the baptism of Thomas le Breton. *Ibid.* pp. 73-75.

3rd June 1553. Memorial of the Province of Guipuzcoa in Spain against an order that ships bound for Newfoundland should sail in consort with the armada of Luis de Carvajal. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, no. 4.

June 1553. Letter recommending that Antonio de Abalia be heard against the order for Newfoundland ships to sail in consort with the armada of Luis de Carvajal. *Ibid.* no. 3.

17th September 1553. Baptism at St. Malo of a savage brought from Newfoundland. Jotou des Longrais. *op. cit.* pp. 76-77.

12th December 1553. Roberval's commission as comptroller of mines registered at Carcassonne. *Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive*, 1892, p. 300.

5th June 1555. Cartier appoints a guardian to his nephews and nieces. Jotou des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 80-81.

31st August 1555. A certain Jacques Boulain then absent on a voyage to Newfoundland. *Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée*, viii 377. Nantes 1880.

18th September 1555. Document concerning a legal dispute between Jalobert, Sécart and Maingard who accompanied Cartier in 1535. *Ibid.* p. 378.

28th September 1555. Legal dispute between Cartier and one Jehan Eberard. *Ibid.* p. 379.

1555. Examination of witnesses as to the ravages inflicted by Spanish vessels on French fishermen in Newfoundland. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* i no. 18. Printed in a condensed form in Cesáreo Fernandez Duro, *Libro Sexto de Disquisiciones Náuticas*, pp. 355-378. Madrid 1881.

6th June 1556. Cartier gives evidence in the trial of Perrine Gandon, unjustly accused of eating meat on a fast-day. Jotou des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 82-88.

17th July 1556. Cartier called by the Court at St. Malo to aid in fixing a scale between the value of wheat and the price of bread. *Ibid.* pp. 89-92.

27th November 1556. Cartier gives evidence in the Court at St. Malo as to the currents near the harbour of that town. *Ibid.* pp. 93-94.

9th March $\frac{1556}{1557}$. Cartier as appraiser in the division of a heritage. *Ibid.* pp. 95-98.

25th March $\frac{1556}{1557}$. Cartier testifies to the fitness of two interpreters. *Ibid.* pp. 99-100.

26th June 1557. Cartier as witness in two cases and as surety in another. *Ibid.* pp. 100-105.

15th July 1557. Royal order permitting ships from Guipuzcoa, Vizcaya or the Four Cities to sail to Newfoundland without special licence. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce*, iii, no. 6. Another copy in the Academy of History at Madrid. *Coleccion Munoz*, vol. 34 fol. 236 verso-237.

1st September 1557. Death of Cartier. *Jouin des Longrais, op. cit.* pp. 106-108.

8th February 1564. Letter from the town of Cap-Breton in France to that of San Sebastian on the subject of a mutual understanding in regard to the fishing in Newfoundland. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, no. 8.

10th February 1564. Letter from the town of Biarritz to that of San Sebastian on the same subject. *Ibid.*

12th January 1569.¹ Gift of Cartier's widow to Jean Le Gobien their lawyer. *Jouin des Longrais, op. cit.* pp. 109-114.

10th October 1569. Receipt given by La Roche for 500 livres paid to him for a journey made in the King's service from Tours to St-Pol-de-Léon, a small town on the coast of Brittany near Roscoff. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales*, vol. 1938. no. 44603 no. 3.

1570. Notice of the loss of a ship of Pasajes that year in Newfoundland. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, no. 9.

29th May 1572. Receipt given by La Roche for 100 livres being his salary as governor of Morlaix for the months of January and February, 1572. *Bibl. Nat., Pièces originales*, vol. 1938. no. 44603, no. 4.

26th August 1572. Similar receipt for the months of January, February, March and April for pay and pension. *Ibid.* no. 5.

15th April 1573. Reply of the town of St. Malo to the governor's demand for vessels to proceed against the Huguenots of Belle Isle, in which it is stated that most of them are absent at Newfoundland and elsewhere. *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, iv 298-310. Rennes 1866.

¹ The documents given by Gosselin (*Nouvelles Glanes*, etc., pp. 8-9) under the date of April, 1564, evidently refer to Florida.

1574. Notice of the Spanish ships which sail to Newfoundland. *Coleccion Navarrete* in the Depósito Hidrográfico at Madrid, vol. 28, no. 22.

29th August 1575. Letters patent of Henry III, appointing La Jannaye a captain in the Navy. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 32-34.

March 1577. Letters patent of Henry III empowering La Roche to conduct an expedition to Newfoundland. Michelant et Ramé, *Relation Originale du Voyage de Cartier*, pp. 5-8. Paris 1867.

1577. Representation of the Syndic of Renteria as to the proceedings taken against several inhabitants of San Sebastian who sent French vessels to Newfoundland. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce v*, no. 8.

3rd January 1578. Letters patent of Henry III appointing La Roche Viceroy of Newfoundland. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 8-10

11th June 1578. Letters patent of Elizabeth giving Sir Humphrey Gilbert power to form a settlement in America. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, pp. 677-679. London 1589.

16th March 1580. Order from the King to the Governor of Brittany to hold all vessels in the harbours of that province. *Jouin des Longrais, op. cit.* pp. 193-194.

31st March 1580. Order from the governor to the seigneur de la Hunaudaye to the same effect. *Ibid.* pp. 194-196.

12th April 1580. Order for the release of the vessels held. *Ibid.* p. 196.

21st April 1580. Petition of the Syndic of the town of Renteria against an order forbidding the sending of foreign vessels to Newfoundland. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce v*, no 10.

1580. List of the crew of a Spanish Newfoundland vessel and of the distribution of the whale oil and blubber. *Ibid.* iii no. 10.

26th September 1580. Sale of Newfoundland fish. Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, p. 84, no. I.

1581. Act of Queen Elizabeth prohibiting the importation of foreign-caught fish, that from Newfoundland excepted. Prowse, *op. cit.* p. 56.

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1584. Articles agreed upon between the Duc de Merceœur and the Admiral de Joyeuse wherein mention is made of the trade with Newfoundland. Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Duchesne et Oihénart, vol. 43, fol. 15.

1584. Complaint of the people of Guipuzcoa against the permission given to the fifty Newfoundland vessels of St. Jean-de-Luz and Ciboure to sail home from San Sebastian with money instead of Spanish goods. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, no. 11.

14th November 1585. Order from Henry III to Crenay, governor of Fougères, directing him to hand over the governorship of the castle to La Roche. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr 3309, fol. 71 verso.

4th June 1586. Letter from the Duc de Merceœur to Henry III wherein mention is made of a delay in handing over the castle of Fougères to La Roche. Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Colbert Cinq Cents, fol. 104, no. 10.

18th June 1586. Royal order offering to put a remedy to the losses caused by previous embargoes on Newfoundland vessels. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, no. 12.

23rd March 1587. Royal order that the Spanish ships bound for Newfoundland should sail well armed. *Ibid.* iii, no. 6.

20th April 1587. Royal order that Newfoundland fishermen should not be pressed into the Royal Navy. *Ibid.*

25th April 1587. Royal order that Newfoundland ships should also not be pressed for the Royal Navy. *Ibid.*

14th January 1588. Commission from Henry III granting a monopoly of the fur-trade in the St. Lawrence to La Jannaye and Nouel for twelve years, with permission to take out sixty criminals a year as colonists and workmen. Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de Jaques Cartier* pp. 34-44.

9th February 1588. The community of St. Malo decides to oppose the registration of the former commission. Jotun des Longrais, *op. cit.* p. 152.

27th February 1588. Registrar of St. Malo, held to be related to those who have received the monopoly, withdraws during the deliberations. *Ibid.* pp. 152-153.

11th March 1588. Inhabitants of St. Malo get legal advice at Rennes in the matter of applying for the revocation of the monopoly. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 44-48.

17th March 1588. Order from the Estates of Brittany to apply for the revocation of the trade monopoly of La Jannaye and Nouel. Michelant et Ramé, *Relation originale, etc.*, pp. 10-11.

March 1588. Remonstrance of the Estates of Brittany against above monopoly. Joïon des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 155-156.

5th May 1588. Decree of King's Council given at the request of the town of St. Malo declaring that the monopoly to La Jannaye and Nouel is not to affect their fishing or fur trade. *Ibid.* pp. 157-158.

9th July 1588. Letters patent of King Henry III to the Estates of Brittany revoking the trade monopoly given to La Jannaye and Nouel. Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de Jaques Cartier*, pp. 48-51.

16th July 1588. Notice of the revocation given to La Jannaye at St. Malo. *Ibid.* p. 159.

1593. Notice of the seizure of a Spanish Newfoundland by Frenchmen of La Rochelle. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, no. 22.

28th January 1594. Order from King Henry IV appointing Monts to a pension of 1200 crowns a year. Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales, vol. 1421, no. 32147, no. 4.

10th March 1594. Receipt given by Monts for one hundred crowns, being his pay for February 1594. *Ibid.* no. 5.

3rd November 1596. Receipt given by Pierre de Chauvin for the sum of 108 crowns 33 sols lent to a Newfoundland fisherman. Ch. et P. Bréard, *Documents relatifs à la Marine Normande*, p. 73. Rouen 1889.

12th November 1596. La Roche signs a power of attorney for Guillaume Ravend to obtain 5500 crowns from Madame de Matignon. *Ibid.* pp. 73-75.

2nd March 1597. Receipt given by Martin Faride to Pierre de Chauvin for 8 crowns. *Ibid.* p. 75.

4th March 1597. Agreement between La Roche and Chef-dostel, master of the *Catherine*, for the transport of soldiers to Sable Island. *Ibid.* pp. 75-78.

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12th March 1597. Receipt given by Pierre de Chauvin for four cannons to arm one of his vessels. *Ibid.* p. 78.

1597. Petition of the Brownists to Queen Elizabeth to be allowed to move to a "far country which lieth to the west in Canada." Sainsbury, *Calendar of Colonial State Papers*, Addenda 1574-1674, pp. 31-32 no. 47. London 1893.

12th January 1598. Letters patent appointing La Roche Lieutenant-General for King Henry IV in Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, etc. Lescarbot, *op. cit.* ii 398-405.

2nd March 1598. The above Letters patent registered in the Parlement of Rouen. Archives du Parlement de Rouen, 2nd March 1598.

16th March 1598. Fresh agreement between La Roche and Chefdestel for the transport of the expedition to Sable Island Bréard, *op. cit.* pp. 79-81.

18th March 1598. Agreement for the same purpose with Jehan Girot, master of the *Françoise*. *Ibid.* pp. 81-83.

19th March 1598. La Roche gives a power of attorney to one Martin Le Lou to act during his absence. *Ibid.* p. 83.

29th March 1598. Receipt given by Le Liepvre, owner of the *Françoise*, and Girot her captain, for 107 crowns to fit her out. *Ibid.* pp. 83-84.

2nd April 1598. Receipt by Girot and others for 150 crowns for the same purpose. *Ibid.* p. 84.

14th April 1598. A power of attorney given by La Roche to one Le Gac, Sieur de Collespel. Dionne, *op. cit.* pp. 366-367.

20th May 1598. Order of the Parlement of Rouen for the assembling of two hundred beggars for La Roche. Archives Secrètes, same date, fol. 189 verso.

23rd May 1598. Report of the officer entrusted with the above duty. *Ibid.* fol. 192.

17th October 1598. Refusal of the Court at Rouen to hand over a prisoner to La Roche. Rouen, Archives de la Tournelle, same date.

17th September 1599. License to export Newfoundland fish from England. Prowse, *op. cit.* p. 84, no. II.

3rd January 1600. Decision of the Municipality of St. Malo to oppose the registration of Chauvin's monopoly. Michelant et Ramé, *Relation originale, etc.*, p. 12.

1600. Reclamation of the owner of a Spanish Newfoundland vessel which returned to Bayonne instead of San Sebastian. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, no. 28.

1600. French Newfoundland vessels used to get their grain at the town of Motrico in Spain. *Ibid.* no. 29.

1600 (?). Request from the town of St. Malo to the Estates of Brittany for the repeal of Chauvin's monopoly. Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de J. Cartier*, pp. 51-52.

7th December 1600. Jehan Brouët, a doctor, to receive five crowns a month for his services on board one of Chauvin's vessels sailing to Newfoundland. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 86.

19th January 1601. Receipt given by Chefdestel for 50 crowns to fit out his vessel the *Jehan*. *Ibid.* p. 87.

8th March 1601. Receipt signed by one Silvestre for 11 crowns lent him by Chauvin. *Ibid.* pp. 87-88.

3rd May 1601. Receipt signed by Deschamps and Le Roux of Dieppe for 16 crowns lent them to trade in Canada. *Ibid.* p. 88.

3rd May 1601. Charles Andrieu lends 25 crowns to Chauvin for the trade with Canada. *Ibid.* p. 88.

8th March 1602. Vincent Poullain of Havre is paid 120 crowns for his services on a voyage to Canada. *Ibid.* p. 89.

16th March 1602. Receipt by one Gohorel for 10 crowns to trade with Canada. If the vessel returns *vid* Spain the interest is to be 40 per cent., otherwise 35 per cent. *Ibid.*

18th March 1602. Gion Dières, Captain of the *Espérance*, gives a receipt for 10 crowns to be used in the trade with Canada. The vessel is to return either *vid* Portugal or La Rochelle. *Ibid.* p. 90.

1st April 1602. Ten crowns lent to one Mallorthie, master of the *Jelesai bien* trading to Canada. *Ibid.*

2nd April 1602. Loan of 25 livres to Captain Dières for the trade with Canada. *Ibid.*

29th June 1602. Receipt given by Monts for 666 crowns 2 livres being his pension for that year. Bibliothèque Nationale, *Pièces originales*, vol. 1421, no. 32147, no. 6.

2nd November 1602. Receipt by Henry Couillard, master of the *Don-de-Dieu* of 200 tons, for 54 livres for having brought home three sailors left in the island of Canada by a vessel of St. Malo. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 90.

23rd November 1602. Chauvin empowers one Le Pillois who had been to Canada in 1600 to give evidence at Pont-l'Évêque. *Ibid.* pp. 90-91.

21st December 1602. Decision of the town of St. Malo to apply for the liberty of trade with Canada and to oppose the registration of the new monopoly given to a few merchants of Rouen and of St. Malo. Michelant et Ramé, *Relation originale, etc.* pp. 12-14.

28th December 1602. Letter from the King to the town of St. Malo informing them of the appointment of a commission to inquire into the trade with Canada. *Ibid.* pp. 15-17.

2nd January 1603. Royal order forbidding all trade in the St. Lawrence until the decision of the commission was announced. *Ibid.* pp. 17-18.

3rd January 1603. Letter from Montmorency, Admiral of France, to the town of St. Malo enclosing the documents above cited. *Ibid.* pp. 19-21.

20th January 1603. Chauvin gives a power of attorney to his sister. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 91.

26th January 1603. Decision of the town of St. Malo to leave the negotiations as to the monopoly of the fur-trade to those traders who were interested in it. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 14-15.

1st February 1603. Couillard freed from responsibility for the payment of the duty on the cod brought home by him in the *Don-de-Dieu* in 1599 and 1600. Bréard, *op. cit.* pp. 91-92.

8th February 1603. Receipt given by Girot and Le Liepvre of the *Françoise* for 260 livres to fit out their vessel for Newfoundland. *Ibid.* p. 92.

18th February 1603. The Sieur de la Pierre borrows 36 livres to go to Canada. *Ibid.* pp. 99-100.

24th February 1603. Jehan Girot borrows 100 livres to fit out the *Françoise*. *Ibid.* p. 100.

10th March 1603. Girot borrows 150 more livres at 35 per cent. *Ibid.* p. 100.

12th March 1603. Demand of Girot for an increase of provisions as he was going to Canada instead of Newfoundland. *Ibid.* pp. 100-101.

12th March 1603. Girot borrows 600 more livres at 35 per cent. *Ibid.* p. 101.

13th March 1603. Order in council permitting Captain Coulbier of St. Malo to trade to Canada. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* p. 23.

13th March 1603. Order from the King to Montmorency to the same effect. *Ibid.* pp. 24-25.

7th April 1603. Notice of this given to the municipality of St. Malo. *Ibid.* pp. 21-22.

17th October 1603. Royal order allowing Newfoundland whale oil and blubber to be exported free of duty from Guipuzcoa. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* v, no. 16.

22nd October 1603. Decision of the Estates of Brittany to apply for the liberty of trade with Canada. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* p. 26.

6th November 1603. Propositions submitted to King Henry IV by Monts for the colonization of New France. *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, i 40-43.

8th November 1603. Letters patent of King Henry IV appointing Monts Governor of New France. Lescarbot, *op. cit.* ii 408-415.

18th December 1603. Edict of King Henry IV granting to Monts a monopoly of the trade of New France for ten years. *Ibid.* pp. 415-417.

18th December 1603. Remonstrance presented by Monts as to the number of colonists to be taken out each year. *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, i 44-45.

31st December 1603. Advice of the Trésoriers généraux to reduce the duty on fish for the fishing fleets of Havre. Archives de la Seine-Inférieure, série C 1238, fols. 99 verso-101.

17th January 1604. Order from King Henry IV to the Parliament of Rouen to cease its opposition to the registration of

Monts' commissions. HARRISSE, *op. cit.* pp. 280-282; Gosselin, *Nouvelles Glanes Historiques Normandes*, pp. 21-23. Rouen 1873.

25th January 1604. A similar order from King Henry IV on the same subject. HARRISSE, *op. cit.* pp. 282-283; Gosselin, *op. cit.* pp. 23-24.

27th October 1604. Power given by Dupont-Gravé to his representative to proceed against the interloper captured off the coast of Acadia. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 102.

28th October 1604. Receipt by Louis Coman, a pilot, for 66 livres due for his services in Acadia. *Ibid.* pp. 102-103.

16th November 1604. Appeal from St. Malo to the Estates of Brittany to secure the freedom of trade with Canada. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* p. 27.

1st December 1604. Agreement of the pilot Gadois to sail to Leghorn and thence to Canada for cod. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 103.

4th December 1604. Decision of the Estates of Brittany to support the demand made by the merchants of St. Malo for the freedom of the fur-trade with Canada. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 27-28.

1604. Insurance policy on Newfoundland fish. Prowse, *op. cit.* pp. 84-85, no. iii.

17th January 1605. The pilot Gadois to receive 21 livres a month for his voyage. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 103.

20th January 1605. Order in council to release 22 bales of beaver-skins seized at Condé-sur-Noireau. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 18168, fol. 12 recto and verso.

29th January 1605. Order of King Henry IV to the Parlement of Paris to register Monts' Letters patent. *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, i 48-49.

8th February 1605. Order from King Henry IV to the Cour des Aides at Rouen informing them that goods from New France were only to pay the usual French provincial duties. Lescarbot, *op. cit.* ii 418-422.

1st March 1605. Le Liepvre borrows 100 livres for a voyage to Newfoundland. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 103.

20th March 1605. Opposition of the town of St. Malo to the registration of Monts' commissions at Rennes. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* p. 29.

31st March 1605. Order for the release of furs belonging to Monts seized at Avranches. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 18168, fol. 230 and verso.

3rd June 1605. Commissions of Monts registered in the Parliament of Brittany. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 29-30.

17th November 1605. Complaint of the town of Motrico in Spain against being obliged to unload its vessels from Newfoundland in Pasajes. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, no. 31.

9th February 1607. Jehan Desamaison, Captain of the *Espérance*, borrows 100 livres to make the voyage to Leghorn and thence *via* Spain to Newfoundland. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 105.

12th February 1607. Gion Dières borrows money for the same purpose. *Ibid.*

17th July 1607. Repeal of Monts' monopoly. Archives Nationales, série E 14a, fol. 71 recto and verso.

21st October 1607. Notice of Chauvin's death. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 105.

5th November 1607. Sale of one-fourth of a Newfoundland fishing-smack of 60 tons for 500 livres. *Ibid.* pp. 105-106.

12th November 1607. Fresh appeal from the Estates of Brittany for freedom of trade with Canada. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* p. 31.

1607. Demand for permission to construct a salt marsh at the mouth of the Bidassoa. Archives Départementales de la Gironde, série C 3812, fol. 62 verso *et seq.*

1607. Notice to the French ambassador in Holland to complain of the invasion of the St. Lawrence by Dutch traders. Berger de Xivrey, *Lettres Missives de Henri IV*, vii 465, no. lxxxiv. Paris 1858.

1607. Letter from Henry IV to the Estates of Holland complaining of the same. *Ibid.* p. 466, no. lxxxv.

7th January 1608. Order of Henry IV to the officers of the Admiralty of Normandy, Brittany and Guyenne informing them of Monts' monopoly for one year. Laverdière, *Œuvres de Champlain*, iii 136-137. Québec 1870.

26th February 1608. Letter from Sully to President Jeannin in which mention is made of the unsuitability of the French nation for colonial enterprises. Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Colbert Cinq Cents, vol. 203, fol. 236.¹

26th February 1608. Receipt of Thomas Neufville for 600 livres for a voyage to Canada. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 110.

1st March 1608. Sale of one-eighth of the Newfoundland fishing-smack *L'Amiralle*. *Ibid.* pp. 110-111.

28th March 1608. Loan of 750 livres for the fitting out of the *Tessier* for Newfoundland. *Ibid.* p. 112.

29th March 1608. Order in council granting to Monts a fresh monopoly of the fur-trade for one year. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 18173, fols. 194 verso-195.

31st March 1608. Loan of 75 livres for the voyage of the *Dauphin* to Canada. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 112.

2nd April 1608. Loan for the despatch of the *Tigre* to Canada. *Ibid.*

4th April 1608. Loan of 600 livres at 27 per cent. for the voyage of the *Don-de-Dieu* of 150 tons to Canada. *Ibid.*

5th April 1608. Loan of 50 livres for the *Guillaume* and of 50 more for the *Don-de-Dieu* of 80 tons both bound for Canada. *Ibid.* pp. 112-113.

3rd November 1608. Order to inquire into the case of a Spaniard sending a French vessel to Newfoundland. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, no. 33.

24th November 1608. Decision of the community of St. Malo to urge the Estates of Brittany to apply for the liberty of the fur-trade in Canada. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 31-32.

8th February 1609. Permission to send a French vessel from San Sebastian to Newfoundland. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, no. 35.

20th March 1609. Loan of 300 livres to Dupont-Gravé for the voyage to Tadoussac. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 114.

¹ I have not been able to see a copy of the *Galerie Philosophique du xvi^e Siècle* (London 1783, 4^o) in which this letter is published. Cf. HARRISSE, *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, p. 284.

26th March 1609. Notification to the town of St. Malo of the opening of the fur-trade and of the decision of the Council granting a compensation to Monts. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* p. 33.

2nd June 1609. Order to Spanish vessels bound for Newfoundland to go well armed against English pirates. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, nos. 36 and 37.

21st June 1609. Receipt of Monts for 2000 livres of his pension. Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales, vol. 1421, no. 32147 no. 7.

6th October 1609. Order in council declaring the fur-trade henceforth open and granting a compensation of 6000 livres to Monts to be divided among the vessels which traded there in 1609. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 18176, fols 4-6.

17th January 1610. Loan for the Newfoundland fishing trade. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 117.

24th February 1610. One Morin loans the use of three boats left at the Baie des Morues in Canada. *Ibid.* p. 118.

4th March 1610. The *Petite Lanterne* about to set sail for Acadia. *Ibid.*

6th March 1610. Loan of 195 livres at 25 per cent. to Dupont-Gravé. *Ibid.*

2nd May 1610. Patent from James I to the London and British Company for the colonization of Newfoundland. Prowse, *op. cit.* Chap. v, appendix i, pp. 122-125.

1st October 1610. King Louis XIII to Poutrincourt encouraging him in his enterprise. Marcel's reprint of the *Factum du Procès*, etc., p. 5. Paris 1887.

2nd October 1610. The Queen Mother to Poutrincourt to the same effect. *Ibid.* pp. 5-6.

7th October 1610. Louis XIII to Poutrincourt recommending the Jesuits. *Ibid.* p. 6.

7th October 1610. The Queen Mother to the same for the same purpose. *Ibid.* p. 7.

25th October 1610. Decision of the town council of St. Malo to ask permission to arm two vessels against the savages of Newfoundland who had killed several sailors and for the continuation

of the freedom of trade in Canada. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 34-35.

27th December 1610. Contract of marriage between Champlain and Helen Boullé. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vol. vi, pièces justificatives no. xxxi.

20th January 1611. Agreement between Robin, Saint-Just and the Jesuits for the fur-trade. Reprint of *Factum du Procès* etc. pp. 10-13.

17th February 1611. Payment to a pilot of 250 livres, 15 pots of oil, and 12 handfuls of green and 12 of dry cod for his salary. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 119.

17th February 1611. Decision of the town council of St. Malo to have the permission to arm two vessels against the savages of Newfoundland registered at Rennes. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 35-36.

2nd April 1611. Examination of Monts before the Court as to his monopoly. *La Normandie, Revue mensuelle*, Rouen, Juillet 1893, pp. 8-11.

13th August 1611. Proclamation of Governor Guy against abuses in the fishing trade. Sainsbury, *op. cit.*, i 20 no. 40 (I).

8th February 1612. Loan of 40 livres to the pilot Routier for a trading voyage to Canada. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 120.

13th March 1612. Excommunication of Saint-Just and L'Abbé. Reprint of *Factum*, etc., pp. 43-47.

13th March 1612. Deposition of Hébert. *Ibid.* p. 54.

14th March 1612. Dupont-Gravé gives a power of attorney to his wife. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 120.

17th March 1612. Loan of 48 livres at 32½ per cent. for a voyage to Newfoundland. *Ibid.*

17th March 1612. Loan of 85 livres at 30 per cent. for a trading voyage to Canada. *Ibid.*

25th April 1612. Procès-verbal of what took place at the Port des Etechemins. Reprint of *Factum*, etc., pp. 30-32.

10th October 1612. Letters patent from Soissons appointing Champlain his lieutenant. Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 231-235.

13th November 1612. Letters patent from Louis XIII to Condé appointing him Viceroy of Canada with a monopoly of

the fur-trade for twelve years. Archives of the Parlement of Rouen, 4th March 1613.

15th November 1612. Edict of Louis XIII to the officers of the Admiralties of Normandy, Brittany, Picardy and Guyenne informing them of Condé's monopoly. *Ibid.*

22nd November 1612. Decision of the town of St. Malo not to prevent Monts from trading under Condé's monopoly. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 36-37.

22nd December 1612. Reiterated notice to the town of St. Malo of the new monopoly of the Prince de Condé. *Ibid.* p. 37.

16th January 1613. Decision of the town of St. Malo to apply for liberty to trade with Canada. *Ibid.* pp. 37-39.

18th January 1613. Loan of 200 livres at 30 per cent. for a voyage to Canada. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 121.

19th January 1613. Another loan of 45 livres for the voyage to Canada. *Ibid.*

21st January 1613. Decision of the Parlement of Rouen to hear the merchants before registering Condé's monopoly. Archives Secrètes of the Parlement of Rouen, année 1613-14, fols. 123 verso-124 and 126 verso.

26th February 1613. Order from Louis XIII to the Parlement of Rouen to register Condé's monopoly. Archives of the Parlement of Rouen, 4th March 1613.

26th February 1613. Agreement by which one Jacques Simon was to receive 100 livres for his services as interpreter to the Jesuits at St. Sauveur. Bréard, *op. cit.* pp. 121-123.

27th February 1613. Loan of 100 livres at 30 per cent. for a voyage to Canada. *Ibid.* p. 123.

4th March 1613. Condé's Letters patent registered in the Parlement of Rouen. Archives of the Parlement of Rouen, same date.

20th June 1613. Receipt by Monts for the sum of 5000 livres given him by the King for his services as governor of the town of Pons. Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales, vol. 1421 no. 32147 no. 8.

12th October 1613. Order in council summoning four merchants of St. Malo to pay 6000 livres to Monts within three months

on pain of imprisonment. Archives of St. Malo, série EE. 4, no. 138.

