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LOUISBOURG AND THE INDIANS:  
A STUDY IN IMPERIAL RACE RELATIONS,  
1713-1760

OLIVE PATRICIA DICKASON

SURGEONS AND SURGERY IN ILE ROYALE

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## Abstract

France was the most successful of the three major powers in North America in establishing a working relationship with the Indians. This paper examines the evolution, nature and results of that relationship with reference to Louisbourg, a microcosm of the larger colony of New France, the Micmac, in whose territory Louisbourg is situated, and, to a lesser extent, the Malecite and Abenaki, allies of the Micmac. The basis of the French involvement in North America was the fur trade and missionary work, in both of which the Indians' co-operation was necessary. As their involvement grew, so did their need for the Indians' co-operation. Few in number and scattered over a vast area, the French recognized that to maintain their indispensable alliances they had to influence the Indians, not command them. As long as the French and English were rivals in North America, the Indians were in a position of strength and could achieve special status as allies, not subjects, of the French.

Submitted for publication 1971, by Olive Patricia Dickason,  
University of Alberta, Edmonton.



## Sommaire

Parmi les trois grandes puissances colonisatrices en Amérique du Nord, la France a su le mieux établir un *modus vivendi* avec les Indiens. Le présent travail se propose d'étudier la nature des relations entre Indiens et Français, leur évolution et leurs suites, en fonction, premièrement, de Louisbourg -- sorte de microcosme de la colonie de la Nouvelle-France -- et des Micmacs -- dans le territoire desquels Louisbourg est situé -- et, accessoirement, en fonction des Malecites et des Abénakis, alliés des Micmacs.

L'attitude des Français à l'égard des Indiens ne différa pas essentiellement de celle des Anglais ni des Espagnols. Pourtant, les Français, à l'encontre des Espagnols qui imposèrent leurs lois en vertu du droit du conquérant et à l'encontre des Anglais qui considérèrent les Indiens comme un obstacle à l'implantation de leur colonies agricoles, ont, au départ, relativement peu perturbé le mode de vie traditionnel indien. La présence française en Amérique du Nord s'expliquait surtout par le commerce des fourrures et par l'oeuvre missionnaire, deux activités qui comptaient sur la coopération des Indiens. Et, à mesure que ces activités prirent plus d'importance, l'aide des Indiens devint indispensable. Les Français, peu nombreux et dispersés sur une étendue très vaste, durent exploiter tous les moyens à leur disposition pour être en mesure de concurrencer les autres Européens en Amérique du Nord, et pour étendre et assurer leur territoire. A cette fin, leur réseau d'alliances avec les Indiens se révéla un avantage précieux. Par exemple, les Indiens à Louisbourg assurèrent en fait la défense la plus reculée de

la forteresse. Les Français se rendirent compte que pour garder ces précieux alliés, il leur fallait, plutôt que contraindre, user de leurs pouvoirs de persuasion et de leur influence. Ils déployèrent beaucoup d'efforts à cette fin; ceux qui traitèrent avec les Indiens furent à la fois diplomates, négociateurs et hommes d'armes. Les missionnaires se révélèrent les plus utiles dans ce domaine. Les Français pratiquèrent la diplomatie des "présents." Il conférèrent des "mandats rétribués" aux chefs indiens et ils distribuèrent des médailles. Afin de ne pas aliéner les Indiens, ils s'abstinrent également d'appliquer trop rigoureusement les lois françaises et d'imposer leurs coutumes.

Tant que les Français et les Anglais furent des rivaux en Amérique du Nord, les Indiens occupèrent une position de force et détinrent un statut spécial comme alliés des Français, et non pas comme leurs sujets.

## Acknowledgements

As a study of French-Indian relations in North America must of necessity include anthropology and ethnohistory as well as colonial history, I am indebted to many people in various fields for advice on particular points. A particular note of appreciation is due to my thesis advisor, Dr. Cornelius Jaenen, University of Ottawa, for his direction, encouragement and generous assistance during research and writing; to Terence Crowley, Guelph University; to John Lunn and John Dunn, formerly of the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park, as well as to their staffs; to Audrey Dawe and the library staff of the National Museum of Man; to the staff of the Public Archives of Canada, and to Merle Storey, who edited the copy. And finally, a word of thanks to Marie-Claire Payette for her skill and good humour in preparing this manuscript for presentation.



## Foreword

This report is the result of research carried out in a large part at the Fortress of Louisbourg during the fall of 1970. The author performed this research as part of the work for her M.A. degree at the University of Ottawa. This is the first of what we hope will be a continuing programme whereby graduate students visit the Fortress of Louisbourg to use its archival holdings in their research.

Robert J. Morgan, Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park, Louisbourg, Nova Scotia.

## Introduction

The confrontation between Old and New Worlds that in northern North America began in earnest during the opening years of the 17th century was in many ways a unique experience. Neither side knew much about the other. While it is true that Breton and Portuguese fishermen had been visiting coastal waters off Newfoundland and Cape Breton for more than a century before colonization began, contacts between the two worlds during that period had remained minimal. It was not until the French established their colony on Ile Sainte-Croix in 1604 that relationships became close and continuous.

If the French could muster very few facts about their new friends and allies, the Micmacs, they had plenty of theories. Debates about the nature of the New World's inhabitants had been going on in Europe ever since the days of Columbus. The French came armed with good intentions, convinced that the Indians were truly human in spite of puzzling cultural differences from Europeans. A great deal of scholarly effort had already been spent in trying to fit the Indians and their cultures into the classical European concept of the origin and development of man. The French, firmly entrenched in their concepts of an ordered society, could see very little that was orderly about Indian social organization. They could not even see that the Indians had their own religions. They were naively convinced that the Indians, from having been deprived of the light of Christianity, would quickly recognize the superiority of the French social structure, based as it was on the "right

religion" and the "right reason."<sup>1</sup> In very short order they would become Frenchmen, peacefully co-operating in the fur trade to the benefit of all. The French viewed the New World idealistically, envisioning a new Utopia-France inhabited by noble savages who would be converted under the guidance of the perfect apostolic church. As their European policies demanded that they keep their own population at home, they saw the Indians as almost ready-made Frenchmen who, by means of Christianization and the adoption of French customs, would form the corps of a New France overseas. Spiritual, economic and political motives were inextricably mixed in France's imperialistic drive.

To the surprise of the French, the apparently docile, mild-mannered Indians not only displayed a strong desire to retain their own cultural identities, but also indicated that they considered themselves superior to Europeans in spite of the latter's advanced technology. Indians who were taken to France to be impressed with the might of that country often displayed a critical judgment of what they saw. Clearly, turning them into Frenchmen was not going to be as simple as first thought.

This cultural resistance on the part of the Indians intensified the ambivalence inherent in the attitude of the French: on the one hand they were convinced of their own superiority, on the other they compared themselves unfavourably with the Indians. It is an ambivalence that perhaps runs through all cultures;<sup>2</sup> there are indications that it troubled the Indians as well. However, in the case of the French, it was counterbalanced by the universal tendency of dominant cultures to look down upon and dislike weaker creatures. The French never really liked the Indians, even while using them for their own ends.

Whatever the motives on either side, the French were faced with the indisputable fact when they first arrived in



North America that they were greatly outnumbered. Estimates for the Indian continental population at the time of contact range from six hundred thousand to 12.5 million and even more. Difficulties in arriving at an acceptable figure are compounded by the fact that diseases introduced by Europeans very early ravaged entire peoples. The comparatively deserted land taken over by the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620 had been well populated before the epidemic of 1616; New England under the Indians had been a major centre of population, as it is now under the whites. Disease and intensified warfare virtually destroyed the Huron tribes in the 1640s.

By the time Louisbourg was begun in 1720, the pressures of contact had been increasing for more than a century and a half. The Indians had become important to the survival of New France; the French, by their network of military and trading alliances, were able to extend their control over much larger expanses of territory than their numbers alone would have allowed. In 1760 the population of New France, which reached as far west as the Rockies in its sweep from the North Atlantic to Louisiana on the Gulf of Mexico, was in the vicinity of sixty-five thousand. The English, squeezed into the comparatively restricted space between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic, numbered nearly two million. That France was able to hold such vast expanses of territory for as long as she did with so few Frenchmen was a tour de force in colonial administration. It has long been maintained that her Indian policy was demonstrably effective.

Once they realized they were not going to turn the Indians into Frenchmen, at least not immediately, the French had set about the next best thing -- turning them into allies. The success of this policy is attested by the prevalence of that axiom of Canadian history, that the French were superior to either the English or the Spanish in dealing with the Indians. Parkman set the tone when he wrote his much-quoted

"Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him."<sup>3</sup> On another occasion he referred to "that pliant and plastic temper" of the French, which allowed them to meet "the savages half-way, and showed an abundant readiness to mould their own features after his likeness."<sup>4</sup> Such accommodation was viewed askance by the English, whose attitude has been well described as "less tolerant than that of the French or the Spaniards."<sup>5</sup> Benedict was even more emphatic when she wrote of "traditional Anglo-Saxon intolerance against alien cultures."<sup>6</sup>

The Indians, for their part, are usually presented, in both contemporary and later accounts, as preferring the French to the English. "They behave well to the English, but better to the French, because the French have taken more pains to civilize their manners, and engage their esteem," observed trader Robson.<sup>7</sup> Carried a little further, this attitude sees the Indians as trusting the French rather than the English, who were regarded as deceitful. Nicolas Jérémie, during the early 18th century, wrote that

all the people with whom we trade in the whole bay always treat the French as their fathers and protectors. The same attachment is not shown towards the English. They say they are too deceitful and that they never tell the truth, and this they do not like. Although uncivilized, they detest lying -- a remarkable characteristic when we remember that they have no authority or discipline controlling their way of living.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, according to La Vérendrye,

tant qu'il y aura des françois au passage des Sauvages ils n'iront point chercher l'Anglois qu'ils n'aiment pas et mesme qu'ils meprisent en disant que ce ne sont point des hommes comme les françois et qu'ils ont peur d'eux ne laissant entrer que quelques vieillards dans leur fort, que le françois est bien différent ne craignant rien et étant bien faisant.<sup>9</sup>

Some historians saw this as the result of the French

concentrating on the fur trade and consequently on developing Indian alliances, while the English concentrated on establishing agricultural communities. Wissler, for one, saw the network of Indian alliances developed by the French on the Upper Mississippi and Ohio as owing their cohesiveness to their "common enemy," the advancing English frontier.<sup>10</sup>

The French, far from being complacent about their hold on the Indians, were convinced that if the tribesmen preferred the French, it was due to self-interest as much as anything. Champlain wrote that Indians "donnent rien pour rien,"<sup>11</sup> and La Vérendrye noted that "sans chaudière on ne seroit pas bons amis."<sup>12</sup>

Difficulties in establishing the true nature of the confrontation have been compounded by the indiscriminate use of such words as "civilization," "savage," or "barbarian"; "superior" and "inferior"; "simple," or perhaps "primitive," to describe tribal societies. These words have been flung about with great abandon in colonial histories. Is civilization "the humanisation of man in society" as stated in one of the definitions quoted in the 1893 Oxford Dictionary? Does that mean that "civilized" man is socially more human than "uncivilized" man? Are tribal societies "uncivilized"? Were Indians less virtuous than Frenchmen or Englishmen? Were they more cruel? Did Indians conduct their affairs according to a rational policy, or were they moved by whims, usually bloodthirsty? Were Indians as treacherous as Europeans reported, or was it that Europeans did not understand their motivation? Indians, for their part, considered Europeans deceitful -- was this justified or just another case of cultural misunderstanding? Is another of the Oxford Dictionary citations true, that the "more advanced the civilization, the less powerful is the individual"? Was Captain John Smith justified when he wrote "it is more easie



to civilize them by conquest then by fair means; for the one may be at once, but their civilizing will require a long time and much industry"?<sup>13</sup> While these questions go beyond the scope of this paper, we shall confront certain aspects of them.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between the French and Indians at Louisbourg in order to establish, insofar as this is possible, its nature and the behaviour patterns it elicited, and how these evolved, and to determine whether or not these were consistent with enunciated policy. The role in which the French cast the Indians will also be examined, how this accorded with Indian aims and whether or not they were mere pawns in the game of empire. Finally, the relationship will be assessed to determine its results for both French and Indians.

I have chosen Louisbourg because in many ways it is a microcosm of the larger colony. Technically subordinate to Quebec (with Montreal, Trois-Rivières and Louisiana), actually it was administered directly from France, as was Louisiana. It has its own governor, its own Superior Council, its own rules and regulations. It even had dependencies -- Ile Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island) and Canceau (Canso). Essentially a garrison town, it was also an important centre for commercial fishing and a vital entrepôt in the trade between Quebec, the West Indies and France. Louisbourg was the fourth-largest port in colonial North America. Its experience cannot be regarded as a duplicate of that of Quebec, but it was similar in many ways. The two colonies co-operated closely, yet were far enough apart that they were to a large extent independent of each other. Although the Indians never formed a part of the regular garrison, they were as important to the military operations of Louisbourg as they were to those of Quebec, as scouts and guerrillas rather than as fully organized

forces. The militia never developed at the fortress-town as it did in other parts of New France.

Louisbourg was deep in Micmac territory so most of its dealings were with those people and with their neighbours and sometime allies, the Malecite. These people, particularly the Micmac, have the longest history of contact with Europeans of any of the northern tribes; their pattern of living had been altered by the demands of the fur trade long before the first colonists arrived. Both the Micmac and the Malecite were well into a state of cultural decline by the time they became the guerrilla arm of Louisbourg. French-English rivalry put a premium on their services as guerrillas, allowing them to retain a certain amount of their old independence and freedom of spirit for a few more years although the wise ones among them knew that this was temporary. They were fighting a stubborn rear-guard battle for cultural survival although their relationships with the French, with few exceptions, were consistently friendly.<sup>14</sup>

Their relationship with the English was another story. In Acadia the classical contrast between French and English relations with the Indians held true and consequently presents a prototype: the French went to considerable trouble and expense to develop their alliances with consequent benefits first in trade and later in war; the English tended to regard the Indians as impediments to expansion. This paper's treatment of the English side is necessarily cursory, dealing with it only enough to put the French-Indian picture into context.

Micmacs still live on their ancestral land, on 11 reserves. As theirs remains essentially an oral tradition, they recount exploits of the past, handing them down through the generations, but the full story of the Indians in Nova Scotia's early colonial history still remains to be told.

In describing the Micmac and their allies, I have

generalized to the extent of including other Algonkin peoples of the Eastern Woodland cultural complex; occasionally, when it has seemed apropos, I have extended this to Algonkins among the western Indians.

Eighteenth-century orthography being phonetic, I have made few attempts to indicate vagaries in spelling and have used the same rule with the grammar in the interests of simplicity. Occasionally, for the sake of clarity, it has been necessary to modernize spelling or modify punctuation.

## France Forges an Indian Policy in North America

When Francis I (1494-1547) asked to see Adam's will to find out how he had divided the world, not only did he commit France to enter into the colonial sweepstakes that offered tantalizing visions of sudden wealth, he also committed his country to the necessity of developing a *modus vivendi* with the New World's aboriginal inhabitants. How France proceeded to do this, how it responded to the challenges arising from its particular contact with the stone-age cultures of the New World, were to become the foundation upon which it built its northern empire. By the time Louisbourg was established in 1720, France's Indian policy had been functioning for well over a century. In order to study its relations with the Indians at the fortress, it is necessary to know what this policy was and how it had developed.

Jacques Cartier (1491-1557) did not get things off to a happy start in what was to become New France when he kidnapped two of Donnacona's sons and took them to Europe as proof that he really had found new lands. He brought them back on his second voyage, only to repeat the episode, by not only retaking the young men, but also Donnacona himself and several others. This time none of the Iroquois came back. Cartier was able to explain this on his third voyage, but the affair could have done little to enhance the regard of the Iroquois for the Europeans. In 1541 when Jean-François La Roque de Roberval tried to establish a colony at Charlesbourg-Royal in the St. Lawrence Valley, deteriorating relationships with the Indians were no small

factor in his failure.<sup>1</sup>

These inauspicious beginnings gave France pause. Indian relations were not the only aspect of colonization that had not been properly considered; for one thing, there were Spanish objections to the French establishing colonies in the New World although Spain seems to have tacitly admitted France's right to do so in an oral agreement at the signing of the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis in 1559.<sup>2</sup>

There were also problems in colonization itself. Hopeful colonizers tended to envisage their role as that of creating citadels in conquered countries. Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon, on his island off Brazil (1555-60), and Jean Ribault and René Goulaine de Laudonnière, in their forts in what is now the southern United States (1562-65), made no attempts to develop agriculture with the result that they were reduced to either bartering with the Indians for food or living off their charity.<sup>3</sup>

Serious doubts had arisen as to the nature of Indians: were they fully human and could they be Christianized? Alexander VI's bull Inter caetera, promulgated 4 May 1493, had answered in the affirmative and had urged that no labours be spared nor no perils be allowed to deter the colonizers from the task,<sup>4</sup> but the controversy, instead of being resolved, became all the more bitter. In 1510 a Scottish professor living in Paris, John Major, published a justification of Indian enslavement and military conquest in "just wars," arguing from Aristotle's theory that the imperfect must be subject to the perfect and the superior must rule the inferior.<sup>5</sup> The idea of natural slavery was a convenient argument to justify the conquest of the New World, particularly when it was combined with Clement VII's authorization of the use of force to Christianize the Indians.<sup>6</sup> However, it was by no means universally accepted, and disputes reached the point of open conflict in Spain.<sup>7</sup>



Once more the papacy intervened, this time with the famous bull Sic Dilexit, issued by Paul III in 1537, which declared that Indians were not to be treated as "dumb brutes created for our service," but "as truly men...capable of understanding the Catholic faith." Furthermore, it added,

The said Indians and all other people who may later be discovered by Christians, are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property, even though they may be outside the faith of Jesus Christ...nor should they in any way be enslaved.<sup>8</sup>

This position was reiterated by Pope Urban VIII in 1639.<sup>9</sup>

The French undertook the project of converting the infidel with a fervour that was second only to that of Spain. Commercial considerations reinforced this fervour when a new technology (a felting process) coincided with a new fashion (cavalier hats) to make the fur trade highly profitable. The abundance and the high quality of the furs from North America were already well known. France lost no time in granting fur-trading monopolies, but with two provisos: that colonization be promoted and that missionaries be sent to Christianize the Indians. The conversion of the Indians had become an official French goal in 1540, the year the Society of Jesus was founded.<sup>10</sup>

These goals proved to be not so simple to realize. The encounter of an advanced technological culture with stone-age cultures posed problems, some of which were never successfully resolved. Frenchmen of the 16th and 17th centuries recoiled from the wholesale destruction and enslavement practised by the Spaniards. Marc Lescarbot observed that while it was legitimate to colonize and convert the Indians, there was certainly "no need of force of arms to compel them to the faith."<sup>11</sup> Neither, he added, should they

be exterminated.<sup>12</sup>

Samuel de Champlain (1570-1635), who had seen something of Spanish methods first hand during his first voyage, 1599-1601, resolved on more humane procedures in New France. At Tadoussac in 1603 he negotiated at a "tabagie" with the Montagnais for the right to set up a French establishment. This was done with full Indian ceremonial -- feasting, speeches, exchange of gifts. There was no signed treaty or sale of land.<sup>13</sup>

Pierre Du Gua de Monts's establishments at Sainte-Croix (1604-05) and Port-Royal (1605-07) were brief, but marked by good relations with surrounding tribes. When the French returned to Sainte-Croix three years later, they found that the Indians had touched nothing, not even the salt which they loved.<sup>14</sup> (An Indian characteristic which surprised early Europeans was their habit of leaving food caches and supply depots unguarded.) When the French returned in 1608 to re-establish Port-Royal, the Micmac chief Membertou was there to greet them.<sup>15</sup> At Quebec also, relations were generally good although the French found the Montagnais not as complaisant as the Micmacs.

The colonial pattern for New France was taking shape. Based on the exploitation of the fur trade and, to a much lesser extent, of the fisheries, it caused comparatively little immediate disturbance to the Indian and his traditional way of life. This was in sharp contrast to English seaboard agricultural colonization which excluded the Indian from his traditional horticultural and hunting grounds and led to two and a half centuries of wars. The Indian interfered with English colonization, but was essential to that of the French.

To deal with Indians, it was necessary to converse with them. When Cartier kidnapped Donnacona's two sons, he was at least partly motivated by the idea of teaching them

French in order to use them as guides and sources of information about their land. This did not prove successful so the French turned to the alternative of sending their own young men to live among the Indians. Cartier, on his third voyage in 1541, left two French boys with the Indians in exchange for an Indian girl entrusted to him in 1536. De Monts, during his explorations south of Sainte-Croix, exchanged young men with one of the tribes he met. Champlain continued the practice at Quebec. The first Jesuit missionaries to New France, Pierre Biard and Enemond Massé, who came to Port-Royal in 1611, quickly decided that in order to Christianize the Indians, it would be necessary first to understand their cultures and ways of thinking which would involve learning their languages.<sup>16</sup> From the very beginning, the burden was on the French to learn the Indian languages instead of the other way around.<sup>17</sup> Trudel says this was because the French were, in effect, the clients of the Indians, seeking their furs and the salvation of their souls.<sup>18</sup> However, the French had something the Indians wanted, namely trade goods. Indians quickly developed a total dependence on European guns and ammunition, not to mention axes and kettles. There were Indians who were polyglot within their own cultural framework. Their resistance to European languages could have been part of their general resistance to an alien culture.<sup>19</sup>

Both Cartier and Champlain, struck by the gentleness and apparent docility of the Indians, had concluded that they would be easy to convert to Christianity and even into Frenchmen. They were deceived: severe self-discipline to stand alone against an uncertain world was the Indian's best defence, along with the acquisition of as much personal magical power as possible.<sup>20</sup> Superbly adapted to his environment and well aware of his superiority to Europeans

in this respect, the Indian saw no reason to modify habitual ways of thinking and feeling.

Marie de l'Incarnation was to write in 1668 from hard experience,

C'est pourtant une chose très difficile, pour ne pas dire impossible, de les franciser ou civiliser. Nous en avons l'expérience plus que tout autre, et nous avons remarqué que de cent de celles qui ont passé par nos mains, à peine en avons-nous civilisé une. Nous y trouvons de la docilité et de l'esprit, mais lorsqu'on y pense le moins, elles montent par dessus notre clôture et s'en vont courir les bois avec leurs parents, où elles trouvent plus de plaisir que dans tous les agréments de nos maisons françaises.<sup>21</sup>

In fact, early efforts to transform Indians into Frenchmen often resulted in death for the Indian; those taken to Europe to be presented to the king and lionized at public celebrations usually quickly died; a similar result attended efforts to make French housewives out of Indian girls.<sup>22</sup>

A hardly better fate awaited some early Europeans who attempted to live like Indians. Enemond Massé, the Jesuit, trying to live Indian-style during the winter of 1611-12, lost so much weight that his host, Louis Membertou (son of the famous chief), feared he would die.<sup>23</sup>

Champlain did not allow such hazards to prevent him from dreaming of creating one race made up of Indians and Europeans: "Our young men will marry your daughters, and we shall be one people," he said on two occasions at Quebec.<sup>24</sup> Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the king's adviser, would later share his dream; indeed the encouragement of intermarriage was at one period official French policy.<sup>25</sup>

By the time a century had passed, the policy had been reversed and Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas, minister of Marine, was scolding missionaries who not only permitted such marriages too easily, but also actively

encouraged them. What was more, the missionaries were doing so without the permission of post commandants, which was against regulations. Observing that the children of such marriages were even more libertine than the Indians themselves, Maurepas said the missionaries "doivent pas se porter si légèrement à marier des françois avec des femmes Sauvages."<sup>26</sup>

Intermarriage and assimilation had not worked, at least from the official point of view, because what the authorities had in mind was to turn the Indians into Frenchmen. What happened was that Indians remained Indians (with perhaps some vices added) and Frenchmen showed a disturbing tendency to become Indians. Marie de l'Incarnation became convinced that it was easier to make a Frenchman into an Indian than an Indian into a Frenchman.<sup>27</sup>

This concurred with Gabriel Sagard-Théodat's observation, after his voyage of 1623-24, that "les François mesmes, mieux instruit & eslevez dans l'Escole de la Foy, deviennent Sauvages pour si peu qu'ils vivent avec les Sauvages."<sup>28</sup>

Michel Guillaume St. Jean de Crèvecoeur wrote in 1782 that Europeans taken prisoner by the Indians often refused to return to their own society, for reasons that

would greatly surprise you: the most perfect freedom, the ease of living, the absence of those cares and corroding sollicitudes which so often prevail among us...all these, and many more motives which I have forgot, made them prefer that life, of which we entertain such dreadful opinions. It cannot be, therefore, so bad as we generally conceive it to be; there must be in their social bond something singularly captivating, and far superior to anything to be boasted of among us; for thousands of Europeans are Indians, and we have no examples of even one of those Aborigines having from choice become Europeans.<sup>29</sup>

This little-studied aspect of early colonial life worried not only French authorities, but the English as well.<sup>30</sup>

Such cultural interactions very early developed a

group of men called *coureurs de bois* -- the wood-runners of New England, boschlopers of the Dutch colonies, promyshlenniki of Siberia. The latter, however, were not exact counterparts of the North American woodsmen.<sup>31</sup> In many ways these men personified the problems of the clash between the Old and the New Worlds. Their dress and way of life was often more Indian than European. They were a thorn in the side of the authorities while at the same time being indispensable to them. A contemporary assessment indicates some of this ambivalence:

But what has, at least, an equal share in attaching the savages to our party, is the connivance, or rather the encouragement the French government has given to the natives of France, to fall into the savage-way of life, to spread themselves through the savage nations, where they adopt their manners, range the woods with them, and become as keen hunters as themselves.<sup>32</sup>

Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, governor general of New France, for his part, was not in the least ambivalent as to the usefulness of the *coureurs de bois*. He felt that their capacity to undertake long voyages in the hinterland was extremely useful not only in trade -- they brought merchandise to the Indians and thus prevented them from going over to the English -- but also in war as the Indians always allied themselves with those with whom they traded. By the same token, the *coureurs de bois* were also extremely useful as scouts and fighters.<sup>33</sup>

At the respectable end of the spectrum of those who had direct dealings with Indians were the official interpreters, soldiers who had mastered Indian techniques of warfare, scouts, and perhaps voyageurs; at the other end, *coureurs de bois*. This new class had arisen very quickly, forming a considerable proportion of the colony's population during its early years. Jean-Baptiste Patoulet, secretary to Jean Talon, estimated the number of *coureurs de bois* at 300 to 400

in 1672<sup>34</sup> when the colony's population was 5,715. A few years later, in 1680, Intendant Jacques Duchesneau de la Doussinière et d'Ambault guessed their number at 800;<sup>35</sup> the colony's population in 1681 was 9,677. By 1714, however, their number was believed to have dropped to 200<sup>36</sup> while the population had risen to 18,500. It appears from these figures that the coureurs de bois were at their most numerous during the 17th century and that they declined rapidly in importance as the colony grew.

In spite of the problems raised by cultural contact, the French in the early days of the colony were optimistic, in official circles at least, about transforming the Indians into Frenchmen accepting French laws. Consider, for example, the charter of La Compagnie des Cent-Associés, article 17, 1627:

Les Sauvages qui seront amenés à la foi et en feront profession seront censés et réputés naturels français, et comme tels, pourront venir habiter en France, quand bon leur semblera, et y acquérir, tester, succéder et accepter donations et legs, tous ainsi que les vrai régnicoles et originaires français, sans être tenus de prendre aucune lettre de déclaration ni de naturalité.<sup>37</sup>

This idealistic goal was never fully realized. It stated in principle what Indians actually practised. One theory for the attraction of the Indian way of life for individual Europeans was the fact that Indian societies were inclusive, easily integrating newcomers and giving them roles to play, and sometimes important ones; European societies tended to be exclusive.<sup>38</sup>

Central to French-Indian relations was the question of whether or not the Indians were allies or subjects of the French. Did French law apply to Indians in the colonies? This was a question that was never consistently faced: a decision in each particular case seemed to depend upon its circumstances rather than upon any general law. For instance,



in war the Indians were allies and as such the French repeatedly denied responsibility for their acts; in civil matters they were not nearly so sure of where they stood.

Champlain, however, did not seem to have such doubts when two Frenchmen were murdered in 1617. He waited until 1622 when the murderer (believed to have been Cherououny, a Montagnais chief) came to attend a banquet in honour of some Iroquois ambassadors. Champlain insisted on his expulsion and the following morning the Montagnais presented Champlain with 100 beaver skins to forget the incident. Champlain agreed to forgive the guilty man on the condition that he and his accomplice avow their crime before a meeting of the nations. This was done with considerable pomp 31 July 1623 at Trois-Rivières and the Indian declared his allegiance to the French.<sup>39</sup>

A more clear-cut case occurred in 1664. It involved Robert Hache, an Algonkin who, while drunk, had raped the wife of an inhabitant on Ile d'Orléans. Hache's defence was that not only was he under the influence of the white man's "firewater," but he had also committed a white man's crime (rape seldom, if ever, occurred among Indians). He escaped during the trial, which led the attorney general to ask the advice of the Sovereign Council. When Algonkin and Abenaki chiefs were consulted, they pointed out that if the behaviour of their young men sometimes gave grounds for complaint, the same could be said for that of some young Frenchmen among the Indians. A Christian Algonkin from Quebec, Noël Negabamat dit Tekouerimat, asked that the death penalty not be invoked as his people had not been aware of this penalty for rape; however, in view of their longstanding friendship for the French, his people would accept this law for rape as well as for murder in the future. He also asked that the French stop seizing an Indian debtor's goods during war, when hunters were away and could not provide for their families. The

council agreed that such cases deserved special consideration. So, as far as murder and rape were concerned, the Indian allies had agreed to accept French law.<sup>40</sup>

The question of imposing French law on the Indians was extremely delicate, as the king observed. The Indians regarded themselves as free and sovereign and did not take kindly to being put into French prisons for infractions against laws they knew nothing about and would not have accepted if they had.

A Spanish visitor to Louisbourg wrote:

These natives, whom the French term savages, were not absolutely subjects of the King of France, nor entirely independent of him. They acknowledged him lord of the country, but without any alteration in their way of living; or submitting themselves to his laws; and so far were they from paying any tribute, that they received annually from France a quantity of apparel, gunpowder and muskets, brandy and several kinds of tools, in order to keep them quiet and attached to the French interest; and this has also been the political practice of that crown with regard to the savages of Canada.<sup>41</sup>

In other words, as Eccles says, the French had tacitly granted the Indians in the colony something akin to a special status. The French needed the Indians both in their struggle against the British and in the fur trade, and they could not risk alienating them by a vigorous enforcement of French laws.<sup>42</sup>

If anything, the French leaned in the other direction.

A contemporary observer found that they

are assiduously caressing and courting them. Their missionaries are dispersed up and down their several cantonments, where they exercise every talent of insinuation, study their manners, nature and weaknesses, to which they flexibly accommodate themselves, and carry their points by these arts.<sup>43</sup>

A tacit acceptance of existing alignments also marked French-Indian relations in the fur trade. Intertribal trade had had a long tradition by the time the French arrived. The Indian demand for European merchandise shifted trade into high gear and the European demand for beaver altered patterns.

By the end of the 16th century the fur trade was well developed along the Atlantic coast and was soon to become important to the Hurons as coastal supplies of beaver gave out.<sup>44</sup> More ominously, it would also become important to the Iroquois, whose natural supply would be quickly exhausted and who would begin to look for other sources.

According to Indian custom, trade alignments involved military obligations and in this respect also the French stepped into a ready-made situation rather than creating one. Hostilities of Montagnais and Algonkins against the Iroquois were an old story by the time Champlain appeared and Champlain's alliance with the Montagnais and Algonkins was a condition of his being allowed to establish his settlement at Quebec. Moving westward in search of furs, he encountered the Hurons who were strategically located for this trade. The Hurons, although Iroquoian in speech and culture, were nursing a long-established hostility toward the Five Nations and were not taking kindly to Iroquois overtures for a trade agreement.

So Champlain found himself caught in a web of circumstance; if he were to establish his colony and commercial empire and keep on good terms with neighbouring Indians, he had to enter into alliances with them and this inevitably meant conflicts. This finally led him, step by step, to formulate the necessity of subduing the Iroquois, which he resolved to do in 1633 when he wrote to Richelieu asking for 120 men for the task.<sup>45</sup>

If the Iroquois wars profoundly shook New France, the French in their turn eliminated the Foxes and, with Indian allies (principally the Abenaki), harassed New Englanders to the point of depopulating sections of their northern frontier. With the help of the Micmacs, who had once impressed Europeans as being peaceful, the French made a determined stand against the English in Nova Scotia and in Cape Breton.

At first the French had been the allies of the Indians,

but, as New France became established, the Indians became the allies of the French. The transformation began the moment Indians accepted Europeans into their lands. As the frontiers of the fur trade extended west and north, eastern Indians were overrun both numerically and economically, their old self-sufficiency hopelessly lost. They were also overwhelmed culturally, the most disastrous of all defeats as it meant the destruction of intricate social forms that had taken perhaps thousands of years to develop. Early observers often showed an insight that did not always penetrate to official levels. For instance, Lescarbot wrote that "on ne peut arracher tout d'un coup les coutumes et façons de faire invétérées d'un peuple quel que ce soit."<sup>46</sup>

Customs and behaviour patterns that had created resourceful personalities capable of enduring great hardship with remarkable serenity were not evaluated on their own merits. "Europeans took considerable pride in demonstrating to the Indians that they could defy venerated taboos with impunity; the effect was to undermine the fundamental basis of Indian morality," Walsh wrote.<sup>47</sup>

In the 17th century this process was far from being understood. The Jesuits came the closest to appreciating the importance of working within native cultural frameworks. They had developed native churches in China and India, and started the same procedure in Canada. They were successful enough to arouse considerable opposition within the Catholic church on the grounds that such syncretism was close to heresy. Ironically, politics and economics rather than religion decided the issue: when the Iroquois caused the Hurons to disperse in 1649, they also destroyed the mission which had produced a blend of Christian and Huron ritual that was well on its way to becoming the basis of a distinctive new cultural form.

The Jesuits did, however, become exceedingly influential

in Indian politics, particularly during the 17th century. They were the diplomats operating between French and Indians and sometimes even between French and English: Claude Dablon and Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot to the Onondagas in 1655,<sup>48</sup> Isaac Jogues to the Mohawks in 1646,<sup>49</sup> and Gabriel Druillettes to Boston in 1651.<sup>50</sup> François-Joseph Bressani accompanied a Huron delegation that came to Quebec in 1648 to ask for help against the Iroquois;<sup>51</sup> and François-Joseph Le Mercier arbitrated a dispute between the Senecas and the Mohawks, who were on the point of going to war.<sup>52</sup> At other times their role was closer to that of an intermediary officer, relaying information to the authorities in Quebec and bringing back instructions.<sup>53</sup> The Recollects and the Sulpicians were among the other clergy who shared in these activities. The missionaries were the negotiators par excellence.

The all-pervasive influence of religion throughout this period is evident in the documentation that has come down to us. We are heavily dependent upon the Jesuit Relations, particularly for the years before 1663 for which much of the official documentation is missing. The Relations, of course, make no attempt at impartiality; they were the letters written by the missionaries to encourage the French public to support their efforts. Even military matters were connected with religion. For instance, in the Relation of 1642 we read:

The use of arquebuses, refused to the Infidels by Monsieur the Governor, and granted to the Christian Neophytes, is a powerful attraction to win them; it seems that our Lord intends to use this means in order to render Christianity acceptable in these regions.<sup>54</sup>

Governors continually assured authorities in France that they were doing everything possible to keep the Indians in the proper state of submission and obedience by furnishing them with presents and providing them with missionaries to

raise their children in the precepts of the faith.<sup>55</sup> Joseph de Monbeton de Brouillan, dit Saint-Ovide, second governor of Ile Royale (Cape Breton), mirrored general opinion when he wrote asking for two missionaries, "il n'y a que ces gens là qui puissent contenir les Sauvages dans ce qu'ils doivent à Dieu et au Roy."<sup>56</sup>

Missionary Noel-Alexandre de Noinville de Gléfien agreed with the official view, at least as far as the Indians of Acadia were concerned. "These savages are so zealous for the Roman Catholick church, that they always look with horror upon, and consider as enemies those who are not within the pale of it."<sup>57</sup>

Less interested observers were not always so sure of the power of the Catholic faith in itself although few expressed doubts about that of the missionaries. An unsigned memorandum dated 1750 remarks that

il y a lieu de croire qu'ils [the Indians] n'Embrassent la religion Catholique que par Interest...ils la pratiquent en Apparence, en font les Exercices, vont même à confesse, mais ils s'y présentent faux honte d'avouer leur turpitude, d'où il est apparent qu'ils en sortent sans repentir de leurs fautes.<sup>58</sup>

De la Varenne thought that missionaries attributed too much power to religion. "Were it not for other concurring circumstances that indispose the savages against the English, religion alone would not operate, at least so violently, to that effect," he wrote.<sup>59</sup> Whatever its other influences, evangelism did not produce a single Indian teacher, nun or priest in New France.<sup>60</sup> Instead, it was inextricably interwoven with the fur trade, as was expressly stated in the charters of the trading monopolies.

If evangelism required that the Indians be treated "avec douceur, justice et équité,"<sup>61</sup> so did the exigencies of the fur trade. Because the economy of their colony was based on this trade, the French did not find it necessary to



suddenly exclude the Indians from their traditional hunting grounds. As with other aspects of French-Indian policy, this started as the result of particular circumstances and only later became consciously used as an instrument for controlling Indian attitudes. Oddly enough, the English recognized Indian proprietary rights, making "purchases" or signing treaties for the transfer of these rights, which the French never did. The latter held that the Indians had not received diplomatic recognition as belonging to the "family of nations," so therefore they had no such rights to recognize.<sup>62</sup> The point was one of principle rather than practice as early French settlements in the St. Lawrence Valley did not encroach on occupied Indian territory although, as we have seen, Champlain was careful to secure the agreement of neighbouring nations before establishing his colony.

French Mission Iroquois in 1754 put it this way:

Brethren, are you ignorant of the difference between our Father and the English? Go see the forts our Father has erected, and you will see that the land beneath his walls is still hunting grounds, having fixed himself in those places we frequent, only to supply our wants; whilst the English, on the contrary, no sooner get possession of a country than the game is forced to leave it; the trees fall down before them, the earth becomes bare, and we find among them hardly wherewithal to shelter us when the night falls.<sup>63</sup>

The English, by dispossessing the Indians of their lands, placed a powerful weapon in the hands of the French in the struggle for North American supremacy. Indians, not sharing European ideas of property ownership, were dismayed and outraged to find themselves excluded from lands they had "sold" for trifling amounts or had given away. Their idea of usufruct did not mean that they lacked a keen sense of territorial rights. When the English proclaimed George I as king in Nova Scotia and demanded an oath of fidelity, the Abenaki of Pentagouet were reported to have replied



qu'ils ne proclamoient point de Roy Etranger ça qu'ils ne vouloient pas qu'on put dire qu'aucun Roy eut pris possession de leur Terre. Qu'ils ne vouloient point prester serment à personne, qu'ils avoient leurs Roys naturels et leurs chefs et leurs anciens, que le François même n'étoit pas leur Roy, qu'il étoit leur Père parcequ'il les instruit.<sup>64</sup>

They added that they could not ask for better than to live in peace, without strangers building forts and other establishments on their territory.

It took very little on the part of the French to play on the resentment and hostility aroused by thoughtless or high-handed English actions in this connection. Authorities in England tried to curb the activities of land-hungry colonists, but with little success. When the British sent out surveying parties without informing the Indians, the latter naturally reacted violently. When Halifax was founded in 1749 on favourite hunting grounds, again without consultation with the Indians, the result was years of raids and harassment.<sup>65</sup>

Still, the cards of Indian diplomacy were far from being all in the hands of the French. The English offered generally superior trade goods and the Indians soon realized that they could do better in trade with the English. Louis XIV countered this advantage by urging his officials to buy everything the Indians brought them at the English price, particularly in Acadia.<sup>66</sup> The French also had recourse to the Indian custom of gift giving, which became an annual event.

Gifts were fundamental to Indian diplomacy. They took the place of words and Indians used them as contracts to despatch their affairs. In the metaphorical language of the wigwam, they dried up tears, appeased anger, opened doors of foreign countries and brought the dead back to life.<sup>67</sup>

Ambassadors came laden with gifts, each one having a special

significance. At assemblies, each gift was presented with an appropriate speech, such as those asking for fair value in trade, signifying that all might speak freely or concerning the "lighting" of a council fire. Observing that these customs were not unreasonable, French governors gave back speech for speech and present for present.<sup>68</sup>

Wampum was a notable feature of these diplomatic exchanges. First reported by Cartier, these shell beads had commercial, diplomatic and ceremonial roles that made wampum's significance difficult for Europeans to comprehend. Originating with the Iroquois, its use spread among the coastal Algonkins and it was used by the Micmac, Malecite and Abenaki, as well as by others to the south and west. Metal tools simplified its manufacture from the linings of conch shells and the quahog clam so that its use became much more widespread after the advent of Europeans. Tobacco also had a special role with mystical connotations.<sup>69</sup>

The importance attached by the Indians to these exchanges can be judged by the fact that the gifts involved had to be of considerable value. For the Indians, this usually meant giving wampum, pipes, furs or tobacco, and receiving guns, ball, powder, flints, tools, utensils or clothing. Brandy was also used, but at Ile Royale at least it seems to have been mainly for the attendant ceremonies.

The French used gift diplomacy skilfully, offering the protection of the military-trade alliances which the gift giving ceremonially renewed. Without these cyclical renewals, the alliances would have died.

The fact that this diplomacy was so effective against the better trade values offered by the English was due to the attitude of the Indians, who did not like fluctuating prices and wanted an agreed-upon standard of exchange. Intendant Duchesneau reported that while the western Indians did not want to be deceived in the sale of merchandise, they would

"respond liberally to the presents they [the French traders] make, without exacting any, since it is certain that they are well content if they get only half the value of what is received from them."<sup>70</sup>

They admired generosity to the point of impoverishing themselves, which did not strike Abbé Pierre Maillard as a virtue in the Micmacs:

It is neither gaming nor debauchery that disable them from the payment of their debts, but their vanity, which is excessive, in the presents of peltry to other savages, who come in quality of envoys from one country to another, or as friends and relations upon a visit to one another. Then it is, that a village is sure to exhaust itself in presents; it being a standing rule with them, on the arrival of such persons, to bring out everything they have acquired, during the winter and spring season, in order to give the best and most advantageous idea of themselves.<sup>71</sup>

That the Micmac were not always altruistic in regard to gifts is evident in their periodic threats to go on to the English, which kept the French in a state of nervous watchfulness.<sup>72</sup>

The Indians were also capable of driving a hard bargain as was discovered by Jean-Louis de Raymond, comte de Raymond de Villognon, governor of Ile Royale. He reported that "nos Mikmaks m'ont demandé, pour prix de leur fidélité pour le Roy, de vous engager, Monseigneur, à leur faire tourner l'augmentation de présents qu'on leur donne depuis quelques années, en présents ordinaire."<sup>73</sup> The governor agreed that the king "leur accorderait peut-être cette grâce, s'ils continuaient à se bien comporter." He added that the Indians had great confidence in him "mêlée de crainte depuis une petite punition que j'ai faite à deux sauvages, que les autres ont fort approuvé."<sup>74</sup>

In other words, the French exercised as much authority as they could over the Indians while giving in to their

demands. Although gifts were essential in Indian diplomacy, they did not automatically ensure success for a mission. When the French began to establish Louisbourg, they relied on gifts to help persuade the Indians to move to Ile Royale,<sup>75</sup> but with very little success initially.

There was distrust on both sides, in Acadia as elsewhere in New France. Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian Affairs for New York, believed that

The French (tho' few in number) convinced them by their actions, that they were a more Military enterprizing people, and although they loaded all those Nations who were in their alliance with favours, yet, that enterprizing disposition alarm'd the Indians with regard to themselves and probably induced them to look with pleasure upon any checks they might receive, for from us they dreaded nothing at that period, having considered us as a selfish trading people whose only pursuit was gain.<sup>76</sup>

The French for their part would have liked more predictable allies -- "le plus souvent ils Se laissent Conduire par leurs Caprices que nous n'estions guère plus à couvert de leurs insultes qu'eux" [the English]<sup>77</sup> -- who would settle in permanent villages, becoming a sort of New World yeomanry, both sides had to accept the situation as it was.

France's centralized form of government enabled it to organize its gift diplomacy more or less uniformly throughout New France. The decentralized English colonies, each jealous of its own authority, had as many gift policies as it had colonial governments -- perhaps even more because local governments sometimes took the initiative into their own hands. The one thing that was certain was that neither English nor French could avoid this type of diplomacy during the early days of their colonies. As Sir William Johnson observed,

If we are determined to possess our Out Ports,

Trade, etc., securely, it cannot be done for a Century by any other means than that of purchasing the favour of the numerous Indian inhabitants.<sup>78</sup>

The Indian's highly developed sense of prestige made medals and honors extremely useful in attaching the Indians to the French cause. While no evidence has been found that the French king ever ennobled an Indian, the recurring belief among the Indians that they had been so honoured leads one to the conclusion that the French authorities did nothing to disabuse them of the idea.<sup>79</sup>

While it is evident today that the Indian cultures were doomed from the moment Europeans established their colonies in the New World, it was by no means so clear at the time. At the beginning, the Indian position was strong because of numerical superiority and the fact they were there first, but slowly European wares, particularly the rifle, the axe and the kettle, had their effect; by 1670 the technological change was fairly well completed on the Atlantic coast and its influence was spreading westward ahead of fur traders along old Indian trading routes. The French, aware of the effect of this technological inundation on traditional Indian values and beliefs, and eager to take advantage of it, quickly learned that persuasion was a far more effective weapon than intimidation in controlling attitudes. Even a chief, wrote Loskiel,

dare not venture to command, compel or punish any one, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe. Every word that looks like a command is immediately rejected with contempt by an Indian, proud of his liberty. The chief must endeavour to rule over his people by calm reasoning and friendly exhortation.<sup>80</sup>

What authority the chief had was gained by rhetoric<sup>81</sup> and supported by means of his liberality and his feasts. Perrot, an early fur trader and landowner, expressed it bluntly:

Le sauvage ne sçait ce c'est que d'obéir: il

faut plustost le prier que de la commander; il se laisse néanmoins aller à tout ce qu'on exige de luy, surtout quand il s' imagine qu'il y a de la gloire ou du profit à espérer...le caractère des sauvages est de pencher toujours du costé de ceux qui leur donnent le plus et qui les flattent davantage.<sup>82</sup>

All this demanded a complex diplomacy on the part of the French. As they could not forbid their Indian allies from dealing with the English nor order them to go to war, they had to rely on such leaders as the half-Indian Baron Bernard-Anselme d'Abbadie de Saint-Castin to convince them that

leur propre conservation et la seureté de leurs familles depend de la veritable et sincère union d'esprit et de religion qu'ils conserveront avec nous et qu'il est à propos qu'ils conservent tant que la guerre durera entre les princes en Europe.<sup>83</sup>

The missionaries, whose importance in this connection we have already touched upon, were similarly instructed.<sup>84</sup>

Governors, who were directly responsible for relations with the Indians, both at Quebec and at Louisbourg, were continually advised not only to do everything necessary to keep them attached to the French interest<sup>85</sup> and under control,<sup>86</sup> but also to take care that they did not become too demanding.<sup>87</sup>

France's Indian policy is found embedded in such instructions. These were sometimes general statements, as in the case of the instructions to Daniel Rémy de Courcelle, governor of New France, in 1665 or to Isaac-Louis de Forant, governor of Ile Royale, in 1739. More often, however, they were sketchy, perhaps a single paragraph buried in pages of other matter. Specific procedures were left largely to the discretion of the governor. As with questions of Indians and French law, each point was decided as it arose; France's Indian policy thus emerges, somewhat in the manner of English common law, from a series of specific decisions arrived at



under the all-embracing necessity of maintaining the Indians in active alliance to the French cause in the face of English rivalry. Throughout the history of New France the tone is consistent as the goal never varied; Indians were to be treated with every consideration and violence was to be avoided, although some notable lapses occurred, as with the Iroquois, Fox and Chickasaw.

In return, the French hoped that the nomadic northern tribes would settle down and become sedentary. Recognizing that the men were primarily hunters, they pinned their faith on the women who were reported to be "*très laborieuses et surtout pour la culture du mais qui est leur nourriture.*"<sup>88</sup> Gradually, the Indians would voluntarily become subjects of the king, "*travaillant utilement à l'accroissement du commerce qui s'établira peu à peu dans le Canada.*"<sup>89</sup>

The techniques by which these goals were to be reached were also established early. They were listed by Thomas Nelson, Boston merchant:

First, by seasonable presents, secondly by choosing some of the more notable amongst them, to whom is given a constant pay as a Lieutenant or Ensigne & thirdly by rewards upon all executions, either upon us or our Indians, giving a certain sume per head, for as many Scalps as shall be brought them. Fourthly by encouraging the youth of the Countrey in accompanying the Indians in all their expeditions.<sup>90</sup>

These four techniques were used by the French throughout the period of New France. A fifth, tried early and later discarded, was to send "eminent and enterprizing" Indians to France "to amaze and dazzle them with the greatness and splendour of the French Court and Armie."<sup>91</sup> Indians were even reported to have been sent down to Flanders where the French armies were mustered expressly to impress them. This was regarded by Nelson as the best means of all of ensuring their loyalty, particularly when the French gave the same treatment to Indians taken prisoner from the British



colonies.<sup>92</sup> However, it was discontinued as too expensive in relation to the results achieved. Indians had proved to be not so easily impressed.

Gift diplomacy, honours and paid commissions for rank were the most effective means. Sending young Frenchmen to live with the Indians also served well, but raised serious problems, which we have already touched upon.

The French were never as comfortable with their wilderness friends as Nelson or popular legend would have us believe. The Indians' concept of personal liberty made them uncertain allies at best. The fact that "le sauvage n'a point de maître"<sup>93</sup> meant that no technique could be guaranteed to assure control. Maillard, after 14 years with the Indians, observed "heureux celui qui en sçait monter les ressorts pour les faire jouer à Sa Volonté, depuis tout ce tems je n'ai encore pu parvenir à ce point de Science."<sup>94</sup>

The king of France spent a good deal of time and energy, not to mention money, maintaining alliances with these people whose ideas of liberty and individual freedom he would not have tolerated for an instant in his own subjects. Champlain set the tone: to understand the Indians in order to Christianize them, to cooperate with them in order to trade with them and to cultivate them in order to win their support as allies in war. New France's dependence upon its Indians, both economically and militarily, forced the absolute monarchy of France to compromise some of its most sacred principles.

Haliburton expressed it differently: he said the French used the Indians for the front ranks of their defence, an innovation as useful in its own way as the traditional military posts.<sup>95</sup> Charles de Beauharnois de La Boische, governor general of New France, and Intendant Gilles Hocquart seemed to have had such an idea in mind when they wrote Maurepas

It is highly important to preserve the Indians attached as they have always been to France; the English have been deterred from forming any settlement in Acadia solely to the dread of these Indians; and though the latter do in one respect embarrass the French, whose cattle they from time to time even publicly carry off for their support, the French are not sorry to see them residing in the Province, and themselves, as it were, under their protection.<sup>96</sup>

The French genius lay in recognizing the potential usefulness of the Indians and capitalizing on it, rather than in sweeping them aside or in marching over them. The particular nature of their contact was the deciding factor as it was also for the English and Spaniards. If the French cherished the Indians, as Parkman wrote, it was for solidly practical reasons. For their part, the Indians, unable to control French policy or the course of the Anglo-French conflict any more than they could that of the fur trade,<sup>97</sup> nevertheless influenced the character of all three. Thus France's Indian policy emerges as a blend of give-and-take, of giving when necessary to ensure Indian alliances in trade and war, of taking when reaping the profits or the fur trade. At Louisbourg the emphasis was to be on the maintenance of alliances for the Indians formed, in effect, the outer defenses of the fortress.

## The Micmac and Their Neighbours

The Micmac, and to a lesser extent the Malecite (and to an even lesser extent, the Abenaki), were the Indians who became involved in Louisbourg's imperial designs. They became the fortress's guerrilla arm, protagonists in the protracted confrontation between English and French which was not to be settled until the fall of New France in 1760. Because they influenced the character of this conflict in Acadia, we will examine in some detail who the Micmac were, their cultural background, their relationships with other Indians as well as with colonizing Europeans, particularly the French. And because of the importance of the missionaries in this issue from all points of view, including the military, we will pinpoint as far as we are able the Indians' attitudes toward these controversial figures. But when all is said and done, it was the Micmac who were in the middle, caught between contending France and England.

They called themselves El'nu,<sup>1</sup> "true men," these people of the North Atlantic coast who could well have been the first Indians of North America to come in contact with Europeans.<sup>2</sup> Today they are known as Micmacs, probably derived from Migmac, meaning "allies,"<sup>3</sup> although some authorities believe it is derived from Miscou, an early gathering place for fishing and trading.<sup>4</sup> They were probably the Toudamans of Cartier, were certainly the Souriquois of Lescarbot, and the Gaspésiens of Recollect missionary Chrestien Le Clercq. The first use of the term "Micmac" appears to have been in a memorandum of 1676

by Charles Aubert de La Chesnaye, New France's leading businessman of the period.<sup>5</sup> The term "Canadian" may also have been applied to them as well as to others in very early times. Their allies, the Malecite, were the Etchemin of Champlain, a term which was later extended by others to include the Penobscot; the Abenaki of the Kennebec were the Canibas of early military reports, and the Armouchiquois, tillers of the soil and traditional enemies of the Micmac, seem to have included several of the New England Algonkin tribes.

The Micmacs were linked linguistically and culturally to the Malecite, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot and Abenaki, all Algonkian-speaking peoples of the Eastern Woodland cultural complex. Their language shares certain traits with Cree, the most widespread of the Algonkin group, as well as with Arapaho of the central plains. However, its definite genealogical position has not yet been worked out.<sup>6</sup>

They lived on the Gaspé Peninsula, in present New Brunswick, east of the drainage basin of the Saint John River, throughout Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and in parts of Newfoundland. Their nomadic habits make it difficult, if not impossible, to fix their boundaries with any precision.<sup>7</sup> Their land, a region of forests, rivers, lakes and coasts, included Cape Breton which, after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the French renamed Ile Royale.

The total population of the Micmac before the arrival of the Europeans has been variously estimated. Father Biard, in 1612, set the figure at less than 2,000 and a few years later (in 1616) revised it to between 3,000 and 3,500. In 1760 a colonel stationed on the isthmus of Chignecto gave the number of Micmac as "near 3,000 souls."<sup>9</sup>

This suggests a stable population, although early accounts indicate that the population dropped after European

contact. In 1610 Chief Membertou told Biard that in his youth he had seen Indians

as thickly planted there as the hairs upon his head. It is maintained that they have thus diminished since the French have begun to frequent their country; for, since then they do nothing all summer but eat; and the result is that, adopting an entirely different custom and thus breeding new diseases, they pay for their indulgence during the autumn and winter by pleurisy, quinsy and dysentery, which kills them off. During this year alone sixty have died at Cape de la Hève, which is the greater part of those who lived there.<sup>10</sup>

The situation in Acadia does not appear to have differed substantially from that obtaining in other parts of the vast extent of New France. An anonymous letter written in 1705 at Quebec observed that it was hardly worthwhile learning about Indian nations who "autrefois assés nombreuses sont aujourd'huy presque reduits à rien," so that although the entire French colony did not equal a good-sized French town, "il y a cependant deux françois contre un Sauvage dans l'Etendue de 1500 lieues de pays."<sup>11</sup>

European-introduced diseases were a major factor in the rapid decline of Indian populations after contact. During the Louisbourg period, an epidemic occurred in 1732-33, reaching such proportions that the Indians refused to come in for their gifts, without which they were reduced to the utmost misery. To make matters worse, it coincided with a serious famine at Louisbourg (the fortress-town experienced three very bad famines, in 1729, 1733 and 1737).<sup>12</sup> There were other lesser outbreaks, particularly after the arrival of "les troupes de terre" in the mid 1750s. However, missionary Antoine Gaulin placed alcohol ahead of disease as the principle cause of the Micmac's declining population.<sup>13</sup>

Even so, the Micmac appear to have held their own better than did neighbouring tribes. The various people who have come to be grouped together under the term "Abenaki" were

referred to in "The Description of the Country of Mawooshen" as totalling 14,600 in 1602 in the land of Bashabes, the ranking Abenaki chief.<sup>14</sup> The Abenaki, more warlike than the Micmac and directly involved on the side of the French in the New England border warfare of the 17th and 18th centuries, were later reduced to a shadow of their former power.<sup>15</sup> Biard in 1616 listed the Eteminquois (Etchmin) at 2,500.<sup>16</sup> The exact designation of the term "Eteminquois" is not certain. Often considered to refer to the Malecite, it almost certainly included others.<sup>17</sup> Biard estimated the total population from Newfoundland to Chouacoët (Saco, Maine) at 10,000.<sup>18</sup> Interestingly enough, an anonymous memorandum of 1748 placed the number of converted Indians in all Acadia at 10,000.<sup>19</sup>

The Iroquois of the Five Nations, who were greatly feared by the Micmac, have been estimated at 16,000 in 1642, during their period of greatest prosperity, shortly after intercourse with Europeans.<sup>20</sup>

Along the Atlantic seaboard, the population decline was so general that in some cases tribes became extinct, as with the Timucuans of Florida and later the Beothuks of Newfoundland; or nearly extinct, as with the Pequots of Connecticut or the Narrangansetts of Rhode Island. The French, for their part, increased very slowly at first, gaining momentum during the last quarter of the 17th century. According to Grandfontaine's census of 1671 -- Acadia's first -- there were nearly 400 French in what is now Nova Scotia, a figure which Clark revised upward to nearer 500. By mid-18th century, before the deportation, it may have reached between 10,000 and 15,000 although reliable figures are not available.<sup>21</sup>

As the Micmac were hunters, both on sea<sup>22</sup> and on land, they travelled far in their search for food. Originally they

depended primarily on the resources of sea, lakes and rivers, and secondarily on those of the forests, a pattern which was reversed very early by the fur trade.<sup>23</sup> The Micmac were too far north to practise agriculture with a stone-age technology, although some neighbouring tribes, such as the Abenaki to the south and west, were semi-agricultural. The average amount of territory needed to support two hunters and their families in the deer and moose country of Acadia has been estimated at 400 square miles. The Micmac in their distinctive sea-going canoes with gunwales swelling upward at the centre, ranged along the coasts, up the rivers and across open stretches of sea as far as Newfoundland. It took them 12 days to travel from Port-Royal to Quebec by means of rivers and portages, "carrying their little bark canoes," making long voyages which the French "could not do in the present state of the country."<sup>24</sup> Rosier described the canoes of the Penobscot, similar to those of the Micmac, as "made without any iron, of the bark of a birch tree, strengthened with ribs and hoops of wood, in so good a fashion, with such excellent ingenious art, as they are able to beare seven or eight persons, far exceeding any in the Indies."<sup>25</sup> These gave way very early to small European boats for the sea, which the Indians purchased from fishermen. By 1661 the Indians of the Gaspé were using such shallops, which they handled with great skill, for their war parties across the Gulf of St. Lawrence and over to Newfoundland.<sup>26</sup>

European fishing fleets off Ile Royale and even those off Newfoundland were later to fear Micmac skill and daring at sea.<sup>27</sup> At one point Indian depredations would seriously hamper fishing operations; their capture of one New England fishing vessel off Ile Saint-Jean in 1729 would cause 80 others to return to Canso.

The physical beauty of the Micmac drew as favorable comment as their seamanship. In the early 17th century



they were described by Lescarbot:

These people have generally less hair than we; for on the body they have none at all...As for the eyes of our savages, they have neither blue nor green, but black for the most part, like their hair... they are well-limbed, well-boned and well-bodied, and robust in proportion;...If there are any blind with one eye or lame (as sometimes happens), it is an accident and the result of hunting...their bodies are nimble, and so little charged with fat, that it does not hinder them from running at will...all can swim most skilfully. Concerning the other parts of the body they have them very perfect, as likewise the natural sense.<sup>28</sup>

More slender and tending to be taller than Europeans of the period, they had great physical endurance,<sup>29</sup> tenacious memories, impressive emotional control (hence the European stereotype of the "haughty Indian"), and shared the general Indian characteristic of being able to go days without food (eight-day fasts were not extraordinary). They never contradicted anyone and were reluctant to refuse a favour outright. Using humour as a defence, they thoroughly approved of anything that provoked laughter. That Hebrew scholar turned missionary, Biard, wrote of the Micmacs, "they are droll fellows and have a word and a nickname very readily at command, if they think they have an occasion to look down on us."<sup>30</sup>

Missionaries described them as peaceful in temperament. However, Le Clercq, who was in Gaspésie from 1675 to 1686, said they prided themselves on being good warriors,<sup>31</sup> which is also evident in their legends;<sup>32</sup> and according to Lescarbot, they had "such high spirit, that they had rather die than fall into the hands of their enemies."<sup>33</sup> They seem to have been on hostile terms with all of their neighbours at one time or another.<sup>34</sup> They were so sensitive to affronts that they sometimes gave themselves up to despair, even to the point of making attempts on their own lives.<sup>35</sup> With such a deep resentment of injuries it is not surprising that they



considered vengeance such a point of honour. Within their own group they seldom committed murder, although fights were known to occur. They tortured prisoners of war, but burning them at the stake seems to have been a later development.<sup>36</sup> War cannibalism was not unknown.

We have already noted their intense attachment to personal liberty, which effectively limited group action in both peace and war and caused Europeans to regard them as fickle.<sup>37</sup> Biard put it another way -- he said that as the chiefs had neither order nor subordination, they seldom reached a decision.<sup>38</sup>

In spite of this, which Europeans regarded as faulty social organization, 17th-century observers almost unanimously equated the intelligence of Indians with that of Europeans.<sup>39</sup> "Les sauvages nous égalent," wrote Pichon;<sup>40</sup> and fur traders such as Nicolas Denys had no occasion to doubt the Indians' capacities as he saw them matching wits with ships' crews in trade.<sup>41</sup> This was corroborated by Rosier, when he wrote of the coastal Algonkins "we found them...a people of exceeding good invention, quick understanding and readie capacitie."<sup>42</sup> Antoine Laumet dit de Lamothe Cadillac was even more categoric: "We may say without flattery, that all the Indians are naturally intelligent."<sup>43</sup>

In diplomacy, their projects were often very well conceived and skilfully handled. "They conduct their affairs cleverly and take wise and necessary steps to make them turn out favourably," Le Clercq wrote.<sup>44</sup>

They considered themselves superior to the French, just as the French for their part never doubted their own superiority. "They set themselves up for brothers of the King," observed Biard, obviously considering such an attitude presumptuous.<sup>45</sup> Many years later another Jesuit wrote, "these savages were indeed given to understand that the French did not resemble them, and were not so base as they."<sup>46</sup>

These judgments were based on differences in culture, which consistently strained tolerance on both sides. Even points that could not have been considered important drew considerable attention. For instance, the French frequently commented upon the fact that the Micmac, in common with other nomadic northern hunters, did not eat bread. Lescarbot could think of no other reason for this than laziness as he believed it was easier to live on flesh or fish than on bread. The Indians would labour long and hard at hunting, fishing and seafaring, which they loved, but not at grinding corn, which they considered a bore.<sup>47</sup> Even as late as 1748, this characteristic was noted: "Ils ne vivent que de la viande de leur chasse et de poisson, et ne mangent du pain que lorsqu'ils vont chez les françois."<sup>48</sup> As for the Indians, their first reaction to bread and biscuit was to declare it had no taste and to throw it away;<sup>49</sup> to them, eating biscuits and drinking wine was eating wood and drinking blood.<sup>50</sup>

Later, as Indians learned to eat bread, a few Frenchmen learned to go without. Recollect missionary Michel Bruslé was reported not to have eaten bread for six years and Canadian-born missionary Gaulin also lived for long periods on an Indian diet.<sup>51</sup> This diet included maize, when the Micmac were able to obtain it by trade from their southern neighbours;<sup>52</sup> pounded into flour, it was used to make sagamité, a boiled dish. The parched kernels were also eaten, particularly when travelling. Interestingly enough, maize was never as generally adopted by the French as it was by the English colonists.

