Placentia, Newfoundland

Jean-Pierre Proulx

The Military History of Placentia: A Study of the French Fortifications

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The Military History of Placentia: a Study of the French Fortifications

by Jean-Pierre Proulx

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Abstract

The purpose of this report is to present the results of a detailed study of the system of fortifications set up by the French at Placentia between 1662 and 1714. The four parts of the study correspond to the four periods of the history of Placentia. The first period, from 1662 to 1670, is that of the difficult beginnings of the colony: during these eight or so years the fortifications were very rudimentary. Between 1670 and 1690 the post made considerable progress under the governorships of La Poippe and Paret: this is the second period and hence the subject of the second part of the present study. Then there is the period from 1690 to 1703, the Golden Age of Placentia, during which the colony developed in every way; and there was an increase in the number of fortifications, which were reinforced, especially on account of the war between France and England. The last part of the study covers the period between 1703 and 1713, the last years of French colonization in Newfoundland. Each of these parts is introduced by a short historical account of the period concerned.

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Introduction

The little town of Placentia is situated on the west coast of the Avalon peninsula, about 60 miles from St. John's. There is a magnificent bay 55 miles wide and 90 miles long which leads through a channel only a few hundred feet wide to one of the most suitable ports for maritime enterprises. This haven, which can easily accommodate 150 fishing vessels, offers almost unparalleled advantages on the Newfoundland coast: a range of hills surrounding its roadstead protect it from the winds coming from the open sea; the narrowness of the entrance is a great help in its defence, since it can be closed simply by a chain; the fish in the area are first quality and the beaches are ideal for drying; the water, which divides into three channels runs up to eight miles inland, thus irrigating the whole port area. It was for all these reasons that Lord Vere Beauclerk described Placentia in 1728 as "the most commodious harbour and finest beach in the world."[1] However, it is true that the advantages of this port were realized by other people long before this English commodore.

It was during the XVIth century that the fishing industry took its place on the international scene. Fish answered the needs of North-American expeditions: an open market in all Catholic Europe, a capability of prolonged conservation which made it possible to provide food for transatlantic voyages, and, above all, the ease of exploitation with little capital expenditure.

So Placentia in particular was then visited by the Portugese, the French, the Normans, the Bretons, the Spaniards and the English. Historians are generally agreed that the first of all these peoples to exploit the Newfoundland fisheries, soon after Cabot's voyage, were the Portugese. In 1507, the fishing trade had assumed such importance in this country that King Emmanuel le Fortuné imposed a tax on cod imports.[2] But the XVIth century, however, remained the century of France. For the first time, in 1504, documents bear witness to the presence of Bretons in Newfoundland. But it is very probable that neither the Bretons nor the Normans were there for the first time, since the Spaniards and the Rochelais during the same period often employed Breton pilots on account of their

great experience. The Portugese, or Lusitanian-Portugese maps confirm this hypothesis by the following references: c. do bretaos; tierra de los bretones[...]."[3] In 1509 Breton and Norman ships set sail for Newfoundland, and, the following year, fish from "Newland" was on sale in Rouen. We can only surmise as to whether or not colonies were established by France.[4]

In spite of a few voyages carried out at the beginning of the XVIth century, England was the last to arrive on the Newfoundland fishing scene. Until 1550, fish from Iceland was sufficient to meet its needs, all the more so as, being a Protestant country, the demand was not so great there as in the Catholic countries. But from that time onwards, England wanted to take advantage of this source of wealth:[5] the demand for fish increased and was on the way to becoming one of the most important economic resources of the country. It was used especially as food for sailors on their trips to tropical countries. "If this should be lost," declared Sir Walter Raleigh, "it would be the greatest blow that has ever been given to England."[6] Another person who never missed an opportunity of praising the advantages of the Newfoundland fisheries was Anthony Parkrust.[7] It must be remembered that in those bygone days, it was the sea and not the earth which was the main source of abundance, at least, in North America.[8]

However, the arrival of the English was not to take place without its problems; the lack of salt forced them to find a place for themselves on the coast that was suitable for drying the fish; and this was at the expense of the occupants. For this reason, and also because their fleet was rather small, the British concentrated on the east bank of the Avalon peninsula, between Cape Race and Cape Bonavista. From that point they developed an imperialistic policy towards their competitors. First Portugal gave in, and then Spain, after the defeat of Philippe II's Armada in 1588. France alone was the only obstacle in their way. But the English advance coincided with the internal difficulties France had to face. France was no longer as powerful as she had been at the beginning of the century; the wars of religion had considerably weakened her on the political and economic[9] levels. Furthermore, on account of English oppression, her fisheries were very decentralized: the French boats visited Belle-Isle, the Gulf of the Saint-Lawrence and the Banks without having any central base directing their operations. This situation favoured the ambitions of the English and could but militate against the representations made by the French fishermen to the metropolitan government. And so, under the pressure of the English, France had to retreat to the north and west of the island, and at the end of the XVIth century, England took the place of France as a major power on the Banks of Newfoundland. In half a century she changed from a modest

position to one of the greatest importance. The expansion of her trade and industry depended from now on upon her facility in finding salt or maintaining places for drying the fish. The establishment of a pied-à-terre on the east coast of Newfoundland was of necessity going to lead to the following step: colonization concentrated especially on the Avalon peninsula. So it was on account of the lack of salt that England, the last country to come into the fishing business, was to be the first country to officially colonize the island.

There were two objectives in the undertaking to colonize the island: to control the international fish trade[10] and to ruin France's trade.[11] To achieve the first objective, at least five patents were issued by the King between the end of the XVIth century and the middle of the XVIIth century. Even if they were vigorously opposed by the West Country,[12] there was to some extent a good reason for them: about 1630, England had become powerful enough in the Newfoundland waters for David Kirke, the holder of one of these patents, to levy a tax on fish caught by foreign countries. As far as the second objective, to ruin France's trade, is concerned, the threat became more and more ominous, especially after 1651, when Cromwell officially named a governor of the English possessions in Newfoundland. Until that time, the fishermen had only confronted private individuals or companies on these territories; now they had to deal with a government. France had to do something about it. She founded Placentia which, for fifty years, was to be her principal base in Newfoundland and her communication link with Canada. By the founding of this colony, the French revealed their firm intention to compete with the English in the fishing business.

French people had probably settled in Placentia from the beginning of the XVIIth century.[13] Once national unity was established under Henry IV, France could begin to think seriously about establishing a colonial empire, and Newfoundland was to become part of it. As early as 1603 Champlain suggested to the king that the Avalon peninsula should be used as a port of call for the transport ships.[14] During the same period, but more specifically, M. de Sainte-Catherine in his "Mémoire pour Terre-Neuve" advocated the systematic colonization of the island from Norombègue and Québec, relying upon two important posts, Placentia and Cape Breton, which would have taken control of the back-country.[15] So very soon Placentia became part of the official or unofficial future plans of the French.[16]

However, it was not before the second half of the XVIIth century that France decided to officially found a colony in the island.[17] Placentia was then chosen because this part of the country was free of ice all year

round and the fish could therefore be delivered to Europe before that of any competitor. However, this establishment, above all, was in line with a very precise economic imperative: to fight against English competition in the fisheries.[18] However, we should also mention other motives, such as Colbert's wish to provide the Indies with fish. For this purpose it was absolutely essential to exploit dry fisheries and therefore to have a foothold on the continent. During the same period, Louis XIV also conceived the idea of "se rendre puissant par mer." He insisted on the expansion of the North American fisheries, which could ensure his control of this new continent as well as providing excellent training for the sailors. The government policy on this latter point led to the granting of subsidies to fishing-boat builders, preferential tariffs on dried fish and the occupation of Placentia, where first-quality cod could be found. Finally a question of defence could also determine the founding of the colony: "For the French to feel safe in North America, they had to deny the use of Newfoundland to any enemy."[19] In short, the reasons for the founding of Placentia can be summarized as the absolutism and mercantile policy of Louis XIV, both of which aimed at possessing, controlling and producing. In 1662 France simply wanted to regain the rights and privileges that it had lost to England during the Wars of Religion.