12th October 1613. Order to the sergeant to the same effect. *Ibid.*

14th November 1613. Edict of Louis XIII to the officers of the Admiralties of Normandy, Brittany and Guyenne informing them of the extension of Condé's monopoly from Quebec to the river Mantanne. Archives of the Parlement of Rouen, 14th December 1613.

19th November 1613. Statement of the sergeant as to his visit to St. Malo. Archives of St. Malo, série EE. 4, no. 138.

8th December 1613. Complaint of La Rochelle fishermen against the English settlement in Newfoundland. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* Addenda, p. 51 no. 83.

14th December 1613. The extension of Condé's monopoly registered in the Parlement of Rouen. Archives of the Parlement of Rouen, same date.

21st December 1613. Decision of the town of St. Malo to free if possible the four merchants condemned by the King to pay to Monts the sum of 6000 livres. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 39-40.

1613. List of the Newfoundland vessels of St. Jean-de-Luz which entered the canal of Pasajes that year. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, no. 41.

9th January 1614. Statement of the sergeant at St. Malo as to the delivery of the papers regarding Monts' demand at St. Malo. Archives of St. Malo, série EE. 4, no. 138.

13th January 1614. Loan of 50 livres at 27½ per cent. for the voyage of the *Don-de-Dieu* of 80 tons to Acadia. Bréard, *op. cit.* pp. 123-124.

15th January 1614. Loan of 25 livres at 30 per cent. for the voyage to Acadia. *Ibid.* p. 124.

8th February 1614. Order in council putting an end to a difference between Monts and one of the captains of the garrison at Pons. Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Clairambault, vol. 364 fol. 28

18th July 1614. Statement made by Poutrincourt about the destruction of his home at Port Royal before the Admiralty Court at La Rochelle. Lescarbot, *op. cit.* (Paris 1617) pp. 687-690.

^{11th}_{22d} October 1614. Expression of thanks from the Marquise de Guerecheville to Secretary Winwood. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* Addenda, p. 52 no. 85.

^{18th}_{29th} October 1614. Complaint from Admiral Montmorency to King James of Argall's depredation. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 15.

1st December 1614. Receipt given by Monts for 750 livres of his pension of 2000 livres a year. Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales, vol. 1421, no. 32147, no. 9.

12th December 1614. Audience of Sir Thomas Edmondes with the King and Queen of France as to the English complaints against French sailors. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* Addenda, p. 52 no. 86

30th December 1614. Memorial of the English complaints against the French. *Ibid.* pp. 52-53.

1614. Answer to the complaints presented to King James I by the Sieur de Buisseaux. *Ibid.* pp. 53-54.

20th February 1615. Agreement for the voyage of the *Loyal* of 70 tons to the coast of Acadia for fish and furs. Bréard, *op. cit.* pp. 125-126.

17th April 1615. Loan of 39 livres at 30 per cent. for a voyage to Canada. *Ibid.* p. 127.

18th April 1615. Loan of 26 livres for the same purpose. *Ibid.*

22nd April 1615. Loan of 50 livres at 25 per cent. for the same purpose. *Ibid.* pp. 127-128.

26th June 1615. Proclamation of Louis XIII forbidding the Newfoundland fishermen to tear down or remove the platforms in the bays and harbours on their first arrival. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 40-44.

20th August 1615. The above proclamation is registered in the Parlement of Brittany. *Ibid.* p. 44.

9th September 1615. The town of St. Malo decides to support its citizens in the demands for the freedom of the fur-trade. *Ibid.* pp. 44-45.

1615. Petition to prevent the introduction into Spain of whale oil from Norway under the same favourable conditions

enjoyed by that from Newfoundland. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* v, no. 45.

5th January 1616. Loan of 63 livres at 25 per cent. for a trading voyage to Acadia. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 128.

5th November 1616. Appeal of the Estates of Brittany for the liberty of trade with New France. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 45-46.

6th March 1617. Agreement between Hébert and Champlain's Company. *Au Roy sur la Nouvelle France*, pp. 14-15. 1626.

9th March 1617. Loan for a trading voyage to Canada. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 129.

29th October 1617. Notice to the Estates of Brittany of the repeal of the article granting the freedom of trade with Canada and their determination to re-apply for its execution. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 47-49.

15th December 1617. Loan of 100 livres at 30 per cent. for a voyage to Canada. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 129.

18th December 1617. Loan of 26 livres at 30 per cent. for a trading voyage to Acadia. *Ibid.*

January 1618. Petition of the inhabitants of St. Malo to the Parlement of Brittany to appoint a judge to try those guilty of tearing down platforms in Newfoundland. Archives de St. Malo, série EE. 4, no. 139.

12th March 1618. Letters of Louis XIII to the Company formed in 1614 ordering them to give Champlain every assistance in fulfilling the duties of his office. Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 324-325.

20th March 1618. Bull of Paul V giving permission to the Recollects to proceed as missionaries to New France. Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, i 28-32. Paris 1865.

24th April 1618. Loan of 69 livres at 25 per cent. for a trading voyage to Canada. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 130.

25th July 1618. Petition that the whale oil and blubber brought from Newfoundland by the inhabitants of Guipuzcoa be preferred in the markets to that offered by strangers: granted. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, nos. 50 and 51.

25th September 1618. Payment to the widow of one Betourné of 111 livres for his services as carpenter in Robert Gravey's vessel, on her voyage to Acadia. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 130.

28th October 1618. Order of the Estates of Brittany to its representatives at Court to continue the lawsuit arising out of the monopoly of the fur-trade. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 49-50.

21st December 1618. Statement of the persons to be taken out and supported at the factory of Quebec during the year 1619. Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 317-319.

December (?) 1618. Articles of grievances against the plantation of Newfoundland. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 20, no. 39.

December (?) 1618. Answer of the Company of the Plantation of Newfoundland. *Ibid.* no. 40.

December (?) 1618. Reply of the petitioners to this answer. *Ibid.* no. 41.

1618 (?). Letters patent of Louis XIII granting permission to the Recollects to continue their missionary labours in New France. Sagard, *op. cit.* i 32-35.

3rd October 1619. Order from the Estates of Brittany to its representatives to defend those who are engaged in lawsuits in regard to the fur-trade monopoly. Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 50-51.

16th March 1620. Petition from the Newfoundland plantation for relief against pirates. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* p. 25 no. 54.

7th May 1620. Letters from Louis XIII to Champlain encouraging him in his work in New France. Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 328.

23rd October 1620. Statement signed by the shareholders of Champlain's Company freeing one Mathieu Leforsonney from all responsibility as to some furs stored at Honfleur. Bréard, *op. cit.* pp. 130-131.

27th October 1620. Letter to Sir Ferd. Gorges with orders to establish quiet among the fishermen of Newfoundland. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* p. 26.

8th November 1620. Articles stipulated by the Caëns in return for a monopoly of the fur-trade of New France. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 16738, fols. 148 *et seq.*

27th November 1620. Petition of the old Company to Montmorency to have their monopoly continued for four years, with Dolu's reply. Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Colbert Cinq Cents, vol. 203, fols. 188-190.

29th January 1621. Loan of 72 livres at 25 per cent. for a trading voyage to Canada. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 131.

2nd February 1621. Notice sent to Champlain by Montmorency of the formation of the Caëns' Company. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 10-11.

24th February 1621. Letter from Louis XIII to Champlain informing him of the despatch of arms to New France. *Ibid.* pp. 9-10.

2nd April 1621. Loan of 30 livres at 30 per cent. for a trading voyage to Canada. Bréard, *op. cit.* p. 131.

18th August 1621. Petitions from the inhabitants of New France and from the Recollects to the King for the removal of certain abuses. Sagard, *op. cit.* i 80-94.

18th August 1621. List of arms handed over to Champlain. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 32.

31st August 1621. Statement by one Hallard of the powder handed over to Champlain. *Ibid.* pp. 32-33.

10th September 1621. Charter from James I granting Nova Scotia to Sir William Alexander. D. Laing, *Royal Letters, Charters and Tracts relating to the colonization of New Scotland*, Charters pp. 1-15. Edinburgh, (Bannatyne Club) 1867.

21st October 1621. Baptism of Eustache Martin at Quebec. *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, i 61.

8th November 1621. Grant of a portion of Nova Scotia to Robert Gordon of Lochinvar. Laing *op. cit.*, Charters pp. 16-26.

20th March 1622. Letters from Louis XIII to Champlain informing him of the decree of the Council uniting the two Companies. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 51.

31st December 1622. Grant of Newfoundland to Sir George Calvert. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* p. 35.

30th March 1623. Regrant of a territory in Newfoundland to Sir George Calvert. *Ibid.* p. 41.

7th April 1623. James I grants Avalon to Lord Baltimore. Prowse, *op. cit.* pp. 131-132, no. IV.

2nd September 1623. Statement of Pierre Guerard before the Admiralty officer at Dieppe. Félix, *Voyage à la Nouvelle France du Capitaine Charles Daniel*, Introd. pp. 5-9. Rouen 1881.

15th January 1625. Notice that there were then in the port at Pasajes bound for Newfoundland forty-one vessels with 295 ship's boats and 1475 men. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* v, no. 30.

15th February 1625. Commission from Ventadour appointing Champlain his lieutenant. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 88-92.

12th July 1625. Renewal of Baltimore's grant in Newfoundland by Charles I. Prowse, *op. cit.* 2nd edition, pp. 27-45.

8th August 1625. Petition of the Mayor of Poole to the Privy Council for protection for the Newfoundland fleet against Turkish pirates. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* p. 75.

24th August 1625. Royal order that ships from Newfoundland with cod were not to pay duty. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* iii, no 57.

18th November 1626. The owners of the Newfoundland fishing vessel *Saint-Thomas-des-Marets* demand indemnity for the seizure of the same by La Balde. Bréard, *op. cit.* pp. 133-134.

21st November 1626. Payment of 81 livres to one Bataille for his services in Canada. *Ibid.* p. 134.

26th November 1626. Report on shipping presented to Richelieu by Razilly. L. Deschamps, *Isaac de Razilly*, pp. 15-35. Paris 1887.

29th April 1627. Articles accorded by King Louis XIII to the Company of New France. *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, i 62-71.

1627. Description of the fleet which left St. Malo for Newfoundland in May 1627. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* Addenda, p. 69.

2nd February 1628. Grant to Alexander by Charles I of the islands and trade of the St. Lawrence. Laing, *op. cit.*, Charters pp. 46-51.

27th April 1628. Order from Louis XIII directing Champlain to draw up an inventory of the arms, furniture, provisions, etc., brought to Quebec by the Caëns. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 181-182.

^{5th}
^{18th} July 1628. Demand sent by David Kirke to Champlain for the surrender of Quebec. *Ibid.* pp. 175-177.

18th July 1628 (?). Reply of Champlain. *Ibid.* pp. 177-179.

9th August 1628. Petition of Lord Newburgh and his partners to the King about Canada and Alexander's rights. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* Addenda, p. 70 no. 149.

1628. Statement of the condition of affairs in the St. Lawrence. *Ibid.* p. 69 no. 148.

1628. Propositions of accomodation with Alexander. *Ibid.* p. 70 no. 149(1).

4th February 1629. Monopoly of the trade in the gulf and river of Canada granted to Alexander and his partners. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* p. 96.

21st March 1629. Commission appointing Champlain lieutenant for Richelieu in New France. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 297-299.

March (?) 1629. Memorial touching the preparations of the French for Canada. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 3.

17th May 1629. List of the shareholders of the Company of New France. *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, i 80-85.

19th July 1629. Demand for the surrender of Quebec. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 239.

19th July 1629. Champlain's reply. *Ibid.*

19th July 1629. Articles demanded by Champlain before the surrender. *Ibid.* pp. 240-242; Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 98, no 16.

21st July 1629. Statement by Lewis Kirke of what he found at Quebec. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 245-246.

19th August 1629. Articles granted to Champlain and Dupont-Gravé. *Ibid.* pp. 242-243.

1629 (?). Grievances of Champlain when in London. *Ibid.* Pièces justificatives no. i.

9th November 1629. Deposition of Champlain before the Admiralty Court. *Ibid.* no. ii.

9th November 1629. Examination of Boullé. *Ibid.* no. iii.

9th November 1629. Examination of Nicholas Blundell of Dieppe. *Ibid.* no. iv.

17th November 1629. Deposition of David Kirke, Thomas Kirke, John Love and Thomas Wade. *Ibid.*, no. v.

1629. Petition of the Scottish and English Company for the restoration of goods. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* p. 106 no. 49.

January (?) 1630. Memorial of Lord Ochiltrie to the King complaining of his seizure by Captain Daniel. Félix, *op. cit.* Appendice A pp. 5-14.

January (?) 1630. Paper presented to the King by Lord Ochiltrie as to the plans of the French in America. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 106, no. 47.

27th January 1630. Appointment of a commission to inquire into Caën's claims. *Ibid.* no. 48.

1st February 1630. Demand of the French ambassador to have the furs seized which were brought from Quebec. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi, pièces justificatives no. vi.

1st February 1630. Demand of the same for the restitution of Port Royal and Quebec. *Ibid.* no vii.

1st February 1630. Answer of the Lords' committees for Foreign Affairs to the above demands. *Ibid.*, no. viii.

28th February 1630. A commission prepared to inquire into French claims but Caën not satisfied with it. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 108, no. 56.

5th March 1630. Appointment of a commission to inquire into the amount of furs seized at Quebec. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi, pièces justificatives no. ix.

2nd April 1630. Order of the Privy Council for the hearing of the matter of Caën's claims before the Lord Mayor. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 112, no. 79.

7th April 1630. List of six French captains bound for Canada. *Ibid.* no. 80.

9th April 1630. Notice of the sale of the skins to Caën. *Ibid.* no 81.

9th April 1630. Order of the Privy Council for the delivery of the skins. *Ibid.*

15th April 1630. Dorchester to Wake in regard to the French ambassador's application. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi, pièces justificatives no. x.

April 1630. Deposition of the notary as to his search for the keys of the warehouse. *Ibid.* no. xi (3).

April 1630. Petition of Caën to the Privy Council for redress. *Ibid.* no. xi (2).

28th April 1630. The Lord Mayor to the Privy Council as to Caën's demands. *Ibid.* no. xi (1).

18th May 1630. Warrant to the Lord Mayor to break open the warehouse. *Ibid.* no. xii.

May 1630. Demand of the French ambassador for the arrest and imprisonment of Kirke and his partners. *Ibid.* no. xiii.

2nd June 1630. Order for the examination of Fittz the guilty party. *Ibid.* no. xiv.

16th June 1630. Order to proceed against Fittz in the Star Chamber for contempt of justice. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 117.

9th July 1630. Order of the Privy Council to accompany Fittz in search of the stolen skins. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

14th July 1630. Order for the release of Fittz. *Ibid.*

9th September, 1630. The Council of Scotland to Charles I on the title of the French to Nova Scotia. *Ibid.* p. 119 no. 102.

9th September 1630. Reasons in defence of the English right to the same. *Ibid.* no. 102 (1).

26th February 1631. Petition of the Scottish and English Company for the stay of certain ships bound for Canada. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi, pièces justificatives no. xv.

29th February 1631. Warrant for the stay of the same. *Ibid.* no. xvi.

5th March 1631. Petition of John Smart of Plymouth for a plantation on the north side of the river of Canada. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 129, no. 8.

2nd May 1631. Declaration of the number of furs brought from Canada. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi, pièces justificatives no. xvii.

27th May 1631. Deposition of David Kirke before Sir Henry Martin. *Ibid.* no. xviii.

August 1631. Captain Lewis Kirke to Emery de Caën. *Ibid.* no. xix.

22nd August 1631. Declaration of Emery de Caën as to his voyage to Quebec. *Ibid.*

14th October 1631. Order of the Privy Council for the further hearing of the case of the interlopers. *Ibid.* no. xx.

5th November 1631. Examination of the interlopers. *Ibid.* no. xxi.

November 1631. Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the matter. *Ibid.*

1st December 1631. Grant of arms to the Kirkes. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 137.

1631. Petition from Caën to Richelieu. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 16738, fols. 132-133.

1631. Memorial from the Province of Guipuzcoa to the King of Spain pointing out how owing to the duty on salt no ships left that year for Newfoundland. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* v, no. 36.

31st January $\frac{1631}{1632}$. Burlamachi to the Scottish and English Company on the state of the peace negotiations. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi, pièces justificatives no. xxiii.

January 1632. Note of such things as the Scottish and English Company has in Canada. *Ibid.* no. xxii.

13th February 1632. Agreement between Champlain and his wife as to their goods. *Revue des Questions Héraldiques*, Paris, Août 1899, p. 67.

27th March 1632. Agreement between Razilly and Richelieu for the re-occupation of Port Royal. *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, i 85-86.

29th March 1632. Treaty of St-Germain-en-Laye. *Ibid.* pp. 86-97.

March 1632. Objections to the agreement as to the payment for Caën's debts. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi, pièces justificatives no. xxiv.

March 1632. King Charles I commands the Scottish and English Company to give up Quebec. *Ibid.* no. xxv.

March 1632. Another copy of the same. *Ibid.* no. xxvi.

March 1632. Declaration by Champlain as to the arms and other material left at Quebec. *Ibid.* no. xxvii.

3rd April 1632. List of vessels which sailed that year from Pasajes for Newfoundland. *Coleccion Vargas Ponce* v, no. 38.

24th April 1632. Answer of the Scottish and English Com-

pany to a letter from Sir Isaac Wake. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi, pièces justificatives no. xxviii.

10th May 1632. Commission to Razilly from Louis XIII to receive Port Royal from the Scots. *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, i 110.

12th May 1632. Receipt thereof acknowledged by Razilly. *Ibid.* p. 111.

19th May 1632. Grant of land to Razilly in Acadia by the Company of New France. *Mémoires des Commissaires du Roi*, ii 491. Paris 1755.

12th June 1632. Order from Charles I to the Scottish and English Company for the surrender of Quebec. Sainsbury, *op. cit.*, i 151, no. 55.

5th September 1632. Deposition of Solicitor Peacock re Thomson's payment of 400 marks. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi, pièces justificatives no. xxix (2).

1632. The Attorney General's report to the Privy Council on the interlopers. *Ibid.* no. xxix (1).

1632. Petition of the Scottish and English Company. *Ibid.* no. xxix (3).

1632. List of goods found in the *Mary Fortune* taken at Tadoussac. Sainsbury, *op. cit.* i 143, no. 50.

1632. Minute with respect to the possession of New Scotland by the French. *Ibid.* p. 152 no. 56.

11th May 1633. Patent to Sir William Alexander and others for the sole trade to the river and gulf of Canada. *Ibid.* p. 165.

17th June 1633. Demands of the Scottish and English Company to Caën. Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi, pièces justificatives no. xxx.

25th June 1633. Decree of the Parlement of Rouen relative to the disputes about the fur-trade in Canada. Archives of the Parlement of Rouen, same date.

25th June 1633. Second decree relative to the same. *Ibid.*

12th July 1633. Third decree relative to the same. *Ibid.*, same date.

27th April 1634. Decree of the Council of State relative to the Company of New France. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 16734, fols. 143 *et seq.*

THE SOURCES.

PART II: NARRATIVE

Verrazano.

The account of Verrazano's voyage is preserved in two Italian versions¹ and in an English version.² The latter is only a translation of one of the former,³ while the short French synopsis given by Belleforest⁴ and Lescarbot⁵ is evidently taken from this same Italian version of Ramusio.⁶ There remain therefore the two Italian versions, which, strange to say, offer considerable differences. Not only is the manuscript version much longer than that given by Ramusio, but in the parts given by both, the Italian is often quite different. Thus while one begins—"Non scrissi à V. Maestà Christianiss. Re dopo la fortuna havuta nelle parti Settentrionale," the other has "Da poi la fortuna passata nelle piagge settentrionale, Serenissimo Re, non scrissi a Vostra Serenissima et Christianissima Maestà," etc. Again lower down the manuscript version has "il resto nudo, il capo simile," which is lacking in the other.⁷ It should therefore appear that both are translations of the original French version now lost. That such an original existed is proved by the mention of it in

¹ The first exists in a manuscript copy found by Mr. G. W. Greene in the Magliabecchian Library at Florence and published with a translation in the *Collections* of the New York Historical Society, second series, vol. i (New York 1841) pp. 39-67. A corrected version will be found in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, tomo ix (Firenze 1853) pp. 37-52. The second Italian version is the one given by Ramusio in his *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, tomo iii, folios 420-422. Venetia 1556.

² "The Relation of John Verarzanus, a Florentine, of the lande by him discovered in the name of his Maestie, written in Diepe the eight of July 1524," in Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, pp. 55-71. Publications of the Hakluyt Society, London 1850.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 17: "I have translated the voyage of John Verarzanus," etc. Cf. also p. 24.

⁴ Belleforest, *Cosmographie Universelle*, ii 2175-78. Paris 1575.

⁵ Lescarbot, *op. cit.* (ed. of 1866) i 30-37.

⁶ A. de Leon Pinelo, *Epitome de la Bibliotheca Oriental y Occidental, Nautica y Geografica*, tomo segundo (Madrid 1738), p. 620: "i está resumida en Marcos Lescarbot."

For the other differences *vid.* De Costa, *op. cit.* pp. 7 *et seq.*

Pinelo, who distinctly tells us that Ramusio translated it from the French.¹ Let us hope that some day this original may yet be brought to light.

Carli's Letter

This is a letter² written by one Fernando Carli to his father from Lyons in August 1524, in which he mentions the voyage of Verrazano to the New World in the *Dauphine*.³ It is simply one of those fugitive contemporary notices which the historian is always delighted to discover, as they throw a refreshing light on facts which are often only otherwise authenticated by receipts, marriage contracts or death notices.

John Rut.

The information contributed by John Rut may be found in a letter, "in bad English and worse writing," which he sent from St. John's, Newfoundland, to King Henry the Eighth in the year 1527. Purchas, who has preserved it for us,⁴ thought the source from which he obtained it to be the original,⁵ although he did not copy it until nearly one hundred years after it had been written. This would account however for his description given above. It appears that two ships were sent out in that year to find certain islands in the west, although Hakluyt, coupling this venture with a letter from Seville, written in the same year, thought that their aim was to find a northern passage to the East.⁶ All that Rut says, however, is that they were about to sail on with all diligence "toward . . . that Islands . . . as we were commanded at our departing." In this they were unsuccessful. One vessel, the *Sam-*

¹ Pinelo, *op. cit.* (ed. of 1629) p. 79 :—"Juan Verrazano. Relacion de lo que descubrio al Septentrion de la Florida, en Francés. Juan Baptista Ramusio la traduxo en Italiano, i la imprimio en el tomo 3." Alcedo, *Biblioteca Americana*, MS. in Carter-Brown Library, vol. ii, p. 890: "Escrita en Diepa en Frances," etc., cited by De Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 21, note 4.

² "Lettera di Fernando Carli a suo padre" in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, ix 53-55. *Vid.* Brevoort's *Verrazano* (New York 1874) pp. 151-153, for English translation.

³ M. de la Roncière has been kind enough to point out a reference to this vessel in the Collection Clairambault, vol. 154, fol 4015, no. 99.

⁴ *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, The Third Part, p. 809. London 1625.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 808 :—"here (as I thinke) given you from the Originall."

⁶ Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, p. 54.

son, foundered not far from Newfoundland in a storm, and Rut's vessel, the *Mary of Gilford*, after "shaping her course towards Cape Britton and the coast of Norumbega, and oftentimes putting their men on land to search the state of those unknown regions, returned home about the beginning of October."¹ In itself the letter contains very little information, but it is important as proving the rapid increase of the fishing trade. On entering the harbour of St. John's they found thirteen vessels all engaged in fishing. Purchas says there was also a letter from the same place addressed to Cardinal Wolsey, but, as it was to the same purport, he deemed it unnecessary to print it.²

Cartier's Voyages.

Of the four voyages which Cartier seems to have made to the Gulf of St. Lawrence at the King's orders, we have accounts of only the first three.

The original of the first voyage made in 1534 is lost. The manuscript preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in the collection Moreau is only a copy of it.³ This is clearly proved, in the first place because it is dated 1544 and is found in the collection Moreau. Again it has none of the headings except one which the copyist wrote out in a moment of forgetfulness.⁴ There are also several mistakes, as for instance the omission of the word "main,"⁵ Rapont for Carpont,⁶ and fifty degrees for fifty-one and one-half.

The Italian version of Ramusio,⁷ the next in date, though it contains the headings which are omitted in the French copy, is

¹ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1589), p. 517. cf. also *Colección de Documentos Inditos de Indias* 1st Series vol. xxxvii, pp. 456-458, vol. xl pp 305-334; 2nd Series iv pp. 57-60.

² *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Third Part, p. 809.

³ Collection Moreau, vol. 841, fols. 51 *et seq.* This was published as the original in 1867 at Paris by M. Michelant.

⁴ Michelant's edition, p. 6:—"Description de la terre depuis Cap Rouge jusques au hable de Brest, estant en la baye."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6 and 7.

⁷ Ramusio, *op. cit.* iii 435-440:—"Prima Relatione di Jacques Cartier della Terra Nuova detta la Nuova Francia."

not a very careful translation. Thus while it was the Vice-Admiral de Mouy who took the oaths and Cartier who set sail, the Relation is headed "Come messer Carlo da Mouy . . . partito." Again, where the French copy reads (p. 8) "Et à deux lieux dudit hable des Buttes est le hable de la Balaine," Ramusio has "et à due leghe dal porto delle ballanze." So on folio 435 verso Brest is put for Bouays, and on folio 436 the number fourteen is left out. There are also other mistakes similar to those which occur in most translations.

In 1580 Florio published at London an English translation of this version of Ramusio.¹ The translation was done at Oxford and is dedicated to Edmond Bray, High Sheriff of that county.² In the preface he says that "if the Marchant Venturer, or skilfull Pilot, or whosoever desirous of newe Discoveries, have the readying and perusing thereof, for whome especially I have done it into Englishe, they will find matter worthy the looking." His aim in fact was to urge his countrymen to fresh efforts in discovery and colonization, for "althoughe some attemptes have not had as yet suche successe as was wished, they ought not therefore to bee the slower in this entreprize." The translation is fairly well done, mistakes such as that of putting "Come Messer Carlo da Mouy . . . partito" being corrected by Florio, who put "How Maister James Carthier departed from the Port of S. Malo."

In 1598 there appeared at Rouen a French translation of Ramusio's version.³ It appears that the attention of the publisher had been drawn to New France by the publication of

¹ *A shorte and briefe narration of the two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northweast partes called Newe Fraunce: First translated out of French into italian by that famous learned man Gio: Bapt: Ramutius and now turned into English by John Florio.* Imprinted at London by H. Bynneman, dwelling in Thames streate, neere unto Baynardes Castell, Anno Domini 1580.

² "To the Right Worshipful Edmond Bray Esquire. . . . From Oxenford the 25 of June 1580." Dedication.

³ *Discours du Voyage Fait par le Capitaine Jaques Cartier aux Terres-neufves de Canadas, Norembergue, Hochelage, Labrador, et pays adiacens, dite nouvelle France, avec particulieres mœurs, langage et ceremonies des habitans d'icelle.* A Rouen 1598. This version, which is the one given by Lescarbot (1609, p. 231) was reprinted by M. Michelant at Paris in 1865. It will also be found in H. Ternaux-Compans, *Archives des Voyages*, i 117-153. Paris 1840.

La Roche's Letters patent which had been given to himself to print. When therefore a few days later, an account of Cartier's first voyage fell into his hands, he decided to print it as well, though it was in a foreign tongue. The translation was done by one of his friends and the book was published in the year 1598.¹ Contrary to the opinion of M. Michelant the work is simply a translation of Ramusio's version. Thus the mistake in the first heading is again repeated and we have "Comme Messire Charles de Mouy . . . partit" etc. The "Nouvelle France" of the original which Ramusio had rendered "La Francese" now becomes "La Françoise," which must have been unintelligible to most readers. Other peculiarities present in the Italian version might also be pointed out.