Neither were the French particularly enthusiastic about Indian uses of medicinal plants, to judge by a comment of Philippe Pastour de Costebelle, first governor of Ile Royale, when asking for doctors and pharmacists for the colony, "sans quoi les simples plantes médicinales employées en nature dont les sauvages se servent deviendront le plus salutaires remèdes

des languissants."<sup>53</sup> Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan, however, observed that there was no wound or dislocation the Indians could not cure with their simples and plants. He attributed the fact that Indians never got gangrene to their general good health as well as to their remedies as Frenchmen treated by Indian methods sometimes became infected.<sup>54</sup>

By 1733 scientific curiosity was beginning to overcome cultural aversion and the king was encouraging research "sur tout ce qui se pourra trouver de curieux" at Ile Royale, "même sur la botanie en différentes plantes qui ont des vertus singulières dont les sauvages se servent, tant En plantes, ou simples, terrestres que des plantes marines."<sup>55</sup>

But the gulf in cultural values between Frenchman and Micmac was wide, as indicated by Maillard,

Il suffit chez eux d'être bon chasseur, et de bien payer ses dettes, pour mériter de porter le nom de virtuosus; ce nom chez les Allemands signifie beaucoup. Quelque vicieux que soit un sauvage marichite ou mimague, quelque crime qu'il ait commis plutôt grand que petit; qu'il soit le plus mauvais priant de tous, s'il est bon chasseur et bon payeur, il obtient malgré tout ce qui le peut ternir d'ailleurs, la qualité de virtuosus; qu'il persevère, si vous voulez le supposer, de mener jusqu'à sa mort la vie la plus déréglée et la plus dérangée dont on puisse entendre parler, tant qu'il sera bon chasseur et bon payeur, il demeurera toujours en possession de l'attribut et de la qualité de virtuosus, rendu en leur langue par Tochechkeg.<sup>56</sup>

Biard was characteristically more succinct. He said that Indians "do all they can to be renowned and to have the name of 'Great-heart.' Meskir Kameramon, 'Great-heart,' among them is the crowning virtue."<sup>57</sup> It was as important to appear generous in personal life as it was in diplomacy. However defective such a scale of values may have appeared to Europeans, they were the result of long tradition.

Before 1600 the Eastern Woodlands had been marked by cultural conflict and change, by kaleidoscopic complexity

rather than by uniformity although certain characteristics prevailed throughout the area.<sup>58</sup> Archeological evidence indicates at least 80 distinct cultures in the area since the appearance of man there at least 11,000 years ago. In pre-contact days the Micmac, Malecite, Abenaki and others seem to have been loosely organized into a confederacy which disintegrated with the killing of the chief, Bashabes, at Bar Harbor about 1611. Later, most of this group became allies of the French, a fact which helped to maintain peace among them until the fall of New France.

At the very heart of the cultural differences was the question of language for languages express cultures. Of the 1,000 to 2,000 distinct and mutually unintelligible languages believed to have existed in the Americas at the time of contact, North America had well over 200. Canada's 10 major linguistic groups counted about 55 separate languages, some of which differed as much as French from Japanese. All were fully formed and complex in their structures. The French, in their efforts to learn Micmac as well as other Indian languages, found themselves coping with sounds they had never heard before and had difficulty in articulating (the Micmac for their part struggled with f, l, r),<sup>59</sup> with syntaxes that bore no resemblances to European counterparts, and with the fact that Indian languages, while precise instruments for expressing the necessities of their own cultures, were not at all fitted to express those of the French or of Europeans generally any more than French served in a Micmac context. Translation with any degree of accuracy was easiest on the practical, materialistic level; on the religious or mythological levels it was impossible.<sup>60</sup>

Edward Sapir said that language is a guide to "social reality" and that no two languages represent the same reality.<sup>61</sup>

Early missionaries, who had not yet grasped the full complexities of these languages, resorted to circumlocutions

and approximations. For such concepts as wisdom, fidelity, justice, mercy, gratitude, piety, they improvised such terms as "happy," "tender love," "good heart"; "prayer" was used for "religion." "Judge for yourself," wrote Biard to his superior in Paris in 1612, "the difficulty surrounding the remainder of the symbols and fundamental truths of Christianity."<sup>62</sup> The trouble, however, was one of cultural approach rather than of inadequacies of the Indian languages.

In spite of these difficulties, Le Clercq found much to commend in the Micmac language:

The Gaspesian language is very beautiful and very rich in its expressions. For it is not so sterile as the European languages, which have recourse to a frequent repetition of the same terms in order to express several different things. Each word of Gaspesian has its particular and specific significance; this shows remarkably well in their speeches, which are always very elegant.<sup>63</sup>

Maillard, for his part, was surprised at its abundance of words -- "nothing borrowed, as amongst us." He said that it had two distinct styles, "one noble, or elevated, for grave and important subjects, the other ignoble, or trivial, for familiar or vulgar ones." He added that all the conjugations were regular and distinct.<sup>64</sup>

Micmac ideograms were an attempt to reduce the language to writing. Le Clercq, seeing Micmac children using mnemonic strokes on birch bark to help remember prayers, invented a series of characters (or hieroglyphics, as Maillard was later to call his adaptation), each one standing for a word. Le Clercq's "little folly" (to quote Wallis and Wallis, who doubted the value of the idea) was adapted and developed in 1738 by Maillard who, apparently not realizing that these characters originated with a fellow missionary, claimed them as his own. At his death, their number had grown to about five thousand.

What Maillard did do was compile the first Micmac

grammar and dictionary, which took years of labour. Earlier, Gaulin and his assistant and successor, Abbé Michel Courtin, had translated prayers and the catechism into Micmac. Biard also, in 1616, wrote of composing a catechism in the Indian language.<sup>65</sup>

Of all the missionaries, Maillard mastered the language the most thoroughly. He also composed "une musique sauvage, et a fait de fort beaux ouvrages sur ces objets...."<sup>66</sup>

Problems deepened as knowledge grew; missionaries learned, for instance, that language and culture did not necessarily coincide. Iroquoian languages were confined to the Eastern Woodland cultural area, which made for a simple classification. But the Micmacs, whose culture was also that of the Eastern Woodlands, shared their language with the buffalo-hunting Blackfoot, whose culture was that of the Plains, thousands of miles away. On the other hand, the Micmacs and the Malecite, who lived side by side and shared the same culture and had close blood ties as well, could understand each other only with difficulty. According to a Micmac legend, the Malecite had once been Micmacs, but after a fight following a feast on Prince Edward Island, they had been pushed off the island and had changed their speech so that they could not be understood. Malecite means "corrupted speech" or "broken talk."<sup>67</sup>

The "simple savage" was being revealed in all his complexities. French attitudes toward him also became more complicated. "Le bon sauvage" of Montaigne appeared in on-the-scene impressions: "Je les regarde comme le plus heureux de tous les hommes," an anonymous letterwriter observed in Quebec in 1705, "et parcequ'ils possèdent dans la perfection le plus precieux des dons de la nature; et parcequ'ils n'ont seulement pas l'idée de ces faux biens dont nous jouissons si peu que nous achetons au prix de veritables."<sup>68</sup>

The other side of nature's gifts was noted by Daniel



d'Auger de Subercase, governor of Acadia, when he remarked, "por moy je suis persuadé que le moins meschant des Sauvages L'est beaucoup plus que Le plus mauvais des françois, parceque je say qu'ils ne refusent rien à la nature."<sup>69</sup>

The anonymous letterwriter at Quebec replied to his correspondent,

Vous m'avés souvent demandé si l'on avoit commencé a aprivoiser et a policer ces Barbares. Aprivoisé, oui; policé, non; ils sont assés bonnes gens et l'on commerce fort aisement avec Eux, mais ils ne quittent point leurs manières; ils sont dans la pure nature, et je vous diray franchement que je ne sçaurois ni empêcher de les aprouver en bien des choses, ils ne connoissent point les commodités de la vie, mais ils ne souffrent point de cette privation parcequ'ils sont accoûtumés à une vie qui ne séduire que quand on en goûté une plus doux.<sup>70</sup>

As late as 1748 it was reported that the Micmac "commence à s'humaniser."<sup>71</sup>

French efforts to "humanize" the Indians -- in other words, to make them into Frenchmen -- had very early stumbled over the problem of liquor, which became a focal point for the tangled area of cultural interrelations. Nothing in the experience of the French had prepared them for the Indians' reaction to alcohol; for that matter, nothing had prepared the Indians. Their cultural and psychological orientation did not equip them to handle this new sensation. The Micmac, after first rejecting intoxicants as poisons, soon became too fond of them. They drank to reach oblivion, to gain spirit possession, but instead of finding new spiritual experiences, they were led to devastation and death. Perhaps worst of all was the degradation and moral disintegration that inevitably followed.

Efforts by the missionaries to forbid alcohol to their flocks were no more availing than efforts of civil authorities to ban its sale to the Indians. Because its



attendant evils were so obvious, it was only too tempting to lay all the problems of cultural contact at alcohol's door.<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately, it was not that simple. The Indians themselves realized that alcohol was only part of a complicated situation. An old Indian put it this way, talking to Claude-Sébastien de Villieu, an officer serving in Acadia,

D'abord que j'ai appris que tu faisais une cabane proche de mon village, j'ai commencé à trembler de peur et j'ai appréhendé que les Français qui m'ont autrefois donné le prière ne soient cause que je cesse de prier; car je vois mes frères qui sont, par exemple, du côté de la rivière Saint-Jean, ne prient plus, pour ainsi dire, à cause de la boisson et que la quantité de bâtards qui y sont, fait que nous ne nous connaissons plus. De même leurs parents qui sont à Kénébéki, depuis qu'ils trafiquent avec les Anglais, sont devenus bêtes et ne prient plus, parcequ'ils sont tous les jours ivres...c'est pourquoi je te dis que je ne veux point que tu demeures ici.<sup>73</sup>

Similarly, a survey of the missions of Acadia reported that "On remarque que les Sauvages qui sont dans le voisinage des françois et des acadiens et des anglais sont encore plus paresseux et plus ivrogne que les autres."<sup>74</sup>

Versailles was uncomfortably aware of the situation, particularly as it would affect its plans to gather the Indians into permanent villages as part of the establishment of Ile Royale. It considered reports that the Indians were "naturellement portées à la Boisson et autres vices qui en sont les suites,"<sup>75</sup> that they were lazy, begging their bread and passing the summers in doing nothing instead of sowing wheat. This not only led to hardship the following winter, but to "de grands désordres tant par l'yvrognerie que par la fréquence continuelle des femmes dans les maisons des françois."<sup>76</sup>

French settlers who fell into such habits were discouraged from staying in the colony. Saint-Ovide was following well-established practice when he decided to send away useless persons from Ile Royale "qui à l'exemple des sauvages ne

Restent aux nous que pour y trouver une oisive Subsistence."<sup>77</sup>  
 But the Indians were not only tolerated, they were encouraged to come to the island because, among other considerations, "les sauvages sont peu de chose, étant nos alliés, mais pourroient devenir quelque chose de considerable, étants nos ennemies."<sup>78</sup>

Such a double standard might have answered the immediate policy needs of the French, but did nothing to solve thorny social problems. Maillard saw that it was not so much a question of right and wrong as of a different conditioning:

Il faut que vous sachiez qu'ils sont hommes comme nous; qu'intrinsèquement ils pensent comme tous homme doit penser; qu'ils ne diffèrent que dans la manière de rendre leurs pensées, et que si quelque chose nous paroît étrange dans leur façon de penser, et de dire ce qu'ils pensent, c'est que nous n'avons pas été éduqués comme eux, et nous ne nous trouvons pas en situation semblable à la leur, pour former de pareils raisonnements.<sup>79</sup>

Be that as it may, the Indians had definitely lost the panache of "le bon sauvage" in the eyes of the French after two centuries of contact:

Les sauvages naturels de l'isle sont de la nation des Mickmacs, l'on n'y compte guère plus de 140 Chefs de famille, ils sont laids et vilains, habitent les bois, n'ont point de demeure fixe, ils en changent suivant les saisons des différentes chasses...leur coutume est de boire le sang des Animaux immédiatement après qu'ils les ont tués.<sup>80</sup>

They were still living in wigwams, which contemporary observers did not regard very highly,<sup>81</sup> and they supported themselves by trading game and furs with the inhabitants. At this time Cape Sable was renowned for its moose hunting.<sup>82</sup>

This resistance on the part of the Indians to changing their way of life at first surprised the French and then irritated them; even Lahontan, who was generally sympathetic, referred to "their fanatical Opinions of things, which proceeded

from their Prepossession and Bigotry with reference to their own customs and ways of living."<sup>83</sup> But the French never allowed their irritation to make them forget that a reprimand was far more effective in controlling the Indians than bullying or threats. Officers who were successful Indian leaders made skilful use of this characteristic. Paul de Marin de La Malgue, who led the force of Canadians and Indians that was too late to relieve Louisbourg in 1745 and whose son, Joseph, stayed to harass the British in Nova Scotia until 1749, and Charles Deschamps de Boishébert et de Raffetot, who had a similar mission in 1755-58, all knew how to lead by a subtle blend of persuasion and firmness. Joseph de Marin reported that

mon credit sur l'Esprit des sauvages ait aresté les cruautés qu'ils vouloient Exercer sur les officiers ainsy que sur les femmes qui étoient avec Eux, et il ne luy sera pas difficile d'en Etre convaincu s'yl a quelque connaissance de la façon dont les sauvages se gouvernent et de leur manière d'agir, lors qu'ils sont En partis de guërre et qu'ils se sentent supérieurs en nombre au françois comme ils s'étoient de beaucoup dans le partis que j'avois avec moy n'ayant que dix huit canadiens."<sup>84</sup>

It was such a blend, with a large addition of ritual and ceremony, that helps explain the effectiveness of religion as an instrument for controlling the Micmac, among other Indians. Pichon said that used properly, religion was easily the most efficient of such instruments. The Indians

ont besoin d'un culte qui remplisse la durée des momens qu'ils ne donnent pas à leurs besoins. Ils en avoient déjà trouvé l'emploi de ces momens avant que nous les connussions, et en changeant le genre de leurs occupations à cet égard, nous ne devons pas prétendre changer entièrement les goûts qui leurs avoient fait choisir.<sup>85</sup>

Whether used for religion, trade, politics or war, ritual and ceremony were fundamental to the closely interwoven relationships of these activities in Indian life. In order

to carry out their religious functions, missionaries also had to operate in commercial, political and military capacities as it was impossible to separate these roles in undifferentiated Indian societies. Nowhere was this more evident than in Acadia.

For the approximately one hundred missionaries who worked among the Indians of Acadia during the French régime, the problem was one of political necessity versus religious idealism -- an exercise in syncretism they were variously successful in resolving.<sup>86</sup> Gaulin managed to run afoul of both French and English authorities at different times of his career.<sup>87</sup> Maillard's concern for the welfare of his Micmac flock in the end overcame his devotion to the French cause; he recognized the inevitable when Louisbourg fell for the second time in 1758 and went to English Halifax to continue his missionary work.<sup>88</sup> The year he died he was elected superior of the Seminary of Quebec, but Governor James Murray refused to confirm the appointment on the grounds that it had originated in Paris.<sup>89</sup> Jean-Louis Le Loutre so devoted himself to the political side of his role that at times it overshadowed the religious. His activities leading both Indians and Acadians against the English earned for him the hatred of the latter and the high esteem of the French court.<sup>90</sup>

Edward Cornwallis, founder of Halifax and governor of Nova Scotia, reflected the official English view when he wrote to the bishop of Quebec that he not only wanted the Acadians and the Indians to have priests, but was pleased to do whatever he could to obtain them. Still, he wondered,

Est ce bien vous qui avés envoyé Le Loutre pour missionnaire aux Micmacs, est ce pour leur bien que ce prestre excite ces misérables à exercer leur cruautés contre ceux qui leur fait toutes sortes d'amitiés, est ce pour leur intérêt qu'il les empêche de s'unir à un peuple civilisé et chrétien, et de jouir de tous les avantages d'un doux

Gouvernement. Si vous lui avez donné cette mission, je suis certain que vous ne luy avés pas ordonné de mener les Sauvages à leur propre Ruine, et Contre les alliés de son Roy.<sup>91</sup>

As for the Micmac, if their legends are of any significance, Maillard, "Mosi Meial," was their man. One of the two last missionaries of Acadia to come from France (Le Loutre followed him within two years), Maillard was so highly regarded by his flock that he became enshrined in their legends.<sup>92</sup> Ile Sainte-Famille (Chapel Island) in Bras d'Or Lake where Maillard had his mission in the 1750s is still the place where the Micmac gather each year on St. Anne's Day, 26 July.

Gaulin was also much loved by the Indians. For close to 20 years the only missionary to the Micmacs of peninsular Acadia,<sup>93</sup> he had learned to live like them, especially when France overlooked his salary (one such period was 1707 to 1716, except for 1714, according to a claim he presented to authorities<sup>94</sup>). A contemporary observer says that the Indians called him their "second patriarch,"<sup>95</sup>

il a prie toutes leurs manières, fait leurs mariages, leurs baptêmes, leurs enterements et leur dit les prières et la messe chaque jour... couche sur la neige, souffre l'extreme froid, porte actuellement des souliers à la sauvage faite des peaux de loups marin; il parte aussi avec la troupe pour aler du costé de Saint Piere de Canseaux.

En verité il faut avoir un zelle bien ardent afin de passer sa vie de la sorte avec de tels peuples; les anciens apostre n'en ont jamais mené une si affreuse et si austere; ces deux misionnaires [the other being Père Michel Brûlai] meritent assurément de trouver place dans la légende des Saints.<sup>96</sup>

French authorities did not appreciate Gaulin as much as the Indians did. His wandering life, his rough-hewn, rather tactless manner caused officials to eye him askance.

"Le Sr Gaulin est Canadien...et n'est point un esprit fixe et sur lequel on puisse faire fond," was the verdict.<sup>97</sup>

Pierre-August de Soubras, commissaire-ordonnateur, became so suspicious of him that he reported "ce missionnaire fait un commerce peu convenable et dangereux pour son caractère."<sup>98</sup> When Gaulin followed his flock to Canceau to go fishing, Soubras charged that "il ne convenoit guère à un Missionnaire de S'établir dans un endroit aussi suspect."<sup>99</sup>

Gaulin found himself in danger of losing his mission.<sup>100</sup> He went to France to defend himself; meanwhile, at Louisbourg Saint-Ovide praised him highly.<sup>101</sup>

Gaulin's complaints about his hard life proved to be only too justified; before he was 50 years old he was broken in health and the authorities were concerned about finding him an assistant.<sup>102</sup> Only three years later was Courtin sent to help him;<sup>103</sup> finding missionaries suitable for work among the Indians was a perennial problem for New France.

Several years after he had retired in 1731 to Quebec, Gaulin received a tribute in an official report when he was listed with Courtin as the missionary who had contributed the most to the Micmacs.<sup>104</sup>

The devotion of these missionaries to their flocks is too evident to need elaboration. In appraising the spiritual aspects of their work they could be realistic. The Indians, Gaulin wrote, "sont assez bien disposez pour recevoir les impressions qu'on veut bien leur donner mais ils ont besoin d'estre ayder."<sup>105</sup> Maillard put it more strongly: "Il faut que je les excite sans cesse à la pratique des actes de leur religion."<sup>106</sup> Le Loutre was the most skeptical of all as to the faith of his charges:

Sont-ils sous les yeux de leur missionnaire, on les prendrait pour des Saints, ce sont des anges à l'église par leur modestie, dociles à leurs patriarches et soumis à ce qu'il leur dit, mais de n'est qu'un bien passager: tout ce perd par leurs différentes courses.<sup>107</sup>



He added that missionary work among the Indians was a constant struggle with "l'inconstance, la légèreté et la paresse."

So, while the missionaries did not doubt the ultimate value of their work, neither were they under any illusions as to how deeply Christianity had taken hold of their charges. On the other side of the picture, the Acadian Indians, who had been declared converted by the end of the 17th century, well before the establishment of Louisbourg, gave consistent evidence of being devoted to their missionaries and to their church. For one thing, they complained throughout the Louisbourg years about the lack of missionaries.<sup>108</sup> Neither is there any reason to doubt the genuineness of their sentiments when they claimed they had accepted the French king because he had taught them the Catholic religion. The effectiveness of their conversion can perhaps best be judged by the fact that to this day they are still Catholics.

It never seems to have occurred to the French to doubt, at least officially, whether or not they had the moral right to manipulate these peoples for their own ends<sup>109</sup> any more than it occurred to the English to seriously doubt their right to dispossess them. The king of France considered himself "bon père de famille" and repeatedly urged his representatives in New France to act accordingly. But the "bon père" in 17th-and 18th- century terms had the right to control the destinies of his children as he saw fit or as he was capable of doing; and so officialdom saw nothing anomalous in destroying the Indian's faith in their own beliefs in order to replace them with those of Christianity.<sup>110</sup> Nor was it considered wrong to bring pressure on the Indians to establish themselves in permanent villages although the Micmac, Malecite and other Algonkin tribes in New France were nomadic hunters and not farmers, with all the cultural apparatus implicit in that distinction; or to fan the embers



of hostility toward the English which throughout the colonial period never ceased to smoulder.<sup>111</sup> De la Varenne could write, with much truth, that

it is chiefly to the conduct of the English themselves, we are beholden for this favorable aid of the savages. If the English at first, instead of seeking to exterminate or oppress them by dint of power, the sense of which drove them for refuge into our party, had behaved with more tenderness to them, and conciliated their affection by humoring them properly, and distributing a few presents, they might easily have made useful and valuable subjects of them.<sup>112</sup>

The English record is not quite as bad as this would indicate; after all, they did win the active allegiance of the Iroquois, the most advanced of the Eastern Woodland peoples, and of those formidable warriors of the Southeast, the Chickasaw. And while the English were less inclined to compromise than the French, the Indians in the long run had little to choose between the two powers. The French were just as inclined to self-interest as the English and so, it must be admitted, were the Indians.<sup>113</sup> The latter realized that the rivalry between the two European powers put them in a position of strength and they did their best to take advantage of it.<sup>114</sup>

Strangely enough -- at least the Europeans considered it strange -- the Indians did not use their position to profiteer or to amass personal fortunes. Accumulation of goods had little, if any, place in Eastern Woodlands cultures.<sup>115</sup> To Europeans, this was improvidence. To the Micmac, goods were to be used, either to provide for the immediate needs of himself, his family or his group, or to be given away to prove his great heart and so establish his position as a leader. Neither he nor his fellow Micmac worried about the future. This unconcern for material wealth contrasts rather oddly with the Indians' already well-established dependence on trade goods and consequent lack of selfsufficiency. One

more illustration of their cultural distance from Europeans, it also was one of the many reasons why the French never really learned to like the Indians.

It was not, however, necessary to like the Indians in order to consider them essential to the establishment of Louisbourg. By that time, the Micmac had been in contact with Europeans for two centuries, a contact which had been growing in intensity during the past one hundred years. Their stone-age technology had long since disappeared, but much of their old way persisted although greatly modified by trade goods as well as by the fur trade. Technologies, however, change faster than cultures. Almost defiantly, Micmac continued to be Micmac, regarding themselves as a free and sovereign people, the allies of the French. The French king was their "father" because he had taught them their new religion. They acknowledged no more obedience to him than they accorded to their own chieftains. In the face of the overpowering challenges of European culture, these once self-assertive, far-ranging people wished only to be left alone, to live their own lives in their own way, but the clash of French and English in the New World dictated otherwise and so the Micmac became instruments of empire. The French achieved this by developing men with the particular qualities needed to be leaders of Indians, a group which included some of the missionaries. Under the guidances of such men and with the direction and assistance of Louisbourg, Acadian Indians became a highly effective guerrilla force against the English.

## Nerve Centre for Raiders of Sea and Forest

France, fighting for imperial survival in North America after the Treaty of Utrecht and acting on the principle that offense is the best defence, decided to build Louisbourg, the mightiest fortress in the New World. While it took some time to select the exact place, its general location was never in doubt -- Cape Breton, which had long since caught the attention of French colonizers. Its proximity to the North Atlantic fisheries, its coal mines and forests may have had their attractions, but it is widely accepted that its strategic location near the entrance to Canada was the deciding factor. This location also made it a natural entrepôt for the triangular (Canada-West Indies-France) trade route. Nicolas Denys (1598-1688), fur trader and landowner, had brought settlers to the island during the latter half of the 17th century and they had successfully grown wheat there although that initial colony had disappeared. This was remembered by the Indians, who told Pierre Denys de La Ronde (grandnephew of Nicolas) when he visited the island in 1713 that it grew the finest wheat in the world.<sup>1</sup> The leaders of its second colonization were less interested in farming than in capitalizing on the island's strategic location for defence, fisheries and trade. The role of the fortress was to be many-faceted, one of the most important of which would be to direct the Indians in their resistance against the English.

Saint-Ovide, the king's lieutenant at Plaisance in Newfoundland and later the colony's second governor, took formal possession on 2 September 1713, declaring "à tous qu'il

appartiendra n'avoir trouvé sur ladite isle qu'un habitant françois et 25 à 30 familles sauvages."<sup>2</sup> The newly-named Ile Royale, "Oonumaghee" of the Indians, was to be the touchstone of French hopes in New France. When Beauharnois expressed doubts as to the usefulness of the new colony, Maurepas replied that it was

le moyen le plus Solide pour augmenter la Navigation.  
Je le regarde aussy comme le rempart du Canada  
qui tomberoit bientost ausy bien que les pesches  
Si les Anglois estoient possesseurs de Louisbourg,  
J'espère qu'il n'y parviendront jamais par  
l'attention que je donne de faire fortifier  
cette place de manière qu'on ne puisse l'attaquer  
impunément.<sup>3</sup>

Ange Duquesne de Menneville, governor of New France, had another view; Acadia, he wrote in 1754, "is a gulf of indispensable expense."<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the economic viability of the new colony had been considered by Jacques Raudot, intendant of New France, when its establishment was first projected:

On pourroit faire dans les Commencemens quelques pelleteries comme Martres, Renards, Loutres, et Ours à cause des animaux qui sont dans cette Isle. Mais on ne doit pas Compter cela pour un commerce parqu'ils seront bientôt détruits de même que les orignaux et caribous qui y sont. Mais ils serviront beaucoup dans les Commencemens de même que le Gibier qui y est fort abondant pour fournir un peu de viande fraiche à ceux qui s'Etabliront.<sup>5</sup>

Louisbourg's main role in the fur trade was to serve as a transshipping point for cargoes from Canada. As Raudot foresaw, Indians traded furs and game for supplies, but this did not reach the level of organized commerce.

Much more important were the maritime resources off the island. Raudot hoped that the Indians would sell their seal and fish oil, which "à present ils n'en trouvent presque point le debit," and that they would be employed in fishing for cod.<sup>6</sup> The former was realized to a certain

extent, but not the latter; the Indians took very little, if any, part in commercial cod fishing.

From the moment Ile Royale was conceived, Indians played a part in plans for the establishment. Jérôme Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain, then minister of Marine, wrote to Saint-Ovide,

J'écris à M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil qu'il est absolument nécessaire de déterminer les François et les sauvages de l'Acadie à aller habiter l'isle du Cap Breton et que pour cela il doit prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires.<sup>7</sup>

Pontchartrain was concerned about the Micmac, Malecite and Abenaki of Acadia falling under the influence of the English. If left where they were under English domination,

ils deviendront par la suite anglois et pourroient porter par la suite la guerre au Cap Breton, au lieu que les attirans à cette Isle ce sera un remfort qu'on luy produira d'un peuple qui connoist parfaitement toutes les terres de l'Acadie.<sup>8</sup>

This intimate knowledge of Acadia could be used to isolate Ile Royale if the Indians should declare themselves against the French. "Qu'on ne peut pour cette raison trop menager ces Sauvages," Michel Bégon de la Picardière declared.<sup>9</sup> Pontchartrain knew enough of the Indian character to be aware that the Acadian Indians could never be lured to live in the St. Lawrence Valley because they were accustomed to live by the sea, but he could see no reason why they could not be attracted to Ile Royale. He wrote to Saint-Castin concerning the Abenaki,

[Sa Majesté] souhaitterois que les Sauvages qui y Sont fussent habiter à l'Isle du Cap Breton. Elle est persuadé qu'ils se determineront volontiers Tant par Raport à la Religion Catholique qu'ils professent que par ce qu'ils Sont accoutumés avec la Nation françoise de qui ils ont toujours receus toutes sortes de Secours. Il faut que les françois et les Sauvages de l'Acadie Voyent le Soleil et les Etoiles de dessus la mesme terre que la hache des Uns et des autres Se repose et Soit

levée Ensemble et que leurs os soient dans le mesme lieu. Je Suis persuadé que personne n'est plus Capable que Vous de déterminer ces Sauvages de se rendre à l'Isle.<sup>10</sup>

This letter, so different in tone from the usual official correspondence, was calculated to appeal to the susceptibilities of the young half-Indian leader of the Abenaki of Pentagouet. It uses the oratorical style of Indian negotiators to persuade Indians to fall in with French plans. None of this turn of phrase was evident when Pontchartrain wrote to Saint-Ovide,

J'écris à M. Le marquis de Vaudreuil qui est absolument nécessaire de déterminer les françois et les Sauvages de lacadie à aller habiter à l'Isle du Cap Breton et que pour cela il doit prendre toutes les mesures possibles. Je luy Envoye deux lettres l'une pour le Sr. Gaulin et l'autre pour le Père Justinien [Durand] par ou je leur marque qu'il faut qu'il mettent tout en Usage pour y faire aller ces peuples. Je Jointz icy des duplicata de ces deux lettres que Je Vous prie de leur faire passer par Voyes Seures Car il est de Consequence quelles ne tombent pas en d'autres mains que les leurs.<sup>11</sup>

It was easier to form grand designs in France than it was to realize them in Acadia. Gaulin reacted to his orders with some reserve, pointing out to Costebelle that the Acadians would not willingly leave their farms as the English had promised them as good advantages as they would enjoy at Ile Royale; as for the Micmac and Malecite,

"il sera plus facile à les déterminer et comme ces derniers dependent un peu plus de moy aussi j'apporteray ce plus de soin pour les engager à se rassembler au lieu que nous leurs marqués."<sup>12</sup>

Either Gaulin overestimated his influence with the Indians or he was intent on placating the authorities. He well knew that his flock would not take kindly to being confined to a permanent village on an island or anywhere else. He had previously (1706-08) put himself heavily into debt buying tools and equipment for a similar project under Subercase.

The project had failed and he had not been reimbursed.<sup>13</sup> Hunters on sea and land, the Micmac still retained enough of their pre-contact habits to need an abundance of living space. It would be ten years before the Indian War of 1722-26 would provide the motivation to enable Gaulin to establish his mission on Bras d'Or Lake.

Nor was Gaulin alone in realizing the obstacles to the French policy. Félix Pain (1668-1741), Recollect missionary who worked in Acadia from about 1694 to 1733, did not mince words when he wrote about the Micmac,

ils disent que de Se Renfermer tous dans cette isle du Cap Breton se seroit préjudicieux à leur liberté, et que ce seroit une chose impossible à Leur Liberté naturelle et aux moyens de pouvoir à leurs subsistance.

Quand à l'égard de leur attachement au Roy et aux François que l'est inviolable, et que si la Reine d'Angleterre avoient Les prés de l'Accadie par la cession que Sa Majesté Luy en avoit faitte, que pour eux ils avoient Les Bois dont jamais personne ne seroit capable de les débusquer, et qu'ainsi ils vous promettent neantmoins d'estre toujours fidèle aux françois et leurs donner la preference dans la traite des pelletries.<sup>14</sup>

Officials at Versailles eventually realized that not even Saint-Castin, with all his influence, could persuade the Abenaki to transplant themselves from their ancestral villages to Ile Royale which, after all, was Micmac territory. An earlier attempt to lure the Abenaki to Canada by offering them the protection of a fort and lands prepared for their use had failed. The Micmac had their own reasons for being reluctant: they could not see why they should commit themselves to permanent villages, whether in their own territory or not. Finally, they agreed to establish a community on a river near Canso to which Pontchartrain objected that it was in English territory, a point which was irrelevant to the Micmac as they regarded it as their territory.<sup>15</sup> The Indians' contention that



they needed good hunting grounds became painfully justified as famine threatened and officials had to come to their rescue with supplies.<sup>16</sup> Pontchartrain bowed to the inevitable and in 1715 approved the establishment of the mission at Artigoniche (Antigonish), on the Strait of Canso. This was still English territory, but it was unsettled, close to Ile Royale and also close to that troublesome frontier post, Canso.<sup>17</sup> Finally, in 1717, a church was approved for Antigonish, "afin d'y fixer les Sauvages."<sup>18</sup>

But this was not what France had hoped for and Gaulin found himself facing criticism from officials, particularly from Soubras. The commissaire-ordonnateur suspected the missionary of being so fond of the wandering life with the Indians that he was deliberately hunting for pretexts to prevent their permanent settlement.<sup>19</sup>

Gaulin, who had not received his salary for years, responded by asking for his back pay and for reimbursement for his debts.<sup>20</sup> He claimed that he had done everything possible to fulfil his orders and that it was "bien dur de me voir l'oprobe de bien des gents pour avoir entrepris une mission," and referred to himself as "un pauvre Micmac."<sup>21</sup> If things did not improve he would have to abandon his mission.<sup>22</sup> Alarmed, the Council of the Marine decided that as his work was necessary for Ile Royale and that as he was esteemed by the Indians and had always worked well with them, his salary should be increased to 500 livres a year and that part of his debts should be paid.<sup>23</sup> The half-hearted quality of that last concession was probably due to the influence of Soubras, who had earlier expressed serious reservations as to Gaulin's financial capacity.<sup>24</sup>

It was not until 1723 that the Indians, harassed by the English in the Indian War,<sup>25</sup> finally agreed to establish themselves on Ile Royale; they selected Mirliquèche, about 22 leagues from Louisbourg, on a peninsula at the entrance of River

Denys Basin on the west side of Bras d'Or Lake, not far from Port Toulouse (St. Peters).<sup>26</sup> Maurepas expressed his pleasure by allotting 2,500 livres for the construction of a church and presbytery, urging Gaulin to attract as many Indians as he could to the new mission.<sup>27</sup> The church and presbytery were not completed until 1726 because of administrative difficulties.<sup>28</sup> Mirliguèche remained the headquarters for the Indians of the island until 1750 when Maillard established his mission at Ile Sainte-Famille, "Potloteq" to the Micmacs, six miles north of Port Toulouse in Bras d'Or Lake. By that time both church and presbytery had become unusable, which reflects on the quality of their original construction. Accounts for 1726 list their cost as 3,900 livres, 18 sols, 4 derniers.

The people who came to Ile Royale were mainly Micmac, with some Malecite. It is difficult, if not impossible, to make clear distinctions as early officials usually did not distinguish between Micmac and "Amalichite." Abenaki are not so frequently mentioned. In spite of the fact that Gaulin was provided with tools to transform his flock into agriculturalists, in which project he reported some success, the Micmac remained essentially nomadic hunters; those on Ile Saint-Jean seem to have been more given to gardening. The Ile Royale group was never numerous; in 1715 Costebelle estimated there were 50 Indian men bearing arms on the island,<sup>29</sup> about half the population of Antigonish. Gaulin's census for 1721 lists 36 men bearing arms (usually heads of families) on Ile Royale out of a total of 289 men on the Acadian peninsula.<sup>30</sup> The following year the Ile Royale figure dropped to 17 out of a total of 164. This census, more detailed than the previous one, lists 107 individuals for the Indian population of Ile Royale out of 838 for the peninsula.<sup>31</sup>

In its enumeration of Indian villages it listed "Ile Royale" as of no fixed location, Artigoniche (Antigonish),

Picquetou and Guetamigouche (Pictou and Tatamagouche), Sainte-Marie and Baie-de-Toute Isle (near Sherbrooke), Chebenacadie (Shubenacadie), no fixed residence for Les Mines (Minas), La Hève (La Have), Port-Royal (also of no fixed residence), Cap Sable and Beaubassin.

Courtin's census of 1727 reported 62 men bearing arms on Ile Royale, but only 37 women and children, and at Antigonish 31 men bearing arms and 26 women and children.<sup>32</sup> In 1735 the figures were 45 men bearing arms for Ile Royale out of an Acadian total of 412.<sup>33</sup> In 1745 the figures had become 80 souls for Ile Royale and 200 for Le Loutre's mission in Shubenacadie, 195 for Miramichi and 60 for Ristigouche.<sup>34</sup>

The 1738 survey of the Micmac missions gave the numbers of Micmacs bearing arms as 600. The villages enumerated were Mariguaouche (Mirliguèche) near Port Toulouse, Artigounieche (Antigonish), Malpec on Ile Saint-Jean, Pictou, Tagmegouche (Tatamagouche) on the Acadian coast opposite Port-la-Joie (Charlottetown) on Ile Saint-Jean, Beaubassin, Chedaik (Shediak), Chibouctou (Halifax), Chebnakadie (Shubenacadie), Port-Royal and La Hève (the latter two were regarded as only one village by the Indians as they alternated between the two), Cap Sable, and Miramichy and Ristigoutchy (Ristigouche) in Baie-des-Chaleurs.<sup>35</sup> In 1774, well after the departure of the French, the Indians of Cape Breton were listed at 80 men, 50 women and 100 children.

Population figures for the French on Ile Royale compiled by Clark list 1,740 in 1720; 2,670 in 1723; 3,153 in 1726 and 4,122 in 1752.<sup>37</sup> This completes the census record of the colony.

On the basis of these figures, the Indian population of Ile Royale never exceeded 250 souls. At no time did it reach the 260 families originally planned for by the French, which would have been 1,300 souls.<sup>38</sup> The 1738 survey would

indicate that at that time the Micmac population as a whole was equivalent to Biard's 1616 estimate of 3,000 to 3,500. The other polls taken by the missionaries were too fragmentary to provide a sound basis for comparison. It would have been difficult for the French, with the facilities at their disposal, to make a complete census of these nomadic people, so they usually confined themselves to the missions. In any event, the French were mainly interested in the number of fighting men available for their cause and in how many presents they had to distribute to keep those men loyal. The censuses were used as a basis for gift distribution.

While the Indian population of Ile Royale doubled after the establishment of Louisbourg, there was no perceptible increase after Mirliquèche was founded. The mission seems to have served as a rallying point rather than as a nucleus for a stable population. The colony's annual statements of expenses showed that the missionaries of Mirliquèche and Shubenacadie reported frequently to Louisbourg. These missionaries were responsible not only for the Indians of Ile Royale, but also for those of the peninsula under the control of the English.

By the time Louisbourg was established, hostilities were longstanding between French and English and between Indians and English. Of all New France, Acadia had consistently been the most embattled. Port-Royal had fallen five times to the English, the last time in 1710 when it was renamed Annapolis Royal. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 brought nominal peace, but in fact the confrontation continued, over boundaries, over the missionaries who were allowed to work in Nova Scotia under the terms of the treaty, over fishing rights and over trade.

In spite of the fact that their reasons for wanting the Indian presence on Ile Royale were clear and even pressing, the French were not always considerate of their

friends.<sup>39</sup> Periodically, the Indians found it necessary to remind the French that Acadia was, after all, their territory "dont ils prétendent n'avoir abandonné aux françois que l'usage et l'usufruit, ils s'en sont expliqués d'une manière forte à M. de Saint-Ovide dans un représentation qu'ils lui firent à Canceau le 3 juin de l'année dernière."<sup>40</sup>

Whether or not the French took this seriously as far as they themselves were concerned, they used it as a weapon in their diplomatic tug-of-war with England.

At the time Costebelle assumed control as first governor of Ile Royale, the problem was not so much to incite the Indians against the English as to keep them under control. Annapolis Royal was little more than a fortress in a hostile land. In 1711 Simhouret, a chief of Pentagouet and an ally of Saint-Castin, had led an ambush against 63 English soldiers and their officers who had been sent "pour aller bruler les habitations du haut de la Rivière" because the inhabitants did not want to furnish wood for the repair of the fort. None of the English escaped.<sup>41</sup>

Samuel Vetch, governor at Annapolis Royal, in exasperation asked for a company of Mohawks to deal with the Micmac and the Abenaki on their own terms, saying that they would be worth double the number of Europeans. This proved briefly effective, but Boston disbanded the company.<sup>42</sup>

Incident piled on incident until Costebelle was moved to deplore "la férocité inutile" of the Indians. The Micmac had declared openly against the English, claiming that their people at Minas were dying because of poisoned sagamité given to them by the English at a feast.<sup>43</sup> When Gaulin threatened not to hear their confessions unless they made restitution for their looting, they replied that they would never again ask anything of him.<sup>44</sup> Clearly, the situation threatened to get out of hand.

Costebelle sent a circular letter to the chiefs strongly

urging moderation. He sent a copy to Francis Nicholson, who had replaced Vetch as governor of Nova Scotia, assuring him that "bien loin d'autoriser ces Brigandages, il a pris les mesures les plus convenables pour faire ressentir aux sauvages qu'ils ne pouvoient pratiquer rien de plus désagréable au Roy que de tenir une conduite si contraire aux articles de la Paix."<sup>45</sup> Controlling these self-willed allies taxed Costebelle's patience. "Je vous assure, Monseigneur, que se sont là des animaux bien difficile à conduire," he wrote to the king.<sup>46</sup> However, he was able to report some success. The Indians restored 14 large boats they had taken from New England fishermen. Also, "il en avait relaché 15 ou 16 dans le Port Toulouze que les Sauvages vouloient surprendre, et dont ils se seroient rendus maitres sans les ordres contraires qu'il leur fit expliquer par le Sr Gaulin."<sup>47</sup>

The French were motivated by fear of reprisals as much as anything else. As de Mézy pointed out under similar circumstances more than a decade later, if the New Englanders became convinced of French complicity in Indian hostilities, they could make things very uncomfortable for the French fishermen.<sup>48</sup>

The Indians, far from being abashed, told Nicholson's envoy that they recognized only the king of France, that they would not tolerate any new English establishments along the Acadian coast, and that English ships would come into these waters at their own peril. Nicholson's action in barring the Indians from trade with the English did not help matters. This pleased Versailles. A marginal note on Costebelle's report says "il fallait maintenir les sauvages dans ces sentiments, sans cependant que cela parut ouvertement, et de ménager la chose avec beaucoup de prudence et de secret pour ne point donner aux Anglais occasion de plainte."<sup>49</sup>

Soubras saw other reasons for caution. He noted that



English traders could well win over the Abenaki

qui déjà fait perdue à ces sauvages l'animosité qu'ils avoient contr'eux, en sort que la politique des Sauvages semble estre de s'entretenir neutres et de se conserver la liberté d'aller chés les françois et les anglois prendre les marchandises ou ils les trouvent à plus bas prix.<sup>50</sup>

He hoped that the missionaries would be able to use "motifs de la religion" to prevent this from happening.<sup>51</sup>

So by a judicious mixture of encouragement on the one hand and disavowal and concealment on the other, the French nursed Indian hostility against the English. Indian vengeance was also a tool in the hands of the French, mainly because English determination to "teach them a lesson" invariably set off new rounds of Indian raids and reprisals. The English were convinced that the French were at the root of their troubles with the Indians, but if they had probed a little further they would have found that they themselves were at fault, and if they had dug even further they would have encountered the deep differences between the basic philosophies of the Indian way of life and that of the European.<sup>52</sup>

In the meantime the Micmac pitched into the fray in the one area they knew best -- the sea. New England fishing fleets and trading ships found their operations seriously hampered and occasionally halted. Official correspondence from Louisbourg refers to at least 80 captures by the Indians during the period 1713-60 and this is by no means complete. Gaulin claimed with pride that his Indians "prirent même avec leurs petites Chaloupes et Canots plus de 20 Batimens anglois le long de la Coste, et depuis la prise du fort Royal ils ont continué à molester les anglois." He said his Micmacs would have retaken the fort in 1711 if they had not been so short of ammunition.<sup>53</sup>

Things reached such a pass that English fishermen



sometimes turned to the French for protection, preferring to fish in their company rather than alone. At other times the French joined the Indians in threatening the New Englanders. An incident of this kind happened to Cyprian Southack who in the summer of 1715 had three vessels engaged in fishing off the island. Threatened by a Frenchman and a Métis, Southack had no doubts about French-Indian complicity when he laid his complaint before the council at Boston that Costebelle had "made a present of two hundred pounds to the Indians" to kill him and pillage his vessels. Southack had decamped so precipitously that he had left behind his three vessels, which were fishing at sea. He set his losses at £600. His fright must have been of short duration for three years later he was back in the fishing grounds, this time to suffer the loss of one of his sloops which was burned by the Indians after running aground.<sup>54</sup>

In 1727 about 30 Indians took a 70-ton schooner at Port aux Basques, Newfoundland, and sailed it to Mirliguèche on Bras d'Or Lake. The French arranged for the owner in Boston to buy it back, covering up their complicity in the affair.<sup>55</sup>

On another occasion they paid Indians for taking an English boat off Canso.<sup>56</sup> The story of a lone Indian capturing an English shallop armed with five men was reported with satisfaction by Jacques Prévost, commissaire-ordonnateur who succeeded François Bigot.<sup>57</sup> The Indians liked to cruise in their captured ships before abandoning them, sometimes forcing their prisoners to serve as crew. They had no real use for ships of this size, just as they had no use for artillery.

Most of this activity seems to have occurred from about 1710 until 1730 when there was a comparative calm for two decades followed by a revival of lesser proportions in the fifties. A peak was reached in 1722 when French officials reported Indians taking 20 to 25 vessels in the Bay of Fundy and off the coast of Acadia. Governor Philipps formally declared

war against the Indians, ordering the Acadians under the English to treat them as enemies.<sup>58</sup> He sent out two sloops, each with a detachment of 60 men, which soon recaptured most of the taken vessels. A ship carrying 15 Indians attacked one of the sloops; the battle lasted for two hours, with the Indians finally saving themselves by swimming ashore, leaving five dead behind them.<sup>59</sup> The English put the heads of the dead men up on pickets at Canso, which did nothing to appease the Indians.<sup>60</sup>

When the English surprised 16 Indians asleep in their camp and killed nine of them, the Micmac burned the houses of English settlers and killed their livestock.<sup>61</sup> Philipps, in the meantime, had threatened to march on Antigonish, destroy the mission and take Gaulin, to which Saint-Ovide replied that the French and the English were at peace. The dates for the Indian War are given as 1722-26<sup>62</sup> although its ending was not definite.

Twice during these turbulent years the Indians attacked Canso. They explained their raid of 1720, in which they did damage estimated by the British at £20,000, as a reprisal for the 1718 British raid. In any event, French authorities were concerned enough to make restitution to the value of £16,000, pointing out at the same time that the British had not yet settled for the damage done in their raid. When the Indians complained the following year that they were not receiving enough ammunition to provide for their livelihood, the annual budget for gifts was increased the following year from 2,000 livres to 3,460 livres. However, this was not as generous as it sounds; at least part of the increase was due to rising prices and de Mézy was asked to reduce expenses as "il paroist qu'elles peuvent estre considerablement diminuées."<sup>63</sup>

The Indians in their second onslaught, in 1725, took nine or ten craft and, as was their custom, went cruising afterwards.

An episode which occurred in 1721 illustrates the mounting tensions between Indian and English at that time. A raid on cattle by some young Abenakis led the English to take several prisoners, including a Malecite chief who had been trading in Boston. Ransom for the chief and the other prisoners was set at 600 beaver pelts, which was the value set on the cattle, but when the Indians came to pay it, the English doubled the price. This was paid and the prisoners released. The Indians, vowing vengeance, led raids and attacks to within 25 leagues of Boston.<sup>64</sup>

When 60 Malecite and Micmac attacked the fort at Annapolis Royal in 1724, killing a sergeant and another soldier and wounding several, Philipps replied by taking an Indian who had been in prison for two years and killing him on the spot where the sergeant had been shot.<sup>65</sup>

This was the year that the Abenaki suffered their defeat at Norridgewock, where Father Sébastien Rale was killed and which ended the Abenaki part of the war. These people signed a treaty with the English in Boston the following year, the first of a series (1725, 1727, 1752, 1760 and afterwards) that were signed by various groups of the eastern Indians. These were interspersed with ratifications and confirmations, beginning in 1726 when the 1725 treaty was ratified and confirmed by the Micmacs and Malecite of Annapolis Royal. Until the final defeat of New France, these treaties and ratifications did not ensure peace, a situation which the English tried to deal with by declaring the Indians rebels, as Governor Shute did in Massachusetts in 1722.<sup>66</sup> This only succeeded in arousing resentment as the trouble lay not in Indian waywardness or fickleness, but in Indian ideas of authority, individual liberty and of the nature of treaties and alliances. These were irreconcilable with English ideas. To the Indian, each man was his own master; even in war he was free to leave at any time with no opprobrium attached to

his action. Indians had as much trouble understanding the European concept of treaties as Europeans had with Indian alliances which, far from being irrevocable for all time, were covenants ritually renewed with full attendant ceremonies including gift exchanges. The English insisted on their treaties, but also arranged for ratifications and confirmations of the main treaty to make sure that all the chiefs considered themselves included in its terms. Of the series with the "Eastern Indians" that followed the 1725 treaty, the texts make it evident that the English considered them all to be ratifications or confirmations of the first one.<sup>67</sup> The Indians shared no such view and considered each new signing as a separate treaty. In this they were encouraged by the French, with whom they signed no treaties.

The English were inclined to accord more power to these agreements than the Indians. For instance, the Indians did not consider that peace treaties in themselves gave the English the right to set up coal-mining operations, which they saw only as ruining their hunting grounds. Led by Joseph de Marin, with Maillard as attending chaplain, they attacked the Ile Royale installations set up during the first English occupation of Louisbourg, 1745-49, killing and burning, seriously hampering operations.<sup>68</sup> More than a decade earlier, Indians had forced the English to abandon a project to build a fortified trading post at Minas.<sup>69</sup> In these as in other instances, the French harnessed and led Indian resistance.

The French combated overtures between the Indians and the English by the proven methods of feasting,<sup>70</sup> dancing and endless oratory accompanied by gift giving. A rumour that the Micmac of the Minas area had signed a peace treaty caused Saint-Ovide to hold such an event at Port Toulouse and another one at Port-la-Joie. It was at this time that Gaulin was supposed to have encouraged the Indians to sue for peace. The report of peace with the Abenakis of Norridgewock was more

reliable, as Maurepas regretfully confirmed to Saint-Ovide. However, he added hopefully, the peace would not last as there was every indication that the Abenaki had acted through fear of the English rather than through a weakening of their attachment for France.

Je me le persuade encore par le discours que vous ont tenu ces Chefs de Sauvages en vous disant que cette paix ne tiroit a aucune consequence parmy eux, qu'ils n'avoient pas de plus grands Ennemies que les Anglois et qu'ils avoient gravé dans leurs Coeurs et dans celuy de leurs enfans la mort honteuse de leurs frères à Baston et la longue prison de ceux qui avoient esté prisonniers au fort Royal d'ou ils estoient Sortis perclus. Je ne doute point que vous ne les ayez entretenu dans cette disposition et que vous ne mettiez à l'avenir tout en usage pour qu'ils ne Se departent point de ces Sentimens.<sup>71</sup>

The peace of 1749 was held up to the Micmac as odious by Raymond, the new governor at Louisbourg, particularly in view of all the presents the king had given them. When the Micmac assured him that they knew nothing of the affair and that they would never make peace with the English, Raymond chose René, chief from Naltigonish, to go among the "St John River Indians" to break the treaty. ("St John River Indians," which usually refers to the Malecite, here refers to Abenaki who had moved into the area as a result of their wars with the English although some Malecite may have been included.) Raymond promised René a reward if he succeeded.<sup>72</sup>

The capture by the English of the ship Marie while on its way to Baie-Verte with a cargo of gifts (mainly munitions) for the Indians was a serious blow to Raymond's hopes. His fears that the Indians would use the lack of presents as an excuse to continue negotiating with the English<sup>73</sup> proved to be only too well-founded, but from an unexpected direction. It was the Micmacs who signed the following year.

Trouble developed closer to home when Louisbourg heard that Coppe, "mauvais Micmac," had signed at Halifax "une

espèce de traité qui n'a été ratifié que de quatre vingt dix à cent Sauvages, Tous mauvais sujets, et tant hommes, femmes qu'enfans."<sup>74</sup> Raymond reacted to the news by asking for a new church and presbytery for Maillard.<sup>75</sup>

Amid continuing acts of hostility, the Indians took advantage of Coppe's treaty to go to Halifax to demand -- and receive -- presents. Prévost reported one incident in which an English ship sailed to a river near Chibouctou Bay to distribute gifts after a Cape Sable man had been murdered, a deed which the Indians attributed to the English. The Indians waited until the gifts had been apportioned and then killed the crew of ten and burned the ship.<sup>76</sup>

In the meantime, the New Englanders had jubilantly announced the treaty in their newspapers. Antoine-Louis Rouille, comte de Joüy, who had replaced Maurepas as minister of the Marine, observed to Raymond that "cette paix n'estoit point generale de la part de tous les Sauvages, qu'elle n'estoit que le prix de presents prodiqués à quelques particuliers, et qu'en tout cas elle ne seroit pas longtemps observé."<sup>77</sup>

This was an astute assessment of Indian psychology that was to be supported by events. The Indians simply did not operate by the same ground rules as the English nor, for that matter, by those of the French. The cultural gap between French and Indians was as great as that between English and Indians; the French and the English were, in the final analysis, in the same camp.

The question of treaties with the Indians was to concern the English long after the fall of New France. A harassed British colonel wrote to the governor of Nova Scotia from Chignecto that he had received the submission of Lawrence ("Laurent" in French documents) of La Hève and of Augustine Michael (Michel) of Richibouctou and had sent them to Lawrence



at Halifax for terms. Along with two other submissions he had received previously, he hoped that these would clear up the Indian question. He was mistaken. He wrote that Father de Miniac had informed him that "there would be a great many more here upon the same business, as soon as their spring hunting was over; and upon enquiring how many, he gave me a list of fourteen chiefs, including those already mentioned, most of whom he said would come." Surprised to hear of such a number of Indian chiefs in this part of America, the colonel added that "Mr. Manach [sic] further told me that they were all of one nation, and known by the name by Mickmacks."<sup>78</sup>

The annual gift-giving ceremonies of the Louisbourg period were lengthy occasions essentially Indian in character,<sup>79</sup> marked at times by gestures as when the chiefs prostrated themselves before Raymond as a special mark of honour<sup>80</sup> or by the presentation of a dozen scalps from the Halifax area during a special dance.<sup>81</sup>

A gift distribution at Port Dauphin (St. Ann's) in 1716 was typical of these events:

[Les Indiens] camperent dans leurs grandes cabanes qu'ils eslevent en peu d'heures, environ trois cents ames y compris femmes et enfends, aupres du gouvernement; on les festina de viandes, de vin, d'eau de vie et pain en plaine campagne ou ils dancierent et chanterent celebrans les eloges du roy; apres quoi on les regala du present ordinaire, sçavoir a chaque sauvage quatre livres de poudre et huit du plomb, 25 fuzils entre eux et 40 couvertes de laine blanche, du moleton et des piéces d'étofes pour leurs fammes, des chaudrons, des marmites et autres ustenciles de cuisine. Ils refuserent ce present qu'on avoit diminué d'un tiers de l'ordinaire disands qu'ils le remeoint au roy; le remerciens de les avoir mis dans la uoye du salut,ourny des missionnaires et honorés de sa protection, qu'ils iroint acheter des anglois ce qui leur manqueroit. C'estoit une menace tacite qu'ils pouroint faire alliance avec eux et quitter la nostre, ce qui engagea monsieur le gouverneur et les principaux officiers d'aumanter le present et de satisfaire les chefs des



sauvages qui paressoint mecontents et qui atendoient ces presens depuis deux mois.<sup>82</sup>

The budget for this purpose before 1713 had been 4,000 livres annually for Acadia. In 1716 this was divided into two, 2,000 livres for the mainland, particularly for the Abenaki along the New England border, administered from Quebec, and 2,000 livres for Ile Royale, administered from Louisbourg.<sup>83</sup> This amount was distributed in goods, mainly powder, ball and flints, but also muskets, tools, blankets, fabrics, clothing and eau de vie, to the Indians of Ile Royale, peninsular Acadia, and along the coast of the mainland as far north as the Gaspé. Both the quantities and the cost of these "présents à l'ordinaire" increased through the years. Continual complaints from the governor that the gifts were not sufficient for the needs of the Indians led to a modification of budgeting. Instead of asking for gifts to a total amount -- up to that time 2,000 livres annually -- the commissaire-ordonnateur sent a list of goods required which was filled at Rochefort. The first shipment under this system was sent out in 1721. Expenditures inevitably rose and the Indians still complained. Although it appears that at least some of these supplies were purchased in the colony from very early days, this does not show up in records until 1740 when François Bigot improved the accounting system. From this time forward, the amount of local purchasing increased, particularly during the fifties when it was noted that "ils achèteront sur le lieu où tout est plus chère qu'en France,"<sup>84</sup> a situation that drew enquiries from Versailles but no apparent change in procedure.

In 1749 when the French returned to Louisbourg after the first English occupation, the year's expenditure was close to 6,000 livres for "présents à l'ordinaire" out of a total budget of 1,195,000 livres for Ile Royale. As we have seen, there was an increase in 1721, the year after the Indian raid

on Canso. In 1733 there was another substantial increase, from 3,180 livres to 4,784 livres, following complaints from Saint-Ovide that there had not been enough gifts to go around, and again in the fifties, which saw renewed aggressions following the establishment of Halifax and which was also a period of inflation.

"Présents à l'extraordinaire" were distributed as the occasion demanded and because of the accounting system it is difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at the sums spent in this way. However, in 1750 Charles Des Herbiers de la Ralière, then governor of Ile Royale, asked that the fund of 12,000 livres for this purpose be continued until arrangements became more definite as it was necessary "à menager toujours de plus en plus les Sauvages, que les Anglois cherchent à gagner à force des presens."<sup>85</sup> Officers commanding such posts as Port Toulouse and Port Dauphin often found themselves personally out-of-pocket when the demands of the Indians became pressing. Versailles solved this perennial problem in a patchwork fashion, reimbursing officers who complained loudly enough.<sup>86</sup>

After 1750, payments to suppliers soared. In 1755 one supplier alone is recorded as receiving 26,096 livres; in 1756, 37,000 livres was listed for such supplies. Augustin de Boschenry de Drucour, Louisbourg's last French governor, wrote "il n'est pas possible de se refuser à quelques dépenses extraordinaires que nous causent les Sauvages que l'on est obligé d'employer." He added that what was even more disturbing was the fact that the Indians could be led only with "les presents et les vivres à la main."<sup>87</sup> Prévost also reported that under prevailing conditions it was necessary to give more than usual to Acadian Indians who came frequently to Louisbourg.<sup>88</sup> To the cost of the gifts must be added transportation charges to have the goods taken from Louisbourg to distribution points.

Another cost factor was the growing necessity to provide for the subsistence of the Indians when they gathered to receive their gifts. As game disappeared, they could no longer support themselves on such occasions. In 1741 the accounts list "présents et subsistence," with the inevitable jump in costs.<sup>89</sup>

Above all, the Indians' bargaining position improved enormously as the English began to woo them with gifts more lavish than those of the French, if one is to believe alarmed Louisbourg accounts. Prévost reported in 1750 that

La scituation des affaires de l'Acadie obligeant à menager toujours de plus en plus les sauvages, que les Anglois cherchent à gagner à force de presens, M. Desherbiers demande la continuation du fonds de 12,000 livres pour les extraordinaire qu'il faudra donner aux Sauvages chaque année, jusqu'à l'arrangement définitif.<sup>90</sup>

Once a quantity had been established in distribution, the Indians were not inclined to accept cutbacks. In 1716 when Costebelle had less than the usual amount to give out, the Indians refused to accept those gifts whose quantities had been reduced, charging him with withholding goods.<sup>91</sup> Louisbourg governors consistently complained that the quantity of presents was insufficient. Occasionally, officials took matters into their own hands, as when Des Herbiers and Prévost supplemented the gifts with goods from the king's stores.<sup>92</sup>

Quality also came in for sharp attention. This was of particular concern in the case of muskets; as early as 1695 Joseph Robinau de Villebon, governor of Acadia, had complained of "une friponnerie manifeste sur les armes des Presens" when an Indian was killed using a gun.<sup>93</sup> Saint-Ovide lodged the same complaint in 1729 when Indians appeared before the Superior Council in Louisbourg and presented five of their men who had been crippled by guns given the previous year.<sup>94</sup> The guns were listed in the statement for that year as "fusils de

chasse" or simply as "fusils"; in 1732 they were listed as "fusils grenadiers sans bayonette,"<sup>95</sup> later becoming "fusils de Tulle sans bayonette."<sup>96</sup> By that time the French were preparing for an expected British invasion.

Colonial administrators fought a running battle with suppliers back in France on this question of quality. Early in the century, a governor of Acadia returned 80 shirts destined as gifts for Indians because their quality was so poor. He received them back in the next year's shipment without a thing changed. However, efforts were made through the years to improve matters, particularly if the Indians themselves objected. A tendency became apparent to specify quality, such as "eau-de-vie preuve de cognac" and "chemises de toile de St. Jean de Lyon."<sup>97</sup>

Gifts were distributed annually in June or July by the governor or his delegate, usually at Port Toulouse, and Port-la-Joie, but also at Port Dauphin. Only occasionally was the presentation made at Louisbourg. Once the governor planned to go to Antigonish in British territory for the purpose, but as the Indians had all gone to Minas to join the Abenakis in harassing the English, he gave up the idea.<sup>98</sup>

Indians assembled for the distribution from as far south as Cap Sable and Pobomcoup, as well as from the isthmus, along the coast of the Bay of Fundy and northward as far as Baie-des-Chaleurs. In other words, from the whole of the peninsula, the coastal mainland and Ile Saint-Jean. The suggestion of Jacques-Ange Le Normant de Mézy, commissaire-ordonnateur, that Louisbourg be used as the annual rendezvous was not taken up. His idea was to avoid abuses in distribution and to impress the Indians with the might of the fortress and its garrison.<sup>99</sup> It could very well have been that the inhabitants of the town would have objected to such an influx. Soubras had earlier expressed disapproval of "l'affluence désagréable"

of Indians in Port Dauphin.<sup>100</sup>

Abuses in gift distribution were not long in developing. Indians frequently charged their missionaries with misdirecting their gifts. Courtin in his turn charged that the Indians sold their gifts for drink.

Les outils, Chemises et Couvertures qui leurs étoient données dans les présents ne leurs étoient d'aucune utilité, qu'au contraire il les vendoient aux particuliers pour avoir de la boisson, c'est ce qui nous oblige, Monsieur, de vous Supplier de vouloir bien faire retrancher ces sortes de marchandises et de ne leurs faire venir que de la poudre, du plomb, des fusils et des pierres à fusil dont il leur en faudroit au moins pour qu'ils puissent subsister.<sup>101</sup>

Philipps, in declaring war in 1722, had banned the sale of arms and amunitions to the Indians, in effect depriving them of their means of subsistence and increasing their dependence on French gifts. The French, for their part, were pleased to fill the gap so long as the Indians continued to understand that

ce n'est point par nécessité de leur service qu'on leur fait des presens, mais par bonté pour eux, un peu d'indifference les rendra plus soumis, leur faisant cependant connoitre que l'on a veritablement de l'amitié pour eux et traittant les chefs avec douceur et leur temoignant de la bonne volonté par quelque augmentation de presens pour eux et leur particulier, afin de les engager à retenir la jeunesse dans leur devoir.<sup>102</sup>

What had started out as a matter of protocol to cement alliances and trade agreements had ended as a means of subsistence for the Indians and a form of protection for the French. The Indians could not make or maintain guns and axes as they had been able to do with bows and arrows and war clubs so, while insisting on their status as independent allies on the one hand, on the other they became dependent on these diplomatic handouts.

The high cost of presents proportional to the numbers of Indians listed for Ile Royale and Acadia is striking. The

alternative to this type of diplomacy for the French would have been increased immigration and a much larger force of regular troops. France was not prepared to take the first step and the cost of the second would have been prohibitive. Looked at in this light, France got its money's worth for what it spent.

The English in Nova Scotia at first resisted this type of diplomacy on the grounds of its expense and the ease with which the goods could be misdirected. The Lords of Trade also felt that, as Nova Scotia had been ceded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht, there should be no need to mollify the Indians with gifts. Officials on the scene had a different view and they were the ones who first exercised initiative in this direction. This was the case when Petitpas, an Acadian Métis habitant, was given 2,000 livres in Boston to attract the Micmac and Malecite to the English cause.<sup>103</sup> The Indians immediately used this to complain to Saint-Ovide of the little attention the king had been giving them, that they had hardly received anything for three years, and that their families were dying of hunger for want of ammunition.<sup>104</sup>

In the meantime, governors at Annapolis Royal often found themselves out-of-pocket in dealing with the Indians. The Lords of Trade demanded an accounting for distributions made by Philipps and Armstrong and still could not decide upon a regular policy. When it became evident that peace treaties by themselves would not work, they budgeted for presents. This seriously alarmed the French, as we have seen.