As can be well imagined, the founding of Placentia did not take place without the violent protests of the English, who felt that it was an encroachment upon their rights. People concerned immediately sent letters of repudiation to King Charles II, whilst a "Traité sur la pêche de l'Amérique où sont examinés et discutés les anciens droits de l'Angleterre à cette pêche et les différentes restrictions qu'Elle a éprouvées" makes it clearly understood that the French occupation of Placentia was undertaken with the tacit approval of the king of England.[20] Prowse supports the same hypothesis, basing his conviction on the testimony of Isaac Dethick, an Englishman living in Placentia, John Matthews of Ferryland, and Lady Hopking.[21] However, he hastens to add that there is no "positive evidence" but that, in the circumstances, the event must have taken place! Without totally rejecting this theory, it is impossible for us to support it, through lack of evidence. So long as this affair is a matter of secret diplomacy, we shall have to suppose and not assert.

What history tells us, however, unequivocally is that the French established themselves quite firmly in Placentia in 1662, perhaps even more solidly than the English in St. John's during the same period. This taking possession of the town involved certain dangers and called for solutions: the English threat was still imminent, even if as of 1660 Charles II had forbidden the British to establish

colonies in the island; the Dutch and freebooters constantly roamed around the post and were liable to attack it at any moment; it was also necessary to protect the fishing boats and the boats that put in there on their way to Canada. One of the solutions was to barricade the town behind fortifications strong enough to meet the needs of the period and the danger of invasion. Thus it was that over the course of half a century of official occupation the French built a series of fortifications at points considered most effective for the defence of the colony: a fort on the level ground to the east of Placentia, a palisade around the town (these two constructions soon disappeared), Fort Louis on the north side of the gut (today, the town of Jerseyside), Fort Royal on the mountain (Castle Hill), a little redoubt on the Gaillardin, as well as several small batteries stretching from the port to the entrance to the bay.

The purpose of this present work is to study this system of fortifications built between 1662 and 1714. But as the extent of the building and the intensity of the construction varied during this period according to the possibilities and needs of the moment, we thought that we should divide our study into four chapters. The first chapter covers the difficult beginnings of the colony, that is the period from 1662 to 1670. During these few years the settlement just managed to survive and the fortifications were rudimentary. From 1670 to 1690 the post became important under the governments of La Pioppe and Parat. Then there was the period referred to as the Golden Age of Placentia, 1690-1702: during that time the colony developed from every point of view; the fortifications increased in number and in strength, thanks mainly to the war between France and England. Finally, the last part of our work covers the years 1702 to 1713, when French colonization in Newfoundland drew to a close when faced with an economic crisis.

The Birth of a French Colony in Newfoundland: 1662-70

The Events

In 1662, a governor, accompanied by settlers and soldiers, disembarked at Placentia to found the first French colony in Newfoundland. This initiative was the logical outcome of the fruitless attempts begun seven years earlier with le sieur de Kéréon.

Le sieur de Kéréon

As early as 1655 the king resolved to reinforce his positions in the island by colonizing the place, but this decision led to nothing. No official document from the Court of France provides definite proof of this intention, but we are aware of it by the protests raised by the states of Brittany and the citizens of Saint-Malo on August 13, 1655 against the nomination of a governor to Placentia: "la province[...] a interest notable d'empescher cette inovation, et de faire tout son possible pour la conservation des libertés anciennes du dict traffiq [poissons]." For the ordinary citizens and leading citizens of Saint-Malo, such a decision could even lead to the "la ruine évidente et presque certaine de la dite Ville de Saint-Malo." In concluding the memorandum, the citizens argued that Newfoundland was very difficult to live in on account of its severe climate and its unproductive soil, and also that the choice of a governor was not intended "d'en augmenter lestandue et pour conserver cette isle avec plus d'assurances et de certitude dans l'obéissance du Roy" but rather "pour se rendre privatif l'abbord et les petites utilités de cette isle."[1] This policy of the Court could keep out metropolitan fishermen, according to the merchants of Brittany. This opposition certainly had its effect, as the governor's commission which the king had granted to Kéréon was never followed up.

Nicolas Gargot

However, the king resumed the project five years later, in 1660, with Nicholas Gargot. In 1658, this captain of a man-of-war, who already held the title of Compte de

Plaisance, was granted as a hereditary feoff a concession measuring 26 leagues in depth and 120 leagues wide on the south coast of Newfoundland between Cape Ray and Cape Race. Furthermore, he had authority in the high and lower courts of justice and had both civil and military powers.[2] Two years later, in his first laudable attempt to limit the English threat in the island, the king appointed Gargot as governor of Placentia. Gargot was commissioned to take control of the ports, havens and posts which would be most advantageous to France, and there to build forts and establish habitations so as to keep "ladite îsle en nostre obéissance."[3] The leading promoter of this project was Nicolas Fouquet, Gargot's patron.

But, as in the case of Kéréon, certain people found this decree far from pleasing. We learn this from a memorandum from Gargot in answer to accusations levelled against him by "corps de marchands superbes et riches."[4] It is generally accepted that this group of merchants was the Company of New France. This company objected to Fouquet's claims on account of its right to name the governors in the colonies under its jurisdiction.[5] Now, Gargot had been designated without its consent; so antagonism was the logical result of his nomination. Another explanation of the opposition is given by Millon and La Morandière, who were of the opinion that it was not, correctly speaking, due to the appointment of Gargot, but to "L'affaire" that he might have created in the colony, which would have been prejudicial to the company,[6] which considered it advisable to forestall the danger. Nicolas Denys would perhaps also have been one of the opponents of the governor, since the territory that he had obtained from the Company of New France in 1653 included the coast and the islands of the Gulf of the Saint-Lawrence "y compris Terre-Neuve."[7]

Gargot's arguments did not produce the desired results. Fouquet's disgrace and the pressure of the merchants, together with that of the Malouins and the States of Brittany, superseded the Court's projects. The best it could do was to send a small group of settlers to Placentia.[8] We known practically nothing of what happened to these pioneers, except that they were replaced two years later.

Du Perron

In 1662, Louis XIV, prompted by the memoirs of such as Thévenin, personally revived the project to colonize Placentia. This time it was to succeed. First of all he entrusted Pierre Boucher with the task of sending help to Canada: in the same year, two ships, the Aigle d'Or and the Flûste Royale, under the command of Gargot, took 100 soldiers and 200 settlers, who were recruited by sieur de

Monts. Taking advantage of the occasion, the king also had about 30 soldiers and some settlers sent aboard for Placentia. This group was to replace the group that Fouquet had sent two years before. The new arrivals settled on the south bank of the gut under the shelter of the most rudimentary fortifications. Now, under the royal flag, Placentia affirmed the existence of a French colony in Newfoundland. Its beginnings were very simple, but the impetus had been given; all that was necessary now was to follow it up and intensify it. This was attempted the following year.