Two years later Richard Hakluyt gave a fresh English translation in the third volume of his collection of voyages.² It seems to have been at Hakluyt's suggestion that Florio had made his translation, which Hakluyt had intended to include in his *Divers Voyages* published in 1582.³ Since then however he has probably seen the French printed edition of 1598 or even the original at Paris,⁴ for he has improved Florio's translation in several places. Thus, where Florio (p. 5) had put White Sands, Hakluyt (p. 203) gives the French name "Blanc Sablon," and again where Florio (p. 10) made the mistake of taking "Godetz Isoli" as the name of these birds, Hakluyt (page 205) translates properly with "onely Godetz." For some reason or other Florio put just one half the num-

¹ "Ayant ces iours passez imprimé l'Édict du Roy contenant le pouvoir et commission donnée au sieur Marquis de la Roche, il m'est du depuis tombé entre les mains un Discours du voyage fait ausdites terres, par le Capitaine Jaques Cartier, escrit en langue estrangere que j'ay fait traduire en la nostre, par un de mes amis." *Ibid.*, p. 3.

² Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1600), iii 201-212:—"The first relation of Jaques Carthier of S. Malo, of the new land called New France, newly discovered in the yere of our Lord 1534."

³ Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, p. 17:—"And the last yeere, at my charges and other of my friendes, by my exhortation, I caused Jaques Cartiers two voyages of discovering the grand Bay, and Canada, Saguinay and Hochelaga, to bee translated out of my Volumes, which are to be annexed to this present."

⁴ Hakluyt, *Discourse concerning Westerne Planting*, p. 112:—"and in the France originall [of the second voyage] which I sawe in the Kinges Library at Paris."

ber of fathoms given in Ramusio (Florio, pp. 3,8,9,12 etc.), and this mistake Hakluyt also corrects. He writes Newfoundland as one word where Florio has "the newe found land." Hakluyt has still retained however several of the Italian terms, and we have Buona Vista (p. 201), Razo (p. 202), Lunario (p. 206), Baia (p. 207), etc., as in Ramusio.

As to the author of the Relation I should hesitate to say that it was Cartier, as others have done,¹ on the ground that he would name the best harbour met with after himself² Often indeed the author speaks of Cartier as a third person³ and always with respect as "the Captain". Since, as we shall see presently, the author of the second Relation was a certain Jean Poulet, it is not improbable that he also wrote this first one. He was a sort of secretary to the expedition, and kept the reckoning of the calendar, though not always with success. The style of the two accounts is similar and Poulet had formed one of the company on this first voyage.

Four different French versions of the second voyage have been preserved, but an examination shows that they have all been taken from one original which in this case has fortunately survived. It is manuscript No. 5589 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, hitherto known as B. The other versions are two in manuscript known as A⁴ and C⁵, and the edition published at Paris in 1545⁶ known as P.

Lescarbot tells us in 1609 that he took the version given in his work from the original bound in blue satin and then preserved in the Royal Library at Paris.⁷ The present binding of B

¹ Michelant's edition (1867), p. iv :—"Il nous paraît résulter non moins clairement du récit lui-même qu'on peut l'attribuer avec assurance à Cartier" etc.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 2 :—"dudit Cartier." Cf. also p. 38 :—"qui se assemblèrent sur ledit cappitaine . . . et il leur donna", etc. Also p. 41.

⁴ Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 5653.

⁵ *Ibid.* Ms. Fr. 5644.

⁶ *Brief Recit et Succincte Narration, de la navigation faicte es ysls de Canada, Hochelage et Saguenay et autres, avec particulieres meurs, langage, et ceremonies des habitans d'icelles : fort delectables à veoir*, Paris 1545, 8° ; It was reprinted by M. d'Avezac in 1863.

⁷ Lescarbot, *op. cit.* (1609), p. 231 :—"mais le second ie l'ay pris sur l'original présenté au Roy écrit à la main, couvert en satin bleu."

dates only from the reign of Louis the Fourteenth but the light blue stains on the upper right hand corner of the leaves prove that the first binding was of that colour. It is probable indeed that something was accidentally spilled over the manuscript in the seventeenth century, and that it was then rebound with its present binding. The work was not well done, for after folio 50 it is difficult to read the last inside word of each line. Internal evidence also supports the view that this was the manuscript copied by Lescarbot. To leave for the moment C quite out of the question, for, as I shall presently show, it is a late copy, as between A and B Lescarbot certainly copied B. In the first place A has neither the dedication nor the chapter headings which are given in Lescarbot. Again Lescarbot¹ has "partant" like B (fol. 21) while A (fol. 21 verso) has "partist." So on page 390 Lescarbot has "et nommé" and B (fol. 42 verso) the same, while A (fol. 41) has "est nommé." In one place in B (fol. 15) we have the abbreviation "Sr"; A (fol. 15 verso) has "Seigneur" while Lescarbot² has put "sieur." Had he been copying A it is doubtful if he would have put anything else but "Seigneur." Not only does B bear greater signs of age than A and C but it has marginal notes and well-thumbed edges which testify to considerable usage.

From this original B was copied the manuscript A, which M. d'Avezac thought was the original. It does not contain either the dedication or the chapter-headings but it is otherwise a carefully executed copy. It is written in a clear hand on clean paper, has no marginal notes and bears every appearance of having been made rather for preservation than for use. In addition to the readings different from B which are given above, the more modern spelling reveals the later date of A. Thus it has "riviere" where B has "ripviere," "a ce qui" for "adee que," "veoir" for "veoyr," "saubveté" for "sauftveté," "avec" for "avecques," "horrible" for "orrible," "a tant" for "attant," "eurent" for "heurent," "depuis" for "despuis" and "dempuis," "doibtz" and "doigz" for "doidz," "ballames" for "baillames," "profondz" for "parfondz," "meetre" for "meptre," "avril" for "apvril," "viz" for "vidz," "samedi" for "sabmedy"

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

² *Ibid.*, p. 336.

etc. Otherwise B is so closely copied that even the slips are imitated. Thus where B (fol. 13) has "Agaia" instead of the usual "Agaya," A has also the former. So with "Houchelaga" on folio 14 of both manuscripts. On folio 6 of B the words "de la" have been scratched out and "dudict" written after them. The copyist of A (fol. 4 verso) wrote them both however without noticing this. Again the word "ont" is inserted above the line in A (fol. 5 verso) because it was so in B (fol. 6 verso). So with the word "Addegve" in B (fol. 63) and A (fol. 56 verso). The present binding of A dates from the reign of Charles the Ninth, so it is possible that the copy was made under that monarch.

From the original B was also taken the version published at Paris in 1545 and known as P. The transcription was carelessly done, for besides slips of minor importance two whole chapters were left out. As far as one can judge this was accidental, as the pages where the copyist left off and the one where he began again resemble each other closely. It is possible therefore that resuming his work one day he skipped the three or four intervening leaves without noticing that he was doing so. Another error was to put "sixth" of July (p. 46 b) instead of sixteenth as the date of Cartier's arrival at St. Malo. Thus the return voyage was only made to occupy seventeen days instead of twenty-seven. We also find inserted in several places (pp. 6 a, 39 b and 40 b) the name of a certain "Jehan Poulet," though this name is absent from the original, manuscript B. The only way in which one can account for this insertion is by adopting the hypothesis that this man was the author of the Relation. Cartier was alive at the time and would have protested against any unjustified insertion. It was this Poulet who had had charge of the roll of the company at St. Malo in 1535,¹ which

¹ Joüon des Longrais, *op. cit.*, p. 127:—"Et a celluy Poulet aparü le rolle et nombre des compagnons que led. Cartier a prins pour lad. navigation." I did not see till after I had formed this opinion that such is also the view of M. Joüon des Longrais. *Ibid.* p. 127 note I:—"L'exagération évidente de son rôle dans le Brief Récit peut seulement faire penser qu'il a dû participer à sa rédaction. Peut-être même en est-il l'auteur. On ne le retrouve point dans les registres d'État civil de St. Malo, mais il devait être de Dol comme tous les Poulet."

indicates that he acted as a sort of secretary of the expedition. He had formed part of the company on the first voyage,¹ and this time had sailed in the same vessel with Cartier.² He was evidently a Breton³ who had been to Bordeaux⁴ and possibly also to Brazil,⁵ though this does not necessarily follow from the text of his Relation. In any case he was a fervent member of the Roman Church for after having in his manuscript called the Lutherans "meschans" he added in the printed edition the epithets "apostatz et imitateurs de Mahomet."⁶

The manuscript C is also a copy, though a bad one, of B, made after the publication in 1545 of P, of which it shows many traces. Thus we find the epithets "apostates and imitators of Mahomet" as in P, while the last phrase of the dedication in B, "les rottes, dangers et gisemens dicelles terres," is left out because it was not in P. It would seem indeed that the scribe of C set out to copy B but finding that there were divergencies between B and P adopted as a rule the readings of the later version as more likely to be correct. Thus in paragraph one after having written "audiet an mil" etc. as in B, he looked into P where he found "en lan mil" etc; so he erased the former and wrote this. Again having found in P "Cathédrale de Sainet Malo" he erased the "du diet" which he had copied from B. Traces of these operations are still clearly visible in the manuscript. In fact all through C we find the same continual endeavour to copy B as far as was compatible with the different readings of P. Thus on fol. 45 the words "et qu'ilz avoyent menge leurs vivres et estournemens" and on fol. 51 the words "ledit Seigneur et ses compaignons" are left out because they are not in P. On fol. 12 verso C has "nostre Capitaine" like P, though B (fol. 11)

¹ D'Avezac, *Bref Récit*, etc. (Paris 1863), p. 8 :—"Lequel cap congnoissons du precedent voyage." Cf. also p. 8 b.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6 b :—"et depuis nous estre entreperduz, avons esté avec la nef generale." Cf. also p. 13 b and especially pp. 39 *et seq.* Only Poulet himself could have recounted these facts.

³ Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.*, p. 19 :—"que je vis onques en Bretagne."

⁴ D'Avezac, *op. cit.*, p. 12 :—"Comme devant Bordeaux de flo et ebbe."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30 b :—"Cedict peuple vit en communauté de biens assez de la sorte des Brisilans."

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4 b.

has "le Cappitaine"; again fol. 16 "lors" for "dont" in B (fol. 15 verso); same folio "jouxte" for "joignant"; fol. 20 "cinq" for "six"; fol. 37 "divisé" for "dict," because P has these. On folio 57 C thought well to add an "aultre" because P had put one in. Sometimes however whole phrases are changed as on folio 16 verso, where C like P (p. 17 b) has "dont tous se retirerent a grant haste ainsi que si les eussions voullu tuer," while B (fol. 16) reads "dont se retirèrent tous si a grand haste quil sembloyt que les voulsissions tuer"; so again on fol. 17 the phrase "lesquelz avoient des cornes aussi longues que le bras," etc., differs considerably from the reading in B (fol. 16 verso) "lesquelz estoient vestuz de chier noirs et blancs," etc. Whenever B has blanks, they are filled up from P. Thus on folio 22 of C we have the word "marché" taken from P as it is omitted in B (fol. 23); so also the word "frotter" (fol. 24) omitted in B (fol. 26); and finally on folio 55 verso the number "twenty-first" absent from B folio 60. On the other hand C sometimes follows B even at the expense of P. The most notable instance is of course the two chapters omitted in P which C has copied *in extenso* from B. C also omits the name "Jehan Poulet" which is not found in B. Again in the choice of words C sometimes prefers B to P. Thus on fol. 37 he put "arrivez" as in B although P has "revenuz"; again on folio 57 "demeure" as in B, while P (p. 46) has "veismes." On folio 20 verso C has inserted the words "de partye" as in B (fol. 21), although they are left out by P (p. 21 b); so also folio 21 the word "temps" and the heading on folio 24 of C, neither of which is in P. The Indian vocabulary at the end of C not only contains the words given in B and P but has also several new ones. Where C found the names of the Indian villages and the Indian terms for "large house," "come and swim," etc., I have not been able to discover. They constitute the only important point of interest in this manuscript. In fact even against these additions one might cite omissions, as for instance (fol. 9 verso) the words "qui faisoit," which are found both in B and P. Indeed after trying to make his Indian vocabulary most complete the copyist of C left out the phrase "Il y a de groz ratz" etc., given in B (fol. 66).

This second Relation was several times translated but always from the version P published at Paris in 1545. In 1556 Ramusio published an Italian translation¹ which was in turn translated into English by Florio in 1580.² The two chapters omitted in P are of course absent from both of these translations. They are in other respects not very exact and in folio 445, for instance, of Ramusio we find "come il Capitano et cinque gentili lhuomini con venti huomini" instead of "comment le cappitaine et les gentilz hommes avec vingt cinq hommes" as in P (p. 23). The Indian vocabulary is also considerably disfigured by the change. All these mistakes re-appear of course in Florio. In 1600 Hakluyt published a fresh English translation after having examined the original himself at Paris.³ He neither puts in the two omitted chapters however nor corrects all the mistakes. He limits his changes in fact to putting the correct number of fathoms instead of the half as given by Florio, to writing Newfoundland for "the newe found land," and to slight alterations in the text of no great importance. In 1840 M. Ternaux-Compans published a copy of this Relation after the manuscripts B and C,⁴ and in 1843 the Quebec Historical Society published a modernized version of A which the editor thought to be the original.⁵

¹ Ramusio, *op. cit.* iii 441-453:—"Breve et Succinta Narratione della Navigation fatta . . . all' Isole di Canada," etc.

² *A shorte and briefe narration of the Navigation caused to be made by the King of France, to the Islands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay and divers others, which now are called New France, with a discourse of the particulars, customes and manners of the inhabitoures therein.* Florio, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-80.

³ Hakluyt, *Discourse on Westerne Planting* p. 112:—"and in the French original which I sawe in the Kings Library at Paris." *Principall Navigations*, iii 212-232:—"A shorte and briefe narration of the Navigation made by the commandement of the King of France, to the Islands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and divers others which now are called New France, with the particular customes, and maners of the inhabitants therein."

⁴ Ternaux-Compans, *op. cit.* ii 1-66. "Nous la donnons aujourd'hui d'après les manuscrits 10025 et 10265. 3. de la bibliothèque royale," p. 5 note 1.

⁵ *Voyages de Découverte au Canada entre les années 1534 et 1542*, pp. 24-89. Quebec, 1843. "Il existe à la bibliothèque royale de Paris trois exemplaires manuscrits du deuxième voyage, qui s'accordent sur tous les faits principaux, et dont l'un paraît dater du milieu du 16^e siècle: on croit que celui-ci est l'original même de Quartier. La Société s'en était procuré une copie, qui a été soigneuse-

The account of Cartier's third voyage in 1541 is only preserved in the English version given by Hakluyt.¹ Although this was doubtless translated from the French, no trace of any account of this voyage in that language has hitherto been found. The original therefore is probably lost. This is the more to be regretted as the English version is incomplete and breaks off suddenly after Cartier's return from his visit to the rapids of Lachine. As to the author, it is possible that the original of this Relation was also written by the same Poulet who did the others, but I doubt it. The author had formed one of the company on the former voyage,² and accompanied Cartier this time again on his visit to the rapids. It strikes one therefore as strange that, had it been Poulet, he should make no mention of Hochelaga or recall his earlier visit. Poulet was evidently alive also in 1545 when his name was inserted in the printed version which appeared in that year, so that, had he written this Relation, there is no reason why he should have left it incomplete. It would seem more probable that the author was one of those who died during the winter and his Relation was therefore never finished.

Of the voyage made by Cartier to bring home Roberval in the summer of 1543, no account of any sort has been preserved. Even Hakluyt when in Paris appears to have sought for some account of this voyage in vain. Such indeed seems to be the meaning of the following sentence written by Cartier's nephew in 1587: "I will not faile to informe my selfe, if there be any meane to find out those descriptions which Capitaine Cartier made after his *two last* voyages into Canada."³ As there was an interval of five years between the return from the second voyage and the departure for the third this expression evidently refers to those made in 1541 and 1543. Besides, the account of the

ment collationnée avec les deux autres manuscrits, et ensuite avec Lescarbot et Ramusio" *Advertisement* p. iii.

¹ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* iii 232-236:—"The third voyage of discovery made by Capitaine Jaques Cartier, 1540 unto the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay."

² *Ibid.*, p. 233:—"When in the former voyage we carried him into France," etc.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

second voyage had already appeared in 1545. A "certaine booke" of Cartier's "made in maner of a sea Chart"¹ which was then in the possession of a Jan Joet, sieur de Cremeur, has never again been found.

Pierre Crignon.

Ramusio has preserved for us an anonymous "Discourse of a Great French Sea-Captain"² which he tells us was written in French in the year 1539.³ Though he himself made considerable efforts to discover the author's name, he was unable, much to his regret, to do so.⁴ It appears however that the author of this document is Pierre Crignon, the faithful companion of Jean Parmentier on all his voyages.⁵

Crignon had received a good education and had been given prizes for his verses both at Rouen and at Dieppe. He was also well versed in "astrology and cosmography." A work of his on the variations of the compass-needle, which has not been recovered, was dedicated to Admiral Chabot in 1534.⁶ He accompanied Parmentier not only to America but also to the East; and in this *Discourse* he gives a short description of the various localities visited. After an introductory explanation of the terms latitude and longitude, comes a "Summary and Brief Description of Newfoundland." The part best known to him is the southern coast to which the French fishermen principally resorted. The Portuguese and English seem to have used the east coast. Next follows a short account of the savages and their manner of hunting. After giving the names of those French

¹ *Ibid.*

² Ramusio, *op. cit.* iii 423-426. The title is "Discorso d'un Gran Capitano di Mare Francese del luoco di Dieppa sopra le navigationi fatte alla terra nuova dell' Indie occidentali chiamata la nuova Francia da gradi 40 fino à gradi 47 sotto il polo artico, et sopra la terra del Brasil, Guinea, Isola di San Lorenzo, et quella di Summatra fino alle quali hanno navigato le caravelle et navi Francese."

³ *Ibid.*, fol. 417 verso:—"fatto del 1539."

⁴ *Ibid.* "Ma ben ci dolemo di non sapere il nome dell' autore" etc.

⁵ Ch. Schefer, *Le Discours de la Navigation de Jean et Raoul Parmentier de Dieppe* (Paris 1883), Introduction p. xxiv:—"Je n'hésite pas non plus à lui attribuer le récit des voyages d'un grand capitaine de Dieppe, inséré dans le troisième volume du recueil de Ramusio."

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xxi. and note 2.

fishermen who first visited the Banks, he concludes with a description of Norumbega, a name given, according to him, to the land from Cape Breton to Florida by the Indians themselves. The remainder of the *Discourse* which deals with Brazil, Guinea and Sumatra, does not interest us. Besides for the early description of the fishing, this document is important as being the source of our information about the names of the early French navigators to these parts.

Roberval's Voyage.

The only extant account of Roberval's expedition to the St. Lawrence is, like the third voyage of Cartier, preserved to us in English.¹ It was doubtless translated from the French, although no sign of any version in that language has hitherto been found. The style differs much from that of Cartier's voyages and has more the air of being a journal kept by some one on board than a full account written at command. It is possible indeed that the phrase "as it is declared in other bookes"² may refer to other accounts then extant of this expedition, so that this is merely a summary of the voyage taken from some more elaborate narrative. The statement of the author after three short paragraphs, that he has already "described the beginning, the middest, and the ende of the Voyage,"³ gives colour to this conclusion. The rest of the account consists of a few statements jotted down by one of those who remained behind in the fort. The frequent repetition of Roberval's titles leads one to infer that the writer occupied a very inferior post and held the leader in great awe. He may even have been one of those who were whipped.

Jean Mallart.

In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris is preserved a manuscript⁴ by this person entitled *Description de tous les portz de mer*

¹ "The Voyage of John Francis de la Roche, knight, Lord of Roberval, to the Countries of Canada, Saguenai, and Hochelaga etc. begun in April 1542," in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, iii 240-242.

² *Ibid.*, p. 241.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 1382. Cf. also HARRISSE, *Jean et Sebastien Cabot*, pp. 222-229. Paris 1882.

de lunivers, which however turns out upon examination to be nothing more than a rhyming version of the *Voyages Avantureux* of Jean Alfonse, first given to the public in print in the year 1559. This manuscript however is dated 1545, which is not necessarily inexact, for we know that the works of Jean Alfonse were circulated in manuscript some years before they were printed. Mallart may therefore have made a copy or versified the original while it was in his hands. As an example of what was done a few lines will suffice. Thus when Jean Alfonse writes¹ "Au travers de la Terre neuve sur ledit banch y ha bien quatre vingts brasses, et en approchant de la terre il baisse, de maniere que quand il vient pres de la riviere, il n'y ha que neuf ou dix brasses," the poet sings,

" Or entendez mes vers
Cest quant on vient a passer le travers
De terre neuve a sur ce banc vingt brases
En approchant la terre et les places
De la riviere il nen a plus que dix," etc.²

In fact the whole work seems to have been the harmless *jeu d'esprit* of one who was still

" a mon tendre aage
Et que ne feiz oncques ung seul voyage
Aux lieux loingtains dont faiz description."³

By praising thus in rhyme, not altogether original, the exploits of Cartier and other "tres bons navigateurs," he hoped that his king would

" subviendra a la mienne indigence."⁴

Though he contributes nothing to increase our knowledge of the times, let us hope that his wish was granted and that something was contributed to relieve his poverty.

Jean Alfonse.

Jean Alfonse, whose real name was Jean Fonteneau, was born at a village called Saintonge in the commune of Saint-Même, canton of Segonzac, arrondissement of Cognac.⁵ At an early

¹ *Voyages Avantureux*, p. 27, verso.

² fol. 1

³ fol. 39 verso.

⁴ fol. 3 verso.

⁵ G. Musset, *Jean Fonteneau dit Alfonse de Saintonge, etc.*, in the *Bulletin de Géographie Hist. et Descript.*, année 1895, pp. 275-295. Cf. also HARRISSE, *Jean et*

age he began to roam the seas and during the course of these ramblings fell in love with a Portuguese, Valentine Alfonso, whom he married and whose name was afterwards given to himself.¹ After this he extended his voyages not only round the Cape of Good Hope to India but also to the coast of North and South America. In April 1537 he was present as witness at the sale at La Rochelle of a share of the *Christophe*, of seventy tons, which fished on the Newfoundland Banks.² In March 1541 he signed a power of attorney to his wife when about to set sail to the coast of Guinea.³ Of the success of this voyage we hear nothing, but in the spring of the following year he sailed with Roberval to the St. Lawrence in the capacity of pilot.⁴ It is probable therefore that it was not his first voyage thither. When he tells us that in November, December, January and February the snow falls to a great depth in Canada one would think he must have passed the winter there,⁵ but this seems improbable from the fact that in June 1543 he was again at home and about to set out on a voyage to Madeira.⁶ This venture proved so successful that in the following summer he armed a vessel to proceed, with a few others, on a privateering expedition against the Spaniards.⁷ It was not the first time⁸ that he had engaged in such pursuits during the eight and forty years that

Sébastien Cabot, pp. 205 et seq.; Margry, *Les Navigations Françaises et la Révolution maritime du XIV^e et XVI^e Siècle* (Paris 1867), Chap. v, pp. 225-341. The *Étude sur le Capitaine Alfonso* in the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique de la Charente*, 4^e série, tome vi, 2^e partie, Angoulême, 1870, pp. 997 et seq., is simply a review of Margry's study and contains nothing new.

¹ Musset, *op. cit.* p. 276.

² *Ibid.* Documents, etc., p. 286 no. i.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 286 nos. ii and iii.

⁴ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, iii 237 et seq.

⁵ "Et y neige si fort en novembre, décembre, janvier, février, que la neige monte bien environ la hauteur de six piedz," etc. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 676, fol. 183.

⁶ Musset, *op. cit.* pp. 288-294, Documents nos. iv-xv

⁷ *Ibid.*, Documents nos. xvi-xvii.

⁸ "Depuis cest aage (1528) les Barbares et Chrestiens ont souffert beaucoup de maux de l'incursion des Coursaires. . . . Jean Alphonse Xaintongois de nation s'il estoit en vie, il scauroit bien qu'en dire," etc. Thevet, *Grand Insulaire* (Bibl. Nat., Ms. fr. 15452, fol. 174 verso.)

he had roamed the seas;¹ and though his only punishment in this case was imprisonment,² his next venture proved fatal. For shortly afterwards, we learn, the Emperor sent some ships "to go against Juan Alphonso the Portuguese (who was called the Frenchman by the Spaniards), a Corsair, who had taken near Cape St. Vincent 10 or 12 Biscayan vessels loaded with valuable merchandize." Off La Rochelle they came upon the fleet of Jean Alfonse and having taken five of the vessels pursued him into the harbour where, before the Spaniards were driven off, he received a wound from which he shortly afterwards died.³

Jean Alfonse left several manuscripts behind him, and upon these his importance for the historian chiefly depends. It appears to have been shortly after his return from Madeira in the autumn of 1543 that his *Cosmographie*⁴ was begun, although it was not completed until the following May. This however is not the statement of the work itself, which ends as follows: "Faicte et composée par nous Jehan Allefonsee et Raulin Secalart, cappitaines et pillotes de navires, demourant en la ville de la Rochelle en la rue Saint-Jehan-de-Prat, devant l'eglise dudit Saint-Jehan, le vingt-quatriesme jour du mois de novembre l'an mil cinq cens quarante-cinq—Achevay de par moy Raulin Secalart cosemographie de Honnefleure, desirant faire service à vostre maigestay reaille qui sera fin de se present libre. 1545."⁵ According to the manuscript therefore the work was finished by Raulin Secalart in November 1545. But a careful examination by M. Musset has shown that not only has the date been changed from May 1544

¹ "Car j'ay navigué jusques à present (1544) par toutes les mers quarente et huit ans," cited by Margry, *op. cit.* p. 269. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

² "Comme je luy [Alfonse] dis, luy estant detenu prisonnier à Poitiers, pour la prise de quelques navires d'Espagne." Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle*, ii 1021 verso. Paris 1575.

³ Barcia, *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida*, (Madrid 1723), fol. 58, cited by Brevoort, *op. cit.* p. 155.

⁴ Biblioth. Nat., Ms. Fr. 676: "Cosmographie avec espere et regime du Soleil et du Nord en nostre langue françoise composée par Jehan Allefonsee et Raulin Secalart 1545." This Ms. is about to be published by M. Musset of La Rochelle in the excellent *Recueil de Voyages et de Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la Géographie*.

⁵ Cf. A. P. Paris, *Les Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, v 310 et seq. Paris 1842.

to November 1545, but that wherever the name of Jean Alfonse appears that of Raulin Secalart has been added. In reality therefore the work was finished by Jean Alfonse himself shortly before his death. Raulin Secalart, or Raulin le Tallois as his name really was, probably had it in his possession at that time and sought to gain fame by inserting his own name.¹

So much for the author; now as to the subject-matter. This is divided into five parts, the first four of which are as follows:—Treaty of the sphere fols. 4-17; explanation of the meridians, fols. 16-20; the solar calendar, fols. 20-37; theory of the astrolabe, fols. 37-40. It is only from folio 40 onwards, where he gives a description of the different known parts of the world, that the document is of interest for us. After dealing with the islands of the Atlantic, the coast of Africa from Morocco to Aden, the three Indies, Malacca and Java, "whence to Peru in the East the distance is perhaps at the utmost nine hundred or a thousand leagues," he turns his attention to America. Of the three parts into which he divides the coast, viz. from the South Pole to the River Marignan, from thence to Cape du Fegui in Yucatan, "and Cathay," the third alone from Cape du Fegui northward is of importance for us.

After mentioning that Cape de Ratz is six hundred leagues north of the island of Fez he describes in some detail the region about Newfoundland, "which is mostly high land without any profit except the fishing." Having in a few words depicted the nature of the coast of Labrador and of the Frozen Sea in the North "whence come the icebergs that reach Newfoundland," he gives a description of the course up the St. Lawrence as far as Roberval's fort, three leagues above Quebec, although one gathers that he himself had gone as far as the rapids of Lachine. While most of the names of places and headlands, as Ascension, Saguenay, Isle des Lièvres, Isle d'Orléans, St Pierre, etc., are taken from Cartier's nomenclature, the bearings, latitude and longitude seem to have been made from his own observations. He also carefully points out sunken rocks or shoals and also states where

¹ For notices of this Raulin le Tallois called Secalart *vid.* Bréard, *op.cit.* pp. 46-48; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selce* (Paris 1888), pp. 84 and 86; cf. also Joüon des Longrais, *Jacques Cartier*, p. 133.

good anchorage was to be found. His notes in fact must have been of great assistance to the fishermen and whalers who entered the Gulf.