After 1760 the official English policy returned to its original position. Jeffrey Amherst, governor general of British North America, ruled that Indians could no longer be supplied with arms and ammunition as it was no longer necessary to purchase their friendship or neutrality since the French had lost their footing in Canada. It would now only be

necessary to keep the Indians aware "of our superiority, which more than anything else will keep them in Awe, and make them refrain from Hostilities,"<sup>105</sup> but he qualified this by adding that local governors (in the case of Louisbourg at that time, Brigadier-General Edward Whitmore), should not let this opinion hinder them "from Supplying them with what You Yourself shall think requisite for the good of the Service to maintain them in His Majesty's Interest." Apparently not many governors considered that His Majesty's interest necessitated such expense, as cutbacks became general throughout British North America.

To the French, Louisbourg was indeed a gulf of indispensable expense; to the English, it was a challenge, flaunting a defiance that was all the more irritating because it was so successful. One of the measures of this success was Indian resistance to the English which severely retarded colonization in Nova Scotia and northern New England. To the Indians, Louisbourg represented a reprieve from the inexorable tidal wave of western city cultural values that would doom their old free hunting economy, as it allowed them to dictate to a surprising extent their own terms as allies of the French. Because of this, Louisbourg was more important to the Indians than to the colonial powers whose clashing ambitions were responsible for her existence.



## The Garrison and the Guerrillas

For most of its 40 years of existence, Louisbourg was neither at peace nor at war. At its most peaceful, it was in a state of suspended hostility with the English; in its wars it was besieged twice and fell twice. Although Louisbourg was a military fortress-town besides being the administrative centre for what was left of Acadia to the French, its career was not particularly warlike by Canadian standards. As Eccles points out, between 1608 and 1760 Canada knew barely 50 years of peace.<sup>1</sup>

As for Europe, war had been almost a normal relationship between national states for several centuries. From 1494 to 1559 fighting went on every year in some part of Europe, and during the 17th century there were only seven years of complete peace. England, during the 165 years between 1650 and 1815, was at war more than half the time -- 84 years.<sup>2</sup> If Europeans on their first arrival in North America found a continual state of latent or actual warfare among Indians, they were obviously not encountering a situation they found strange. The most consistent and most successful military activity at Louisbourg consisted of encouraging and abetting the Indian allies in their guerrilla warfare that played such havoc with European battle protocol in colonial America.

This type of warfare was described by Father Georges d'Endemare a century earlier at Fort Richelieu, referring to the Iroquois:

Il est quasi impossible de faire ni la paix ni la guerre avec ces barbares là, point de paix car la guerre c'est leur vie leur plaisir et leur

profit tout ensemble, point de guerre car ils se rendent invisibles à ceux qui les cherchent et se rendent visibles que dans leur grand avantage; allez les chercher dans leurs village, ils se retireront dans les bois à moins que d'abbattre toutes forests du pays il est impossible de prendre ou d'arrester les courses de ces voleurs.<sup>3</sup>

Rale, observing these techniques among the Abenaki, said they made "a handful of warriors more formidable than would be a body of two or three thousand European soldiers."<sup>4</sup>

The general principles of Indian warfare can be summed up as mobility plus firepower, speed, surprise, encirclement, fighting in scattered groups, giving ground when pressed, and returning later.<sup>5</sup> The Indian code of bravery did not call for uselessly dying while trying to maintain an untenable position. What it did call for was the proper behaviour under torture, not a quality demanded in the white man's code. Indians on the warpath lived off the land, expecting to endure hunger and discomfort. It was only later, as game became depleted and Indians fought as allies of Europeans, that ordnance became a consideration.

Indian and European concepts of discipline were totally different. To the European, discipline meant acceptance of a superior's authority and the ability to act in close co-operation with others, thus allowing for the development of strategy. To the Indian, discipline was an individual matter: ability to go for long periods with little or no food; calm endurance of inconveniences, hardships and sufferings, and ability to resist fatigue and to think for himself in battle. Chiefs had only as much overall control as their warriors allowed them and even that was not irrevocable. The idea of one man commanding an army was inconceivable to Indians; to them, command should be vested in a council and even its authority should be circumscribed. It can be readily understood that with this ideology, Indians found it difficult

to form alliances that could withstand stress; French uncertainties and doubts on this point were solidly based. However, in spite of this instability and need to be regularly renewed, it would be hard to over-emphasize the importance of alliances to Indians, who could be considered to be technically at war with all nations with whom they had no formal understanding.<sup>6</sup> In this context, the achievement of the Iroquois in forming the Five Nations (which became the Six Nations when the Tuscarora joined in 1713) stands out as truly remarkable.

Of the northeastern tribes, the Iroquois were the only ones who had developed a formality in their warfare which strongly resembled contemporary European methods. That was how they fought against Champlain and the Algonkins. But they abandoned mass attacks as well as their shields and armour in the face of European firearms and resorted to hunting techniques. The northern Indians, including the Micmac, had never fought in any other way. This type of guerrilla warfare helped the Indians to counterbalance European superiority in numbers, at least temporarily. In the end, those numbers were to prove to be overwhelming.

Indian adaptation to European small firearms was both quick and effective, forcing Europeans to adapt to Indian war techniques. Conventional European warfare allowed whites to take advantage of their superior manpower and technology; guerrilla warfare gave Indians the advantage of their superior mobility and speed.

The French early learned from the Indians to move while firing and combined this with European group disciplines. A classic example of the resultant French-Indian type of military exploit was Coulon de Villier's rapid winter march on Grand Pré in 1747 which caught the English troops completely unaware and overwhelmed them.

From the beginning the Europeans had an advantage in that they controlled the technology. Indians never learned to maintain their own firearms and there are indications that neither the French nor the English encouraged them to do so. While the Indians had usually been able to go to Louisbourg to get their guns repaired, it was not until after 1740 that gunsmiths, whose duties were principally to aid the Indians maintain their arms, were regularly maintained at Ile Saint-Jean and at Port Toulouse.<sup>7</sup> Before the founding of Louisbourg and even during its early days, the Indians had had to go to Canada for the purpose.<sup>8</sup>

Neither did Indians ever learn to handle or to face artillery; partly because of this they did not often attack fortified places. Once during the existence of Louisbourg the Micmac attacked Annapolis Royal on their own. This was in 1724 and, as we have already seen, they did little more than give the garrison a good fright. Twenty years later during the opening round of the War of Austrian Succession (King George's War in America), Indians again besieged Annapolis Royal. This time they were under the leadership of Joseph Du Pont Duvivier with a small group of French regulars. The Indians' technique was to steal under cover of darkness to the foot of the glacis, give war whoops and shoot at the parapets.<sup>9</sup> This war of nerves met with no more success than in the earlier attempt and when Michel de Gannes de Falaise arrived from Louisbourg and told the Indians to leave, they willingly did so as expected reinforcements had not arrived.<sup>10</sup>

Governor William Shirley had a different reason for the withdrawal when he announced to the Massachusetts General Court that the arrival of a detachment of Colonel John Gorham's Indian Rangers made up of Pigwacket Indians had "greatly revived the Spirits of the Officers and Soldiers, and struck considerable Terror into the Enemy, who thereupon

drew off with great Precipitation."<sup>11</sup> The detachment had been sent to the assistance of Mascarene in response to his request for "20 or 30 bold and warlike Indians...to keep in awe the Indians of this peninsula who believe that all Indians from New England are Mohawks of whom they stand in great fear."<sup>12</sup> Apparently the English experienced less trepidation about using Indians on this occasion than they had when Governor Vetch had made a similar request in 1711.

The Pigwackets were a branch of the Abenaki ("Pigiguit" and "Pégouakis" are French variations of the same name) who after making peace with the English had left Acadia to settle in New England. Shirley had announced to the General Court

I think it of great Importance, that, in this first Instance of the Eastern Indians quitting their Dependence on the French in a Time of actual War between us and them, we should so treat and manage them, as to convince them and other of those Tribes, how much they will find their Advantage in our Friendship and Protection.<sup>13</sup>

Shirley was notable among English colonial governors for his comparatively imaginative approach to the Indians, but he remained cautious. In this case he added, "I must also desire you to consider in what Manner these Indians may be best disposed of to save Charge to the Province, and to make them in some Measure useful to us." Later that same year, in October, he considered it necessary to declare war on the Malecite of St. John's River and Micmac of Cape Sable.<sup>14</sup>

A proposal to organize companies of Indian soldiers on the same basis as the French met with cool response from Vaudreuil and Raudot, who did not think that such a measure would make the Indians any more formidable than they already were.<sup>15</sup> However, Indians were given quasi-military rank,<sup>16</sup> a practice which continued at Louisbourg.<sup>17</sup>

The French custom of rotating officers met with objections from Indians at Port Toulouse, who did not like the officers they dealt with being changed every year. "Il

faut du temps pour gagner leurs confiance," noted Forant, who was governor for less than a year when he died, "et tous ne sont pas propres à cet employ." He advised that the rotation system not be strictly followed in this case and hoped that it would not be taken amiss "si je m'en écarte quelque fois."<sup>18</sup>

Very early, the French paid Indians for military services, an idea that was not regularized among the English until Shirley.<sup>19</sup> If the garrison at Louisbourg never used the Indians as regulars, it relied heavily on their services as auxiliaries and scouts, avoiding what would have been thorny problems of discipline.<sup>20</sup> However, when Governor Jean-Baptiste-Louis Le Prévost Du Quesnel formed two militia companies in 1740-41, one of the two commanders he named was a certain "Petitpas."<sup>21</sup> The Petitpas were a habitant family connected to the Indians by blood and they maintained a close relationship with them.

For a people who did not have a reputation for being warriors,<sup>22</sup> the Micmac were remarkably successful in keeping Nova Scotia in a state of tension until well into the 1760s. This raises the question of what transformed the relatively peaceful, outgoing people of first contact days into the partisans of the 18th century. Part of the answer can be found in the nature of the contact itself and in Indian reaction to it. As the European cultural tidal wave engulfed them, the Micmac resorted to the only measures they knew to preserve their lands and their way of life. While the situation was fostered and directed by the French, it cannot be attributed to them alone. The Indians had a strong motivation of their own for hostility to the English, as the Indian wars of New England that did not involve the French at all clearly indicate. The more perceptive of the English were aware of this; Thomas Pownall, lieutenant governor of New Jersey (1755-57) and governor of Massachusetts (1757-59), remarked

that the English

with an insatiable thirst after landed possessions, have got Deeds and other fraudulent pretences, grounded on the abuse of Treaties, and by these Deeds claim possession, even to the exclusion of the Indians, not only from their Hunting grounds (which with some is a right of great consequence) but even from their house and home.<sup>23</sup>

The English presence in Nova Scotia was not at all reassuring to the Micmac. On one occasion Saint-Ovide tried to calm the Indians' fears, asking them, for the sake of the French king and for themselves, not to trouble the peace. He assured them that the English would allow them to live as quietly as they had in the past. The Indians, for their part, worried that the French and English would unite to destroy them and felt they should do whatever was necessary to maintain themselves. They observed that if they had listened less to the French, they would have less trouble with the English, who were on their land and destroying their fishing. While promising to be quiet for the present, they said they would prepare to hunt those who only sought to destroy them.<sup>24</sup>

This indicates that the Indians were no more certain of their French allies than the French were of them. While they may have preferred the French to the English, they were reported in 1755 as "intimidated by the uncertainty of success & even of being given help, & not daring to shake off the yoke of the England which was threatening them at close quarters, which had just taken the fortified places, & which could revenge itself almost without leaving home."<sup>25</sup>

It also indicates just how disparate the aims of the Indians and the French were: the Indians were thinking in terms of their own survival and the French in terms of using the Indians to build an empire. Encouraging Indian hostility toward the English was indeed a delicate task<sup>26</sup> that called for



circumspection. The French could not reveal their hand, particularly in a time of nominal peace, and it was not always easy to keep a rein on the Indians' hostility in order to avoid an open break with the English. The situation became particularly touchy when the English were reported to have discovered silver and copper mines in the Minas area. As they moved to assess these reports, tensions noticeably increased.

Vengeance being such a point of honour with them -- as Cadillac observed, they never forgave an injury<sup>27</sup> -- the Indians considered it more than enough provocation when the British hanged three Indian prisoners in Boston in reprisal for the capture and pillaging of a vessel in 1726. Neither had bitterness subsided over the crippling of fellow tribesmen as a result of long imprisonment at Annapolis Royal.<sup>28</sup> Settlers on isolated farms or unwary fisherman reaped the harvest of Indian anger at these injuries. The French periodically tried to curb this thirst for vengeance, at least to the point of refusing military aid for specific projects.<sup>29</sup> The British, for their part -- and the French as well in other areas -- showed no reluctance to give as much or more than they received under the labels of "reprisal" or perhaps of "justice."

Brutality in Indian warfare was calculated to strike terror in the enemy. There is no need to enlarge upon its success here; it is sufficient to remark that Indians exploited the technique to the fullest and did their best to make sure that everyone knew who had done the deed. It was another means of making up for their lack of numbers and helps explain how so few Indians were able to resist so successfully much larger numbers of Europeans even though they were no strangers to brutality themselves.

Early accounts indicate that the Micmac did not burn their prisoners of war, but kept them in servitude if they did

not break their heads or use them as targets for arrow practice, but by the time of Louisbourg this had changed and Maillard described a burning that occurred on Ile Royale.<sup>30</sup> The victim was an English soldier.<sup>31</sup> Maillard said that he knew of three such occurrences in about 20 years, but that in former times they had been more frequent.<sup>32</sup>

Another contemporary observer remarked that while it was impossible to exaggerate the cruelties exercised on prisoners selected for torture, there was no question that the number of instances when this occurred were multiplied well beyond the truth.

"That they put then their prisoners to death by exquisite torture, is strictly true; but it is as true too, that they do not serve so many in that manner as has been said."<sup>33</sup>

That there was an element of vindictiveness in these tortures is also beyond doubt, but there was also a mixture of piety as they were above all a ritual atonement for the dead, particularly those who had fallen in battle. Indians extended this treatment to children because they would grow up and would then have to exercise the vengeance that their code called for and to women because they produced children. Torture, however, was usually reserved for warriors.

They consider too these tortures as matter of glory to them in the constancy with which they are taught to suffer them; they familiarize to themselves the idea of them, in a manner that redoubles their natural courage and ferocity, and especially inspires them to fight desperately in battle, so as to prefer death to a captivity of which the consequences are, and may be, so much more cruel to them.<sup>34</sup>

The French, who were quite prepared to justify torture as part of their own judicial processes (the English, too, shared this practice), were not prepared to accept it as part of the ritual of war, but they had to proceed with caution, to depend as usual on persuasion and influence rather than on

force. Officials were admonished from time to time to curb the cruelties of their allies, a policy which was not always followed. During the first siege of Louisbourg, Admiral Peter Warren and General William Pepperrell complained to Louis Du Pont Duchambon, acting governor of Louisbourg, that some New Englanders captured by the Indians had been "barbarously murdered and scalped."<sup>35</sup> Duchambon replied that he could not be held responsible for the behaviour of the Indians as "ceux qui connaissent cette nation savent qu'elle n'en respectent aucun"; however, he would do his best to see that they behaved better.<sup>36</sup> Reports that Paul de Marin and his Indians were approaching Louisbourg drew a nervous protest from Warren, who wrote to Duchambon to "immediately send some gentleman to desire them to leave this island";<sup>37</sup> to which Duchambon replied, perhaps regretfully, that they had not arrived.<sup>38</sup>

Protests against Indian war customs apart, neither French nor English were above encouraging those customs when it suited their purposes. For instance, both sides paid bounties for scalps throughout this period. The French paid the Indians for scalps they brought in of the English and their allies; the English paid for scalps of Indians. A 1748 memorandum on Acadia refers to payment of 100 livres for an English prisoner and 30 livres for a scalp.<sup>39</sup> This was still the price in 1756 when two Micmac chiefs, Joseph Embesne and Bernard Guillaume, were paid a total of 300 livres for ten English scalps. That same year Martin, "chef des sauvages de l'accadie," received 210 livres for seven scalps and Baptiste Coppe to 60 livres for two, according to Louisbourg accounts.<sup>40</sup> Massachusetts in 1694 paid £50 for a head of every Indian, big or little, killed or captured.<sup>41</sup> When it intensified its war against the "Eastern Indians" after the first fall of Louisbourg, it raised the price to £100 for every male Indian killed and £105 for every one captured. For women and children under 12 who were killed, the price remained at £50; but for those

captured, it was raised to £55.<sup>42</sup> Connecticut by 1746 was paying £300 each for scalps of male Indians and £175 each for those of women and children.<sup>43</sup> In Nova Scotia the price in 1749 was a modest £10 for "every Indian you shall destroy (upon producing his Scalp as the Custom is) or every Indian taken, Man, Woman or Child."<sup>44</sup> The governor of Nova Scotia in 1756 offered a reward of £30 for every male Indian over 16 years of age brought in alive, £25 for a scalp of such a male, and £25 for every Indian woman and child brought in alive.<sup>45</sup>

Voices were raised against the practice. Michel de Couagne, a former engineer at Louisbourg, wrote in 1760,

Si jamais ces colonies reviennent à la France, que l'on change cette malheureuse politique qui faisait qu'on payait les Sauvages pour aller lever ces chevelures, lors même de la plus profonde paix; la nature et l'humanité crient contre ces choses, et on doivent causer une juste horreur.<sup>46</sup>

In the two sieges of Louisbourg the Indians were used on both sides mainly as scouts and auxiliaries. During the first siege, which caught the French so poorly prepared, they were not used to full advantage. This is particularly surprising as far as the French are concerned as their acting governor, Duchambon, had a long record in Acadia. He served as a judge for the Indians and was married to Jeanne Mius d'Entremont of Pobomcoup, who had acted for several years as official interpreter at Louisbourg to the Micmacs.<sup>47</sup> It was Gorham's Indian Rangers who led the successful opening assault landing of the New Englanders at Flat Point Cove on 11 May 1745.<sup>48</sup> The best-known Indian exploit of this siege was when the New Englanders "had the pleasure, by an Indian of Connecticut," to find that the Grand Battery really was as deserted as it looked. Subsequently Vaughan and his men took possession.<sup>49</sup>

After this bright beginning as shock troops in the

landing and in the single-handed capture of Grand Battery, little is heard of Indian participation in the siege. Rawlyk says "the Indians were unceremoniously thrust aside by the New Englanders who assiduously sought the limelight of military glory."<sup>50</sup>

The French use of Indians also received some stinging criticism, this time from one of their own. Remarking on the bravery of the Indians and their hatred of the English which was so intense that it extended to their Indian allies, an anonymous reporter bitterly observed

Notre malheur est de n'avoir pas eu de ces Sauvages qui auroient mis en état de faire de fréquentes sorties; ou plutôt cela doit être rangé au nombre des fautes que nous avons faites, parce qu'ils nous eût été très-facile d'en rassembler tel nombre que nous eussions voulu; mais il auroit fallu s'en pourvoir avant l'arrivée des Anglais, ou avant le commencement du siège....Ce n'est pas leur faute, s'ils nous ont rendu que de médiocres services durant le Siège.<sup>51</sup>

Duchambon's errors of judgment culminated in his refusal of aid from Marin and his Indian forces who had come down from Quebec especially for the purpose. By the time Duchambon changed his mind, it was too late.<sup>52</sup>

Once the English had taken Louisbourg, they burned surrounding woods to guard against surprises from the Indians. This was in accord with the practice of English settlers who had burned considerable areas of forest in New England for the same purpose.<sup>53</sup>

In the second siege the French were much better organized as far as the Indians were concerned. For more than two years preparations had been going on; reinforcements were brought in from neighboring tribes and Indians were posted along the east coast as lookouts, with a particularly big detachment at Gabarus Bay,<sup>54</sup> the scene of the first assault landing during the 1745 siege.

In 1757, out of 2,468 in the Louisbourg garrison, 260 were Acadians and Indians who would be particularly useful for sorties. The following year, the garrison was listed at 3,000 regulars, 1,000 militia and 500 Indians.<sup>55</sup> These did not include the Indians and militia stationed along the coast.<sup>56</sup>

Statements of expenditures for these years reflect some of this activity: in 1755 a Sieur Le Roi was paid 3,320 livres for firearms for Indians and Acadian militia employed "à la larges des côtes de cette isle,"<sup>57</sup> Sieur Daccarette received 5,983 livres for biscuit "pour la subsistance des soldats miliciens et sauvages du détachement du M. Boishébert,"<sup>58</sup> and even larger sums were spent on shoes, including "souliers sauvages," and clothing.<sup>59</sup> In 1757 we find 46,617 livres listed for the general provision of "les troupes habitans et sauvages pendant un an" and a total of 93,234 livres for two years.<sup>60</sup>

Not the least of these preparations was a full-scale war dance, the last of its kind in Nova Scotia. The ceremonies, which continued for several days, included both Catholic and Indian ritual. A naval commander described the scene:

Le dimanche 10 juillet on nous annonca une grande messe en mickmac qui devait être dite par M. l'Abbé Maillard et chantée par ces Sauvages et leurs femmes; la curiosité y attira une grande partie des officiers de l'escadre qui furent tous aussi édifier de la décence et du recueillement avec lesquels ils avoient vû ces Sauvages adresser leurs prières au Seigneur, que surpris et satisfait de l'harmonie et de l'unison qu'ils mettoient dans leurs chants nouveaux sujets d'admiration pour le respectable Missionnaire qui avoit dû former leur créance.<sup>61</sup>

The appearance of a detachment of Boishébert's Malecites and Canibas, "gens très forts d'une taille très élevée, et qui avoient déjà fait la guerre avec distinction dans le Canada,"<sup>62</sup> was the occasion for more ceremony. The chiefs



prostrated themselves at the feet of the commander, who raised them up. A Malecite chief advanced and placed at his feet four scalps woven into a wampum collar, which Emmanuel-Auguste Cahideuc Du Bois de La Motte, lieutenant general of the fleet, received with the hope there would be more to come, saying that the moment was near when they would be counting on their bravery and valour. The assembled warriors responded with their cry, "heur." The Micmac chiefs also made speeches. Several days later Drucour held a feast for the Indians, "consistant en lard, raisin sec, vin et biscuit que ces gens la recûrent avec bien moins d'avidité qu'on ne s'y était attendû, emportant la pluspart tout ce qu'on leur avoit donné pour le partager avec leur femmes et leurs Enfans." This time the speeches were concluded with "un simulacre de leur guerre" and a dance

qui firent grand plésir autant par la cadence et la précision avec lesquelles tous ces mouvemens s'exécutoient que par la singularité de leurs attitudes et de leurs cris auxquels les bizarreries de leurs ajustemens et de leurs physionomies chamarrées par je ne sais combien de couleurs donnoient encore un nouveaux prix.<sup>63</sup>

Ritual attended to, the hard business of preparing and waiting for the British attack became the main preoccupation. Five companies of volunteers were used as scouts and during the siege Canadians and Indians posted outside the fort were used to harass the enemy. This operation was expected to go into high gear with the arrival of Boishébert and his forces.<sup>64</sup>

Governor Drucour had prepared for this arrival by setting up food depots outside Louisbourg; however, as he wrote sourly in his journal,

M. L'Abbé Maillard Pretre Missionnaire des Sauvages de cette Isle et premier chef des missions qui étoit en ville le jour de la descente des Anglois à Gabarrus et ayant parti par précaution pour sureté de sa personne le soir du même jour s'est fait suivre par la plus grande sureté encore par tous les Sauvages qui se sont trouver ici alors,



et vraisemblablement il a quitté Louisbourg dans la ferme croyance qu'il alloit être sous peu de jours au pouvoir des anglois, au moins il faut pieusement le croire à cause de la conduite qu'il a tenue, car étant parfaitement informé du dépôt de ces munitions et de ces vivres les Sauvages qui l'accompagnoient ont enlevée, l'un et l'autre avec beaucoup de soins.<sup>65</sup>

With the English fleet in the offing, resupplying the depots involved considerable risks for Drucour. He observed, with some asperity,

La conduite de ce Missionnaire est a remarquer non seulement il auroit dû faire ces efforts pour empecher l'enlevement de ces dépôts mais encore n'avoit il pas dû rester dans la ville? En restant les Sauvages y eussent rester aussi qui étoient au nombre d'environ soixante.<sup>66</sup>

Drucour had difficulty not only with Indians who insisted on helping themselves (Le Loutre's Indians, who came to Ile Royale after the fall of forts Beauséjour and Gaspereau in 1755, did not ease the situation),<sup>67</sup> but also with "un fripon d'administrateur" who distributed such supplies to families at Miré without permission, thereby hampering military operations.<sup>68</sup>

Vaudreuil complained that

Boishébert est arrivé à Louisbourg le 3 du mois dernier...son détachement est de près de 500 hommes accadiens et sauvages y compris un petit nombre de soldats et de Canadiens. Il a beaucoup souffert de misère, les vivres que j'avois prié M. de Drucour de faire passer à Miramichi ne s'y étant pas trouvés.<sup>69</sup>

For whatever the reason, the arrival of Boishébert and his forces did not bring the much hoped for results. Ironically, the king, in anticipation of his services, had already sent the Cross of Saint Louis for presentation to Boishébert. The Indian leader received it in spite of the failure of his Louisbourg venture.

On the whole, however, the services of the Canadians and Indians were effective during the siege, a judgement

supported by the fact that no terms were offered for them in the capitulation. Besides, the British were in no mood to give quarter after recent events at Fort William Henry,<sup>70</sup> which led the garrison to quietly arrange for the Indians to depart during the night before the formal capitulation.<sup>71</sup>

Were the Indians pawns or did they hold a balance of power during the Louisbourg years? That they were used by the French for their own purpose is beyond doubt. This was hardly a new position for the Indians; well before the building of the fortress, an Abenaki chief had vividly pictured the Indian situation to Joseph Dudley:

It is well that the kings should be at peace; I am contented that it should be so, and have no longer any difficulty in making peace with you. I was not the one who struck during the past 12 years: it was the Frenchman who used my arm to strike you. We were at peace, it is true, I had even thrown away my hatchet, I know not where, and as I was reposing on my mat, thinking of nothing, the young man brought a message, which the governor of Canada had sent, and by which he said to me, "My son, the Englishman has struck me; help me to avenge myself; take the hatchet and strike the Englishman." I, who have always listened to the words of the French governor, search for my hatchet; I find it entirely rusted; I burnish it up; I place it in my belt to go and strike. Now, the Frenchman tells me to lay it down. I therefore throw it away from me, that no one may longer see the blood with which it is reddened. Thus let us live in peace. I consent to it.<sup>72</sup>

However, they were more than pawns. They had their own motives and they expected Louisbourg to provide them with direction and assistance against the English. Without that help, their resistance would have collapsed much sooner as the odds against them were too great.

If they were more than pawns, they were less than imposers of a balance of power. Their support ensured success for the French in restraining English expansion, but not in stopping it. The Indians began to see the handwriting

on the wall after the disaster at Norridgewock, as attested by the series of treaties they signed with the English thereafter. But the French voice was still the most attractive, particularly as long as the French provided the Indians with goods, did not threaten their hunting grounds and helped them against those who did. The French nervously noted changes in their dispositions toward them. Maillard reported in 1738 that the attitudes of the Micmac and Malecite were noticeably cooler toward the French, but François Le Coutre de Bourville, who was acting governor at the time, doubted the soundness of the missionary's judgement.<sup>73</sup>

The Indians had not become guerrillas from any particular attachment to war. In pre-contact days, when war was little more than a dangerous ritual, at least for the northern tribes, and not fought on an organized basis, then perhaps it could be true to describe some of these people as being devoted to war. However, such an acute observer as Lahontan, a soldier himself, said that Indians were "never rash in declaring war; they hold frequent Councils before they resolve upon it."<sup>74</sup> And Le Clercq wrote that war was never declared except by the advice of the old men who alone decided, in the last resort, the affairs of the country.<sup>75</sup> But as the new technology changed the character of war and as the true dimensions of the Europeans invasion began to reveal themselves to the Indians, the ritual aspects receded and war became a desperate attempt to save something of the Indian way of life. In pre-contact days, Indians had waged war neither for the same motives nor in the same "total" manner as Europeans.<sup>76</sup>

Something of this is contained in the declaration which the Micmac made to the English in 1749, after the latter established Halifax. It began,

L'endroit où tu es, où tu fais des habitations,  
où tu bâtis un fort, où tu veux maintenant comme  
t'introniser, cette terre dont tu veux présentement

te rendre maître absolu, cette terre m'appartient, j'en suis certes sorti comme l'herbe, c'est le propre lieu de ma naissance et de ma résidence, c'est ma terre à moy sauvage; oui, je le jure, c'est Dieu qui me l'a donnée pour être mon pais à perpétuité.<sup>77</sup>

The English and French kings had divided the lands between them, the declaration continued, but "montre-moy où moy sauvage me logerai?" After taking nearly all of the Micmac lands, the English are now taking Kchibouktouk (Halifax), "tu m'envies encore ce morceau, jusques-là même que tu veux m'en chasser." However, the door was still open for negotiation:

Ta résidence au Port Royal ne me fait plus grand ombrage, car tu vois que depuis long tems je t'y laisse tranquille. mais présentement tu me forces d'ouvrir la bouche par le vol considérable que tu me fais. J'iray bientôt te voir, peut-être recevra tu bien ce que je te dirai; si tu m'écoutes et que tu me parles comme il faut, et que tu exécutes tes belles paroles, je connoîtrai par là que tu ne cherches que le bien, de sorte que toutes choses prendront un bon tour; je ne t'en dis pas davantage pour ne te pas plus longtemps rompre la tête par mes discours.<sup>78</sup>

The contrast could hardly be greater with Philipps's blunt declaration in 1722 which, after listing the reprehensible deeds of the Indians, stated

Je declare et denonce Lesd. sauvages avec leurs confederes, Ennemis de la Couronne et dignité de Sa Majesté Le Roy George, Et je Requers par ses presentes Et Commande à tous les Sujets de Sa Majesté Et Autres habitans de cette Province de les traittent comme tels, et à leur peril de ne point ayder, assister lesd. sauvages ny leurs Confederés, Leur Vendant, donnant ou prestant aucunes d'effets, marchandises ou autres choses, ou choses quelles soient, ou d'aucune Sorte de manieres les protéger, secourir our Loger aucune d'eux dans leurs maisons ou autrement.<sup>79</sup>

Indian objections were not listened to and the establishment proceeded at Halifax; its price was the peace of mind of the early English settlers, who lived in a state

of almost constant terror. Governor Cornwallis considered the situation serious enough to ask for arms for all British subjects, claiming that "at present above ten thousand people are awed by two hundred Savages."<sup>80</sup>

More than pawns, less than imposers of a balance of power, the Indians fought by every means they knew to save something of their way of life. They fell in with the designs of Louisbourg because they considered them to be their best hope of success.

## Maintaining the Alliance

Maintenance of the Indian alliances, so important to the designs of Louisbourg, absorbed a great deal of official time and attention. No detail was too small to escape notice; for instance, when Raymond, Louisbourg's second-last French governor, arrived to assume his new post, one of his first official acts was to hold a meeting with the Indians at which he showed them a portrait of the king, which he reported made "une impression singulière sur eux."<sup>1</sup> He did not elaborate either as to the reactions of the Indians nor as to the details of the portrait, but for it to have produced the desired effect, it would have had to have been carefully chosen according to the known rules of Indian preference: full face, as a profile would have indicated that the king was but half a man, looking directly at the beholder, with open eyes and painted in bright colors. Such were the instructions sent by Garnier when asking for holy pictures for his missionary work.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that the French were willing to concern themselves with such details does much to explain their success in maintaining their all-important Indian alliances at Louisbourg as elsewhere in New France. In this chapter we will consider some of this minutiae as it concerned Acadia and Louisbourg.

For instance, ceremony and protocol took precedence over the negotiations themselves in establishing and maintaining alliances. Biard in 1616 had some sharp comments on this:

You may be sure they understand how to make themselves courted....Gifts must be presented

and speeches made to them, before they condescend to trade; this done, they must have the Tabagie, i.e., the banquet. They will dance and make speeches and sing Adesquidex, Adesquidex. That is, that they are good friends, allies, associates, confederates and comrades of the King and of the French.<sup>3</sup>

What Biard took to be presumption Le Clercq realized was an expression of their need for prestige and security.

They are fond of ceremony and are anxious to be accorded some when they come to trade at French establishments; and it is consequently in order to satisfy them that sometimes the guns and even the canon are fired on their arrival. The leader himself assembles all the canoes near his own and ranges them in good order before landing, in order to await the salute which is given him, and which all the Indians return to the French by the discharge of their guns. Sometimes the leader and chiefs are invited for a meal in order to show all the Indians that they are esteemed and honoured. Rather more frequently they are given something like a fine coat, in order to distinguish them from the commonalty. For such things as this they have a particular esteem, especially if the article has been in use by the commander of the French.<sup>4</sup>

If the all-embracing characteristics of Indian alliances<sup>5</sup> and the basic importance of ceremony and gift exchanges in cementing them was not at first fully understood, this love of prestige certainly was. The French early conceived the idea of bringing Indians to France to impress them with their might. Thomas Nelson tells of six sagamores at Versailles at the same time, all soliciting aid against the English.<sup>6</sup> The inference here is that the sagamores were less interested in being impressed than they were in using French power for their own ends. In any event, these visits do not seem to have achieved the hoped-for results and when Beauharnois proposed sending Indian chiefs to France, he was told that His Majesty

n'a pas jugé cela nécessaire, on en a fait venir plusieurs fois et cela n'a produit qu'une dépense inutile. Les Sauvages n'ignorent pas la puissance



de la France, il ne s'agit que de Soutenir de plus en plus la haute opinion qu'ils en ont et c'est a quoy vous devés vous appliquer dans toutes les affaires que vous traittés avec eux.<sup>7</sup>

An unauthorized passage to France for a Micmac and his interpreter drew the severe displeasure of Maurepas on the head of the captain involved.<sup>8</sup>

The Micmac, Denis d'Esdain, was given red cloth, gold braid, gold fringe, ribbon in assorted colours and beads, and Le Loutre was instructed "de faire valoir à ce sauvage ce present du roi et de lui dire Sa Majesté l'aurait fait mieux traiter s'il fut venu en France avec des gens autorisés."<sup>9</sup>

A more effective way of impressing the Indians was by means of ranks and honours. "Commissions" were given to Indians throughout the period of Louisbourg; "major" seems to have been the most important, but there were also "captains" and "lieutenants." Medals were by far the most effective. They were first officially suggested for Louisbourg in 1739 when Forant said it would be "fort à propos" to award silver medals to village chiefs and to "ceux qui donneroient des preuves éclatantes de leurs fidélité."<sup>10</sup> He added "Je suis persuadé que cella fera un excellent effet."<sup>11</sup>

He was right. The suggestion caught the official imagination back in France and a packet of 20 medals was sent to following year<sup>12</sup> and Forant was told that 10 more were coming, to make the total of 30 he had asked for.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, Forant did not live to see them arrive. The acting governor, Bourville, rather pompously acknowledged their receipt:

Je ne manqueray pas De Leurs' (the Indians) faire sentir que cette nouvelle Grace de Sa Majesté Doit les Engager à Redoubler Leurs fidelité Envers Elle, j'ay L'honneur De vous assurer que n'en Distribueray qu'a juste titre Et qu'après avoir pris Des Certificats De Leurs missionnaires,

De Leurs vie Et moeurs Et avec plaine Connoissance  
De Leurs parfaites fidelité à Sa Majesté et De  
Leurs capacité à Conduire Leurs frères.<sup>14</sup>

Bourville, accompanied by François Bigot, the new commissaire-ordonnateur, went shortly afterwards to Port-La-Joie where he presented medals on the occasion of the annual gift giving. Only two chiefs were present, the five others who were expected being away hunting. Bourville reported that the two chiefs who received the medals "me jurerent authentiquement, qu'ils mourroient et vivroient dans la religion romaine et jurerent pareillement une fidelité inviolable pour Sa Majesté."<sup>15</sup>

The acting governor left the five other medals with Duchambon, then king's lieutenant on Ile Saint-Jean, for presentation to the other chiefs. Three medals were awarded at Port Toulouse upon Maillard's assurance that "les dits chefs étoient sans reproche, tant du costé de la religion, que de la fidelité envers le roy."<sup>16</sup>

Bourville believed that "cette nouvelle grace de Sa Majesté seroit pour eux une antidotte contre les poursuittes des anglois, qui cherchent par toutes sortes de moyens de les attirer, et j'ay crû cette antidotte plus nécessaire qu'ils sont très à portée d'estre gagné."<sup>17</sup>

The following year Du Quesnel awarded commissions to chiefs and captains and on the same occasion presented medals, telling the Indians that these honours would be given as they were merited.<sup>18</sup> In 1749 Des Herbiers, now governor, added a new element when he asked for 12 medals to give "à ceux qui se sont distingués dans la dernière guerre et à ceux qui s'opposereont aux établissements projetés par les Anglais."<sup>19</sup>

Not only had the religious element faded from view, but the medals were now awarded for military action and more specifically for harassment of the English. The next year Des Herbiers sent two medals to Le Loutre at the missionary's

request to present to Indians who had distinguished themselves in the war.<sup>20</sup>

In 1755 Drucour on one occasion remarked that if he had had a medal, he would have presented it to an Indian chief for taking scalps near Halifax.<sup>21</sup> He asked that medals be sent so that he would be prepared for such contingencies. On 4 May 1758 he acknowledged receipt of a packet of medals; on 27 July 1758 Louisbourg fell for the last time.

The importance of these medals to the French in their Indians relations is evident from the concern they aroused in official correspondence. What they meant to the Indians can only be inferred. Maillard wrote that when "il est nécessaire que nous nous assemblions, c'est toujours chez le commandant du Port Toulouse avec le chef décoré de sa médaille."<sup>22</sup>

Maillard tells of a war party during the first siege, led by René, "un des plus vaillans mickmaques qui fût alors... marchant en chantant leurs chanson de guerre."<sup>23</sup> On perceiving some English, René stripped himself for battle, keeping only his medal.<sup>24</sup>

Governor Duquesne at Quebec worried about the effect on the Indians when he did not receive the number of medals he had requested,

ce qui m'a exposé à faire beaucoup de mécontents... Cette décoration prend beaucoup faveur chez les sauvages puisqu'ils la regardent à titre de noblesse Et il devient indispensable d'en donner parcequ'il est rare que ceux qui en sont pourvus s'écartent de l'attachement que cette même distinction leur fait contracter, C'est toujours par le choix du village que j'ay décoré les nouveaux Chefs qui m'ont été proposés.<sup>25</sup>

Duquesne's reference to Indians considering themselves ennobled when they received medals could be the explanation for one such claim which found its way into Louisbourg correspondence in 1751.

Le Nommé Denis [Michaud] Chef des Sauvages de

l'Isle Royale est mort. C'était un excellent sujet, dont le grand père avoit rendu de si grand services que le feu Roy lui avoit accordé des Lettres de noblesse. Il laisse une Veuve et un fils dans la misère. On fera quelque secours à la Veuve; Et le fils a été remis entre les mains du Sauvages qui a été chef, et qui c'est chargé du soin de l'élever.<sup>26</sup>

Of the 23 letters, confirmations and justifications of ennoblement recorded for persons living in New France until 1733, the letter for Simon Denys was registered 12 March 1680.<sup>27</sup> Younger brother of Nicolas Denys, Simon was in Acadia and Cape Breton off and on from 1632 until he was taken prisoner to Quebec in 1651, where he remained until his death about 1680. He was married twice, both times to women of France. On the basis of dates alone, Simon could have been the chief's grandfather.

Sieur de Dièreville wrote that he met at Port Royal a chief who had been the grandson of an Indian who had been ennobled by Henry IV for his services in the wars with the English.<sup>28</sup>

It is interesting that both these claims concern grandfathers, which may or may not indicate something about the characteristics of family lore. "Grandfather" may not have had as specific meaning for the Indians as it had for the French. Whatever the original honours, they had become letters of ennoblement in the minds of the Indians, indicating how highly they were prized.

A few years before the death of Chief Denis, another Ile Royale chief had died and had been interred with military honors at Louisbourg. Bourville thought that such a measure would strengthen the attachment of the Indians to the king.<sup>29</sup>

The French also used more personal means to attach the Indians to their interest. Surgeons were paid to look after Indians at such posts as Port Toulouse and Port-La-Joie as well as at Mirliquèche. The hospital at Louisbourg did not

list Indians among its patients; however, Maillard spoke of René, wounded during the first siege, being taken to hospital. But he qualified it:

René, fort connue de messieurs Du Chambon et Bigot et de la plus part des officiers de l'état major, fut bien reçu. On le mit à l'hôpital, où son mal, bien loin de diminuer, ne fit qu'augmenter. Il en sortit de luy même le jour qu'il sçut qu'on devoit capituler avec l'ennemi.<sup>30</sup>

The implication is clear that without his powerful friends René might have had trouble being admitted. But judging from the hospital's reputation, the Indians probably considered themselves better off being cared for by surgeons at the posts or by their own traditional medicines.

When Maillard changed the mission from Mirliquèche to Ile Sainte-Famille, Governor Raymond supported the move by telling the new chief he could have the 300 livres promised for his new house only if his people established themselves around the mission.<sup>31</sup> Whatever the importance of such an establishment from the French point of view, it continued to be bedeviled by the old problem of subsistence for the Indians, a situation that was aggravated by the growing scarcity of game. Officials discovered that it was easier to destroy old cultural patterns than it was to build new ones. More than a decree was needed to transform nomadic hunters into sedentary farmers; among the Eastern Woodland Indians, cultivation was women's work and hunting was men's work. The Micmac had started cultivating gardens at Mirliquèche, encouraged by Gaulin, but this does not seem to have developed as he had hoped. Maillard in his turn reported that the soil was not suitable and gave this as one of the reasons for moving the mission. A more realistic project, considering the Indians' sea-going proclivities, had been to develop seal hunting at Iles-de-la-Madeleine. This had been envisaged in 1713 by Pontchartrain, who had observed that as the Micmac were coastal dwellers, it should be possible for them to develop seal

hunting and cod fishing into industries.<sup>32</sup> Courtin persuaded Saint-Ovide to supply the Indians with fishing boats and other equipment. The seal hunt in 1726 was successful and, along with a good harvest of Indian corn, provided for that winter.<sup>33</sup>

Courtin thought that sealing could also be developed off Ile Saint-Jean and that, combined with the cultivation of Indian corn and peas, it could be of considerable value.<sup>34</sup> LeNormant remarked that sealing and walrus hunting were done by the men during the summer, leaving the women and children behind to work the gardens.<sup>35</sup> If these occupations were properly developed, the Indian establishments at Mirliquèche and Malpec "peuvent devenir considerable."<sup>36</sup> But competition on the sealing grounds from individuals from Canada and war interfered with the project, which did not thrive.<sup>37</sup>

Unfortunately Courtin, who gave promise of becoming an outstanding missionary, was lost at sea in 1732.<sup>38</sup> He was temporarily replaced by an Irishman who happened to be at Louisbourg at the time, but Father Byrne proved to be unsuitable for the work of an Indian mission; he could not learn the language nor accustom himself to the way of life; besides, the Indians did not like having an "Englishman" in their midst.<sup>39</sup>

Adaptation had its problems as each side resisted the pressures exerted by the other. For one thing, while the Indians acknowledged the superiority of European technology, they did not consider the European way of life superior to their own. Quite the contrary, in fact, as Europeans had no skill in hunting or in travelling through the woods without guides or food. Biard observed,

You will see these poor barbarians, notwithstanding their great lack of government, power, letters, art and riches, yet holding their heads so high they greatly underrate us, regarding themselves as our superiors.<sup>40</sup>

Even at the time of Louisbourg, this was still largely true. A Louisbourg resident, more generous than Biard, wrote,



"If, while hunting, they meet a Frenchman and have only a little food, they deprive themselves of it, telling him that, since he does not know how to fast as long as they, he must keep it for himself."<sup>41</sup>

Such cultural self-confidence, however, was eventually shaken by the more advanced European technology.

Just at a time when he needed all the self-confidence he could muster, the Indians' reliance upon many of his own technical skills vanished as his stone, wood, bark and bone materials were swept into the discard by the metal implements and utensils of European manufacture. Pride in craftsmanship could no longer be entertained and dependence upon an external source for essential materials was a blow to self-esteem, since the Indians inevitably came to feel himself as inferior to the purveyors of such technical marvels as fire-arms, iron axe-heads, and copper kettles.<sup>42</sup>

While the eventual collapse of Indian society cannot be attributed to technology alone, it was an important factor. The Indians at first showed signs of assimilating the new technology and adapting it to their own cultural patterns. There is every indication that, given a chance, this would have led to the development of a distinctive new culture, but there was not enough time to provide a cushion against the shock of contact and the Indian was overwhelmed by sheer force of numbers.

The French, moved by humanitarian impulses, at first sought the answer in assimilation. Intermarriage had occurred most frequently in Acadia during the 17th century and at one point seemed to be well on its way toward realizing Champlain's dream of a new race.<sup>43</sup> Maillard was led to observe in 1753, "Je ne donne pas plus de cinquante ans à ceux-cy aux marichites pour qu'on les voye tellement confondus avec les Français colon, qu'il ne sera presque plus possible de les distinguer."<sup>44</sup> This would seem to indicate the intermixing was proceeding apace, at least at the habitant level. As Rameau de Saint-Père has indicated, this is extremely difficult to trace as



parish records, even when available, usually do not give the requisite information. In cases where Frenchmen went to live with Indians, records do not exist at all. However, it is safe to conclude that by Maillard's time intermixing was decreasing and official approval of such marriages had cooled considerably. This had been presaged by the troubles of the celebrated Indian leader Saint-Castin, whose mother was Abenaki and who had problems claiming his family inheritance in France as a result. At Louisbourg, interracial marriages were not approved. One of its more notorious scandals involved the marriage of second ensign Bogard de La Noue to Marguerite Guedry at Baie-des-Espagnoles in 1754. The Superior Council at Louisbourg pronounced the marriage "scandaleux et abusif" and annulled it, declaring "les enfans procrées ou à procrées dudit mariage, Batards et inhabiles à succeder Et heriter."<sup>45</sup> The fact that the young man had married without his commanding officer's permission did not help matters. The court records noted that Marguerite Guedry "avait pour mère la fille d'une sauvagesse concubine de Mius d'Entremont, Acadien."<sup>46</sup>

Rameau de Saint-Père had no doubts as to the reason for the nullification: "Ce mariage fut attaquer en nullité, au nom du roi, parce qu'il était défendu aux officiers d'épouser des filles de sang mêlé."<sup>47</sup>

The English, impressed with French success with Indians and overlooking the changes in the French position regarding intermarriage, proposed the subsidization of such marriages in Nova Scotia. Philipps was instructed to endow each white man or woman who complied with £10 sterling and 50 acres of land free of quit-rent for 20 years. This proposal appeared off and on in governor's instructions from 1719 until 1763,<sup>48</sup> bringing to mind the Quebec experiment of the 1690s. In both cases the projects were dropped because of lack of claimants. If intermarriages occurred, it was not because of such official

encouragement.

If not actual intermixing, then a close familiarity between the races was needed, at least in certain areas, for the French and Indians to act effectively as allies. This was especially true for interpreters. Louisbourg's interpreters, with one exception, were Canadian-born. Mme. Duchambon, as we have seen, came from Pobomcoup; Charles de Saint-Etienne de La Tour was the son of the La Tour of the same name who was famous in Acadian history for his feud with Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, and Claude Petitpas belonged to an Acadian habitant family of mixed blood. Claude's son, Barthélemy, was interpreter during the first siege of Louisbourg and died in a Boston prison.<sup>49</sup> Another Petitpas, Louis-Benjamin, served as an interpreter during Louisbourg's last days. He and his family lived with Maillard and accompanied the missionary to Halifax. The exception was a French-born officer, Jean-François Bourdon, who, however, was the nephew of Simon-Pierre Denys de Bonaventure who had been prominent in Acadian government and was married to Marguerite Gauthier, of an old Acadian family. Interpreters were paid 300 livres a year until Barthélemy Petitpas complained he could not support his family on such a salary and so it was doubled, bringing it into line with interpreters' salaries in Canada. This increased salary applied only to principal interpreters; auxiliaries such as Louis-Benjamin received 300 livres a year.

Because Louisbourg had such families to draw on and because it had only one dominant Indian language, Micmac, to contend with, it never found itself in the position described by La Galissonnière in Canada:

Un des plus grands embarras ou je me trouve ici est celui des Sauvages des différentes langues dont je suis sans cesse obsédé, et la plupart du temps manque de bon interprètes. Il n'est pas aisé de trouver des personnes qui veulent faire cette fonction tant à cause de l'importunité des sauvages qui est au delà de toute expression que par la modicité de ce que le Roy donne; on gagneroit

beaucoup à les paier plus cher, et a en avoir de bons et affider, ceux qui sont tels trouvent les moyens de restreindre les demandes des sauvages, au lieu que les autres les excitent à demander; c'est peut-être une des principales causes de la dépense excessive de ce pays-ci.<sup>50</sup>

If the Indians became a considerable factor in the Louisbourg budget, it was directly due to the military situation, both active and latent. If the Indians were demanding, the French were willing to pay the price.

An easily overlooked aspect of Indian-French relations at Louisbourg is that of slavery as it has left so little trace in official records. Of the nine baptisms recorded for Indians between 1722 and 1745 in the parish registers, three are listed for persons belonging to someone and one is listed for Louis, born to Louise, a panis.<sup>51</sup> The father is given as unknown.<sup>52</sup>

It was Louise who became the subject of a court case. The notarial records note a "cession d'une sauvagesse Panis élevée comme esclave au Canada," by Pierre Ruette d'Auteuil, sieur de La Malotière, owner and captain of the schooner Le St-Pierre of Quebec, to Jean Seigneur, proprietor of an inn at Louisbourg.<sup>53</sup>

The following February, Seigneur lodged a complaint that Louise was pregnant and that she had been sold to him under false pretences. He had agreed to pay four barrels of wine for her, two at the time of the transaction, two at a later date; however, her pregnancy had made her useless for the purpose for which he had bought her, which was to be a family servant. Besides, it was a bad example for his children.<sup>54</sup>

Louise, questioned by Frère Michel Ange Le Duff, said that de La Malotière had brought her down from Montreal in a schooner, had slept with her during the trip, and that he knew she was pregnant when he sold her.

The records for the next year tell us the outcome. De La Malotière agreed to cancel the payment of the two

remaining barrels of wine and to split the costs with Seigneur of sending Louise and her baby to Martinique where she would be sold. The agreement continued,

Que si la dite Louise et Son enfant est vendue  
assés avantageusement pour pouvoir en achepter un  
Naigre, que le dit naigre restera par preference  
au dit Seigneur en reconnoissance des avances quil  
fait.<sup>55</sup>

Indian slaves sold for less than negroes. For example, an inventory for French shipping from Canada and Mississippi arriving at Martinique in 1755 include the Quebec ship La Legère with six Indians listed as cargo and valued at 1,000 livres apiece; negroes that same year were selling at Martinique for 1,025 livres apiece.<sup>56</sup> The listing for the Quebec ship had the notation, "Le capitaine avait deux permissions de M. le Général de Québec pour transporter les six Sauvages en cette Isle."<sup>57</sup>

If the Micmac and their allies were used as slaves during the Louisbourg years, the records are silent.

They are also silent as to whether Micmac or French individuals ever attacked each other.<sup>58</sup> This may be more apparent than real because unless a person is identified by race as well as by name, it can be impossible to tell from the record. We know, for instance, that hungry Indians killed livestock and that the government patiently reimbursed the owners without taking the Indians to task.<sup>59</sup>

Efforts must have been made to persuade the Indians not to behave in that way. One wonders how patient the French would have been if they had not been confronted by the English. We do know that there was no such patience evident in their attitude toward Frenchmen guilty of the same offence. Versailles officials approved when Saint-Ovide had a proclamation read to the troops forbidding the killing of animals on pain of death.<sup>60</sup> They also approved the punishment Saint-Ovide had earlier meted out to soldiers who had killed and eaten livestock belonging to local inhabitants. The price of the livestock

was deducted from the soldiers' pay.

Occasions when French property was burned, such as the 1748 attack on the Ile Royale colliery and the 1750 destruction of Beaubassin by Le Loutre's Indians<sup>61</sup> were French-led incidents in the war against the English.<sup>62</sup>

An effort to establish a code of behaviour acceptable to both French and Indians is illustrated by a set of rules drawn up in 1739 on Ile Royale. They specified, among other things, that anyone who hit his father or mother or took them by the hair would be put to death and that anyone who aided the English by such means as carrying letters would not receive presents. The Indians agreed to bind themselves by these regulations "car ils n'ont en vue que de faire à la volonté du Roy leur Père ils aideront en cela leurs frères tant de costé de l'âme que de costé de corps." They also agreed "à estre autant soumis et obéissant au Roy qu'ils se font eux memes."<sup>63</sup>

The following year Bourville reported with satisfaction that the rules were being enforced. One of the examples he gave concerned a woman who had been in the habit of destroying her babies. When she repeated the offence in the spring of 1740, the Indians whipped her at the door of the church "conformément a leurs reglements ce qui n'avait jamais été jusqu'à lors."<sup>64</sup>

Bringing the French and Indian concepts of social order into some sort of accord was not only important to the running of the colony, but also to the fostering of Indian loyalty. The success of these efforts, which rested as much on resolving minor issues as well as major ones, is written in the pages of Canadian history. For all the Indian reputation for fickleness, the Micmac and the Malecite remained faithful allies to the French to the end. Neither did they abandon the Catholic faith when left without priests for long periods, even after the French left. Perhaps we can give the

last word to a Micmac who, in replying to a Frenchman's efforts to convince him of the superiority of the French way of life, asked: "Which of these two is the wisest and happiest -- he who labours without ceasing and only obtains, and that with great trouble, enough to live on, or he who rests in comfort and finds all that he needs in the pleasure of hunting and fishing?"<sup>65</sup>

The completeness of the collapse of the Micmac and Malecite world was not immediately evident after the departure of the French. The spectre of French still hung over long-disputed Acadia and at least one English governor of Nova Scotia, Montague Wilmot, believed it would be in England's best interests to continue the custom of annual gift giving. When Amherst's policy led to the refusal of the Micmac chief's request at Louisbourg, the chief had replied that he would have to go to Saint-Pierre or Miquelon where the French would give him supplies. "I am fearful," wrote Governor Wilmot to the Board of Trade in 1763, that the French "very readily and perhaps bountifully supplied this man's wants, and would gladly seize the opportunity for re-establishing once more that interest with these people, by means of whom they so long and effectually obstructed the settlement of this country."<sup>66</sup>

Wilmot would not have been so apprehensive if he had known of the king's instructions to Gabriel François Dangeac at St. Pierre and Miquelon. Dangeac was forbidden to receive any Indians from Cape Breton, "leur apparition à St Pierre et à Miquelon ne pouvant qu'être désagréable aux Anglais et aussi dispendieuse qu'inutile aux français."<sup>67</sup> As they were no longer useful to its imperial designs, France was no longer concerned about the Indians. It is interesting to note in this connection that an Indian is listed among the refugees in France who received a pension. She is identified simply



as Thérèse.<sup>68</sup>

Although the English gave some gifts to pacify the Indians (mostly useful articles, but including, at the special request of some chiefs, gold-laced hats, ruffled shirts and ribbons), they did not prevent the Indians from migrating to the French islands as well as to Newfoundland during the next two years. Sir Hugh Palliser, governor of Newfoundland, ordered the newcomers to leave, and became more alarmed than ever when he heard that even more Micmacs were planning to come over to help the French retake the colony.

The sad truth for the Micmacs was that they had been thrown back on their own resources when they had practically no resources left. Their interest in Newfoundland seems to have been aroused by its hunting and fishing.

When Saint-Luc de La Corne was shipwrecked off Cape Breton in 1761, he found his old friends and acquaintances living on the borderline of starvation. They brought him down to Artigongué (Antigonish) "où nous trouvâmes cinq cabanes de Sauvages qui mouroient pour ainsi dire de faim, & nous n'étions pas chargés de vivres...Nous ne trouvâmes pas de meilleurs hôtes, ils jeunoient tous."<sup>69</sup>

Twenty years later, in 1780, Samuel Waller Prenties, ensign of the 84th Regiment of Foot, was also shipwrecked in the same area. Again Indians came to the rescue. They agreed to help him, but made it clear they expected some compensation as otherwise their families would suffer if they took time out from hunting without making some provision for them. Prenties showed them some money "and observing an eagerness in their countenances at the sight of the coin, which I had little expected amongst Indians, and that the women in particular seemed to have taken strong fancy to it, I presented them with a guinea each."<sup>70</sup>

He and his companions stayed for several weeks with their



hosts although once the Indians knew the castaways had money, the situation was not as comfortable as before. "They became as mercenary as they had hitherto been charitable, and exacted above ten times the value for every little necessary they furnished for myself and the rest of my companions," Prenties sadly observed.<sup>71</sup>

This recalls Le Clercq's observation a century earlier that the Indians did not give anything for nothing and that they would demand compensation for the least service.<sup>72</sup>

The Indians' devotion to their Catholic faith struck Prenties. "Perhaps," he concluded, "it was this very circumstance of their communication with Christians that had inspired them with that vehement love of money."<sup>73</sup>

## Conclusion

Of the three major colonizing powers in North America, France was the most skilful in establishing a working relationship with the Indians and in using them for instruments of empire. The French genius lay in recognizing and developing Indian potential for this purpose. This was largely due to the circumstances of contact: the French in the north established a commercial colony based on the fur trade which depended heavily upon the cooperation of the Indians; the English established agricultural colonies in the central regions for which Indians were an impediment and the Spaniards established their rule upon the conquered Indian civilizations of the south. French attitudes toward the Indian did not differ so very greatly from those of the English or the Spaniards, at least not on the theoretical level. It was hardly a case, as Casgrain put it so euphemistically, of the French embracing the Indians "comme des frères,"<sup>1</sup> but necessity can produce strange alliances and so the term "French and Indians" has become a cliché of colonial histories.

Other factors besides the obvious one of economics contributed to this. Religion, for one. The winds of the Counter Reformation had whipped up fervour in France to the point where the salvation of souls was accorded an overwhelming importance. In New France this led to the great consequence of missionaries throughout the 17th century, which by the 18th century had begun to wane. There were also the factors of political ideology and personality. The French, few in number and spread over an immense territory, had to use every

means at their disposal to make those numbers count to the utmost. Without their Indian allies, they could neither have expanded nor held that territory as they did. For all of these reasons, friendship of the Indians was indispensable.

For the Indians, the choice between French and English or Spaniards was in the end irrelevant for the technology and competitive commercial individualism of the Europeans spelt doom for collective Indian societies in spite of the good intentions of individuals and of particular policies. Time ran out for Indian cultures; even those which had begun to adapt were swept aside by the sheer force of numbers of the European invasion.

From the moment Louisbourg was envisaged, a vital role was seen for the Micmac, Malecite and Abenaki. Their hunting would help to provide food for the colonists, at least in the beginning; their furs would provide income, although it was realized this would never be great as sources of supply were already failing along the Atlantic seaboard. Indians could develop seal hunting, which could be used as the basis of industries, and they could help with the fisheries. Since their neighbours the Abenaki were semi-agricultural, it was hoped that the Micmac could also be persuaded to take up farming or at least gardening.

The purpose of all these plans was far from being just the welfare of the Indians. They would be extremely useful in harassing and perhaps discouraging English settlement in troubled Acadia. Throughout the Louisbourg period the Indians were used as partisans in the French-English confrontation. It would be difficult to over-estimate the importance the French attached to this; in the end, it overwhelmed all other considerations including thrifty notions of encouraging Indians to learn new forms of self-sufficiency as farmers and commercial fishermen. As the Indians' services as partisans were at a premium, they could use them to bargain for the necessities

of life as well as for such side-benefits as gold braid or brandy. This meant that the Micmac and the Malecite did not feel the full impact of their dependence on trade goods until after the fall of New France.

Gift diplomacy was essential to maintaining the active allegiance of the Indians. Where in pre-contact days this type of negotiation had been essentially an exchange, under the pressures of colonization it became a diplomatic handout, providing subsistence for the Indians and protection for the French. The French also ensured the loyalty of their allies by appointing influential Indians as officers and paying them accordingly, by awarding medals and by carefully paying for services. They sent young men to live with the Indians and at first encouraged intermarriage. This policy cooled, however, at least at the official level, as it became apparent it was easier to make Indians out of Frenchmen than Frenchmen out of Indians.

While there is no question that the French manipulated the Indians for their own ends, it is equally true that the Indians were engaged in the same game. However, the goals were different: the French were building and maintaining an empire, while the Indians were seeking self-survival. The Indians played off the French against the English, realizing that the rivalry between the two European powers put them in a position of strength. As soon as that counterbalance was removed, the Indians were defeated by superiority of numbers if not by superiority of technology.

While they never controlled the course of the English-French confrontation in Acadia, they influenced its character. Their special brand of guerrilla warfare with its emphasis on terror forced the Europeans to adapt their own techniques of warfare. Indian ideas of personal liberty forced the French to tacitly grant their wilderness allies a special status and to refer to them as allies and not as subjects. This was a

reversal of the original French position which aimed at the Indians' "recognition of and submission to the authority and domination of the Crown of France."<sup>2</sup> As for the Micmac, they regarded themselves as free and sovereign allies of the French; they accepted the French king because he was their "father," having taught them their new religion. They did not feel they owed him any more allegiance than they owed their own chiefs. The French counterbalanced this by developing leaders (usually French, but sometimes part Indian) who organized the Indians into highly effective guerrillas, both on land and on sea. By this means the French were able to challenge the much more populous and hence more powerful English colonies. They severely retarded English colonization in Nova Scotia and to a lesser extent in northern New England. Their harassment of English fishing fleets was particularly effective during the early days of Louisbourg.

The general tone of official Louisbourg correspondence reveals little liking for the Indians. The cultural gap was too wide to allow for more than tolerance, but official communiqués were characterized by restraint, by the need to persuade and influence rather than to command. This caused the French to be unsure of their allies and hence not always comfortable with them.

There is little evidence of everyday fraternization between Indians and French at Louisbourg. In fact, what fraternization there was very early drew official protest. Soubras, for one, did not think it proper "que les français se meslent si fort avec les Sauvages."<sup>3</sup> The Indians seem to have come into the fortress-town principally for special occasions;<sup>4</sup> their preferred rendezvous with officialdom were at such posts as Port Toulouse, Port Dauphin and Port-La-Joie. The main Indian village on Ile Royale was Mirliquèche on Bras d'Or Lake until 1750 and then at Ile Sainte-Famille, on the same lake.

Assimilation does not seem to have been considered at Louisbourg; at least, it does not reveal itself in correspondence.<sup>5</sup> By the time the fortress was established, Micmac and Malecite had already been converted to Catholicism. The problem was one of maintaining missions, not one of conversion. Schools received little enough consideration at the fortress-town and none of it was for the Indians.

It has been said that if there was any discrimination by the French against the Indians, it was cultural and not racial.<sup>6</sup> Certainly cultural values were not reconcilable between the French, who in commerce were individualistic and competitive and in politics were absolutist, and the Indians, who were collective in trade and land ownership, but individualistic in politics and war. While the pressures of contact changed the Indian way of life, it did not change them into Frenchmen. Micmac remained Micmac, as they are to this day.

If the French adapted to their Indian allies, the Indians adapted to the French. For instance, in spite of their feelings about usufruct of land, they did not disturb the Acadians on their farms, at least not during the 18th century, and even considered them as allies -- not the kind of relationship New Englanders achieved with the Indians whose lands they took over for farming.

The Micmac and Malecite paid the final tribute to French policy in their continuing loyalty to the French not only when they were present, but also long after they had gone. And to this day they are still Catholics.

Appendix A. "Declaration de guerre des Micmacs aux Anglais s'ils refusent d'abandonner Kchibouktouk [Halifax]."

C'est ainsi qu'écrivent les chefs sauvages au Gouverneur de Kchibouktouk.

#### SEIGNEUR

L'endroit où tu es, où tu fais des habitations, où tu bâtis un fort, où tu veux maintenant comme t'inthroniser, cette terre dont tu veux présentement te rendre maître absolu, cette terre m'appartient, j'en suis certes sorti comme l'herbe, c'est le propre lieu de ma naissance et de ma résidence, c'est ma terre à moy sauvage; oui, je le jure, c'est Dieu qui me l'a donnée pour être mon pais à perpétuité.