We know practically nothing of the events which took place in Placentia between the appointment of Du Perron as governor in the autumn of 1662 and the arrival of the reinforcements in 1663. We have only found two of the governor's letters, and they dealt with nothing but the state of the fort in 1662.[9] As far as the historian, Millon, is concerned, he tells us of the mutiny in which the young governor was one of the victims and he describes the state in which Gargot must have found the colony.[10] Almost everything had to be done over again: the fort had been pillaged and abandoned, Du Perron and his relatives had been assassinated and of the 30 soldiers sent as a garrison a few months earlier there were only eight survivors who were trying the reach the English posts.

Fortunately, quite large reinforcements arrived in 1663. A memorandum written on January 20, that is before the second voyage of Gargot, which took place in June, mentions the dispatch of 20 more soldiers and 50 other people which included 20 fishermen's families. Including the provisions, tools and munitions, the expenses amounted to 14,554 francs and 16 sous.[11] Bellot dit Lafontaine then took the place of Du Perron as governor.

Bellot dit Lafontaine

Far from working to strengthen the colony, the new governor contributed rather to weaken it by his negligence and the abuse of his power. In spite of this, he enjoyed the support of his mother country.[12] In 1666, the king agreed to take any new settlers under his protection so that they would settle more permanently in the colony; this undertaking was for one year and then for three years. The king also attempted to entice English subjects settled in Newfoundland to come under the protection of France. Finally, he offered all shipowners subsidies of 5 francs per man and 3 francs per women for those whom they brought to Placentia. In spite of this support, Bellot made little or no progress in developing the colony, and Louis XIV, not being satisfied with his performance, recalled him on December 8, 1666.

La Palme

For six years France had been making repeated attempts to establish a strong base in Newfoundland. For six years she had suffered reverses or had made very little progress. In such a situation, Louis XIV could, like Charles II, have abandoned his plan to colonize the island. But such was not the case. In 1667, the king continued his efforts.

First of all he appointed a new governor, La Palme. In his instructions the king reminded him of the importance of Placentia and ordered him to help the new families, to encourage the exploitation of the soil and to protect the fishermen, as the development of the cod fishing industry was "principale et la première intention de Sa Majesté."[13] La Palme arrived in the colony in June 1667 aboard the Saint-Sébastien.[14] We have very little information concerning his administration, except that he seems to have complied with the king's wishes. What was more important, however, was the support he received from the mother country. Aboard two warships, France sent him 150 soldiers, arms and materials, which is convincing evidence of her firm intention to establish a strong colony.[15]

This activity stirred up the opposition of the English, which until then had remained dormant. Pro-colonialists, such as William Hill and John Rayners became concerned about the French drive in the area of fishing, especially after the abolition of the English government in the island. They appealed to the English Court to take action as soon as possible for the good of the inhabitants, and they insisted upon the necessity to appoint once again a governor in Newfoundland in order to repossess the main harbours on the south coast.[16] Their appeals had no effect upon the English government. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Placentia realized that it would be wiser to barricade themselves behind fortifications, which until that time had been neglected.

The Fortifications

Those engaged in the research encountered several difficulties concerning the first fortifications. The historians they consulted generally differed as to the dates and places of construction, or simply evaded the issue by supporting previously established theories, without going deeply into the question. The basic reason for this situation is the lack of documentation. A single piece of evidence, which often cannot be substantiated, is sufficient to build up a hypothesis: just one more piece of evidence can invalidate it. We have an example of this in 1662.

Three difficulties arise when we study the fortifications of the period 1660-1670: the year of the

first construction, the place where the "vieux fort" was built and what it looked like.

Date of Construction of the First Fort

Rightly or wrongly, historians accept 1662 as being the date the first defence work was undertaken in Placentia. Only one author, A.J.H. Richardson, mentions another date, namely 1655.[17] According to him, the French Basques (who, in spite of the union of their country to France in 1589, had remained more or less independent), working together with the English, built a small fort, probably made of earth. However, Richardson presents this assertion simply as a plausible hypothesis.

What is certain is that Placentia had its fort in 1662. Although all the authors agree in stating that it was the work of the governor from Nantes, Thalour Du Perron, we are very sceptical about the thesis.[18] First of all because, according to the usual conjectures, this young governor arrived in the colony at the earliest towards the end of October.[19] Take our word for it that this is much too late to undertake construction of this kind, because this type of construction usually comes to an end in mid-October. Moreover, we know that Du Perron was assassinated in 1663, at the end of the winter. A period of only four or five winter months in office made it almost impossible for him to have completed the work attributed to him.[20] Secondly - and this is our major argument - we have found a letter from the governor which indicates that there was a fort in the colony before he arrived:

> Pour l'estat d'un fort que lon prétendoit y estre bien estably monsieur colbert scaura s'il vous plain qu'il ne sy'y est treuvé personne de ceux que lon croyoit y devoir être, non plus que de munitions, outre 4 canons, et pour bastimentz une grande loge de pieux couverte de terre, qui est autant comme rien.[21]

In February 1663, Du Perron wrote once again in the same vein:

> J'ay donc pensé, Monsieur, qu'il estoit assés de vous informer de l'estat auquel nous avons treuvé ce que Lon appeloit le fort de plaisance dont les aparences de fortifications sont sy pettittes qu'il vaudroit mieux dire quil ny en a point du tout.[22]

It is possible that this fort was in ruins in 1662, but this deterioration confirms our thesis that it must certainly have been built before Du Perron's arrival. The best the young governor could have done was to improve it. But even here we can only conjecture, since he left very little correspondence.[23]

All that we can conclude from these facts is that there were the remains of a fort at Placentia when Du Perron took office before September 18, 1662. But even then, for how long had this construction been in existence? This is where we enter the realm of hypothesis. The most plausible explanation is that the little fort was the work of Fouquet's friends who immigrated in 1660 and were replaced in 1662. Might there be some connection between the earthworks which are supposed to have existed in 1655 and the "grande loge de pieux couverte de terre" used as a building and mentioned by Du Perron in his letter? Perhaps; but we prefer to choose 1660, the year in which the first group of settlers arrived.

The Site of the "vieux fort"

The site where the "vieux fort" was built has given rise to a controversy amongst the few historians who have expressed an opinion on the subject.

Two places can be seriously considered as probable sites of the first construction work: the south point of the gut, or the plateau to the north-east of the town. In fact the theories claiming that this fort was near Jerseyside or on Castle Hill can easily be refuted by documents that we shall study in the following chapters.[24]

The most generally accepted opinion is that the fort was situated on the south point of the gut, where Fort Frédérick was later built. But once again, the number of opinions is of scant importance. All Prowse had to do was to express his opinion on the subject and all his disciples accepted it, often even without researching the subject any further.[25] Now, Prowse is far from being an expert on the subject; the mere fact that he affirms that Fort Louis was situated on the mountain of the redoubt is proof enough.[26] So what is the value of the conjectures of his followers...?