This portion of the *Cosmographie* has been published by Hakluyt,¹ but the translation is badly done and there are many omissions. Mr. Justin Winsor reproduced the sketch maps of those regions given in the manuscript in one of his works.² In 1547 Jean de Marnef of Poitiers began to print *Les Voyages Aventureux du Capitaine Jan Alfonse*, but the work, which is simply an abridgment of the *Cosmographie* was not finished until 1559.³

Such then was Jean Alfonse and his work. Although the historian can glean few political facts from such a production, yet it is of importance in showing that the intercourse between the old France and the new was not so unusual as is commonly supposed and that even at this time a considerable amount of interest was taken in the regions of the St. Lawrence.⁴

Anthony Parkhurst's Letter.

Anthony Parkhurst of Bristol seems to have been a merchant who regularly sent his vessels to fish on the Newfoundland Banks. In the year 1578 Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple, the uncle of the famous preacher, wrote to him for some account of "the state and commodities of Newfoundland." His reply,⁵ dated

¹ "The course from Belle Isle, Carpont, and the Grand Bay in Newfoundland up the River of Canada for the space of 230 Leagues, observed by John Alphonsus of Xanctoigne chiefe Pilote to Monsieur Roberval 1542," in *Principall Navigations* iii 237-240.

² Justin Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, pp. 42-43. London 1894.

³ *Les Voyages Aventureux du Capitaine Jan Alfonse Sainctongeois*. A Poitiers. 1559. On page 68 verso we read "Fin du present livre, composé et ordonné par Jan Alfonse pilote expérimenté es choses narrees en ce livre, natif du pays de Xainctonge, pres la ville de Cognac. Fait a la requeste de Vincent Aymard, marchand du pays de Piedmont, escrivant pour luy Mangis Vumenot, marchand d'Honfleur." Cf. HARRISSE, *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, pp. 6 et seq.

⁴ "Et toutes ces terres de Canada par raison doivent estre appellées la nouvelle France par ce qu'elles sont en une mesme hauteur et si elle estoit aussi bien peuplée que France, mon advis est qu'elle seroit aussi attemperée," etc. *Cosmographie*, fol. 182.

⁵ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1589) pp. 674-677 :—"A letter written to M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, containing a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland 1578"

at Bristol in November of the same year, throws great light upon the state of the fishing trade at that date, the most important results of which have already been embodied in the text. He advised that the island of Belle Isle at the mouth of the straits of the same name should be fortified, for it would make the English "lordes of the whole fishing in small time." He also wished to see Anticosti inhabited and "the river searched, for that there are many things which may rise thereof" and one would then know whether it was true that Frenchmen and "Portingals" were in that river as he had read. He had intended to search the river himself, had he not been defrauded by some "vile Portingals, descending of the Jewes and Judas kind," who had forced him to return home with great loss. If however Hakluyt thought him a man of sufficient credit to "seek the Isle of S. John or the river of Canada" he was willing to undertake the task even if it should necessitate leaving his own affairs. Unfortunately however he seems never to have undertaken this search.

Carlyle's Discourse.

It would appear at first sight as if a discourse written "for the better inducement to satisfie such Merchants of the Moscovian companie and others, as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge of the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America, doe demaund forthwith a present returne of gaine,"¹ could contain little of interest with regard to the trade of New France. It so happens however that towards the close of it, after a short summary of Cartier's early voyages, Carlyle gives an account of the resumption of trading relations between St. Malo and the upper St. Lawrence. The seizure of Donnacona and the disputes both during Cartier's second winter and during Roberval's stay had "put the whole Countrey people into such dislike with the French, as never since they would admit any conversation, or familiaritie with them, untill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to growe out of minde, and being the rather drawn on by giftes of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are, within these two

¹ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1589) pp. 718-723. Cf. also Sainsbury, *Calendar of Colonial State Papers, Addenda*, no. 23 p. 20.

or three yeeres content againe to admit a trafique, which two yeeres since (i.e. 1581) was begonne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose returne was founde so profitable, as the next yeere following, being the last yeere, by those Merchants, who meant to have kept the trade secret unto themselves, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a shippe of four score tunnes out of the Isle of Jersey, but not any one Mariner of that place, saving a shipboy. This shippe made her returne in such sort, as that this yeere (1583) they have multiplied three shippes, to wit, one of nine score tunnes, another of an hundreth tunnes and a third of foure score tunnes." These statements were obtained from "very substantiall and honest men of Plimouth, who sawe the saide shippes in readinesse to depart and were aboard of some of them." There was then present also a man from Guernsey, "Lewis de Vicke, who reporteth to have credibly heard that by this last yeeres voyage the Frenchman gotte foure-teene or fifteene hundreth for every one hundreth." This was doubtless the beginning of that company of merchants which afterwards sought to gain a monopoly of the trade under the names of Jannaye and Nouel.¹

Gilbert's Voyage.

The principal account preserved to us of the voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Newfoundland in 1583 is that written by Edward Hayes, Captain of the *Golden Hinde*.² The "True Report" published by Sir George Pecham is only a diluted edition of the facts gleaned from Hayes.³ The four vessels, the *Delight*, *Golden Hinde*, *Swallow*, and *Squirrd*, set sail from Causet Bay on the 11th of June 1583, and after a stormy passage, dur-

¹ Cf. Jolion des Longrais, *op. cit.* pp. 149 *et seq.*

² "A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by Sir Humphrey Gilbert knight . . . written by M. Edward Haies Gentleman, and principal actor in the same voyage, who alone continued unto the end, and by Gods speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire," in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1589) pp. 679-697.

³ "A true Report of the late discoveries and possession taken of the Newfoundland Lands by that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert Knight. Written by Sir George Pecham Knight," London, 1585; printed in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1589) pp. 701-718.

ing which they became separated, finally reached Newfoundland at the end of July. The *Swallow*, the crew of which consisted of impressed pirates, at once attacked the first "Newlander" met with and rifled her of "tackle, sailes, cables, vitales, and the men of their apparel; not sparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to drawe out else what they thought good." On the 3rd of August they all met off the harbour of St. John's, but "the English marchants that were and alwayes be Admirals by turnes interchangeably over the fleetes of fishermen within the same harbour" would not permit them to enter. When at length the nature of the voyage was known, no further opposition was offered, and on the *Delight* running on a rock at the harbour's mouth all the vessels, of which there were thirty-six, gave aid in getting her off. Moreover soon after the fleet cast anchor guns were fired in token of welcome. On Sunday the 4th of August nothing was done but to take a walk with the English merchants "to a place they cal the Garden." On Monday a tent was set up, and before it was read Gilbert's commission in virtue of which he took possession of the harbour of St. John's and 200 leagues every way. A rod and turf of the same soil were given to him in token of possession for him and his heirs and assignees for ever. Three laws were at once given out to the effect that public worship should be according to the Church of England, that pirates or trespassers should be executed as in case of high treason, and finally that any one uttering words dishonourable to the Queen should not only lose his ears but also his ship and goods. Gilbert also granted "in fee farme divers parcels of land lying by the water side convenient to dresse and drie their fish," for which was to be paid a "certaine rent and service unto Gilbert, his heires or assignes for ever." At this point the narrative is interrupted by a "Briefe Relation of the Newfoundland and commodities thereof" upon which it was unnecessary here to dwell. During this time not only had many of the company deserted, but some even took possession of vessels in neighbouring harbours and sailed away in them. Several had died and many were still ill. Gilbert determined therefore to leave the *Swallow* for these people to return in, and on

the 20th of August the *Delight*, *Golden Hind*, and *Squirrel* set sail for Sable Island and Cape Breton with the intention of examining also the coast of the mainland. They came upon Sable Island, however, so suddenly one morning that the *Delight* was wrecked. Of the manner in which sixteen of the crew escaped, an account has been left for us by the master, Richard Clarke.¹ The *Golden Hind* and *Squirrel* having got out of the shallows in safety, Gilbert at once determined, in view of the loss of the *Delight* and the scarcity of their provisions, to return home to England. About half way across, the *Squirrel*, which was only of ten tons and on board of which after leaving Newfoundland Gilbert had gone in order the better to run close in and view the coast, suddenly went down with all on board. Captain Hayes managed to bring the *Golden Hind* safely to Weymouth about the middle of September. Whether the *Swallow* had already reached home from Newfoundland is not recorded. So ended the unfortunate expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The accounts both of Hayes and Clarke seem authentic, and throw considerable light upon the customs and manners of the fishermen at that date.

There have also been preserved two letters written during the stay of the fleet in Newfoundland, but neither contains anything of importance. From the first, dated St. John's the sixth of August, we simply learn that Hakluyt had intended to accompany the expedition; ² while the second is an even shorter letter written in great haste by Gilbert himself.³

Jacques Noel.

This Noel, who was a nephew of Jacques Cartier's, appears to have acted as pilot on board some vessels of St. Malo trading in the St. Lawrence.⁴ It is possible therefore that for many

¹ "A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the shippe called the Delight, going for the discoverie of Norumbega, with Sir Humphrey Gilbert 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the shippe and men imputed to his oversight," in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1589) pp. 700-701.

² Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1589) pp. 697-698.

³ *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Third Part, p. 808.

⁴ Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* (1865) 2^e partie, p. 34:—"ledict Nouel en

years he had already plied the same trade before becoming familiar with the navigation of the river. Hakluyt has fortunately preserved for us two letters sent by him to his friend Jean Grout of St. Malo then studying in Paris.¹ From the first of these we learn that he had been to the top of Mount Royal and that the savages had assured him that the journey westward to Lake Ontario only occupied ten days, while in the second he stated that there then existed a "certaine booke made in maner of a sea Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my said uncle [Cartier], which is in the possession of Master Cremeur," and that his own sons Michael and John were then in Canada, no doubt also as pilots or sailors. These letters written in French were probably secured by Hakluyt during his residence in Paris as chaplain at the British Embassy, a post which he occupied from the year 1584 until the year 1590.

*André Thevet.*²

Born of humble parents at Angoulême in the year 1502, André Thevet early entered the order of St. Francis where he soon found that theology alone was unable to satisfy a mind bent rather upon geography and travels. This his superiors seem also to have discovered, and the new recruit was soon on the march to preach the Gospel abroad. At Plaisance in the south of France Thevet was lucky enough to be presented to the Cardinal Jean de Lorraine,³ who, taken with the naïve curiosity of the Franciscan, voluntarily supplied him with funds for a journey to the Orient. Embarking at Venice he spent five or six years in the East, during which period he visited not only Greece, Constantinople, Rhodes, Alexandria and Arabia but also

quesquel voiajes a fait office de pillotte," etc. Cf. also p. 36 and Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1589) p. 723.

¹ Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1600) iii 236-237. For this Jean Grout cf. Joion des Longrais, *op. cit.* 144.

² The only study of Thevet I have found is that of M. Gaffarel in his introduction to the edition of the *Singularitez* published in 1878. The same notice also appeared as an article in the *Revue de Géographie*, Tome iii, pp. 177-192, and with additions in the *Bulletin de Géographie historique*, 1888, pp. 166-201.

³ "Auquel ie dois attribuer la cause de mon premier voyage Levantin." *Les Vrais Pourtraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres*, p. 355 b. Paris 1584, Folio.

Palestine, Cyprus and Malta.¹ The results of these travels were embodied in his *Cosmographie du Levant*, first printed at Lyons in 1554.²

About this time Villegaignon was preparing for his expedition to Brazil, and Cardinal Claude de Lorraine, the nephew of his former protector, proposed Thevet as almoner to the expedition. Having been accepted he embarked at Havre on the sixth of May 1555. Passing down the coast of Spain they sailed *viâ* Madeira, the Canaries and the Cape Verde Islands southward along the west coast of Africa.³ On the 26th of October they reached the island of Ascension where they obtained their first view of the southern constellations.⁴ They continued further towards the south and it was not, according to Thevet, until they were almost in the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, that they at length turned westward and headed for South America, which was sighted according to the chronology of our author on the last day of October or four days after leaving the island of Ascension. Tacking northward past Macaheh and Cape de Frie they at length cast anchor in the river Ganabara on the tenth of November.⁵ Here on the Ile aux Français the expedition was landed and the settlement established. Thevet however did not remain in the country but reembarked in the return vessel, which set sail two and one-half months after their arrival, that is, in January 1556.⁶ After being driven hither and thither by bad weather and having taken two months to round the Cape St. Augustine, they finally crossed the equator in the first week of April.⁸ Sailing past Hayti and Cuba, they were driven by

¹ "Au demourant vous trouverez en ce mien petit euvre, non tant seulement la peregrinacion faite en la terre sainte . . . mais aussi le discours du voyage de la Grece, de la Turquie, d'Egypte, mont de Sinay, Judée, jusques en Antioche et Armenie, et plusieurs isles tant fertiles que steriles." *Cosmographie du Levant*, Dedication p. 5. Lion 1554, 4°.

² For a misfortune which befell Thevet on this voyage, *vid.* Ronsard, *Euvres*, vi 430. Paris 1893.

³ *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique*, pp. 79 et seq. Paris 1878.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 103 and 105.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 120 and 126.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 127 and 312.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

further contrary winds not only towards Florida but also "fort pres de Canada," which expression doubtless means the region north of the Carolinas.¹ At length the weather cleared and by means of the trade winds they were able to sail for France by way of the Azores and Cape Finisterre.²

Since Brazil was at that time exciting a good deal of interest in France and merchants were anxious to hear of its resources Thevet was induced by the Cardinal de Sens to publish a description of his voyage. On account of a fever contracted in South America this seems to have taken him some time for it was only in 1557 that there appeared his *Singularitez de la France Antarctique autrement nommée Amérique*.³ He had even been prevented from correcting the proofs by a fresh attack of fever.⁴ Instead of giving an account of Brazil and his voyage thither, this work deals with almost everything else except these points. Not only are there long chapters on all the places touched at both going and coming, but there are others on Africa in Particular, Africa in General, Madagascar, Ethiopia and any other region which could possibly be brought in. He even took advantage of the fact that in sailing home they coasted South America to describe Peru, Mexico, Florida, Canada and Newfoundland, but since he visited none of these countries any more than Madagascar, his information is all second-hand.

He states that he had been induced to write about Canada because no one had described it properly; yet the narrative of Cartier's second voyage had appeared in 1545. With the exception of a few facts about snowshoes, hunting and the medicinal preparations of the savages, he tells us absolutely nothing new. This extra information was obtained from a Portuguese pilot,⁵ who

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 391 and 395.

² *Ibid.*, p. 445.

³ *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique autrement nommée Amérique et de plusieurs Terres et Isles découvertes de nostre temps*, Paris 1557, 4°. For another account of the same voyage *vid.* Barré's letters in Ternaux-Compans, *op. cit.* i 102-116.

⁴ "La fievre a tellement detenu l'Autheur depuis son retour qu'il n'a pas eu loysir de revoir son livre avant que le bailler à l'Imprimeur" etc. Advertisement au Lecteur, pp. lxi et seq.

⁵ "lequel visita deux ou trois villages et les loges où habitoient ceux du pais." *Singularitez*, etc. (1878) p. 406.

may have been Jean Alfonse, and from Cartier himself, his "grand et singulier amy," with whom he spent nine days at his home in St. Malo.¹ From them he doubtless drew his facts about children in chapter lxxviii and the manner of making war in the following chapter. His statements about minerals were corollaries from Roberval's expedition, while those about earthquakes came out of his own head. Although he had never been near Newfoundland he added a chapter upon it, based on accounts given him by fishermen.² Thus the information about these regions is not first hand but came to him from books or persons who had been there. Later on however, as we shall see, he declares that it was all first hand.

Not long after the publication of the *Singularitez* Thevet was appointed, by means of the influence of his protectors, Almoner to the Queen mother Catherine de Médicis.³ Yet since his interest in geography still outran his devotion to theology, he soon secured the additional titles of Historiographer and Cosmographer Royal, posts which he continued to occupy under both Henry the Second and his brother Charles the Ninth. These new titles were, in his eyes, of immense importance, for no one could be so named who had not a sound knowledge not only of geography but also of geometry, chorography, topography, poli-graphy and prosography.⁴ What his duties were as guardian of the King's curiosities or cosmographer royal is not quite clear, but he seems to have been kept busy principally in clearing up difficult points of geography for his royal masters.⁵ It was

¹ "Et ainsi m'en fit le recit le Capitaine Jaques Cartier estant logé en sa maison a S. Malo en l'Isle" etc. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 15452, fol. 157; cf. *ibid.*, fol. 151 and *Cosmographie Universelle*, tome ii, fol. 1014 b.

² "Ainsi que disent les habitants de Terre neuve et les pecheurs ordinaires." *Singularitez*, etc., (1878) p. 441.

³ "Catherine de Medici, ma tres-honorée Dame et maistresse, qui a daigné m'honorer de l'estat d'Aumosnier ordinaire de sa maison. *Vrais Pourtraits*, etc., p. 223.

⁴ Dedication of *Vrais Pourtraits*.

⁵ "Quant aux rares bons, et curieux esprits, ie puis tesmoigner qu'il [Charles IX] en a esté fort amoureux: il le recognois . . . souvent avoir esté mandé par sa Maiesté pour luy esclaireir les difficultez qu'il avoit sur le fait des cartes et des pays estrangers." *Ibid.*, p. 228 b.

doubtless these services which procured him the Abbey of Masdoin in Saintonge, although he continued to reside at Paris. His *Discours de la Bataille de Dreux* published in 1563 does not interest us here any more than does his failure to accompany Montluc to the Canaries in 1566.¹

It is otherwise however with his *Cosmographie Universelle*, published in two large folio volumes some nine years later. Each of the four parts of the globe occupies half a volume and America is described in the second half of volume two, folios 903 to 1025. A map was also added which is extremely important as being the first one which makes America one large continent with no passage in the north to the Pacific but with a strait between Asia and the north-west corner of North America. The statements about Canada and the region of the St. Lawrence contained in this work are a mere repetition of those made in his *Singularitez*. This is not the impression however which Thevet seeks to convey; for although in the former work he had only been "fort pres de Canada"² he asserts now, some twenty years later, that he both landed in Canada and spent twenty days there examining the country.³ One must regret therefore that he only saw what Cartier and others had already seen and described. In fact, but for the story of Roberval's niece (Chap. vi, fols. 1019-1020b), there is nothing not given in his *Singularitez* except the engraving of a dead whale being stripped by Basque fishermen (fol. 1017).

In 1584 appeared *Les Vrais Pourtraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres*, also in two folio volumes, which are usually found however bound in one.⁴ While it is said to contain the lives of the great men

¹ "L'an mil cinq cens soixante six, quand le vaillant seigneur de Montluc y arriva, à la compagnie et embarquement duquel je fus prié d'aller; mais, Monsieur Bourdin procureur général de la Cour de Parlement de Paris, avec lequel je demourois, ne le voulut permettre." Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 15454, fol. 158.

² *Singularitez*, etc. (1878) p. 395.

³ "durant lesquels j'euz bon loisir de me pourmener et rechercher ce qui estoit de rare et singulier par le pays." *Cosmographie Universelle*, Tome ii, fol. 1009b.

⁴ A letter in which Thevet calls this ridiculous work "un tombeau qui étoit né à tout jamais" will be found in *Mélanges de Littérature et d'Histoire recueillis et publiés par la Société des Bibliophiles Français*, Paris 1877.

of the New World, Canada appears to be weak in this respect, for a "King of Florida" is the only important personage north of the Gulf of Mexico. Perhaps had Thevet really voyaged beyond this point he would have found other Indians worthy of being included.

Such then are Thevet's published writings. One may call them tremendous compilations resting on very slight foundations of fact. The manuscripts which he left at his death, now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, are perhaps even worse in this respect. Five of these manuscripts have usually been taken, after their titles, for four distinct works; an examination discloses the fact that they really consist of only two, both of little or no value.

Ms. fr. 17175, entitled *Second Voyage d'André Thevet dans les Terres Australes et Occidentales*, is a sixteenth century manuscript of 178 leaves divided into forty-eight chapters. Folios 1 and 2 contain a "Petit Dictionnaire de la langue des Canadiens" and also "Aultre Petit Dictionnaire du royaume d'Ochelaga, Canada et autres pais" which on examination prove to be both similar to the vocabulary given in the *Grand Insulaire* (Tome i, folios 158 and 159) of which I shall speak presently. Folios 3 to 10 contain an alphabetical index to something but of what it is impossible to discover. The account of the voyage itself then occupies folios 11 to 178 with 36 38 blank. It is an account written in 1587¹ of two voyages which Thevet declares he made to America in 1550 and 1555. Of the former voyage we have hitherto heard nothing; let us see then where he went. He does not tell us how or whence he set out but merely that he arrived in America in the year 1550 with a certain Captain Testu,² who had already made several voyages thither.³ Having passed under the equator on the thirtieth of July⁴ he mentions their visits to the

¹ "L'année passée mil cinq cens quatre vingtz et six" etc., fol. 148 verso; also fol. 156: "L'année passée mil cinq cens quatre vingtz six".

² "J'arrivay en l'Amérique en l'an mil cinq cens cinquante qui fut mon premier voyage souz la conduite de ce valeureux pilote et capitaine Testu," fol. 54 verso; cf. also fol. 128.

³ Fol. 34.

⁴ "Le penultiesme jour de juillet.....ayant doublé l'Equator," fol. 42.

islands of Margajas¹ and St. Dominique,² and their arrival upon the coast of Brazil where one of the islands was named after him.³ All this region seemed so fertile that he thought his countrymen would do better to send colonists there, than to waste their energies in Canada.⁴ Early in December they found on this coast the remains of a European settlement and a placard was set up to record the fact.⁵ After visiting the Three Islands and a lake called after his friend Nicholas Barré, they finally reached the Portuguese settlement at Cape St. Vincent, which greatly excited Thevet's admiration.⁶ Near Trinity Island they rescued three Moors and two Portuguese who had been slaves for more than fifteen years.⁷ After touching in succession at Rats Island,⁸ Carthagina, Cuba, St. Christopher's and St. Dominique⁹ they reached Hayti, where Testu captured a Spanish vessel but at once released her again.¹⁰ Forced by a storm as in his second voyage to anchor near Florida, they finally made the Madeira group and thence sailed to Dieppe, which was reached on the twenty-second of July about noon after being absent just a year.¹¹ The second voyage is the one made with Villeaignon in 1555 and which he had already

¹ "Isle nommée des Margajas devant laquelle nous fusmes mouiller l'ancre," fol. 62.

² Fol. 47.

³ Fols. 104 *et seq.* On the 22nd of August they were at the river La Parraide. Cf. fol. 48 verso.

⁴ "C'est en cest endroit ou les princes et grand seigneurs curieux d'habiter et se fortifier, pour laisser memoire perpetuelle d'eux devoient envoyer sans s'amuser au fripponage des terres Canadiennes et autres qui ne sont plus voisins ou sont tant mortz de bons soldatz," etc., fol. 109.

⁵ Fol. 111. Here is the inscription "VII Decemb. MDLI Franci hunc portum appulsi vagum invenere, cuius nomine Nane Francus Taronensis hoc insigne erexit!"

⁶ Fol. 111 verso *et seq.*

⁷ Fol. 130.

⁸ Fol. 131 verso.

⁹ Fol. 143 *et seq.*

¹⁰ "Testu avec lequel j'estois. . . . prist un navire d'Espagnols, l'aiant pris, leur donna congé sans autrement les offenser encorés que la prise fust de bonne guerre," fol. 148 verso.

¹¹ "environ midi. . . . de laquelle rade estions partis un an auparavant qui fust mon premier voyage," fol. 178 verso; cf. also fols. 154 and 163 for Florida and Madeira.

described at great length in his *Singularitez*. Although in that work he did not hesitate to say that he had only been in the country a few months since he arrived in November and sailed in January, yet he now solemnly informs us that he remained there several years and that any one who doubts his word is telling untruths.¹ He refers in this work to crossing the equator,² to the arrival at Cape de Frie in November³ and to coasting the island of Hayti.⁴ According to its title of "Second Voyage" this account should describe the voyage in 1555. It does nothing of the kind, but mixes certain facts of this voyage with a larger number taken from a supposed earlier voyage.⁵ In my opinion the first voyage in 1550 never was made, for without such a voyage the contents of this manuscript are easily explicable. It was easy in 1587 to speak of a voyage which took place thirty-six years previously without much danger of contradiction. To a modern mind it would seem peculiar that this voyage, which took place even before his book on the East was published, should not have been mentioned, if not in it, at least in his *Singularitez* which dealt principally with America. The whole contents however are, as is not surprising, taken bodily from his earlier works. Thus the first chapter is an almost exact reprint of the first chapter of the *Singularitez* with the dates changed; most of the second chapter comes from chapter ten of the same; the third chapter is chapter twelve of the same; the fourth is taken from both thirteen and fourteen, and so on. The thirty-second, thirty-third, thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth chapters (folios 121-138) are simply chapters five to eight of

¹ "L'an cinq cens cinquante cinq je fis un autre voyage et accompagnay le Seigneur de Villogagnon, avec lequel je demeuray quelques années. Je scay bien que ce menteur Leri s'est persuadé que je retournay en France la mesme année," etc., fol. 54 verso. Cf. Léry, *Histoire d'un Voyage fait en la terre de Brésil*, i 15 et seq., Paris 1880.

² Fol. 39.

³ Fol. 49 verso

⁴ Fol. 148.

⁵ "Pourquoy il m'a scablé bon par mesme moien de discourir mon premier et second voyage et remarquer les choses plus rares qu'il m'a semblé bon d'iceulx. Car ce que j'aurois veu et observé en l'un, je ne l'aurois pas advanture en l'autre," etc., fol. 178 verso.

Book xxi of his *Cosmographie Universelle*. Sometimes as in the thirty-seventh and forty-seventh chapters he drew from his *Grand Insulaire*, which he had begun some three years before.¹ In that part which more especially concerns us, the source of his information is only too apparent. Thus the forty-second chapter entitled "Canada and Newfoundland" (fol. 157) is a repetition of the seventy-fifth chapter of the *Singularitez* with a bit of the third chapter of Book xxii of the *Cosmographie Universelle* thrown in. The next chapter, on the "Route and Dangers of Canada" (fol. 159, verso), is a copy of that part of the *Cosmographie* of Jean Alfonse which deals with the St. Lawrence. Thevet's visit to Canada also advances a step, for he now tells us how during the twenty days spent there he conversed with a savage and also christened one of the islands near at hand after himself.

Ms. fr. 15454 is an autograph copy of the above although there are several divergencies, mostly unimportant. Thus on folio 2 there are several sentences not in the former manuscript. Often also the chapters of the former are subdivided into smaller ones with new headings (*e. g.* fol. 14 verso, fol. 25 etc.). Although therefore this manuscript is a copy of the former work it was evidently not taken from the former manuscript, but rather from one made in the following year 1588. Thus where, in the former, the past year is always 1586, here it is 1587 (folios 142 and 148).