Que je te dise donc c'abord les dispositions de mon coeur à ton égard, car il ne se peut que ce que tu fais a K'chibouktouk ne M'allarme, Mon Roy et ton Roy ont fait entr-eux le partage des terres; c'est ce qui fait qu'aujourd'huy ils sont en paix. mais moy il ne se peut que je fasse paix ou alliance avec toy. montre-moy où moy sauvage me logerai? tu me chasse toy; où veux tu donc que je me réfugie? tu t'es imparé de presque toute cette terre dans toute son étendue. il ne me restoit plus que Kchibouktouk. Tu m'envies encore ce morceau, jusques-là même que tu veux m'en chasser. Je connois par la même que tu veux m'en cahsser. Je connois par



là que tu m'engage toy-même à ne cesser de nous faire la guerre, et à ne jamais faire alliance contre nous. tu te glorifies de ton grand nombre moi sauvage en petit nombre ne me glorifie en autre chose qu'en Dieu qui sçait très bien tout ce dont il s'agit; un ver de terre sçait regimber quand on l'attaque. moy sauvage il ne se peut que je ne croye valoir au moins un tant soit peu plus qu'un ver de terre à plus forte raison sçaurai-je me deffendre si on m'attaque.

Ta résidence au Port Royal ne me fait plus grand ombrage, car tu vois que depuis long tems je t'y laisse tranquille. mais présentement tu me forces d'ouvrir la bouche par le vol considérable que tu me fais. J'iray bientôt te voir, peut-être recevra tu bien ce que je te dirai; si tu mécoutes et que tu me parles comme il faut, et que exécutes tes belles paroles, je connoîtrai par là que tu ne cherches que le bien, de sorte que toutes choses prendront un bon tour; je ne t'en dis pas davantage pour ne te pas plus longtemps rompre la tête par mes discours.

Je te salue, Seigneur.

Ecrit au Port Toulouse cinq jours avant la Saint Michel.<sup>1</sup>

## Endnotes

The documents used in this report have been collected by the Public Archives of Canada and the Fortress of Louisbourg Restoration Project from the archives of Great Britain, France and the United States. In the French series, all quotations from the Archives des Colonies (MGI) are taken from original documents on microfilm except for séries B. Numerals in square brackets indicate pagination of the transcripts; numerals in front of the brackets, that of the original manuscripts. In the other French series, as well as British and American series, transcripts were used.

## Introduction

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- 2 Cf. Henri Baudet, Paradise on Earth.... (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1965).
- 3 Francis Parkman, The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1907), p. 44.
- 4 Francis Parkman, The Conspiracy of Pontiac.... (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1907), Vol. 1, pp. 75, 77.
- 5 A.L. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1939), p. 92.

- 6 Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1934), p. 11.
- 7 Joseph Robson, An Account of Six Years' Residence in Hudson's Bay.... (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965), pp. 53-4.
- 8 Nicolas Jérémie, Twenty Years of York Factory, 1694-1714; Jérémie's Account of Hudson Strait and Bay, trans. and ed. R. Douglas and J.N. Wallace (Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbott 1926), p. 32.
- 9 Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de La Vérendrye, Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye and His Sons, ed. Lawrence J. Burpee (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927), p. 98.
- 10 Clark Wissler, Indians of the United States: Four Centuries of Their History and Culture (New York: Doubleday, 1940), p. 74.
- 11 Samuel de Champlain, The Works of Samuel de Champlain, ed Henry P. Biggar (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922-36), Vol. 3, p. 52.
- 12 Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de La Vérendrye, op. cit., p. 149.
- 13 John Smith, "The Generall Historie of Virginia by Captain John Smith, 1624; The Fourth Book," in Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625, ed. Lyon Gardiner Tyler (New York: Scribners, 1907), p. 364.
- 14 François de Laval, first bishop of Quebec, typically had a special regard for the Micmac, referring to them as "ces bons sauvages" (Abbé Auguste Gosselin, L'Eglise du Canada [Quebec: Laflamme et Proulx, 1911-14], Vol. 1, p. 368).

#### France Forges an Indian Policy in North America

- 1 W.J. Eccles, The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760, (Toronto:

- Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 6; Marcel Trudel, Histoire de la Nouvelle-France (Montreal: Fides, 1963-66), Vol. 1, Les vaines tentatives, 1524-1603, p. 168; Jacques Cartier, The Voyages of Jacques Cartier, ed, Henry P. Biggar (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1924), pp, 252, 259, 264-5; Henry P. Biggar, comp., A Collection of Documents Relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1930), pp. 456-7, 463.
- 2 Max Savelle, The Diplomatic History of the Canadian Boundary, 1749-1763 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1940), pp. vii-viii.
  - 3 Hubert Jules Deschamps, Les méthodes et les doctrines coloniales de la France.... (Paris: A. Colin, 1953), p. 15.
  - 4 Samuel Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes.... (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1905-7), Vol. 2, p. 39.
  - 5 Cornelius J. Jaenen, "The Meeting of the French and Amerindians," p. 2.
  - 6 Henry Harrisse, Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima; A Description of Works Relating to America.... (New York: Geo. P. Philes, 1866), p. 273. In a document dated 23 March 1530 Charles V, sovereign of New Spain, quoted a bull he had received from Pope Clement VII: "Whereupon we trust that as long as you are on earth you will compel and with all zeal cause the barbarous nations to come to the knowledge of God, the maker and founder of all things, but also by force and arms, if needful, in order that their soul may partake of the heavenly kingdom."
  - 7 These conflicts are treated by Lewis Hanke in Aristotle and the American Indians.... (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1959) and "Pope Paul III and the American Indians," Harvard Theological Review, Vol. 30, No. 2 (April 1937), pp. 65-102.

- 8 Lewis Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indians....  
(Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1959), p. 19.
- 9 Dauril Alden, "Black Robes Versus White Settlers: The Struggle for 'Freedom of the Indians' in Colonial Brazil," in Howard Peckham and Charles Gibson, eds., Attitudes of Colonial Powers Toward the American Indian (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1969), p. 30.
- 10 Mason Wade, "The French and the Indians," in Howard Peckham and Charles Gibson, eds., op. cit., p. 62.
- 11 Marc Lescarbot, The History of New France, by Marc Lescarbot, trans. and ed. W.L. Grant, intro. Henry P. Biggar (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1907-14), Vol. 2, p. 371.
- 12 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 17.
- 13 Samuel de Champlain, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 98-102.
- 14 Marc Lescarbot, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 358-9.
- 15 Ibid., pp. 312-3.
- 16 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, ed. R.G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Burrows Bros., 1896-1901), Vol. 3, p. 193.
- 17 That the Indians were not impervious to European languages is illustrated by Lescarbot's comment that by 1606 the Basques had been on the coast so long "that the language of the coast tribes is half Basques" (Marc Lescarbot, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 24). More than half a century earlier, sailor Robert Lefant had been even more sweeping when he testified under oath "that the Indians understand any language, French, English, and Gascon, and their own tongue" (Henry P. Biggar, comp., op. cit., pp. 453-4).
- 18 Marcel Trudel, Histoire de la Nouvelle-France (Montreal: Fides, 1963-66), Vol. 2, Le comptoir, 1604-1627, p. 388. This is to some extent borne out by Lescarbot, who said the Indians did not care to learn French, claiming that they did not come to seek after them (Marc Lescarbot, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 125). This attitude seems to have been a later development in view of the earlier reports

- of Indian facility with European Languages.
- 19 Antoine Laumet dit de Lamothe Cadillac, in his "Mémoire de la Nouvelle Angleterre, 1692," reported that the English were teaching their language to selected Indians who in turn were paid to teach it to other Indians. Cadillac wrote that this system had worked so well "qu'insensiblement ces Indiens ont même oublié leur language," and recommended it for French missionaries. Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), MG1, C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 10, n.p.
  - 20 A.I. Hallowell, "Some Psychological Characteristics of the Northeastern Indians," in Frederick Johnson, ed., Man in Northeastern North America (Andover: Philips Academy, 1946) (hereafter cited as "Some Psychological Characteristics"), p. 225.
  - 21 Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres de la réverende mère Marie de l'Incarnation, ed. Abbé Richaudeau (Paris: Librairie internationale catholique, 1876), Vol. 2, p. 372.
  - 22 Of the ten Iroquois Cartier took to France in 1535, none survived to return with him on his third voyage in 1541. More than half a century later, the son of Begourat, installed in the Château Saint-Germain in 1603 with the Dauphin, died the following year (A.-Léo Leymarie, "Le Canada pendant la jeunesse de Louis XIII," Nova Francia, Vol. 1, No. 4 [24 Feb. 1926], pp. 168-9).

Pierre Boucher, at that time captain of the town of Trois-Rivières, in 1649 married Marie Madeleine Chrétienne, a Huron raised by the Ursulines. She died at the end of that same year in childbirth, something which almost never occurred in Indian society. (Pierre Boucher, Histoire véritable et naturelle des moeurs et productions du pays de la Nouvelle-France.... [Boucherville, Que.: Société historique de Boucherville, 1964], p. xlvii.)

- 23 Marc Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 56.
- 24 Morris Bishop, Champlain, the Life of Fortitude (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), p. 298. One of these occasions is described in *Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America)*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 211.
- 25 Budgets for the years 1690-97 included 3,000 livres annually for the dowries for 60 girls, French and Indian, who married Frenchmen (PAC, MG1, F<sup>1</sup>A, Fonds des colonies).
- 26 *Ibid.*, B, Vol. 62, p. 88v [95-96], Maurepas to Brisacier, Paris, 4 Oct. 1735. However, voices continued to be raised in favour of intermarriage. For one example, see *ibid.*, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 16, pièce 28, anonymous letter, 9 July 1746.
- 27 Marie de l'Incarnation, Word from New France...., trans. and ed. Joyce Marshall (Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967), p. 28.
- 28 Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, Histoire de Canada, et voyages que les frères mineurs recollects y ont faicts pour la conversion des infidèles depuis l'an 1615 (Paris: Sonnius, 1636), p. 166. The 18th-century Jesuit historian, P.-F.-X. de Charlevoix, was attributed with a similar observation by Francis Parkman, who did not indicate his source, in The Conspiracy of Pontiac.... (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1899), Vol. 1, pp. 77-8.
- 29 Michel Guillaume St. Jean de Crèvecoeur, Letters from an American Farmer, by J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur (London: Dent, 1926), p. 215.
- 30 Peter Farb, Man's Rise to Civilization (New York: Avon, 1969), pp. 313-7. For a contemporary discussion of the charms of Indian life, see "Letter from Mons. de la Varenne," Louisbourg, 8 May 1756, in An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets, Savage Nations, Now Dependent on the Government of Cape Breton



(London: Printed for S. Hooper and A. Morley, 1758)  
(hereafter cited as "Letter from Mons. de la Varenne"),  
pp. 90-8.

- 31 Raymond H. Fisher, The Russian Fur Trade, 1500-1700  
(Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1943), p. 30.
- 32 "Letter from Mons. de la Varenne," p. 89. An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets, Savage Nations, Now Dependent on the Government of Cape Breton (London: Printed for S. Hooper and A. Morley, 1758) (hereafter cited as Customs and Manners), also contains an anonymous letter attributed to Pierre Maillard, dated 27 March 1755, and a letter from Abbé P.-F.-X. de Charlevoix on the character of Indians of North America. It also contains a "Memorial on the Motives of the Savages, called Mickmakis and Maricheets, for continuing the War with England since the last Peace," dated Ile Royale, 175\_. This is a translation, with one short paragraph missing, of one of the documents reproduced by Gaston Du Bosq de Beaumont in Les derniers jours de l'Acadie.... (Paris: E. Lechevalier, 1899), pp. 248-53. These had been collected by Michel Le Courtois de Surlaville, lieutenant-générale des armées du Roi and ancien major des troupes de l'Ile Royale, who came to the island in 1751. Surlaville attributed the memorial to Maillard. Thomas Pichon presented parts of it as a discourse by Governor Raymond in the work usually attributed to him, Lettres et mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle, civile et politique du Cap Breton (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1966), pp. 132ff and 204ff.
- 33 Quebec (Province). Archives, Rapport de l'Archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1947-1948 (Quebec: Rédempti Paradis, 1948), p. 274, Vaudreuil and Bégon to minister, 20 Sept. 1714.

- 34 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>A, Vol. 3, p. 274, Patoulet memoire, 25 Jan. 1672.
- 35 Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 168, Duchesneau to minister, 13 Nov. 1680.
- 36 Quebec (Province). Archives, Rapport de l'Archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1947-1948 (Quebec: Rédempti Paradis, 1948), p. 273, Vaudreuil and Bégon to minister, 20 Sept. 1714.
- 37 New France. Laws, Statutes, etc., Edits, ordonnances royaux, déclarations et arrêts du Conseil d'état du roi concernant le Canada (Quebec: Fréchette, 1854-56), Vol. 1, p. 10.
- 38 Peter Farb, op. cit., pp. 314-5.
- 39 Samuel de Champlain, op. cit., Vol. 5, pp. 66-8, 76, 103-7; Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1966-) (hereafter cited as DCB), Vol. 1, s.v. "Cherououny"; Marcel Trudel, op. cit., Vol. 2, Le comptoir, 1604-1627, pp. 359-60.
- 40 New France. Conseil supérieur de Québec, Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France (Quebec: A. Coté, 1885-91), Vol. 1, pp. 129-30, 174, 175.
- 41 Antonio de Ulloa, A Voyage to South America...., trans. John Adams, 4th ed. (London: J. Stockdale, 1806), Vol. 2, pp. 376-7.
- 42 W. J. Eccles, The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760 (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 78.
- 43 "Letter from Mons. de la Varenne," pp. 88-9.
- 44 Bruce G. Trigger, "Settlement as an Aspect of Iroquoian Adaptation at the time of Contact," American Anthropologist, Vol. 65, No. 1 (Feb. 1963), p. 93.
- 45 Samuel de Champlain, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 379. Micheline Dumont-Johnson (in Apôtres ou agitateurs [Trois-Rivières: Boreal Express, 1970], p. 30) says that Champlain decided on "la nécessité d'exterminer les Iroquois, projet formulé

très explicitement dès 1663." Champlain, in his letter to Richelieu, 18 Aug. 1634, wrote: "Pour les vaincre et réduire en l'obéissance de Sa Majesté, six-vingt hommes de France bien équipés avec les sauvages nos alliés suffiraient pour les exterminer ou les faire venir à la raison."

- 46 "La relation dernière de Marc Lescarbot, Paris, 1612," in Lucien Campeau, ed., Monuments Novae Francia: La première mission d'Acadie (1602-1616) (Quebec: Les presses de l'Université de Laval, 1967), p. 184.
- 47 H.H. Walsh, The Church in the French Era (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966), p. 49.
- 48 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 42, pp. 61-125.
- 49 Ibid., Vol. 29, pp. 47-61.
- 50 Ibid., Vol. 36, pp. 83-111.
- 51 Ibid., Vol. 32, p. 97.
- 52 Ibid., Vol. 43, p. 169. For a discussion of Jesuits as diplomats, cf. Micheline Dumont-Johnson, op. cit., pp. 33ff.
- 53 For example, Le Moyne in 1657 went to Quebec with news gathered on a journey to the Mohawks. Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 42, p. 255.
- 54 Ibid., Vol. 25, p. 27.
- 55 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 12, p. 294, Saint-Ovide to minister, 28 July 1739, for example.
- 56 Ibid., p. 37v, Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, 25 Nov. 1731.
- 57 "Letter from Mons. de la Varenne," p. 85. Maillard wrote in a similar vein: "Il n'y a, je vous le jure, Monsieur, que la religion qui soit capable de les rendre quelquefois traitables et dociles" (PAC, MG11, CO, Nova Scotia A, Vol. 32, p. 222, Maillard to Hopson, 11 Sept. 1748.
- 58 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 16, p. 4 (seconde pièce), Mémoire sur l'Isle Royal, 1750.

- 59 "Letter from Mons. de la Varenne," p. 86.
- 60 Cornelius J. Jaenen, "The Meeting of the French and Amerindians," p. 12.
- 61 Quebec (Province). Archives, Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires et autres documents historiques relatif à la Nouvelle-France.... (Quebec: A. Coté, 1883-85) (hereafter cited as Collection de manuscrits), Vol. 1, p. 175, Instructions pour le Sieur de Courcelle au sujet des indiens, 1665.
- 62 However, the king instructed Courcelle in 1665 "qu'on n'usurpe point les terres sur lesquelles ils sont habituez sous pretexte qu'elles sont meilleures ou plus convenables aux François." Ibid.
- 63 Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, ed. Edmond B. O'Callaghan (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1853-87) (hereafter cited as Documents Relative to New York), Vol. 10, p. 269, Duquesne to Machault, 31 Oct. 1754.
- 64 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 1, pp. 340v-341, Bégon letter, 25 Sept. 1715, in deliberations of council, 28 March 1716.
- 65 Le Loutre wrote that a party of 150 Iroquois, Abenakis and Micmacs "Sont allés faire un tour de chasse à Chibouctouk [Halifax]." Apparently the Iroquois were not always enemies of the Micmacs. Ibid., Vol. 30, p. 140v, Le Loutre to Des Her- bier, 8 May 1751.
- 66 Collection de manuscrits, Vol. 1, p. 175, Instructions pour le Sieur de Courcelle au sujet des indiens, 1665.
- 67 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit. Vol. 22, p. 291.
- 68 Ibid., Vol. 40, p. 165-9.
- 69 For a description of negotiations with wampum collars, bracelets and earrings as well as calumets, see ibid., Vol. 40, pp. 203-9.

- 70 Documents Relative to New York, Vol. 9, p. 161,  
Duchesneau's memoir on the western Indians, 13 Oct. 1681.
- 71 Pierre Maillard, "Letter," in Customs and Manners, p. 4.
- 72 For instance, Commissaire-ordonnateur de Mézy was  
instructed to continue to send statements so as to  
prevent both disappointing the Indians and exceeding  
allotted funds (PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 45/2, pp. 260-6 [1123-9],  
13 May 1722), while Saint-Ovide was informed that  
everything that was asked for the Indians was being sent  
in order to end their complaints (ibid., pp. 267-73  
[1129-34], 13 May 1722).
- 73 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 31, p. 63, Raymond to minister, 19 Nov.  
1751.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Ibid., B, Vol. 35/3, p. 239 [112], Pontchartrain to  
Saint-Ovide, 20 March 1713; ibid., p. 269v [181], to  
Gaulin, 29 March 1713; ibid., Vol. 36/7, p. 430v [40-41],  
to l'Hermitte, 21 March 1714; ibid., pp. 443-443v [71],  
to Costebelle, 22 March 1714; ibid., Vol. 36/1, p. 84v  
[245], council to Besnard, 26 Feb. 1716.
- 76 Documents Relative to New York, Vol. 7, pp. 953-4, "Review  
of the Trade and Affairs of the Indians in the Northern  
District of America, 1744."
- 77 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 5, pp. 187-187v, Saint-Ovide to  
minister, 5 Sept. 1720.
- 78 Documents Relative to New York, Vol. 7, p. 650, Sir  
William Johnson to Lords of Trade, 30 Aug. 1764. For a  
general treatment of this subject, see Wilbur R. Jacobs,  
Diplomacy and Indian Gifts.... (Stanford, Calif.:  
Stanford Univ. Press, 1950).
- 79 In one case even the colonial authorities seemed to be  
convinced that this had actually happened. See Raymond's  
dispatch concerning Chief Denis whose grandfather was  
reported to have been ennobled (PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15,  
pp. 257-257v, Nov. 1751). This is dealt with in

"Maintaining the Alliances."

The famous half-Indian leader Saint-Castin, fourth baron of that name, inherited his title from his father.

- 80 George Henry Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians in North America.... (London: The Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1794), p. 132.
- 81 The Indians' response to rhetoric impressed Father Paul Le Jeune, superior of the Jesuits of Quebec 1632-39, who was sure that nowhere else in the world did eloquence have more effect. "It controls all these tribes, as the Captain is elected for his eloquence alone, and is obeyed in proportion to his use of it, for they have no other law than his word" (Jesuits. Letters from Missions [North America], op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 195).
- 82 Nicolas Perrot, Mémoire sur les moeurs, coutumes et religion des sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1968), p. 78.
- 83 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 7, p. 131, Vaudreuil, Ordre et instruction pour Baron de Saint-Castin, 18 Jan. 1711.
- 84 For example, Beauharnois's instructions to Gaulin for retaking Acadia, 13 Jan. 1711. The missionary was ordered to assemble "tous les Sauvages de ces costes pour les induitte à se joindre à M. de Beaubassin pour suivre les ordres qu'on luy donneroît convenable à l'entreprise" (ibid., p. 127; author's italics).
- 85 Ibid., B, Vol. 40/5, pp. 541v-542 [1376], Mémoir du Roy pour servir d'Instruction au S. de Saint-Ovide, gouverneur de l'Isle Royale, 18 July 1718; ibid., Vol. 68/2, pp. 370v-371 [380-3], to Forant, 22 June 1739; ibid., Vol. 89, p. 309v [308], to Des Herbiers, 28 March 1749; ibid., Vol. 93, p. 223v [153-4], to Raymond, 24 April 1751; ibid., Vol. 99, p. 238 [183], to Drucour, 12 May 1754.

- 86 Ibid., Vol. 63/1, p. 475v [96], Instructions à Beauharnois et Hocquart concernant les Abenaki, 19 April 1735.
- 87 Ibid., Vol. 95, p. 294 [265-6], Rouillé to Raymond, 21 July 1752.
- 88 Collection de manuscrits, Vol. 1, p. 175, Instructions pour le Sieur de Courcelle au sujet des indiens, 1665.
- 89 Ibid.
- 90 Documents Relative to New York, Vol. 4, pp. 206-11, London Documents 10, "Mr. Nelson's Memorial about the state of the Northern Colonies in America," 24 Sept. 1696.
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Ibid.
- 93 Thomas Pichon, op. cit., p. 140.
- 94 PAC, MG11, CO, Nova Scotia A, Vol. 32, p. 222, Maillard to Hopson, 11 Sept. 1748.
- 95 Thomas C. Haliburton, An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia (Halifax: Joseph Howe, 1829), Vol. 1, p. 101.
- 96 Documents Relative to New York, Vol. 10, p. 14, Paris Documents 9, Beauharnois and Hocquart to Maurepas, 12 Sept. 1745.
- 97 E.E. Rich, "Trade Habits and Economic Motivation Among the Indians of North America," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 26 (Feb.-Nov. 1960), p. 36.

#### The Micmac and Their Neighbours

- 1 Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth Sawtell Wallis, The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1955), p. 14.
- 2 John R. Swanton, The Indian Tribes of North America (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 581.



- 3 Ibid., p. 579.
- 4 Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth Sawtell Wallis, op. cit., p. 15.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Dr. Gordon Day, Eastern Canada ethnologist, National Museum of Man, Ottawa, pers. com.
- 7 Andrew Hill Clark, Acadia, the Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760 (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 57.
- 8 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 73; Vol. 3, p. 111.
- 9 Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, 1st ser., Vol. 10 (1809), p. 115. The Canadian Indian Affairs report for 1904 gives the figure of 3,861 for that year, exclusive of the Micmac of Newfoundland (John R. Swanton, op. cit., p. 581).
- 10 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 17.
- 11 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>A, Vol. 122, p. 13, 30 Sept. 1705.
- 12 Terence A. Crowley, "French Colonial Administration at Louisbourg, 1713-1744," master's thesis, Duke University, Durham, N.C., 1970, p. 114.
- 13 PAC, MG3, I, K, carton 1232, pièce 4, Gaulin to d'Aguesseau.
- 14 Samuel Purchas, op. cit., Vol. 19, pp. 400-5. I am indebted to Dr. Day for this reference.
- 15 A 1903 report listed the Abenaki at nearly 400 (John R. Swanton, op. cit., p. 15). The Penobscot, one of the Abenaki group, could be added to this figure. According to the U.S. census, they numbered 280 in 1910 (ibid., p. 17).
- 16 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 111.
- 17 Canadian Malecite were listed at a little over 800 in 1904; in 1910 those south of the International Boundary at 142 (John R. Swanton, op. cit., p. 579). The Passamaquoddy, closely connected with the Malecite, were

- enumerated at nearly 400 in 1910 (ibid., p. 15).
- 18 Jesuits, Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 111.
  - 19 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 10, p. 154, Sur l'Accadie, 1748.
  - 20 Lewis Henry Morgan, League of Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois, by Lewis Henry Morgan, ed. Herbert M. Lloyd (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1901), Vol. 2, pp. 226-8. Dr. Day recommended this estimate as being based on a thorough survey of available data. Following 1642, the Iroquois declined until after the War of American Independence when they slowly began an upswing until today they number slightly more than at their peak.
  - 21 Andrew Hill Clark, op. cit., pp. 199-200.
  - 22 For a description of an Indian whale hunt from the Penobscot, see "A True Relation of the Voyage of Captaine George Waymouth, 1605, by James Rosier," in Early English and French Voyages, Chiefly from Hakluyt, 1534-1608, ed. Henry Sweetser Burrage (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1952), p. 392.
  - 23 Bernard G. Hoffman, Cabot to Cartier.... (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 214. Maillard mentioned whale meat and seal oil at a Micmac feast in his "Lettre sur les missions de l'Acadie et particulièrement sur les missions Micmaques, Soirées canadiennes; recueil de littérature nationale, Vol. 3 (1863) (hereafter cited as "Missions Micmaques"), p. 303. Seal oil was basic in the early Micmac diet.
  - 24 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 101.
  - 25 Henry Sweetser Burrage, ed., op. cit., p. 368.
  - 26 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 47, p. 223 describes one such expedition. Nicolas Denys (1598-1688) said the Indians all used shallops for sea-going expeditions (Nicolas Denys, The Description and Natural History of the Coast of North America [Acadia] by

- Nicolas Denys, ed. William F. Ganong [Toronto: Champlain Society, 1908], p. 196).
- 27 John Stewart McLennan (Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall, 1713-1758 [London: Macmillan, 1918], p. 67) should not have found this skill so surprising.
  - 28 Marc Lescarbot, op. cit., Vol. 3, pp. 141-6.
  - 29 Lahontan observed that while their endurance was greater, they did not have the strength of most French "in raising Weights with their Arms, or carrying of Burdens on their Backs" (Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan, New Voyages to North America by Baron de Lahontan, ed. R.G. Thwaites [Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1905], Vol. 2, pp. 415-6).
  - 30 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 75; *ibid.*, Vol. 6, pp. 243ff, Le Jeune on the Montagnais.
  - 31 Chrétien Le Clercq, New Relation of Gaspesia....., ed. William F. Ganong (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1910), p. 242.
  - 32 Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth Sawtell Wallis, op. cit., pp. 447-9.
  - 33 Marc Lescarbot, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 270.
  - 34 Philip K. Bock, The Micmac Indians of Restigouche: History and Contemporary Description (Ottawa: [Dept. of the Secretary of State], 1966), p. 6.
  - 35 Chrétien Le Clercq, op. cit., p. 247.
  - 36 *Ibid.*, p. 271n.
  - 37 For a general discussion of the characteristics of Northeastern Indians, see A.I. Hallowell, "Some Psychological Characteristics," pp. 195-225.
  - 38 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 91.
  - 39 A.I. Hallowell, "Some Psychological Characteristics," pp. 199-204. The Jesuits frequently commented on the Indians' intelligence.

- 40 Thomas Pichon, op. cit., p. 95.
- 41 Nicolas Denys, op. cit., pp. 446-7.
- 42 Henry Sweetser Burrage, ed., op. cit., p. 368.
- 43 William Vernon Kinnietz, The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760 (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1940), p. 232. Cadillac lived at Port Royal from 1683 until 1691; in 1692, serving with colonial regular troops, he made a reconnaissance of the New England coast that pleased authorities.
- 44 Chrétien Le Clercq, op. cit., p. 241.
- 45 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 81.
- 46 Ibid., Vol. 43, p. 221.
- 47 Marc Lescarbot, op. cit., Vol. 3, pp. 171, 217.
- 48 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 10, p. 154, Sur l'Accadie, 1748.
- 49 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 119.
- 51 Ibid., p. 121. Indian etiquette for eating, often unfavourably remarked upon, drew from Rosier the comment that they "fed not like men of rude education, neither would they eat or drinke more than seemed to content nature" (Henry Sweetser Burrage, ed., op. cit., p. 372).
- 51 Louis Chancel de Lagrange, 'Voyage fait à l'isle Royale ou Cap Breton en Canada, 1716,' in "Documents inédits," Révue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Dec. 1959), pp. 431-2.
- 52 However, they do not seem to have always procured it by peaceful means. Bradford, early governor of the Plymouth colony, wrote that coastal New England tribes "were much afraid of the Tarentins, a people to the eastward which used to come in harvest time and take away their corne, & many times kill their persons" (William Bradford, Of Plymouth Plantation, ed. Harvey Wish [New York: Capricorn Books, 1962], p. 79). "Tarentins" have been identified as Micmacs.

- 53 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 1, p. 145, Costebelle to minister, 5 Nov. 1715.
- 54 Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 471.
- 55 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 14, pp. 414-5, Vallée to minister, 22 Nov. 1733.
- 56 Pierre Maillard, "Missions Micmaques," pp. 296-7.
- 57 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 91.
- 58 W.C. McKearn, "A Cultural Perspective of Northeastern Area Archeology," in Frederick Johnson, ed., Man in Northeastern North America (Andover: Philips Academy, 1946), p. 35.
- 59 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 10, Mémoire de Lamothe Cadillac, 1693, n.p. See also Marc Lescarbot, op. cit., pp. 123-5.
- 60 Harold Edson Driver, Indians of North America (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 33-5.
- 61 According to Sapir, "It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection.... the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group....The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached" (ibid., p. 33).
- 62 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 11, 13. For further comments by Biard, ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 193-7; see also George Henry Loskiel, op. cit., pp. 20-1.
- 63 Chrétien Le Clercq, op. cit., pp. 140-1. Abbé Jean P. de Miniac in 1760 found so much excellence in Micmac that he was persuaded that if its beauties were known in Europe, there would be colleges erected for its propagation

- (Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, 1st ser., Vol. 10 [1809], pp. 115-6).
- 64 Pierre Maillard, "Letter," in Customs and Manners, pp. 33-6.
- 65 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 89.
- 66 Gaston Du Bosq de Beaumont, ed., op. cit., p. 71.
- 67 Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth Sawtell Wallis, op. cit., p. 203.
- 68 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>A, Vol. 122, p. 13v, to Quebec, 30 Sept. 1705.
- 69 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 6, p. 168v, Subercase to minister, 20 Dec. 1708.
- 70 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>A, Vol. 122, p. 13, to Quebec, 30 Sept. 1705.
- 71 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 10, Sur l'Accadie, 1748.
- 72 For a penetrating look at the question, see André Vachon, "L'eau-de-vie dans la société indienne," in Canadian Historical Association Annual Report for 1960 (Toronto: 1960) pp. 22-32.
- 73 Henri Raymond Casgrain, Les Sulpiciens et les prêtres des Missions-étrangères en Acadie (1676-1762) (Quebec: Pruneau & Kironac, 1897), p. 239, citing a letter written by Gaulin at Minas, 24 Oct. 1701. Precise source not indicated.
- 74 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 1, p. 251, Mémoire sur les missions des sauvages Mikmak et de l'Acadie. This undated, unsigned survey, the best on the Micmac missions during the Louisbourg period, was probably among the reports taken to Versailles by Saint-Ovide in 1739 (ibid., Vol. 21, p. 294, Saint-Ovide to minister, 28 July 1739). Information for it must have been provided by the missionaries, at that time Maillard and Le Loutre. Norman McLeod Rogers ("Apostle to the Micmacs," Dalhousie Review, Vol. 6, No. 2 [July 1926], p. 168) says the best survey of the Micmac missions of this period is found in a letter written by Le Loutre in 1738. In any event, the survey served as the basis for instructions on Indian

- policy to the governors of Louisbourg from this time forward, beginning with the instructions to Forant (PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 68, pp. 40-1 [379-83], 22 June 1739).
- 75 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 2, pp. 42v-43, letter by Soubras, 4 Dec. 1716, in deliberations of council, 10 April 1717.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Ibid., p. 170, memoire by Saint-Ovide and Soubras, 13 Nov. 1717.
- 78 Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 25lv, letter by Gaulin, 17 Nov. 1719.
- 79 Pierre Maillard, "Missions Micmaques," p. 299.
- 80 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 16, pièce 4 (seconde pièce), Mémoire sur l'Isle Royale, 1750.
- 81 By the time another century had passed, at least one observer was prepared to make concessions as to their utility when he wrote that "in the wigwam there is a place for everything and everything has its place. Every post, every bar, every fastening, every tier of bark, and every appendage, whether for ornament or for use, in this curious structure, has a name, and every section of the limited space has its appropriate designation and use. Perhaps it would be impossible to plan a hut of equal dimensions in which the comfort and convenience of inmates could be so effectively secured" (Duncan Campbell, Nova Scotia, in its Historical, Mercantile and Industrial Relations [Montreal: J. Lovell, 1873], p. 18).
- 82 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 10, Sur l'Accadie, 1748.
- 83 Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 471.
- 84 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>A, Vol. 92, pp. 325v-326, Marin to minister, 4 Oct. 1748.
- 85 Thomas Pichon, op. cit., pp. 101-2.
- 86 The governor at Louisbourg also had his problems in drawing the line. When two of his missionaries got into trouble with Major Lawrence Armstrong, acting governor at



Annapolis Royal, Saint-Ovide was sharply reminded by Versailles that missionaries were subject to British law as long as they were on British territory and that if this were respected, "il est à croire qu'ils auront toute la liberté qui peut leur est nécessaire" (PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 65/4, pp. 452-452v [795-7], Maurepas to Saint-Ovide, 16 April 1737).

- 87 Antoine Gaulin (1674-1740), born on Isle d'Orléans, Quebec, was sent to Acadia in 1698 by the Seminary of Quebec and served until 1731. In 1702 he was named vicar-general of Acadia. He was a major figure in persuading the Indians to help the French in their efforts to retake Acadia in 1711. In spite of his long years of service during which he personally indebted himself (ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 3, pp. 42-3, 56-60v, council, 3 May 1718; ibid., Vol. 4, pp. 251-6, letter by Gaulin, 17 Nov. 1719), a report that he had encouraged the Micmac to sue for peace with the English so annoyed Maurepas (ibid., B, Vol. 49/2, pp. 705-7 [525-9], 28 May 1726) that Saint-Ovide had to come to his defence (ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 8, pp. 34-38v, 18 Sept. 1726). As for the English, his "intolerable insolence" led them to consider taking steps for his removal. Alarmed, Gaulin petitioned to remain at his mission, which was granted "on his begging pardon, taking the oath of fidelity, promising not to meddle with government affairs, but to confine himself to his religious functions, and giving other priests and ten or twelve deputies as security for his behavior" (Beamish Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia, or Acadie [Halifax: J. Barnes, 1865], Vol. 1, pp. 437-8). Major Armstrong referred to him as "that old, mischievous incendiary Gaulin" and allowed him to stay even though he could not furnish the required security.

- 88 Pierre Antoine Simon Maillard (1709-62), of the Séminaire du Saint-Esprit in Paris, worked as a missionary among the Micmacs from 1735 until his death in 1762. In 1740 he was named vicar-general of Ile Royale, which was renewed in 1760.
- 89 However, France paid for Maillard's subsistence while he was in Halifax. Abbé Pierre de la Rue de l'Isle Dieu, vicar-general for the French colonies in Paris, received 500 livres a year for this purpose for the period from January 1758 until September 1762, shortly after Maillard's death (PAC, MG1, F<sup>1</sup>A, article 48, p. 48v).
- 90 Jean-Louis Le Loutre (1709-72), of the Séminaire du Saint-Esprit in Paris, started his missionary career as an assistant to Maillard in 1737. In 1739 he was favourably received by Armstrong; in 1741 he abandoned his missions to the Acadians to work exclusively with the Indians at Shubenacadie. During the English occupation of Louisbourg, 1745-49, the English issued an order for his arrest because of his activities inciting the Indians against the English while making it look as though the Indians were acting on their own (ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 9, pp. 130-130v, letter by Le Loutre, 29 July 1749). In 1753 the authorities in Halifax put a price upon his head. He was captured twice by the English: for three months in 1747 and in 1755 until the end of the Seven Years' War. (Albert David, "Une autobiographie de l'Abbé Le Loutre," Nova Francia, Vol. 6, No. 1 [Jan.-Feb. 1931], pp. 1-34; Norman McLeod Rogers, "The Abbé Le Loutre," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 11, No. 2 [June 1930], pp. 105-28.)
- 91 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 29, pp. 81-81v, Cornwallis to Pontbriand 12 Dec. 1749.
- 92 "Why the Micmac Have a Treaty with the King," in Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth Sawtell Wallis, op. cit., p. 470.

Norman McLeod Rogers tells another legend in "Apostle to the Micmacs," Dalhousie Review, Vol. 6, No. 2 (July 1926), pp. 166-176. The French also regarded him highly as "un homme de merite qui a de la capacite" (PAC, MG4, B1, A<sup>1</sup>, Vol. 3398, p. 38, Raymond to Rouillé, Jan. 1752). See also Albert David, "Messire Pierre Maillard, Apôtre des Micmacs," Bulletin des recherches historiques, Vol. 35, No. 6 (June 1929), pp. 365-75.

- 93 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 3, p. 56, council, 3 May 1718. The reference says 20 years, but Gaulin had an assistant, Philippe Rageot, of whom he thought very highly, during his early years as a missionary. Rageot was with him at least until 1705.
- 94 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 339, council, 28 March 1716.
- 95 The first was Abbé Jessé Fléché, whose baptisms in 1610-11 with little preparation caused official concern. Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 310-1.
- 96 Louis Chancels de Lagrange, op. cit., pp. 431-2.
- 97 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 2, pp. 44-44v, council, 10 April 1717. Gaulin was not the only missionary to Indians to be charged with this failing. Abbé Henri Daudin wrote to Le Loutre, 10 Aug. 1754, "Je voulais écrire à M. Maillard, mais tantôt il est à l'isle St. Jean, tantôt à Louisbourg, tantôt chez vous, actuellement il est à Québec. J'attends une demeure fixe pour lui écrire. Chargez vous de lui faire dire de mes nouvelles aussitôt que vous le pourrés (PAC, MG18, F12, Vol. 1, letter No. 49, pp. 320-1).
- 98 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 1, p. 337v, council, 28 March 1716; *ibid.*, pp. 345-66, council, 28 March 1716.
- 99 Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 39, letter by Soubras, 8 Jan 1717, in deliberations of council, 10 April 1717.
- 100 Ibid., p. 44, letter by Soubras, 4 Dec. 1715, in deliberations of council, 10 April 1716. Soubras said flatly that as far as he was concerned, he could not think

- of anything better for the colony than the missionary's absence (ibid., Vol. 1, p. 432v, Soubras to minister, 4 Dec. 1716). See also ibid., B, Vol. 39, p. 290v [1052], king's memoire to Costebelle and Soubras, June 1717.
- 101 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 2, pp. 240v-241, Sainte-Ovide to council, 30 Nov. 1717.
  - 102 Ibid., Vol. 5, pp. 148-155v, Sainte-Ovide and de Mézy to council, 7 Dec. 1721.
  - 103 Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 36, Le Normant to Maurepas, 2 Aug. 1724.
  - 104 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 249v, Mémoire sur les missions des Sauvages Mikmak et de l'accadie.
  - 105 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 6, p. 263, 23 Dec. 1708.
  - 106 Pierre Maillard, "Missions Micmaques," p. 294.
  - 107 Micheline Dumont-Johnson, op. cit., p. 58, citing from Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Lettres R, No. 87, 1 Oct. 1738.
  - 108 Some examples are found in PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 14, pp. 103-109v, Sainte-Ovide to Maurepas, 18 Oct. 1733; ibid., Vol. 20, pp. 85-90v, Bourville to Maurepas, 3 Oct. 1738; and ibid., Vol. 22, pp. 118-24, Bourville to Maurepas, 26 Oct. 1740.
  - 109 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 29, pp. 81-81v, Cornwallis to Pontbriand, 12 Dec. 1749.
  - 110 Even Maillard, who probably understood the Indians the best of all the Acadian missionaries, wrote, "C'est ainsi qu'il faut relancer et humilier ces tristes Aristarques, pour s'en faire respecter et craindre" ("Missions Micmaques," p. 360).
  - 111 Typical were the instructions to Des Herbiere upon his assuming the post of governor at Ile Royale, to inspire "a tous ces Sauvages de la confiance et de l'attention pour leurs missionnaires et de la fidelité et de l'attachement pour les françois et de l'éloignement pour les voisins qui cherchoient à les corrompre. Cette partie est d'une extrême consequence" (PAC, MG1, B. Vol. 89,

- p. 309v [308-309], 28 March 1749).
- 112 "Letter from Mons. de la Varenne," p. 87.
- 113 Edmond Atkin, superintendant of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department of the English colonies, said that no people understood and pursued their national interest better than the Indian. (Edmond Atkin to the Board of Trade, 30 May 1755, Huntingdon Collection of Loudoun Papers, p. 578, cited by Wilbur R. Jacobs, *op. cit.*, p. 11.)
- 114 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 6, pp. 166-166v, Subercase to Pontchartrain, 20 Dec. 1708: "Permettez-moy de vous représenter que je croisqu'il sera impossible d'empêcher les Sauvages d'aller chez les anglois quand on ne Leur portera pas de marchandises parcequ'ils ne scauroient nullement s'en passer et que les nostres sont beaucoup plus chères." There are other examples.
- 115 Agricultural people such as the Iroquois and the Huron, and semi-agricultural people such as the Abenaki, stored food for winter use, but the nomadic northern hunters, including the Micmac, did not.

Some Indian cultures placed great emphasis on accumulation of goods; the best-known Canadian example of this is that of the Northwest Coast tribes preparing for their potlatches, but these goods were for giving away in order to obtain prestige.

#### Nerve Centre for Raiders of Sea and Forest

- 1 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 1, p. 24, Denys de la Ronde to minister, 1713.
- 2 Ibid., p. 11, Prise de possession de l'Isle du Cap Breton.
- 3 Ibid., B, Vol. 52/1, p. 502 [89], Maurepas to Beauharnois, 14 May 1728.
- 4 Documents Relative to New York, Vol. 10, pp. 262-4, Paris Documents 10, Dusquesne to Machault, 13 Oct. 1754.

- 5 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>G, Vol. 6, pp. 72-72v, Mémoire sur l'Etablissement du Cap Breton, 27 Feb. 1710.
- 6 Ibid., p. 79.
- 7 Ibid., F<sup>3</sup>, Vol. 50, p. 4v, 10 April 1713.
- 8 Ibid., B, Vol. 35/3, p. 239 [111-12], to Saint-Ovide, 20 March 1713.
- 9 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 1, p. 343, letter by Bégon, 25 Dec. 1715, in deliberations of council, 28 March 1716.
- 10 Ibid., B, Vol. 35/3, pp. 262v-263 [188-9], Pontchartrain to Saint-Castin, 8 April 1713.
- 11 Ibid., Vol. 35/1, pp. 85-85v [229-30], Pontchartrain to Saint-Ovide, 10 April 1713.
- 12 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 7, p. 224v, letter by Gaulin, 26 Aug. 1713, sent by Costebelle to minister, 15 Sept. 1713.
- 13 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 3, pp. 56-56v, council 3 May 1718.
- 14 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 7, p. 227, Félix Pain to Costebelle, 23 Sept. 1713.
- 15 Ibid., B, Vol. 36/7, p. 443 [70-71], Pontchartrain to Costebelle, 22 March 1714.
- 16 Jacques l'Hermitte, engineer for the fortress, reported in 1714 while he was temporarily in charge that "plusieurs familles on hivernés dans l'ile, je n'ay Peu m'empescher de les soulager de farines, de plomb et de poudre & une famille entière qui étoit de coté de St. Pierre n'a peu venir icy. On les a trouvé morts toutes entières" (ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 1, pp. 58-58v, l'Hermitte to Pontchartrain, 25 Aug. 1714).
- 17 Ibid., B, Vol. 37/3, p. 234 [844-5], Pontchartrain to Costebelle and Soubras, 4 June 1715.
- 18 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 2, pp. 40-40v, council, 10 April 1717.
- 19 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 431, Soubras to council, 4 Dec. 1716.
- 20 Ibid., p. 339, council, 28 March 1716.
- 21 Ibid., Vol. 4, pp. 251-6, Gaulin to council, 17 Nov. 1719.
- 22 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 59, council, 3 May 1718.
- 23 Ibid., p. 56.

- 24 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 337-8, letter by Soubras, 8 Oct. 1715, in deliberations of council, 28 March 1716.
- 25 Ibid., Vol. 6, pp. 73-4, de Mézy to council, 10 Dec. 1722. Saint-Ovide corroborated this by writing that the English were holding 30 Micmac prisoners at Annapolis Royal, embittering the Indians and causing them to seek refuge on Ile Royale (ibid., pp. 194v-195v, Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, 24 Nov. 1723). The necessity of providing a refuge for the Indians was discussed more fully by de Mézy, writing to Maurepas (ibid., pp. 75-76v, 27 Dec. 1722). See also ibid., B, Vol. 47, p. 1264 [279], Maurepas to Saint-Ovide, 26 June 1724.
- 26 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 6, pp. 194v-195, Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, 24 Nov. 1723; ibid., Vol. 7, p. 36, de Mézy to Maurepas, 2 Aug. 1724; ibid., pp. 27v-29, Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, 24 Nov. 1724.

Not to be confused with the Mirliquèche near La Hève which later became Lunenburg. The latter is the Mirliquèche indicated by Andrew Hill Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Clark, who did not know of the Ile Royale site, said it was common in New France to give the same name to two or more locations. The two Mirliquèche are referred to on different occasions in official correspondence -- the one deep in Nova Scotia, the other on Ile Royale. The latter was also referred to as "village du Cap Breton" or "village de l'Ile Royale," probably to distinguish between the two. Seventeenth- and 18th-century orthography being what it is, Mirliquèche appears as Maligouesche, Marigaoiches, Malligouche, Martigonerech, Mirliguesch, Mirligouesch, Mariguanache, to list only some variations. Angus Anthony Johnson in A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia (Antigonish: St. Francis Xavier Univ. Press, 1960), p. 32, refers to the Ile Royale site as Malagawatch. Another English variation



is Malagash. Mirliquèche is the French version of a Micmac word signifying Milky Bay, according to Thomas C. Haliburton, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 2. Both sites were on water and the name apparently refers to the way the water looks before a storm.

There is some confusion about the Indian establishment on Ile Royale. Johnson says that in 1713, or the year afterwards, Gaulin gathered the Indians around him at Malagawatch and that this place remained the headquarters of the missionary and his successors until 1750 (op. cit., p. 32). David Lee says that Gaulin brought together the Micmac at Antigonish between 1717 and 1720, later establishing missions at Cap Sable, La Hève, Shubenacadie and Mirliquèche (near Lunenburg) (DCB, Vol. 2, s.v. "Antoine Gaulin."

Gaulin established the mission at Shubenacadie (Copeguy) in 1722 (PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 6, p. 73, de Mézy to council, 10 Dec. 1722) while projecting another mission on Bras d'Or Lake, which was founded the following year under the name of Mirliquèche. The mission near La Hève is much older and could be the same as the Mirliquèche which is known today as Lunenburg.

- 27 PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 47, pp. 1263-4 [279], 26 June 1724.
- 28 For Saint-Ovide's complaints to Maurepas about de Mézy's actions in this affairs, see *ibid.*, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 7, pp. 191-193v, 10 Dec. 1725.
- 29 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 146, Costebelle to council, 5 Nov. 1715.
- 30 *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 359, Saint-Ovide to council, 15 Sept. 1721.
- 31 *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 77, Recensement des sauvages dans l'Isle Royale, 27 Dec. 1722.
- 32 *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 9, council, 17 Feb. 1728.
- 33 *Ibid.*, G<sup>1</sup>, article 466, p. 71, Recensement des sauvages Miquemaques, 1735.

- 34 Documents Relative to New York, Vol. 10, p. 15, Paris Documents 9, 12 Sept. 1745.
- 35 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 1, pp. 249-54, Mémoire sur les missions des sauvages Mikmak et de l'Acadie.
- 36 PAC, MG11, CO, Nova Scotia A, Vol. 91, p. 104, 17 Oct. 1774.
- 37 Andrew Hill Clark, op. cit., p. 276.
- 38 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 2, p. 42, letter by Soubras, 4 Dec. 1716, in deliberations of council, 10 April 1717.
- 39 Gaulin warned that the Indians could become the enemies of the French given "la manière un peu dure dont ils se plaignent hautement qu'ils sont traités à Louisbourg" (ibid., Vol. 4, p. 253v, Gaulin to St. Pierre, 17 Nov. 1719).
- 40 Le Canada-français, "Collection de documents inédits sur le Canada et l'Amérique" (Quebec: Demers & frère, 1888-90) (hereafter cited as "Documents inédits"), Vol. 1, p. 196.
- 41 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 7, p. 182, Desgoutins to Rochefort, to Pontchartrain, 17 Nov. 1711. For another version, see ibid., pp. 177v-178v, Gaulin to Plaisance, 5 Sept. 1711. John Bartlett Brebner, New England's Outposts.... (Hamden: Archon Books, 1965), p. 62, has still another version.
- 42 PAC, MG21, Sloan MSS 3607, pp. 77-84, Samuel Vetch papers, 12 Nov. 1711 to 1 March 1712.
- 43 The charge of poisoning is a recurrent one with both French and English being accused at different times. Biard tells of some cases that appeared to be not without foundation (Jesuits. Letters from Missions [North America], op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 105). Marie de l'Incarnation tells of a plot of three French soldiers to poison as many Iroquois as they could (Marie de l'Incarnation, Lettres de la révérende mère Marie de l'Incarnation, ed. Abbé

Richaudeau [Paris: Librairie internationale catholique, 1876], Vol. 2, pp. 438-9). The death of more than 200 Indians from poisoned "stuffs" sold in 1746 by the English at Beaubassin is alleged in "Memorial on the Motives of the Savages" in Customs and manners, pp. 66-7.

- 44 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 1, pp. 129-129v, Costebelle to minister, 9 Sept. 1715.
- 45 Ibid., p. 334v, letter by Costebelle, 9 Sept. 1715, in deliberations of council, 28 March 1716. Three years later Saint-Ovide, then governor of Ile Royale, told of making a trip to Canceau to calm the Indians who wished to raid the English (ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 156-7, Saint-Ovide to council, 10 Dec. 1718).
- 46 Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 129v, Costebelle to minister, 9 Sept. 1715.
- 47 Ibid., pp. 335-335v, letter by Costebelle, 9 Sept. 1715, in deliberations of council, 28 March 1716.
- 48 Ibid., Vol. 10, p. 199v, de Mézy to Maurepas, 21 Aug. 1729.
- 49 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 333-6, letter by Costebelle, 9 Sept. 1715, in deliberations of council, 28 March 1716. Francis Nicholson had led the British forces which took Anapolis Royal in 1710; he served as governor of Nova Scotia, 1712-15.
- 50 Ibid, pp. 343-343v, letter by Soubras, 19 Dec. 1715, in deliberations of council, 28 March 1716.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 For a mid-18th-century look at the reasons for Indian hostility against the English, see "Memorial on the Motives of the Savages" in Customs and Manners, pp. 62-72. This memorial is also found in Gaston Du Bosq de Beaumont, ed., op. cit., pp. 248-53, under the heading "Motifs des sauvages mickmaques et marichites de continuer la guerre contre les Anglois depuis la dernière paix."

- 53 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 3, p. 57, council, 3 May 1718.  
See also "Documents inédits," Vol. 1, p. 191.
- 54 PAC, MG11, CO, Nova Scotia A, Vol. 10, pp. 8-12, Memorial of Cyprian Southack, enclosed with Philipps to Lords of Trade, 1 April, 1719.
- 55 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 9, pp. 66-7, Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, 20 Nov. 1727; also *ibid.*, Vol. 10, pp. 4-5, council, 17 Feb. 1728.
- 56 *Ibid.*, B, Vol. 91, p. 332 [285], Rouillé to Prévost, 19 May 1750.
- 57 *Ibid.*, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 29, p. 131, Prévost to Rouillé, 27 Oct. 1750.
- 58 *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 105, n.d. Louisbourg officials believed that the English wanted to involve the French in the war (*ibid.*, p. 104, Bourville to council, 22 Dec. 1722).

Samuel Shute, governor of Massachusetts, on 25 July declared the Eastern Indians "Rebels, Traitors and Enemies" (James Phinney Baxter, The Pioneers of New France.... [Albany: J. Munsell's Sons, 1894], p. 313). Governor Philipps, however, in a letter dated from Canso, 19 Sept. 1722, referred to "hearing from Col. Shute of an Indian War in New England" (PAC, MG11, CO, Nova Scotia A, Vol. 15, p. 196). A search of the documents at the Public Archives of Canada has not turned up the English version of Philipps's declaration of war.

- 59 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 6, pp. 46v-47, Saint-Ovide to council, 4 Sept. 1722.
- 60 *Ibid.*
- 61 For Gaulin's description of some other English raids, see *ibid.*, pp. 75-76v, de Mézy to council, 27 Dec. 1722.

- 62 John Bartlett Brebner, op. cit., p. 69. The simultaneous outbreak of violence in Massachusetts ended in 1725. It was known as Dummer's War (Douglas Edward Leach, The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763 [New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966], pp. 131-3), but more commonly as Lovewell's War (Wilson D. Wallis, Historical Background of the Micmac Indians of Canada [Ottawa: (Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources), 1961], p. 55).
- 63 PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 44/2, p. 573v [467-8], council to de Mézy, 1 July 1721.
- 64 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 5, pp. 341-342v, letter by Saint-Ovide, 15 Sept. 1721, in deliberations of council, 25 Nov. 1721.
- 65 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 8, p. 65, Extraits des nouvelles de l'Acadie rapportées par le Père Felix Pain, missionnaire Recollet de l'Acadie, 1724. The English also burned three houses of French settlers for one English settler's house burned by the Indians.
- 66 R. O. MacFarlane, "British Policy in Nova Scotia to 1760," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 19, No. 2 (June 1938), p. 160.
- 67 For texts of these treaties, ratifications and confirmations, see Canada. Treaties, etc., Indian Treaties and Surrenders, 1680-1890 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1905), Vol. 2, pp. 198-204; PAC, MG11, CO, Nova Scotia A, Vol. 49, pp. 39-44, 16 Oct. 1752; ibid., Nova Scotia B, Vol. 5, pp. 164-76, 22 Nov. 1752; PAC, MG5, B1, Vol. 9, pp. 569-74, 22 Nov. 1752; PAC, MG21, Add. MSS. 19071, pp. 174-177v [215-217], 1760. Also cf. Henry Farr De Puy, A Bibliography of the English Colonial Treaties with the American Indians (New York: The Lenox Club, 1917).
- 68 PAC, MG11, Co, Nova Scotia A, Vol. 32, pp. 150-2, Hopson to \_\_\_\_\_, 3 June 1748; PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>A, Vol. 91, pp. 126-128v, La Gallissonnière to Maurepas, 6 Sept. 1748.

- 69 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 12, pp. 254-261v, Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, 14 Nov. 1732; *ibid.*, Vol. 14, pp. 12v-13, council, 9 Feb. 1733.
- 70 Maillard tells of one feast for which there was "ni vin, ni eau-de-vie, ni tabac, ni pruneaux." Apparently these articles had been forgotten, but the Indians were good-natured about it. "Avec eux rien ne se perd, ainsy on leur a promis qu'ils recevroient ce qu'ils n'ont pas eu" (PAC, MG4, B1, A<sup>1</sup>, p. 23, Maillard to Raymond, 27 Nov. 1751.

Statements of receipt and consumption of food throughout the Louisbourg period list flour, salt pork, vegetables, butter and molasses for these feasts; however, tobacco and eau de vie were also regular features. Prunes were often included.

- 71 PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 52/2, pp. 487-587v [345-6], Maurepas to Saint-Ovide, 20 June 1728.
- 72 *Ibid.*, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 31, pp. 62-3, Raymond to Rouillé, 19 Nov. 1751. Maillard wrote to Raymond on 27 Nov. 1751: "Réné part aujourd'huy pour la Rivière St Jean. Je crois que Mons. en aurons des nouvelles vers mardy gras, parceque le temps luy est très favorable pour aller" (PAC, MG4, B1, A<sup>1</sup>, p. 23).
- 73 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 31, pp. 106-106v, Raymond to Rouillé, 12 Dec. 1751.
- 74 *Ibid.*, Vol. 32, pp. 163-6, Prévost to Rouillé, 10 Sept. 1752; *ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 159v, Prévost to Rouillé, 12 May 1753; Beamish Murdock, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 219-22.
- 75 Gaston Du Bosq de Beaumont, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 72.
- 76 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 33, pp. 181v-182v, Prévost to Rouillé, 17 June 1753.
- 77 *Ibid.*, B, Vol. 97, p. 313 [289], Rouillé to Raymond, 17 July 1753.

- 78 Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, 1st ser., Vol. 10, p. 115, Fry to the governor of Nova Scotia, Fort Cumberland, Chignecto, 7 March 1760.
- 79 As Duchesneau had observed in 1681, "these tribes never transact any business without making presents to illustrate and confirm their words" (Documents Relative to New York, Vol. 9, p. 161, 31 Oct. 1681).
- 80 Gaston Du Boscq de Beaumont, ed., op. cit., p. 71-2.
- 81 Ibid., p. 187.
- 82 Louis Chancels de Lagrange, op. cit., p. 431.
- 83 Collection de manuscrits, Vol. 3, pp. 21-3, 146; PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 2, pp. 41-41v, council, 10 April 1717. This resulted in a reduction that year in the quantity of gifts available for distribution.
- 84 PAC, MG18, F30, Nottes sur l'état des fonds de l'année 1752 et de celle de 1753, No. 20.
- 85 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 29, p. 136, Prévost to Rouillé, 31 Oct. 1750.
- 86 Ibid., Vol. 33, pp. 22-3, d'Aillbeoust and Prévost to minister, 14 Nov. 1753; ibid., Vol. 6, pp. 284v-285, Bourville to minister, 17 Nov. 1723.
- 87 Ibid., Vol. 35, p. 125, Drucour to minister, 18 Nov. 1755.
- 88 Ibid., p. 194v, Prévost to minister 7 Nov. 1755. This influx is illustrated by a report that in 1756, 630 Indians received gifts at Port Toulouse (PAC, MG4, C2, MS 210-f, Itinéraire d'une voyage en Isle Royale par Grillot-Poilly, 1757). Similar influxes had been noted earlier (PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 12, p. 255v, Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, 14 Nov. 1732; ibid., Vol. 21, p. 77, Forant to Rouillé, 14 Nov. 1739).
- 89 This had been developing for some time. In 1735 Versailles had considered the need to make such provision (ibid., Vol. 15, pp. 12-14, council, 25 Jan. 1735).
- 90 Ibid., Vol. 29, p. 136, Prévost to minister, 31 Oct. 1750.



- 91 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 188-188v, Costebelle to council, 1717.
- 92 Ibid., Vol. 28, pp. 40-40v, Des Herbiers and Prévost to Rouillé, 19 Oct. 1749.
- 93 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 2, p. 258v, Villebon to Pontchartrain, 20 July 1695.
- 94 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 10, p. 189v, Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, 1 Nov. 1729.
- 95 Ibid., Vol. 13, p. 97, Le Normant to Maurepas, 15 Nov. 1732. Indians never took to the use of the bayonet, preferring to rely on knife and war club or hatchet.
- 96 Ibid., Vol. 37, p. 209, Prévost to minister, 29 Nov. 1756. Tulle is the arms manufacturing centre of France.
- 97 Ibid., F<sup>1</sup>A, Vol. 35, p. 35v, Balance de recettes et consommation, 1744; *ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 29v, 1726.
- 98 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 6, pp. 40-41, Saint-Ovide to council, 31 July 1722. Two years earlier he had toyed with the same idea, but had given it up on the grounds that the governor at Annapolis Royal might find it suspect (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 185, Saint-Ovide to council, 5 Sept. 1720).
- 99 Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 73v, de Mézy to council, 10 Dec. 1722.
- 100 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 40-44v, letter by Soubras, 4 Dec. 1716, in deliberations of council, 10 April 1717; *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 431-432, Soubras to minister, 4 Dec. 1716.
- 101 Ibid., Vol. 8, pp. 53-53v, Courtin to Saint-Ovide, 30 Oct. 1726.
- 102 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 43-43v, letter by Soubras, 4 Dec. 1716, in deliberations of council, 10 April 1717.
- 103 Ibid., Vol. 4, pp. 64-5, letter by Saint-Ovide, 20 Sept. 1719, in deliberations of council, 21 Nov. 1719.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 PAC, MG11, CO5, Vol. 60, pp. 27-8, Amherst, New York, 12 Dec. 1760.

The Garrison and the Guerrillas

- 1 W.J. Eccles, "The Social, Economic and Political Significance of the Military Establishment of New France," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 52, No. 1, (March 1971), p. 7.
- 2 Herbert Heaton, Economic History of Europe (New York: Harper, 1936), p. 228.
- 3 PAC, MG7, Ia, 10, Vol. 841, p. 25lv, d'Endemare to François de La Vie, Fort Richelieu, 2 Sept. 1644.
- 4 Rev. William Kip, The Early Jesuit Missions in North America (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846), p. 54. Precise source not indicated.
- 5 John K. Mahon, "Anglo-American Methods of Indian Warfare," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 45, No. 2 (Sept. 1958), pp. 254-75.
- 6 George T. Hunt, The Wars of the Iroquois.... (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1967), p. 20.
- 7 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 22, pp. 29-29v, Forant to Maurepas, 8 Feb. 1740.
- 8 Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 372, Saint-Ovide to council, 27 Nov. 1721.
- 9 George A. Rawlyk, Yankees at Louisbourg (Orono: Univ. of Maine Press, 1967), p. 13.
- 10 Maillard was the priest who accompanied the French and Indians on this occasion. Persistent reports that it was Le Loutre stem from Judge Jonathan Belcher, who mistakenly identified the accompanying missionary as Le Loutre. However, official correspondence makes it clear that it was Maillard. Duvivier's statement of the siege, of which Maillard was one of the signatories, is found in PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 8, p. 117, 1744. For an account of Maillard at Annapolis Royal, see Albert David, "L'Apôtre des Micmacs," La Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, Vol. 5 (1935), pp. 49-82; Albert David, "Messire Pierre Maillard,

Apôtre des Micmacs," Bulletin des recherches historiques, Vol. 35, No. 6 (June 1929), p. 367. For official accounts, see PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 26, pp. 79-88, Duchambon to Maurepas, 18 Nov. 1744; *ibid.*, pp. 48-52v, Duchambon and Bigot to Maurepas, 25 Nov. 1744. Major Paul Mascarene, governor at Annapolis Royal, referred to the attending missionary as an "honest man" (PAC, MG11, CO, Nova Scotia A, Vol. 26, p. 113, Mascarene to Shirley, 4 July 1744).

- 11 Massachusetts (Colony). General Court. House of Representatives, Journal of the Honourable House of Representatives of His Majesty's Province of Massachusetts-Bay in New-England.... (Boston: 1744) (hereafter cited as House of Representatives), p. 57, William Shirley to the General Court, 18 July 1744.
- 12 PAC, MG11, CO, Nova Scotia A, Vol. 26, p. 90, Mascarene to Shirley, 9 June 1744.
- 13 House of Representatives, p. 57.
- 14 William Shirley, The Correspondence of William Shirley, ed. Charles Henry Lincoln (New York: Macmillan, 1912), Vol. 1, pp. 150-1, Shirley to the Lords of Trade, 16 Oct. 1744.
- 15 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>G, Vol. 6, pp. 69-70v, Mémoire sur les compagnies sauvages proposées par le Sieur de La Motte envoyé à Monseigneur en 1708.
- 16 *Ibid.*, C<sup>11</sup>A, Vol. 122, pp. 10-42, anonymous letter from Quebec, 30 Sept. 1705.
- 17 Commissions for "major" are sometimes referred to in correspondence and appear to have been given to chiefs of villages (*ibid.*, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 29, p. 63v, Des Herbiere to Rouillé, 27 Nov. 1750; *ibid.*, p. 68, Des Herbiere to Rouillé, 6 Dec. 1750).
- 18 *Ibid.*, Vol. 21, p. 60, Forant to Maurepas, 14 Nov. 1739.
- 19 Documents Relative to New York, Vol. 6, p. 398, London Documents 28, Shirley to Clinton, 14 Sept. 1747.