We more readily support the opinions of the historians who claim that the fort was situated on the flat land to the north-east of the town. Besides, there are more serious grounds for this thesis than for that of Prowse, who makes no reference to any source of information. We know of two maps and a plan which give evidence of the existence of this French fort at the beginning of the colony; they all place the fort on the plateau to the north-east of Placentia (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4). As far as the other maps that we have studied are concerned, they simply do not make any mention of it.[27] The census of 1687 is also revealing on the subject. In it there is a statement that the Great Beach, the Little Beach and the fort are all separated by the sea: the mouth of the gut separates the two beaches, whilst these two beaches are separated from the fort by the harbour. To agree with this description, the fort must, of

necessity, be situated on the plateau mentioned above.[28] As far as geographical situation is concerned, we will also see that, according to the maps, the little fort would be better situated on the hill than at water level. So it is our belief that the "vieux fort" was on the plateau to the north-east of Placentia, that it dates back to a time prior to 1662, and that it was then perhaps reinforced by a battery on the south point of the gut.

Aspect of the Fort

What remains to be decided is what the fort looked like. The only reference to the fort in our possession is the very brief mention of it in Du Perron's letter which tells of a "grande loge de pieux couverte de terre, qui est autant comme rien."[29] At that time there were four cannons in the fort.[30] In 1662-1663, the number was increased to 18, and then to 32 in 1667 when Placentia received a large supply of materials to fortify the place. Apart from this document, we have a plan of the fort, which probably dates back to the middle of the 1670s. However, we doubt that the quality of the fort was as good ten years earlier.

In short, these defence works seem to have been far from perfect and very rudimentary; they amounted to simple earthen ramparts reinforced with stakes. The absence of any serious danger of attack from the outside would seem to explain the simplicity of these defence works. In fact the general rule seems to be that defence is more casual when the threat of attack is less imminent. This rule, which also applies in reverse, applies admirably to the case of Placentia. Towards the end of the decade, England began to present more opposition to French colonization. France reacted accordingly. On September 8, 1669, the minister wrote to Colbert du Terron: "Ayez soin de fortifier aussy de temps en temps la Colonie de Plaisance qui pourra devenir un poste considérable avec le temps."[31] In 1670, La Pioppe replaced La Palme as governor, thus bringing to an end the first stage of the colony's history.

The Colony Gets Organized: 1670-90

The Events

The nomination of La Pioppe as governor marks a stage in the history of Placentia. The definitive organization of the colony dates from the long and intelligent administration of this governor.[1] It was also during his stay in the country that the population began to enjoy the amenity of the place thanks to an embryonic but operative social organization. Furthermore, it was the well-being of the society which took first place in the instructions the governor received from minister Colbert and from the intendant general in Aunis, Colbert du Terron. The two officials insisted upon the safety of the "laboureurs, pescheurs et paisans" and also upon the fact that the new governor should accustom the inhabitants to support themselves by means of fishing and cultivating the land.[12] The second objective was never reached in the whole history of the colony.

His Majesty had indeed recommended that La Pioppe should "contribuer à la conservation et augmentation de ladite colonie," but he did not provide the necessary means for him to do so. As of 1672, he reduced the sum of 10,000 francs which until that time he had granted annually towards the development of the colony.[3] The year before, the Court had adopted a new policy which left him with nothing but the remuneration of the officers on the post. In fact in 1671 His Majesty had left the responsibility for the provision of food and supplies to Placentia to the ships' captains. On their return to France, these captains had to present a certificate from the governor of the place indicating what merchandise had been delivered "en qualité et quantité," according to the contractual agreement. This policy reduced the expenses incurred by the mother country, but led to speculation on the part of the ships' captains, an abuse which adversely affected the inhabitants of the colony.[4] The latter, with the support of the Secretary of State, reacted by objecting to being prevented from doing business with English ships, thereby profiting especially from contraband with New England.[5]

All the sedentary population, including the governor, lived almost exclusively upon the fish they caught during

the spring and autumn.[6] When the ships arrived from France, the inhabitants exchanged their fish for the merchandise necessary for their subsistence. Whatever agriculture there was amounted to nothing more than kitchen gardens around huts made of stakes covered with the bark of trees. There was still no cultivated land in Placentia in 1687. As far as cattle-raising was concerned, there were only 31 horned beasts in this same year.[7]

The colony experienced difficult times during the war with Holland (1672-1678). In a remark on trips to Newfoundland, the chief commissioner at Brest, M. de Benne, pointed out that Placentia was in danger of being ruined or captured.[8] As a solution he suggested that a small fort manned by a garrison of 20 men should be built "pour soutenir l'autorité royale." In 1675, on account of the constant threat of enemy privateers, Louis XIV had all the ports of the country closed in order to prevent any French vessel from leaving without an escort.[9] The following year, the fishermen signed contracts in which they promised in the presence of a notary to sail together with other ships during their crossings of the Atlantic.[10] However, the hostilities had more direct effects upon the colony. According to Prowse, Placentia had been attacked five times by the English and at least once by the Dutch before 1685.[11] Many letters testifying that pirates were prowling on the shores of Newfoundland at that time confirm this assertion. In short, in spite of the pious vows of the home country at the beginning of La Pioppe's mandate, the colony could do nothing but remain in a more or less stagnant state for want of any more concrete intervention on the part of France.[12] The little progress that was achieved was due to the good administration of the authorities in the colony and the initiative of the inhabitants. The last years of the period with which we are dealing in this chapter (1670-1690), were to witness the increase of French influence in Newfoundland. The catches of the French fishermen reached a new high point, whilst French naval power increased proportionately.[13] Placentia would profit from this resurgence.

In 1687, the king decided to establish a military garrison in Placentia. Responding perhaps to the memorandum of Parat in the previous year, or to a desire to re-establish order in the colony,[14] His Majesty then made a serious effort to consolidate his possessions in Newfoundland. On May 30, he sent over, aboard three ships under the command of the knights of Amblimont and Arivaux and M. de Guillotin, 25 soldiers, a commander, an engineer, 10 cannons, munitions and tools to till the land.[15] In addition, the Court ordered Parat to have the soldiers and civilians work on the fortifications.[16] However, the upkeep of the company raised a major problem. As there was

no place to house them, they had to be housed by the inhabitants who, being dissatisfied about it, set forth their own terms: the soldiers were to help them with their fishing and refrain from wearing swords, so as to avoid the possibility of any disorder. So the soldiers very soon became more fishermen than soldiers and categorically refused to take part in any defence work unless France granted them additional pay.

In 1689, the social life of Placentia was marked by an unusual event. In fact, on June 21, the Bishop of Quebec, Mgr de Saint-Vallier, came to the colony aboard a small boat commanded by a certain Pierre Lallemand who had come there on business. The prelate brought along with him two Recollects, Fathers Sixte le Tac and Joseph Denis, who were to serve respectively as superior and vicar-general. In order to proceed with their installation, Mgr de Saint-Vallier acquired for the sum of 1200 francs, and much to the displeasure of Parat, a habitation and a beach on the side of the Great Beach. Then, on July 21 next, he left Placentia to go to Saint-Pierre with Costebelle and some soldiers. So the bishop had just established the religious organization of the colony, not without having noticed some differences of opinion between the governor and the military commander.[17]

In any event, this reinforcement of the French colony as of 1687 had two major effects: a diminishing of English influence and an increase in the boldness of the action of the French. We have discovered a table comparing the quantity of fish caught by the English in 1615 with the quantity they caught in 1677.[18] We notice a decrease of at least 52 per cent in the three sectors studied. It is understandable that in such a situation England wanted to make up for lost ground. That is why in 1673, she began to encroach upon the south coast as far as Trépas.