Three of the remaining manuscripts left by Thevet contain his *Grand Insulaire* or description of all the known islands of the globe, and on this he was evidently engaged from about the year 1584 until his death in 1590. In fact the two Mss. 15452 and 15453 still remain just as he left them. Since however, as will easily be seen from what has already been said, Thevet's work is of very slight value, it will be sufficient to discuss briefly the sources of his information on the islands about the St. Lawrence. The description of Newfoundland (Ms. fr. 15452 fol. 143 *et seq.*) is the same as in his *Cosmographie Universelle*, book

¹ "Ainsi que, Dieu aydant, j'espere monstrer quelque iour dans mon Grand Insulaire." *Vrais Pourtraits, etc.*, p. 482.

xxiii, chapter v, to which indeed he in this case refers the reader, though he calls it chapter xx. The island of Roberval (fol. 145 verso) called also Isle des Démons where Roberval put his niece ashore, had already been similarly described in chapter vi of the same book of this former work. He here rambles on about apparitions in general and the negligence of his countrymen in not peopling it to drive the spirits away. On folio 148 he began a description of the island of Belle Isle which he says was so named by Cartier after the one on the coast of Brittany. According to Thevet deer and hinds roamed there.¹ Any one who has passed this barren rock on a steamer will understand from this one instance the value of Thevet's statements. He places St. Julien Island (fol. 149) between Anticosti and the Straits of Belle Isle. The former island (fol. 151) is full of mountains, forests and bears, which rob the huts of the fishermen. At the end of the manuscript (fol. 403) he again continues the description, copying with great care the *Cosmographie* of Jean Alfonse. In this addition, however, he neglected to correct divergencies, so that while we had been formerly told that the island was mountainous, one now learns that it is "so flat that there was no hill which a horse and cart could not pass over." He also states that it lies in 48½ to 50 degrees, not in 51 to 53 as before. The description of Saguenay and the entrance to the river St. Lawrence is also supplied by Jean Alfonse. There is one story of Cartier's visit which is new and which he perhaps heard from Cartier himself. The Indian vocabularies on folios 158 and 159 are from Ramusio's third volume and from the printed edition of Cartier's second voyage. So much then for the fresh information contained in these remnants of manuscript.

Ms. fr. 17174, entitled a "Description of several Islands," is an autograph manuscript of 145 leaves, containing portions of the *Grand Insulaire* and of the *Second Voyage*. Thus the description of the island of Solochi is from the *Grand Insulaire*, Ms. 154:2 fol. 11; that of Zeland from the same, fol. 31; Greenland from the same, fol. 33 etc. So the description of the islands of Mule, Man, Wight, Rusline, Rosa and Skie are simply recopied

¹ "Les cerfs et biches y faonment à outrance" etc., fol. 148 verso.

from the folios 42-62 of his *Grand Insulaire* (Ms. fr. 15452), while the *Second Voyage* supplies the accounts of Bayonne, the Canaries, Isle des Neiges and Gelledin. Finally Ms. fr. 19031 contains fragments of several unimportant works composed or translated by him.¹

Thevet died at Paris in November 1590 and was buried in the church of the Cordeliers, where for some weeks previously he had been daily superintending the completion of his own tomb. It was finished indeed just in time to receive his body. L'Estoile calls him a noted liar and a great ignoramus.² De Thou says that having gained a smattering of learning he employed his time in fantastic voyages wherein he soon acquired a moderate reputation. Thereupon he began to write books in which he incorporated extracts from other works as well as descriptions taken from guide-books and other similar compilations. "In fact," says the same writer, "ignorant beyond all belief, he put in his books the uncertain for the certain, the false for the true with an astonishing complacency."³ Even at the present day one's estimate of Thevet cannot be other than this.

Only one of Thevet's works was translated. That was the *Singularitez*, which appeared at London in 1568 under the title of "The New found world or Antartike, wherin is contained wonderful and strange things, as well of humane creatures, as "Beastes, Fishes, Foules and Serpents, Trees, Plants, Mines of "Golde and Silver: garnished with many learned auctorities, "travailed and written in the French tong, by that excellent

¹ Ms. fr. 4941 and 5646 do not interest us here.

² P. de l'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux*, v 61-62. Paris 1878. Cf. also tome iv, p. 381.

³ De Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, (Londres 1734) ii 651:—"Il employa le tems de sa jeunesse à faire des pèlerinages, et d'autres voyages de fantaisie. S'étant acquis par ce moyen une espèce de réputation, il s'appliqua par une vanité ridicule à écrire des Livres, qu'il vendoit à de miserables Libraires: après avoir compilé des extraits de différens auteurs, il y ajoutoit tout ce qu'il trouvoit dans les Guides des chemins, et autres Livres semblables, qui sont entre les mains du peuple. En effet, ignorant au-delà de ce que l'on peut s'imaginer, et n'ayant aucune connoissance ni des belles-lettres, ni de l'antiquité, ni de la chronologie, il mettoit dans ses livres l'incertain pour le certain, et le faux pour le vrai, avec une assurance étonnante," etc.

"learned man, master Andrewe Thevet. And now newly translated into Englishe wherein is reformed the errors of the auncient Cosmographers. Imprinted at London, by Henrie Bynneman, for Thomas Hacket. And are to be sold at his shop in Poules Church yard, at the sign of the Key." In the dedication, addressed to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of Wales, Thevet is spoken of as a "worthy traveller" while the book is called "a thing very rare, and of such exquisitie doing, as before this time the like hath not ben heard of." The whole work is translated in a fairly exact and accurate manner. An Italian translation also was published at Venice in 1561.

Richard Hakluyt.

Unlike Thevet, his contemporary, Hakluyt never visited the New World, yet he has bequeathed to us much more important information than the former author who boasted that he had made two voyages to those parts. Several of the documents preserved by Hakluyt have been spoken of elsewhere but there are others due more or less to his own pen. Born near London about the year 1553, Hakluyt was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1574.¹ When only a school-boy his uncle, a barrister in the Temple, had aroused his interest in the new discoveries, and it appears that after taking his degree he actually delivered lectures at Oxford on the geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the autumn of 1583 he went to Paris as chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford the English ambassador there. On his return to England in 1590 he was given the living of of Wetheringsett cum Blochford in Suffolk. In the year 1605 he was made a prebendary of Westminster, a post which he continued to hold until his death in 1616.

His first work, entitled *Divers Voyages touching the discover-*

¹ For his life *vid.* J. W. Jones' Introduction to the Hakluyt Society's reprint of his *Divers Voyages*, London, 1850; the address to the same Society by Sir Clements Markham, the President, in 1896; his article *Hakluyt* in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Dr. Woods' Introduction to the *Discourse on Western Planting* in the *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, second series, vol ii, Cambridge, 1877, pp. xxv-lxi.

ies of America and the Islands Adiacent, was published at London in 1582. Of the English translation of Verrazano's voyage therein contained mention has already been made. In 1584 at the request of Sir Walter Raleigh he wrote *A particuler discourse concerning the greate necessitie and manifolde comodyties that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westernre discoveries lately attempted*. Of this interesting pamphlet, which was never printed, only four copies were made. One fortunately came to light in the year 1868 and was finally published in 1877.¹ In the course of the twenty chapters in which these "comodyties", which range from the spreading of the Gospel to the bridling of the King of Spain and the discovery of a northwest passage to Cathay, are set forth, we get a good deal of incidental information about the early voyages to the New World. Here for instance² is the only reference to the first voyage of La Roche in 1584 as well as to the exploring expedition of Bellinger of Rouen in the previous summer.³

In 1589 appeared Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation . . . within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres*, in which are contained the accounts of several unpublished voyages to Newfoundland. Of a voyage said to have taken place in the year 1527, he was not able to give much additional information except that one of the ships was named the *Dominus Vobiscum* and that a canon of St. Paul's "did much advaunce the action and went therein himselfe in person."⁴ In conclusion he blames the "great negligence of the writers of those times, who should have used more care in preserving the memories of the worthie actes of our nation."⁵ About the voyage of Master Hore⁶ to the same region in the year 1536 he was able to obtain fuller information from one of

¹ *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, second series, ii 1-167

² *Ibid.*, p. 26

³ *Ibid.*

Principall Navigations (1589) p. 517.

⁴ *Ibid.* Cf. also *Colección de Documentos inéditos de Indias*, 1st series vol. xxxvii, pp. 456-458, vol. xl, pp. 305-354 and second series vol. iv, pp. 57-60.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 517-519:—"The voyage of Master Hore and divers other Gentlemen to Newfoundland and Cape Breton, in the year 1536."

the survivors, Thomas Butts of Norfolk, to whom he "rode 200 miles onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage from his owne mouth;" for this man was the sole member of that expedition then living. Part of his information however he obtained from his uncle, the barrister of the Middle Temple, who had received it from one Dawbeny, another member of the expedition. It appears that this "master Hore of London, a man of great courage and given to the studie of Cosmographie," induced thirty gentlemen of the Inns of Court and of Chancery and others "desirous to see the strange things of the world" to embark in two tall ships which set sail from Gravesend in April 1536. After visiting Cape Breton and Penguin Island they sailed northward to Newfoundland where however provisions began to run short. Just when all their stores were exhausted and one man had actually killed and begun to eat another, "such was the mercie of God, that there arrived a French shippe in that port well furnished with vittaille, and such was the policie of the English that they became masters of the same and changing ships, set sail to come into England," where they arrived safely at the end of October. Some months later when the poor Frenchmen appeared and begged for relief, King Henry VIII, grieved at the tale of his countrymen's sufferings, made good the damage due out of his own pocket. This voyage, which took place in the same year as that in which Cartier returned from wintering on the St. Lawrence, is important as showing that English voyages continued to be made from time to time, and also for the mention of the French fishing vessel.

It is probable that the examination of David Ingram, who in the year 1569 wandered with two companions from the Gulf of Mexico northward to the coast of Acadia whence they were taken home by a French trader, was also carried out by Hakluyt or at his request.¹ After his defeat in the harbour of San Juan

¹ "The Relation of David Ingram of Barking, in the Countie of Essex Saylor, of sundry things which he with others did see in travelling by land from the most Northerly partes of the Baie of Mexico . . . through a great part of America, untill he came within fiftie leagues or there abouts of Cape Britton," *Ibid.*, pp. 557-562. Cf. also Sainsbury, *op. cit.* vol. i, no. 2, and *Addenda* nos. 25 and 26, p. 21.

de Ulloa in the autumn of 1568 John Hawkins had been obliged, through lack of all stores and by the condition of his boats, to put one hundred men ashore near the mouth of the Mississippi. Three of these, David Ingram, Brown and Twide, "traveled by land two thousand miles towards Cape Britton and never continued in any one place above three or four dayes." Unfortunately however the value of this document is greatly weakened by the fact that one never knows to what portion of this great extent of territory the various statements refer. Yet for us the fact that these men were taken off by a French vessel in a region where fishing was abundant and white bears common, is of considerable importance. After passing the Baye Ste. Marie, which I take to be the Bay of Fundy, he states that they came to the "maine sea upon the Northside of America," and having travelled in sight of this for two days they were informed when at the head of a river, sixty leagues west from Cape Breton, that a ship was on the coast at the mouth of it. Repairing thither they found a French vessel trading in furs, leaves for dyeing and rude silver. In this vessel they were taken to Havre, and thence they made their way to England. Not only is this a good proof of the early rise of the fur-trade, but the savages of that region said "they had seene shippes on that coast and did draw upon the ground the shape and figure of shippes and of their sailes and flagges." Some of these were doubtless fishing vessels.

In 1599 and 1600 Hakluyt published a new and much enlarged edition of his *Principall Navigations*, in the third volume of which are printed several important papers relating to the St. Lawrence. The translations of Cartier's and Roberval's voyages have been discussed elsewhere as well as those not written by Hakluyt himself. There is however an anonymous account of the discovery of the island of Ramea which was doubtless translated from the French by Hakluyt.¹ It had been found on a

¹ "Relation of the first voyage and discoverie of the Isle Ramea made by _____ for Monsieur de La court Pre Ravillon, and Grand Pre, with the ship called the Bonaventure, to kill and make Traine ovle of the beasts called the Morses with great teeth, which we have performed by Gods helpe this yeere 1591." *Principall Navigations* (1600) iii 189-190.

French vessel when she was brought into Bristol as a prize,¹ and through his friends in that town Hakluyt doubtless obtained possession of the document. Soon after leaving St. Malo "with the fleete that went for Canada" this vessel lost the others in a violent storm and reached Newfoundland alone. As she was about to enter her usual fishing harbour, a fresh storm forced her to sail up and down for eleven days. When the weather at length cleared, the crew discovered this island of Ramea, which during the months of April, May and June turned out to be the home of innumerable walruses. They were able therefore to ship, instead of cod, some forty casks of train oil, though unfortunately for the owners these were unloaded at Bristol instead of at St. Malo. This document is merely the pilot's account of the course to be held in order to return to Ramea. It is interesting as a ray of light thrown upon the yearly operations of the French Newfoundland fishermen. Besides leading English vessels to sail to this island, the mention of walruses induced Hakluyt to add "A briefe note of the Morse and the use thereof"² in which he informs us that one of his friends had used the teeth of these animals in administering medicine to his patients and "had found it as souveraigne against poyson as any Unicorne horn."

Richard Fisher.

Our sole information about Fisher consists in the statement made by himself that he was "Master Hilles man of Redriffe." As the author of an account³ of a voyage to Cape Breton in the year 1593 he becomes for us rather an important personage, although the voyage itself turned out a failure. On the first of June 1593 the *Marigold* of seventy tons departed out of Falmouth in company with another ship for the island of Ramea

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 191: "to advertise your honour of the discovery of an Island made by two smale shippes of Saint Malo; the one 8 daies past being prised near Silley by a ship called the *Pleasure* . . . which prise is sent backe to this Port with upwards of fortie tunnes of Traine," etc.

² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

³ "The voyage of the ship called the *Marigold* of M. Hill of Redriffe unto Cape Briton and beyond to the latitude of 44 degrees and an half, 1593," in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, (1600) iii 191-193.

where the Bretons caught the walrus. On the way out they lost one another, but keeping her reckonings well the other vessel sailed directly to the island, where she found a vessel from St. Malo already three quarters full of oil. This vessel in fear of seizure "being of a Leaguer towne fled so hastily that present night" that she left half her crew and three boats which the English vessel captured. Only a moderate cargo was now secured however, as the season was almost at an end. On the other hand the *Marigold* overshot the island and reached Cape Breton. Here the crew landed and took in water. They were approached by a savage, but when a musket accidentally went off he fled. Again setting sail, they beat up and down to the west and south-west of Cape Breton for eleven weeks but finding no trace of Ramea they finally sailed for home.

Silvester Wyet.

In his position of master of the *Grace* of Bristol, a barque of thirty tons, this man wrote an account of her voyage to the island of Anticosti in the year 1594, which the diligence and care of Hakluyt have preserved for us.¹ She was sent to this island in the belief that "Whales which are deadly wounded in the Grand Bay, and yet escape the fisher for a time, are woont usually to shoot themselves on shore" there. Finding however, after waiting some time, that this did not seem to be the case, the *Grace* set sail for Newfoundland, and on arriving at the Bay of Placentia, where it was intended to load cod, the crew found themselves well used by "the fishermen of Saint John de Luz and of Sibiburo and of Biskay, which were to the number of threescore and odde sayles, whereof eight shippes onely were Spaniardes." After fishing here for a time with two pinnaces lent them by the men of St. Jean-de-Luz and Ciboure, they crossed the bay to the harbour called Pesinarek where they made a stage and "fished so long, that in the ende the Savages came, and in the night cut both our pinnesse and our shippes boate away." Fearing further

¹ "The voyage of the *Grace* of Bristol of M. Rice Jones, a Barke of thirty five Tunnes, up into the Bay of Saint Laurence to the Northwest of Newfoundland, as farre as the Isle of Assumption or Naticotec, for the barbes or fynnes of Whales and traine Oyle," in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1600) iii 194-195

annoyance they sailed to Farrillon where they found two and twenty English vessels. Here they quietly "made up their fishing voyage to the full" and then sailed for home.

Charles Leigh.

In the summer of 1597 Charles Leigh, a London merchant made a voyage on board of one of his vessels, "bound unto the river of Canala." On his return he compiled an account of their adventures which gives one a more vivid idea of the lawlessness which then existed on the coast of New France than any document hitherto discovered.¹ On Friday morning the 8th of April the *Hopewell* of 120 tons and the *Chancewell* of 70 tons set sail together from Gravesend for the St. Lawrence. Near Newfoundland they lost sight of one another but came together again on the following day in the Bay of Assumption, where the *Hopewell* contrary to her captain's wish fought with a French vessel. On the way to the island of Ramea they once more became separated, so that on the 18th of June the *Hopewell* arrived alone. Here she found two vessels from St. Malo and two from St. Jean-de-Luz who also said they were Frenchmen. Doubting the truth of this, Leigh asked them to hand over their powder and ammunition, promising, if they turned out to be really French, to keep it in safety without diminution. On their refusal it was taken from them by force but again restored when an examination of the masters showed that they had spoken the truth. This high-handed proceeding of a single English vessel so angered the foreigners that on the following morning the crew of the *Hopewell* were treated to the spectacle of three pieces of cannon directed against them from the shore, while two hundred Frenchmen, collected out of the neighbouring harbours, and three hundred savages shot at them from the woods. After a short skirmish a parley was arranged, but when Ralph Hill and the boatswain's mate appeared on shore they were straightway seized. Fearing further treachery and being the weaker side the *Hopewell* cut

¹ "The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and divers others to Cape Briton and the Isle of Ramea," in Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1600) iii 195-201. For his voyage to South America *vid.* Purchas, part iv, pp. 1250-62 and Sainsbury, *op. cit.* vol. i p. 5.

her cable, and left her anchor on shore. On the way out of the harbour the two missing men were again sent on board. Being warned away from Isle Blanche by a cannon shot, she headed up the western coast of Newfoundland. Soon a bad north-easter set in, whereupon the master said that they could not keep that course. Leigh "then asked how farre they had to the river of Cape Briton: he said a little way. Then, said he, If it be not farre, we were best to go thither to trade with the Savages while the wind is contrary." Finding however that it was further out of their course than he had thought, Leigh ordered the master to turn again and head for the Straits of Belle Isle. But "within one halfe houre afterwards the gunner and company presented me and the master with a request in writing to returne for England or to goe for the Islands of Açores for a man of war, for they would not proceed on their voyage; and therefore do what I could, they turned the helme homewards." On the twenty-seventh of June when taking water at Cape Breton they came upon a boat belonging to their consort the *Chancewell* which had been cast away in a harbour near at hand and robbed by some Frenchmen; the very shirts of the crew had been taken from them. Upon information that this had been done by a great Biskaine of 300 tons, a search was made for her and she was finally discovered in the English Port "with two Biskainers more, and two ships of Rochel." The admiral of the harbour, when applied to, at once ordered the stolen goods to be returned, and most of the lost property was actually recovered. Since however Leigh threatened to use violence if the remainder were not given up, the admiral kept him a prisoner until the *Hopewell* got under way, when Leigh was put on board. "The next morning we purposed if the winde had served our turne, to have made them to repent their evill dealing or els to have suncke their ships if we could. But the winde caried us to sea: so that wee tooke our course toward the bay of S. Laurence in Newfoundland: where wee hoped to find a Spanish ship, which as we had intelligence, did fish at that place." Her capture was easily effected by the ship's boat, which surprised the Spaniard in the night. But before the *Hopewell* could arrive, for it was foggy, the vessel was again re-

taken by some Basques from a neighbouring harbour, who had been summoned by one of the fugitive crew. Foiled in this attempt they next laid their course for the harbour of Cape St. Mary where it was reported that certain Leaguers were fishing. Only one was discovered but she was at length taken after a close fight during which they "played upon us with shot and pikes out at two ports, between which we entred very dangerously." A vessel from La Rochelle which was close at hand merely looked on at the fun. In this prize Leigh at once set sail for England while the master of the *Hopewell* was ordered "to go for the Islands of the Açores and there to spend his victuals for (as) a man of warre." What success he met with is not recorded.

From an account such as that condensed above, one realizes what the life in the fishing harbours was like. In reality it seems to have differed little from sheer piracy, though had the crew not mutinied when on the way up the west coast of Newfoundland, it is possible the voyage might have passed off quietly.

Bertrand's Letter.

Of the author of the *Lettre Missive*¹ to the Sieur de la Tronchaie we know very little indeed. From the statements contained in it one would suppose that he was a merchant of Paris who had gone out to New France for the first time in the year 1610 to take some share in the fur-trade, a very agreeable occupation as he assures us.² Lescarbot, who calls him an honest man, and a native of Sesane,³ tells us that although at Paris he had suffered from the gout, he was quite free from it at Port Royal.⁴ The

¹ *Lettre Missive, Touchant la Conversion et Baptesme du grand Sagamos de la nouvelle France, qui en estoit auparavant l'arrivé des François le chef et souverain. Envoyé du Port Royal en la nouvelle France au Sieur de la Tronchaie, datée du 28 Juin 1610*, Paris, 1610. Printed in the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, i 118-123. Cleveland 1896.

² "Vous assurant qu'il fait beau trafiquer par deçà et faire un beau gain." *Ibid.*, p. 122.

³ *Ibid.* ii 156 :—"M. Bertrand natif de Sesane."

⁴ *Ibid.* ii 182 :—"Temoin un honnête personnage nommé Bertrand, lequel à Paris estoit journellement tourmenté de la goutte, de laquelle il a esté totalement exempt par dela, etc."

letter is extremely short and not of very great value except for the hint given as to the gains to be derived from the fur-trade.¹

Marc Lescarbot.

Born at Vervins² of a good family between the years 1560 and 1570, Lescarbot, after receiving a good education, took up the study of law. He had not however been called to the Bar when in 1598 he pronounced in his native town an oration of thanksgiving before the Papal Legate on the conclusion of peace with Spain.³ In the following year he published a translation of a Latin work by Cardinal Baronius on the origin of the Russians.⁴ Shortly afterwards he was called to the Bar and among his first briefs seem to have been several law-suits in which the Seigneur de Poutrincourt was involved. On the departure of the latter with Monts in 1604 Lescarbot was given the charge of all his private affairs until his return, when those, he informs us, who during his absence had given trouble became most silent and affable.⁵ During the year 1605 he doubtless

¹ "Quant au pays, jamais ie n'ay veu rien de si beau, meilleur ny plus fertile, et vous dis avec verité, et sans mentir que si l'avois trois ou quatre Laboureurs maintenant avec moy, et pour les nourrir une année, et du bled pour ensemeencer le labourage qu'ils pourroient faire de leurs bras seulement, du surplus qui me reviendroit apres leur nourriture, l'espererois faire trafiq tous les ans de sept ou huit mille livres en Castors et Pelletterie," etc. *Ibid.* i 120.

² *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (1866) iii 768: "Vervin lieu de ma naissance," etc. *Vid.* Demarsy, *Notes sur Marc Lescarbot avocat Vervinois*, Vervins, 1868, *passim*.

³ Lescarbot, *op. cit.* iii 768: "A Vervin, où je fis deux actions de grâces en forme de panegyrique à Monseigneur le Legat Alexandre de Medicis, Cardinal de Florence, depuis Pape Leon XI." Copies of this are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris under the titles *Actio Gratiarum pro Pace per Marcum Scarbotium, I. F. L., Lutetie, MDIIC*, (Lb³⁵ 723), and *Harangue d'Action de Grâces pour la Paix, prononcée en la ville de Vervin, le dernier iour de May, 1598, etc., par Marc Lescarbot, Licentier es Droicts*, Paris, MDXCVIII, (Lb³⁵ 782).

⁴ *Discours de l'Origine des Russiens, et de leur miraculeuse conversion: et de quelques actes memorables de leurs Rois; en outre comme par laps de tems ilz ont quitté la vérité conceüe: et maintenant une grande partie d'eux se sont rangz à la communion du S. Siège Apostolic. Traduit en François du Latin du Cardinal Cesar Baronius par Marc Lescarbot advocat*, Paris 1599, 8^v.

⁵ "Certains qui le poursuivoient rigoureusement absent. . . devindrent souples et muets à son retour." *Histoire*, ii 484-485.

continued his practice at Paris, for it was from here that he set out in the spring of 1606 to accompany Poutrincourt to the New World. The latter had agreed, at Monts' request, to take charge of the settlement at Port Royal, while Lescarbot's excuse for going was his desire "to examine the land with his own eye and to flee a corrupt world." It appears that he had received personal disfavours from several judges.¹ Embarking on the *Jonas* at La Rochelle in May 1606 they did not reach Port Royal until the end of July.² On the 30th of the following July Lescarbot left Port Royal for France so that he spent just twelve months in the New World.³ He saw very little of it except the region about Port Royal, having only visited beyond this the River St. John and the island of Ste. Croix.⁴ Reaching home in the autumn of 1607, Lescarbot did not turn his attention towards the production of a fresh work until the Easter law vacation of 1608 when he determined at the instance of his friends to write the history of the attempts so far made to establish a French empire. The accounts of the voyages of Verrazano, Cartier, Laudonnière, and the others were thus incorporated in his work, which in his own words was also to be a record of the chief events of the voyages of Monts and of Poutrincourt.⁵

This work published in the following year under the title of *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* is divided into three books,

¹ "Désireux de reconoitre la terre oculairement et fair un monde corrompu ; estant même induit par l'injustice que m'avoient peu auparavant faite certains Juges Presidiaux," etc. *Ibid.* p. 485.

² *Ibid.* p. 518.

³ *Ibid.* p. 575. A letter dated Port Royal 22nd August 1606 is in the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Amérique, Vol. iv, fols 49-50. It was published by M. Marcel in the *Revue de Géographie* Tome 16 pp. 65-69. Paris 1885.

⁴ *Histoire* p. 509.

⁵ "Je veux donc faire un recueil general de ce que j'ay leu en divers petits traitez et memoires que j'ay pris tant en la Bibliothèque du Roy qu'ailleurs : ensemble ce que ledit sieur de Monts a fait et exploité au voyage qu'il y fit en l'an mil six cens trois : et finalement ce que j'y ay veu en l'espace de deux étés et un hiver que nous avons esté en ladite province, en la compagnie du sieur de Poutrincourt. . . tant pour contenter l'honnête desir de plusieurs qui dès long temps requierent cela de moy que pour employer utilement les heures que je puis avoir de loisir durant ce temps que l'on appelle des Vacations" *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6. He adds in 1617 "des vacations en l'an 1608."

in the first of which are described the voyages of Verrazano, Villegaignon, Ribaut, Laudonnière and Gourgues. The accounts of the expeditions of Cartier, Roberval, La Roche, Monts and Poutreincourt occupy the second book, while in the third and last he gives an account of the manners and customs of the savages of the New World. Of his summary of Verrazano's voyage which is copied from Belleforest, mention has already been made. The sources of his version of Cartier's voyages, which are given in full, are easily traceable. The first is taken from the Rouen edition of 1598 while, as he himself tells us, the second was copied from the original manuscript preserved in the King's Library.¹ This as I have shown elsewhere is now Ms. fr. 5589, known as B. He also reprinted some verses "Sur le voyage de Canada" which he found in the Rouen edition of the first voyage.² In copying this first voyage he has put the first of August for the 25th of July and having once committed himself continues his error.³ The spelling of the second relation is also frequently modernized and he suppressed some of the dedication which seemed to be rather bigoted.⁴ He did not retain the original order of the narrative but broke it up into sections, between which he inserted portions of Champlain's account of his voyage to the St. Lawrence in 1603. The only valid reason for this seems to be jealousy of Champlain, who, he says, gives one the impression that no person had ever gone beyond Quebec before he went there.⁵ Some descriptive portions of Cartier's second relation are reserved for his third book on the manners and customs of the savages.⁶

¹ "Ainsi j'ay laissé en leur entier les deux voyages dudit Capitaine Jacques Quartier, le premier desquels estoit imprimé; mais le second je l'ay pris sur l'original présenté au Roy écrit à la main" etc. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205 (edition of 1619 p. 231.)

² "Au surplus, ayant trouvé en tête du premier voyage. . . quelques vers François qui me semblent de bonne grace, je n'en ay voulu frustrer l'auteur, duquel j'eusse mis le nom s'il se fust donné à conoitre." *Ibid.*, p. 205.

³ Edition of 1609 pp. 278 *et seq.* Michelant et Ramé *op. cit.*, pp. 36 *et seq.*

⁴ "Pour l'Orthographe j'ay suivi la plus simple qu'il m'a esté possible, rejetant à peu près toutes lettres superflues." Au Lecteur, edition of 1609. It seems odd in view of this to speak of Lescarbot's version of Cartier's voyages.

⁵ "Si bien que le sieur Champlain pensoit estre le premier qui en avoit gagné le prix," etc. Edition of 1866, ii, 309.