- 20 In one case at least the special status enjoyed by the Indians was partly extended to a member of the regular forces when the Indians put in a special plea for him. In 1738 a soldier deserted in order to marry the daughter of Petit-Jean, major of the village of Ile Royale (as Mirliquèche was sometimes called to avoid confusion). The soldier was granted his life and was sentenced instead to be "punir des baguettes et de quelque temps de prison." Petit-Jean was suspended from his rank as major for inciting the soldier to desert. (PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 20, pp. 87-87v, Bourville to Maurepas, 3 Oct. 1738; *ibid.*, pp. 95-95v, Bourville to Maurepas, 2 Oct. 1738; *ibid.*, B, Vol. 68/2, p. 353 [321-3], Maurepas to Bourville, 11 June 1739).
- 21 *Ibid.*, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 22, pp. 93-6, Du Quesnel to Maurepas, 14 Oct. 1741.
- 22 *Ibid.*, B, Vol. 68, p. 371 [382], Mémoire du Roy pour servir d'instruction au Sieur de Forant, Capitaine de Vaisseau et Gouverneur de l'Isle Royale, 22 June 1739. Based on the 1738 survey of the Micmac missions, these instructions say that "les Sauvages Mikmaks sont bien moins guerrier que les Sauvages du Canada. Ils seraient peu capables de conduire une entre prise considérable." Early missionaries spoke of the Micmac as peaceful; however, Lahontan includes the Micmac and Abenaki, Etchemin and others as "good warriors, more active and less cruel than the Iroquois" (Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 339). Cartier, on his second voyage, 1535-36, was told by Donnacona about the Toudamans "who waged war continually against his people" (Jacques Cartier, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-8).
- 23 John Stewart McLennan, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-5, citing Great Britain. Public Record Office, CO5, Vol. 518. This document is not included in the selections from this series at the Public Archives of Canada.

- 24 PAC, MG18, E29, Vol. 2, section 4, Discours fait aux Sauvages du Canada par M. de Saint-Ovide, gouverneur de l'Isle Royale au Sujet des mouvements du Gouverneur Anglois de l'Acadie avec les Responses que les sauvages on faites. Saint-Ovide was governor of Ile Royale from 16 Nov. 1717 until 31 Mar. 1739.
- 25 John Clarence Webster, ed., Memorial on Behalf of the Sieur de Boishébert (Saint John, N.B., New Brunswick Museum, 1942), p. 16.
- 26 PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 64/4, p. 479 [765], Maurepas to Saint-Ovide, 8 May 1736.
- 27 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 10, Mémoire de l'Acadie, Nouvelle Angleterre, Nouvelle Hollande et Virginie par le Sr de Cadillac de l'Acadie, 1692.
- 28 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 9, pp. 69-70v, Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, 20 Nov. 1727; ibid., B, Vol. 52/2, p. 586 [343], Maurepas to Saint-Ovide, 20 June 1728.
- 29 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 28, pp. 75-8, Des Herbiers to Rouillé, 9 Aug. 1749. Earlier Saint-Ovide had received a reprimand for promising French aid on a mission of vengeance (ibid., B, Vol. 54/2, pp. 517v-518 [566], Maurepas to Saint-Ovide, 27 June 1730). Maurepas wrote "cela ne convenoit en aucune manière et auroit donné juste Sujet de plaintes de la part des Anglois."
- 30 Pierre Maillard, "Missions Micmaques," pp. 316-20.
- 31 Gaston Du Bosq de Beaumont, ed., op. cit., p. 160.
- 32 Pierre Maillard, "Missions Micmaques," p. 316. These are the only references that I have found the the Louisbourg period. The French at Louisbourg practiced judicial torture and this is referred to on occasion in official reports.
- 33 "Letter from Mons. de la Varenne," p. 98.
- 34 Ibid., p. 99.
- 35 PAC, MG1, F<sup>3</sup>, Vol. 50/1, p. 309, Warren to Maisonfort, 6 June 1745; ibid., p. 311, Maisonfort to Duchambon, 18 June 1745.
- 36 Ibid., pp. 313-313v, Duchambon to Warren, 19 June 1745; ibid., p. 315-315v, Maisonfort to Duchambon, 18 June 1745.

- 37 Ibid., Vol. 50/2, p. 347, Warren to Duchambon, 19 June 1745.
- 38 Ibid., p. 349, Duchambon to Warren, 30 June 1745. The previous winter, 80 Micmacs had wintered at Quebec; they formed the core of the force led by Marin (ibid., C<sup>11</sup>A, Vol. 85, pp. 120-33, journal of Beauharnois and Hocquart, 1 Dec. 1745 to Nov. 1746.
- 39 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 10, pp. 144-54, Sur l'Accadie, 1748. Prices sometimes rose higher; one of the best-known incidents in this connection concerns Le Loutre, who found himself having to pay 1,800 livres for 18 English scalps brought by Indians to Fort Beauséjour (ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 33, pp. 197-201, Prévost to Rouillé, 16 Aug. 1753).
- 40 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 36, pp. 241-2, Bordereau, 20 Dec. 1756. Baptiste Coppe was likely the "Micmac Coppe" who had signed the peace treaty of 1752.
- 41 John Stewart McLennan, op. cit., pp. 424-5.
- 42 American Antiquarian Society, Early American Imprints, No. 5635, Proclamation of Spencer Phips, lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief, Massachusetts, 23 Aug. 1745.
- 43 John Stewart McLennan, op. cit., pp. 424-5.
- 44 PAC, MG11, CO, Nova Scotia A, Vol. 36, p. 18, Cornwallis's instructions to Capt. Silvanus Cobb, commanding the sloop York, 13 Jan. 1750.
- 45 Richard Brown, A History of the Island of Cape Breton.... (London: S. Low, Son, and Marston, 1869), p. 278. Cf. PAC, MG11, CO, Nova Scotia A, Vol. 60, p. 77, Lawrence to Lords of Trade, 25 May 1756.
- 46 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 8, p. 88v, Couagne to Acaron, director of Bureau des Colonies, 4 Nov. 1760.
- 47 For a sidelight on Mius d'Entremont, see "Documents inédits," Vol. 3, p. 165. Mme. Duchambon was finally rejected by the Indians as an interpreter as they objected

- to a woman being present at their negotiations (PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 5, pp. 398-9, de Mézy to council, 20 Nov. 1722).
- 48 George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., p. 84.
- 49 PAC, MG21A, Adm. 1, Vol. 3817, Waldo to Shirley, 12 May 1745. This reference makes no mention of the Indian being offered a bottle of brandy to scout the battery as frequently told in histories of the first siege. William Vaughan, in his formal account of the event, does not mention the Indian. According to Vaughan, "When by all Appreances he had Reason to judge that said Grand Battery was deserted by the Enemy; he & his twelve Men marched up and took Possession of said Grand Battery for your Majesty" (John Stewart McLennan, op. cit., p. 363). McLennan gives the full text of Vaughan's account (pp. 361-5).
- 50 George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., p. 95. An incident in which about 20 marauding New Englanders were killed by Indians appears in several siege journals, among which: Louis Effingham De Forest, ed., Louisbourg Journals, 1745 (New York: Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York, 1932), p. 16; and James Gibson, A Journal of the Siege by the Troops from North America Against the French of Cape Breton, the City of Louisbourg and the Territories thereunto Belonging (London: Printed for J. Newberry, 1745), p. 13.
- 51 George M. Wrong, ed., Lettre d'un habitant de Louisbourg (Toronto: Printed for the Univ. by Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1897), pp. 54-5. The writer then tells the story of Petit-Jean, who was shot in the chest and left for dead, but who turned up three days later, giving his comrades a severe fright.
- 52 Ibid., pp. 42-4.
- 53 "Letter from Mons. de la Varenne," pp. 82-3. The burning of the forest around Louisbourg is referred to in George M. Wrong, ed., op. cit., p. 55.



- 54 Subsistence for 700 Indians during five months employed as lookouts along the coast is listed in accounts in PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 37, p. 209v, 29 Nov. 1756; *ibid.*, p. 122v, 30 Oct. 1757. Poudre de guerre "aux sauvages par extraordinaires étant employés pour le service" is found in lists in *ibid.*, p. 128v, 30 Sept. 1757; *ibid.*, p. 278v, 30 Sept. 1757.
- 55 For 1757, see *ibid.*, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 16, pièce 13. For 1758, see William Wood, The Great Fortress, A Chronicle of Louisbourg (Toronto: Brook, 1915), p. 101.
- 56 Engineer Louis-Joseph Franquet reported fortifying dangerous places along the coast, expecting to use as many Indians as possible in their defence (PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 37, pp. 289-91, Franquet to minister, 18 June 1757). An English officer told of seeing parties of Indians along the coast who lit fires on his approach to inform the French (PAC, MG18, L18, p. 54), letter by Capt. Henry Pringle, 31 June 1757.
- 57 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 14, p. 69, Prévost to minister, 16 Dec. 1755.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 69v.
- 59 *Ibid.*, p. 69v, 70v.
- 60 *Ibid.*, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 280, Mémoire sur la situation de l'Isle Royale, 21 Dec. 1757.
- 61 PAC, MG2, B<sup>4</sup>, article 76, p. 41, Mémoire concernant les Sauvages Mikcmacs, malechites et Cannibas rassembler sur la côte de L'ile Royale en 1757, de Emmanuel-Auguste Cahideuc, comte du Bois de La Motte, lieutenant générale des armées navales.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p. 41v. Boishébert, the last French partisan leader in Acadia, and his men had spent the previous two years raiding the Halifax area.
- 63 *Ibid.*, pp. 41-2.
- 64 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 25, p. 234v, Relation de l'Isle Royale, 28 June 1758.

- 65 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 10, pp. 52-3, Journal du siège du Louisbourg, 1758.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 35, pp. 59-61v, Drucour and Prévost to minister, 11 Nov. 1755.
- 68 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 10, pp. 93v-94, Journal du siège du Louisbourg, 11 June 1758; *ibid.*, pp. 109-10, 23 June 1758.
- 69 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>A, Vol. 103, pp. 140-1, Vaudreuil to minister, 3 Aug. 1758.
- 70 Francis Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1908), Vol. 1, pp. 474ff; Gaston Du Bosq de Beaumont, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 223-4.
- 71 William Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
- 72 Richard Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60. No date, no source given. Joseph Dudley was governor of the Dominion of New England for seven months in 1686 and governor of Massachusetts, 1702-15.
- 73 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 20, p. 89v, Bourville to Maurepas, 3 Oct. 1738.
- 74 Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 507.
- 75 Chrétien Le Clercq, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
- 76 Cornelius J. Jaenen, "The Meeting of the French and Amerindians," p. 8. While the Indians did not aim at "total defeat" as consistently as Europeans, their attitude toward the persons of their enemies was more unrestrained. "Il est notoire que les sauvages se croient tout permis contre ceux qu'ils regardent comme leurs ennemis" (Gaston Du Bosq de Beaumont, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 252).
- 77 "Documents inédits," Vol. 1, pp. 17-18. The declaration was given to an English officer at Port Toulouse who passed it on to the governor at Halifax. Maillard sent a French translation to the superior of the Missions

Etrangères at Paris, 18 Oct. 1749, from which these extracts were taken. It was written in ideograms and script. The text is in the Archives du Séminaire de Québec. The English version is in PAC, MG11, CO, Nova Scotia A, Vol. 35, pp. 69-71, 17 Oct. 1749. Text of the declaration is reproduced in Appendix A.

78 Ibid.,

79 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 6, p. 105.

80 PAC, MG11, CO, Nova Scotia A, Vol. 35, p. 4, Cornwallis to Secretary of State, 20 Aug. 1749.

#### Maintaining the Alliances

- 1 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, p. 257, Raymond to Rouillé, 8 Oct. 1751. From their earliest days in the colony, the French had used this method of awing the Indians and impressing them with the might of the king.
- 2 Francis Parkman, The Jesuits in America.... (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1907), p. 133.
- 3 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 81.
- 4 Chrétien Le Clercq, op. cit., p. 246.
- 5 One of the best illustrations of this is the treaty signed by the Micmac and the English at Halifax in 1752 (the French signed no treaties with the eastern Indians). Of its eight articles, the first renews former treaties, the second buries the hatchet, the third makes an offensive and defensive alliance, the fourth deals with trade as well as hunting and fishing privileges, the fifth and sixth concern gifts to be given annually to the Indians, the seventh with helping shipwrecked mariners, and the eighth with procedures for settling disputes (PAC, MG11, CO, Nova Scotia B, Vol. 5, pp. 164-76, 22 Nov. 1725. Cf. Henry Farr De Puy, op. cit., p. 30.

- 6 Documents Relative to New York, Vol. 4, pp. 206-11,  
"Mr. Nelson's Memorial about the state of the Northern  
Colonies in America," 24 Sept. 1696.
- 7 PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 57/1, p. 639 [139], Maurepas to  
Beauharnois, 8 April 1732.
- 8 Ibid., Vol. 71, p. 83v [88], Maurepas to Guillot,  
2 May 1740.
- 9 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 23, pp. 74-74v, Du Quesnel to Maurepas,  
19 Oct. 1741. Bourville was given the task of explaining  
to the Indians why they should not take such unauthorized  
trips; his report is in *ibid.*, Vol. 22, pp. 120v-121,  
26 Oct. 1740.
- 10 Ibid., Vol. 21, p. 77, Forant to Maurepas, 14 Nov. 1739.
- 11 Ibid. He repeated this point in a letter two days later.
- 12 Ibid., B, Vol. 71, p. 49v [32], Maurepas to de Cotte,  
14 Feb. 1740.
- 13 Ibid., Vol. 70/2, pp. 384-384v [269-70], Maurepas to  
Forant, 6 March 1740.
- 14 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 22, pp. 107-107v, Bourville to Maurepas,  
28 May 1740.
- 15 Ibid., p. 120, Bourville to Maurepas, 26 Oct. 1740.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid., Vol. 23, p. 28v, Du Quesnel to Maurepas, 19 Oct.  
1741.
- 19 Ibid., Vol. 28, pp. 372-372v, council, May 1750.
- 20 Ibid., Vol. 30, p. 117, Des Herbiers to Le Loutre,  
4 April 1751. It was Indians from Le Loutre's mission  
who shot and killed Captain Edward Howe while attempting  
to institute talks under a flag of truce. According to  
French accounts, Howe had acted against the advice of  
both Le Loutre and the Indians. Howe, fluent in French,  
was well-liked by the Acadians (*ibid.*, Vol. 29, p. 131,  
Prévost to Rouillé, 27 Oct. 1750). The decoy was said  
to have been Jean-Baptiste Coppe from Shubenacadie, the

- chief who signed the 1752 treaty (Will R. Baird, A Century of Chignecto.... [Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1928], p. 99).
- 21 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 35, p. 117, Drucour to minister, 12 Nov. 1755.
  - 22 Pierre Maillard, "Missions Micmaques," pp. 370-1.
  - 23 Ibid., p. 371.
  - 24 Ibid., p. 372.
  - 25 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>A, Vol. 99, pp. 249-50, Duquesne to minister, 1 Oct. 1754.
  - 26 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pp. 257-257v, Raymond to Rouillé, Oct. 1751. The chief's medical bills during his last illness had been paid by the government (ibid., Vol. 13, p. 150v, 11 Oct. 1751). The year before he had been decorated with a medal (ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 29, pp. 63-63v, Des Herbiers, 27 Nov. 1750).
  - 27 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>A, Vol. 120, p. 408.
  - 28 Diêreville, Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France, by the Sieur de Diêreville, trans. Mrs. Clarence Webster, ed., John Clarence Webster (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1933), p. 150. Diêreville visited Port Royal 1699-1700.
  - 29 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 19, pp. 56v-57, Bourville to Maurepas, 27 Dec. 1737. A search of the parish registers for that year has revealed no record of such a burial. The records could, of course, be incomplete. For the years 1722-45, I have found listed nine baptisms and three deaths of Indians identified as such at Louisbourg. Two of the baptisms were for children of Chief Denis Michaud.
  - 30 Pierre Maillard, "Missions Micmaques," p. 377.
  - 31 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 31, p. 59, Raymond to Rouillé, 4 Nov. 1751. The previous chief, Denis Michaud, had received 300 livres a few months earlier "pour le prix de la première maison qu'il a Baty au Bois de Charpente

- et de Piquet" in the village on Bras d'Or Lake (ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 13, p. 148v, 13 March 1751).
- 32 Ibid., B, Vol. 35/3, p. 239 [112], Pontchartrain to Saint-Ovide, 20 March 1713.
- 33 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 8, pp. 50v-51, Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, 18 Nov. 1726.
- 34 Ibid., Vol. 14, pp. 14v-15v, council, 9 Feb. 1733.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid., Vol. 15, pp. 97-97v, Saint-Ovide and Le Normant to Maurepas, 5 Nov. 1734; ibid., B, Vol. 63/2, p. 527v [315], Maurepas to Saint-Ovide and Le Normant, 19 April 1735; ibid., Vol. 78/2, p. 391 [308], Maurepas to Du Quesnel and Bigot, 17 April 1744.
- 38 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 14, p. 96, Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, 1 Sept. 1733.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 103-103v, Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, 18 Oct. 1733; ibid., Vol. 15, pp. 139-139v, Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, 1 Nov. 1734. Father Byrne quits the service, ibid., pp. 211-211v, Le Normant to Maurepas, 5 Nov. 1734.
- 40 Jesuits. Letters from Missions (North America), op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 73.
- 41 George M. Wrong, ed., op. cit., pp. 54-5.
- 42 A.G. Bailey, "The Indian Problem in Early Canada," America Indigena, Vol. 2, No. 3 (July 1942), p. 37.
- 43 "Documents inédits," Vol. 3, pp. 151-81. Edme Rameau de Saint-Père discusses aspects of métissage in Acadia.
- 44 Gaston Du Bosq de Beaumont, ed., op. cit., p. 85.
- 45 PAC, MG1, F<sup>3</sup>, Vol. 50, pp. 504v-524, superior council, 17 Feb. 1755; ibid., G<sup>2</sup>, Vol. 189, pp. 270-360, Greffes des colonies, 1754-55.
- 46 Ibid. Also cited by Edme Rameau de Saint-Père, Une colonie féodale en Amérique: l'Acadie, 1604-1881 (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et cie, 1889), Vol. 2, p. 376.

- 47 "Documents inédits," Vol. 3, p. 170.
- 48 John Bartlett Brebner, op. cit., p. 74.
- 49 This is how the incident is referred to in official correspondence (PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 27, p. 283, Bigot to Maurepas, 7 Sept. 1748). The "Memorial on the Motives of the Savages" in Customs and Manners says Petitpas was put to death (p. 65).
- 50 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>A, Vol. 87, p. 262-3, La Galissonnière to Maurepas, 23 Oct. 1747.
- 51 Marcel Trudel (L'esclavage au Canada [Quebec: Les presses universitaires Laval, 1960], p. 60-4) defines panis as designating an Indian in servitude. It derived from Pawnee, who fought allies of the French who in turn sold those taken as captives to the French. The term, which came into popular usage during the 18th century, was at first restricted to members of the Pawnee tribe; later it came to be generally applied to all Indians in servitude.
- 52 PAC, MG1, G<sup>1</sup>, Vol. 406, p. 36v, register 4, 3 April 1728.
- 53 Ibid., G<sup>3</sup>, carton 2058 [no. 15], notariat, 20 Aug. 1727.
- 54 Ibid., G<sup>2</sup>, Vol. 190 [no. 3], pp. 74v-76v, Greffes des tribunaux de Louisbourg et du Canada, 19 Feb. 1728.
- 55 Ibid., G<sup>3</sup>, carton 2037 [no. 58], notariat, 28 Aug. 1729.
- 56 Ibid., F<sup>2</sup>C, article 4, p. 228, Etat des batimens françois arrivés du Canada et du Mississippi à Martinique pendant l'année 1755 et des marchandises qu'ils ont apportées des dits lieux.

Louisbourg accounts list the payment of 154 livres to the widow Laflourie for a slave to be the wife of the fortress-town's executioner. This, however, seems to be referring to blacks (ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 12, pp. 105-17, Bordereau de dépenses, 1743). The executioner had been a slave in Martinique where, upon his conviction for killing a Negro boy, he had been given the option of



serving as executioner at Louisbourg or of suffering the death penalty (ibid., G<sup>2</sup>, Vol. 86, pp. 437-8, Extrait des registres du conseil supérieur de la Martinique, 9 Sept. 1741).

- 57 Ibid., F<sup>2</sup>C, article 4, p. 228, 1755.
- 58 John Stewart McLennan, op. cit., p. 66, wrote that the comte d'Agrain (a French officer who had contracted to ship timber from Ile Royale to the Rochefort timber yards) was murdered by two Indians. Actually, the murder was done by two engagés, Antoine Courrieu and Pierre Corroyer. The year before his death, the count had brought over ten prisoners as engagés (PAC, MG1, F<sup>2</sup>C, carton 2, pp. 355-6 [50], 9 Sept. 1721). There was a trial at Rochefort at which Courrieu was condemned "à être rompre vif," but it was annulled and the two accused were sent to Louisbourg for retrial, which took place in 1723. Courrieu was executed and Corroyer had his sentence commuted to service as a soldier in America (PAC, MG6, C1, E, No. 6, Port de Rochefort, 4 Feb. 1723). See also Régis Roy, "Le Comte d'Agrain," Bulletin de recherches historiques, Vol. 20, No. 6 (June 1914), p. 199 and DCB, Vol. 2, s.v. "Jean-Antoine d'Agrain."
- 59 For example, "à La Boularderie pour la prix de deux juments que les sauvages lui ont tué manquant de vivres, 120 livres" (PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 13, p. 62v, Bordereau de dépenses, 1749). Habitant Joseph Le Blanc lodged a claim for 2,000 livres for livestock killed by Indians during Duvivier's 1744 siege of Annapolis Royal (ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 29, pp. 211-12, Le Blanc to Prévost, 20 Oct. 1750). Duvivier in his turn claimed for livestock killed by Maillard's Indians, among others, going to the aid of Louisbourg during the 1745 siege (ibid., B, Vol. 86/2, p. 337v [307-8], Maurepas to Bigot, 25 May 1747).
- 60 Ibid., B, Vol. 45/2, p. 1132 [271], council to Saint-

Ovide, 13 May 1722.

- 61 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 29, pp. 73-7, Prévost to Rouillé, 22 July 1750.
- 62 One case in which the Micmac attacked French settlers occurred near Abshaboo (Bathurst, N.B.). The French settlements, which had previously been dispersed by the Mohawk, had begun again in 1670. Disturbed in their turn by the encroachments of the French, the Micmac, led by Halion, dispersed the settlements once more in 1692 (Abraham Gesner, New Brunswick, With Notes for Immigrants [London: Simmonds & Ward, 1847], p. 29).
- 63 PAC, MG1, F<sup>3</sup>, article 95, p. 35, Reglements faits par les chefs sauvages de l'Isle Royale, de Nartigonneiche et de Chikpenakady et Monsieur de Bourville dans le conseil tenu au Port Toulouse pour la distribution des presents, 9 July 1739. The text is written in French and twice in Micmac, in script and ideograms.
- 64 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 22, pp. 118-24, Bourville to Maurepas, 26 Oct. 1740. The rules had been drawn up by a council of Indians and French following complaints from Maillard and Le Loutre that their missionary work was being nullified because the chiefs would not punish crime.
- 65 Chrétien Le Clercq, op. cit., pp. 105-6.
- 66 Richard Brown, op. cit., p. 356.
- 67 PAC, MG1, C<sup>12</sup>, Vol. 1, p. 3v, Mémoire du Roy pour servir d'instruction au Sr. Dangeac nommé au government des Isles St Pierre et de Miquelon, 23 Feb. 1763.
- 68 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>D, Vol. 9, A-U, Pensions accordés aux réfugiés.
- 69 Saint-Luc de La Corne, Journal du voyage de M. Saint-Luc de La Corne Ecuyer, dans le navire l'Auguste, en l'an 1761 (Montreal: Fleury Mesplet, 1778), p. 33.
- 70 Samuel Waller Prenties, Ensign Prenties's Narrative: A Castaway on Cape Breton, ed. G.C. Campbell (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968), p. 53.

- 71 Ibid., p. 54.
- 72 Chrétien Le Clercq, op. cit., p. 246.
- 73 Samuel Waller Prenties, op. cit., p. 54.

### Conclusion

- 1 Henri Raymond Casgrain, op. cit., pp. 9-10. The passage reads "Les Français, au contraire, en abordant en Amérique, leur ont tendu les deux mains, les ont embrassés comme des frères. Là est le secret de l'immense influence qu'a exercée la France dans l'Amérique-Nord, bien qu'elle n'eût à son service qu'un groupe de colons de l'Atlantique."
- 2 Marc Lescarbot, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 217.
- 3 PAC, MG1, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 2, p. 43v, letter by Soubras, 4 Dec. 1715, in deliberations of council, 10 April 1717. Patoulet in his memorandum expressed quite a different view when he wrote "la fréquentation continuelle des françois avec les sauvages rendra ces derniers plus dociles et plus attachez aux françois Et plys soumis aux Exhortations des mission[ai]res" (ibid., C<sup>11</sup>A, Vol. 3, p. 274, 25 June 1672).
- 4 This is suggested by Louisbourg's accounts which from time to time list such expenses as "pension pendant 69 jours à 37 sauvages, 138 livres" (ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 14, p. 111v, Diverses dépenses, 1755). Excavations at the Fortress of Louisbourg, currently being carried out by the federal government in connection with the restoration of part of the fortress and town, have not so far yielded any Indian artifacts.
- 5 A case in Louisbourg court records concerns the sale of the effects of Rose Négresse, who had died owing rent during the absence of her husband, Baptiste Laurent Indien. The goods listed indicate a very moderate

standard of living (ibid., G<sup>2</sup>, Vol. 212, dossier 552, bailliage de Louisbourg, 27 April 1757).

- 6 Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Problems of Assimilation in New France, 1603-1645," French Historical Studies, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Spring 1966), p. 283.

Appendix A. Déclaration de guerre des Micmacs aux Anglais  
s'ils refusent d'abandonner Kchibouktouk [Halifax].

- 1 "Documents inédits," Vol. 1, pp. 17-19.

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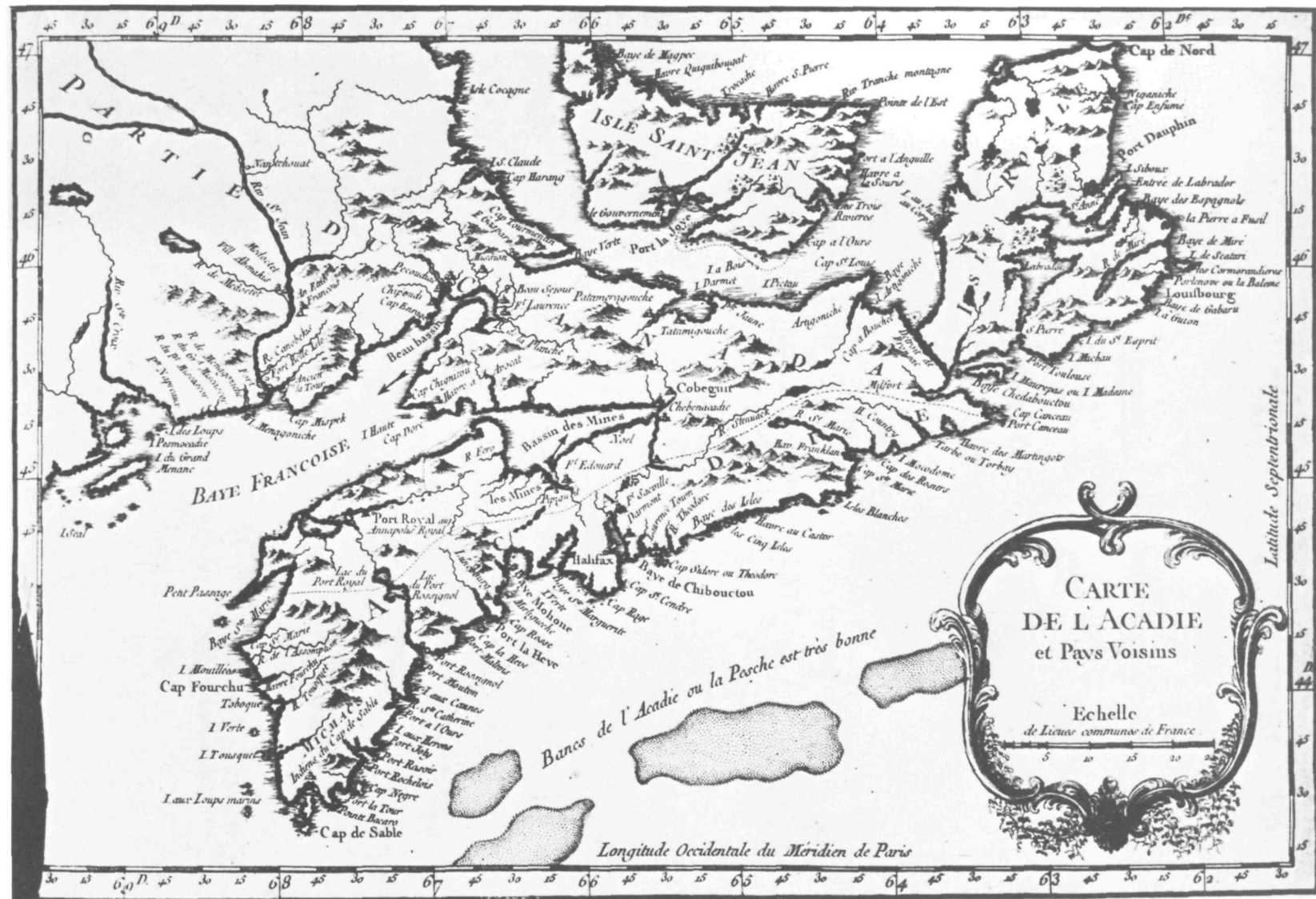
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ILLUSTRATIONS





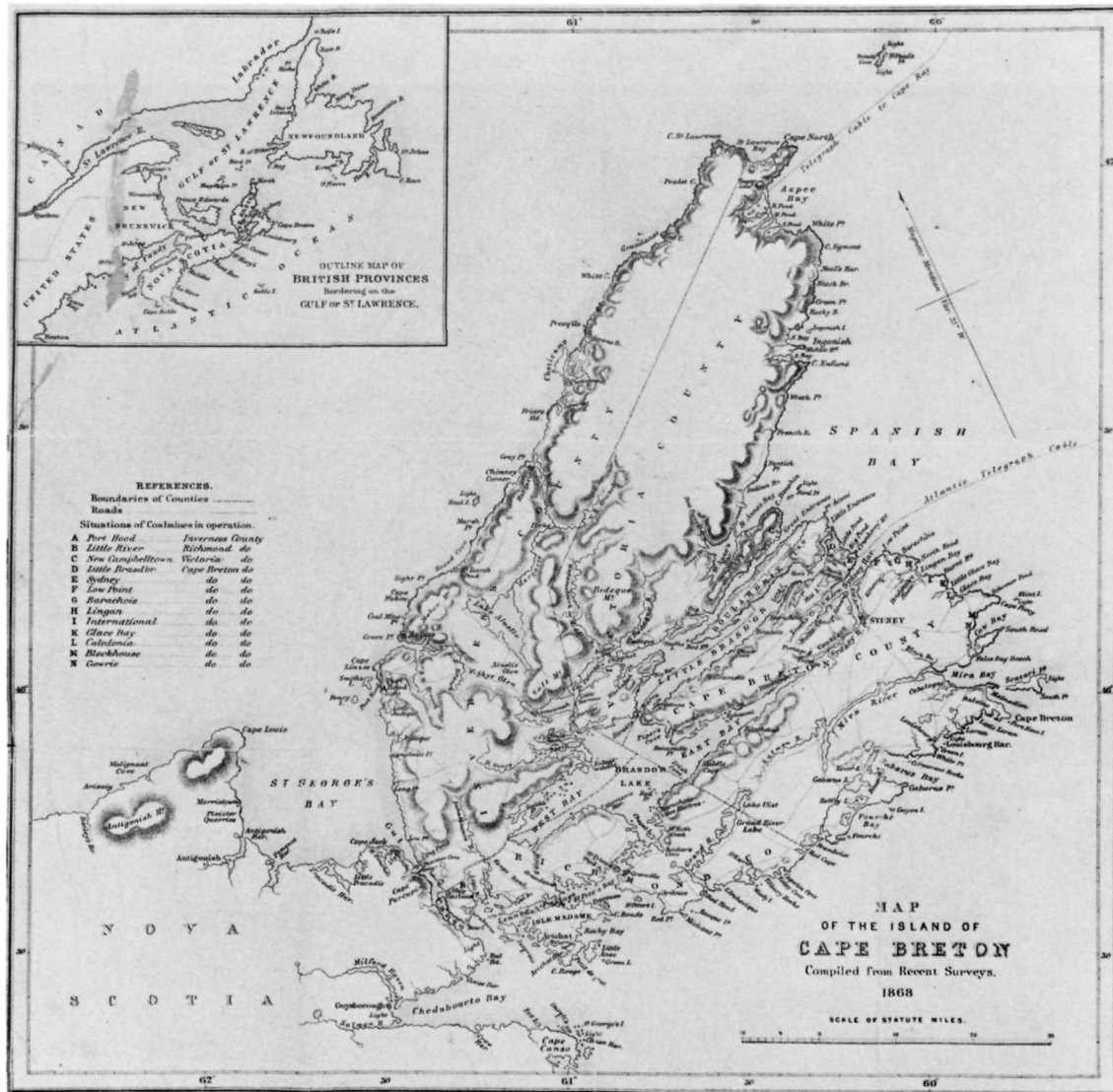
1 Acadia, by N. Bellin, 1764. (Public Archives of Canada.)











5 Cape Breton, showing Malagawatch (Mirliguèche) and Chapel Island (Ile Sainte-Famille), 1868. (Public Archives of Canada.)

Surgeons and Surgery in Ile Royale  
by Linda M. Hoad

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## Abstract

Medical services available in Ile Royale did not reflect services in France for there were no physicians - the elite of the medical profession - in the colony and the bulk of the medical care was handled by surgeons, of whom the most important was the surgeon major - the surgeon responsible for the care of the military. This paper provides a brief history of the development of surgery in France, discusses the medical services in Ile Royale and examines the careers of Jean Baptiste Martin Lagrange and Louis Bertin. Lagrange, whose interests included commercial enterprises, was surgeon major at Louisbourg from 1713 to 1715, at Port Dauphin from 1715 to 1716 and again at Louisbourg from 1723 to 1736 or 1737. Bertin, Lagrange's son-in-law and a more conscientious practitioner than Lagrange, began acting as surgeon major at Louisbourg in 1736 while Lagrange was in France for his health; he officially held the position from 1737 to 1758. Three appendices to the report provide biographical notes on other surgeons in Ile Royale, selected surgeons' reports, and surgeons' bills and lists of remedies.

Submitted for publication 1972, by Linda M. Hoad, Ottawa.



## Sommaire

C'est au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle que les chirurgiens ont commencé à acquérir une certaine indépendance et un peu de respectabilité, après avoir été considérés nettement inférieurs aux physiciens et très peu différents des barbiers pendant des siècles. La chirurgie fut reconnue comme un art libéral en 1699, l'Académie royale de chirurgie fut fondée en 1731, mais ce ne fut qu'en 1743 que la chirurgie fut considérée comme un "art savant", une "vraie science", et qu'elle fut élevée à tout jamais à un échelon supérieur au rang des barbiers. Vers 1765, la condition sociale et juridique des chirurgiens s'était améliorée considérablement, mais ces derniers étaient encore considérés inférieurs aux physiciens.

Dans l'Ile Royale, il n'y avait pas de physicien; par contre, il y avait un grand nombre de chirurgiens. Cette situation était attribuable aux règlements qui prévoyaient qu'il devait y avoir un chirurgien sur chaque navire partant pour un long voyage et ayant un équipage de plus de 21 hommes. Parmi les autres membres du personnel médical, on comptait les apprentis, les Frères de la Charité (qui soignaient les hospitalisés) et les sages-femmes. Ce n'est qu'en 1735, lorsque le poste de lieutenant du premier chirurgien du roi fut établi à Louisbourg, qu'il y eut un contrôle officiel des chirurgiens dans l'Ile Royale. Le lieutenant devait examiner les demandes des barbiers et des chirurgiens qui désiraient pratiquer leur métier dans l'Ile Royale. Toutefois, dans les autres colonies, ces fonctions étaient dévolues au chirurgien-major.

Celui-ci devait d'abord dispenser des soins aux militaires. Même s'il ne faisait pas partie de l'organisation militaire, il

accompagnait toujours les troupes. C'est pourquoi pendant presque toute l'occupation française de l'Ile Royale, des chirurgiens-major étaient en poste à Louisbourg, à Port Toulouse, à l'Isle Saint-Jean et, dans les années 1750, à Port Dauphin.

Dans l'Ile Royale, le travail d'un chirurgien-major consistait à traiter les militaires, à raser les soldats et les officiers, ou à laisser son apprenti le faire, à témoigner devant les tribunaux sur des sujets médicaux, à faire des autopsies, à autoriser les congés de maladie ou les traitements en France et à recommander l'hospitalisation. Une fois le patient entrée à l'hôpital, le chirurgien-major ne pouvait plus rien pour lui, car les Frères de la Charité, qui s'occupaient de l'hôpital, avaient leur propre chirurgien et conservaient leurs prérogatives si jalousement que ce ne fut qu'en 1739 qu'ils furent persuadés de laisser le chirurgien-major visiter leur l'hôpital. Les chirurgiens-majors pouvaient aussi soigner les civils, pour autant que de tels soins ne nuisaient pas à leur devoir envers les troupes. La plupart d'entre eux s'engagèrent dans d'autres activités, habituellement de nature commerciale, afin d'augmenter leurs revenus.

Jean Baptiste Martin Lagrange fut le premier chirurgien-major à Louisbourg; il arriva lors de la construction de la forteresse en 1713. Il fut muté à Port Dauphin en 1715, mais remplacé par les Frères de la Charité en 1716. Avec sa famille, il retourna en France. Lagrange fit tout en son pouvoir pour être réinstitué chirurgien-major dans l'Ile Royale. Au début, il ne réussit qu'à obtenir passage jusqu'à l'Ile Royale avec la permission d'y établir une pratique privée. En 1718, il pratiquait sa profession à Louisbourg, mais dépensait toute son énergie dans des activités commerciales et surtout dans l'acquisition et l'aménagement de diverses propriétés. En 1723, grâce à la protection du gouverneur Saint-Ovide, il redevint chirurgien-major à Louisbourg. En 1735, à sa demande, il fut le premier à accéder au rang de lieutenant du premier chirurgien

du roi, à Louisbourg. Il se servit alors de ce poste pour monopoliser les services chirurgicaux dans la région de Louisbourg: seuls ses apprentis obtenaient des postes de chirurgiens. Vers la fin de 1735, sa mauvaise santé l'obligea à rentrer en France. Il se proposait de revenir à Louisbourg; c'est pourquoi il n'avait pas abandonné son poste de chirurgien-major. Il mourut en France vers la fin de 1736 ou au début de 1737.

Louis Bertin arriva à Louisbourg comme chirurgien sur un navire, en 1735. Il rencontra la famille Lagrange et, avant de repartir pour la France, avait décidé de revenir à l'Ile Royale et de marier Anne Henriette Lagrange. Il revint au printemps de 1736, épousa celle-ci et remplit les fonctions de chirurgien-major en l'absence de Lagrange. Dès la mort de son beau-père, il fut nommé chirurgien-major. À l'opposé de Lagrange, Bertin s'intéressa uniquement à sa profession de chirurgien-major et de praticien privé; il devint célèbre pour sa compétence, sa conscience professionnelle et sa charité. Lorsque Louisbourg tomba aux mains des Anglais en 1758, Bertin se réinstalla à Rochefort, où il continua à pratiquer sa profession de chirurgien. Il mourut en 1776 après une longue maladie.

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## Introduction

The assignment which led to the preparation of this report was originally limited to biographical studies of Jean Baptiste Martin Lagrange and Louis Bertin, surgeons major at Louisbourg. As research progressed, it became evident that there was a vast amount of information about surgery and surgeons in Ile Royale and that an analysis of this material would be required in order to clarify the nature of the surgeon major's position. In many instances, detailed documentation was found which was of no concern beyond the subjects of the original study, so it was decided that a general introduction to the biographies should be written including this information and pertinent secondary source material.

The report is divided into three sections. The first consists of a brief history of the development of surgery in France until the 18th century, a discussion of medical services available in Ile Royale with special emphasis on the role of the surgeon major together with a discussion of the diseases encountered, and the remedies and surgical instruments available in 18th-century Ile Royale. The second part is the biography of Jean Baptiste Martin Lagrange, surgeon major at Louisbourg from 1713 to 1716 and from 1724 to 1736 or 1737. The third part is the biography of Louis Bertin, surgeon major at Louisbourg from 1737 to 1758.

In these biographies an attempt has been made to determine not only the professional activities of the two men, but also their place in the economic and social life of Louisbourg. It was hoped at the outset to compare the role

and position of the two Louisbourg surgeons with that of surgeons in France and Canada, but lack of information has made this almost impossible. Also, because our knowledge of economic and social life in 18th-century Louisbourg is still limited, few firm conclusions could be drawn about the roles played by Lagrange and Bertin in that society. Many of the suggestions or conclusions made in this report will have to be modified as research into the economy and society of the Fortress of Louisbourg progresses.

Part 1. Surgeons and Surgery in the 18th Century



## Surgeons and Surgery in France

At the time of the Renaissance, surgery was highly regarded as a healing art, as it had been in ancient times. Both surgery and medicine were practised by the same men and were considered equally worthy of scholarly study.<sup>1</sup> However, either because the physicians (médecins) lost interest in surgery because it was more distasteful and less profitable than medicine or because clerics (that is, scholars) were forbidden to shed blood and had to hire laymen to perform operations,<sup>2</sup> by the 16th century surgery was definitely considered inferior to medicine. In fact, surgeons and barbers were classed together as artisans or manual labourers.<sup>3</sup>

In France barbers and surgeons formed one corporation until the 13th century although a distinction was made between barbers, who performed only "petite Chirurgie" such as treating wounds or bleeding, and surgeons who performed "grandes opérations."<sup>4</sup> It is not known at what date the corporation split into two separate bodies - the surgeon-barbers and barber-surgeons - but the reason for the division is clear. The surgeon-barbers, desiring to disassociate themselves from their lowly colleagues, constituted a confrérie under the patronage of St-Côme. The barber-surgeons remained under the wing of the Faculty of Medicine and accepted the controls imposed on them by the faculty which the surgeon-barbers were attempting to evade. The surgeon-barbers built an amphitheatre in 1605 which they termed a college and wore the robe longue, the mark of a member of the university.<sup>5</sup> This was very distressing to the Faculty of Medicine, which

considered itself the only repositor of medical knowledge. Thus commenced a long and bitterly contested struggle between the surgeons and the Faculty of Medicine.<sup>6</sup>

In 1655 the surgeon-barbers and barber-surgeons settled their differences and united under the control of the premier barbier du roi (king's barber).<sup>7</sup> The faculty contested this merger before the parliament and in 1660 succeeded in stripping the surgeons of their "honneurs littéraires" although the two groups remained united.<sup>8</sup> This meant that surgeons were limited to the condition of "aspirans, maîtres et communauté," and were forbidden to call themselves "bacheliers, licenciés, docteurs, ou collège." They could not hold lectures, or "actes publiques," and were forbidden to wear the bonnet and robe, all privileges of the university.<sup>9</sup>

In 1668 Louis XIV, who seemed to have "more confidence in surgery than in medicine," decided that the head of the corporation should be known as the premier chirurgien du roi rather than the premier barbier. In 1686, Louis underwent a successful fistula operation and thereby considerably increased the prestige and popularity of surgery. The next improvement occurred in 1699 when surgery was declared a liberal art and surgeons were granted the privileges accorded all the liberal arts. They remained a corporation, but were freed from some of the restrictions placed on them in 1660.<sup>10</sup>

During the 18th century, surgery rapidly advanced to a position of independence and respectability. In 1723 the king issued an edict re-establishing the lieutenants du premier chirurgien du roi. It is not known when this office was originally established, but it had been abolished by decrees in 1691 and 1692 and replaced by that of "chirurgie Jurez." The latter office was hereditary and had given rise to abuses such as receiving unsuitable candidates (for a price) and the holding of the position by unqualified persons

through heredity.<sup>11</sup> Since the purpose of both of these positions was internal policing of the profession, a well-qualified lieutenant was essential in order to maintain high standards. The lieutenant du premier chirurgien was to be chosen from among the master surgeons in each community.<sup>12</sup>

The Royal Academy of Surgery was established at St-Côme (the surgeons' amphitheatre mentioned above) in 1731 and several schools of naval surgery were set up in the major ports.<sup>13</sup>

In 1743 surgery was declared an "art savant," "une vraie science," and was forever raised above the level of barbering. The degree of Maîtres ès Arts was required before entering the Royal Academy and the academy was permitted to confer degrees under the authority of the premier chirurgien du roi. This change in the status of surgery was also contested by the faculty and probably led to the arrêt du conseil d'etat of 1750 which explained in great detail the course of study and the methods of examination. The Maîtres ès Arts degree was not required outside Paris until after 1756 and even then it was not required everywhere.<sup>14</sup>

Available evidence fails to indicate exactly what happened to the barbers at this point in time. According to Diderot, two corporations had the right to offer barbering services. They were the maitre chirurgiens and the perruquiers.<sup>15</sup> The latter corporation had separated from the barber-surgeons in 1637 to join a corporation known as "Barbiers-Perruquiers-Baigneurs-Etuvistes."<sup>16</sup> According to Delauney, the edict of 1743 included a clause forbidding master surgeons to practice as barbers. This effectually split the united corporation of surgeons and barbers and forced the barbers to join the corporation of barbiers-perruquiers-baigneurs-étuvistes.<sup>17</sup>

In 1756 surgeons were given the title and privileges of "notables bourgeois," meaning that they were free from

financial and feudal burdens. On the other hand, an edict of 1765 included physicians with "avocats et bourgeois vivant noblement," while surgeons were considered with "négociants en gros, marchands ayant boutiques ouvertes et maîtres exerçant arts libéraux."<sup>18</sup>

From this brief review of the history of surgery in France it is apparent that the legal status of surgeons had improved considerably by the mid-18th century although they were still considered inferior to physicians. More significant, perhaps, is the change in "professional" status indicated by the establishment of the Royal Academy of Surgery and the requirement of the Maîtres ès Arts degree.

The study of the training of surgeons in the 17th and 18th centuries is rendered difficult by the constantly changing situation and by the fact that requirements were not uniform throughout France. Since the sources are contradictory and often confusing, only a brief sketch can be presented here.

It should be remembered that instruction for physicians at this time was given in the faculties of medicine of the universities. Lectures and examinations were in Latin and the Maîtres ès Arts was required before beginning the study of medicine.<sup>19</sup>

Before 1660 there was a difference in the training given to surgeon-barbers and barber-surgeons. The former were taken as paying pupils for two years while the latter were apprenticed for six years and then worked as compagnons (journeymen) for seven years. This lengthy process could be shortened by working in a hospital instead of in a boutique.<sup>20</sup>

Apprenticeship was the general rule after 1660, but the length of both the apprenticeship and the journeymanhip varied. In 1723 three years of apprenticeship and three years of journeymanhip were required. In 1730 it was two years as an apprentice and three as a journeyman (or two

years in a military or civilian hospital, or one year at the Charité or Hôtel-Dieu hospitals in Paris). Another alternative was service as a ship's surgeon on king's vessels, privateers or commercial vessels.<sup>21</sup>

After 1699, although surgery was declared a liberal art, training of surgeons was still by apprenticeship. Each master had only one apprentice, but he could also train a garçon or frater. The apprentice could be examined after one year and the garçon only after six years. The student took a preliminary examination to determine if he was qualified to be an "aspirant à la maîtrise"; then he took the examination called the "quatre semaines." In the first week he was examined in osteology, in the second week in anatomy, then in bleeding and finally in medication.<sup>22</sup>

According to the arrêt of 1750, the course for surgeons at St-Côme was to extend over three years; the first year was devoted to physiology and hygiene, the second to pathology and the third to medication. After this course, which also included clinical work, the student had to work under a master surgeon for six years; next he had to undergo extensive examinations, including the "quatre semaines," and give a public thesis in Latin (the acte publique). These regulations, however, applied only to Paris; in the provinces both the training and the examination requirements were less rigorous. The practice in most provincial cities was for the student to serve a two-year apprenticeship, then to work for three years with a master surgeon or for two years in a hospital. He then took examinations similar to those prescribed in Paris, but without the thesis. In smaller towns and villages the aspirant took only one examination lasting three hours, covering "principles of surgery, bleeding, tumors, wounds and medication."<sup>23</sup>

The diversity of training and examining must have affected the mobility of surgeons. This problem was recognized

in the "Edict re-establishing the lieutenants of the King's Surgeon" which requested each community to draw up its own statutes concerning the length of the apprenticeship, the number and form of the examinations and demonstrations required. These statutes were to be examined by the king's surgeon, then on his advice to be approved by the king.<sup>24</sup> It does not seem that this excellent scheme was put into practice, but it is probable that the lieutenants verified the capacity of those surgeons wishing to establish themselves in the area of their jurisdiction as they did in the colonies.

Although physicians maintained their social superiority over surgeons throughout the 18th century and to some extent their professional and academic superiority, some writers have suggested that surgery was the more effective of the two healing arts. Even at the time it was generally recognized that the best physicians were to be found in England, the best apothecaries in Germany and the best surgeons in France.<sup>25</sup> The surgeons who learned anatomy by dissecting cadavers and acquired practical experience during their apprenticeship were better prepared to deal with their patients than the physicians whose studies were mainly theoretical.<sup>26</sup>

To discover the meaning of surgery in the 18th century, it is necessary to look briefly at the differences between medicine and surgery. According to Diderot, this difference lay only in the different types of diseases treated by each. Physicians and surgeons possessed the same knowledge of the science of healing, but applied it to different illnesses or to the same illnesses located in different parts of the body. Thus surgery was the art of recognizing and treating external illnesses of the human body or any diseases that could be treated by operating or the application of external remedies. Some of these conditions were ulcers, wounds, tumors, fractures

and dislocations.<sup>27</sup> Diderot gives further examples of "surgical diseases": "superficial complaints" either "without prominence" (all sorts of skin conditions such as pimples) or "with prominence" (tumors, warts, abcesses); and also "maladies dialytiques," such as wounds, ulcers, dental cavities, fractures, sprains and hernias.<sup>28</sup>

With this brief introduction to the history of surgery, the training and examining of surgeons, and the nature of surgery, we shall now turn to the question of surgery in the French colonies, and in particular, surgery in Ile Royale.



## Surgeons and Surgery in Ile Royale

It is very difficult to find information about surgery in the French colonies because no thorough or systematic studies have been published on this subject.<sup>1</sup> There is no lack of information for Ile Royale itself, but it is often difficult to interpret the documents found because no framework exists in which to place the evidence. Thus, although this section deals primarily with surgery in Ile Royale, comparative material from other French colonies can only occasionally be given.

### Medical Personnel

One of the most surprising facts to emerge from this study is the number and variety of medical personnel available in the colonies: physicians, ships' surgeons, surgeons major, master surgeons, apprentices, Brothers of Charity (Order of the Hospitallers of Saint-Jean de Dieu), various orders of nursing sisters and midwives. For Ile Royale alone, 43 names of surgeons and apprentices were found. A brief sketch of their careers can be found in Appendix A.

There were fewer physicians in the colonies than surgeons. The first physician in Canada seems to have been Sarrazin in 1697 and there was a physician in Le Cap in the French West Indies in 1714.<sup>2</sup> However, there were no physicians in Ile Royale and the only mention of a physician in connection with the colony is in 1756 when Prevost suggested that a good physician would be of benefit.<sup>3</sup> Nothing came of this

suggestion, however, and Ile Royale remained under the care of its numerous surgeons.

The legal status of surgeons in the colonies was presumably the same as that of surgeons in France and the changes taking place in France must have had some effect on the colonial situation. Nevertheless, the absence or scarcity of physicians in the colonies meant that surgeons were often the only medical personnel available, a situation which must have enhanced their prestige. There does not appear to have been rivalry between physicians and surgeons in the colonies where the two professions existed although the evidence concerning this problem is by no means complete.

The large number of surgeons in the colonies has been attributed to regulations of 1681 and 1717 requiring every ship making a long voyage with a crew of 21 or more to carry a surgeon.<sup>4</sup> These regulations caused difficulties both in France and in the colonies. The ship owners found it expensive to pay for a surgeon and frequently hired unqualified men, probably at a lower salary. One candidate was received at Honfleur in 1700 with the stipulation that he never practice on land.<sup>5</sup> Another solution to this problem was to hire a surgeon who also served as a fisherman. This seems to have been a fairly common practice; an engagement made in Canada in 1716 specified that the surgeon was to act in both capacities and a case heard before the admiralty court in Louisbourg mentioned that the surgeon was to help with the fishing when required "as the ships' surgeons do on this island."<sup>6</sup>

Opinion in Ile Royale about these surgeons seems to have varied. Some Saint-Jean de Luz merchants, complaining about the hospital tax in Ile Royale, insisted that the inhabitants preferred the ships' surgeons to any aid they could get at the "imaginary" hospital.<sup>7</sup> It seems probable that the surgeons who established themselves in the ports of

Ile Royale were ship's surgeons who remained to serve the sedentary fishermen. Bigot, in 1742, noted that these surgeons were "perfectly ignorant and hardly even know how to read."<sup>8</sup>

It is to be hoped that the surgeons on the king's ships were more highly qualified than those on the fishing vessels. Both Bertin and Descouts served in this capacity before taking up their posts as surgeons major at Louisbourg and Ile Saint-Jean. The creation of the school of naval medicine at Rochefort was said to have improved the quality of ships' surgeons, who had previously been "lamentables fraters." Canadian officials in particular asked for surgeons trained at this school to be sent to the colony.<sup>9</sup>

Whatever the qualifications of the ships' surgeons, it seems to have been necessary to control their activities in all of the colonies. Raudot issued an ordonnance forbidding ship's surgeons and other surgeons not already established in Canada to attend to the sick.<sup>10</sup> Bigot's ordonnance of 1751 reiterated the prohibition, but allowed newcomers to practice if they passed a "serious examination" before the king's physician at Quebec or the king's surgeon at Montreal or Trois-Rivières.<sup>11</sup> De Costebelle issued an ordonnance at Plaisance that required all wounds resulting from accidents or other causes to be reported to the surgeon major. First aid only was to be given by other surgeons in such cases, but barbering and bleeding could be performed without reference to the surgeon major.<sup>12</sup> An ordonnance issued at Le Cap required the presentation of certificates to the king's physician before a newcomer was allowed to practice medicine or surgery in the colony. Those without certificates could be examined by the king's physician and two master surgeons, and thus be provided with the required papers.<sup>13</sup>

No official control over surgeons existed in Ile Royale until the position of lieutenant du premier chirurgien du roi

was established in 1735. This is made clear by the conseil's reply in 1717 to Lagrange's request to be allowed to practice surgery in Ile Royale after he had lost his position as surgeon major. They noted that "il ny a point de maitrise a l'Isle Royall," and therefore that Lagrange would have no difficulty in establishing himself there.<sup>14</sup>

When Lagrange was received as lieutenant in April of 1735, the Conseil Supérieur ordered that

those who wish to establish themselves in future in this colony and its dependancies as barbers or surgeons must present themselves before Sr. Lagrange to be examined by him and the other surgeons whom he wishes to assemble concerning the art of surgery, bandaging, knowledge and application of medication, and finally to be examined on their ability, before being allowed to practice barbering or surgery on this Island, under penalty of<sup>15</sup> a fine and confiscation of their instruments.

Although the lieutenant du premier chirurgien was not supposed to receive payment of any kind for the examination of candidates, an unsigned and undated document in the Greffes du Conseil Supérieur of Louisbourg lists the fees to be paid to the premier chirurgien, the lieutenant and others according to an arrêt du Conseil du Roi of 1671.<sup>16</sup> The lieutenant was to receive 66 livres, 8 jettons d'argent (valued at 1 livre apiece) and 2 pairs of gloves (valued at 2 livres a pair).

The position of lieutenant du premier chirurgien du roi existed in Canada as early as 1658. The lieutenants' function was "to ensure that surgeons followed the norms of their profession."<sup>17</sup> However, the ordonnances mentioned above indicate that this function was also given to the king's physician or surgeon major in Canada and other colonies. A king's ordonnance of 1723 regulating the position of surgeons major in the colonies does not mention the lieutenant du premier chirurgien and specifically delegates his authority to examine candidates to the surgeon major, in conjunction with

the king's physician.<sup>18</sup> Thus Lagrange, as surgeon major, could have exercised the functions of lieutenant du premier chirurgien du roi without going to the trouble of obtaining the title. It is not known why he did bother to secure the title or what became of the lieutenant du premier chirurgien in Canada as a result of the ordonnance of 1723.

Although one of the lieutenant's functions was to examine apprentices, no documentary evidence of such examinations has come to light. Many Ile Royale surgeons had apprentices (see Appendix A), but unfortunately the terms of these apprenticeships are not known. In Canada apprenticeships varied from two to four years in length; the apprentice usually began by shaving the master surgeon's customers, then accompanied him on hospital visits and eventually assisted with the more complicated treatments and operations.<sup>19</sup> One example of a contract between a master surgeon and his apprentice indicated that the apprentice was 17 years of age and was to receive room and board as well as instruction from his master for three years. His parents promised to pay the master 200 livres and to provide their son with clothing.<sup>20</sup>

It is possible that the Brothers of Charity also trained apprentices. A declaration made in 1749 by Sollé (probably the son of Jean Sollé, an Ile Royale surgeon) indicates that he had worked in the hospital at Louisbourg.<sup>21</sup> Sollé was a student at the Rochefort hospital when he made this declaration, which may indicate that Ile Royale surgeons sent their sons to France for training. However, since all the inhabitants were forced to return to France in 1745 this theory is difficult to prove.

Many of the Ile Royale surgeons engaged in other activities, probably indicating that surgery was not particularly profitable. Pierre Meillon, surgeon at Havre Fourché, had a business partnership with Julien Fisel, a Louisbourg

merchant.<sup>22</sup> Martin Descouts engaged in fishing before he became surgeon major at Ile Saint-Jean and Dominique Collongue, although he was a surgeon major, had a wide variety of commercial interests.

Surgeons, particularly in the smaller communities, were probably better educated than their neighbours and may have been asked to perform functions unrelated to their profession; for example, Pierre Meillon, along with the parish priest, made an inventory and witnessed a will in Havre Fourché.<sup>23</sup>

Besides caring for the sick and wounded, surgeons were required to examine wounds and perform autopsies when the cause of death was suspect. Their reports were often received as evidence in the trials of persons accused of murder or assault.<sup>24</sup>

Hospital care was provided in Louisbourg, Martinique, St. Domingue, and Guadeloupe by the Brothers of Charity, and in Canada by nuns of several different orders.<sup>25</sup> It is not the purpose of this report to discuss the hospital or the Brothers of Charity who operated it, except to note that the Brothers of Charity provided their own surgeon.

In addition to the various types of surgeons already discussed, the inhabitants of Louisbourg could also call on a midwife. The sage-femme or midwife was an important person in the 18th century when the number of women and children who died in childbirth was relatively high.<sup>26</sup> Midwives have been described as "well-meaning murderesses" with a knowledge based only on observation.<sup>27</sup>

Sometime during the 17th or 18th centuries, rigid precautions were taken in France to prevent "clumsy and incapable" women from entering the profession. Apprenticeship with a maîtresse sage-femme or at the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris, followed by an examination by the king's surgeon or his lieutenant, were required in Paris. These standards were not followed in the provinces and certainly not in the

rural areas. The midwife had to be a Roman Catholic "de bonne vie et moeurs," and had to swear to strive for the "spiritual and temporal salvation" of both the mother and child.<sup>28</sup>

Midwives existed in Canada, where they were "sworn in" by the parish priest. In 1750 the salary of a midwife was 600 livres.<sup>29</sup>

The first mention of a midwife in Louisbourg is in 1729: "la sage-femme Z'Emarté"<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, it has not been possible to identify this woman or to discover when or why she ceased to function as a sage-femme. However, by 1738 the colony was without a midwife and requested the minister to send one from France. He replied that it was not easy to find midwives for the colonies because there was a scarcity of them in France itself. He recommended that Bertin try to train someone in the colony for this position.<sup>31</sup> There did not appear to be anyone in the colony who could serve in this way<sup>32</sup> and nothing further was done about the matter.

It appears that the women of Ile Royale solved the problem for themselves. The widow Droit, a midwife at Rochefort, delivered a number of babies between 1745 and 1748. The women of Ile Royale were so pleased with her that Prévost asked her to serve in the colony. She was apparently highly qualified (she described herself as a "sage fame mestresse de L'hostel dieu a paris"), and accompanied her request to the minister with a certificate from a naval physician attesting to her "ability, the success of her work, and her conduct." The minister was impressed and requested the intendant at Rochefort to discuss a suitable salary for her with Prévost. Thus the widow Droit became midwife at Louisbourg in 1749, with an annual salary of 400 livres.<sup>33</sup>

Pichon suggests in one of the more scurrilous passages of his obviously biased indictment of the Brothers of Charity



that the widow Droit suffered some competition from the Brothers

Since they are surgeons, physicians and apothecaries for the whole colony, they are continually wandering about the houses and God knows what they do there; I think that although some of the women at least do not complain about this, there are some husbands who should. In fact, the part of their surgical duties that they like best seems to be that of delivering babies.<sup>34</sup>

The widow Droit's salary was continued at Rochefort until at least 1759 with the intention that she return to serve in a colony as soon as possible.<sup>35</sup> Nothing further is known about the career of this woman who influenced the lives of many of the inhabitants of Louisbourg.

A number of individuals in Ile Royale provided medical services although they apparently had no professional training. Esben Borda took in a sick sailor at the request of his captain "pour faire de remede" and was promised payment for his expenses. When the sailor died, the captain refused to pay and Borda took legal action. In 1738 Nicholas Baron was paid 120 livres for treating two soldiers who had scurvy. Once Sr. Solo, Maurice Hiop and Pierrot Saxe received payments for bandages provided for the soldiers.<sup>36</sup>

At least two surgeons were sent to Ile Royale as fils de famille; that is, their parents requested their removal because of extravagant or licentious behavior. One of these, a servant of Saint-Ovide, was allowed to return to France on condition that he cease his "libertine life."<sup>37</sup>

### The Surgeon Major

The position of surgeon major is considered separately because it poses a number of problems and because a clear understanding of this position is especially important since the subjects of the following biographies were both surgeons major.

There are no documents detailing the functions of the surgeon major and it appears that these functions varied from time to time and from place to place; the exact nature of the position depended to a large extent on the personalities involved (the administrators, the officers and the surgeon himself), and on the material conditions in each locale (presence or absence of a physician, barracks, or a hospital and the type of hospital).

For the most part, the following account has been compiled from numerous references to troops, surgeons major and the hospital in the correspondence between Ile Royale and France. Though this outline attempts to present an accurate picture of the duties of the surgeons major in Ile Royale, it is not necessarily applicable to any other colony. In fact, it is hardly likely that the surgeons major in Canada, where the troops were usually billeted with the inhabitants, could function in the same way as those in Ile Royale, where most of the troops were lodged in barracks.

The problem of determining just what the surgeon major did in Ile Royale is complicated by the fact that this position was held for a time by the Brothers of Charity. The reasons for exchanging a lay surgeon (Lagrange) for a brother surgeon and then reverting again to a lay surgeon were never made clear. The Conseil de Marine did not agree with the colonial administrators that the inability of a brother surgeon to follow the troops in time of war was a major drawback. In 1725 Saint-Ovide, championing the re-appointment of Lagrange, emphasized the utility of having a surgeon's apprentice in the barracks "since the troops are now lodged there."<sup>38</sup> He did not explain why the Brothers could not provide this service.

Despite the confusion of these early years, it became the accepted rule that wherever troops were detached, a surgeon major was appointed.<sup>39</sup> Thus, for most of the period

of French hegemony in Ile Royale, the king maintained surgeons major at Louisbourg, Port Toulouse and Isle Saint-Jean, and in the 1750s at Port Dauphin as well.

Perhaps the clearest statement of the surgeon major's duties is that given by a soldier during a quarrel with the surgeon major at Port Toulouse.<sup>40</sup> The two men had been drinking together, but when the surgeon major tried to make the soldier recognize him as his superior, the soldier replied that the surgeon major was paid by the king "to give help to the soldiers when they needed it." The "help" given by the surgeon major included such things as shaving, first aid, checking the soldiers in and out of the hospital and giving certificats d'invalidité to those who could no longer serve or who required treatment in France.