For her part, France, having become more powerful, became firmer and more arrogant towards her neighbour. In 1675 and 1689 the Minister instructed all ships leaving for Newfoundland to disrupt the fishing activities of the other nations.[19] In 1681, it was suggested to exclude all other nations from the French fishing grounds and to impose a duty on imports of foreign fish.

Placentia was thus to play an important role as a barrier against England. Armed conflict was beginning to appear inevitable and even necessary. Preparations had to be made for it with strong fortifications.

The Fortifications

As in the case of the first decade of Placentia's existence, there are conflicting theories concerning the defence works constructed in this French colony in Newfoundland during the period 1670-1690. According to the patents issued by La

Pioppe on February 20, 1670, the fortifications of the colony at that time amounted to one fort and its garrison.[20] However, John Downing adds that the gut was already blocked by a chain. It was impossible for us to verify this evidence, but we have doubts about it.[21]

Theories also differ concerning the number of forts existing in the establishment. Tomkinson, for his part, believes that there were two.[22] He bases his hypothesis on an unsigned English memorandum,[23] and this is the only document giving this figure: all the other sources mention the construction of only one fort. The second fort referred to was probably constructed in the 1660s and possibly maintained until about 1686.

We have two reasons for supposing that the fort was in rather poor condition at the beginning of the colony. First of all France had reduced its financial support, thus abandoning her colony to economic difficulties which rendered any fortification work well nigh impossible. Furthermore, although the threat of military intervention was greater than that of the previous period, it was not yet sufficiently serious to warrant large expenditures under this heading. However, we know that the first fort was in ruins and "tout ouvert" in 1686.[24] Parat, who had felt conscious of the danger of a war against England, undertook the construction of the second fort of Placentia in the following year.

In actual fact, it was not so much a question of a fort, but of a "bâtiment royal." Furthermore, Louis de Pastour de Costebelle was to state a little later that there was not at that time any picket palisade at Placentia.[25] The defence work, measuring 150 feet long by 18 feet wide, was situated on the northern point of the gut (Fig. 5).[26] As indicated on the plan, it served as a "fort" and as the governor's residence. Furthermore, it was the governor who apparently had it built at his own expense. We have no description of its architecture or of the kind of materials used in its construction. We simply know that the governor had no effective defence force and that in 1687 it consisted of 14 volunteers, 9 soldiers (not one of whom was a royal soldier), 1 cow, 1 bull, 8 cannons without carriages (only 3 of them mounted), 24 guns and 12 pistols...[27] It is important not to confuse this construction, as La Morandière does, with Fort Louis, which was constructed in the early 1690s.[28] One only has to compare the plans of these two fortifications to see the difference (Fig. 5).

Also in 1687, the newly arrived engineer, drew up the plans of the fort to be built and raised the cannons onto a platform overlooking the gut, at the very same place where Parat had had his building erected.[29] He also sent stones from the country to be analysed in France. But the construction of the defence works was hindered by difficulties, as we have seen, in getting the soldiers and

inhabitants to work on the fortifications. Furthermore, it was very difficult to hire the masons needed for the work. In 1687 Parat asked for 10 or 12 of them: he received five of them two years later. Consequently, in 1689 there was not yet any fort or redoubt and the majority of the population was unarmed. On July 29 of the same year, Parat wrote to the minister saying that the "fort" would be satisfactory for the place if the palisade was constructed, and that he was awaiting the masons needed to do the work.[30] He also asked for a frigate as a defence against the pirates.

On September 4, the governor wrote that the place was in grave danger "sans aucum enclos ni aucune défense;" that all but two of the soldiers were at the Great Beach; that he had had an armourer come from Fortune at his own expense.[31] Finally, on September 10 he begged the king to deign to protect his colony: "Il dépendra de vous de mettre ce pays à couvert de l'insulte et du plus méchant pays du monde en faire le meilleur."[32]

What can we conclude about the fortifications of the period 1670-1690 except that they were not very different from those of the preceding decade: no architectural technique, no masonry, no concrete plan to fortify the place. At the time of Parat's arrival in 1685, the first fort was in ruins and the inhabitants flatly refused to reconstruct it. Two years later, the governor managed to have a building constructed on the northern point of the sound, which he presumptuously referred to as the "fort of Placentia." Captain Talbot in his report on Newfoundland very aptly summed up the situation of the fortifications at the end of the period 1670-1690:

> There is likewise less Reason that they should be allowed to fortifie or settle any Colony as they have done at Placentia; what they have done as yet is of no great moment and may easily be reduced, but if they have time to neast themselves it may bee as difficult removing them as the Cowkillers from Hispaniola.[33]

During the last of these twenty years, the offensive and defensive power of Placentia were no longer adequate for the role as a military base which the mother country demanded of her colony. As Talbot feared, the increased audacity of France in Newfoundland waters necessitated an increase in her strength. The protests and solicitations Parat made on the subject towards the end of the period concerned were preparing for the war of the Augsbourg League.

The Colony at War: 1690-1702

The Events

In 1677, a memorandum from the West Country concerning the English colony and fishng in Newfoundland attributed a very special role to the fort of Placentia. In fact we can read in the document that this fort had been built as a protection against the Indians who, at certain times came from Maine to harass the French population in its beaver trade, "for which trade and not for fishing they do inhabit there."[1] This theory, which was more or less accepted until about 1867, was subsequently to be completely discarded in view of the decisive French initiative. Thus it was that in his declaration of war on May 7, 1689, William III made it clear that it was his firm intention to re-establish the supremacy of England in Newfoundland.[2]

At the beginning of 1690, the French and English colonies learned that their mother countries had declared war in Europe. In spite of the treaty of intercolonial neutrality signed on November 16, 1686, this conflict between the mother countries was bound to have an influence upon their respective American possessions.

The Raid of 1690

Parat was still governor of Placentia when hostilities broke out. Ignorance of the declaration of war, excessive confidence in the treaty of 1686, or even his own personal interests had until then led him to allow the English to move freely about the post. At the outbreak of hostilities, the results of this espionage were soon to be felt. As early as February 25, 1690, 45 buccaneers from Ferryland led by Herman Williamson and guided by five individuals whom the governor had entertained a few weeks earlier invaded Placentia from the landward side. After having killed two soldiers and wounded Louis de Pastour de Costebelle with a bullet in the back, they took over all the buildings, carried off or damaged all the belongings, furniture, arms, cod-fishing boats, ships and fishing utensils, threw four cannons into the sea and spiked four others. As far as the population was concerned, they got away with six weeks of wintertime captivity in the church. The enemy left on April

5, taking with them the colony's provisions, so that after the attack "les inhabitants se trouvèrent à peu près dans le même état que s'ils avaient été jetés par un naufrage sur la côte déserte."[3] They remained in the same state until fishermen arrived from Bayonne, Saint-Jean-de-Luz and Chiboure in the spring of 1690.

The Mutiny of 1690

The French fishermen were at first very devoted to the colony's cause. In particular, the Basques provided the governor with some 30 guns, munitions and supplies, and even considered the possibility of rebuilding the fortifications in accordance with an agreement made by their shipowners. But things did not remain that way. There had always existed a feeling of animosity between the militiamen and soldiers on one side, and the European fishermen on the other. In the case of the inhabitants, the basic cause of friction was related to the use of the beaches which they appropriated by reason of concessions granted to them; and then they prevented fishermen coming from France from making use of them. As far as these European fishermen were concerned, they showed no respect whatsoever for the king's officers, as they resented the intrusion of a military organization in a region where they had been the masters for such a long time.