⁶ *Ibid.*, iii 662 *et seq.*

His accounts of the voyages of Roberval and La Roche are very scanty indeed, for no French version of the former's voyage seems to have been then preserved and Lescarbot was ignorant of that given by Hakluyt some nine years earlier. It appears as if his whole information on this subject was derived from the slight mention of Roberval in the Letters patent of La Roche and from a conversation with one of Roberval's descendants. It is not astonishing therefore that his account is quite wrong. He makes no mention of Cartier's third voyage nor of his descendants' attempt at a monopoly. A very summary account is given of the expedition of La Roche, which he states to have taken place in the year 1596. Since his attention had not been turned to the New World before 1606, in which year La Roche died, he was doubtless only able to glean a few facts from Champlain or others who had heard of the expedition at the time. The copy of the Letters patent was evidently taken from the edition of them printed at Rouen in 1598.¹ The remainder of Book II is taken up with an account of the settlement established by Monts first at Ste. Croix and then transferred to Port Royal. After giving in full copies of Monts' commissions taken from a small printed edition which appeared in 1605 and a copy of which is still to be seen in the archives of the French Foreign Office,² he goes on to describe the voyage out and the establishment of the settlement at Ste. Croix. For all this portion of his account up to his own arrival at Port Royal in July 1606, he was of course dependent on information gathered from others, among whom Poutrincourt seems to have held the chief place. Thus we have a very minute and detailed narration of the latter's voyage out and home again, while the events of the year 1605, when he was absent, are treated much more summarily. For this period therefore Champlain is a much better source.³ It is the remainder of Book II (chapters 39-48) which forms the most valuable portion of Lescarbot's history. Here he is recounting events at which he was

¹ Edition of 1609, pp. 434-450; cf. Michelant et Ramé, *Voyage de Jacques Cartier* p. 3:—"Ayant ces cours passez imprimé l'Edict du Roy contenant le pouvoir et commission donnée par sa Majesté au sieur Marquis de la Roche," etc.

² *Amérique*, vol. iv, fols. 3-22.

³ Laverdière, *Œuvres de Champlain*, Tome iii, chaps. ii-xi.

personally present and in many of which he took a not unimportant part. Thus we have a long account of the voyage of the *Jonas* from La Rochelle to Port Royal as well as an interesting narrative of the events at the latter place during the winter and spring of 1607. In comparing him with Champlain, who was also present during the same period, one sees that while each is correct in his own way their points of view are so different that they seldom touch upon the same matters. Champlain is above and beyond all a discoverer and geographer, while Lescarbot's interests lie more in the system of government of the colony and in the customs of the savages. To one brought up on the classics these strange peoples offered a most interesting field for comparative study. Book III gives the results of his inquiries into Indian customs and as a study of their habits deserves much more attention than has hitherto been paid to it. In addition to his own observations Lescarbot draws on the writings of Jean Alfonse, Thevet, Cartier's narratives, an English History of Virginia (doubtless Hariot's), Champlain, Léry and others.

Immediately upon its appearance Lescarbot's work met with a good reception. It was written in an easy style by one who was not too much of a pedant to enjoy a good story and who took an intelligent interest in the events recorded; his book is pleasant reading even to this day. It is not surprising then that an English and a German translation soon appeared. The first was done at Hakluyt's request by P. Erondelle, whom tradition holds to have been a Huguenot pastor in London.¹ He only translated however that portion of the work which described the settlements at Ste. Croix and Port Royal together with the last book on the customs and manners of the Indians. The work was dedicated to Prince Henry the "Bright Starre of the North" and was published "to the end that comparing the goodness of the lands of the Northerly parts with Virginia, greater encouragement might be given to prosecute that generous and godly

¹*Nova Francia or the Description of that part of New France, which is one continent with Virginia. Translated out of French into English by P. E. Londini 1609.* Also printed in a condensed form in Purchas, *op cit.* the Fourth Part, pp. 1619-1641.

action."¹ The chapters 31-48 of Book II form the first part while Book III is kept entire except that the French verses in the original are omitted. The translation itself seems to be well done and the work must have been of great value at the time of its appearance. The German translation which appeared at Augsburg in 1613 gives only a brief summary in some eighty pages of the whole of the original.² The work was done by a nobleman for the benefit of his Catholic co-religionists.³ He even promised them similar translations of the Jesuit relations, but these seem never to have appeared.

Shortly after the publication of his history Lescarbot was thrown into prison for a time on the charge of having written a book against the Jesuits.⁴ Whether innocent or guilty, he did not remain there long for in the following year appeared his *Conversion des Sauvages*,⁵ which contained a short account of the return of Poutrincourt to make his home at Port Royal and of his efforts to convert the natives.⁶ Saint-Just had been sent home to France in the summer of 1610 with a load of furs, and it was doubtless he who furnished Lescarbot with the facts herein recorded.⁶ In the year 1611 Lescarbot brought out a new edition of his history in an enlarged and corrected form. Thus he inserted a new dedication, to King Louis XIII instead of to his father, and also placed the voyage of La Roche in the year 1598 instead of 1596.

¹ "To the Reader."

² Marc Lescarbot, *Nova Francia. Gründliche History von Eefündung der grossen Landtschafft Nova Francia oder New Frankreich genannt . . . aus einem zu Paris gedruckten Französischen Buch in Teutsch gebracht.* Augsburg: Chryscotomo Dabertzhofer, 1613.

³ "Also hat sich ein Fürnehmer Edler . . . leichtlich erbetten lassen, den Catholischen zu gutem vorgemeldtes Buch in das Teutsch zu bringen." Preface.

⁴ L'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux*, x 88:—"Un advocat de mes amis, nommé Lescarbot, en peine et en prison, pour le *Mastigophore* de Fuzy, à la suscitation, ainsi qu'on disoit, et par la trahison d'un imprimeur, nommé Langlois." Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 87 et seq.

⁵ *La Conversion des Sauvages qui ont esté baptisés en la Nouvelle France, cette année 1610. Avec un Bref Recit du voyage du Sieur De Poutrincourt*, Paris, n. d., but the privilege for printing is dated 9th September of that year. This rare tract has been printed in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, i 52-113.

⁶ Saint-Just had only reached home on the 21st of August. Cf. *ibid.* ii 140.

The additions are considerable for the whole now formed six books instead of three, though the first extra one (i. e. Bk. II) is simply formed of chapters 21 to 30 of the edition of 1609. By means of the statement of Cartier's expenditure,¹ communicated to him by a Samuel Georges of La Rochelle, the same who had been a member of Monts' Company, he was able to add a few facts about Roberval. He also gave for the first time the commission granted to Cartier for his third voyage² and a chapter was inserted on the attempt of Jannaye and Nouel to obtain a monopoly of the fur-trade in 1588, which he had not mentioned in the first edition.³ Chapters 1 to 30 of Book II of the old edition become Book III of this edition. The remaining chapters of Book II (i. e. 31-48) of the edition of 1609 now form Book IV but there are no changes in the text. These four books therefore of the second edition cover the ground gone over in Books I and II of the first edition. He now adds an account in six chapters of Champlain's operations in the St. Lawrence since the year 1608 and of Poutrincourt's return to Port Royal, and these constitute Book V. As to the sources of the latter account the facts are the same as given in his *Conversion des Sauvages*; the events in the St. Lawrence he doubtless heard of from Champlain himself,⁴ for no other narrative of them was published until the year 1613. Book VI of the new edition is the old Book III on the manners and customs of the savages. He also added to the book of poems called *Les Muses de la Nouvelle France* three new ones to Champlain, to Captain Gourgues and to a savage from Florida.⁵ The edition of the History published in 1612, which was reprinted at Paris in 1866, only differs from the former in the correction of the *errata* given in the table at the end of the edition of 1611 and in the consequent absence of this table. Of this edition Book V alone was translated into English by Purchas.⁶

¹ This will be found in Michelant et Ramé, *op. cit.* pp. 24-29.

² *Histoire* (Edition of 1866) ii 387-391.

³ *Ibid.* ii 393-395.

⁴ "Ce qu'ayant entendu de la bouche dudit Champlain" . . . "Selon que m'a recité ledit Champlain" . . . "Il nous promet," etc. *Ibid.* iii 605-607.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii, 2nd part, pp. 52-56.

⁶ *Op. cit.* Fourth Part, pp. 1642-1645.

The year 1612 saw no abatement to Lescarbot's literary activity for in that year appeared his *Relation Dernière*.¹ This is a small pamphlet of forty pages containing an account of Poutrincourt's return to Port Royal in the year 1610 and of the principal events which had taken place there since that date. Although he had already given some statement of these events in his *Conversion des Sauvages*, as well as in the fifth chapter of the fifth book of his History as published in 1611, he now goes over the same ground again, though he relates in addition the story of Saint Just's departure in the spring of 1611 and the events at Port Royal until Poutrincourt set off for France in June of that year. It was from the latter indeed that all his information was obtained and doubtless also it was at his request that special stress was laid on the number of savages converted, in order to make an impression upon the Court and to obtain, if possible, some financial aid. A long list is thus given of the savages who had been baptized, and among the names conferred figure those of the Prince and Princess of Condé, of the Comte de Soissons and of other persons afterwards connected with New France. The publication was doubtless intended to show that before the arrival of the Jesuits the spiritual welfare of the savages had not been neglected.

During the years 1612 to 1614 Lescarbot was in Switzerland² in the suite of Pierre de Castille, the French ambassador to that Republic, so that it was not until the year 1617 that he brought out a third and still more enlarged edition of his History. These three editions, succeeding each other in such rapid succession, show that the book must have been widely read. Although in the edition of 1611 he had pointed out the necessity of the maintenance of a monopoly if the colony was to be peopled,³ he

¹ *Relation Dernière de ce qui s'est passé au voyage du sieur de Poutrincourt en la Nouvelle-France depuis 20 mois ença, par Marc Lescarbot Advocat en Parlement, Paris MDCXII.* This has been reprinted in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations* ii 122-191, and it will also be found in the *Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France* xv 377-406.

² Edition of 1617, p. 678: "Moy étant en Suisse." Cf. also p. 684.

³ "On dit qu'il ne faut point empêcher la liberté naturellement acquise a toute personne de traffiquer avec les peuples de delà. Mais je demanderay vlon-

now went a step further and urged the King to use his authority to prevent such illegal revocations of grants as had taken place in the past.¹ The first four books of the new edition are similar to those of the edition of 1611 as is also the last book (VI) on the manners and customs of the savages, except that chapters 3 and 4 are rolled into one and the numbers thereby changed. Book V, which in the edition of 1611 contained only six chapters now has fifteen and into these are worked some fresh material as well as portions of the *Relation Dernière*. In some cases the increased number of chapters is nothing more than a sub-division of an old chapter. Thus chapter 3 of the old Book V now make chapters 3 and 4 in the new edition, while the old chapter 4 has become chapters 5, 6, and 7. The new chapters 9 and 10 contain the substance of his *Relation Dernière*, but the following five chapters, giving a history of the disputes with the Jesuits, the founding of St. Sauveur and the destruction of both places by Argall, are quite new. He drew part of his material from Biard's *Relation* which had appeared in the previous year and which he cites,² but most of it was probably obtained from Poutrincourt before the latter's death some two years before.

He also uses some letters written to him in 1614 by Poutrincourt³ and a *procès-verbal*⁴ drawn up at La Rochelle in July of that year. The Factum against the Jesuits was also not unknown to him.⁵ In continuing his account of the operations in the St. Lawrence he uses not only the edition of Champlain's voyages published in 1613⁶ but also whatever could be gleaned

tiers qui est plus à preferer ou la Religion Chrétienne et l'amplification du nom François, ou le profit particulier d'un marchand qui ne fait rien pour le service de Dieu ni du Roy?" He goes on to state that beaver-skins which in 1588 were sold at 2½ livres then brought 8½ livres each for the monopolists. Edition of 1611, p. 419.

¹ "Mais, Sire, il faut vouloir et commander, et ne permettre qu'on revoke ce qui aura été une fois accordé, comme on a fait ci-devant à la ruine d'une si belle entreprise," Edition of 1617, pp. 5-6.

² "Le même pere Biart passe sous silence sept mois de temps," etc. *Ibid.* p. 676.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 678, 684-685.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 687-690.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 677-678.

⁶ "M'étant quelquefois servi, au regard des derniers temps, de ce que Samuel Champlain en a donné au public." *Ibid.*, Liv. I, p. 5.

from people who had been there. Thus he states that he had received many of the facts related from a Norman gentleman who was on his way to Italy.¹

In the year 1618 Lescarbot published a volume in Switzerland² as well as a small pamphlet on the fall of Concini from power.³ He took occasion in this latter to inform the King that if the French did not take possession of Newfoundland, which was worth a million in gold a year to the country, some other power would do so.⁴ After his marriage in the following year, doubtless a result of his appointment to the post of naval commissioner,⁵ we hear nothing more of him until the year 1629 when he published a small volume of verses on the defeat of the English at La Rochelle⁶ This seems to have been the last production from his pen but when he died is not yet known.

Such then are the life and works of this clever, witty and pleasing writer who did so much to preserve in an agreeable form the ups and downs of the little colony of French settlers on the shores of the Bay of Fundy. As the friend of Poutrincourt he seems to have been anxious to preserve some account of his actions, and without Lescarbot's labours the early annals of New France would have lacked the only writer who lifts those times in any degree out of the commonplace.

Ennemond Massé.

Massé, who was born at Lyons in 1574, is only a small contributor to the historical literature of early Canada. At the age of twenty-three he entered the Society of Jesus and made such progress that, like Biard, he was appointed to a chair in their college at Lyons. From there he went to Paris as assistant to

¹ "Les particularités. . . m'ayans été recitées par un Gentil-homme Normand qui alloit en Italie." *Ibid.*, p. 647.

² *Le Tableau de la Suisse et autres allies de la France es hautes Allemagnes. Auquel sont descrites les singularités des Alpes,* etc. Paris, 1618, 8°.

³ *Le Bout de l'An ou le Franc Gaulois au Roy.* Paris, 1618 (Bibliothèque Nationale Lb.³⁶ 1118 and 1119)

⁴ "Qui vaille tous les ans un million d'or à la France." *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵ *Annales des Voyages*, Paris, 1869, Tome I, pp. 76-81.

⁶ *La Chasse aux Anglois en l'Isle de Rez, et au Siege de la Rochelle et la reduction de ladite ville à l'obeissance du Roy.* Paris 1629, 8°

Father Cotton, the confessor of King Henry IV, and was thus a likely man to be appointed to go to New France in the spring of 1610. A letter dated at Port Royal in June of that year simply informed the General of the Order of his safe arrival in the New World and of the prospects for a successful harvest.¹ On the 29th of February, 1612, he addressed a letter to a M. L'Abbé at Dieppe praising the qualities of a son of his who commanded a vessel trading to Port Royal.² In the following March he sent a letter to Madame de Guerecheville in which he informed her that since their work at Port Royal was being ruined through disputes, their only hope of success lay in her generosity. If she would take over this colony or begin a new one, all would go well.³ It was this letter and doubtless one of a similar purport from Biard which led to the establishment of St. Sauveur. Nothing more came from Massé's pen, as far as is known, until the Recollects invited the Jesuits to assist them in their missionary labours on the St. Lawrence. He reached New France in 1625 and before his death at Sillery, in 1646, had translated several prayers into the Montagnais dialect.⁴

Father Biard.

Pierre Biard who was born at Grenoble in the year 1557 entered the Jesuit Order at a date unknown. Being a good pupil he soon rose in the ranks and some time about the end of the century was given the chair of scholastic theology at Lyons. While occupying this post he was summoned in the year 1608 to take charge of the mission about to be sent to Acadia.⁵ It was however not until the spring of 1611 that he was finally able to set sail accompanied by another Jesuit, Ennemond Massé.⁶ Before

¹ Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, i 184-186. Cf. also p. 314, note 39.

² *Factum du Procès entre Jean de Biencourt, Sieur de Poutrincourt et les Peres Biard et Massé, Jésuites*, reprint of M. G. Marcel, pp. 62-63. Paris 1887.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 59-60.

⁴ Laverdière, *Œuvres de Champlain*, tome vi, Appendix pp. 16-20. "L'Oraison Dominicale, traduite en langage des Montagnars de Canada par le R. P. Massé de la Compagnie de Jésus."

⁵ Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations*, iii 162.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 162 and 166.

leaving Dieppe he sent to the General of his Order at Rome a letter in which he gave an account of their troubles with the Huguenot merchants there, whose share in the vessel they themselves were obliged finally to buy.¹ About a fortnight after their arrival at Port Royal, he despatched another letter to the Provincial in France giving an account of the voyage and his first impressions of the country. He was of the opinion that missionary work among such people would be difficult, but hoped much from the King's aid and from the kindness of the Sieur de Poutrincourt and his son.² In a second letter to the General of the Order dated the following day he merely referred him for information to the letter just written to the Provincial.³ During the remainder of the year he was busy learning the Indian language so that it was not until January, 1612, that he again wrote home. In a second letter to the Provincial of the Order in France, dated in that month, he gives him an account of what had since taken place and of the difficulties met with in trying to master the Indian dialects, although Saint-Just gave him as much help as he was able.⁴ He also related how he accompanied Saint-Just on a voyage along the coast and of their discovery of the fort abandoned by the northern branch of the Virginia Company in 1608. His third letter to the General of the Order dated the same day, except for the few additional paragraphs at the beginning in which he describes the country, might be called a Latin translation of the former, as it doubtless was.⁵

During the spring, a good deal of dissension arose between him and Saint-Just, who had been left in charge of the colony by his father, and an attempt was actually made by the Jesuits to sail for home in the vessel of one L'Abbé. This however Saint-Just refused to permit, and since the Jesuits thereupon ex-

¹ *Ibid.* i 126-137.

² *Ibid.* pp. 138-183; cf. p. 180:—"M. de Poutrincourt, Seigneur doux et équitable, vaillant, etc., . . . et M. de Biancourt son fils, imitateur des vertus et belles qualitez de son pere, tous deux zelés au service de Dieu. . . nous donnent aussi grand courage de nous employer en ceste ouvrage," etc.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 188-190.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii 4-55.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii 60-105. The date 1611 seems a misprint.

communicated him, no further intercourse took place between them until August when peace was again restored.¹ Early in the spring of 1613 however, the vessel sent out by Madame de Guercheville called at Port Royal for the Jesuits and they set off in her to found the new settlement of St. Sauveur. When Argall captured their settlement he took Biard with him to Virginia. On account of his anger against Saint-Just, Biard appears to have informed the Governor there that those at Port Royal had not only captured an English vessel but that they were also about to fortify themselves with thirty large cannon.² As a result of this information Argall's second expedition was directed against Port Royal and Ste. Croix. On the return voyage to Virginia the vessel on board of which Biard sailed was driven by a storm so far out to sea, that after touching at the Azores the course was set for England where they did not arrive until the winter was well-nigh spent. Biard was at once freed and made his way to Amiens in France whence he addressed his fourth and last letter to the General of his Order. He therein gave an account of his misfortunes, of his safe arrival in England and of his immediate return to France.³

Between May 1614 and January 1616 when the license to print it was issued, Biard was engaged on his *Relation* which was published at Lyons in the course of that year.⁴ Before examining the contents of this work it will be well to say a few words about the general aims of these Relations of the Jesuits and of the particular circumstances under which that of Biard was produced. According to Xavier, the ideal missionary in whose steps the others strove to follow, nothing which might justly offend any one or which did not breathe in every word the

¹ Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (1617) pp. 676-677; *Factum du Procès*, etc., pp. 42 et seq.

² "Lui ayans fait croire que nous avions pris un navire Anglois; que ie viendrois avec trente canons pour me fortifier sur le Port-Royal." Lescarbot, *Histoire*, etc. (1617) pp. 684-685. Cf. also the Procès-verbal in the same, pp. 687-690.

³ Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations* iii 3-19.

⁴ *Relation de la Nouvelle France, de ses Terres, Naturel du País, et de ses Habitans, item du voyage des Peres Jesuites ausdictes contrées et de ce qu'ils y ont fait jusques à leur prise par les Anglois.* Lyon 1616, 12mo.

glorification and service of God should be inserted. "Let your account be of such sort," he said, "that, being taken to Europe, and passed from hand to hand, they may even be communicated to the public in print. Since they are thus to come not only into the hands of friends but also into those of ill-affected and often unjust and jealous persons, they must give no legitimate occasion for blame or for unfavourable interpretation."¹ They were in fact to be written in such a manner as to please every one. In reading them one must remember therefore that they depict only the pleasant and sunny side of colonial life, which, under the spiritual guidance of these faithful priests, appears to be approaching nearer and nearer to the divine perfection. The church services were always full, savages were being daily brought into the fold and were making manifest in a wonderful manner the powers of the saints in Heaven. Among the people, old and young, instead of frivolity or gaiety, all was prayer, fasting and religious exercises. In truth however there was another side to that life and in using these Relations as sources for its history, one must bear this point in mind continually. In so far as they deliberately chose to depict the better and pleasanter side for the edification of the faithful at home, the writers chose no doubt the right means to that end; but we of a later age who seek to find in them the true story of the times must remember what the end was for which they were written. Murders, rapes, blasphemies, robberies and other crimes might be and often were of frequent occurrence,² but no reflection of such a state of affairs is ever mirrored in this peaceful stream of pietistic literature. In the case of Biard's Relation, one must also bear in mind, that shortly after his return there had appeared an anonymous pamphlet setting forth his past conduct in no favourable

¹ *Lettres de Saint François-Xavier traduites par Pagès*, ii 51 and 117, Paris 1855; cited by Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII^e siècle*, tome i, Introduction p. ix. Paris 1895.

² "Il est grandement nécessaire que la justice soit exercée avec plus de puissance pour ne permettre qu'il se commette des voleries, meurtres, assassinats, paillardise, blasphèmes et autres crimes desja par trop familiers entre quelques François habitans en ladite terre" etc. Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, p. 89. Cf. Le Tac, *Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle France*, p. 135. Paris 1888.

light.¹ Fault was not only found with him for becoming a fur-trader and buying half the vessel but he was also accused of getting drunk on the voyage out, of throwing the books of the Huguenots into the sea, of seeking to obtain control of the colony on his arrival, of excommunicating Saint-Just without cause and finally of leaving the colony without any spiritual administration for a period of six months. It was his aim therefore in publishing this Relation not only to give a favourable account of their missionary labours but also to clear himself from the various charges publicly set forth in the Factum.

As we have seen, Biard reached France in May 1614, but his Relation was not published until two years later. He seems however to have set to work upon it directly after his return and to have lived during these two years at Paris.² For its composition he made use of Lescarbot³ and the works of Champlain then published⁴ as well as of his own letters previously sent home of which he evidently had kept or then procured for himself copies. It is from these materials that he constructed the first eight chapters, in which he set forth the situation, climate, soil, and natural features of the country as well as the government, customs and manner of life of the savages. In chapter viii we find the first mention of the Factum, but it is not until chapter ix that he breaks out against his former friends. Although on his first arrival at Port Royal he had praised the kindness both of the Sieur de Poutrincourt and of his son Saint-Just, who on the voyage out had shared his cabin with him and on their arrival had helped him with the Indian language,⁵ he now speaks of them in the following terms: "It is," he says⁶ "ab-

¹ *Factum du Procès entre Messire Jean de Biencourt Chevalier Sieur de Poutrincourt et Pierre Biard, Evemond Massé et Consorts, soy disans Prestres de la Société de Jesus*, 1614. This was reprinted by M. Gabriel Marcel at Paris in 1887. Cf. *infra* Anonymous Sources No I.

² Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations*, etc. iii 54 :—"Ceste presente année 1614 ;" "ceste dicte année icy à Paris" etc.

³ *Ibid.* p. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 50, 56, 68, 70 and 160.

⁵ *Ibid.* i 148 and 180 ; ii 8, 28 and 90.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii 137-138 :—"Or comment est-ce que s'y pourroit dresser, fournir, et entretenir ceste colonie, et peuplade? Ce n'est point icy le lieu d'en minuter, et

solute folly for a few unimportant persons to imagine that by spending for example three or four thousand crowns they can secure baronies and I don't know what big fiefs in this new land. The case would be worse if this foolish vanity should be found in people who flee the ruin of their own homes in France; for the fate of such covetous persons would invariably be this, not as the one-eyed to rule the blind but as blind people to fall headlong into the slough of misery and set up possibly instead of a castle of Christians, a den of thieves, a nest of brigands, a retreat for pirates, a refuge for cut-throats, a house of scandal and of every sort of evil." If god-fearing people, he continues, should find themselves in such a company, strife would necessarily result, but the blame would all lie on these wicked persons. Such was the result of their disputes. His defence, in chapter x, of the charge that he had unnecessarily prolonged the probationary period of the neophytes is simply a repetition of what he had already written to the Provincial soon after his arrival at Port Royal.

Chapters xi to xxix, in which he gives an account of their arrival at Port Royal, of the chief events during their stay, of their departure for St. Sauveur and of Argall's arrival, form an important source for the history of Acadia during the years 1611 to 1614. In the first of these, in which he gives an account of the troubles at Dieppe, he evidently had Lescarbot and the *Factum* under his eye; the former for the facts about Saint-Just, the latter for the events at Dieppe when he had retired to Eu. His defence of the unfortunate agreement about the fur-trade is extremely weak. The investment would, they had hoped, provide them with a regular source of income whereby no burden would be cast on Poutrincourt and no collections need be made in France for their support. Instead, he continues, of the profits articuler les chefs. Seulement advertiray-ie, que c'est une grande folie à des petits compagnons, que de s'imaginer des Baronnies, et ie ne sçay quels grands fiefs, et tenemens en ces terres, pour trois ou quatre mille escus, par exemple, qu'ils auront à y fonder. Le pis seroit, quand ceste folle vanité arriveroit à gens qui fuyent la ruine de leurs maisons en France: car à tels convoiteux infailliblement adviendroît, non que, borgnes ils regneroient entre les aveugles, ains qu'aveugles ils s'yroient precipiter en la fosse de misere, et possible feroient-ils au lieu d'un chasteau Chrestien, une caverne de larrons, un nid de brigands, un receptacle d'escumeurs, un refuge de pendards, un atelier de scandale, et toute meschanceté."

from the fish and fur-trades "being lost in the hands of the merchants," it would, under the new arrangement, be used by the Jesuits for the maintenance of Port Royal. He even makes the astounding statement at the head of the following chapter, that it was very lucky for Robin that the Jesuits had been able to free him from his embarrassments, though it is perfectly clear that had the Jesuits not insisted on being taken against the wish of the two Huguenot merchants, there would have been no difficulty of any sort, much less a question of lack of funds. In fact after his arrival at Port Royal Biard admitted as much and wrote home that on the first refusal of the merchants it had been agreed to leave them, the Jesuits, out of the question and despatch the vessel as originally arranged.¹ To excuse their action now on the ground that if they had not bought out the Huguenot merchants, the vessel would not have been able to set sail is therefore no defence at all, for the merchants would have been only too glad to send the vessel without them. He makes no attempt to defend himself from the charges made against him personally.²

His account of events at the Port des Etechemins can be called neither clear nor satisfactory. Lescarbot had stated in 1612 that a vessel from St. Malo was seized for being without her charter-party but released again with a warning not to come to sea in future without it.³ The Factum however accused Biard of unduly interfering to secure her release.⁴ Biard himself admits that although he was ignorant for what cause the vessel was seized, she was released at his solicitation, which seems to mean, as the Factum asserts, that he interfered in a matter which he neither understood nor in which he had any concern.⁵ On the other hand his account of the troubles at the river St. John is much more rea-

¹ *Ibid* i. 142:—"Seulement fut accordé que, laissant à part la question des Jésuites, on chargerait promptement le vaisseau, de peur que cet embarras et dispute n'apportast du retardement au secours qui promptement devoit estre donné à Monsieur de Potrincourt."

² *Ibid*, iii 180-182. In vol. ii, p. 84, he even admits the disputes:—"interdum nonnullae cum haereticis disputationes," etc.

³ *Ibid*, ii 178.

⁴ *Factum* (1887) p. 20.