Although the surgeon major's primary function was to care for the troops, he was not part of the military organization. This is clearly indicated by a quarrel between Raudot, the intendant of New France, and some of the officers in Quebec concerning the appointment of a surgeon major. In 1708 the minister stated that this appointment was the duty of the intendant.<sup>41</sup> The absence of any reference to the surgeon major in the ordonnance concerning the Compagnies Franches de la Marine and the fact that the surgeon major's salary was listed with those of the "other employees" and not with those of the officers or the troops is also significant. In 1759 Bertin's son's name had to be removed from a list of cadets because this was an honour reserved for the children of officers.<sup>42</sup>

According to an ordonnance of 1691 concerning the Compagnies Franches de la Marine, each company was to include a frater or apprentice surgeon who was also a soldier. The frater was to shave his fellow soldiers whenever they needed it. For his services he received two sols a month from each soldier.<sup>43</sup>

This practice was not always followed in Ile Royale or in Canada, the frater being replaced in both colonies by the surgeon major or his apprentice. In the early years of the colony Lagrange had a written agreement with the officers to shave their soldiers (approved by the commissaire ordonnateur).<sup>44</sup> It is not known what system was used when the Brothers of Charity functioned as surgeons major. However, as soon as Lagrange was re-appointed surgeon major, Saint-Ovide ordered him to maintain an apprentice in the barracks "to shave the companies and in case of accident to aid those who required it." With or without a written agreement, the captains (according to Saint-Ovide) willingly gave the surgeons three livres a year per soldier for this service and for treatment of minor illnesses. The minister noted that this sum seemed high since the surgeon major in Canada received only three livres per month per company and no salary.<sup>45</sup> Saint-Ovide replied that the officers had no complaints and that the soldiers were very pleased since prior to the arrangement they had paid six to seven livres a year for inferior service. In fact, the Swiss commander was very "mortified" when his colonel sent a sort of "barber-soldier" for his company and requested that the Swiss soldiers receive the same treatment as the French for the same price.<sup>46</sup>

The above exchanges took place in 1726; there was no further correspondence on Lagrange's duties until 1730. In that year de Mézy suggested that Lagrange's salary be raised to 720 livres a year, but that "the governor be forbidden to make each soldier pay him." He noted that this payment was an abuse, that it prevented the frater from working and that the captains had complained to him, fearing a stab in the back ("coup de Jarnac") if they complained directly to the court.<sup>47</sup> Unfortunately, since de Mézy's letter was unanswered, it is impossible to discover which version of

the affair was correct.

The only hint that some action was taken regarding de Mézy's complaint is a series of payments to all the surgeon major beginning in 1734, under the heading "diverses Depenses" or "Depenses Extraordinaire." The reason for this payment is given in detail in the 1735 "Etat de depenses":

To Sr. Jean Lagrange surgeon major of the troops, 120 livres for medicines and plasters that he furnished to the sick and wounded soldiers before they went to the hospital...according to a verbal agreement made with him.<sup>48</sup>

It seems reasonable to assume that this was some sort of compromise whereby the company frater shaved the soldiers while the surgeon major was compensated for the loss of the three livres a year he had been receiving from each soldier.

It is probable that the surgeon major continued to keep an apprentice in the barracks after this change. Bigot noted in 1741 that the surgeon major gave first aid to wounded soldiers and attended soldiers in their rooms when they were not seriously ill.<sup>49</sup> An account of a soldier wounded in a duel indicates that Bertin's apprentice was close at hand: the apprentice arrived very promptly in the wounded soldier's room, apparently without being summoned. He did not treat the soldier, however, because the man's sergeant took him to the hospital as soon as he saw the wound.<sup>50</sup>

The relationship between the surgeon major and the hospital was complicated by the fact that the Brothers of Charity operated the hospital and supplied their own surgeon. In hospitals where there were no brothers, a physician, aided by a large staff including a surgeon major and an apothecary, was responsible for the troops consigned to his care.<sup>51</sup> According to a plan drawn up for the Louisbourg hospital by Soubras in 1714, the surgeon major would be responsible to a number of directors and an "administrator"

would be appointed to oversee the daily operations. This plan was never put into operation because the Brothers were appointed to run the hospital in 1716.<sup>52</sup>

Presumably the surgeon major recommended when a soldier needed hospitalization although in at least two cases a sergeant conducted soldiers to the hospital. Apparently the surgeon major did not have to examine a soldier before he went to the hospital, because the minister recommended in 1735 that he do so.<sup>53</sup>

Once a soldier entered the hospital, he was under the sole care of the Brothers, who refused to allow the surgeon major to enter the hospital even when they had no surgeon of their own (presumably because he had died). This was reported by de Bourville, major des troupes, who had ordered Lagrange to visit the soldiers in the hospital because the Brother's care was inadequate. He complained that conditions were so bad in the hospital that the soldiers had to be forced to enter when they were ill.<sup>54</sup>

This apparent lack of concern for the patients and the Brothers' refusal to receive the surgeon major led to a long correspondence between the minister and the colonial officials resulting in a number of changes in the hospital administration. In 1732 de Mézy appointed a clerk to keep an account of the hospital furniture and supplies and to maintain a register of the number of soldiers received and the length of their stay.<sup>55</sup>

It was not until 1739 that the surgeon major made regular visits to the hospital. As early as 1736 Saint-Ovide and Le Normant had agreed in principle that he should go there once a week to ensure that any soldier well enough to return to duty be released.<sup>56</sup> The Brothers refused to allow these visits, however, and the best that Le Normant could accomplish was to send the surgeon major to the hospital several times during 1738 "on different pretexts"

to accustom the Brothers to the idea.<sup>57</sup> Bigot reported in 1739 that he had "engaged the Brothers to suffer the visits of the surgeon major" who now visited the hospital two or three times a week. These visits, once established, apparently continued throughout the existence of the hospital since Prévost mentioned them in 1756.<sup>58</sup>

Although the surgeon major did not visit the hospital until 1739, it appears that an officer visited the troops daily at least as early as 1726. This officer reported to the major or the commander on the condition of the troops there and apparently incurred the Brothers' wrath in 1735 when he suggested that some of the soldiers were well enough to be released. This practice seems to have been continued for it was mentioned again in 1752.<sup>59</sup>

Apparently the officers were treated free of charge by the surgeon major although in Louisbourg this did not include shaving. Lagrange requested in 1717 that the officers be required to pay him for this service according to the account he had with each one.<sup>60</sup> Officers in Canada were treated free of charge in the hospital until 1711 when a surgeon took legal action to force them to pay for his services. In Louisbourg officers were required to pay when they went to the hospital - although the rate of payment was under discussion for many years - but were treated free in their own quarters.<sup>61</sup>

Certificats d'invalidité attested to the physical conditions which made it impossible for a soldier or an officer to continue his duties. A certificat was required when a soldier was recommended for half pay or when treatment in France was considered necessary. It was part of the surgeon major's job to provide these documents for any soldier or officer dismissed or requesting leave for reasons of health. Certificats d'invalidité were also provided by the Brothers of Charity and by the engineers.<sup>62</sup>



It would appear that the surgeon major was supplied with medicines and possibly with instruments. The first surgeon sent to Ile Royale was to be supplied with a coffre de chirurgie for 100 men and the "instruments of his profession" along with other supplies necessary for a small hospital.<sup>63</sup>

The surgeon major of the hospital at Plaisance and the Brothers' hospital at Louisbourg were similarly supplied. The surgeon major at Ile Saint-Jean received 100 livres above and beyond his salary to pay for medicines and the surgeon major of the Bourgogne battalion was given medicines for 100 men. Prévost complained that the latter refused to account for the use he made of these medicines.<sup>64</sup> If all the surgeons major received medicines in this way, the payments for "medicines and plaster supplied to the soldiers before they went to the hospital" were somewhat redundant.

On the other hand, some surgeons supplied their own instruments and medicines: Collongue, surgeon major at Port Toulouse, owed 285 livres 15 sols for a chest of medicines in 1738 and Bertin had 500 livres worth of instruments in his cabinet à remèdes.<sup>65</sup> These may, of course, have been for use with private patients.

In addition to caring for the troops, the surgeon major was frequently called in by the court officials to examine a wounded person or a corpse, and often performed autopsies to determine the cause of death. A selection of these documents has been compiled in Appendix B. It should be noted that any surgeon could make these reports, but in Louisbourg the surgeon major seems to have been preferred.

The surgeon major was permitted by the king's ordonnance of 1723 to examine candidates who wished to practice surgery and to serve the civilian inhabitants as long as this did not interfere with his duties to the troops.

Little is known about the examination of candidates in

Louisbourg except that Lagrange had himself appointed lieutenant du premier chirurgien du roi in 1735. The Louisbourg surgeons major certainly treated the inhabitants although they had to compete with the Brothers of Charity in this respect.<sup>66</sup>

A number of Canadian physicians and surgeons engaged in scientific research, such as the collection of plants for the jardin du roi or correspondence with the Académie des Sciences.<sup>67</sup> No evidence has been found to indicate that the surgeons major of Ile Royale took an interest in such research although a memoir inviting His Majesty's subjects to collect objects of interest and to write about them was sent to Ile Royale in 1728. As early as 1723 Boucher, the sub-engineer, wrote at length about what he had seen during his trips around the island, sent a stuffed puffin, some fossils, fruit and a shell to the minister, and promised to send drawings of birds as soon as he had the time. Ballée, the king's surveyor, offered to make a trip for the purpose of surveying the island and collecting specimens if the minister would provide the funds. Nothing further was heard of this scheme. No less a person than the Comte de Raymond sent several pots of jam and a squirrel to the minister in 1751.<sup>68</sup> Thus scientific research was not unknown in Ile Royale, but the surgeons did not seem as interested in this field as their Canadian colleagues or their fellow inhabitants.

#### Diseases, Remedies and Instruments

In order to understand the nature of surgery in Ile Royale in the 18th century, it is advisable to look at the diseases with which surgeons had to deal as well as the remedies and instruments at their disposal. Since no detailed information has been found concerning the practice of either Lagrange or Bertin, these subjects will be considered from a

more general point of view.

The most detailed information concerning diseases and remedies is found in the correspondence regarding the soldiers and officers. A surgeon's certificat d'invalidité was required in such cases and these documents provide numerous examples of medical conditions in 18th-century Ile Royale.

Accidents were very common, especially among the soldiers working on the fortifications. One example was Bernard Gasquet dit Gasquet who "had the misfortune to find himself, while working for His Majesty, underneath a mine, out of which he was pulled with his right leg shattered and broken, from which injury he suffers extraordinary pains, and is thus unable to render any service to His Majesty." Loss of sight, broken limbs and hernias were the most frequent injuries reported. Accidents with muskets were also fairly common. Broken limbs were presumably set or amputated; a payment was made in 1750 for 12 pairs of crutches for the "sick soldiers." Hernias were treated by applying special bandages.<sup>69</sup>

Gout (ulcères de jambes) is mentioned fairly frequently, as are fistulas and rheumatic complaints. The treatment for gout seemed to consist in bandaging and eau-de-vie, probably in the form of compresses soaked in the alcohol. At least one soldier with a fistula returned to France and rheumatic complaints usually resulted in a trip to France "to take the waters." The recruits who arrived in 1756 were all suffering from scabies (gale) and one of the naval officers managed to get sunburn or sunstroke (coup de soleil) in 1757.<sup>70</sup>

Venereal disease occurred regularly among the troops. The Brothers of Charity refused to treat soldiers suffering from this disease so most of them had to be sent back to France to be cured. Epilepsy was another disease which could not be treated in Ile Royale; the invalids were again sent to France.<sup>71</sup>

Insanity (folie or aliénation d'esprit) is mentioned twice in the documents. Such patients were usually returned to France although Bigot suggested that they could be confined in the hospital at Louisbourg as long as they were alone in a room and the usual precaution was taken of tying their hands and feet when they were "feverish."<sup>72</sup>

The climate was blamed for numerous complaints. The Baron de l'Espérance suffered from "Convulsive movements, caused by an obstruction of the circulation which is caused by the extremely corrosive nitre in the air, unsuitable to such delicate lungs as the patient's." It was said to be impossible for him to enjoy 15 minutes of health in "such a hard and cold country." An officer with a head wound suffered frequent headaches all winter long because of the cold and two of the Brothers of Charity had to return to France because they could not bear the climate.<sup>73</sup>

Scurvy appeared regularly in Ile Royale. Normally only the sailors arriving in port suffered from it although the soldiers were also prone to the disease.<sup>74</sup> In 1750 the new inhabitants who were unaccustomed to the cold and the salted food, as well as many of the soldiers, were attacked by scurvy, but according to Prévost only a few good-for-nothings and the laziest of the inhabitants died because of it. The treatment for scurvy consisted of rest and fresh food.<sup>75</sup>

Pneumonia (fluxions de poitrine) occurred in 1733 and in 1739, attacking the troops in particular and causing Governor de Forant's death in 1740.<sup>76</sup>

There is little information concerning surgical activity during the two sieges of 1745 and 1758 although these were busy times for the surgeons. During the first siege, one officer who was hit in the nose with a bullet was bandaged and returned immediately to his post. Another officer had to retire to the hospital in the casemates for five days to be bled twice when he was struck by stone chips from a

shattered merlon. A member of the militia was shot twice during a sortie, once in the arm and once in the index finger of the right hand. During the second siege a surgeon, at the cry "Beware the bomb," had to leave a wounded man while performing an amputation.<sup>77</sup>

There is only one description of a surgical operation performed in Louisbourg, with rather unfortunate results. A sailor whose leg was caught between barrels while unloading a ship was treated at the hospital for a "tumeur flegmoncule" on the inside of the thigh which resulted from this accident. After attempting to correct the injury with various remedies, the tumor was opened, with a "grande délabrement," but the victim recovered very slowly from the incision. In fact, his leg was weakened and slightly shortened due to the fact that the leg could not be kept straight because of the pain he had suffered.<sup>78</sup>

Epidemic diseases affected the whole population. Smallpox was the most feared of these diseases and there were at least two epidemics in Ile Royale. The first occurred in 1732-33 when the death toll rose from 20 in 1731 to 72 in 1732 and 80 in 1733, and finally fell to 8 in 1734.<sup>79</sup> In 1755 Drucourt and Prévost reported that smallpox "which has been greatly feared and usually makes great ravages in this climate" had broken out and was progressing rapidly.<sup>80</sup> Figures are not yet available for this period so it is impossible to tell whether or not this outbreak was as disastrous as that of 1732-33.

Typhus, known in the 18th century as fièvre maligne or fièvre putride, seems to have visited the colony only once, in 1757.<sup>81</sup>

In 1753 one death in Louisbourg was attributed to yellow fever (maladie de siam). This was an epidemic disease more commonly found in tropical climates, but often carried from there by ships.<sup>82</sup>

Some precautions were taken against epidemic diseases. A letter was sent to Saint-Ovide and de Mézy in 1721 informing them of a "contagious disease" which had broken out in Marseilles and was spreading throughout the kingdom. It suggested that they issue an ordonnance ordering that ships arriving in port from the Mediterranean anchor in a designated place and that no one be allowed to disembark or to go aboard until the physician or surgeon had inspected the vessel.<sup>83</sup> In 1729 a sailor was buried on the site where his ship had set up a hospital rather than in the cemetery because of "the contagion of his illness," and during the smallpox epidemic of 1732-33 numerous inhabitants were buried on the property of Jean Martin (probably in the fauxbourg) because "their illness did not permit transporting them to the cemetery."<sup>84</sup> All ships entering the port seem to have included in their declaration to the admiralty the number of crew and passengers aboard and a report on the state of their health, usually in the words "tous en Santé."<sup>85</sup>

Little else is known about the health of the inhabitants. An amazingly large number of them, both male and female, were treated for contusions and abrasions caused by beatings. Death was frequently the result of a severe beating. Sword and knife wounds were also not uncommon among the inhabitants.<sup>86</sup> Bertin treated a woman who had been beaten by applying compresses made from "spirituous liquors" and then bleeding her. He advised her to rest for several days to avoid "accidents." In another case he put the victims of a beating on a diet and treated them with "remedes convenable."<sup>87</sup>

Another source of information on remedies used in Louisbourg are the surgeons' bills. A number of these bills have been found although none of them concern Lagrange or Bertin. They have been collected in Appendix B, along with a long list of medicines and drugs ordered for the hospital. The latter has been included for comparative purposes only

and will not be considered in detail in this report.<sup>88</sup>

The surgeons' bills indicate that the most usual remedies were bleeding, infusions, potions of various kinds, purges and compound medicines (médecines composées). Blood could be taken from the arm or the foot and was collected in a pan (poellon).<sup>89</sup> Infusions (tisanes) were made with licorice, barley and other ingredients which rendered them astringent or useful for chest conditions (tisane pectoral). Potions were used for chest conditions (pectoral), as restoratives (cordial) or as astringents (astringent), to induce sleep (somnifère) or sweating (sudorifique), or to relieve gas pains (carminatif).

Other remedies or medicines used were manna (manne), rhubarb, hartshorn (esprit volatil de corne de cert), cinnamon, blister plasters (emplâtres vesicatoires), confection alkerme (a stomach remedy or a restorative), and poudre cornachine (a purgative). Jean Pierre Pessant, a surgeon who died in 1757 in Louisbourg, possessed two onces of mauve (a flower extract used in poultices and purges) and some sticks of ointment.<sup>90</sup>

In addition to the drugs and medicines at his disposal, the surgeon had various instruments which he could use in treatment. There is little information concerning surgical instruments in Ile Royale, but it appears that all surgeons were not necessarily well supplied. Illustrations at the end of this report show some of the instruments mentioned in connection with Ile Royale, taken from Diderot's plates on surgery and barbering.<sup>91</sup> Pierre Meillon, surgeon at Havre Fourché, mentioned only razors and lancets in his will. He may have possessed other instruments, but it seems unlikely. Pierre Pessant had five books about surgery (unfortunately no titles are given), dental forceps, a pelican (davier et pélican) and 13 razors.<sup>92</sup>

An early list of instruments ordered for the hospital



included a shaving basin, a syringe, a tin instrument box, a mortar and pestle, a sieve, a curved lancet (bistouri), a lancet for anal fistula operations, a sort of probe (algaly) and a small syringe for injections.<sup>93</sup> The instruments and medicines supplied to the ship's surgeon of a merchant vessel are listed in the vessel's bill of sale<sup>94</sup>; this is included in Appendix B and has been fully translated here because it is the only example of a complete list of one surgeon's supplies.

<u>Bassin à barbe</u>	shaving basin
<u>Tire balle</u>	bullet forceps
<u>Davier</u>	dental forceps
2 <u>bistoury</u>	2 lancets
<u>Espatule</u>	spatula
<u>Feuille de mirthe</u>	spatula (for cleaning wounds)
<u>Déchaussoir</u>	instrument for exposing teeth
<u>Bouton à feu</u>	instrument for removing stones
<u>Rugine</u>	bone scraper
<u>Sonde</u>	probe
<u>Cizeau à incision</u>	surgical scissors
4 <u>aiguilles</u> , 3 <u>courbes</u> , 1 <u>droite</u>	4 needles, 3 curved and 1 straight
<u>Pair de balance et marq d'un <math>\frac{1}{4}</math></u>	Pair of scales and a weight
<u>Mortier avec son pilon</u>	mortar and pestle
<u>Pierre à rasoir</u>	whetstone for razors
2 <u>rasoirs</u>	2 razors
<u>Trébuchet</u>	small precision balance
<u>Un pot de thériaque</u>	1 pot theriac (antidote for poisonous bites)
<u>Un pot confection d'hyacinthe</u>	restorative
<u>Pot confection d'hamec</u>	purgative
<u>Pot extrait de genévrier</u>	1 pot extract of juniper

1 <u>pot confection d'alkerme</u>	restorative
1 <u>pot onguent rosat</u>	1 pot ointment of roses
1 <u>pot blanc de Rhasès</u>	used for abrasions
1 <u>pot ointment Artia</u>	?
1 <u>pot basilicon</u>	1 pot basilicum
1 <u>pot camphre</u>	1 pot camphor
1 <u>pot térébenthine</u>	1 pot turpentine
1 <u>pot mauve</u>	1 pot flower extract
1 <u>pot catholicon fine</u>	medecinal powders used for
1 <u>pot catholicon simple</u>	diarrhoea or dysentery
1 <u>bouteille eau cordiale</u>	1 bottle restorative water
1 <u>bouteille sirop rosat</u>	1 bottle syrup of roses
1 <u>bouteille sirop de pavot rouge</u>	1 bottle syrup of red
	poppies
1 <u>bouteille huile d'épericon</u>	?
1 <u>bouteille vin émetique</u>	1 bottle emetic wine
1 <u>bouteille esprit de vitriol</u>	1 bottle vitriolic spirits
1 <u>bouteille huile de camomille</u>	1 bottle camomil oil
1 <u>bouteille précipité</u>	1 bottle precipitate
1 <u>bouteille jalap en poudre</u>	purgative root
1 <u>bouteille escamonce</u>	1 bottle scammony (purgative)
1 <u>bouteille ipécacuana</u>	ipecac
1 <u>bouteille esprit de propriété</u>	?
1 <u>bouteille sal d'absinthe</u>	1 bottle absinthe salts
1 <u>bouteille mercure doux</u>	1 bottle mild mercury
1 <u>bouteille corail rouge</u>	1 bottle red coral
1 <u>bouteille yeux d'écrivisse</u>	1 bottle shrimps' eyes
1 <u>bouteille poudre de vipère</u>	1 bottle powdered vipers
1 <u>bouteille tartre</u>	1 bottle tartar
1 <u>paquet emplâtres de Vigo con</u>	1 package Vioplasters
<u>mercurio</u>	(used on wounds)
1 <u>paquet emplâtres betanica</u>	1 package of betanica
	plaster (used for head
	complaints)

1 baton diapalme

1 pot de cristal minéral

1 paquet alun

1 petit paquet vitriol

1 paquet quinquina

Un paquet farine résolutive

Un paquet séné

1 paquet de 4 semances froides

1 paquet réglisse

1 paquet orge

1 morceau rubarbe

1 stick diapalme (softens  
and heals wounds)

a form of nitre with many  
uses

1 package alum

1 small package vitriol

1 package quinquina

1 package resolvant flour  
(for example barley, bean,  
used in poultices)

1 package senna

1 package of the 4 cold seeds  
(squash, melon, pumpkin and  
cucumber, used for refreshing  
drinks, skin conditions)

1 package liquorice

1 package barley

1 piece of rhubarb

Part 2. Jean Baptiste Martin Lagrange

## Lagrange as Surgeon Major

Nothing is known about Jean Baptiste Martin Lagrange prior to his arrival in Louisbourg in 1713 other than that he was a native of Périgord in France and that he was serving in the hospital at Rochefort when he was chosen surgeon major for the Louisbourg expedition. Lagrange was appointed in France by Beauharnois, intendant de la Marine at Rochefort. De Costebelle, governor of Plaisance, then of Ile Royale, pointed out that this overlooked the prior claims of Viarrieu, surgeon major at Plaisance since at least 1693, and the young surgeon, Le Roux, whom Viarrieu had left in charge there when he returned to France. According to Soubras, both Le Roux, who had come to Ile Royale with the inhabitants of Plaisance in 1714, and Lagrange were poor surgeons, "deux mauvais fraters," and Viarrieu or another "good surgeon" was required.<sup>1</sup> The minister promised to send someone more experienced in 1716; in the meantime, Lagrange went with de Costebelle and Soubras to Port Dauphin in October of 1715 when it was decided to make that port the principal establishment on the island. Presumably Le Roux remained at Louisbourg since he moved from there to Port Toulouse in 1717.<sup>2</sup>

In April of 1716, since neither Lagrange or Le Roux was able to fill this position, the council decided to appoint an experienced surgeon major who would reside at Port Dauphin and requested de Costebelle and Soubras to choose surgeons for Louisbourg and Port Toulouse.<sup>3</sup> The decision to establish the Brothers of Charity in Ile Royale was mentioned in this dispatch, but it was not until June that the implications of this decision were revealed.

Since the Brothers have asked to carry out all surgical operations in their hospital, which has been granted, the Council deems it useless to send a surgeon major. There is among the Brothers who are going out this year one who understands surgery perfectly well.<sup>4</sup>

By October 1716 the Brothers had arrived in Port Dauphin and Lagrange found himself without a job. He and his family were "reduced to the last extremity" and Lagrange returned to France on the Atlante, arriving at the Isle of Aix on 28 December 1716.<sup>5</sup>

Subsequent events seem to indicate that Lagrange may have been treated unfairly by the administrators at Ile Royale. Following the council's orders of 1716, de Costebelle and Soubras had appointed a surgeon to serve in Louisbourg who could only have been Le Roux. No mention was made of an appointment in Port Toulouse and one wonders if Lagrange was considered. It is interesting to note that Le Roux retained his employment, moving to Port Toulouse when the Brothers of Charity came to Louisbourg, until at least the end of 1719 although orders had been given in 1718 to abolish the position.<sup>6</sup> It appears that Le Roux was supported by de Costebelle in preference to Lagrange, either because they had known each other in Plaisance or because de Costebelle disliked Lagrange. Thus the reason for Lagrange's initial failure in Ile Royale seems to have been a combination of administrative confusion, bad luck and possibly a certain amount of ill will.

It is not clear why Lagrange exerted so much energy to re-establish himself as surgeon major at Ile Royale rather than set up a private practice. The post of surgeon major was not a particularly lucrative one; in fact, the salary was lower in 1716 (300 livres a year) than it had been in 1713 (600 livres a year).<sup>7</sup> As will be seen in the next section, however, Lagrange had interests other than surgery.

In addition, his request to Soubras in 1717 that he be paid for shaving the troops according to a written agreement with the officers and for shaving the officers themselves reveals that the position of surgeon major offered more than the salary indicated. Lagrange's first step toward rehabilitation was a request to the Council of Marine for the position of surgeon major at Louisbourg, the salary and rations owed to him and compensation for his property losses. The first part of this request could not be granted because Le Roux had already been appointed. The council calculated that Lagrange was owed 1,233 livres 6 sols 8 deniers in unpaid salary.<sup>8</sup> His property losses were valued at 1,200 livres and the council suggested that he also be given the choice of another concession to replace the one he had lost in Louisbourg. This claim was not finally settled until 1724.

Not content with this reaction to his misfortunes, Lagrange submitted a second list of requests two months later for a concession on the waterfront at Louisbourg, title to his Port Dauphin property so that he could sell it, permission to practice surgery in Ile Royale, the position of cadet for his 12-year-old son, payment for shaving the troops and officers for three years and eight months, and free passage to Ile Royale. The council encouraged him to return to Ile Royale by giving him free passage (including four engagés and two tonneaux of provisions) and permission to practice surgery, but made no comment about his other requests.<sup>9</sup> Lagrange seems to have contented himself with this for the time being.

It is not known when Lagrange returned to Ile Royale, but it may have been as early as 1717. He stated that he was forced to abandon his property in Port Dauphin in 1717 and set up a practice in Louisbourg "in order to support his family." He was in Louisbourg by September 1718 when he examined the corpse of a fisherman. However, he was listed



in the census of 1719 as a resident of Port Dauphin although he described himself in November of that year as "former surgeon major for the king, at present master surgeon established at Louisbourg" and was granted a concession in August or September of that year for property in Block 3.<sup>10</sup>

In October 1722 Lagrange made another plea for compensation for his property losses. These losses totalled 5,700 livres and his claims were supported by certificates signed by L'Hermitte, de Verville, Soubras, de Couagne and de La Forest.<sup>11</sup> While Lagrange was waiting for an answer, Saint-Ovide recommended that he be given a brevet as surgeon major and a salary of 400 livres. He pointed out that surgeons major were employed in Martinique, St. Domingue and Guadeloupe, where the Brothers of Charity were also established, and that these surgeons received 800 and 600 livres although Lagrange only asked for 400. Apparently this request was granted before September 1723 because Lagrange appears by then as chirurgien-major. His brevet was set on 26 June 1724; his salary was set at 300 livres per year and he was paid 1,500 livres compensation.<sup>12</sup>

The documents concerning Lagrange during this period do not give any indication why he regained the position of surgeon major. His only professional activities seem to have been the performance of several autopsies. There can be little doubt that Lagrange had Saint-Ovide to thank for his reinstatement. In spite of the fact that the council had declared in 1717 that a surgeon major was unnecessary and that the Brothers of Charity would suffice, Saint-Ovide was able to convince the minister that the installation of the troops in the barracks made the appointment of a surgeon major essential.<sup>13</sup>

Lagrange's success from this point until his death may have been due in large part to Saint-Ovide's continuing influence in his favour. In 1730 de Mézy informed the

minister that the captains had complained to him about the three livres a year paid by the soldiers because they were afraid to complain directly to the court. Again in 1732 he suggested that Lagrange enjoyed Saint-Ovide's patronage. He stated that "Grand Lorembec was conceded by M. de St-Ovide to S. Lagrange, his surgeon and I signed it at his request."<sup>14</sup>

Since Lagrange was not allowed to treat the soldiers after they were admitted to hospital and one of his apprentices was installed in the barracks to shave the troops and give them first aid, his duties as surgeon major cannot have been very arduous. The documents indicate that he performed several autopsies, treated a man who had been beaten by a soldier, gave a certificat d'invalidité to the Baron de l'Espérance and treated a fisherman (who later died).<sup>15</sup>

In 1731 he received a firewood allowance of 50 livres; it has not been possible to find out if this allowance was continued.<sup>16</sup>

On 28 April 1735, at Lagrange's request, the "Edict for re-establishing the lieutenants of the King's surgeon" was registered by the Conseil Supérieur in Louisbourg and Lagrange was ordered to appear before the bailiff to be installed as lieutenant du premier chirurgien. There is a possibility that Lagrange made a trip to France in order to obtain this position because he is not listed in the census of 1734; however, this could just as easily be a mistake on the part of the census-taker.<sup>17</sup>

Apparently Lagrange abused his position as lieutenant du premier chirurgien. Le Normant complained to the minister that Lagrange was the only surgeon in Louisbourg and that no other surgeons were "received" (that is, allowed to practice). Lagrange had filled the positions near Louisbourg with his own apprentices, giving himself a virtual monopoly on surgery. This complaint was made only one month after Lagrange received his position so it appears that he

had been functioning as lieutenant du premier chirurgien for some time before his official appointment. In fact, he described himself in 1732 as "monsieur surgeon major of the troops of Ile Royale and Lieutenant of the King's first surgeon." The minister rebuked Saint-Ovide and Le Normant for allowing such an "abuse" and ordered them to correct it, but he apparently did not blame Lagrange.<sup>18</sup>

Lagrange did not have long to enjoy his privileged position. At the end of 1735 he was obliged to return to France because of ill health. He certainly intended to return to Ile Royale, although Le Normant and the minister both felt that he would not recover. The minister indicated that he intended to "procure him something for his retirement so that he could subsist on the savings from his work at Louisbourg." However, Lagrange did not wish to retire even though he would be replaced by his son-in-law, Bertin.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps he agreed with the minister, who approved Bertin's decision to go to Ile Royale, adding that "the position is good although the salary is only 300 livres." Lagrange was still surgeon major when he died in late 1736 or early 1737, presumably at Bagnères where he had gone to take the waters.<sup>20</sup>

One of Lagrange's last actions was the promotion of a marriage between his daughter, Anne Henriette, and Louis Bertin, a ship's surgeon who had been in Louisbourg in 1735.<sup>21</sup> It is probable that he intended this marriage to provide him with a successor although he certainly did not intend that Bertin should replace him quite so soon.

It is virtually impossible to determine Lagrange's professional capacity. The early complaints about him resulted in an ironic reply from the minister

The S. La Grange...is a very good subject who has worked for a long time in the Rochefort hospital with success and approbation. This is the opinion of M. de Beauharnois, and the king's physicians and surgeons in this port, and it is

quite different from what you have written me about him. Perhaps you have got to know him better since then.<sup>22</sup>

There were no further complaints and Lagrange presented certificates affirming the "capacity and exactitude" with which he had filled his post in Ile Royale at the time of his first request to the Council of Marine.<sup>23</sup> The only complaints about Lagrange after 1724 concern his fees and not his capacity. Lagrange probably trained several apprentices, but their names and conditions of their apprenticeship are not known. Although Lagrange arrived alone in 1713, by January 1715 he had acquired a garçon chirurgien.<sup>24</sup> In every census after this date Lagrange had four domestiques, engagés, or domestiques et servantes, among whom was probably at least one apprentice. It was one of Lagrange's apprentices who was installed in the barracks to shave the soldiers and administer first aid. Saint-Ovide reported in 1725 that the prompt action of this apprentice had saved the lives of three soldiers who would have "suffocated in their beds" if he had not bled them.<sup>25</sup> Le Normant's complaint about Lagrange in 1735 mentions that his apprentices were established in the vicinity of Louisbourg and worked for him, preventing other surgeons from practicing in the area.

There is little doubt that Lagrange was more competent than Soubras indicated in 1714. The monopoly he was said to have established by 1735 seems to indicate that he was more interested in the economic possibilities of his position than in serving the populace. As will be seen in the following section, Lagrange had other interests and may not have spent much of his time in the exercise of his profession.

## Lagrange as Merchant

Although Lagrange is referred to only once in the available documentation as a merchant, there are numerous indications that he was engaged in some, or several, kinds of commercial activity. The only direct reference occurs in the 1720 concession for lot A in Block 3, where he is described as a "Mar[chan]d M[aitr]e chirurgien."<sup>1</sup>

Lagrange seems to have begun his commercial activities as soon as he arrived. In 1713 he built a house, a storehouse which measured 40 pieds by 20 pieds, then another house in 1714.<sup>2</sup> The probable use of the storehouse is revealed in the 1715 census: besides his family, an apprentice and a valet, Lagrange's establishment included two fishermen. When Lagrange left for Port Dauphin in 1715, he left his Louisbourg properties (and possibly his business enterprise) in the hands of Louis LaChaume, a retired sergeant.<sup>3</sup>

Nothing is known about Lagrange's activities in Port Dauphin except that he built two houses with courtyards and gardens there which he was forced to abandon in 1717 and which were reported to be in ruins in 1722. He spoke of selling this property in 1717, but it appears that he did not do so before 1722. There is no reference to the Port Dauphin property in the "Statement of the widow Lagrange's losses," so it must have been sold or abandoned after 1722.<sup>4</sup>

When Lagrange returned to Louisbourg in 1717 or 1718 he probably resumed his commercial activities. The garde magasin, Florenceau, noted in his will that he owed Lagrange

for silk buttons, thread and silk. At the sale of Florenceau's goods Lagrange bought a suit and 15 cravats, either for his own use or for resale.<sup>5</sup>

However, most of his energy seems to have been expended in getting compensation for his property losses and in acquiring more property. His original concession in Louisbourg had been diminished because part of it occupied the site reserved for the parish church. One of his houses had been demolished and the other one was in ruins. In 1720 he received a concession for the property in Block 3 where he seems to have established himself again, as he noted, for the sixth time. Lagrange was apparently determined to remain in the area of his first concession; it is significant that in 1717 he asked for a concession on the waterfront and was eventually allowed to stay there although officially the waterfront concessions were reserved for merchants.<sup>6</sup>

From this point on, Lagrange acquired property very rapidly. In 1722 he received a concession for lot A in Block 11; in 1724 a concession on the north side of the harbour; in 1725 or 1726 he built an imposing masonry house in Block 3; in 1727 he was granted a concession in Grand Laurenbec; in 1729 he received lot B of Block 11 and purchased a property on the north side of the barachois.<sup>7</sup> (See Figs. 8, 9, 10 for plans showing the locations and extent of these properties.) Unfortunately it is impossible to estimate the value of his holdings although most of them can be described from the "Statement of the widow Lagrange's losses" and a few other sources.

The house in Block 3 was Lagrange's home and became the home of his daughter and son-in-law after 1736. The buildings were described in 1758 as being "a large masonry house" and "a large masonry storehouse beside the house."<sup>8</sup> In fact, archaeological excavations have shown that the basement of the entire east wing of the home was used as a storehouse,

well-fitted out, with an area of 20 feet by 44 feet (see Fig. 14). The size of this storehouse in itself leads one to suspect that Lagrange did not confine himself to surgery. The property in Block 11 apparently was never developed; in 1758 it was only enclosed with pickets.<sup>9</sup>

The barachois property when it was acquired consisted of a small picket house 22 pieds by 15 pieds, roofed with bark, and a garden enclosed with pickets. The total area was 100 pieds by 180 pieds and was bought for 420 livres. The buildings were probably burned before or during the 1745 siege because by 1758 the property consisted of a "new wooden house with a large garden enclosed with pickets."<sup>10</sup>

The property on the north side of the harbour was used for fishing although it must have been rented rather than operated directly since, according to the 1726 census, Lagrange did not have any boats or employ any fishermen. It seems to have been damaged during the siege because the widow Lagrange arranged for it to be repaired in 1751. In 1758 it consisted of the "necessary cabannes and flakes for a six goalette fishing operation with a large new wooden storehouse."<sup>11</sup>

The nature of the Laurenbec property is difficult to determine. Lagrange had a house there as early as 1732 and in the 1734 census one servant was said to be living there. In 1758 the property yielded 300 quinteaux of hay a year.<sup>12</sup> It could presumably have been used for fishing, but no flakes are mentioned; more likely it was a farm (métairie).

Unfortunately, no rental agreements have been found for any of these properties and no further information concerning the structures or their use has emerged from this study. The fact remains that Lagrange had sufficient capital to acquire and develop these properties, which yielded an annual rent of 4,500 livres in 1758.



One other indication of Lagrange's activities are the payments he received from the king: 200 livres in 1729 (no reason is given), 240 livres in 1731 for supplying the troops with vegetables and 234 livres for "expenses for the Service" in the same year.<sup>13</sup>

In 1732 Lagrange was called before the admiralty court, probably because he had refused to pay for several barrels of pork. He complained that the pork was of bad quality and that the barrels weighed less than the amount stated on the bill. He offered to pay for the barrels at a reduced rate (25 instead of 30 livres per quintal) and this offer was accepted.<sup>14</sup> There are no other indications of Lagrange's commercial dealings and it is impossible to determine their exact nature and extent.

Lagrange seems to have had a passion for owning property; he built two houses and a storehouse in Louisbourg, and two more houses in Port Dauphin. He apparently did not speculate with these properties so it must be assumed that he acquired them for the purpose of developing them and collecting the rents. Without more information about his commercial dealings, however, it is impossible to estimate their success or the amount they contributed to his income.

## The Lagrange Family

Lagrange's wife, Marie Anne Maisonnat, a native of Bergerac in the diocese of Périgueux, France (about 50 miles east of Bordeaux), was the daughter of Pierre Maisonnat dit Baptiste and Judith Soubiran. Pierre Maisonnat emigrated before 1692 to Acadia where he operated successfully as a shipmaster, privateer and port captain. He was engaged by de Costebelle to navigate for Saint-Ovide on the first expedition to Ile Royale in 1713 since he was "familiar with all the ports of the island and could speak the Indian language." After completing this task, Maisonnat returned to Beaubassin with the intention of removing his family to Ile Royale. It has been impossible to trace his movements beyond this point, but it is unlikely that he emigrated to Ile Royale.<sup>1</sup>

In 1704 Marie Anne Maisonnat married Christophe Cahouet, a native of Orléans, France, and a soldat licencié. They resided at Port Royal and had three children, Marguerite (born 1705), Antoine (born 1706) and Jeanne (born 1709). The date and place of Cahouet's death are not known; however, his widow was residing in Rochefort early in 1713 and it was probably from this port that she embarked in that year for Ile Royale with her three children and one valet. Her marriage to Lagrange must have taken place shortly after the landing in Ile Royale since by January 1715 they had a son two months old.<sup>2</sup>

The Cahouet children lived with Lagrange and his wife, but it has been difficult to discover what became of them. Lagrange asked in 1717 that his 12-year-old son be made a

cadet.<sup>3</sup> He must have been referring to Antoine Cahouet since his own son was only five years old at this time. In the census of 1724 and that of 1726 Lagrange had one son over 15 who was almost certainly Antoine Cahouet.<sup>4</sup> One of Lagrange's sons was granted a free passage to Ile Royale in 1726; this too may refer to Antoine.<sup>5</sup> There are no further references to him after this date and it is probable that he died or returned to France.

Nothing is known about Marguerite and it must be assumed that she died.<sup>6</sup> Jeanne lived with her mother throughout the period of Louisbourg's existence and was godmother to many of her nieces and nephews and a witness at almost all family ceremonies. The date and place of her death is not known, but it must have been after 1758.

It would be interesting to know why Anne Maisonnat, a widow with three young children, chose to go to Louisbourg with the first settlers and face the hardships of founding a new colony and why Lagrange chose to marry her at the beginning of his career in Ile Royale. It seems probable that the marriage was planned before the couple left Rochefort and Lagrange himself suggests the reason for what appears to be a foolhardy step: he stated in 1717 that his wife "had used all her capital to build three houses in different places."<sup>7</sup> Another statement made in 1722 indicate that Lagrange too had some capital to invest in the new colony. He reminded the council that he had always provided his own lodging in Ile Royale and that in so doing ("en deffrichant des terres Ingratte") had spent the "fruits of his youth."<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, it is very likely that one of the main reasons for his marriage to Anne Maisonnat was financial.

The Lagrange family consisted of at least three sons and three daughters. Two sons were born before 1724, the first, as we have seen, in 1714. Lagrange stated that this

child was the first male born in the new colony. Etienne Marie was born in 1725 and died a year later. Nothing is known of the two surviving sons except that a Lagrange fils was granted free passage to Ile Royale in 1726 and that one of Lagrange's sons was with him when he died in France. The request for provision of a tutor and assistant tutor for the Lagrange children mentioned "Jean Michel anne henriette et Louise Lagrange."<sup>9</sup> Since there is no punctuation, "Jean Michel" may be one person or two.

There is more information about his daughters, Anne Henriette, Marie Magdelaine and Anne Louise. The first was born in 1717, married Louis Bertin in 1737 and died in Louisbourg in 1752. Marie Magdelaine died in 1733 at the age of four years. Anne Louise, born in 1729, married Bertrand Imbert in 1752 and lived in France on a pension until at least 1789.<sup>10</sup>

Through his wife's sister, Judith Maisonnat, Lagrange was related to René Tréguy, a fairly prosperous fisherman. Tréguy lived at Scatary at the time of his marriage, around 1717, moved to L'Indienne prior to 1724 and to Louisbourg between 1726 and 1734.<sup>11</sup> There is no evidence of any commercial relations between the two families although they were usually present at each other's marriages and baptisms.

Like several other Louisbourg widows, Anne Maisonnat managed the family business after the death of her husband. She rented a part of the house in Block 3 to her son-in-law, Bertin, for 200 livres a year (paid by the king since Bertin was surgeon major).<sup>12</sup> Both she and her daughter Jeanne Cahouet contributed to the finances of the colony in 1745 and were repaid by lettres de change. There are no details given as to the nature of their contribution. The widow Lagrange had at least one servant when she returned to Ile Royale in 1749. In 1749 she supplied a scale for the king's storehouse; in 1750 she purchased 50 livres of oakum

and in 1752 a quintal of peas.<sup>13</sup>

These two purchases may have been connected with the re-establishment of the fishing property located at the "fond de la baye." The widow Lagrange hired Gilles Chalois, a carpenter, in July 1750 to build a cabanne 60 pieds long with the same number of flakes as had existed before the siege of 1754. He was to provide all the materials except the boards and nails, and was to receive 2,000 livres for his work. There are no records indicating to whom this property or any of the other Lagrange properties were rented, but the "Statement of the widow Lagrange's losses" indicated that she was receiving rents totalling 4,500 livres per year in 1758. The only other indications of the widow Lagrange's activities are a request for payment of a debt owed by the heirs of Antoine Paris (a merchant) in 1754 and a payment received from her son-in-law, Bertrand Imbert, and his business partner, Jean Baptiste Lannelongue, for storing the cargo of a captured ship. The final information we have concerning Anne Maisonnat is her death in 1759, presumably in France.<sup>14</sup>

It is virtually impossible to estimate the social position of Lagrange since not enough is known generally about Louisbourg society. His dual role as surgeon major and merchant complicates the matter because to a certain extent his position was probably due to his merchant status.

Although the surgeon major's job was to care for the troops, he was not a part of the military establishment. His salary was always listed with the "other employees," a large group which included clerks (from the Ecrivain principal down), armourers, missionaries and interpreters.<sup>15</sup> His salary was not high: 300 livres was lower than the salary paid to the garde magasin (500-600 livres), the master canoneer (600 livres) or the master armourer (360 livres). The interpreter received the same salary as the surgeon and

only the minor clerks received less (for example, gardien copiste, 240 livres).

Lagrange's establishment apparently never exceeded four people, at least one of whom was an apprentice. He does not seem to have employed any fishermen after 1724. He had at least one negro servant, a woman who died during the 1733 epidemic.<sup>16</sup> It is unfortunate that Lagrange does not appear in the 1734 census since he was well established at that time and may well have had a larger number of servants than in 1726.

Lagrange signed a petition to Saint-Ovide and de Mézy objecting to the proposal to recall the Recollets who were serving the parish and substitute another branch of the order. Among the other signators were Lartigue, Lessenne, C. Morin, Jean de Lasson, J. Seigneur, François and Jean Milly, Daccarrette le jeune, Archer, Benoist, Jean Bernard, Pugnant and Lachaume, merchants and artisans for the most part.<sup>17</sup> From this evidence it might be assumed that Lagrange held the same views as his neighbours on religious matters.

Probably the most significant indication of social position is found in the parish records: the godparents and witnesses of acts concerning Lagrange's family and the families for whom he or his wife were godparents. However, the list of names is in itself interesting. Those who were godparents to Lagrange's children were Verrier (chief engineer), Madame de Villejouin, (widow of an officer), Louis Delort (habitant bourgeois) Anne Henriette Lagrange, Jean Baptiste Cabarrus (ship's captain) and Jeanne Cahouet. The witnesses included Verrier fils (sub-engineer), Sabatier (exrivain principal, controlleur), Dailleboust (officer), Boucher (sub-engineer), Villejouin (officer), Delort (twice), B. Cabarrus (ship's captain, twice), Magdeleine Berichon (daughter of a merchant, twice), Marie Anne Villejouin (daughter of an officer), Lartigue (merchant) and Madelon

Lartigue (his daughter). The witnesses at his daughter's wedding were, besides the immediate family, Judith Maisonnat, Benoit (officer), Lartigue, Verrier and Boucher.<sup>18</sup>

Lagrange was godfather to children of Jean Baptiste Rodrigue (merchant), François Chevalier (merchant), Jean Richard (master mason), Jean Baptiste Guyon (merchant, Philippe Carrerot (merchant) and Jean Bernard (master roofer). His wife was godmother to children of Joseph François Lartigue (merchant), Jean Dutraque (merchant), Jean Bernard and Pierre Martissance (merchant).<sup>19</sup>

Thus, it seems that Lagrange had friends in at least four major social groups: officers, civil servants (entretenus), merchants and artisans. He seems to have been particularly friendly with the Louisbourg engineers Verrier and Boucher. It may be significant that, while officers and other entretenus were witnesses or godparents for the Lagrange family, Lagrange and his wife were asked to be godparents only for children of merchants or artisans.



Part 3. Louis Bertin

## Bertin As Surgeon Major

Louis Bertin, son of a merchant of the same name and Suzanne Dusseau, was born about 1703 in Pont, near Saintes, in the diocese of Nantes.<sup>1</sup> His first appearance in Louisbourg was in 1735 as ship's surgeon of the king's ship, the Rubis. Bertin had worked at the hospital in Rochefort for seven years and may have received his training there. He then made five voyages on king's ships, the last two, including the voyage which brought him to Louisbourg, in the capacity of surgeon major.<sup>2</sup> Thus Bertin was an experienced surgeon by the time of his arrival in Ile Royale.

While in Louisbourg in 1735 Bertin made the acquaintance of the Lagrange family; before sailing for France on the Rubis he had decided to return to Ile Royale and marry Lagrange's daughter. It may be a coincidence that in 1735 Lagrange was forced to go to France because of illness from which both the minister and Le Normant felt he would not recover. Bertin had told Le Normant that he planned to return the following year and that he would replace Lagrange in the event that the latter could not return to his duties.<sup>3</sup> It appears that everyone expected Lagrange to resign in favour of his son-in-law, but he refused to do so.

Nevertheless, Bertin sailed for Louisbourg early in 1736 on a merchant vessel and married Anne Henriette Lagrange in May of that year. He assumed the duties of the surgeon major during Lagrange's absence and was appointed to the position immediately after his father-in-law's death; his brevet was registered in Louisbourg on 18 July 1737.<sup>4</sup>

Bertin functioned as surgeon major at Louisbourg until 1758 to the satisfaction of all concerned. He apparently performed his functions conscientiously and numerous documents attest to his activities in all the fields assigned to the surgeon major. He made regular visits to the hospital, provided certificats d'invalidité, gave first aid to the soldiers, examined wounds and performed autopsies. The only break in these services was a period of illness in 1754 when the Brothers of Charity and Bertin's apprentices took over his duties.<sup>5</sup>

Bertin may have assumed the title of lieutenant du premier chirurgien du roi as his father-in-law had done. He was described in one document as "chirurgien Jure," an anachronism since this position had been replaced by the lieutenant du premier chirurgien in 1723. However, Bertin always described himself as "chirurgien major des troupes et maitre chirurgien" or simply "chirurgien major des troupes."<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the duties normally assigned to the surgeon major, Bertin received payment for a number of other services. He received 102 livres in 1744 for treating a prisoner who had been submitted to the rack ("la question"); 28 livres for 28 compresses for the legs of a prisoner; 33 livres 10 sols for treatment of a female prisoner in 1756; 90 livres for tending criminal prisoners, and 125 livres for treatment given to English prisoners in 1757.<sup>7</sup> In 1749 he was paid 246 livres for treating the numerous inhabitants who were ill when they arrived from France and in 1753, 51 livres for medicines given to the "poor Irish established in this colony." In 1753 Prévost requested a gratiffication of 300 livres for Bertin in consideration for the free treatment he had given and continued to give the newly arrived inhabitants, the Acadians and the poor. He received a gratiffication of 400 livres in 1757 for the "particular

cares" given to Prévost during an illness.<sup>8</sup>

Bertin had another source of income in his private practice which may have been fairly large, especially after 1749. Bigot, recommending that the surgeon major's salary be raised in 1740, stated that what he earned "in the town" was not as much as one might think because of the competition with the Brothers of Charity.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, Bertin returned to the colony in 1749 with four apprentices and at least three other surgeons or apprentices are known to have worked for him: Pierre Calay, François Baratelle and Sr. Siman.<sup>10</sup> Bertin had a cabinet à remèdes on the second floor of his apartments in the widow Lagrange's house; the exact function of this room is not explained although an inventory taken at his death revealed that it contained "utensils" valued at 500 livres, a large quantity of sheets and serviettes and some dishes. Some, if not all, of the linen and dishes must have been for the use of the family because there are none mentioned elsewhere in the inventory.<sup>11</sup> There is little doubt that Bertin had a boutique somewhere because one document clearly indicates that his apprentices were working there in 1758: an inhabitant who wished a surgeon to treat his foot sent a message to the boutique asking the surgeon to call on him; the surgeon, Siman, treated him, but it was Bertin who had to take legal action in order to collect the fee.<sup>12</sup>

Bertin's activities are unclear between 1745 and 1748. The documents indicate that the other two Ile Royale surgeons and a Rochefort surgeon cared for the troops during these years, but there is no mention of Bertin in this regard. He received three gratifications; 500 livres in March 1747, 600 livres in October 1747 and 400 livres in 1748. The latter was paid as compensation for the loss of his effects caused by the capture of the ship on which he was "returning to Canada."<sup>13</sup> Since the order for paying the first

gratification indicated that he was on the point of embarking, it would appear that Bertin was sent to Canada, possibly with the Ile Royale troops, but did not arrive there.<sup>14</sup>

Bertin apparently remained in Rochefort after 1758 and continued to serve there for many years. His salary was reduced to 600 livres in 1759 and by 1763 he was reported to be ill, in debt and unable to live on this reduced salary. Although he was no longer officially employed, he examined recruits for the Troupes Nationales de Cayenne and treated the sick with "a great deal of zeal and activity." These services were rewarded with a 300 livres gratification in 1765. By that time Bertin's health permitted him to work only as a consultant. Nothing further is heard of Bertin until his death in 1776 after a "very long illness."<sup>15</sup>

The undated "statement of the widow Lagrange's losses" states correctly that the widow's heirs were Louis Bertin and Bertrand Imbert, her sons-in-law, but indicates that Louis Bertin, former surgeon major at Ile Royale, was residing at St. Pierre.<sup>16</sup> The widow died in 1759 at which time Bertin was certainly in Rochefort. His son, Sebastien Louis, probably resided in St. Pierre after 1764, but he was neither the widow Lagrange's son-in-law nor a former surgeon major. Either there is an error in the document or Bertin did move to St. Pierre between 1759 and 1763 or 1765 and 1776, the dates during which he is known to have been residing at Rochefort. The latter possibility seems unlikely since none of the documents concerning Bertin mention such a move while the state of his health would have made the voyage hazardous.

Bertin's career as surgeon major in Louisbourg and later at Rochefort was characterized by what Le Normant's called "attachment to his profession."<sup>17</sup> This was Le Normant's first impression of Bertin and it appears to have

been quite accurate. Le Normant used the word "assiduous" several times in praising Bertin and Bigot noted his knowledge of an attachment to his professional duties.<sup>18</sup>

Prévost compared him favourably to Guerin, the surgeon major attached to the Artois battalion, and noted that the inhabitants had confidence in him. The comments on Bertin after 1758 mention his "zeal" and testify that he was a "fort honnête homme."<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps the most accurate indication of the success of Bertin's career was his salary. Although he requested a salary of 450 livres when he first expressed a desire to serve in Ile Royale, he received only 300 livres. In 1738 Bertin asked for the same salary as the surgeon in Louisiana and the other colonies, but received no reply.<sup>20</sup> Bigot and Du Quesnel wrote in 1740 and 1741, pointing out that Bertin's salary was only half that of an ordinary surgeon at Rochefort and that his services were worth 600 livres a year; in 1742 his salary was raised to 600 livres. In 1749, without any apparent request, Bertin's salary was raised again to 1,000 livres. This was considerably higher than surgeons' salaries in other places (600 and 800 livres in Martinique, Saint Domingue and Guadeloupe), but not as high as Guerin's salary (2,124 livres plus a paid assistant).<sup>21</sup>

Although these sums and the other payments he received may indicate a mercenary attitude to his profession, Bertin's free treatment of the poor Acadians, Irish and other inhabitants and his services in Rochefort after his retirement suggest a highly developed sense of duty and humanitarian concern for his fellow men.

## The Bertin Family

Bertin's first wife, Anne Henriette Lagrange, was born in Louisbourg in 1717 and died in Louisbourg in 1752.<sup>1</sup> She had four children: Sebastien Louis, born in 1737; Jean Chrisostome, born in 1738; Anne Henriette, born in 1749 during the voyage from France to Ile Royale, and Jeanne, born in 1750. Jean Chrisostome died before 1749 and Jeanne died before 1753.<sup>2</sup> It is not known what happened to Anne Henriette; she attended several baptisms before 1758, but she was no longer residing with the family in 1763.<sup>3</sup>

Sebastien Louis was employed as a clerk at Louisbourg with a salary of 600 livres a year at the time of the second siege. He seems to have found employment at Rochefort before 1763. In 1764 he and his uncle, Bertrand Imbert, were granted a concession at St. Pierre. Later the concession was listed in Bertin's name and was rented to a Bayonne merchant.<sup>4</sup> By 1776 Sebastien seems to have taken up permanent residence in St. Pierre; he was écrivain de la marine et des classes and his property consisted of "half of a fishing establishment consisting of a house, 2 storehouses, 3 cabannes, a beach and a flake." In 1784 he appeared in the Miquelon census with the note "in France"; his possessions there consisted of one beach and he was not mentioned in the St. Pierre census.<sup>5</sup> Nothing further has been found concerning Sebastien Louis Bertin.

Louis Bertin re-married in 1753. His second wife, Marie Anne Bertrand, daughter of Jean Bertrand and Marie Le Borgne, was born in 1720 in Baleine, a fishing village near



Louisbourg, and had previously been married to Sr. Tonpie.<sup>6</sup> On her mother's side Marie Anne was related to Jean Baptiste Rodrigue, husband of Anne Le Borgne de Belleisle, a prominent merchant, Jacques Philippe Rondeau, trésorier de la Marine, and Joseph Dupont Duvivier, officer, first and second husbands of Marie Joseph Le Borgne de Belleisle. On her father's side she was related to Gabriel Rousseau de Villejoin and Charles-Joseph D'Ailleboust, first and second husbands of Marie Joseph Bertrand. She belonged to one of "the best families at Ile Royale."<sup>7</sup>

Marie Anne Bertrand's first husband cannot be identified and though they seem to have remained childless, they did own property.<sup>8</sup> She and Louis Bertin had at least three children: Charles Henry, born in 1754; Charles Joseph, born in 1758, and Mme. Bertin was pregnant with another child in 1763. Of these children only Charles Henry seems to have survived. He received a pension until he was 18, but cannot be traced beyond this point.<sup>9</sup>

Marie Anne Bertrand received a pension before and after her husband's death. It was recommended that her pension be raised from 200 livres to 350 livres in 1778, but she received only 250 livres in spite of her husband's long service and her own poor health. The date and place of her death are not known; she resided in Rochefort until 1789.<sup>10</sup>

### Bertin's Economic and Social Position

Unlike his father-in-law, Louis Bertin apparently concentrated his energies on his profession. There is no evidence to indicate that he was involved in any of the commercial enterprises managed by the widow Lagrange or that he attempted to emulate his father-in-law in the economic sphere.

Since he lived in the Lagrange house in Block 3 even after his second marriage, Bertin did not possess a house of his own; however, in 1739 he acquired a lot in Block 5 for 200 livres. The property, listed in the inventory made after Anne Henriette Lagrange's death in 1752 as without buildings and enclosed with a plank fence, was valued at 750 livres. The following year he sold the lot to two Louisbourg merchants for 1,200 livres.<sup>1</sup> No buildings or other improvements were mentioned in the bill of sale so it is difficult to know why the property sold for such a high price.

One other property was mentioned in the inventory: a lot with no buildings or enclosures, valued at 500 livres, near the Queen's Gate.<sup>2</sup> No further record of this property has been found.

The only other commercial transactions in which Bertin was involved were quite minor. Acting for Joseph Gailly, a Swiss captain, he sold a property in Block 34 in 1753. He also supplied six livres worth of medicines for his brother-in-law's privateer in 1757. In 1743 a Sr. Bertin bid on a boat that had sunk in the Barachois de Lasson.<sup>3</sup> This may have been Louis Bertin, but the total absence of any similar commercial interests weakens this supposition.

The terms of Bertin's two marriage contracts, the first in 1736 and the second in 1753, are almost identical.<sup>4</sup> He endowed both his wives with an equal sum (3,000 livres) and the préciput réciproque was in both cases 1,000 livres. Anne Henriette Lagrange was given a chambre garnie valued at 1,000 livres, but Marie Anne Bertrand did not receive this additional favour.

The inventory of the Bertin-Lagrange community is more revealing.<sup>5</sup> The furnishings were valued at 3,434 livres, the two properties at 1,250 livres, and Bertin, "by the examination which he has made of his affairs concerning the credits and debits of the community has found that taking everything into consideration, the community has assets totalling 3,000 livres." Thus the total value of the community was 7,674 livres. It is difficult to estimate accurately at this point the significance of these figures, but the following table gives a comparison with some Louisbourg figures of comparable social standing.

Inventory	Furnishings ( <u>livres</u> )	Total ( <u>livres</u> )
Julien Fizel	1,800	30,752
Antoine Paris	2,266	27,250
Julien Auger <u>dit</u> Grandchamp	1,131	11,531
Pierre Chouteau	112	8,000
<u>Louis Bertin</u>	3,424	7,674
Jean Baptiste de Couagne	948	7,000
Pierre Benoit	3,899	4,883
Michel de Gannes	4,682	-----
Thomas Milly La Crois	1,350	-----
Jean Seigneur	1,605	-----

These figures do indicate that Bertin's economic position was by no means insignificant. His furnishings were more valuable than those owned by most of the others and his

total fortune compares favourably with that of the officers, if not so well with that of the merchants. It is possible that some of this money came into the community as a result of Lagrange's death since Mme. Lagrange stated in the marriage contract that Anne Henriette would receive her share of the Lagrange community after their deaths. However, since there are no records of Lagrange's succession, it is impossible to determine if any division was made at the time of his death. At any rate, the widow Lagrange retained possession of all the property and continued to manage it after her husband's death.

Bertin had two servants (a married couple or brother and sister) and four apprentices when he returned to Louisbourg in 1749. A legal dispute over an engagé in 1756 indicates that Bertin had added another servant to his household although no details of the engagé's duties are given.<sup>6</sup>

Bertin fared better than Lagrange in having his salary raised from 300 livres to 600 livres and then to 1,000 livres. What is most significant is that there was no corresponding raise in salary for other surgeons (450 livres in Port Toulouse, 600 in Ile Saint-Jean) or for the officers and "other employees." Thus after 1749 Bertin received almost as much as a company captain (1,080 livres) and more than a company lieutenant (720 livres), the écrivain principal (900 livres) or the garde des magasins (800 livres). In the light of secondary source statements that surgeons were among the lowest paid entretenus, equal in status only to the lower clerks, this raise in salary may be important.<sup>7</sup> It has not been possible to ascertain the salaries of surgeons major in Canada in the 1750s and without this information no conclusions can be drawn. However, it does not seem likely that Bertin considered himself, or was considered, the social equal of a mere clerk.

An attempt has been made to determine Bertin's social position from an analysis of the parish records.<sup>8</sup> The results are interesting but inconclusive. Those who were godparents of Bertin's children by his first marriage, other than the immediate family, were Sebastien François Ange Le Normant (commissaire ordonnateur), Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot (officer), Jeanne Dupont Duchambon (daughter of an officer) and Jeanne Loppinot. Witnesses at the baptisms included Marie Mius d'Entrement (married to an officer), Anne Duchambon, Mme. Duchambon de Vergor, Madeleine Boitier Loppinot, veuve Lelarge (wife of a ship's captain), several members of the Dupont Duvivier de Gourville family and Louise Loppinot.

Bertin was godfather to children of René Tréguy (merchant-fisherman), George Rosse (merchant-fisherman), Jean Baptiste Guyon (merchant), Pierre Martin, Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot, Claude Simoneau (habitant bourgeois), Pierre Labrousche (merchant) and Louis Vallée (artillery lieutenant). Anne Henriette Lagrange was godmother of one of Jacques Philippe Rondeau's children (trésorier de la marine). They were witnesses for Gabriel Berbudeau (surgeon), the marriage of Michel Neel and the daughter of the widow Droit (midwife), Laurent de Domingue Meyrac (bailiff) and Jeanne Lartigue, and the marriage of surgeon Guy Beaudoin Lecluseau's daughter.

The godparents of Bertin's children of his second marriage were Charles d'Estimauville (son of an officer), Charles Carrerot (son of a merchant) and Josephe Prévost (daughter of the commissaire ordonnateur). Witnesses at these baptisms were Jean Baptiste Philipe d'Estimauville (company captain) and Jeanne Loppinot. His daughter, Anne Henriette, was godmother for a child of Leonard L'Hermitte and his wife was a witness at this ceremony.

This analysis suggests that Bertin's friends were mainly in the merchant, official and officer classes. Although a number of the more important officers were

witnesses or godparents for Bertin, he was godfather only for Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot's daughter and witness only at the de Couagne-Loppinot wedding. In fact, Bertin seems to have had fairly close relations with the Loppinot family. It may also be significant that Bertin was a witness for several of the other medical personnel although he did not ask them to reciprocate.