The Basques were certainly the most arrogant of all these fishermen. Furthermore, the population of Placentia was dependent upon these undisciplined intermediaries, who brought them not only sustenance but also the men needed for fishing.[5] The temptation for these Basques to assert their independence was increased by the fact that they were by far the most numerous in the area, as the Malouins preferred the harbours of Chapeau Rouge or Saint-Pierre island. This feeling of independence was certainly at the root of the 1690 mutiny. On August 20 of that year, the fight broke out between the sailors and a family living in the colony. Then the uprising spread and the rebels attacked the guardhouse. They took possession of the weapons in it and filed past the governor "lui mettant tour à tour le poing sous le nez en menaçant de massacrer tous les officers."[6] The rebellion died down a few days later. However it demonstrated Parat's lack of authority and all the hatred that he had aroused against him. On September 28, the governor decided that the wisest thing for him to do would be to return to France aboard a Malouin ship, having been subjected to "cruotés qui sont sand exemple." According to Costebelle, Parat left "comme un homme qui, saisi d'une peur panique, diroit sauve qui peut."[7] The least one can say of him is that he "n'était pas tellement joli garçon."

Louis de Costebelle, Interim Governor

If Parat was still in the colony at the end of August 1690, it was purely by accident. In fact, after the English attack in February, Seignelay had decided to replace him by M. de Brouillan. The new governor was to take office on June 1 of the same year, but the impossibility of embarking meant that Parat was still in office two months later. The causes of his recall were due to his bad administration.[8] In a "déclaration et attestation que font les habitans De Plaisance contre monsieur parat leur gouverneur," we can read that they accused him of having made them work for his private interests, rather than on the fortifications, by having a house built for him and his mistress; of taking possession of the provisions and selling them at a high price; of having failed in his service to the king by abandoning his fort, etc.[9] Following the hasty departure of Parat and the late arrival of Brouillan, Louis de Pastour de Costebelle took over as interim governor of the colony.

At that time, Placentia was in a lamentable state. Following the English attack in February and the mutiny in August the post was short of clothing, arms, munitions and provisions. To aggravate the situation, the merchants made light of the agreement they had made in France concerning the fortifications they were to build to defend the entrance to the harbour. The colony once again was quite defenceless. All there was as a garrison was a group of nine soldiers, as the others were employed by the inhabitants for fishing. Besides, this kind of work was necessary, since the troops had not received any pay for two years, which did not fail to give rise to "grands désordres."[10]

In spite of the difficulties and, above all, thanks to the unquestionable talents of de Costebelle, the colony managed to survive during these difficult years.[11] First of all, Costebelle implored the king to grant him reinforcements. Now he demanded 50 soldiers, a warship to protect the colony against the English, the concession of a beach (the admiral's beach belonging to the merchants) and the construction of a fort. Locally, he sought the assistance of the Basques, who, not without some diffculty, let him have some arms and ammunition. Then, on September 8, he assembled all the inhabitants of Placentia, Little Placentia and Pointe Verte to build a palisade. Thanks to the exemplary execution of Doyen, who had refused to collaborate, the very primitive construction was completed within two weeks. These defence works were most opportune, since the next month a group of English coming from Bay Bull and Ferryland arrived on the scene. However, they decided not to attack the place. Thus, on December 28, Costebelle was able to write that the situation at Placentia had

somewhat improved, thanks mainly to the two French ships which had put into port.[12]

Le sieur de Brouillan, Governor

Le sieur de Saint-Ovide de Brouillan arrived in Placentia at the beginning of 1691. He was a gentleman from Guyenne and a former infantry officer in the French army. His instructions, dated January 10, covered almost all the subjects concerning the administration of a colony: they dealt with the importance of business, the fortifications to be built, the provisions to be controlled, the social measures to be adopted, the policy that should be adopted towards the English, alliances with the Indians, etc.[13] Aboard the Joly, which brought the governor over, the king, who was "était chagrin des dégâts" suffered in the previous year, also sent 23 soldiers "pour faire le nombre de 40," 17 Basque volunteers, arms, ammunition, tools, etc.[14] The crew took three months to mount the cannons received.

The reinforcements of 1691 continued the policy of supply - in the colony which the mother country had started twenty years before.[15] In this year, Descazeaux from Nantes had undertaken to raise a supplementary detachment for the garrison, to enroll workmen for the fortifications, to provide for their transport, to pay the soldiers and to sell food to the inhabitants. In return, the king put two of his ships under his command and granted him a temporary commission to make the journey, total possession of the catches, and above all, a monopoly of the sale of foods and merchandise to the inhabitants.[16]

Thanks to this help, the colony in 1691 got back to its normal state, that is, a precarious one.[17] The total population, which had dropped by three persons as compared with the figures of 1687, was at that time 83 persons, not including the enlisted men.[18] These people spent the winter cutting wood for the fortifications. The fishing business was "abattu," probably due to the many catches caused by the war. Even military activity slowed down: only one minor event was recorded in this year. On September 7, Brouillan reported to the minister an abortive attack by the English during the night of August 24-25. The English withdrew, but not before having left a notice under the English coat of arms which read:

> Avec le temps, je me
> veux m'establir icy.[19]

A harmless enough event, perhaps, but, even so, very significant.

On April 1, 1692, the king sent new instructions to Brouillan.[20] His Majesty informed him that he was sending 20 good recruits, 10 enlisted men, 11 carpenters, 1 gunner, 1 armourer and some workmen to work on the fort. Descazeaux was once again entrusted with providing the

necessary funds for the maintenance and subsistence of the garrison and staff. The Court also forbade the governor to engage in business for his own personal ends (as he had been accused of doing) or to threaten the freedom of the inhabitants by speculating on wages and provisions.

As far as the fortifications are concerned, the king accepted Brouillan's plans on condition that he compensated the displaced inhabitants. The instructions ended with an allusion to the attack that Brouillan had proposed to launch against the English colonies. In short, this help sent in 1692 seemed to be the salvation of the country. It was in line with the views of M. de Gastines, the Paymaster of the Navy in the department of Nantes, in whose opinion it was necessary to have order and a peaceful government in Placentia "pour donner courage aux habitants qui y sont et en attirer d'autres."[21] Unfortunately, the Joly, which, together with the Cloche and the Samaritaine, was supposed to transport part of the supplies, foundered with all its cargo.[22] Brouillan's plan to attack St. John's was delayed and consequently compromised; he even had to revert to a defensive position when faced with the attack of 1692, at a time when the colony was having enormous difficulties in finding enough food to live on.