⁵ Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations* iii 188 and 190.

sonable than the exaggerated statements given in the *Factum* where he is accused of making no effort to check an attempt to murder Saint-Just.¹ He makes no mention of the troubles in the spring of 1612 when he launched his excommunication against Saint-Just, doubtless because the existence of that document² and the deposition of Hébert³ placed the matter beyond dispute.⁴ For the history of the colony after peace was concluded and for the foundation of the new colony at Saint-Sauveur, Biard is for the present our sole source though in the Archives at Rouen there appears to exist an account of the capture of the latter by Captain Fleury.⁵ Here he of course seeks to defend himself from the charge of having led the English back to Port Royal but one is bound to choose between this half-hearted defence and the statements made on oath by Poutrincourt and his son before the Admiralty officers at La Rochelle. According to their statements Argall had been misinformed as to the intended fortification of the colony in order that its destruction might be the more speedily effected, and they also swore that, on shore Biard acted as the guide of the English.⁶ Of the remaining chapters, numbers thirty to thirty-three contain an account of the long sea voyage to England *via* the Azores and the Relation is then brought to a close with one chapter on the missionary work of the colony and two others on the French right to those regions and the necessity of colonizing them. In reading the latter it is necessary to bear in mind the general aim of these Relations as already set forth above. An undated letter in which Biard informs Poutrincourt that peace had again been made at Port Royal will be found in the *Factum*.⁷ Such then are Biard's writings.

As to his particular point of view, it may be noticed that he

¹ *Ibid.* iii 212 *et seq.*; *Factum*, pp. 23 and 24.

² *Factum* pp. 43-47.

³ *Ibid.* p. 54. Cf. also *ibid.* pp. 48-52 and 55-57, where the letters of Saint-Just to his father are printed.

⁴ Lescaurbot pointed this out in 1617, *vid. Histoire*, etc., (1617) p. 676:—" Le meme pere Biart passe sous silence sept mois de temps sçavoir depuis janvier jusques à la fin d'aoust durant lesquels y eut un divorce entre eux " etc.

⁵ Gosselin, *Nouvelles Glanes Historiques Normandes*, pp. 41 *et seq.*

⁶ Lescaurbot, *Histoire*, etc. (1617), pp. 687-690.

⁷ *Factum*, pp. 58-59.

believed in the existence of the Lord of Darkness against whom he of course ranged himself with the Angels of Light. On his arrival in New France, he insisted that every neophyte should have a good knowledge not only of the Lord's prayer but also of the ten Commandments, the Sacraments and the other articles of the Christian faith.¹ As this was rather a large demand upon the untutored savage, the work of conversion proceeded slowly and many complaints arose in consequence. Consequently, when the number of converts greatly increased, Biard seems to have been led to the conclusion that "God inwardly supplemented the defects of his external instruments."² To encourage Madame de Guereville to continue to supply them with funds, she was one day informed that "her name was already known in Heaven," as a young girl called after her had just died and gone there.³ Through Biard's instrumentality, or rather by the help of a bone of St. Lawrence, a former archbishop of Dublin, miracles took place at Port Royal, though after the excommunication was given out these dwindled.⁴ Still the mere act of hanging crosses round the necks of sick savages seemed to cure them.⁵ To Biard the Northern Lights were the finger of God and it was only by His help that a furious band of blood-thirsty air-spirits was restrained from bringing about the massacre of a few Christians.⁶ Although the propagation of the faith was slow, all the forms and ceremonies were introduced and it was not unusual to see young Indians carrying candles, bells, holy water, etc., in the processions on Saints' days or at funerals.⁷

From this somewhat cursory view of his life and works, it will be easily seen that the most valuable portion of Biard's writings is that which he sent home from New France before his departure for St. Sauveur. After the destruction both of St. Sauveur and of Port Royal and especially after the *Factum* had been published, his writings betray a tone of animosity and hatred which weakens their effect for us to a considerable degree. In the letters sent home from Port Royal no such feeling is

¹ Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations*, i 162.

³ *Ibid.*, ii 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii 50.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii 52.

² *Ibid.*, ii 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii 18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii 26-28.

apparent and his statements, as those of an educated man on the spot, are entitled to the recognition which such productions usually receive. After the publication of his Relation he seems to have spent some time in Italy as a parish priest but returned to France again shortly before his death, which took place at Avignon in November 1622.¹

Lallemant's Letters.

Of the life of the Jesuit priest Charles Lallemant very little is known before his departure for Quebec in the spring of 1625 to take charge of the mission sent out on the invitation of the Recollects. About the time that the vessels were preparing to return to France he despatched two letters home in which he told how in default of all other quarters, the Recollects had finally taken them into their building.² During the winter efforts were made to learn the Montagnais language so that in the following summer Lallemant could inform their General at Rome of considerable progress in this respect.³ The workmen arrived that summer and the work on the new buildings was soon well advanced. Another letter written at this time to his brother Hierosme Lallemant was afterwards published as the Relation for the year 1626.⁴ In this letter he tells us that Quebec was totally dependent on the mother country for all its provisions and that in case an accident should happen to the vessels, one could not foretell what would take place. His chief complaint however is that the *coureurs de bois* and the interpreters who lived among the Indians only confessed once a year. Of the fur-trade he speaks as follows: "Before the present Company, to whom the King has given the trade for a certain time, the savages were visited by so many people that one of the old men told

¹ *Ibid* i 196-198.

² Sagard, *Histoire du Canada* (1636) pp. 868-870.

³ *Lettre du P. Charles Lallemant au T.R.P. Mutio Vitelleschi, Général de la Compagnie de Jésus à Rome*, printed in Carayon, *Première Mission des Jésuites au Canada*, no. viii, pp. 117-121, Paris 1864.

⁴ *Mercurius François*, Tome xii, pp. 12 et seq. *Relations des Jésuites*, (Québec, 1858) vol. i pp. 1-9 of the second Relation. I have been unable to see the new edition.

me he had seen so many as twenty vessels in the port of Tadoussac though now one only sees two belonging to this Company. These two vessels bring out all the goods traded with the savages, namely cloaks, blankets, night-caps, hats, shirts, clothes, axes, iron arrow-heads, hooks, swords, knives, pots, prunes, raisins, wheat, peas, biscuits, as well as provisions for the French; in return they take back the skins of the elk, the wolf, fox, marten, muskrat, but principally the beaver which brings in the best return. I have been told that for one year the number reached 22,000. The usual number is from 15,000 to 20,000 at one pistole each."¹ He then goes on to show that in view of the expenses incurred this does not leave a very great surplus. The remainder of the letter relates in the usual dry manner the story of the numerous conversions effected during the year. Champlain has also preserved for us² a letter sent from Bordeaux in November, 1629, in which Father Lallenant tells the story of the shipwreck at Cape Breton in that year of the vessel under Father Noyrot which was taking provisions to the Jesuits at Quebec. He relates his escape from drowning, his return to Spain in a Basque fishing vessel which in turn was also wrecked near St. Sebastian, and how after having been again saved, he finally reached Bordeaux in safety whence this letter was written to the Superior of the Jesuit College at Paris.

Daniel and Malapart.

In the summer of 1629 Captain Charles Daniel, who was in charge of the fleet of the Company of New France, captured the fort of Lord Ochiltrie on Cape Breton Island and took him and his company prisoners. The report of this capture, drawn up for Richelieu at Paris on the 12th of December following, was published in the next year at Rouen by one of his men André Malapart.³ This man, who had lost an eye and a bit of his

¹ *Relations des Jésuites* (Québec, 1858) vol. i, Relation II p. 5.

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 304-311.

³ *La Prise d'un Seigneur Ecossois et de ses Gens qui pilloient les Navire pescheurs de France. Ensemble le Razement de leur Fort et l'establissement d'un autre pour le service du Roy et l'assurance des Pescheurs François en la Nouvelle France. Par Monsieur Daniel de Dieppe . . . Dedié à Monsieur le President de*

hand in the skirmish,¹ had at first intended to write his own account of these events, but coming across Daniel's report, he decided to publish it with a few additional remarks.² The report takes up six pages of the volume while his own additions cover thirteen. Daniel's report, which was also published by Champlain,³ is a simple account of the manner in which he had discharged the orders given him. These had been to wait for Razilly at La Rochelle and then to revictual Champlain at Quebec. Razilly however was in the end ordered elsewhere and so the fleet of the Company of New France set sail alone. On the way across the Atlantic the vessels became separated and Daniel reached Cape Breton alone. He asked the French fishermen there for news of affairs at Quebec, but they gave him interesting information of a different sort. This was to the effect that a Scottish nobleman had taken up his quarters close at hand and was demanding one-tenth of their fish from all the French vessels in the neighbourhood. On receipt of this information, Daniel at once attacked the place and took Lord Ochiltree and his people prisoners. The fort was razed to the ground and with the old material a new one was constructed by the French in one of the neighbouring harbours. Here a garrison was left, and all idea of succouring Quebec having been abandoned, Daniel once more returned to France. Forty-two of the prisoners were landed at Plymouth while the remaining eighteen were locked up at Dieppe. Such was Daniel's report. To the reprint of 1881 M. Félix has added Lord Ochiltree's account of his

Lauzon, Intendant de la Compagnie dudit País. Par le Sieur Malapart Parisien soldat dudit Sieur Daniel. A Rouen, MDCXXX. It was reprinted at Rouen in 1881 by the Société des Bénévoles Normands with an introduction by M. J. Félix.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 23:—"ie perdis . . . un œil et quasi une de mes mains," etc.

² *Ibid.* p. 5:—"Mon dessein premier estoit de dresser un petit discours de tout ce que l'en scavois et avois veu, mais ayant heureusement rencontré une copie de la mesme relation que mon Capitaine avoit présentée à Monseigneur le Cardinal . . . j'ay creu qu'elle seroit plus agreable en sa propre forme, qu'en celle que ie luy eusse voulu donner. C'est pourquoy tout ce que ie feray en cet escrit, ce sera de suppleer ce que la pudeur de celuy qui l'a donnée et la briefveté deus à un rapport, luy ont fait retrancher et tenir dans le silence."

³ Laverdière, *op. cit.* vi 299-304.

capture which is preserved in the papers of the Public Record Office.¹ According to him the French were received as friends, both parties knowing that peace had been made between the Crowns, but when they entered the fort, they suddenly seized all the inmates. He also complained that they turned most of his people, including the women and children, out of doors in the rain and wind and that on board ship all were packed in the hold like sardines.² It is possible that his month's detention in the prison at Dieppe may have unduly soured Lord Ochiltree against his captors,³ though doubtless the treatment of himself and his people at the hands of Daniel and his men was by no means gentle.

Malapart's additions to Daniel's account cannot be called important. He says they sent a petition to Daniel to induce him to attack the Scots, and that all confessed and took communion before the engagement began. His only other important statement is to the effect that over two hundred French fishermen now yearly visited the coast and that the whole industry both at home and abroad gave employment to over 100,000 men.⁴ In an adulatory address to the Company of New France he says that if it produces no other result than to have caused such a glorious action, it will not have been created in vain.⁵ He brings the work to a close with some insipid verses addressed to Captain Daniel.

¹ Colonial Papers, vol. v, no. 46.

² Reprint of 1881, Appendix A pp. 10-11:—"They wer all imbarked in the said . . . ship, fyfty men, wemen and childrein being inclosed in the hold of the schipe in so little bound that they wer forced to ly upon other as they hayd been so mony fishis, lying in thair awin filhe and fed upon bread and water that by famine and the pestiferus smell of thair awin filth many of them wer thrawn in the sea."

³ *Ibid.* p. 12:—"being keepit close prisoner in Deepe for ane monthe."

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 13:—"et maintenir à quelque cent mille François la liberté de gagner leur vie. J'ay dit, cent mille, mais c'est pour le moins. Car il va tous les ans en ce Pais quelques deux cents grands Navires à la pesche tant de mollus et de saulmon, que de petites baleines du lard desquelles on fait de l'huyle."

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 21:—"Quand vostre pieuse Compagnie n'apporteroit iamais autre bien que celui qu'a produit l'action heroïque de Monsieur Daniel, il ne sera iamais que la France n'aye sujet de benir tous ceux qui l'ont erigée," etc.

Champlain.

Samuel Champlain, who was born at Brouage in France about the year 1567, seems to have received his early sea training under his father who was a naval captain.¹ We are first able to trace his career definitely about the close of the century when he served for several years as quartermaster in the royal army in Brittany. At the conclusion of hostilities by the peace of Vervins in the year 1598, he set sail for Spain with his uncle, a captain in the Spanish navy, and in the spring of the following year was himself given charge of this same vessel to convey troops to the Spanish Main.² After visiting Porto Rico, Mexico and Havana he returned to Seville in March 1601, having been absent just two years and two months. He has left an account of this voyage which however does not concern us here.³

In the spring of 1603 he set off with Dupont-Gravé to make an examination of the river St. Lawrence preparatory to the despatch thither of a colony.⁴ On their return from this voyage, an account of which is given in a little work called *Des Sauvages* published at Paris in the same year, it was found that Chaste, the former head of the Company, had died, so the direction of the colony was placed in the hands of Monts.⁵ The years

¹ Laverdière, *Œuvres de Champlain*, tome iii, p. v :—"Entre tous les arts celuy de naviger m'a toujours semblé tenir le premier lieu. C'est cet art qui m'a dès mon bas aage attiré à l'aimer." On Champlain consult :—Memoir of Champlain by Rev. E. F. Slafter in vol. i, pp. 1-204, of the Prince Society's translation of his works, published at Boston in 1880; Laverdière's life in vol. i, pp: ix-lxxvi of his edition of Champlain's works, published at Quebec in 1870; N. E. Dionne, *Samuel Champlain*, vol. i (all published), Quebec, 1891; and G. Gravier, *Vie de Samuel Champlain*, Paris, 1900

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* i, pp. i et seq. :—"Ayant esté employé en l'armée du Roy en Bretagne en qualité de Mareschal des logis jusques . . . en l'année 1598, je me resolu pour ne demeurer oysif, de faire ung voiage en Espagne," etc.

³ Laverdière, *op. cit.* tome i; *Brief Discours des Choses plus remarquables . . . reconneues aux Indes Occidentales, etc.* An English translation was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1859.

⁴ *Ibid.* v 45 et seq.

⁵ *Des Sauvages, ou Voyage de Samuel Champlain de Brouage fait en la France Nouvelle, l'an mil six cens trois*, Paris, n. d., reprinted in vol. ii of Laverdière's edition of his works. One of the three copies of the original known to be in existence is in the Bibliothèque Nationale. An English translation was published by Purchas (The Fourth part pp. 1605-1619) in 1625.

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1604 to 1607 were spent by Champlain in the two settlements of Ste. Croix and Port Royal, whence he made minute explorations of the surrounding coasts. Being a fair draftsman he drew up rough plans both of the coast line and of the harbours visited. He even produced a sketch of the buildings which composed the two settlements. When the monopoly of Monts' Company was revoked, he returned to France, and it was doubtless due to his suggestion that in the following year the centre of French trade and colonization was transferred to the valley of the St. Lawrence. His voyage in the year 1603 had not only shown him that the fur-trade was good there and possibly better than elsewhere, but he also entertained hopes of finding in this region the long-sought passage to the East.

From the summer of the year 1608 until his death at Quebec on Christmas day, 1635, Champlain devoted all his energies to the development of the colony on the St. Lawrence and to the search for a passage to the East. He spared himself no pains in order to examine the country, to search for mines, to bring home samples of wood, and to plant all sorts of seeds as a test for the soil. He also made a long voyage up the Ottawa in the hope of finding Hudson's Bay and he spent the winter of 1615-16 among the Hurons in order to gain information about a reported water-course to the Southern Sea. In the autumn of 1609, after his first expedition against the Iroquois, he returned to France, but only to set sail anew in the spring of the following year. This plan he pursued also the year after. During the summer of 1612 he remained in France, doubtless occupied in the formation of the new Company for trade in the St. Lawrence. In the summer of 1613 however he again returned to Quebec and it was in the autumn of that year, not long after his return to France, that he published his second work.¹ In the first part he gives an account

¹ *Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain Xaintongeois, Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la marine, ou Journal tres-fidele des observations faites es decouvertes de la nouvelle France: tant en la description des terres, costes, rivieres, ports, havres, leurs hauteurs, et plusieurs declinaisons de la guide-aymant; qu'en la creance des peuples, leurs superstitions, façon de vivre et de guerroyer: enrichi de quantité de figures. Ensemble deux cartes geographiques . . . à laquelle est adionst le voyage du destroict qu'ont trouvé les Anglois au dessus de Labrador, depuis le 53e degré*

of events at Port Royal and Ste. Croix during the years 1604 to 1607 as well as of his voyages of discovery along the coast of the Atlantic. Part II is a history of the foundation of Quebec, and of his yearly voyages to the rapids of Lachine as well as that to Lake Champlain during the summer of 1609 when he and his Indian allies defeated the Iroquois. The "Voyage towards the strait found by the English" was added after the index of the former parts had been completed and tells the story of his expedition up the Ottawa, when lured thither by the false tale of Nicholas de Vignau.

Although Champlain did not sail to the St. Lawrence in the year 1614, he returned thither in the spring of 1615 and spent the winter of that year and the following spring among the Hurons at their home near the Georgian Bay. During this visit, he was able not only to obtain a practical acquaintance with their country, habits and mode of life but also to gather considerable information about the regions lying farther to the west. The results of these explorations and of his voyage to the St. Lawrence in the summer of 1618, for during the previous year he seems to have remained at home,¹ are embodied in a third volume which he was able to finish in the spring of 1619.² In this as in his two previous works he does little more than describe events of which he himself was an eye-witness and in which indeed he usually took a very prominent part. In order to reproduce so faithfully incidents which had taken place years

de latitude, jusques au 63e en l'an 1612 cerchans un chemin par le Nord pour aller à la Chine, Paris 1613, 4to, printed in Laverdière, op. cit., Tome iii.

¹ I very much doubt whether he visited the St. Lawrence in that summer notwithstanding his assertion to the contrary some fifteen years later. Although he tells us (Laverdière, *op. cit.* v 313) that he went out in that year when nothing remarkable occurred, I am inclined to think we should have had a mention of it in 1619, had it been the case.

² *Voyages et Descouvertes faites en la Nouvelle France, depuis l'année 1615 jusques à la fin de l'année 1618 par le Sieur de Champlain, Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la Mer du Ponant. On y décrit les mœurs, coutumes, habits, façons de guerroyer, chasses, danses, festins, et enterremens de divers peuples Sauvages, et de plusieurs choses remarquables qui luy sont arrivées audit pais, avec une description de la beauté, fertilité et température d'iceluy.* Paris, 1619, printed in Laverdière, *op. cit.*, Tome iv.

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before, he must have kept a diary, and in several places in his works the existence of some such source is betrayed. Thus at the end of the last chapter of the first part of the edition of 1613 there is an account of what occurred almost day by day during the month of September 1607.¹ This could not have been given unless he had kept a diary of what took place and in fact he calls the edition of 1613 "a very faithful journal of observations made" etc.² Similar examples might be cited from the volume published in 1619,³ of which a second edition appeared in 1627. This new edition differed in no way from the original however as he himself was absent in New France at the time.

In the spring of 1618 Champlain, whose voyage to the Huron country in the winter of 1615-1616 had given him some idea of the immensity of these new regions, presented to the Chamber of Commerce at Paris a report on the possibility of increasing the trading relations between Old and New France.⁴ After examining this report and summoning Champlain and others who had been to New France before them, the Chamber of Commerce recommended that funds be advanced for sending out three hundred families a year as long as Champlain wished. The King should be urged to despatch three hundred soldiers, while the Company, which then enjoyed the monopoly of the fur-trade, should be forced to fulfil the stipulation as to colonists.⁵ Pleased with this encouragement Champlain presented to the King and his Council a list of the advantages which would accrue to the kingdom if this advice were followed,⁶ but nothing seems to have resulted from all these efforts. In the year 1619 Champlain was prevented from returning to Quebec by the intrigues of one Boyer, but an order from the King soon put matters right and from the spring of 1620 till the autumn of 1624 he remained permanently at Quebec with his wife. After enjoying a year's

¹ *Ibid.*, iii 132 et seq. :- "Le 3 Septembre partismes de Campseau ; le 4 estions le travers de l'isle de Sable, le 6 arrivames sur le grand banc, le 26, le 28" etc.

² "Journal tres-fidele des observations faites es decouvertes" etc. Title.

³ Laverdiere, *op. cit.*, iv 107.

⁴ *Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, tome vi, Paris, 1879, pp. 387-390.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 390-394.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 378-387.

rest in France he returned to Quebec in the spring of 1626 and did not leave it until it was captured by the English in the summer of 1629. Having on his arrival in England urged Châteauneuf the French ambassador to press for the restoration of the colony, he made his way back to France where he remained until the year 1633.

During these years however his pen was not idle. In 1630 he presented to King Louis a petition for the continuance of his pension which at the time of the capture of New France seems to have been discontinued.¹ He prepared at the same time a new edition of his voyages. In this work, which appeared in the year 1632, he not only gave a full and detailed account of the events in which he had taken part since the year 1620 but he also added a short synopsis of the early voyages to North America as well as a *résumé* of all his earlier works.² It should seem indeed as if the continued demand for his books had induced him, instead of continuing to issue new editions, to combine the kernel of them with an account of the occurrences of the last ten years. Though the events of these years received considerable attention, we have also a great amount of historical matter relating to the earlier years of the colony. It is to this volume indeed that one must turn for most of the facts known about Chauvin and La Roche, as well as for the history of the country between 1620 and 1629. The numerous official documents embodied in this volume are cited elsewhere,³ but he also printed the voyage of Captain Daniel after the edition of 1630,⁴ an undated letter from one Marsolet,⁵ and finally a letter from

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 9097, fols. I et seq. This was reprinted by M. Gabriel Marcel in 1886 under the title of *Mémoire en requête de Champlain pour la continuation du Paiement de sa Pension*, Paris, MDCCLXXXVI.

² *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale, dicté Canada, faits par le Sr de Champlain Xaintongois, Capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine du Ponant, et toutes les Découvertes qu'il a faites en ce pays depuis l'an 1605 jusques en l'an 1629*. A Paris, 1632, 4°.

³ Sources, Part I: Official.

⁴ *La Prise d'un Seigneur Ecossois et de ses gens qui pilloient les Navires pescheurs de France par le Sieur Malapart Parisien*. A Rouen, MDCXXX. Reprinted at Rouen in 1881 by the Société des Bibliophiles Normands.

⁵ Laverdière *op. cit.* vi 269-270.

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Father Lallemand to the Superior of the Jesuits College at Paris.¹ All these documents are of very great value, and since Champlain rarely related an incident at which he was not personally present or of which at least he received the news from an eye-witness, the remainder of this work, giving the history of New France from 1620 to 1629, is also of very great importance. In fact Champlain's writings are a source of the first value and however much one may regret the years he passes over in silence, yet this very loss enhances the value of the remainder by proving that it contains nothing but what was actually seen or experienced by himself.

As to the theory which has been advanced that the Jesuits had a hand in the production of this edition,² I cannot find any grounds for accepting it. The few mistakes cited by the Abbé Laverdière³ are apt to occur in any large work of the kind and are doubtless chiefly printer's errors. That the portion of the volume published in 1619 which spoke of the arrival of the Recollects is curtailed was only natural, and this for two reasons. In the first place Champlain was giving a *résumé* of his earlier works and wished to leave out what he judged unimportant. He did not mean however to detract from the merits of the work done by the Recollects and in the dedication to Richelieu he expressly mentions the missionary work carried on "by divers Religious orders" and the progress they have made in converting the savages.⁴ The second reason for the summary remarks about the Recollects is that he no longer bore towards them the same friendly feelings as formerly. When indeed Father Georges was sent home in 1621 to petition the King on behalf of the colony, he seems to have so far exceeded his powers as to make unjust complaints against Caën and to have sought to substantiate these by forging letters from the inhabitants. This proceeding angered

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 304-311

² *Ibid.* tome v p. vi: "Non-seulement quelqu'un a revu, ou même retouché le récit de Champlain, mais on peut affirmer que ce travail a été fait soit par un jésuite, soit par un ami des religieux de cet ordre."

³ *Ibid.* pp. v-vi.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 4: "La mission . . . faite de divers Ordres de Religieux, leur progres en la conversion de plusieurs Sauvages," etc.

Champlain extremely and he wrote a severe letter to Father Georges on the subject.¹ It is by no means surprising therefore that his feelings towards the Recollects were no longer the same and that in this work published in 1632 he gave preference to the Indian translations by members of the Company of Jesus.²

Although New France was restored in the summer of 1632, Champlain did not return to Quebec until the following year when the Company of New France entered into possession. He seems to have felt that he might never again see the motherland and before sailing made his last will in which he left all his property to his wife.³ He died at Quebec on Christmas day 1635, thus bringing to a peaceful end a life of which, as he himself said, the gain was small but the glory great. In the previous August he had despatched a letter to Richelieu in which he asked for a hundred soldiers to check the ravages of the Iroquois.⁴ It was the failure of his successors to adopt this policy which brought such ruin and disaster to the colony in later years. This was the last writing of the great pioneer of New France. Not only with his pen—and his written productions are numerous—but also with his hands and mind had Champlain laboured since the year 1603, first of all to find out the geography and riches of

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 16738, fol. 143 et seq. "Quatre autres Lettres missives, signées Champlain, et autres écrites au Roy, au feu sieur de Montmorency, au feu sieur Chancelier de Sillery, et au sieur de Villemouon sur l'avis qu'ils avoient que ledit Père Georges avoit présenté au Roy l'année précédente certaines Lettres qu'il disoit venir de leur part, par lesquelles ils se plaignoient dudit de Caën et déclarent que telles Lettres sont supposées, dequoy ils croyoient estre obligés pour la décharge de leur conscience en advertir sa Majesté et de ce qu'ils avoient reçu dudit de Caën toutes sortes de courtoisies, lesdites Lettres datées du 25 août 1622. Autre Lettre missive écrite de Quebec le dernier août audit an 1622 par ledit sieur de Champlain audit Père Georges, par laquelle il l'accuse d'avoir fabriqué lesdites Lettres et se plaint de son procédé."

² Laverdière, *op. cit.* tome vi Appendix: "Doctrine Chrestienne, du R. P. Lesdeme de la Compagnie de Jesus. Traduite en Langage Canadois . . . par le R. P. Brebœuf de la mesme Compagnie" and also "L'Oraison Dominicale, traduite en langage des Montagnars de Canada par le R. P. Massé de la Compagnie de Jesus."

³ *Revue des Questions Héraldiques Archéologiques et Historiques*, no. 14, Paris, 25 août 1899, pp. 67-68.

⁴ Laverdière, *op. cit.* tome vi, pièces justificatives no. xxxii; *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, i 112-113.

this region, and then to set them before his countrymen. That his success was not greater was due to the absence of any desire on the part of the French to emigrate rather than to lack of energy on his side.

As sources for the early history of Canada his writings are of inestimable value. Naturally of a calm and judicious frame of mind he was able to take a clear and unpartisan view of most events. His measured and careful language shows that the statements made are not given haphazard. But not only is he the faithful historian of the early life of New France, he is also one of the first Europeans who, knowing the language of the Indians, had studied their life with attention during many years. On this account his writings, especially the volume published in 1619, must always be considered of very great value.

Champlain's wife, Helen Boullé, (their marriage contract has been preserved¹) survived him many years and finally entered the order of the Ursulines.² Their married life seems to have been an extremely happy one but an agreement for the hire of a servant in 1617 is the only document which throws any light upon it.³ Indeed, outside of the facts given in his works, we know very little of the doings of Champlain and even less of those of his wife.

Gabriel Sagard.

Our information about the life of the Recollect Father Sagard is extremely scanty.⁴ Entering the order of St. Francis at an early age he seems to have spent some time in one of their houses at Metz⁵ and subsequently to have visited Luxembourg⁶ before

¹ Laverdière, *op. cit.* tome vi, pièces justificatives no. xxxi.

² E. Charvay, *Documents Inédits sur Samuel de Champlain*, pp. 7-8. Paris 1875.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 4-5.

⁴ In the introduction to Tross' reprint of Sagard's *Histoire du Canada*, (Paris 1866) tome 1, p. liii, M. Chevalier remarks: "J'ai cherché, scruté, fouillé, remué, ressassé livres, manuscrits, papiers, et de lui je ne sais que son œuvre."