It is possible that Bertin's marriages were made for economic or social reasons since this practice was not uncommon in the 18th century. His first marriage probably guaranteed him the position of surgeon major, but it is difficult to determine the financial benefits, if any, of his second marriage. The social significance of this marriage is suggested by a comparison of the witnesses of his first marriage contract, presumably friends of the Lagrange family. The friends assembled to elect guardians for the children of this marriage, together with Bertin's friends as listed in his second marriage contract, and the friends of his prospective wife as listed in the same document.<sup>9</sup>

The first group included Judith Maisonnat and René Tréguy (aunt and uncle of the bride), Pierre Benoit (officer), Joseph Lartigue (merchant), Verrier and Boucher (engineers). The second group includes Bertrand Imbert and Anne Louise Lagrange, Blaise Lagoanère (merchant), Jean Morin (notary, garde-magasin), Jean Hiriart (habitant bourgeois), Jean Baptiste Silvain (merchant), Coeuret (entrepreneur), Jean Laborde (notary, greffier), Magdelaine Tréguy, Jeanne Cahouet, Sebastien Louis Bertin, Laurent de Domingue Meyrac and Jeanne Lartigue. The third group consists of Charles d'Ailleboust (lieutenant du roy), Jean Baptiste Philippe d'Estimauville (captain) and Marie Charlotte D'Ailleboust, Robert Taride Duhaget (captain) and Marguerite Rousseau, Michel Rousseau d'Orfontaine (captain), Louis Le Neuf de

Lavalière, Angélique Le Neuf de Beaubassin, Barbe Le Neuf de Lavalière, Philippe Le Neuf de Beaubassin (merchant) and Charlotte Deccarrette, Jean Baptiste Silvain and Geneviève Benoit, Renée Daccarrette veuve St. Vilmé, Louise, Marguerite and Jean Baptiste D'Ailleboust de St. Vilmé, Joseph Dupont Duvivier (captain) and Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belleisle.

The Lagrange-Bertin family friends are clearly in a lower class than those of Marie Anne Bertrand; the latter are nearly all of high military rank or their relatives.



#### Part 4. General Conclusions

Although a great deal of information has been compiled and presented in this report, there are a number of areas where further research is necessary before firm conclusions can be drawn about surgeons and surgery in 18th-century Ile Royale.

Surgery as a profession was in a period of rapid transition in France, but little evidence of this situation can be found in Ile Royale. It would be necessary to compare the position of surgeons in Ile Royale with that of surgeons in the other French colonies in order to conclude that this was typical.

The training of many colonial surgeons, and of Lagrange and Bertin in particular, took place at the naval hospital in Rochefort. Without more information about the training offered at this hospital, it is difficult to assess the qualifications of the Louisbourg surgeons major.

The duties of the surgeon major in Louisbourg were profoundly affected by the Brothers of Charity and their hospital. A detailed study of this institution might clarify some of the issues raised in this report. Comparison of the Ile Royale surgeons major with those attached to some of the other Compagnies Franches de la Marine might also prove interesting.

The evidence presented in this report suggests that Lagrange and Bertin were both surgeons of average competence. Of the two, Bertin was the more conscientious. Since few details concerning their practice have been found, it can only be assumed that they offered the same sort of service, at the same price, as did the other surgeons of Ile Royale whose bills have survived.

Both Lagrange and Bertin trained apprentices who continued to serve in Ile Royale, but not enough is known

about these apprentices and the conditions of their apprenticeship to permit one to judge the quality of their masters. It may be significant that neither Lagrange nor Bertin trained a son to follow his profession, a fairly common practice in the 18th century.

The question of the social position of these two men has not been answered satisfactorily. It is clear that they did not have military rank. Lagrange seems to have attained a certain measure of commercial success, but Bertin was apparently the more respected of the two, as evidenced by his salary and by his participation in baptism and marriage ceremonies.

## Appendix A. Biographical Notes on Ile Royale Surgeons.

During the research for this report a large number of references were found to surgeons other than those who were the subject of intensive study. These surgeons are presented here in alphabetical order, without reference notes. The references used are filed in the Fortress of Louisbourg Archives.

### AYRAULT, Jean

A native of Melle in Poitou, he died in 1753 in Louisbourg, aged 20.

### BARATELLE, François

In 1753 he was a "surgeon in the service of Sr. Bertin."

### BASERT

He was paid for treating the Acadians on Ile Saint-Jean in 1751.

### BASSOT (BASOT), Hughes

He was in Louisbourg in 1758, moved to La Rochelle in 1758 and later to Rochefort.

### BERBUDEAU (BARBUDEAU), Jean-Gabriel

He was a native of the Ile d'Oléron and the son of a surgeon. In 1743 he was chirurgien entretenu at Port Toulouse and in 1752 he was transferred to Port La Joye in Ile Saint-Jean. He had remained with the Ile Royale troops in Rochefort

after the first siege, but was not employed after the second siege. His wife and family were given a pension in Rochefort.

BRANET dit DUCASSE, Bernard

He was a surgeon's son and served as a soldier in Dangeac's company after 1748. In 1751 he was appointed surgeon at Port Dauphin where he served until 1758. He continued to practice in France although he was said to have had little talent. Members of his family were given pensions and his eldest son worked in the hospital at Rochefort.

CALAIS (CALAY), Pierre

In 1753 he was one of Bertin's apprentices and by 1756 he had been appointed chirurgien entretenu at Port Toulouse. He died in La Rochelle in 1759.

CENDRET (CENDRE), Mathurin

A ship's surgeon on the Duc de Bourgogne, he died in Louisbourg in 1757 of typhus.

CIREAUD (CIRAUD), Leonard

He lived in Louisbourg in the late 1750s and resided in the barachois area of the Dauphin Gate fauxbourg. He apparently worked in the hospital during the siege, returned to France until 1763 when he went to Ste. Lucie and finally took up residence in Cherbourg.

CLERGEON

He received a payment for treating Indians at Port Toulouse in 1752.

COLLONGUE, Dominique

A native of Galan, diocese of Auch, he arrived in Louisbourg in 1730, married Antoine Paris's widow in 1732 and shortly

after became surgeon major at Port Toulouse. He seems to have been of a quarrelsome disposition. His varied activities deserve a detailed study.

COURTY, Philippe

He was a ship's surgeon who was in Louisbourg in 1718.

DARRECHE (DARICH), Joachim

A native of St. Jean de Luz, Darreche settled in Petit Degrat in 1724, moving from there to Nérichac before 1734.

DESCOUTS, Martin

He was a native of Sallises in Bearn and a ship's surgeon before establishing himself in Plaisance as a fisherman in 1699. He abandoned this establishment in 1714 to re-establish himself at Canso. In 1726 he became surgeon at Ile Saint-Jean where he served until at least 1744 although he asked for half pay in 1743 because of age and poor health.

DINGLE, Jacques

A native of Gravelines, he established himself before 1724 at Niganiche where he called himself "chirurgien major." He had two assistants, Jean Desourn and Mathieu Dupuy. He was still at Niganiche in 1734.

DUBISSON, Jean

He was listed in the 1715 census, but is never mentioned again.

DUCLOS

He may have been the brother of Le Roux, and was in Louisbourg in 1715. François Brigonnet, a perruquier, was his engagé.

DULARY

He was a ship's surgeon from Rochefort who died in Louisbourg in 1758.

DULONG, Pierre

He was ship's surgeon on the Vigilante, a privateer, in 1756.

DUSERRE, Jean

This former surgeon was a ship's captain in 1755.

FLEURY

He was surgeon major on a king's ship and died in Louisbourg in 1757.

GUENON, Jean

Surgeon major on a ship, he died in Louisbourg in 1758.

GILIBERT, Jean

A native of Bordeaux and a ship's surgeon, he died in Louisbourg in 1756.

GUERIN de LA TOUR

He was surgeon major of the Artois regiment and, according to Prévost, bad-tempered and immoderate.

LA COMBE, Joseph

A native of Bordeaux, he settled in Scatary before 1724.

LA FORCADE, Jean

He was paid for treating Indians at Bras d'Or in 1739.

LAMBERT

A native of Gasconne, he was chirurgien entretenu at Port



Toulouse in 1724 and still resided there in 1726.

LAMBERT, Charles

This surgeon was also a navigator and was in prison in England in 1757 when he became one of the heirs of Pierre Lambert.

LARTIGUE, Jean Baptiste

He was a native of Armagnac and a brother of Joseph Lartigue with whom he lived in 1715.

LE BARBIER, Jacques

A native of Grandville, he settled at Niganiche before 1734.

LE CERF, Pierre

He was a native of Dinan, practicing at Baleine and Lorembec in the 1750s. He died in 1757.

LECLUZEAU (DESCLUZEAU), Guy Baudoin

He was variously described as a native of Bordeaux, Gascogne or Limoges. He was at Indienne in 1724, at Scatary in 1734 and seems to have moved to Louisbourg in the 1740s. He had at least three apprentices, Pierre Dumas, Jean Richard and Jean Le Moulle.

LE ROUX, Louis

A ship's surgeon of this name was in Plaisance in 1713. He may be the Le Roux who was left in charge in Plaisance by Viarrieu, the surgeon major. Le Roux came to Ile Royale in 1714 with de Costebelle and served in Port Toulouse in 1719. He made several voyages with Saint-Ovide as surgeon major.

LESCALIER, Ambroise

He was surgeon major of the Bourgogne regiment in 1756 and

received a gratiffication for his services during the epidemic of 1757.

LOREGA, Pierre

A native of St. Jean de Luz, he settled at Baleine before 1724.

LORANGE, Pierre

He was paid for treating the soldiers at Port Dauphin during the years 1739 to 1744.

MANTEL, Jean

He was a ship's surgeon who was in Louisbourg in 1728.

MARRES dit LA SONDE, Bernard

This surgeon was at Musquodoboit in 1712.

MEILLON, Pierre

A native of Gasconne, he settled in Havre Fourché before 1734 and died there in 1742. He had an apprentice named Jullien Tance.

PESSANT, Pierre

A ship's surgeon and a native of Maubourguet in Armagnac, he served on Imbert and Lannelongue's privateer and died in Louisbourg in 1757.

PINNEAUX (du Demaine), Laurent

He was ship's surgeon in Louisbourg in 1718.

RAGOIS (DEROSIER RACOIS), Etienne

He was a surgeon at Baleine in 1722 and was married to Catherine Carrerot.

RIGON

An ayde chirurgien (probably on the Rubis), he was left in Louisbourg in 1732 to look after the sailors who were ill.

ROCHE, Jean

This surgeon was a brother of Etienne Roche, surveyor and secretary to the governor. He died in 1757 at the age of 25.

ROUQUET, François

A native of Languedoc, he was surgeon major on a ship and died in Louisbourg in 1757.

SEVVIE

He was surgeon major on a ship and died in Louisbourg in 1757.

SIMAN, B.

He was an assistant or apprentice of Bertin in the late 1750s.

SOAME (SOARNE), Jean

A native of Aix, he settled at Niganiche before 1726.

SOLLEE (SOLLET)

A native of Bordeaux, he settled at Petit Lorembec before 1734. Either he or his son worked in the hospital at Louisbourg and later studied at the hospital in Rochefort.

TARDY, Gabriel Mathurin

He was surgeon major on a ship and witnessed his shipmate's marriage to the daughter of Lecluseau in 1752.

VARIN, Antoine

He was a soldier and ayde chirurgien in Port Dauphin in 1717.

VIARRIEU, Jean

He was surgeon major at Plaisance in 1694, but had returned to France before the transfer to Ile Royale. He was said to be a good surgeon and was supposed to serve in Louisbourg, but never arrived.

## Appendix B. Selected Surgeons' Reports.

Louisbourg

16 janvier 1732

AFO, G2, Vol. 181, fols. 1-34. Conseil Superieur.

"Procédure faite touchant le de [\_\_\_\_\_] de Jean le Roy, Jean Cottiere et Julien Laine compagnons pecheurs qui se sont Noyés En chaloupe a la cote de Louisbourg la Nuit du 14<sup>e</sup> au 15<sup>e</sup> Jan. 1732"

[22] Extrait des registres du greffe delamirauté...

Sur lavis que lon vient de nous donner qu'il y avoit ala coste du Capnoir le corps dun homme noyé que les flots dela mer avoient Jettes aterre, Nous Nous Sommes alinstant transportés audit lieu,....

et avons mené avec nous le Sieur jean Lagrange chirurgien major du roy en cette ville pour faire la visite du cadavre... et en notre presence led Sr lagrange ayant fait depouiller ce cadavre et a fait la visite et nous a affirmé par Serment ny trouver aucune blessure qui luy ait occasionné la mort, eq quil est a croire qu'il est tombe al'eau vivant ou Il Sest noyé;....

Louisbourg

19 avril 1734

AFO, G2, Vol. 183, fols. 95-101. Conseil Superieur.

"Procédure allencontre de Martin De harontzagueenian accusé davoit tué par accident dun coup de fusil un enfant nomme Jean baptiste Daguerre"

[100]....

ce fait avons visiter le corps de cet enfant par Sr Jean Lagrange chirurgien Major en cette Isle Mené expres avec Nous et apres avoir fait le Serment ordinaire il nous a Raporté Ne trouver autre blessure a cet enfant si non tout l'occiput emporté et la Cervalle totalement hors delateste, que ce coup luy a paru fait dun coup d'arme a feu chargé a plomb en grain et tiré depresé....

ce fait avons...permit linhumation du corps dud. enfant....

Louisbourg

19 juin 1738

AFO, G2, Vol. 185, fol. 102.

Visite d'un cadavre.

...sur Lavis...quon avoit trouvé Le nommé Martin desinonde garcon pecheur de Lequipage du Brigantin La Suzanne Capitaine Marsons hirigoyen mort subitement dans son Lit Nous nous sommes transportes en Lhabitation du S. gaspar milly du Cost dunord de Ceport ou led S. hirigoyen fait La Secherie de Sa Morue ou etant en presence de Mr. antoine Sabatier procureur general du Roy...nous avons trouvé Led Cadavre mort et Etandu sur Un matelat sur un Coffre, et ayant appellé LeS. Bertin chirurgien Major des troupes en Cette Ville pour examiner Led Cadavre, Lequel apres Serment parluy preté en pareil cas, et apres quil a veu visité et examiné led Cadavre, il nous a dit et déclaré quil na Raconnu aucune Cause de Samort Cequi Luy a fait Juger quil est mort de mort Subitte....

Louisbourg

29 juin 1740

AFO, G2, vol. 186, fols. 94-147. Conseil Superieur.

"Procès criminel instruit...Contre le N<sup>e</sup>. Bertrand Detchepard  
accusé d'assassinat"

[105] Raport sur la visite d'un blessé....

Je me Suis transporté à L'hopital du Roy de Cette ville pour  
voir Et visiter le nomme Betry de fillet pescheur que Jay  
trouvé Gisant dans son lit, Je luy ay trouvé premierement  
une play Simple Longitudinnalle Longue de Trois travers de  
loits Située àla partie Interne Et Superieur du poignet  
Gauche, plus une autre playe Simple transversale Longue de  
quatre travers de doit Située àla partye Superieur Externe  
de lavant bra Gauche, plus une playe Simple oblique àla  
Joue Gauche, lesquels playes Je Jugé Eté faitte par un  
Instrument tranchant tel que un Couteau ou autre Semblable....  
signé Bertin

Louisbourg

29 juin 1740

AFO, G2, Vol. 186, fols. 94-147. Conseil Superieur.

"Procès criminel instruit...Contre le N<sup>e</sup>. Bertrand Detchepard  
accusé d'assassinat"

[104] Raport sur la visite d'un blessé

Je Soussigné chirurgien major des troupes et Maitre chirurgien  
de LouisBourg Certiffie que...je me Suis transporté al'hopital  
du Roy de cette ville pour voir et visiter le nommé Saubat  
D'hirigoity pecheur que j'ay trouvé gissant dans son lit, et  
luy ay trouvé Premierement une playe Simple longitudinale  
longue de trois travers de doigt Scituée audessous de l'angle  
inferieure de lomoplatte ducoté gauche entre la derniere des



vrais cotes et la premiere des fausses Cottes plus une autre playe Simple oblique longue de Six travers de doigts Scituée ala partie interieure externe de l'avant bras droit, et Superieure externe du Carpe, lesquelles playes Je Juge avoir été faite par un instrument tranchant tel que un Couteau ou autre Semblable,....

Louisbourg

29 juin 1740

AFO, G2, Vol. 186, fols. 94-147. Conseil Superieur.

"Procès criminel instruit...Contre le N<sup>e</sup>.Bertrand Detchepard accusé d'assassinat"

[102] Raport Sur la visite du Cadavres

Je Soussigné chirurgien major des troupes et maitre chirurgien de LouisBourg Certiffie...pour visiter trois Cadavres d'hommes morts depuis plusieurs Jours

Au premier des quels j'ay trouvé premierement une playe transversale longue de trois travers de doigts Scituée au coté droit dela poitrine anterieurement audessus du mamelon penetrant dans la Capacité avec enpanchement de Sang plus une autre playe longue de quatre doigts Scituée ala partie interieure dela region epigargue avec issue d'un partie de l'intestin Je junum et portion de lepiplon lesquelles playes sont Causes dela mort du Sujet

Plus j'ay trouvé une autre playe Simple oblique longue detrois travers de doigts Scituée ala partie inferieure et interne du bras droit Plus une autre playe Simple longitudinale longue de quatre travers de doigts Scituée a la partie externe inferieure du bras, et Superieure externe del'avant bras droit

Plus une Autre playe Simple longitudinale longue de deux travers de doigts Scituée ala partie Superieure externe dela

Cuisse droite lesquelles playes Je Juge avoir été faites par des instruments tranchants tel qu'un couteau poignard Bayonnette ou autre Semblable

Au second Cadavre j'ay trouvé une playe longitudinale longue de six travers de doigts Scituée dans l'ipocondre guache penetrant dans la Capacité avec issue de l'intestin jejunum partie du Colom et portion du Mesantaire avec epanchement de Sang dans la Capacité laquelle blessure a Causé la mort du Sujet, et je juge avoir été faite par un instrument tranchant tel qu'un Couteau ou autre Semblable

Au troisieme Cadavre j'ay trouvé une playe transversalle longue de deux travers de doigts Scituée aucoté guache dela poitrine partie anterieure et Superieure entre la deuxieme et troisieme de vrays cottes Comptant de haut en bas penetrante dans la Capacité avec epanchement de Sang laquelle playe est la Cause dela mort du Sujet; et Je Juge avoir été faite par un instrument tranchant tel que un Couteau poignard au autre Semblable....

Louisbourg

21 juillet 1741

Charente Maritime B, Laisse 6113, fol. 97.

Certifficat de mort.

je sousigne chirurgain major des troupe de lisle royalle et matire chirurgain de louisbourg que ce jourdhuy vient de juillet mil sept quarante un a dix heure dumatin a larequisition de monsieur le procureur du roy de lamiraute ie mesuis transporte a lhospital du roy de cette ville pour viziter le cadavre de jean piere langlois qui avet reseu un caoup darme a feu a la partie lateralle gauche de la teste lequel coup luy a fracture le tamporal dans sa partie moyenne et superieure, et le pariatat dans sa partie inferieure

et anterieure et le coronal dans sa partie inferieure et lateralle avec espanchemant de sang considerable sur le cerveau lesquelle fracture et espanchemeant sont cauze de la mort du sujet ceque ie certifie veritable an foy de quoy jais livre le presant raport....

Bertin

Louisbourg

11 novembre 1744

AFO, G2, Vol. 188, fols. 1-267.

Procédure criminelle contre plusieurs pecheurs accusés d'avoir assassiné Jacques Dubré

[34] Raport en chirurgie

je sousigne chirurgien major des troupes de lisle royalle certifie....je me suis transporte dans la chambre du conseil pour faire louverture dun Cadavre mort il ya environ vient quatre heures ayant fait louverture de la teste jais trouve une fracture ala partie moyeene du tamporal gauche laquelle fracture (le) continue dans toute la partie anterieure de pariatat jusque a la suture coronalle, avec etpanchement de sang considerable sur la dure (mene) laquelle fracture et etpanchement ont este ocasionne par quelque coup ou chute ce qui a causé la mort du sujet....

signé Bertin

Louisbourg

12 mars 1751

AFO, G2, Vol. 210, dossier 515, pièce 5. Baillage de Louisbourg.

"Procedure Instruite...Contre La Nomme françois Martin charpentier de maison accusé de crime dassasinat...."

je sousigne chirurgien majort des troupe de lisle royalle  
 sertifie que...je me suis transporte ches la nomme pierre  
 marie felix le millour abitan et marguerite maillard sa  
 famme lesquels se sont plain davoit este bateu jais visite  
 le marit auquels jais trouve une Contusion avec (esquimanse)  
 Considerable de puis la partie moyenne de lavant bra jusque  
 a la partie superieure du bra gauche partie externe plus  
 jais trouve une autre Contusion avec (esquimanse) a lavant  
 bra droit jais ensuite visite la famme a qui jais trouve une  
 Contusion Considerable avec esquimanse sur le (lombe)  
 geauche qui se continue jusque a la partie inferieure dela  
 cuisse posterieurement plus jais trouve une autre Contusion  
 a lavant bra geauche et une petite plais au doit annulaire  
 dela main droite lesquels plais et contusions et esquimanse  
 ont este faite par quelque instrumant condondant Comme canne  
 baton ou autre semblable ne nouvant vaguer a leurs affaire  
 dun mois au moins je leurs ais ordonne le regime et fait les  
 remede convenable an parail cas....

signé Bertin

Louisbourg

20 acût 1751

AFO, G2, Vol. 209, dossier 496. Baillage de Louisbourg.

"Proces verbal qui constat un coup de sabre que LeS. Bertrand  
 Imber a Receu Sur sa tete Par un quidam"

raporte par moy chirurgien major des troupes de lisle royalle....  
 je me suis transporte ches monseur imber negosiant de cette  
 ville a qui jais trouve une plais longitudinale longue  
 anviron de trois transvers de doigts a la partie moyenne  
 inferieure lateralle geauche du coronal qui ninteresse que  
 les (teguniant) la quelle plais me parais avoir este faite  
 par quelque instrumant tranchant Comme sabre couteau ou

autre semblable....

signé Bertin

Louisbourg

25 janvier 1753

AFO, G2, Vol. 201, dossier 262. Baillage de Louisbourg.

"Procès verbal qui constate la deced du Nommé Julien Le Clerc Trouvé mort dans Lebois a trois lieues De la Ville De Louisbourg"

sur lavis qui nous a Ete donné par le Sr. antoine rodrigue negotiant de Cette ville, que hier Le Nommé pierre poignon trente Six mois a Son Service, auroit trouvé un homme mort...nous nous Sommes a Linstant transporté aud Lieu avec...Sr pierre Calay garçon Chirurgien au Service du Sr Bertin chirurgien que nous avons mandé pour faire la visite dud Cadavre, et Etant arrivés aud Lieu nous y avons trouvé le Corps dun homme mort...Ensuite avons fait depouiller led Cadavre et fair visiter par led. calay chirurgien lequel apres lad visite faite, nous a affirmé par son serment navoir reconnu aucune blessure ni coup Sur led cadavre qui puisse lavoit fait mourir mais quil Est a presumer que voulant passer la riviere, Et la glace etant venu alui manquer Sous le pied, il se sera Enfoncé et noyé dans led ruisseau ou nous Lavons trouvé Couvert de glace, Et que les Egratignures quil a au visage, lui ont Ete faite par les buissons et broussailles dont led ruisseau Est rempli....

Louisbourg

22 novembre 1755

AFO, G2, Vol. 206, dossier 411, pièce 1. Baillage de Louisbourg.

Procédure criminelle à cause de l'assassinat de Brisebataille.

Sur lavis...qu'on avoit trouve un cadavre dans le Bois Sur le chemin allant au bas de miré lequel cadavre paroissoit avoir ete tué par un Coup de fusil a balle par la tete nous Serions transporté...lequel cadavre nous avons fait examiner et depouiller par le Sieur Leonard Siraud chirurgien du quel nous avons pris le Serment au Cas requis et apres avoir vu et examiné ledit Cadavre nud dans toutes les parties de son Corps il nous auroit dit que le frontonai etoit offensé a un travers de doigt dessus le nêz ayant le cranne partagé en trois ce qui a ete occasionné par un coups de fusil a balle qui luy a ete donne dans Ledit frontonai qui luy a passe ala jugulaire de Loreile droite que Sur la hanche droite dudit Cadavre il Se trouve des meurtrissure distance denviron un demi pouverquil pense quil ne peut provenir que de ce que ledit Cadavre a eté trené dulieu du meurte en celui où il est actuellement exposé, qu'au Surplus il n'a remarqué Sur led Cadavre aucun autre Chose,...led Sr. Siraud nous auroit en premier lieu fait remarquer que led Cadavre etoit mort depuis plusieurs jours et qu'il avoit Les bras Roides et etandû en haut....

Appendix C. Surgeons' Bills and Lists of Remedies.

[Rochefort]

1718

Archives du Port de Rochefort, série 1E, Vol. 90, fols. 85-100.

"Estat des Munitions necessaires pour les differentes depanses del'Isle Royale pendant l'année 1718...".

Sur le fonds del'hopital....

Drogues et Medicaments

Quatre livres de Theriac

Trois livres confection dyacinthe

Trois livres confection alKerme

Quatre livres Rubarbe

huit livres Sene monde

Deux livres agaric

Deux livres Mercure doux

Trois livres Jalap

Dix livres Manne

Une livre Pilules Mercurialles

Une livre et demie aliquaba

Une livre precipité rouge

Six livres electuaires de Diaprum

Six livres Catholicum fin

Six livres Confection ama

Quatre livres Quinquina

Six livres antimoine crud

huit livres Selpetre



une livre et demie Sel de saturne  
 une livres et demie Sel de Polier (esse)  
 Cinq livres Cristal mineral  
 Deux livres Gou(m)egutte  
 Dix livres alun de Roche  
 Deux livres Emplatre Divin  
 Deux livres Diachilum  
 Quatre livres Diapalme  
 Deux livres Divigo cum gommis  
 Deux livres Tartre Evietique  
 Deux livres verre dantimoine  
 Quatre livres Miel de Narbonne  
 Demies livres poudre de Nipere  
 Demie livre Esprit de Soufre  
 Demie livre Esprit de sol armoniac  
 Quatre livres Tamarin  
 Deux livres Camphre  
 une livre d'huile damande douce  
 demie livre Epicacuana  
 une livre Galbanum  
 Demie livre Amoniac  
 Demie livre assafetida  
 demie livre Gomme Elemy  
 demie livre Gomme adragam  
 Demie livre antimoine diaphoretique  
 Six livres Therebentine  
 Trois livres Creme de tartre  
 une livres Mouches Cantarides  
 Trois livres fleur de Soufre  
 une livre Safran  
 une livre aloes Sucotrin  
 demie livre Elixir de propriete  
 demie livre vitriol bleu  
 Une livre Suc de Saturne

Quatre livres anguent gris  
 Deux livres vert de gris  
 Une livre de Gingemvre  
 une livre Poivre long  
       graines a Semer

Parot rouge

Coquelico

de la Rue

Du Romain

de l'absinthe

de Melisse

de Corlandre

du Thin et autres

Racine de Bardame

Bois Sudorifique

Squine

Gayac

de chacune une livre

Sasafras

Salsepareille

une livre panacée Mercurialle

Racines de Conseld(co)

de l'althea                      de chacune une livre

des Mauves avec leurs graines et Semences

Jujubes

Dattes

de chacune une livre

Sebist [\_\_\_\_\_]

figues

raisins

Mirrhe

de chacune une livre

Borax

Encens

huit onces Mirabolans  
 Aristoloche longue et ronde  
 Bol d'Armenie

de chaque sorte une livre

Terre Sigeelee  
 Sans Dragon  
 Bol fin  
 Couperose blanche  
 Trente livres Reglisse  
 Poix raisine de Bourgogne

de chacune dix livres

Navelle  
 Eau de Melisse  
 Theriacale  
 Vulneraire

de chacune quatre livres

de Scabieuse  
 de Sauge  
 Deux livres d'Eau de Canelle  
 Deux livres d'Eau de Chardon beny  
 Sirop de fleur de Pexche  
 d'oeill(ets)  
 de Coins  
 Cire blanche et jaune de chacune dix livres  
 Trois cens livres de Ris  
 Trois cens livres de prunes  
 Six cens livres de Vieux linge pour la Chirurgie

Louisbourg

1727

Charente Maritime B, Liasse 6112.

"inventire Du Brigandin La mutine De bordeaux aveq Ses agre  
 Et aparau appartenant amonsieur Sieur Bourgois Et armateur Du  
 Dt Brigandin...."

article Du Chirurgien

un Basain a barbe tel quil Est  
 une Caise Distruman contenant Lanpetation  
 un tire balle  
 un Daviet  
 2 Bistoury  
 une Espatule  
 une feuille demirtre  
 un Dechausoir  
 un Bouton afeu  
 une Resine  
 une Sonde  
 un pair de Sizau a insion  
 4 Eguille trois Courbe Et une Droitte  
 un pair De balance Et un marq Dun 1/4  
 un mortier aveq Son pilon  
 une pierre arasoir  
 2 Rasoir  
 un trebuchet  
 un pot de tiriacle  
 un pot de Confetion de gasainte  
 un pot de Confetion ameq  
 un pot Destraj de jeneure  
 un pot de Confetion alquerme  
 un pot Dongan Rosat  
 un pot De blan Razj  
 un pot Dongan Dartia  
 un pot De bazeliquon  
 un pot Canfre tout vide  
 un pot turbantine  
 un pot de mave  
 un pot de Catoliquon fin  
 un pot de Catoliquon Siple  
 une Boutaille Deau Cordiale

une Bouteille Sirot Rozat  
une Boutaille Sirot de pavot Rouge  
une Boutaille dhuile depericon  
une Boutaille vin Emeticq  
une boutaille desprit de vitriol  
une Boutaille dhuile de Camomille  
une Boutaille precipite au 3/4 vide  
une Boutaille de jalap En poudre  
une Boutaille Descamonce a 1/2 vide  
une Boutaille Epipiquona [\_\_\_\_\_] de  
une Boutaille De Lezcris de propiete  
une Boutaille De Sel Dapsainte  
une Boutaille demercure Doux a 1-2 vide  
une Boutaille Corail Rouge a 1/2 vide  
une Boutaille yeux Decrivice  
une Boutaille poudre De vipere a 1/2 vid  
une Boutaille tartre au 3/4 vide  
un paquet Danplatre de vigo Commercurio  
un paquet Danplatre de betanica  
un baton De Diapalme  
un pot de Chrystal mineral  
un paquet Dalun  
un petit paquet Devitriol  
un paquet de quinquina  
un paquet de farine Resolitive  
un paquet Sené  
un paquet de 4 semance froide  
un paquet Reguelice  
un paquet Dorge  
un morcau De Rubarbe....

Louisbourg

17 mai 1741

AFO, G2, Vol. 197, dossier 151, pièce

Memoire de ce que les Religieux dela charité ont fait et fournis.....

Remedes que j'ay fait et fournis a defuncte Madame desgoutin pendant les maladie qu'elle a eu a louisbourg depuis son retour dernier de france, jusqu'a Sa mort, dont je n'ait pas etté payez Scavoir.

Seignée	6 a 1" 10s	9"
medecine	7 a 3	21
por. cord et pp	4 a 4	16
por. ff	2 a 2" 10s	5
l'avement	3 a 1" 10s	4 10s
et pour visite		23
<hr/>		
Somme total		78" 10s

signé f Boniface  
R dela Charité

Louisbourg

1743

AFO, G2, Vol. 198, dossier 175, pièce 3.

Compte de Rene LeVavasseur et ses gens

Le doigt franCois de partout Scavoir (un des gens de R.L.)

7 <sup>bre</sup> 20 <sup>e</sup>	une Seignee de bras	1" 10s
21	deux Blles. deptisane pectoralle	2"
23	une Blle. de ptisanne Et une postion	4" 10
	Total	8"
	pour argent pretté a niCollas petit	14"
	non signé	

Port Dauphin,

3 mars 1741

Charente Maritime B, Liasse 6113, fol. 116.

"Estat de remedes...pour mons. de Longsham...."

premierement Le 9me du mois de jenvier 1741 pour Luy faire  
de tisanne

quatre onces de reglisse	1"	4s
plus lemesme jour quatre pinsees dorge	1	
plus Le 8me dudit mois une medesinne Composé		
de deux onces de manne	2	4
plus une dragme Et demy de rhubarbe	1	10
plus dix grains de poudre CornaChinne	1	
plus Le mesme jour deux prises de		
Confession daKerme	2	10
	9"	08s

Je deClare avoir reCeue de mons. Courtiau Le montant du Contenu  
Cy dessus que je donne pendant Sa malladie....

Lagarrosse

(Dulongchamp est decédé et ses effets vendu au Port Dauphin)

Louisbourg

22 octobre 1743

AFO, G2, Vol. 198, dossier 175, pièce 6.

Compte de Rene LeVavasseur et ses gens

Memoirre du traitement de René Levavasseur Sçavoir

7 <sup>bre</sup>	30	Une setgnée de bras	1"	10
8 <sup>bre</sup>	2	Une Seigneé de bouteilles de ptisanne	2"	10
		dud Une poltion cordialle	3"	10
	3	Deux Blle de ptisanne	2"	
		Une Seignée de Bras	1"	10
		dud trois Blle. de ptisanne	3"	

4	Une medecine compossé	4"
	dud Une Boulle. de ptisanne	1"
	pour mes paines Et visites	6"
	Total	25"

Je Soussigné Chirurgien Major de Lhopital du Roy Certifie avoir  
taxé Le Present Memoire Se Montant aLa Somme de Vingt Cinq Liv.

f. alexis DeLaRue

Louisbourg

29 décembre 1744

AFO, G2, Vol. 199, doussier 193.

"Memoire Dutraitemen que Jay faict a Monsieur desLongrai habitant  
de Cette ville"

Janvier	Sçavoir		
29	Une poltion cordialle	3"	10s
30	Une Seignée de bras	1	10
31	Une Blle. de Ptisanne pectoralle	1	
Dud	une poltion somneferre Et astringeante		
febvrier	Et Une Blle. de ptisanne	4	10
2	Deux Blle. de ptisanne	2	
	Dud. une pottion id <sup>me</sup>	3	10
3	Trois Blle. de ptisanne	3	
4	Deux Blle. de ptisanne et Une pottion	5	10
5	Deux Blle. de ptisanne	2	
6	deux blle de ptisanne	2	
	Dud. Une pottion id <sup>me</sup>	3	10
7	Une Blle. de ptisanne	1	
8	Une poltion id <sup>me</sup>	3	10
9	Une poltion id <sup>me</sup>	3	10
10	Une poltion id.	3	10
12	Une poltion id.	3	10
14	Une poltion id.	3	10



15	Une poltion id.	3	10
17	Une poltion a Ceuillerrée	3	10
	pour vingt visite	20"	
	Total	78"	10

Je Soubssigné Certifie Lepresent Compte Veritable en foy  
dequoy Jay signe a Louisbourg le 29 xbre, 1744

LeCluzeau chirurgien

Deplus me Redoigt de Lannée derniere du Compte arresté  
Ensemble pour traitement, Le 28 8bre, LaSomme de quatorze  
Livres....

Re[\_\_\_\_\_] de mons. meiraq La Somme de Soixante Et dix huit  
Livres dis Sols, a Louisbourg ce 23 Janvier 1745 LeCluzeau  
[Delongrais est decédé le 15 février 1744]

Louisbourg

13 may 1756

AFO, G2, Vol. 205, dossier 393, pièce 6.

"Memoire Des Medicaments & traitements faite & fournis a feu  
Lambert et Sa fille Pour maladies Pandant l'année 1755."

#### Savoir

9 <sup>bre</sup>	Seigné La fille a M Lambert Du Bras cy	1"	10
x <sup>bre</sup> <sub>4</sub>	Seigné La meme Du Bras	1	10
	Plus Donné une portion Cordialle a Lamene	4	
	Plus Donné une port. Sudorifique à Lameme	3	
1756			
Janvier	Seigné Leneveu a M Lambert du Bras	1	10
	Plus Seigné le meme du Bras	1	10
	Plus Donné une medecinne aumeme	3	10
	Plus donné une portion Sudorifique aumeme	4	

	Plus Donn� aumeme une Medicinne		
	Compos�e	4	
fevrier	Seign� M. Lambert du Bras	1	10
	Plus donn� un Lavage	4	
	Plus une portion carminative	3	
	Plus une emplatre vesicatoire a La		
	Jambe et trait� Jusqu'a Parfaite		
	Guerison	12	
Mars	Donn� au meme un Lavage	4	
	Plus une Seign� au meme	1	10
Dumeme Jour	cinq seign�es Du pied	10	
dumeme Jour	6 Lavements	5	
Dumeme Jour	Deux on�es despt volatif decorne		
	de Cerf	4	
dumeme Jour	une on�e D'eau de Canelle	2	10
Dumeme Jour	trois emplatres Vessicatoires	6	
	Doit Dele Razee	12	
	Total	90	

Je Sertifie Le present Memoire veritable

Deslonchant Lambert...

Pour auguit   Louisbourg ce 13 may 1756

sign  Veuve LCluzau

Louisbourg

5 octobre 1756

AFO, G2, Vol. 206, dossier 408, pi ce 3. Baillage de  
Louisbourg.

Succession de feu Claude Barollet deced  en cette ville Ch z  
le Blanc aubergiste

Memoire de ce que jay fait et fournit a Mr. Baret dans sa  
maladie

Savoir le 17 septembre	une potion a se Treinjeante	3"	
idem	2 boutelie de tisanne a se		
	Treinjeante	3"	
le 18	2 potion a se Treinjeante	6"	
idem	un la ----man purgatif	2"	10s
le 19	une potion pectorale	4"	
idem	une boutelie de tissanne a		
	se Treinjeante	1"	10s
le 20	une potion pectorale	4"	
	Total	24"	
	signé Roche chirurgien		

## Endnotes

Surgeons and Surgery in France

- 1 Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres ....Mis en ordre & publié par m. Diderot...& quant à la partie mathématique, par m. d'Alembert....(Paris: Brias-son, 1751-72) (hereafter cited as Encyclopédie), s.v. "Chirurgien."
- 2 Ibid.; Marcel Marion, Dictionnaire des institutions de la France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1923), p. 92.
- 3 Pierre Huard, "L'enseignement de la chirurgie," in En- seignement et diffusions des sciences en France au XVIIIe siècle (Paris: Hermann, 1964), p. 193; W.H. Lewis, The Splendid Century: Some Aspects of French Life in the Reign of Louis XIV (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953), p. 213; Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1969) (hereafter cited as DCB), Vol. 2, s.v. "Simon Soupiran."
- 4 François Millepierres, La vie quotidienne des médecins au temps de Molière (Paris: Hachette, 1964), pp. 170-71.
- 5 Ibid.; Encyclopédie, loc. cit. This article is some- what emotional about the surgeons' struggle for indepen- dence from the barbers and the Faculty of Medicine.
- 6 This struggle is described in detail in Paul Dalauney, La vie médicale au XVIe, XVIIe, et XVIIIe siècles (Paris: Editions Hippocrate, 1935), and more briefly in François Millepierres, op. cit., pp. 169-87.

- 7 François Millepierres, op. cit., p. 172; W.H. Lewis, op. cit., p. 210.
- 8 Encyclopédie, loc. cit. The author of the article states that the faculty promoted this union in order to degrade the surgeon-barbers who would not recognize its authority, as the barber-surgeons had been compelled to do.
- 9 François Millepierres, op. cit., p. 172.
- 10 Ibid., pp. 170, 175, 178; Marcel Marion, op. cit., p. 92.
- 11 Paris. Archives Nationales (hereafter cited as AN), Section outre-mer (hereafter cited as Outre-mer), G2, Vol. 190, rég. 4, fols. 19-22(v), "Edit du Roy portant retablissement des lieutenans du premier chirurgien du Roy," Versailles, September 1723.
- 12 Encyclopédie, s.v. "Juridiction du premier chirurgien du roi."
- 13 Marcel Marion, op. cit., p. 92; Pierre Huard, op. cit., p. 199. The school in Rochefort was founded between 1720 and 1722: Paul Brau, Trois siècles de médecine coloniale française (Paris: Vigot f., 1931), p. 79, and those in Brest and Toulon were founded in 1740: Georges Lacour-Gayet, La marine militaire de la France sous le règne de Louis XV (Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1910), p. 104.
- 14 Marcel Marion, op. cit., p. 92; Encyclopédie, s.v. "Chirurgien" and "Maître en chirurgie;" François Millepierres, op. cit., p. 192.
- 15 Encyclopédie, s.v. "Barbier."
- 16 Marcel Marion, op. cit., pp. 37-38.
- 17 Paul Dalauney, Le monde médical parisien au dix-huitième siècle (Paris: Jules Roussel, 1906), pp. 180-85.
- 18 Marcel Marion, op. cit., pp. 92-93.
- 19 Pierre Huard, op. cit., p. 190.
- 20 W.H. Lewis, op. cit., pp. 210-12; Pierre Huard, op. cit., p. 194.

- 21 Pierre Huard, op. cit., pp. 195-96.
- 22 François Millepierres, op. cit., pp. 179-80.
- 23 Encyclopédie, s.v. "Maître en chirurgie."
- 24 AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 190, Rég. 4, fols. 19-22(v),  
"Edit du Roy portant retablissement des lieutenans du  
premier chirurgien du Roy," Versailles, September 1723.
- 25 Marcel Marion, op. cit., p. 92.
- 26 Roland Mousnier and Ernest Labrousse, Le XVIIIe siècle,  
l'époque des "lumières" (1715-1815) (Paris: Presses uni-  
versitaires de France, 1967), p. 138; Antoine Roy, Les  
lettres, les sciences et les arts au Canada sous le ré-  
gime français (Paris: Jouve et cie, 1930), p. 147.
- 27 Encyclopédie, s.v. "Chirurgie."
- 28 Ibid., s.v. "Maladie."

#### Surgeons and Surgery in Ile Royale

- 1 There are several compilations of names of Canadian sur-  
geons; e.g., Georges and M.-J. Ahern, Notes pour servir  
à l'histoire de la médecine dans le Bas-Canada depuis la  
fondation de Québec jusqu'au commencement du XIXe siècle  
(Wuebec: 1923); Maude C. Abbott, History of Medicine in  
the Province of Quebec (Toronto: Macmillan, 1931).  
John J. Heagerty, Four Centuries of Medical History in  
Canada (Toronto: Macmillan, 1928) has the best analysis  
but is more concerned with the modern period and the es-  
tablishment of medical schools. Paul Brau, op. cit.,  
deals mainly with the West Indies and African colonies  
and the more modern developments in tropical medicine.
- 2 DCB, Vol. 2, s.v. "Sarrazin;" Pierre Baru, op. cit., pp.  
70-71.
- 3 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 36, fols. 86-91, Prévost to the  
minister, Louisbourg, 10 April 1756.

- 4 Paris. Archives de la Marine (hereafter cited as AM), A3, art. 6, fol. 363, Table des edits, arrêts, ordonnances, règlements, etc., 5 June 1717; Charles de La Morandière, Histoire de la pêche française de la morue dans l'Amérique septentrionale (des origines à 1789) (Paris: maisonneuve et Larose, 1962-66), pp. 99-105; John J. Heagerty, op. cit., pp. 223-4.
- 5 Charles de La Morandière, loc. cit.
- 6 John J. Heagerty, op. cit., p. 230; France. Archives de la Charente-Maritime (La Rochelle) (hereafter cited as ACM), B, rég. 268, fols. 28(v)-29, Hearings, Louisbourg, 10 June 1732.
- 7 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 16, pièce 5, "Trez humbles Remonstrances que font les bayles et jurats de Saint jean de lus," St. Jean de Luz, 15 January 1716.
- 8 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 24, fols. 140-41(v), Bigot to the minister, Louisbourg, 12 October 1742.
- 9 Paul Brau, op. cit., p. 79.
- 10 Georges and M.-J. Ahern, op. cit., pp. 335-7.
- 11 D.F. McOuat, "La profession de médecin sous l'ancien régime," Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Vol. 19 (1913), pp. 339-41.
- 12 AN, Outre-mer, G3, carton 2055, pièce 148, Ordonnance of De Costebelle, Plaisance, 28 December 1713.
- 13 Paul Brau, op. cit., pp. 70-71, "Ordonnance des administrateurs, touchant les chirurgiens et les médicaments," Le Cap, 13 January 1716.
- 14 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 90, Conseil de Marine, 20 April 1717.
- 15 AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 190, le rég., fols. 1-1(v), Hearings before the Superior Council, Louisbourg, 28 April 1735.
- 16 Ibid., Vol. 183, fol. 478, "Droits que doivent payer les Chirurgiens qui sefont recevoir conformément alarrest du

con<sup>el</sup> du Roy de 1671 que Regles les deoits du premier chirurgien de S.M. ceux de son lieutenant du greffier &c," n.d.

- 17 Antoine Roy, op. cit., pp. 33-4; John J. Heagerty, op. cit., pp. 225-6; Marcel Trudel, Initiation à la Nouvelle-France, histoire et institutions (Montreal: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 243.
- 18 AM, A1, art. 61, pièce 36, "Ordonnances du Roy Sur l'Exercise de la Chirurgie dans les Colonies par les chirurgiens Majors brevetés," Paris, 23 August 1723.
- 19 DCB, Vol. 2, s.v. "Simon Soupiran."
- 20 Georges and M.-J. Ahern, op. cit., pp. 139-41.
- 21 France. Archives Maritimes (Roche fort) (hereafter cited as AMR), 1E, Vol. 146, fol. 493, Statement relative to a negro, Roche fort, 23 July 1749.
- 22 AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 198, dossier 162, Will of surgeon Pierre Meillon, Havre Fourché, 5 July 1742.
- 23 Ibid., Vol. 194, dossier 53, "Papiers concernant ce qui revient a Marsans Duhart Royé Sur Les glaces," Havre Fourché, 15 October 1734; G3, carton 2046, pt. 1, no. 225, "Testament de bertelemie Gauden," Havre Fourché, 3 March 1740.
- 24 Ibid., G2, Vol. 180, fols. 398-440 (fol. 402), "Procédure criminelle...à L'encontre du n<sup>e</sup> jean fanton," Niganiche, 19 July 1730; Vol. 185, fols. 425-57, "Procédure Criminelle Instruite...aLencontre de Calude amiot accusé Dassasin," Havre Fourché, 11 April 1739; Vol. 202, dossier 288, pièces 9 and 11, "Procédure Criminel faite...alencontre du S. arnaud Barouillet et Sa femme Pour fait dexces Commis Sur la personne de marguerite Wassogne," Louisbourg, 15 September 1753.
- 25 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 8, fols. 74-76(v), Saint-Ovide to the Comte de Morville, June 1723.
- 26 Nicole Durand, "Etude de la population de Louisbourg,



- 1713-1745," Manuscript Report Series, No. 49 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1970), p. 179, mentions the prevalence of infant mortality. It is impossible to give any statistical details for Louisbourg because the research has not yet progressed far enough.
- 27 O.H. Hifton, "The Rise of the People," in A. Cobban, ed., The 18th Century. Europe in the Age of Enlightenment (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 295.
  - 28 Marcel Marion, op. cit., p. 497; Encyclopédie, s.v. "Sage femme."
  - 29 Marcel Trudel, op. cit., p. 243.
  - 30 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 406, rég. IV, fol. 9, Burial certificate, Louisbourg, 25 January 1729.
  - 31 AN, Colonies, B, Vol. 66, fols. 294-5, Maurepas to de Bourville and Le Normant, Marly, 6 May 1738.
  - 32 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 20, fols. 52-59, de Bourville and Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 21 October 1738.
  - 33 AMR, 1E, Vol. 146, fols. 43-44, Widow Droit to Maurepas, Rochefort, 4 January 1749; fol. 41, Maurepas to [de Givry], Versailles, 13 January 1749; AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 466, pièce 76, "Denombrement General des familles Dofficiers et habitans Existans dans la colonie," Louisbourg, 1749; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 29, fols. 217-23(v), "Etat des fonds," Louisbourg, 10 November 1750.
  - 34 Thomas Pichon, Lettres et mémoires pour servir à l'histoire...du Cap Breton (La Haye: Chez Pierre Gosse, 1760), p. 164.
  - 35 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 38, fols. 244-48(v), "Employe des troupes, Etat major et autres Employés revenus en France," [Rochefort], 22 July 1759.
  - 36 AN, Outre-mer, G3, carton 2047 suite, no. 99, "Monsieur Le Lieutenant General de La Ville de Louisbourg Isle Royale," Louisbourg, n.d.; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 11, fols. 137-47(v), "Pour Compter avec Mr Rondeau Tresorier

- a l'Isle Royale," Louisbourg, 22 October 1741; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 17, fols. 98-101, "Bordereau des Payements qui ont été faits," Louisbourg, 12 December 1735; Vol. 18, fols. 157-67, "Bordereau des Payements qui ont été faits," Louisbourg, 27 December 1736; Vol. 23, fols. 169-76, "Bordereau des Payements qui ont été faittes," Louisbourg, 18 October 1741.
- 37 Ibid., B, Vol. 45, fol. 931, "de par le Roy," Paris, 12 May 1722; Vol. 48, fol. 989, Maurepas to D'ombreval, Versailles, 23 May 1725.
- 38 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 1, fols. 367-70, Conseil de Marine [Louvre], 10 April 1717; Vol. 7, fols. 204-9, Saint-Ovide to the minister, Louisbourg, 21 December 1725.
- 39 Descouts was appointed surgeon major in Ile Saint-Jean when the king took over the administration of that island and sent troops there: Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 8, fols. 231-31(v), Service record of Martin Descoutes (Ile St.-Jean), n.d. [1743].
- 40 AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 183, fols. 401-02(v), "Requête de florant Massé," Port Toulouse, 1736.
- 41 Guy Frégault, Le XVIIIe siècle canadien. Etudes (Montreal: Editions HMH, 1968), "Politique et politiciens," p. 226.
- 42 AN, Colonies, B, Vol. 110, fols. 525-25(v), Berryer to de Ruis, Versailles, 10 August 1759.
- 43 Gabriel Coste, Les anciennes troupes de la Marine (1622-1792) (Paris: L. Baudoin, 1893), Annexe no. 14, pp. 268-70.
- 44 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 90, Conseil de Marine, 9 April 1717.
- 45 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 7, fols. 204-9, Saint-Ovide to the minister, Louisbourg, 21 December 1725; B, Vol. 49, fols. 713(v)-16(v), Maurepas to Saint-Ovide, Versailles, 25 June 1726.
- 46 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 8, fols. 55-64(v), Saint-Ovide to the

- minister, Louisbourg, 20 November 1726.
- 47 Ibid., D<sup>2</sup>D, art. 1, "Estat des employés par augmentation ...que le S. de Mézy...prend la liberté de proposer," Louisbourg, 4 December 1730.
- 48 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 17, fols. 164-98, "Depenses faites al Isle Royale pendant l'année 1735," Louisbourg [1736].
- 49 Ibid., Vol. 23, fols. 33-34(v), DuQuesnel and Bigot to the minister, Louisbourg, 21 October 1741.
- 50 AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 211, dossier 532, pièce 5, "Crime de Duel Contre le nommé Jean françois La Gatue," Louisbourg, 10 January 1753.
- 51 AM, A1, art. 56, pièce 81, "Reglement que le Roy veut estre observé à l'avenir dans les Hôpitaux de ses Troupes," Paris, 20 December 1718.
- 52 AN, Colonies, F3, Vol. 50, fols. 23-25, "Reglement pour l'hop<sup>al</sup> de Louisbourg," Louisbourg, 24 October 1714; fols. 46-48(v), "Lettres patentes pour l'Etablissement des Religieux de la charité al Isle Royale," Louvre, 28 April 1716.
- 53 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 8, fols. 76-77(v), Saint-Ovide to the minister, Louisbourg, 2 December 1726; AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 211, dossier 532, pièce 5, "Crime de Duel Contre le nommé Jean françois La Gatue," Louisbourg, 10 January 1753; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 17, fols. 9-12, Saint-Ovide and Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 22 October 1735.
- 54 Ibid., Vol. 11, fols. 24-25, de Bourville to the minister, Louisbourg, 30 November 1730.
- 55 Ibid., Vol. 13, fols. 18-26(v), de Mézy to the minister, Versailles, 17 March 1732.
- 56 Ibid., Vol. 18, fols. 92-94, Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 11 November 1736; Vol. 19, fols. 2-22(v), Saint-Ovide and Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 24 October 1737.

- 57 Ibid., Vol. 20, fols. 52-59, de Bourville and Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 21 October 1738.
- 58 Ibid., Vol. 21, fols. 116-7, Bigot to the minister, Louisbourg, 6 November 1739; Vol. 36, fols. 86-92, Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 10 April 1756.
- 59 Ibid., Vol. 8, fols. 76-77(v), Saint-Ovide to the minister, Louisbourg, 2 December 1726; Vol. 11, fols. 24-25, de Bourville to the minister, Louisbourg, 30 November 1730; Vol. 13, fols. 18-26(v), de Mézy to the minister, Versailles, 17 March 1732; Vol. 17, fols. 34-39, Saint-Ovide to the minister, Louisbourg, 25 October 1735; B, Vol. 95, fols. 286-86(v), Rouillé to Prévost, Compiègne, 10 July 1752.
- 60 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 90, Conseil de Marine, 9 April 1717.
- 61 DCB, Vol. 2, s.v. "Antoine Forestier;" AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 2, fols. 250-250(v), "Memoire au Sujet de ce qui peut Convenir pour Letablissement des Religieux de la Charité dans chaque Poste," Port Dauphin, 10 January 1717.
- 62 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 96, Conseil de Marine, 10 April 1717; AMR, 1E, Vol. 111, fols. 31-35, "Liste des Invalides dela marine," Rochefort, 1728; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 17, fol. 93, Certificate of disability, Louisbourg, 22 October 1735.
- 63 Ibid., B, Vol. 35, fols. 57-59(v), Minister to Beauharnois, Versailles, 8 March 1713.
- 64 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15 suite, pièce 210, Conseil de Marine, 24 March 1722; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 10, fols. 157-64, Depensens to the minister, Louisbourg, 31 October 1728; Vol. 35, fols. 167-81(v), Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 14 October 1755.
- 65 AN, Outre-mer, G3, carton 2046, pt. 1, no. 95, acknowledgement of a debt, Louisbourg, 25 November 1738; G2,

- Vol. 202, dossier 281, pièce 2, Porperty inventory of Louis Bertin and the late Anne Henriette Lagrange, Louisbourg, 3 July 1753.
- 66 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 8, fols. 76-77(v), Saint-Ovide to the minister, Louisbourg, 2 December 1726; Vol. 22, fols. 167-70, Bigot to the minister, Louisbourg, 17 October 1740.
- 67 M.R. Charlton, "Outlines of the History of Medicine in Lower Canada, 1608-1757," Annals of Medical History, Vol. 5 (1923), pp. 263-78; CDB, Vol. 2, s.v. "Michel Sarrazin."
- 68 AN, Colonies, B, Vol. 52, fols. 570(v)-571, Maurepas to Saint-Ovide and de Mézy, Versailles, 27 April 1728; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 6, fols. 320-23(v), Boucher to the minister, Louisbourg, 1 November 1723; Vol. 14, fols. 414-15, Vallée to the minister, Louisbourg, 22 November 1733; Vol. 31, fols. 64-65(v), de Raymond to the minister, Louisbourg, 20 November 1751.
- 69 AMR, 1E, Vol. 103, fol. 215, Certificate of disability, Louisbourg, 24 October 1721; Vol. 111, fols. 31-35, "Liste des Invalides dela marine," Rochefort, 1728; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 16, fols. 153-58, Depensens to the minister, Louisbourg, 20 October 1734; Vol. 5, fol. 163, Certificate of disability, Louisbourg, 18 June 1720; Vol. 29, fols. 238-47, "Bordereau des payements qui ont été faits," Louisbourg, 18 November 1750; Vol. 24, fols. 172-79(v), [173(v)], "Etat des vivres, habillements et munitions nécessaires," Louisbourg, 11 October 1741.
- 70 Ibid., Vol. 5, fol. 165, Certificate of disability, Louisbourg, 18 June 1720; ACM, B, liasse 6113, fol. 46, Certificate of disability, Louisbourg, 11 October 1741; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 33, fols. 480-81, Boucher to the minister, Louisbourg, 14 June 1753; Vol. 24, fols. 49-50, DuQuesnel to the minister, Louisbourg, 6 October 1742; Vol. 17, fols. 27-27(v), "Rolle des changements qu'il

- y a Eu dans les Compagnies a l'Isle Royale," Louisbourg, 10 October 1735; Vol. 33, fol. 92, Certificate of disability, Louisbourg, 28 September 1753; Vol. 29, fols. 33-35, Desherbiers to the minister, Louisbourg, 18 September 1750; Vol. 36, fols. 61-62(v), Drucour to the minister, Louisbourg, 27 June 1756; Vol. 37, fols. 96-101, Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 12 August 1757.
- 71 Ibid., Vol. 23, fols. 133-33(v), Bigot to the minister, Louisbourg, 26 November 1741; Vol. 29, fols. 165-67, Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 14 November 1750; Vol. 35, fols. 211-19(v), Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 14 November 1755.
- 72 Ibid., Vol. 18, fols. 20-23(v), Saint-Ovide and Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 5 November 1736; Vol. 22, fols. 167-70, Bigot to the minister, Louisbourg, 17 October 1740.
- 73 Ibid., Vol. 13, fol. 265, Certificate of disability, Louisbourg, 8 November 1732; Vol. 33, fol. 61, Certificate of disability, Louisbourg, 18 May 1753; fols. 269-74(v), Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 27 October 1753.
- 74 References to the disease occur in 1722, 1724, 1732, 1741, 1750 and 1757; e.g., AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 653-56, de Mézy to the Council, Louisbourg, 1 September 1722; Vol. 23, fols. 13-14(v), DuQuesnel and Bigot to the minister, Louisbourg, 10 October 1741.
- 75 Ibid., Vol. 29, fols. 73-77, Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 15 August 1732; Vol. 13, fols. 37-39, Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 15 August 1732.
- 76 Ibid., Vol. 14, fols. 147-49(v), Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 11 October 1733; fols. 260--2(v), Sabatier to the minister, Louisbourg, 1 January 1739; Vol. 22, fols. 149-51(v), Bigot to the minister, Louisbourg, 29 May 1740.

- 77 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 16, pièce 26, Duchambon to the minister, Rochefort, 23 September 1745; pièce 29, Certificate of disability, Louisbourg, 15 October 1749; F3, Vol. 50 suite, fols. 539-602(v), "Extrait de mon Journal," Louisbourg, 1758.
- 78 AMR, 1E, Vol. 127, fol. 237, Certificate of disability, Louisbourg, 31 May 1737.
- 79 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 14, fols. 132-34, Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 30 June 1733; Nicole Durant, op. cit., pp. 190-93.
- 80 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 35, fols. 19-22, Drucour and Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 2 June 1755.
- 81 John J. Heagerty, op. cit., p. 116; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 37, fols. 86-88(v), Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 10 July 1757.
- 82 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 408, 2e rég., fol. 72, Burial certificate, Louisbourg, 29 June 1753; John J. Heagerty, op. cit., pp. 97-100.
- 83 AN, Colonies, B, Vol. 44, fol. 567(v), Minister to Saint-Ovide and de Mézy, Paris, 6 July 1721.
- 84 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 406, rég. IV, fol. 13(v), Burial certificate, 11 August 1729; fol. 38, Burial certificate, 7 September 1732.
- 85 ACM, B, Rég. 272, fol. 1(v), "Declaration darrivee du S. Josephe Pitrel capne du Brigantin Le St Luc de St Malo," Louisbourg, 11 May 1742.
- 86 AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 186, fols. 94-147, "Procès criminel instruit...Contre le N<sup>e</sup> Bertrand Detchepard," Louisbourg, 29 June 1740; Vol. 188, fols. 5, 34, Criminal proceedings against several fishermen, Louisbourg, 9 November 1744; Vol. 209, dossier 496, "Proces verbal qui constat un coup de sabre que LeS. Bertrand Imber a Receu," Louisbourg, 20 August 1751.
- 87 Ibid., Vol. 197, dossier 136, pièce 4, Request by Gabriel

Brion dit Lagelée, Louisbourg, 12 April 1740; Vol. 210, dossier 515, pièce 5, "Procédure Instruite...contre Le Nomme François Martin," Louisbourg, 12 March 1751.

- 88 The explanations in the following section are based on Diderot's Encyclopédie and an anonymous Dictionnaire portatif de Santé (Paris: Chez Vincent, 1760). There is an enormous amount of material in the Encyclopédie on remedies and their uses in the treatment of diseases. The Dictionnaire portatif describes symptoms and diseases and gives appropriate remedies, and also includes an alphabetical list of medicines.
- 89 AMR, 1E, Vol. 103, fol. 439, "Etat des meubles, ustenciles et remedes qui sont envoyés par le procureur de l'hôpital de la Charité," [Rochefort, 26 June 1724].
- 90 AN, Outre-mer, G3, carton 2045, no. 61, Inventory of the chest of Jean Pierre Pessant, Louisbourg, 22 November 1757.
- 91 These plates are very detailed and informative. Anyone interested in the subject of 18th-century surgery should consult the plates, their explanations and the articles about each instrument.
- 92 AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 198, dossier 162, Will of surgeon Pierre Meillon, Havre Fourché, 5 July 1742; G3, carton 2045, no. 61, Inventory of the chest of Jean Pierre Pessant, Louisbourg, 22 November 1757.
- 93 AN, Colonies, B, Vol. 36-1, fols. 51-53, "Etat des Munitions et Marchandises Necessaires a envoyer a Lisle Royale," February 1714.
- 94 ACM, B, liasse 6112, "Invantir Du Brigandin La mutine De bordeaux aveq Ses agre Et Aparau," Louisbourg, 1727.

Lagrange as Surgeon Major

- 1 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 77, Conseil de Marine,



- 26 February 1717; D<sup>2</sup>C, Vol. 47, fol. 74, "Estat des expéditions signées pour le Canada," 1693; C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 11, fols. 14-17, Summary of a letter from De Costebelle, Louisbourg, 6 November 1714; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 1, fols. 93-97, Soubras to the minister, Louisbourg, 3 December 1714.
- 2 Ibid., B, Vol. 37, fols. 226-37(v), Minister to De Costebelle and Soubras, Versailles, 4 June 1715; C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 771, Conseil de Marine, 26 February 1717; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 2, fols. 125-29(v), Conseil de Marine [Versailles], 30 March 1718.
  - 3 Ibid., B, Vol. 38, fols. 259(v)-66(v), Conseil to De Costebelle and Soubras, Paris, 22 April 1716.
  - 4 Ibid., fols. 276-77(v), Conseil de Marine to De Costebelle and Soubras, Paris, 27 June 1716. See also *ibid.*, F<sup>3</sup>, Vol. 50, fols. 46-48(v), "Lettres patentes pour l'Etablissement des Religieux de la Charité à l'Isle Royale."
  - 5 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 77, Conseil de Marine, 26 February 1717.
  - 6 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 3, fols. 76-91, Saint-Ovide and Soubras to the Council, Louisbourg, 9 January 1719; Vol. 4, fols. 128-32, "Memoire du Roy," Paris, 18 July 1719.
  - 7 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 77, Conseil de Marine, 26 February 1717.
  - 8 Ibid., pièce 90, Conseil de Marine, 9 April 1717; pièce 77, Conseil de Marine, 26 February 1717. These losses included two houses and a storehouse at Louisbourg and two houses at Port Dauphin. See the next section, and also Linda Hoad, "Report on Lots A and B of Block 3" (manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Louisbourg, 1971). Three separate payments totalling 800 livres were made to Lagrange in March 1717; *ibid.*, F<sup>1</sup>A, Vol. 19, fols. 232, 233, 234, "De par le Roy," Paris, 15 March 1717. No further references have been

- found to this claim for compensation.
- 9 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 90, Conseil de Marine, 9 April 1717; pièce 113, Conseil de Marine 20 April 1717; B, Vol. 39, fol. 264, Conseil to De Constebelle and Soubras, Paris, 12 April 1717.
  - 10 Ibid., Vol. 15 suite, pièce 230, "Etat des pretentions du Sr. Jean Lagrange Chirurgien a Louisbourg," Louisbourg, 27 October 1722; AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 178, fols. 101-94, "Proces criminel...contre les Nommées gilles carbonnet et Jean Samson," Louisbourg, 15 September 1718; G1, Vol. 466, pièce 60, "Estat du nombre des familles," Ile Royale, 1719; G3, carton 2056, no. 35, Report of inspection of a body, Louisbourg, 20 November 1719; G1, Vol. 466, pièce 62, "Ressencement des habitants residants," Ile Royale, 1720; Vol. 462, fols. 133-34, Land grant, Louisbourg, 22 August 1720; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15 suite, pièce 230, 20 September 1720.
  - 11 Ibid., Lagrange to the Comte de Toulouse, Louisbourg, 21 October 1722. This request must have been preceded by others because in March the council had already decided to award him 1,500 livres of the 4,300 livres he had requested: *ibid.*, pièce 210, Conseil de Marine, 24 March 1722.
  - 12 Ibid., Vol. 8, fols. 74-76(v), "A Monseigneur le Comte de Morville Secretaire d'Etat de la Marine," June 1723; AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 406, fol. 4(v), "Acte de baptême," Louisbourg, 3 September 1723; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 6, fols. 152-62(v), Saint-Ovide and de Mézy to the minister, Louisbourg, 29 December 1723; B, Vol. 47, fols 1287-94, Maurepas to Saint-Ovide and de Mézy, Versailles, 26 June 1724.
  - 13 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 1, fols. 367-70, Conseil de Marine. [Louvre], 10 April 1717; Vol. 6, fols. 152-62(v), Saint-Ovide to the minister, Louisbourg, 29 December 1723;

- Vol. 7, fols. 204-09, Saint-Ovide to the minister, Louisbourg, 21 December 1725.
- 14 Ibid., D<sup>2</sup>D, art. 1, "Estat des employés par augmentation lllque le Sr De Mezy...prend la liberté de proposer," Louisbourg, 4 December 1730; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 13, fols. 18-26(v), de Mézy to the minister, Versailles, 17 March 1732.
  - 15 AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 179, fols. 513-14, Death certificate, Louisbourg, 11 November 1728; Vol. 181, fols. 1-34, "Procédure faitte touchant le de[ces] de Jean le Roy," Louisbourg, 16 January 1732; Vol. 183, fols. 95-101, "Procédure allencontre de Martin de harontzaguenian," Louisbourg, 19 April 1734; Vol. 179, fols. 462-502, pièce 2, "Procédure Criminelle à L'Encontre de Reintender Sergeant Suisse," Louisbourg, 12 September 1727; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 13, fol. 267, Certificate of disability, Louisbourg, 4 November 1732; ACM, B, liasse 6112, "Proces verbal de vente des effets de feu Noel Tahier," Louisbourg, 10 September 1727.
  - 16 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 12, fols. 156-57, "Estat dela distribution des 3,000 accordés...pour le bois de chauffage," Louisbourg, 1731.
  - 17 AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 190, le rég., fols. 1-1(v), Hearings before the Superior Council, Louisbourg, 28 April 1735; G1, Vol. 466, pièce 69, "Recensement de l'Isle Royale," Louisbourg, 20 October 1734.
  - 18 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 17, fols. 53-54, Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, May 1735; Vol. 13, fol. 267, Certificate of disability, Louisbourg, 4 November 1732; B, Vol. 63, fols. 560-60(v), Maurepas to Saint-Ovide and Le Normant, Versailles, 10 May 1735.
  - 19 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 17, fols. 57-58, Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 24 October 1735; B, Vol. 64, fols. 481-82, Maurepas to Le Normant, Versailles, 8 May 1736; fols. 117-18, Maurepas to Beauharnois, Versailles, 7

February 1736.