Williams at Placentia: 1692

Brouillan believed that Placentia, once fortified, would be able to ruin English business in Newfoundland. It seems that the English were of the same opinion since, in the autumn of 1692, they tried to destroy the settlement.[23] The attack was led by Commodore Williams.[24] On September 14, his five ships (the Saint-Albans with 65 cannon, the Plemuth and the Galère of equal strength, and two frigates) were sighted off the coast and the governor was informed. Brouillan immediately instructed the captains of his ships to line them up in the port. Then he visited fort and had the cannons made ready, manned the posts with the companies of militiamen, stationed troops on the parade-ground and sent some men to man the cannons. He also had a redoubt made of stakes erected on the Gaillardin mountain and saw to it that the gut was closed by four cables attached on each bank to anchors firmly embedded in the soil and reinforced by a battery of four cannon. The governor also sent La Hontan to take up station at La Fontaine with 60 to 80 men to prevent any landing at that point. Then at about 1600 hours, the ships entered the roadstead hoisting the red flame and the English flag; they moored broadside off Placentia. They had between 700 or 800 men aboard; as for the French colony, it only had 50 soldiers supported by Basque fishermen. On September 16, the temperature hindered any movement. On September 17, there was an abortive landing at La Fontaine. September 18

was reserved for parleys. Then, on September 19, the attack began. The English fired about 2000 cannon-balls, which shattered several houses; the fort fired 300 rounds. At 1400 hours the ships withdrew for repairs. They moored in the roadstead from the 20th to the 22nd of September, and then the English fleet withdrew on September 23. Placentia survived the attack. The English "sainte-barbe" had not disturbed the colony too much for, according to La Hontan, the enemy had only "tiré sa poudre aux moineaux." The English lost six men killed in the attack. So as to avoid a repetition of such insults, the king instructed all captains of ships arriving at Placentia to bring their ships into the roads and to send a longboat to announce their arrival to the governor. Otherwise anyone could easily come within range of the cannons of the fort.[25]

Wheeler's Attack: 1693

The winter of 1692-1693 was marked by poverty and famine. During the last two months of the season, the soldiers were rationed to four ounces of bread per day. Brouillan even had to force those who were better provided for to supply food for those who had none.[26] Once again the dearth of food was caused by the shipwreck of the ship (Le Bon) entrusted with the replenishment of the colony. Fortunately, reinforcements arrived on June 20, thus preparing Placentia to repulse the English attack of 1693.[27]

It was on August 28 that Francis Wheeler arrived at the post. Under his command the admiral had 19 ships, which moored in the open roadstead within musket shot of La Fontaine cove. Understanding the danger presented by this fleet, Brouillan immediately had two cannon shots fired to alert the population and the merchant ships of the imminent attack. After having had the two cables drawn across to close the entrance to the gut,[28] the governor sent Costebelle to La Fontaine and Saint-Ovide to the redoubt that had recently been set up on the mountain. At this latter place, he had a platform erected and, by means of purchase tackles and pulleyblocks, mounted a culverin with 10 pounds of balls and a battery of four pieces (1 x 10, 1 x 8, 2 x 2). On the next day, August 29, the squadron retreated before the cannonade from the fort. On the 30th, the English fleet was increased by five ships. Then Brouillan had a picket post erected within musket shot of the redoubt. On the 31st, he added a third cable at the entrance to the harbour, and stationed a ship there with instructions to sink it if the enemy threatened to pass through the gut. The English ships remained in the roadstead without moving on September 1 and 2. Then on September 3, the weather, which had remained "fin" until then, became stormy and the enemy had to withdraw without having fired a

single shot. The safety of Placentia was due much more to this storm, added to the losses sustained by the English fleet at Martinique and to an illness contracted by the troops at Boston, than to the strength of Placentia's fortifications. Furthermore, this squadron was originally supposed to attack Quebec, but the damages mentioned above obliged it to be satisfied with attacking Placentia.

The Quiet Years: 1694-95

In order to describe the state of Placentia in 1963, we are going to quote at this point a memorandum from La Hontan written in about 1696.[29] The information contained in it concerning the French colony of Placentia was probably gathered for the benefit of the English government. Furthermore, the fact that the document was found amongst the papers of William Blathwayt, "Secretary-at-War," seems to be indubitable proof of the assumption. In his memorandum, the author first explains the two ways of capturing Placentia, by land or by sea, then the means of keeping possession of the place by building something other than "forteresses de cartes." Then there is a description of the colony. First of all the author deals with the course to follow to avoid the reefs and take advantage of the favourable winds (N.-N.-W), then with the Habitation itself:

> Le fort de plaisance a 200 pas de circonférence à peu près[...] la fortification est aussi mauvaise qu'irrégulière et le sera encore pendant que ce gouverneur icy se maintiendra; elle consiste en 4 courtines de pierres entassées entre des pieux lequelles s'éboulent par le moindre coup de canon qu'on tire; il y en a 12 de dix et hyit de vint et quatre livres de bale sur le costé qui fait face à la rade, et 14 sur celuy qui garde l'entrée du petit détroit, à l'égard des bastions il ni en a que deux petits sans flancs ni gorge pour ainsi dire faits de la mesme manière que les courtines. la cabane du gouverneur est au milieu du fort celles des habitants qui y demeurent durant l'hiver et celles des soldats sont deça dela. la garnizon est petite mal nourrie mal payée et mal entretenue voilà pourquoy la pluspart des soldats désertent à St jean et au fournillon, il ni a point d'eau ni puits ni source dans le fort et le gouverneur aime trop ses intérests pour sy faire faire des cisternes. le nombre des habitants de plaisance peut aller à 50 familles, mais il y auroit du terrain pour en placer aisément encore cent.[30]

The author concludes by pointing how important Placentia is for the French and the English. For the French, it is the only port in America where they can get supplies of dried cod; and, if it were better managed, it could easily supply the ships plying between France and Canada. As far as the English are concerned, the capture of Placentia would make it possible for them to control the fishing industry, whilst the port could also serve as a base for the corsairs instructed to close the entrance to the Saint-Lawrence Gulf to the French. So Hontan is looking farther afield than just the colony of Placentia. In his view, this colony is of importance to the whole of North America.

As far as defence is concerned, the years 1694 and 1695 were quiet years. There was no sign of any attempt to attack the colony. This was fortunate as, according to the governor's reports, the resident population and the troops were performing their military role very badly. "S'il fallait punir tous ceux qui sont de garde et qui s'endorment sur les remparts, disait Brouillan, il faudrait châtier trop souvent."[31] Added to neglect of duty there was the question of desertion. It is to be noted that the majority of the deserters were recruits that France had sent to Placentia either by force or under false pretences. Costebelle also commented on the poor quality of the recruitment of military men.[32] There were often dwarfs and even invalids amongst them. The lack of discipline was such that the militia had to supervise the troops, who were disgruntled by the kind of work the governor made them perform on the fortifications for the sum of 3s,5d per day.[33] In such a situation the soldiers were more of a menace than a help for the colony. Besides, they regularly increased in numbers. At the end of 1693, there were 60 men in the garrison.[34] On December 8, the shipowners Darguy and Hardouin offered to have 40 more brought over, with the result that in 1694 there were two complete companies of 50 men in Placentia. For Brouillan, who still had in mind an attack on St. John's, this number was definitely not sufficient; he demanded four other companies, that is a total of 300 men.[35]

Even so, generally speaking, the colony enjoyed a certain amount of success during these two years. The population (which by then apparently occupied both banks) totalled 145 souls, not including the volunteers.[36] New buildings appeared. On May 1, 1695, the king granted Brouillan and his heirs a concession consisting of a house and a garden measuring 21 fathoms by 9 fathoms "à la 1 sol de redevance annuelle sur le pied de 100 toises carrées de superficie."[37] In March, the governor granted a concession of a piece of land to the Recollects, so that they could enlarge their residence and lay out a cemetery.[38] In short, Brouillan was perhaps correct when he wrote: "Si vous avez la bonté de continuer aux

habitants de cette colonie le même secours qu'ils ont reçu cette année il ne faut pas douter qu'ils ne se maintiennent et n'augmentaent de mieux en mieux."[39] Having finally achieved a certain internal security, the governor could now carry out his plans of attack.