⁵ *Histoire du Canada* (1636) p. 968:—"L'année suivante, estant de communauté en nostre Convent de Mets" etc.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 969:—"Je fus un iour bien estonné qu'entrant en une maison de condition au Duché de Luxembourg" etc.

taking up his residence near Paris about the year 1614.¹ Being a friend of Father Chapoin, who in the following year sent off the first Recollets to Canada, his attention was drawn to this new missionary field and a longing soon seized him to go there. In the spring of 1624 this wish was gratified, and on his arrival at Quebec in the summer he was at once sent on to the Huron mission. He only spent one winter there however for on returning to Quebec in the following spring he received word to repair at once to France and was never again allowed to continue his labours in the New World.

On what work he was engaged on his return we do not know; but it was not until the summer of 1632 that he published an account of his voyage to the Huron mission.² On leaving Dieppe he had kept a diary of his journey but on the way from Quebec to the Huron country this was unfortunately lost.³ It is probable however that he continued it and that this record of his daily life formed the principal source from which he drew the materials for his work. After a few preliminary remarks, an account is given in chapter ii of the voyage to New France which differs only slightly from that given by Lescarbot in his History. Chapter iii describes Quebec, while in chapters iv and v we have an interesting account of the difficulties and dangers of the long and trying journey up the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers and across the Nipissing chain of lakes to the homes of the Hurons on the Georgian Bay and Lake Huron. In the remaining seventeen chapters of Part i and in the first four of Part ii he gives a description of the Huron manners and customs as he had observed them during his stay in the country. Chapter v of Part ii narrates his return to Quebec and the voyage back to France. At the end

¹ *Ibid.* p. 614:—"Il y a quelques années que demeurant de communauté en nostre Convent de S. Germain en Laye." Cf. also p. 11:—"J'eusse bien désiré deslors d'estre de la partie" etc.

² *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons situé en l'Amérique vers la Mer douce, es derniers confins de la Nouvelle-France dite Canada*, etc. Paris 1632. It was reprinted by Tross at Paris, 1865.

³ "Ce fut en ce village où par mesgard ie perdis . . . tous les memoires que j'avois faits des pays, chemins, rencontres et choses remarquables que nous avions veuës depuis Dieppe en Normandie jusques-là." *Grand Voyage*, p. 74.

of the volume he printed a dictionary of the Huron language¹ as far as he had been able to learn it during his stay of six months. If however, as he tells us himself, the Huron language was rapidly altering, his labours must have soon become useless for practical purposes.²

It was not until four years later, in 1636, that he published an enlarged edition of this *Grand Voyage* under the title of *Histoire du Canada*.³ On the restoration of Canada to France in 1632 the Recollects had been forbidden to return, while the Jesuits, whom they themselves had invited to share their labours, were given the monopoly of this missionary field. In order however that the work of his Company from 1615 to 1629 might become more widely known Sagard re-published his *Voyage* with some account of the first missionaries sent out and of their subsequent invitation to the Jesuits to aid them in their labours. In doing this, he embodied some fresh documents *in extenso* and in other cases, when only portions of them are given, he mentions whence they are taken. The most important documents thus preserved for us are, in Book I, the Papal Nuncio's commission to the Company,⁴ the King's commission,⁵ a letter from Father Jamet dated Quebec 1620,⁶ the reply of the Sieur des Boves,⁷ a petition of the colony and one from the Recollects to the King in 1621.⁸ Books II and III are a repetition of the two parts of his *Grand Voyage* with a few additions from unindicated sources of which we shall speak presently. In Book IV he has again preserved for us some important documents such as the two letters of the Jesuit Lallemant dated at Quebec in 1625,⁹ and a copy of a letter from Father Joseph describing his stay among

¹ *Dictionnaire de la Langue Huronne necessaire à ceux qui n'ont l'intelligence d'icelle, et out à traiter avec les sauvages du Pays.* Paris 1632.

² "Nos Hurons, et generally toutes les autres Nations ont la mesme instabilité de langage, et changent tellement leurs mots, qu'à succession de temps l'ancien Huron est presque tout autre que celui du present, et change encore" etc. *Dictionnaire*, p. 9.

³ *Histoire du Canada et Voyages que les Freres Mineurs Recollects y ont faitz pour la Conversion des Infidelles. Divisez en quatre Livres.* Paris, 1636. Another volume was promised. (Cf. pp. xix-xx).

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 12-17.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 17-21.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 57-65.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 66-71.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 73-90.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 868-870.

the Neutral Nation.¹ There is also a great deal in Books I and IV which was doubtless given to him by eyewitnesses, as for instance the account of Father Irénée's voyage in chapters viii and ix of the former.² The substance of chapters ix and x of Book IV was also contributed by those who had taken part in the events related.³

Although it would at first appear that a great deal had been added to the *Grand Voyage* which now forms Books II and III, this turns out on examination not to be the case. Sometimes it is the old material broken up into shorter chapters, as for instance chapter ii of the *Grand Voyage* which forms the first four chapters of Book II in the History, or chapter iv of the same which becomes chapters vi and vii of Book II in the History. This seems to have been done to make the reading easier.⁴ Besides this there is however some really fresh material both authenticated and unauthenticated. Of the former, there is the letter sent by his Superior to summon him home,⁵ and an account of the reception of two Iroquois prisoners given to him by Brother Gervais.⁶ The story of the Indian women in chapters xliii and xliiv of Book II must have been gleaned from some one who had been there, as the events took place after his return.⁷ In the last chapter of Book III in describing the return voyage to France he has added an account of the usual style of conversation on board, which is not without a certain interest. With the exception of the account of the Indian languages, given in chapter xxi of Book II, the rest of the new material is rather unimportant. It consists either of anecdotes from the Old Testament and the classics (e. g. Book II, chaps. xiv and xxvii) or of a more minute account of certain events (Book II, chap. xi) or of a de-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 879-892.

² *Ibid.*, p. 111 :—" Le Père Irénée ayant appris que ie revenois des Hurons, vint au devant de moy dans un canot " etc.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 961 :—" Comme elles n'ont dit mainte fois " etc.

⁴ Cf. pp. 502-503.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 835.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 470 :—" Frère Gervais m'a appris " etc. Cf. also p. 27 :—" De la façon qu'il fut traité en son voyage . . . ie n'en scay pas les particularitez pour ne m'y estre pas trouvé mais il m'a assuré " etc.

⁷ " Une histoire arrivée en Canada environ l'an 1626 ou 27 " etc. *Ibid.*, p. 681.

scription of the missionary labours of the Recollets in other parts of the world (Book II, chaps. xxxviii and xxxix).

In describing events prior to and later than his arrival in New France, Sagard used the works of Lesarbot¹ and Champlain as well as those of the Jesuit fathers whom he blames for thus publishing their virtues. There are other sections of his work for which his sources are not and cannot well be known, as for instance his account of events in the summer of 1617, for which he is our unique source. Besides thus often throwing light into hidden corners he occasionally adds anecdotes and tales not given by others, and these qualities in addition to the importance of his work in preserving for us the valuable documents mentioned above will always make him read by those who seek a detailed knowledge of early Canadian history. His point of view is of course exceedingly ecclesiastical and he has no eye for the trade or the system of government of the colony. Thus it was only with great reluctance and because he had been continually pestered to do so, that he finally stated, and in an extremely summary manner, the chief commodities sent from the colony.² He delights much more in expatiating on the miraculous effects of the sign of the cross³ or holy water⁴ or in relating in great detail how Satan strapped a monk to a cross before which he had been praying; it was only when help arrived through the window, for the devil had locked the door, that the man's life was saved.⁵ However with all his faults Sagard adds to our knowledge of the times and even these very points in which he betrays his character enable us to understand better the minds of the early missionaries of New France.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 488 and 665.

² " Au retour de mon voyage, lors que ie m'efforçois de faire entendre la necessité que nos pauvres Sauvages avoient d'un secours puissant, qui favorizast leur conversion, plusieurs mal-devots me demandoient s'il y avoit [non cent mille ames mais] cent mille escus à gagner. Voicy donc, ô mal-devots les thresors et richesses ausquelles seules vous aspirez avec tant d'inquietudes. Elles consistent principalement en quantité de Pelleteries, de diverses especes d'Animaux terrestres et amphibies. Il y a encore des mines de Cuivre desquelles on pourroit tirer du profit s'il y avoit du monde," etc. *Grand Voyage*, pp. 334-335. Cf. also *Histoire*, pp. 786-789.

³ *Histoire*, pp. 550 et seq.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 559.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 525 et seq.

Le Jeune's Relation.

Paul Le Jeune was born at Chalons-sur-Marne in July 1591, and though his parents were Huguenots he himself became at the age of twenty-one a member of the Society of Jesus. After studying at La Flèche and Clermont he was appointed lecturer at Rennes and Bourges and later professor of rhetoric at Nevers and Caen where he spent the years 1629 and 1630. During the two following years he held the post of Superior at Dieppe and it was here that the order reached him in the spring of 1632 to repair to Havre and embark for New France as head of the Jesuit mission there. By the terms of the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye the Scottish and English Company were to retire in that summer and Caen was to take possession until the following year. With Le Jeune also sailed Father de Noüe and Brother Gilbert. On the eighteenth of June the vessel cast anchor at Tadoussac. After spending two weeks here they moved on up the river to Quebec. This Relation, dated at Quebec the 28th of August, gives an account of the voyage out and of the results of their missionary labours during the two months and ten days they had been in the country.¹

In the first six pages he describes the sea voyage, the short stay at Gaspé and their safe arrival at Tadoussac. During their stay here he was able to get his first sight of the savages and even to visit them in their wigwams. To him they seemed like the masks in carnival time or western types of John the Baptist. Even the cruelties inflicted on three Iroquois prisoners did not diminish his hope that one day they might be civilized, for he assures us that Germany, Spain and England were inhabited by just such creatures before the Gospel reached those countries. The proper method to evangelize them was in his opinion to build seminaries; for once the children were taught, they would instruct their parents. On their arrival at Quebec the fort was

¹ *Brieve Relation du Voyage de la Nouvelle France Fait au mois d'Avril dernier par le P. Paul le Jeune de la Compagnie de Jesus. Envoyé au R. P. Barthelemy Jacquinot Provincial de la mesme Compagnie en la Province de France, Paris, 1632, printed in Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations*, v pp. 8-75. A garbled copy was published in the *Mercurie François*, xviii 56 et seq., and in the *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, i 97-108.*

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given over to Caën and the English at once retired, leaving however the college of the Jesuits in ruins. The warm welcome of the Hébert family helped to cheer them and in that house was held their first Mass. The remainder of the Relation consists of a description of the evils wrought by the English in selling fire-water to the savages, of the faith of these latter in the Jesuit missionaries, of the first lessons given to the young savages, and of the baptism of a boy four years old belonging to the Fire Nation. Although he had never been beyond Quebec, Le Jeune signs his Relation "from the midst of a forest more than 800 leagues in extent," which would lead one to suppose that the whole of the surrounding country was covered for that distance with a thick forest. Champlain however has told us that there were plenty of meadows and openings all along the river. Pietistic as this Relation undoubtedly is, even to an exaggerated degree, yet, as our only account of the re-occupation of the country by the French, it is of considerable importance. The fact that it was written at the end of August, and published in the following November speaks well for the energy of those to whom it was sent.

Père Le Tac.

The *Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle France* throws no fresh light upon the early history of Canada. The author intended to divide the work into three parts, the first extending from 1504 to 1632, the second from 1632 to 1670, and the third from 1670 to 1680.¹ Only the first part and a few pages of the second part were finished.² The manuscript, which is not signed, is now preserved in the Archives at Versailles,³ where it was dis-

¹ "Je me suis proposé de reduire cette histoire en trois parties. La premiere traite de ce qui s'est passé depuis que les François ont commencé de hanter le Canada, jusques à ce que les Anglois les en ayent chassé qui fut l'an 1629, et meme je la pousse juques en 1632, que les François y sont rentrés. La seconde depuis 1632 juques en 1670, que les PP. Recollects y sont revenus, et la troisieme depuis 1670 juques à cette presente année." Lettre de l'auteur à un de ses Amys, p. 5.

² "Je n'ay pû achever que la première partie" etc. *Ibid.*

³ *Catalogue des Manuscrits conservés dans les Dépôts d'Archives Départementales, Communales et Hospitalières*, p. 282. Paris 1886.

covered by M. Eugène Réveillaud who published it in 1888.¹ From a comparison of the original with some entries in the parish registers at Three Rivers, M. Réveillaud has concluded that the author of the work is a certain Père Le Tac who went out to Canada in 1676. After spending a year at Charlesbourg near Quebec he was transferred to Three Rivers where he remained until 1683. In the following year he was appointed *maître des novices* in the Recollet convent at Quebec. In 1689 he was sent to found a mission at Plaisance in Newfoundland but not being able to get along peacefully with the governor he returned to France in September of that year. He seems to have gone out to New France again in 1690 or 1691 and to have died there in July 1699.²

A work written in the year 1689³ could not of course contain much fresh information for the period from 1504 to 1632. Indeed all the author sought to do, as he himself tells us, was to give a short and concise account of a period which had been hitherto treated too diffusely.⁴ In other words he has simply made a chronological synopsis for the period of Lescarbot, Sagard and Champlain.⁵ Though he mentions Du Creux, whom he calls Le Creux, it is only to refute him.⁶ Of the sixteen

¹ *Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle France ou Canada depuis sa découverte (mil cinq cents quatre) jusques en l'an mil six cents trente deux par le Père Sixte Le Tac, Recollet. Publiée pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit original de 1689 et accompagnée de Notes et d'un Appendice tout composé de documents originaux et inédits par Eug. Réveillaud.* Paris, 1888, 8°.

² These facts are taken from the *Notice Biographique* published by M. Réveillaud who in turn took them from the *Répertoire du Clergé Canadien* of the Abbé Tanguay.

³ *Histoire Chronologique*, p. 32; "Cette année 1689." Cf. also pp. 34 and 38.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5: "Je me suis contenté de faire un abrégé et de passer quantité de choses que je n'ay pas crû devoir estre marquées."

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3: "Lescarbot avocat, Fr. Gabriel Sagard, Recollet, le Sr Samuel de Champlain, le P. Lecreux jesuite. J'ai trouvé ces auteurs si obscurs . . . Ils sont remplis d'histoires de voyages, de rivières, de lacs, de caps, d'anses. J'ay négligé toutes ces choses qui ne font qu'embrouiller et n'en fais mention de de quelques uns dont je ne puis me dispenser de parler" etc.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 129 "J'ay remarqué que les PP. Jesuites n'ont pas rendu aux PP. Recollets la justice qui leur est due, lorsqu'ils ont fait imprimer une histoire de Canada en latin sous le nom du P. le Creux, du college de Bourges. Cet auteur, dans sa preface, pour donner plus de gloire aux missionnaires et Jesuites du Can-

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chapters into which the first part is divided, chapters i and ii are merely introductory. They contain however, besides a brief mention of the voyages of Columbus and the Cabots, an interesting description of New France and New England in the year 1689. The next three chapters resume the voyages of Verrazano, Cartier, Roberval, Ribaut, Laudonnière, Gourgues, La Roche and Chauvin. Chapters vi to xvi then give a brief account of the history of New France from 1604 to 1632.

Though adding nothing to our knowledge of the period treated, the work of Father Le Tac is a defence of the Recollects during the years they passed in the colony. He recognizes this himself and pleads in excuse that his aim is only to bring to public notice the injustices committed by a few Jesuits who mixed religion with politics.¹ This and the other religious communities in the colony were banded against the Recollects, who in his opinion bore all this abuse very silently. "I have tried to imitate," he says, "this same moderation in giving expression to that which, as I have seen, causes them so much suffering. But since the truth engenders hate, I do not deem it expedient to make myself known."² Because, in other words, "a Bishop, a Governor and an Intendant acted together and laboured unceasingly to overthrow and pull down the poor Recollects" about the year 1689,³ a member of that oppressed Order thought it his duty

ada, supprime d'abord la connoissance que le public devoit avoir des travaux que les PP. Recollects ont soufferts à jeter les fondemens de la Religion dans les habitations françoises et sauvages."

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 5-6 "Au reste pour ce qu'en parlant des PP. Recollects et des PP. Jesuites vous pourriez juger que je le fais trop avantageusement des premiers et des autres avec trop de bile et peut-être trop d'emportement, je crois qu'il est necessaire que je vous avertisse que je ne pretends point blesser ny ma conscience ny un Ordre de l'Eglise que je reconnois pour ma mere; mon but n'est que de faire connoitre les injustices que quelques politiques Jesuites font par la voye de la puissance seculiere qu'ils tournent de la maniere la plus adroite, mais la plus injuste du monde."

² *Ibid.* p. 8: "J'ay tasché d'imiter cette meme moderation pour exprimer une partie de ce que j'ay reconnu en ceux qui les font tant gemir Mais parce que la vérité engendre la haine, je ne crois pas qu'il soit expedient que je me fasse connoitre au Public."

³ *Ibid.* p. 6: "Un Eveque, un Gouverneur, un Intendant agissent unanimement, et travaillent sans cesse à renverser et terrasser ces pauvres Religieux. C'est ce qu'ils ont fait depuis 20 ans" etc.

to re-write the history of Canada in the light of this event. His statements of fact, which are not verified by Lescarbot, Sagard or Champlain must therefore be taken *cum grano salis*. Thus when he tells us that the idea of sending the Jesuits to the St. Lawrence originated with that Order who induced the Viceroy to propose the same to the Recollects,¹ he is deliberately falsifying history; for Sagard distinctly tells us that the idea originated with the Recollects themselves who were even blamed by their friends for proposing it.² In short, except for the interesting description of New France in the year 1689, the work is of little or no value.

Le Clercq's History.

Although he did not publish his *Premier Etablissement de la Foy* until the year 1691,³ the Recollect Father Christian Le Clercq has preserved for us several important documents concerning the early history of the colony, which are not given by any of the earlier writers. He seems indeed to have had access to the Archives of the Recollects.⁴ Thus he has preserved for us a letter from Father d'Olbeau dated at Quebec in July 1615,⁵ Le Caron's account of his voyage to the Hurons in 1616,⁶ and that

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123:—"Les porsuistes des PP. Recollects [de quelque secours pour etablir des seminaires] reveillerent la pensée qu'avoient eu les PP. Jesuites de venir faire mission dans le grand fleuve Saint-Laurent. Le P. Noyrot de la Compagnie de Jesus confesseur de Mgr. de Ventadour detourna son penitent de rien faire pour les PP. Recollects et le porta à y envoyer plutot des Religieux de la Compagnie. Mgr. le Viceroy ains inspiré conseilla aux PP. Recollects . . . de mener avec eux des PP. Jesuites."

² Sagard, *Histoire du Canada* (1896), iii 783:—"Entre tous les Religieux nous proposames les RR. PP. Jesuites, lesquels comme personnes puissantes pouvoient beaucoup à ces peuples indigens." Cf. also p. 784.

³ *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France, contenant la Publication de l'Evangile, l'Histoire des Colonies Françoises, et les fameuses découvertes d'après le Fleuve de Saint Laurent la Louisiane et le Fleuve Colbert jusqu'au Golphe Mexique, achevées sous la conduite de feu Monsieur de la Salle*, 2 vols. 12°, Paris 1691. An English translation was published at New York by Mr. J. G. Shea in 1881 in two volumes.

⁴ Shea's Translation p. 109: "the following articles set out more at length in our memoirs still extant." Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 106, 114, 143, 155, 183, 184, 198 and 303.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-90.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

to the Montagnais two years later,¹ an account of a missionary conference held in Quebec in 1620,² the fragments of a letter from Father Poullain,³ and those of a memoir written by Le Caron in 1624.⁴ In addition to these he sometimes gives us accounts of events relating to this early period of Canadian history which he declares he had received from eye-witnesses.⁵

Although we must be grateful to Le Clercq for having preserved these documents, he sometimes takes liberties with the old material which greatly weaken the value of his statements. Thus he gave to the Letters patent of Louis XIII, which he copied from Sagard, the date 20th March, 1615, although neither the copy in Sagard⁶ nor the one in the Archives of the Recollets⁷ really bore this date. He also appears to have let his imagination run away with him in his account of the discussion in the King's Council as to the advisability of demanding the restoration of Canada.⁸ No evidence to support these statements has so far come to light. In conclusion one can only regret that he thought it would be tiresome to the reader should he insert all the Acts drawn up in 1621.⁹

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 134-137.

² *Ibid.* pp. 109-112.

³ *Ibid.* p. 187.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 214-224.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 180:—"I have often heard this adventure related by Madame Couillard who was then in the fort" etc.

⁶ Sagard, *Histoire du Canada* (1636) p. 21.

⁷ Le Tac, *Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle France*, edition of Réveillaud, appendix pp. 173-176.

⁸ Shea's translation, pp. 310-318.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 174.

THE SOURCES

PART III : ANONYMOUS

The Factum.

The value of an anonymous source depends to a great extent on the number of authentic documents which the author embodies in his work and on the comparison of his statements with those of known writers on the same subject. The number of authentic documents contained in the *Factum* published anonymously and doubtless at Paris in the year 1614 is considerable.¹ Some of these have already been mentioned elsewhere.² Of the remainder the following are the most important: a letter from the Marquise de Guercheville to Poutrincourt dated at Paris the 29th of September 1610,³ one from Father Cotton to the same dated the 6th of October,⁴ a letter from Saint-Just to his father dated the 13th of March 1612,⁵ another letter written on the following day,⁶ and finally a letter from Du Thet to Aubigny dated the 1st of March in the same year.⁷ Extracts from two undated letters of Saint-Just to his father have also been incorporated in the work.⁸ Although we have no positive evidence that these documents are genuine, yet as their authenticity was never called in question by the writers on the other side, probability points to their being faithful copies of the originals. They form indeed a valuable addition to our knowledge of a period otherwise not well known.

To the remainder of the *Factum* however nothing like the same value can be attributed. Written in a moment of great irritation and with an evident intention of exciting animosity

¹ *Factum du Procès Entre Messire Jean de Biencourt chevalier sieur de Poutrincourt, Baron de S. Just, appellant d'une part, et Pierre Biard, Eremond Massé et consorts, soy disans Prestres de la Société de Jésus, intimes.* n. p., MDCXIII. The copy preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale [4° Fm. 2965] was reprinted with an introduction by M. Gabriel Marcel at Paris in 1887.

² Sources, Part I: Official.

³ Marcel's reprint, pp. 7-8.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 8-9.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 48-50.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 50-54.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 61.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 25-29 and 55-57.

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against those attacked, for the most part it either distorts or interprets unfavourably the events recorded. Before the facts as given can be accepted, they must be corroborated from other sources which here are usually wanting unfortunately. Thus of Biard's personal habits we know nothing, so that whether at a banquet on the voyage out he drank more than was good for him¹ must remain a matter of conjecture. In any case the fact is one of extremely slight importance. The whole strength of the case against the Jesuits lies in the fact that in becoming partners in the enterprise they lowered the dignity of their spiritual office; the act of excommunication against their fellow-shareholders only made the matter more ridiculous.

In conclusion a word as to the author of this document. That it was not Lescarbot seems almost certain, for he was doubtless still in Switzerland and the style is not that of the author of the *History of New France*. If one might hazard an hypothesis, I should be inclined to name Simon Imbert, one of Poutrincourt's agents and according to Biard an old Parisian publican.² It is singular indeed that this man was present at nearly all the incidents related. On the voyage out he was not only on board but gave up his room to Massé.³ He was therefore fully aware of all that had taken place at Dieppe and was also a spectator of Biard's interference at Port St. John and Port Royal.⁴ It seems doubtful whether he was present at Ste. Croix and the river St. John,⁵ unless the vessel had not yet returned to France, for he seems to have been on board on the return voyage to Port Royal in order to report so faithfully the conversation of Du Thet.⁶ He is thus able also to give full particulars as to the dispute about the cargo. Moreover certain incidents are related in the *Factum* of which Imbert alone could have had knowledge. Thus we are told what he said in confession to Father Massé.⁷

¹ *Ibid.* p. 14.

² Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, iii 242.

³ Marcel's reprint, p. 39.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 17 *et seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 22 *et seq.*

Ibid. pp. 34 *et seq.*

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 37.

Again an account is given of a private conversation between this Imbert and Saint-Just, in such minute detail and with remarks as to the changes observed in Saint-Just's countenance such that only Imbert himself could have written the passage.¹ It was doubtless on the way back to France with Captain L'Abbé that copies were obtained of the letters of the Jesuits sent by this vessel to their friends in France.² It is also noteworthy that while the *Factum* is silent as to what took place at Port Royal after the vessel's departure, we have a full account of events at Dieppe on her arrival until the moment when the vessel of the Jesuits set sail to found a colony at St. Sauveur.³ The account of the capture of this place by Argall was doubtless obtained from an eye-witness or by hearsay.⁴

La Plainte de la Nouvelle France.

Although this pamphlet⁵ is not dated it was evidently written by Father Georges on his arrival in France in the autumn of 1621 in order to help his campaign against the Huguenot Caën.⁶ It is in fact a long lamentation of the country over the evil days on which she had fallen when heretics were openly allowed to mock at her altars and to threaten her priests "with irons and chains." ⁷ This insolent heretic indeed had both abused the priests and also used violence against Champlain the Father of the colony. Fault was also found with the small number of colonists which this Company had stipulated to take out each year.⁸ From evidence

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 38-39.

² *Ibid.* pp. 58-63.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 14 et seq.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 70 et seq.

⁵ *Plainte de la Nouvelle France dictée Canada, à la France sa Germaine. Pour servir de Factum en une cause pendante au Conseil*, n.p., n.d. The lawsuit was the one between Caën's Company and that formed by Champlain in 1614.

⁶ *Plainte* etc., p. 9: "Si tost que ses desseins me furent congneus je deputé vers toy un des prestres que tu m'as donné pour représenter l'interest que nous deux avons de nous opposer à ces injustices." cf. Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, pp. 77-78.

⁷ *Plainte* etc., p. 6.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 11.

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which has just been discovered we see that this complaint is greatly exaggerated. Not only did Georges make up this and other documents out of his own bigoted head but he seems to have forged certain letters to the same end, for which he was afterwards severely reprimanded by Champlain.¹

Au Roy sur la Nouvelle France.

This pamphlet is a complaint published in the year 1626 against the United Company and its monopoly of trade in the St. Lawrence.² Instead of being, like the former pamphlet against Caën, a mere Jeremiad without fact or figure, it contains several statements which it substantiates by quoting a letter and an agreement. The former was written by Monts to Louis Hébert in the spring of 1617 to urge him to carry out his intention of returning to New France and assuring him of a welcome from the Company;³ the latter is a copy of the agreement which on his arrival with his family at Honfleur Hébert was obliged to sign before they would allow him to embark.⁴ Besides giving these two important documents the pamphlet goes over the articles of Caën's Company and seeks to prove either their uselessness or the total absence of all effort to carry them out. The author lays particular stress on the wrongs inflicted upon the Héberts not only by the old Company but more especially by Caën himself, who had sought in every way to render their existence in the New World most unhappy. The pamphlet, which was brought out in order that the King and Council should no longer be ignorant of the actual state of affairs in the colony, closes by urging that the Viceroy should either reside there himself or send a representative who would render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, and unto God the things that were God's. Each vessel which traded along the Atlantic coast should also be forced to pay 100 crowns for this privilege, while if they entered the river the duty should be raised to three hundred.

¹ Cf. p. 278, note 1, *supra*.

² *Au Roy sur la Nouvelle France*, n. p. 1626.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 11-12.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 14-15.

The author remains unknown, though he was evidently some one who had occupied a high spiritual position at Court.¹

¹ "Sire. Ce ne m'est peu d'honneur d'estre cogneu de vostre Majesté et loüe grandement vostre bon naturel de vous resouvenir des petits services Je vous puis avoir rendu, qu'à Messieurs et Dames vos Frères et Sœurs . . . Et sçait combien de fois j'ay invoqué la benediction du Ciel sur vous, la main et l'estolle sacerdotale sur vostre chef," etc. *Ibid.* preface.

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