- 20 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 18, fols. 115-16(v), Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 17 November, 1736. He states in this letter that the news of Lagrange's death had been brought by a ship from Bordeaux. An undated document gives the details of Lagrange's death and indicates that Mme. Lagrange had not received word of her husband's death and thus was not certain that he was dead: AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 196, dossier 118, "Requisitoire pour pourvoir dun Tuteur et Subrogé Tuteur au enfans du Sr. lagrange decedé en france," Louisbourg, n.d. The minister wrote early in 1737 indicating that Lagrange was in fact dead: AMR, 1E, Vol. 126, fols. 149-54, Maurepas to Beauharnois, Versailles, 18 February 1737.
- 21 AN, Outre-mer, G3, carton 2039 suite, no. 10, Proxy of Jean Martin Lagrange, Rochefort, 13 February 1736.
- 22 AN, Colonies, B, Vol. 37, fols. 226-37(v), Pontchartrain to De Costebelle and Soubras, Versailles, 4 June 1715.
- 23 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 77, Conseil de Marine, 26 February 1717.
- 24 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 466, pièces 50 and 51, Censuses, Louisbourg, 1713 and 4 January 1715.
- 25 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 7, fols. 204-09, Saint-Ovide to the minister, Louisbourg, 21 December 1725.

#### Lagrange as Merchant

- 1 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 462, fols. 133-34, "Etrait du Registre du greffe du Conseil Superieur...pour les concessions," Louisbourg, 22 August 1720.
- 2 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15 suite, pièce 230, "Etat des pretentions du Sr. Jean Lagrange Chirurgien a Louisbourg," Louisbourg, 27 October 1722. See also Linda

- Hoad, op. cit.,
- 3 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 466, pièce 51, "Recensement des habitants Etablis dans le havre de Louisbourg," Louisbourg, 4 January 1715; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15 suite, pièce 230, Certificate of Sieur LaChaume, Louisbourg, 23 November 1719.
  - 4 Ibid.; Vol. 15, pièce 90, Conseil de Marine, 9 April 1717; E, 227, dossier Imbert et Lannelongue, pièce 8, "Etat des pertes que la veuve de feu la Grange...a Faites par laprise de ladite Isle" [Bayonne], n.d.
  - 5 AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 178, fols. 61-64, Will of Florenceau, Louisbourg, 29 April 1718; fols. 89-99, Sale of Florenceau's belongings, Louisbourg, 27 June 1718.
  - 6 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15 suite, pièce 230, Lagrange to the Comte de Toulouse, Louisbourg, 21 October 1722; AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 462, fols. 133-34, "Extrait du Registre," Louisbourg, 22 August 1720; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 90, Conseil de Marine, 9 April 1717; Vol. 16, pièce 6, "Ordonnance du Roy," 31 May 1723, and Brenda Dunn, "Block 2" (manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Louisbourg, 1971), p. 9.
  - 7 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 462, fol. 138, "Extrait du Registre du greffe du Conseil Supérieur, Louisbourg, 8 October 1722; Linda Hoad, op. cit.; AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 466, pièce 85, fol. 10(v), Louisbourg, 18 June 1729; G3, carton 2037, no. 53, Sale of a dwelling, Louisbourg, 13 September 1729.
  - 8 Linda Hoad, op. cit., AN, Colonies, E, 227, dossier Imbert and Lannelongue, pièce 8, "Etat des pertes [Bayonne], n.d.
  - 9 Ibid.
  - 10 AN, Outre-mer, G3, carton 2037, no. 53, Sale of a dwelling, Louisbourg, 13 September 1729; AN, Colonies, E, 227,

- pièce 8, "Etat des pertes" [Bayonne], n.d.
- 11 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 466, pièce 68, "Recensement general," Louisbourg, 1726; AN, Colonies, E, 227, pièce 8, "Etat des pertes" [Bayonne], n.d.
  - 12 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 13, fols. 18-26(v), de Mézy to the minister, Versailles, 17 March 1732; AN, Outre-mer, Vol. 466, pièce 69, "Recensement de l'Isle Royale," Louisbourg, 20 October 1734; AN, Colonies, E, 227, pièce 8, "Etat des pertes" [Bayonne], n.d.
  - 13 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 11, fols. 170-71(v), "Bordereau des Lettres de change," Louisbourg, 19 December 1729; C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 11, fols. 49-53(v), "Bordereau dela Recette et Depense faite al'isle Royale pendant l'année 1731," Louisbourg, 1 October 1732; fols. 58-60, "Bordereau des lettres dechange," Louisbourg, 29 November 1731.
  - 14 ACM, B, Rég. 268, fols. 57(v)-58, Hearings, Louisbourg, 4 October 1732.

#### The Lagrange Family

- 1 Bona Arsenault, Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens (Quebec: Le conseil de la vie française en Amérique, 1965), Vol. 1, p. 372; DCB, Vol. 2, s.v. "Pierre Maisonnat dit Baptiste;" AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 7, fols. 200-08(v), De Costebelle to the minister, Plaisance, 9 July 1713; Bona Arsenault, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 603, states that Maisonnat married again at Beaubassin in January 1717. The DCB states that he died sometime after 1714.
- 2 Bona Arsenault, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 372; AN, Outre-mer, G3, carton 2055, no. 9, Indebtedness of Madame Cahouet, Rochefort, 8 February 1713; Vol. 466, pièce 50, "Recensement General de La quantité de personnes qui sont

- actuellement au havre St Louis," Louisbourg, 1713; pièce 51, "Recensement des habitants Etablis dans le havre de Louisbourg," Louisbourg, 4 January 1715. They were not married when they arrived because each was listed separately in the 1713 census.
- 3 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 90, Conseil de Marine, 9 April 1717. There is also the possibility that Lagrange had been married before, but as there is no other evidence of this, it seems unlikely. Apparently no action was taken concerning this request; the marginal notes make no comment on it, and Cahouet's name never appears in connection with the troops.
  - 4 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 466, pièces 67 and 68, "Recensement general des habitants Etablis alisle Royale," Louisbourg, 20 November 1724 and 1726.
  - 5 AMR, 1E, Vol. 108, fols. 117-22, Maurepas to Beauharnois, Versailles, 10 July 1726.
  - 6 A census taken in 1720 indicated that there were only three children in the Lagrange family at that date; thus one of the children mentioned in the 1715 census must have died: AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 466, pièce 62.
  - 7 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 15, pièce 90, Conseil de Marine, 9 April 1717.
  - 8 Ibid., Vol. 15 suite, pièce 230, "Etat des pretentions du Sr Jean Lagrange Chirurgien a Louisbourg," Louisbourg, 27 October 1722.
  - 9 Ibid.; AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 196, dossier 118, "Requisitoire pour pourvoir dun Tuteur et Subrogé Tuteur aux enfans du Sr lagrange decedé en france," Louisbourg, 1737.
  - 10 All the information prior to 1758 is taken from the Louisbourg parish registers (AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vols. 406-09); the last statement is from AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 459, fols. 266-91, "Matricule des habitants de

- l'Amérique septentrionale," 12 June 1789.
- 11 Ibid., Vol. 466, pièces [55], 67, 68 and 69, Censuses of 1717, 1724, 1726 and 1734. Tréguy employed 11 fishermen and 3 shallops in 1724; 20 men and 4 shallops in 1726 and 18 men and 4 boats in 1734.
  - 12 These payments begin in 1749 and it is impossible to tell whether or not Bertin paid rent to his mother-in-law prior to 1745. Expense accounts for 1749, 1750, 1756 and 1757, AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 13, fols. 55-64(v); C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 29, fols. 238-47; Vol. 36, fols. 212-45; C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 14, fols. 67-119,
  - 13 Ibid., Vol. 13, fols. 2(v)-43(v), "Bordereau des Lettres Dechange," Rochefort, 28 March 1748; AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 466, pièce 76, "Denombrement General des familles," 1749; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 13, fols. 68-88, "Bordereau de la Recette et Depense," Louisbourg, 13 September 1751; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 29, fols. 249-59, "Etat des Ventes," Louisbourg, 30 September 1750; Vol. 32, fols. 130-51(v), "Etat des Ventes," Louisbourg, 30 June 1752.
  - 14 AN, Outre-mer, G3, carton 2047, pt. 1, no. 132, Agreements between Gilles Chalois and the widow Lagrange, Louisbourg, 11 July 1750; AN, Colonies, E, 227, dossier Imbert et Lannelongue, pièce 8, "Etat des pertes que la veuve de feu la Grange ancien chirurgien Major...a Faites par laprise de laditte Isle" [Bayonne], n.d.; AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 209, dossier 502, fols. 48(v)-49, Hearings, Louisbourg, 13 December 1754; ACM, B, liasse 6124, Record of the sale of a prize cargo, Louisbourg, 4 January 1758; AN, Colonies, E, 227, dossier Imbert et Lannelongue, pièce 8, "Etat des pertes."
  - 15 Ibid., F<sup>1</sup>A, Vol. 24, fols. 38-41, "Estat des Payments," Chantilly, 16 July 1725; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 17, fols. 164-98, "Depenses faites a l'Isle Royale," Louisbourg, [1736].
  - 16 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 406, Rég. IV, fol. 45, Burial



- certificate, Louisbourg, 18 March 1733.
- 17 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 4, fols. 125-26, "A Messieurs de St. Ovide et de Mezy," Louisbourg, [1 December 1726].
  - 18 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 406, rég. 1, fol. 13(v), Baptismal certificate, Louisbourg, 19 June 1725; rég. IV, fol. 3(v), 6 August 1728; fol. 13, 12 July 1729; fol. 61(v), Marriage certificate, Louisbourg, 21 May 1736.
  - 19 Ibid., rég. I, fol. 2, Baptismal certificates, Louisbourg, 17 December 1722; *ibid.*, fol. 4(v), 3 September 1723; rég. IV, fol. 12, 6 June 1729; fol. 21-21(v), 18 August 1730; fol. 45(v), 28 April 1733; fol. 47, 5 July 1733; rég. I, fol. 6, Baptismal certificates, Louisbourg, 14 February 1724; fol. 7, 20 April 1724; fol. 38(v), 8 June 1728; rég. IV, fol. 50(v), 25 March 1734. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine how often and for whom Lagrange and his wife were witnesses. This information was not recorded when the parish records were indexed and time does not permit research into this matter.

Bertin as Surgeon Major

- 1 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 406, rég. IV, fol. 61(v), Marriage certificate, Louisbourg, 21 May 1736; G3, carton 2047 suite, no. 65, Marriage contract, Louisbourg, 7 July 1753.
- 2 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 17, fols. 57-58, Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 24 October 1735; Vol. 18, fols. 115-15(v), Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 17 November 1736.
- 3 Ibid., B, Vol. 64, fols. 117-18, Maurepas to Beauharnois, Versailles, 7 February 1736; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 17, fols. 57-58, Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 24 October 1735.

- 4 AMR, 1E, Vol. 124, fols. 181-85, Maurepas to Beauharnois, Versailles, 28 February 1736; AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 406, rég. IV, fol. 61(v), Marriage certificate, Louisbourg, 21 May 1736; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 18, fols. 115-15(v), Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 17 November 1736; B, Vol. 65, fols. 455-56, Maurepas to Le Normant, Versailles, 16 April 1737; C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 11, fols. 148-59, "Pour compter avec M. Rondeau Tresorier a L'Isle Royale," Louisbourg, 22 October 1741.
- 5 AN, Colonies, B, Vol. 99, fols. 263-63(v), Rouillé to Prévost, Versailles, 1 July 1754; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 34, fols. 66-68(v), Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 29 August 1754.
- 6 AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 197, dossier 136, pièce 3, Request by Gabriel Brion dit Lagelée, Louisbourg, 23 April 1740; Vol. 186, fols. 94-147, "Procès criminel instruit ...Contre le N<sup>e</sup>. Bertrand Detchepard," Louisbourg, 29 June 1740; ACM, B, liasse 6113, fol. 97, Death certificate, Louisbourg, 21 July 1741.
- 7 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 12, fols. 138-72(v), "Bordereau dela recette et Depense faitte à L'Isle Royale pendant Lannée 1744," Rochefort, 2 April 1746; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 36, fols. 212-45, "Bordereau des payemens qui ont eté faits pour les dépenses de l'Exercice de 1756," Louisbourg, 20 December 1756; C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 14, fols. 67-119, "Bordereau des paiements...pour les dépenses.de...1757," Louisbourg, 16 December 1757.
- 8 Ibid., Vol. 13, fols. 68-88, "Bordereau dela Recette et Depense faittes...pendant l'année 1749," Louisbourg, 13 September 1751; Vol. 14, fols. 12-42(v), "Bordereau dela Recette et Depense...1753," Louisbourg, 20 October 1755; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 33, fols. 433-34, Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 24 December 1753; C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 14, fols. 67-119, "Bordereau des paiements...pour les dépenses de...

- 1757," Louisbourg, 16 December 1757.
- 9 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 22, fols. 167-70, Bigot to the minister, Louisbourg, 17 October 1740.
  - 10 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 466, pièce 76, "Denombrement General des familles, Dofficiers et habitants," Louisbourg, 1749; G2, Vol. 201, dossier 262, "Proces verbal qui constate le deced du Nommé Julien Le Clerc," Louisbourg, 25 January 1753; AN, Colonies, E, 333, dossier Perchois, Inspection of a body, Louisbourg, 6 August 1753; AN, Outre-mer, G2, Vol. 206, dossier 469, fols. 40(v)-41(v), Hearings, Louisbourg, 16 January 1758.
  - 11 Ibid., Vol. 202, dossier 281, pièce 2, Property inventory of Louis Bertin and the late Anne Henriette Lagrange, Louisbourg, 3 July 1753.
  - 12 Ibid., Vol. 206, dossier 469, fols. 40(v)-41(v), Hearings, Louisbourg, 16 January 1758.
  - 13 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 27, fols. 177-81, "Etat des fonds Necessaires pour La colonie de L'Isle Royale pendant Lannée 1746," Rochefort, 30 January 1747; AMR, 1E, Vol. 143, fol. 123, Maurepas to [de Givry], Paris, 2 July 1747; fols. 217-20, Maurepas to [de Givry], Versailles, 13 March 1747; Vol. 144, fols. 223-26, Gratifications extraord<sup>res</sup>, Versailles, 9 October 1747; AM, C7, 27, dossier Bertin, pièce 2, "De Par Le Roy," Versailles, 30 June 1748.
  - 14 A detailed examination of the movements of the Ile Royale troops may provide more information on this point.
  - 15 AN, Colonies, D<sup>2</sup>C, Vol. 48, fols. 495-99(v), "Etat des familles de Mr Les officiers de L'Isle Royale," Rochefort [1763]; AM, C7, 27, dossier Bertin, pièce 3, 5 July 1765; AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 458, fols. 4-17, "Rolle des habitants de l'amerique Septentrionale," Rochefort, 23 December 1765; AM, C7, 27, dossier Bertin pièce 5, D'Aubenton to the minister, Rochefort, 29

June 1776.

- 16 AN, Colonies, E, 227, dossier Imbert et Lannelongue, pièce 8, "Etat des pertes que la veuve de feu la Grange ...a Faites par laprise de ladite Isle," [Bayonne], n.d.
- 17 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 17, fols. 57-58, Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 24 October 1735.
- 18 Ibid., Vol. 18, fols. 92-94, Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 11 November 1736; Vol. 19, fols. 13-19, Saint-Ovide and Le Normant to the minister, Louisbourg, 23 October 1737; Vol. 22, fols. 167-70, Bigot to the minister, Louisbourg, 17 October 1740; Vol. 23, fols. 33-34(v), DuQuesnel and Bigot to the minister, Louisbourg, 21 October 1741.
- 19 Ibid., Vol. 36, fols. 86-92, Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 10 April 1756; fols. 120-23(v), Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 13 July 1756; D<sup>2</sup>C, Vol. 48, fols. 495-99(v), "Etat des familles de Mr Les officiers de L'Isle Royale," Rochefort [1763]; AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 458, fols. 236-39, "Traitements Accordé aux familles d'Officiers," Rochefort, 28 February 1778.
- 20 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 17, fols. 57-58, Le Normant to the minister, 24 October 1735; C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 11, fols. 127-35, "Bordereau dela Recette et Depense faitte alisle Royale pendant L'année 1737," Louisbourg, 1 October 1738; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 20, fols. 16-19(v), "Demandes particuliers," Louisbourg, 1738.
- 21 Ibid., Vol. 22, fols. 167-70, Bigot to the minister, Louisbourg, 17 October 1740; Vol. 23, fols. 33-34(v), DuQuesnel and Bigot to the minister, Louisbourg, 21 October 1741; AM, C7, 27, dossier Bertin, pièce 2, 25 May 1742; AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 28, fols. 34-36, Desherbiers and Prévost to the minister, Louisbourg, 16 October 1749; C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 8, fols. 74-76(v), Saint-Ovide to the Comte de Morville, June 1723; C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 36, fols.

212-45, "Bordereau des payemens qui ont eté faits pour les dépenses de l'Exercice de 1756," Louisbourg, 20 December 1756.

### The Bertin Family

- 1 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 408, 2e rég., fol. 68, Burial certificate, Louisbourg, 28 June 1752.
- 2 Ibid., Vol. 406, rég. IV, fol. 65(v), Baptismal certificate, Louisbourg, 25 April 1737; Vol. 407, rég. I, fol. 16, Baptismal certificate, Louisbourg, 28 October 1738; Vol. 408, 1e rég., fol. 59, Baptismal certificate, Louisbourg, 4 September 1749; fol. 72(v), Baptismal certificate, Louisbourg, 28 June 1759; Vol. 466, pièce 76, "Denombrement General des familles, Dofficiers et habitants Existans dans la colonie," Louisbourg, 1749, mentions only Sebastien Louis and Anne Henriette; G2, Vol. 202, dossier 281, pièce 3, "Tutelle des enfants mineurs de Louis Bertin," Louisbourg, May 1753, mentions only Sebastien Louis and Anne Henriette.
- 3 Ibid., G1, Vol. 409, 1e rég., fol. 1(v), Baptismal certificate, Louisbourg, 11 February 1754; E1, Vol. 409, 1e Rég., fol. 32(v), Baptismal certificate, Louisbourg, 15 September 1754; AN, Colonies, D<sup>2</sup>C, Vol. 48, fols. 495-99(v), "Etat des familles de Mr. Les officiers de L'Isle Royale," Rochefort [1763], does not mention her.
- 4 Ibid., C<sup>11</sup>B, Vol. 38, fols. 244-48(v), "Employe des troupes, Etat major et autres Employés revenus en France," [Rochefort], 22 July 1759; D<sup>2</sup>C, Vol. 48, fols. 495-99(v), "Etat des familles de Mr Les officiers de L'Isle Royale," Rochefort [1763]; AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 467, pièce 21, "Concessions de Pêche données dans le Port et l'Isle de St. Pierre en 1764," St. Pierre, 1 August 1764; Vol. 467,

- pièce 24, "Liste des Propriétaires des Graves," St. Pierre, n.d.
- 5 Ibid., Gl, Vol. 467, pièce 27, "Ressencement des Isles St. Pierre et Miquelon," St. Pierre, 1776; pièce 29, "Resensement et Denombrement des habitans de l'isle Miquelon," St. Pierre, 1784.
  - 6 Ibid., Vol. 408, 2e rég., fol. 56, Marriage certificate, Louisbourg, 8 July 1753; Vol. 459, fols. 68-121, "Matricule des habitants de l'Amérique septentrionale," [Rocheft], 1784.
  - 7 Ibid., Vol. 458, fols. 236-39, "Traitements Accordé aux familles d'Officiers," Rocheft, 28 February 1778.
  - 8 Ibid. This document mentions that she lost "three large establishments" as a result of the siege. Nothing further is known about this property.
  - 9 AN, Outre-mer, Gl, Vol. 409, 1e rég., fol. 32(v), Baptismal certificate, Louisbourg, 15 September 1754; 2e rég., fol. 45, Baptismal certificate, Louisbourg, 13 June 1758; AN, Colonies, D<sup>2</sup>C, Vol. 48, fols. 495-99(v), "Etat des familles de Mr Les officiers de L'Isle Royale," [Rocheft], 1763; AN, Outre-mer, Gl, Vol. 458, fols. 92-106, "Traitements accordés aux familles d'Officiers," [Rocheft], April 1772.
  - 10 Ibid.; fols. 236-39, "Traitements Accordé aux familles d'Officiers," Rocheft, 28 February 1778; fols. 242-47, On the matter of pensioners, [Rocheft], 30 March 1778; Vol. 459, fols. 68-121, 126-57, 160-93, 210-32, 236-64, 266-91, "Matricule des habitants de l'Amérique septentrionale," 1784-89.

#### Bertin's Economic and Social Position

- 1 AN, Outre-mer, G3, carton 2046, pt. 1, no. 162, Sale of

- a piece of land, Louisbourg, 11 November 1739; G2, Vol. 202, dossier 281, pièce 2, Property inventory of Louis Bertin and the late Anne Henriette Lagrange, Louisbourg, 13 July 1753; G3, carton 2042, no. 14, Sale of a piece of land, Louisbourg, 3 December 1753.
- 2 Ibid., G2, Vol. 202, dossier 281, pièce 2, Property inventory, Louisbourg, 13 July 1753.
  - 3 Ibid., G3, Vol. 2047, Sale of a piece of land, Louisbourg, 7 July 1753; ACM, B, liasse 6124, "Compte D'achat armement...pour La Goelette le Corssaire," Louisbourg, 1757; liasse 6114, pièce 53, Sale of a batteau, Louisbourg, 24 September 1743.
  - 4 AN, Outre-mer, G3, carton 2039, suite, no. 10, Marriage contract, Louisbourg, 17 May 1736; carton 2047 suite, no. 65, Marriage contract, Louisbourg, 7 July 1753.
  - 5 Ibid., G2, Vol. 202, dossier 281, pièce 2, Property inventory, Louisbourg, 3 July 1753. The figures in the "Furnishings" column are taken from Blaine Adams, "Domestic Furnishings at Louisbourg" (manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Louisbourg, 1972) and may be regarded as accurate. The reader would do well to consult the author's remarks on the difficulties of using inventories found in the introduction to this report. The figures in the "Total" column were calculated from the inventories and should be used with caution since it is very difficult to determine the financial position of an individual without a detailed study of his business operations and family papers. Time did not permit such an analysis and thus the totals may be misleading.
  - 6 AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vol. 466, pièce 76, "Denombrement General des familles, Dofficiers et havitants Existans dans la colonie," Louisbourg, 1749; G2, Vol. 206, dossier 417, fol. 37(v), Hearings, Louisbourg, 17 May 1756.

- 7 AN, Colonies, C<sup>11</sup>C, Vol. 13, fols. 92-104, "Etat des  
Fond nécessaires dordonner pour les depenses del'Isle  
Royale pendant lannée 1750," Louisbourg, 24 October  
1749; Guy Frégault, op. cit., p. 192.
- 8 The documents used for this analysis are not listed in-  
dividually but can be found in the Parish Record File  
prepared by the historians at the Fortress of Louisbourg  
National Historic Park from the records in the Louis-  
bourg parish registers: AN, Outre-mer, G1, Vols. 406-09.
- 9 Grançois Millepierres, op. cit., pp. 42-43; AN, Outre-  
mer, G1, Vol. 406, rég. IV, fol. 61(v), Parriage certi-  
ficate, Louisbourg, 21 May 1736; G2, Vol. 202, dossier  
281, pièce 3, "Tutelle des enfans mineurs de Louis Ber-  
tin," Louisbourg, May 1753; G1, Vol. 408, 2e rég., fol.  
56, Marriage certificate, Louisbourg, 8 July 1753.



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- A<sup>1</sup> Actes du pouvoir souverain, ordonnances, edits, arrêts  
Index cards)
- A<sup>3</sup> Table des édits, arrêts, ordonnances (index cards)
- C<sup>7</sup> Personnel individuel (selection list)

Paris. Archives Nationales. Archives des colonies.

- A Actes du pouvoir souverain (index cards)
- B Lettres envoyées (index cards)
- C<sup>11</sup>B Correspondance générale, Ile Royale (index cards)
- C<sup>11</sup>C Amérique du Nord
- D<sup>2</sup>C Troupes des colonies
- D<sup>2</sup>D Personnel militaire et civil
- E Dossiers personnels (selection list)
- F<sup>1</sup>A Fonds des colonies
- F<sup>3</sup> Collection Moreau de Saint-Méry

Paris. Archives Nationales. Section outre-mer.

- G<sup>1</sup> Registres de l'état civil (selection list)
- G<sup>2</sup> Greffes des tribunaux de Louisbourg et du Canada, Conseil Supérieur et baillage de Louisbourg (selection list)
- G<sup>3</sup> Notariat, greffes des notaires de Louisbourg (selection list)

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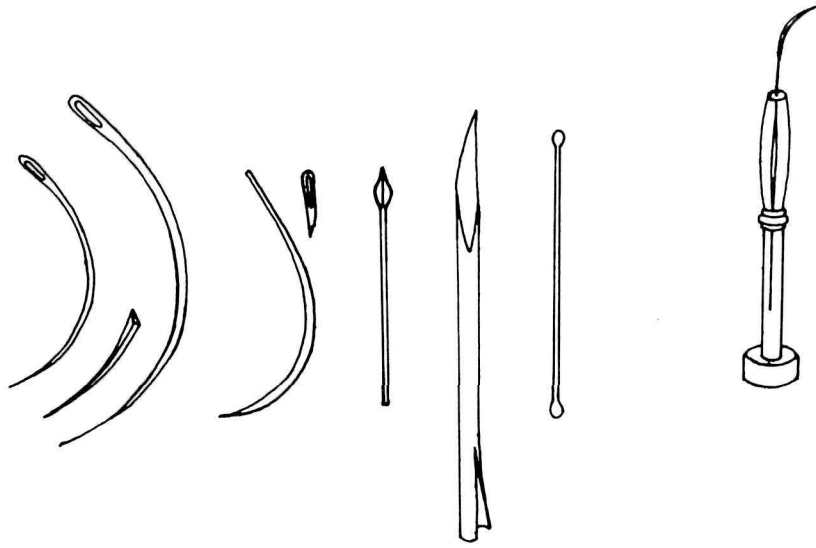
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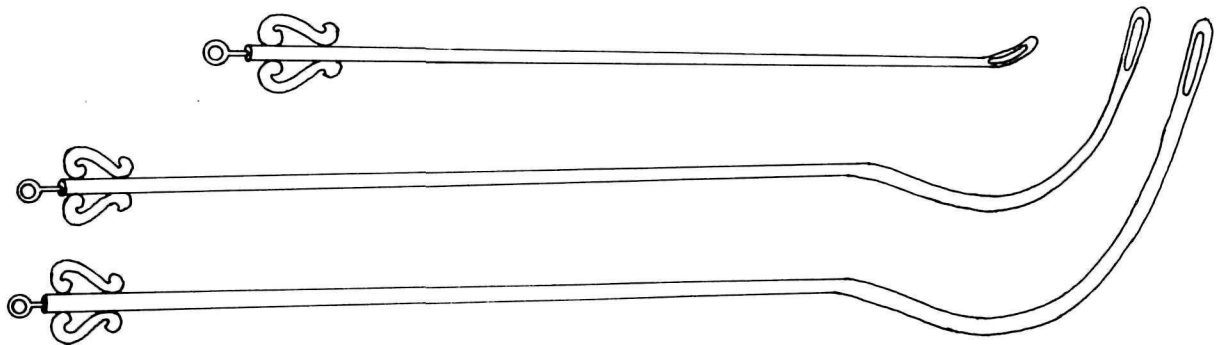




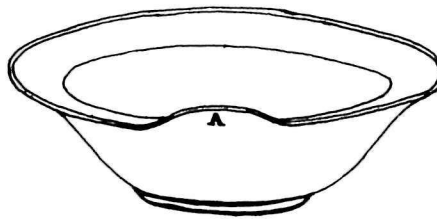
## ILLUSTRATIONS



AIGUILLES

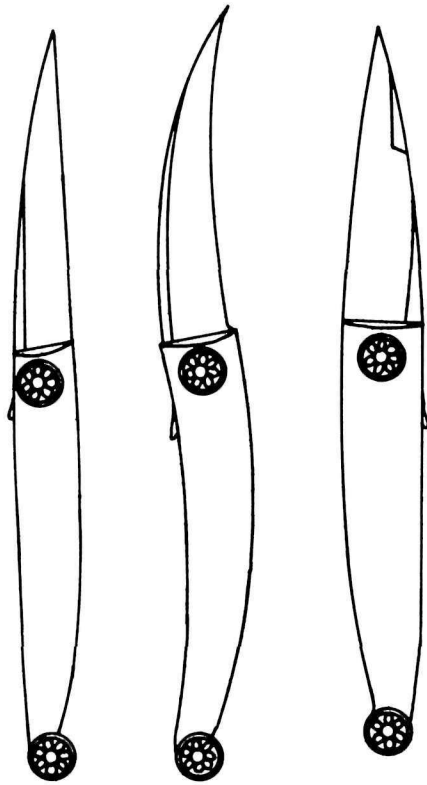


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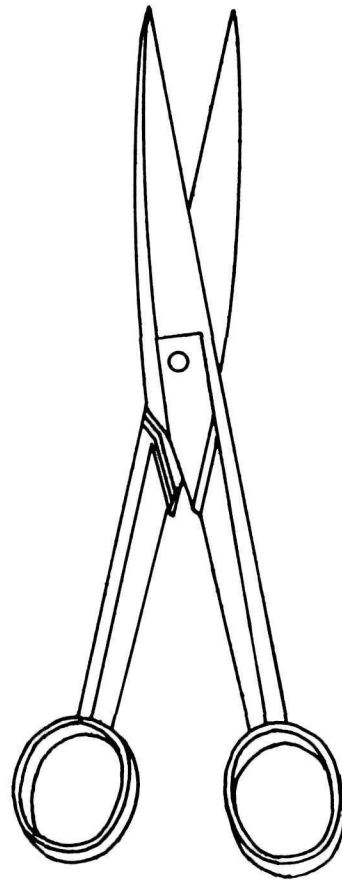


BASSIN À BARBE

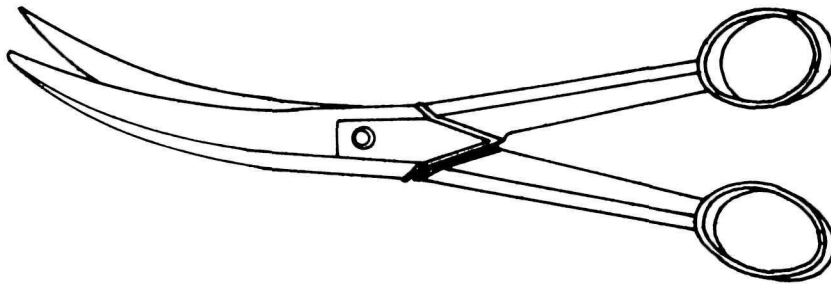
- 1 Surgical instruments. These and the instruments in the following six illustrations have been taken from Diderot's encyclopaedia, volumes 3 and 8, and arranged in alphabetical order. (Encyclopédie.... [Briasson, Paris, 1751-72], Vols. 3, 8.)



BISTOURIS

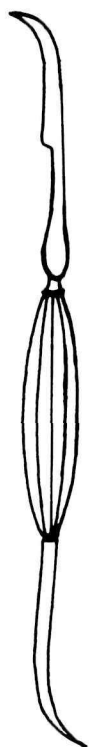


CISEAUX DROITS

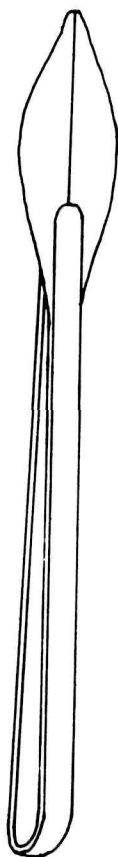
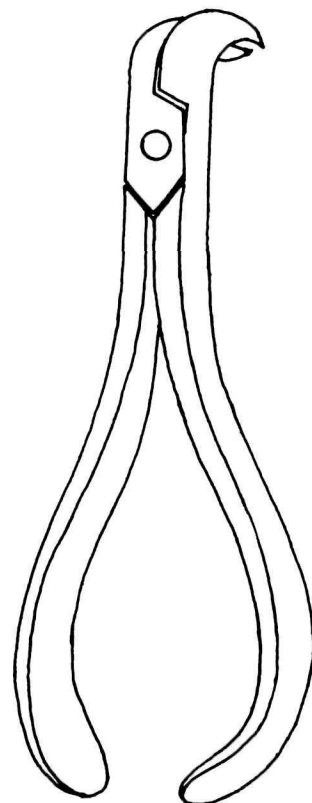


CISEAUX COURBES

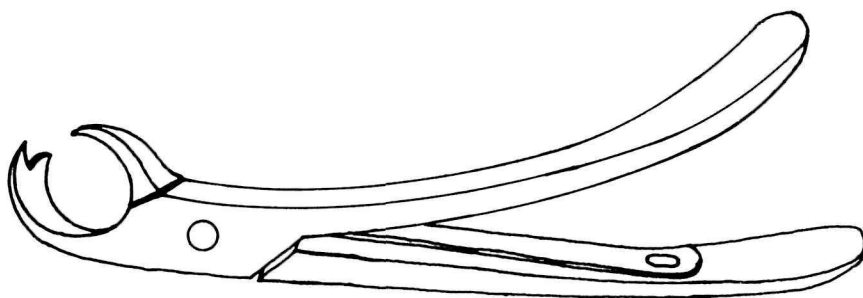
- 2 Surgical instruments. (Encyclopédie.... [Briasson, Paris, 1751-72], Vols. 3, 8.)



DECHAUSSOIR

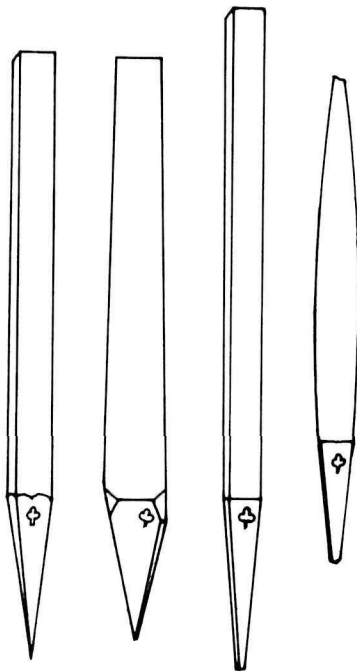
FEUILLE DE  
MYRTHE

DAVIER

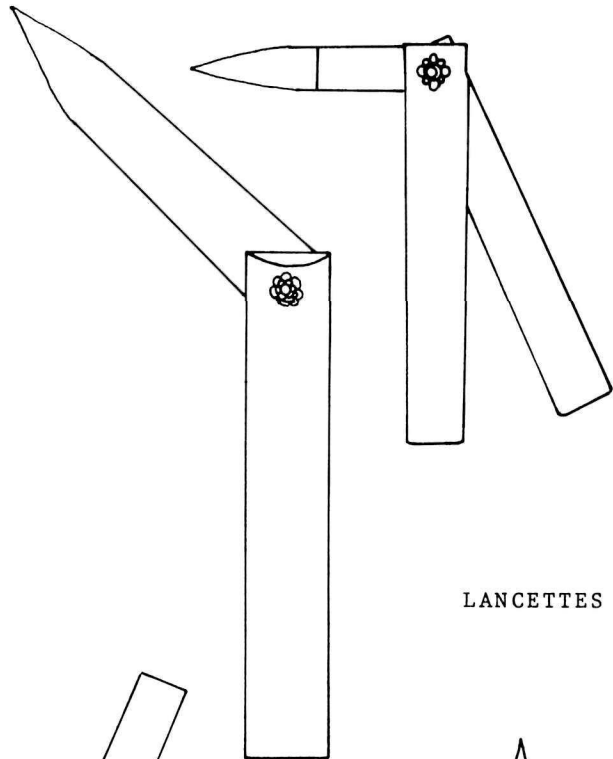


DAVIER

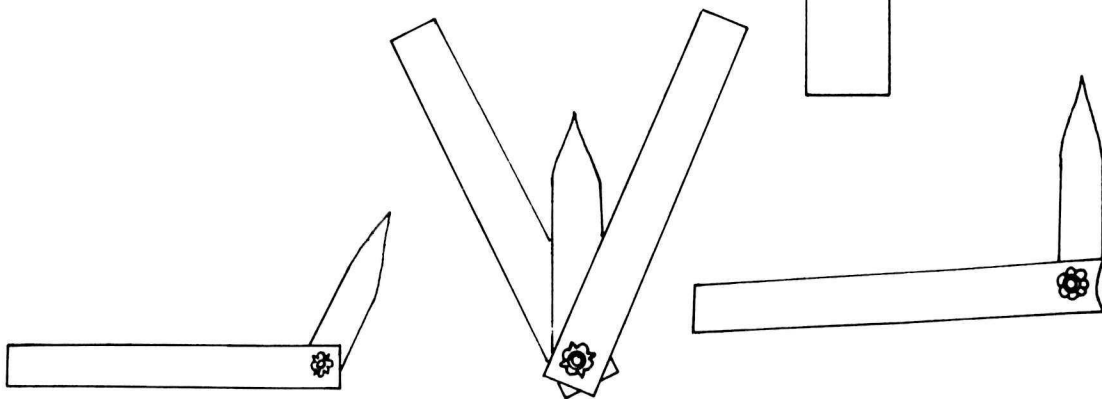
- 3 Surgical instruments. (Encyclopédie.... [Briasson, Paris, 1751-72], Vols. 3, 8.)



LIMES POUR CARIES

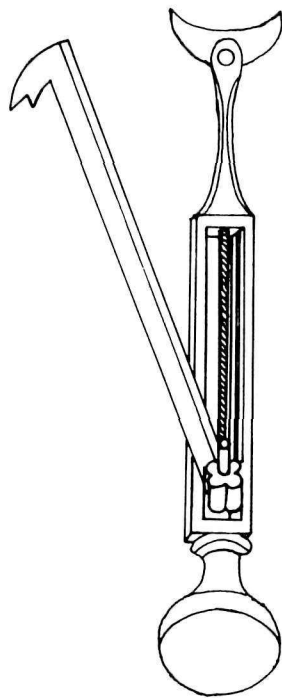


LANCETTES

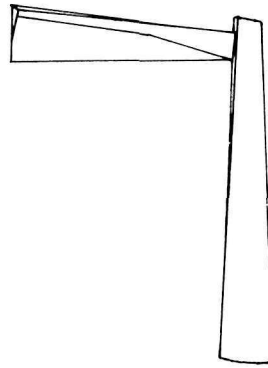


LANCETTES

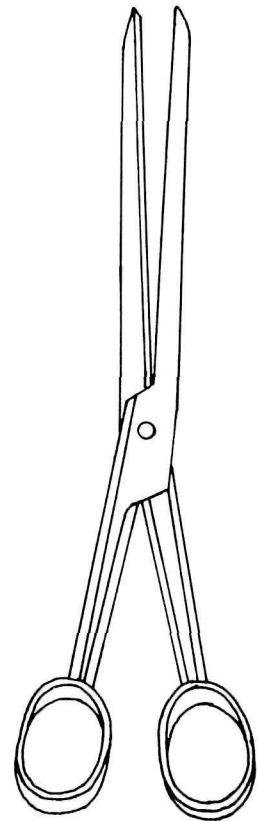
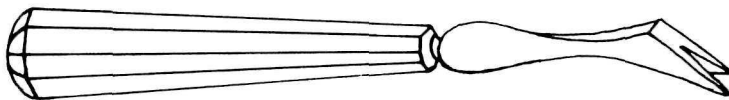
- 4 Surgical instruments. (Encyclopédie.... [Briasson, Paris, 1751-72 ], Vols. 3, 8.))



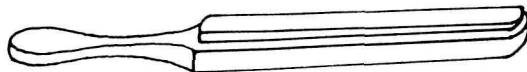
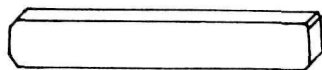
PELICAN



RASOIR

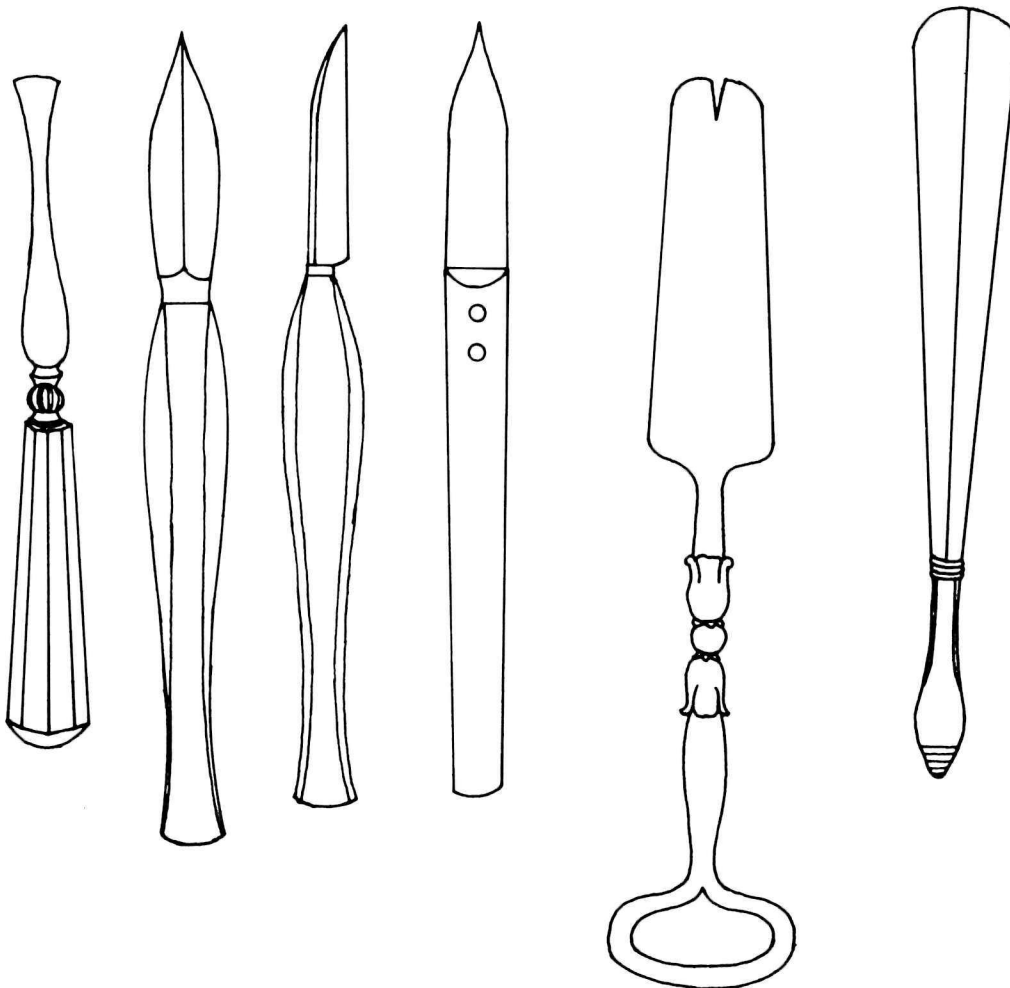
PINCETTES A  
PANSEMENTS

REPOUSSOIR



PIERRES À REPASSER LES RASOIRS

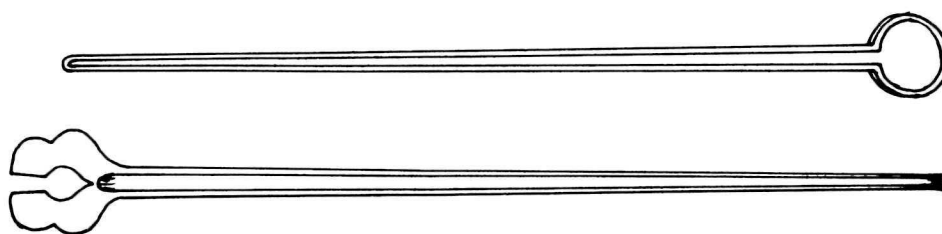
- 5 Surgical instruments. (Encyclopédie.... [Briasson, Paris, 1751-72], Vols. 3, 8.)



RUGINE

SCALPELS

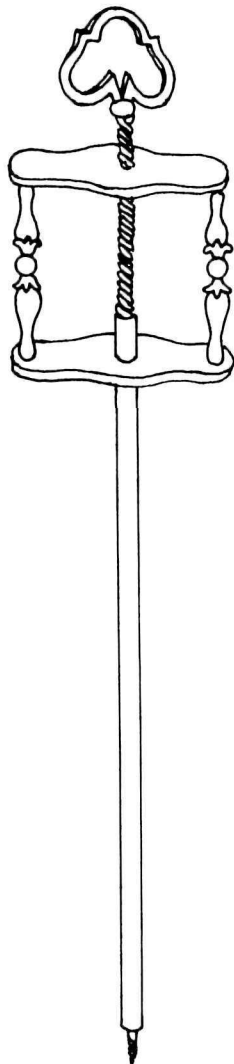
SPATULE



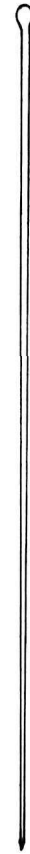
SONDES CANNELÉES

6 Surgical instruments. (Encyclopédie.... [Briasson, Paris, 1751-72], Vols. 3, 8.)

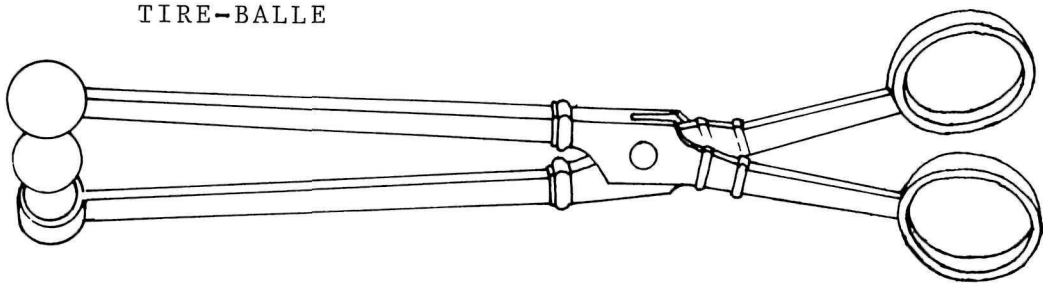




TIRE-BALLE

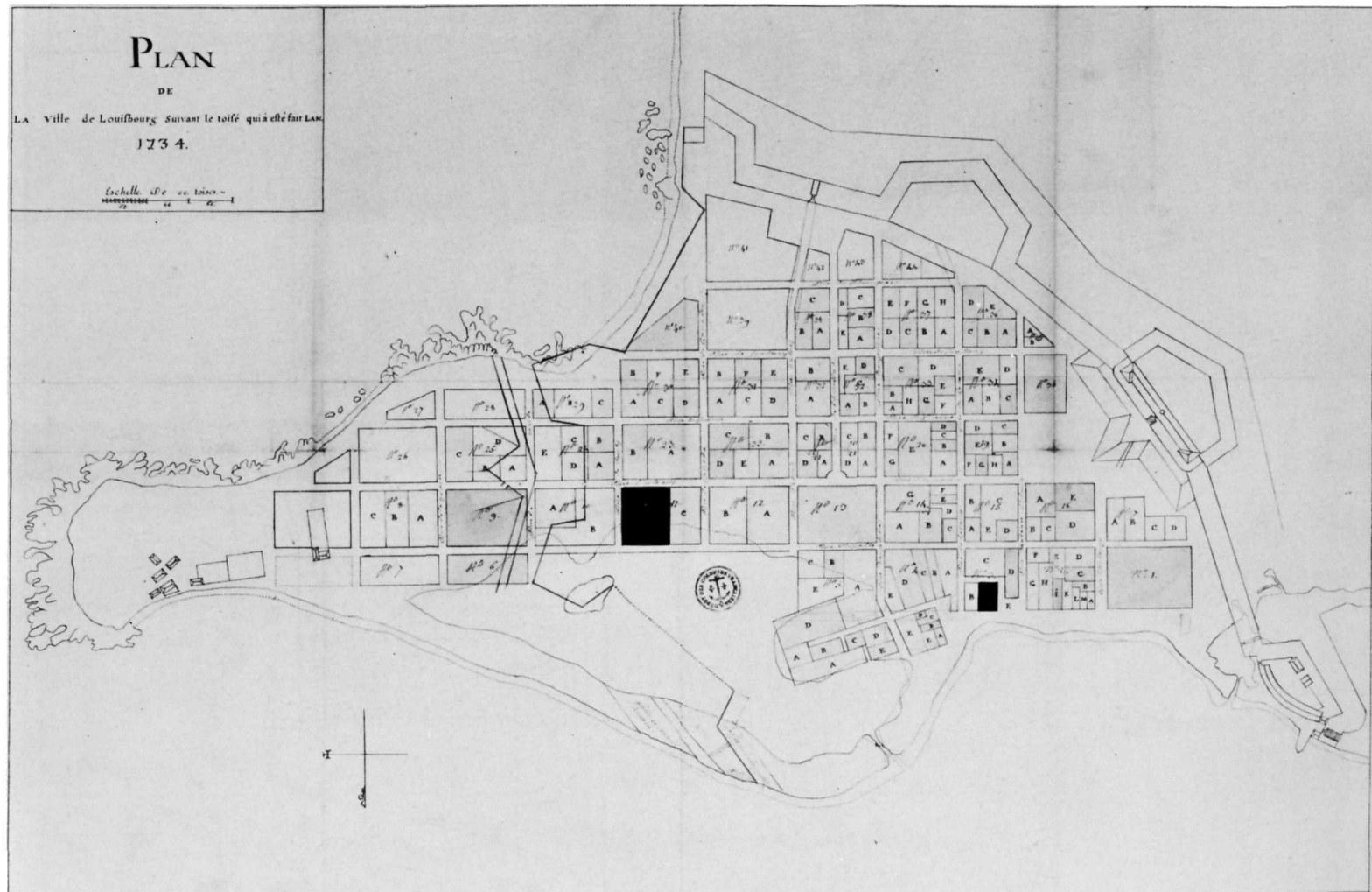


STILET



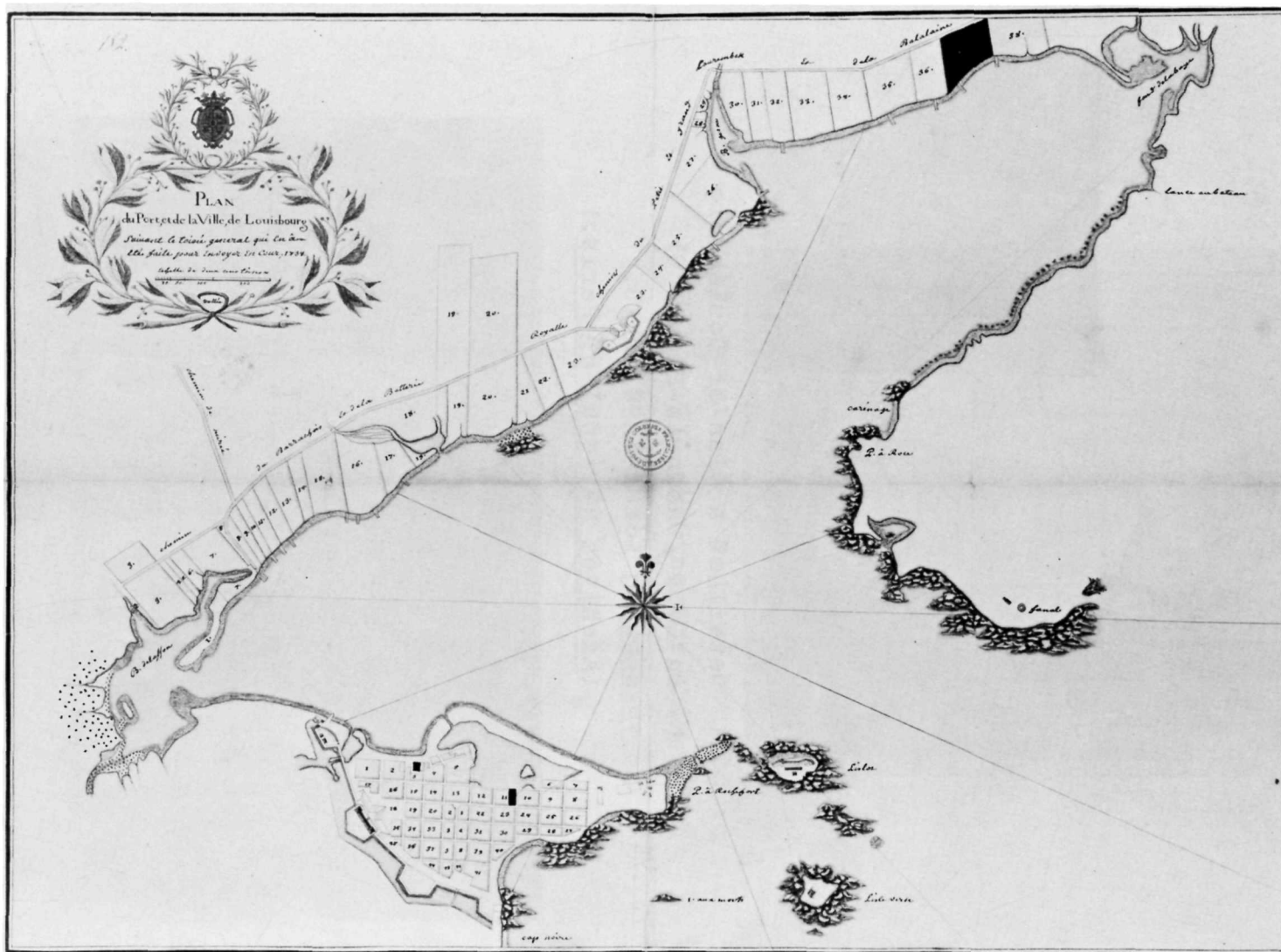
TIRE-BALLE

- 7 Surgical instruments. (Encyclopédie.... [Briasson, Paris, 1751-72], Vols. 3, 8.)

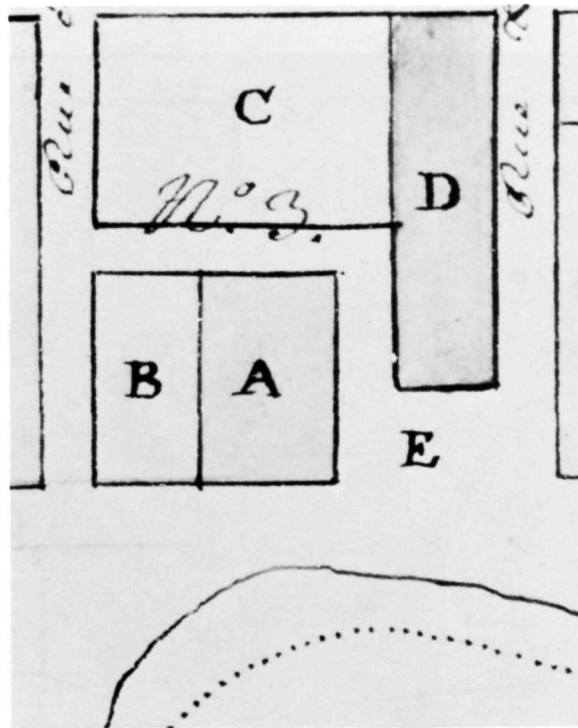


8 Plan of Louisbourg in 1734. Darkened areas indicate Lagrange's property in Blocks 3 and 11. (Archives Nationales, Paris.)

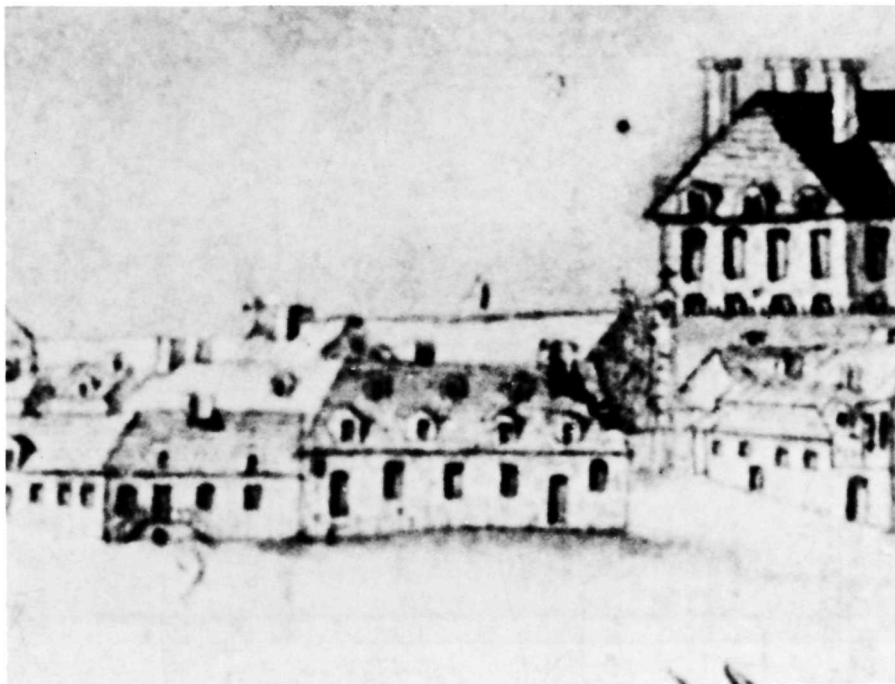




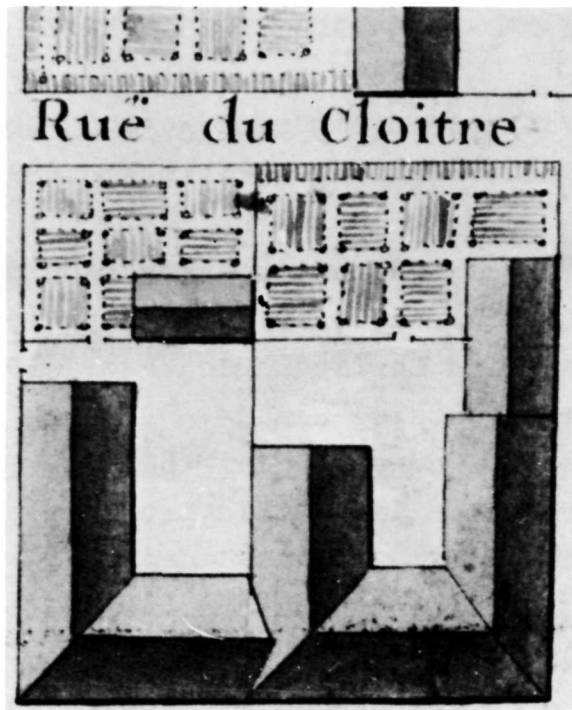
10 Plan of Louisbourg in 1734. Darkened areas indicate Lagrange's properties in the town and on the Côte du Nord. The barchois property was located somewhere in the dotted area (lower left). (Archives Nationales, Paris.)



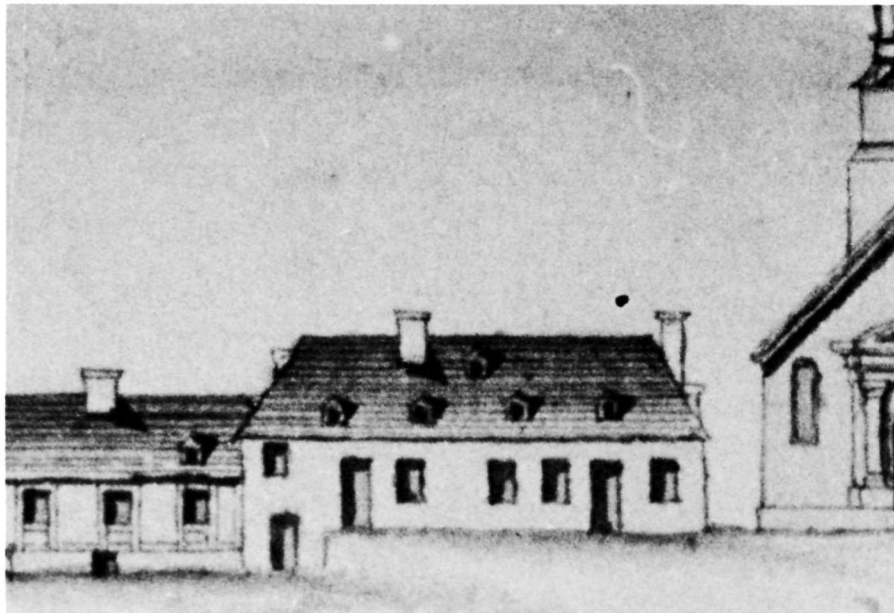
11 Detail of a plan of Louisbourg in 1734 (shown in Figure 8) showing Lot A in Block 3.  
(Archives Nationales, Paris.)



12 Detail of a view of Louisbourg in 1731 showing Lot A in Block 3 (on right). (Bibliothèque National, Paris.)



13 Detail of a plan of Louisbourg in 1734 showing Lot A in Block 3 (on right). (Archives Nationales, Paris.)



14 Detail of a view of Louisbourg in 1731 showing the Lagrange house in Block 3. (Archives du Génie, Paris.)

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- 1 Inventaire des marchés de construction des archives civiles de Québec, 1800-1870, by Geneviève G. Bastien, Doris D. Dubé and Christina Southam. 1975. 3 vols. \$20.00; \$24.00 outside Canada.
- 2 Histoire économique et sociale de Saint-Lin, 1805-1883, et l'importance de la famille Laurier, by Réal Bélanger. 1975. \$4.00; \$4.80 outside Canada.
- 3 Historique structurale du fort George, by Yvon Desloges. 1975. \$5.00; \$6.00 outside Canada.
- 4 Plans de l'architecture domestique inventoriés aux Archives Nationales du Québec à Montréal; Plans de l'architecture commerciale et industrielle inventoriés aux Archives Nationales du Québec à Montréal; Plans de l'architecture publique, de l'architecture religieuse et du génie mécanique inventoriés aux Archives Nationales du Québec à Montréal, by André Giroux, Nicole Cloutier and Rodrigue Bédard. 1975. 3 vols. \$11.00; \$13.20 outside Canada.
- 5 A Report on A West Coast Whaling Canoe Reconstructed at Port Renfrew, B.C., by E.Y. Arima. 1975. \$5.50; \$6.60 outside Canada.