The Assault on St. John's: 1696

For a long time Brouillan had cherished the desire to capture St. John's, situated on the Avalon peninsula. Already, on August 27, 1694, in a "advis donné à Monsieur de Saint-Clair pour L'expédition de Saint-Jean," he took the liberty of "d'exposer son petit sentiment sur la question." According to him, if some day the French were to capture the English post, they would have to destroy all the habitations and, if possible, entirely "rompre" the trade that was done there;[40] this was the only condition on which Placentia would be able to survive. An unsigned memorandum of 1696 was to confirm his position, so the attack was planned for the same year.[41]

The supply contract for Placentia in 1696 included a supplementary clause. In fact, le sieur Lepine-Danycan undertook to furnish, as well as the usual assistance, the means needed to subjugate St. John's.[42] For this purpose, he armed a squadron of six vessels which he reinforced with a ship belonging to the king. The command of the mission was given to Brouillan with d'Iberville as his second-in-command, who was to lead the land forces. The two men were supposed to meet at Placentia in mid-September, and from there they were to launch a simultaneous attack against the English post. Brouillan, who wanted to be the only one to enjoy the fruits of the victory, did not wait for his second-in-command, but on September 9, he went into action with nine ships: the Pélican, the Compte de Toulouse, the Philippeaux, the Diamant, three corvettes and two fire-ships. He was successful in capturing a few posts on the coast, but failed to take the capital of the English colony. He returned to Placentia where d'Iberville was waiting for him. This Canadian officer had under his command the whole of the guard of Placentia (the number had been increased to 150 men at the beginning of 1696), 125 Canadians "qui font la guerre sur la neige," and 40 Indians from Acadia and Cape Breton.

The expedition got under way after several discussions concerning the objectives and the plan of attack. It was decided that Brouillan would take command at sea and d'Iberville on land and that the profits would be shared. After a few coastal places were taken, the French land forces reached St. John's on November 28. The capital surrendered on December 30.[43] After capturing the town, the French burned the forts and all the buildings that still remained standing, then they abandoned their conquests.

While Brouillan was returning to Placentia, d'Iberville continued his advance further to the north. The expedition lasted until April 1697, when d'Iberville also returned to Placentia. The only posts that survived this attack were Carbonnière and Bonavista. The English losses were enormous, the fisheries almost eliminated, 27 posts destroyed, 200 killed, 700 taken prisoner (which had an influence on the life of the colony), large stocks of cod were siezed, etc.[44] For uncontrollable reasons, France could not immediately occupy the regions conquered. When the Marquis de Nesmond arrived at St. John's in the summer of 1697 for this purpose, it was too late: Admiral Norris had had time to regain firm control of the place ... so everything had to start all over again.

The Peace of Ryswick

The period between the two wars was calm.[45] After the peace of Ryswick in 1697, the colony went back to its normal way of life. As far as the fisheries were concerned, the Basques came back to Placentia and the king rescinded the regulation of February 13, 1697, which put an end to the system of 36 months (volunteers engaged for a period of three years).[46] Disputes started again between the fishermen and the inhabitants. These quarrels explain the reason for the law of March 30, 1700 which aimed at making an equitable distribution of the beaches. The beach on the north side, the little beach, belonged from that time onwards to the officers and was divided into 18 parts of equal value. The Great Beach, on the south side facing the sea, was the property of the inhabitants, whilst the opposite part facing the sea was reserved for the merchants, in accordance with the ordinance of 1681.[47]

At that time, Placentia was still nothing but a little market-town living on the fishing industry.[48] There were three distinct districts: the fort district, which took in the north bank of the gut, where there were four houses as well as a hospital situated near the lime kiln (Fig. 10); the south point district in which there were 25 houses, and the Pointe Verte district, three leagues from the gut, where there were five dwellings. The houses were very simple and all made of wood. The bourgeosie did not live there; except for the officers, the population consisted of simple folk who lived mainly by fishing, as the earth produced no crops. All this population was in debt and barely eked out an existence. It was at the mercy of the merchants, who could speculate at will.[49]

Costebelle certainly understood that the state of the colony was not such as to enable it to play the role expected of it by the Court.[50] His feelings grew stronger about it in 1701, when he became aware of the threat of an impending war:

> [...] les apparences vraisemblables qu'il y a d'une nouvelle guerre avex l'Angleterre et plusieurs autres puissances opposées à la gloire et à la grandeur du Royaume me donnent occasion de présenter à Votre Grandeur que le fort de Plaisance et son établissement seront dans cette conjoncture un point de vue aux Anglais pour y détruire notre commerce, affermir le leur et mettre tout en usage pour éloigner des coisins dont ils ont été si maltraités pendant la dernière guerre. Ces raisonnements très solides doivent obliger la Cour à travailler aux fortifications de ce poste avec toute la diligence convenable à sa conservation, à augmenter sa garnison, et ne rien épargner pour la perfection des ouvrages qu'on a projetés pour sa sureté.[51]

Costebelle was asking for still more help in spite of all the defence works erected during the preceding years.

The Fortifications

In fact, from 1690 to 1702, Placentia had changed from being almost completely devoid of any defence system to having constructions on the north point of the sound and on the hill of the redoubt, as well as numerous batteries and entrenchments.

A Palisade on the Great Beach: 1690

In 1690, Parat's flight had forced Costebelle to take power. The new commandant had to cope with some difficult problems. As well as some economic and disciplinary problems, he had to settle the question of the fortifications that were rendered necessary by the state of war. Following the English attack in February, Placentia no longer had one single defence worth calling a fort.[52] Added to which, the enemy had taken away or destroyed most of the cannons in the colony. The officer realized that the settlement was in a precarious situation. In a memorandum, which is probably from him, the writer recommends the construction of a picket enclosure in the form of a palisade on one or other of the points of the gut, with a good battery of cannons, where all the inhabitants would be obliged to withdraw during the winter. This post would be maintained by two companies.[53]

On September 8, 1690, without waiting for the king's answer to the memorandum that he is supposed to have written, Louis de Pastour de Costebelle assembled all the inhabitants of Placentia, Little Placentia and Point Verte to build an enclosure on the south bank of the gut (Fig. 6). As we have already mentioned, the work was completed within

15 days. It measured 296 fathoms in circumference and was made of pointed pickets 7-1/2 feet high, strengthened by stays inside and outside and wooden cross-pieces nailed to the pickets. According to Costebelle, the construction could not last more than two years.[54] Of the 100 men who were inside the enclosure during the winter, only 30 were armed; the remainder had iron-pointed sticks. At the time, the garrison consisted of 19 paid soldiers "sur le pied de 22," and the artillery at the rate of 12 francs.

Costebelle's construction was more threatening in appearance than really defensive. He wrote again on January 1, 1691 on the need to fortify the place:

> Puisque ne le faisant pas, je puis vous faire voir que ce serait une perte très considérable pour les négociants dans le commerce de la morue si les Anglais venaient à se saisir de Plaisance, ce qui fermerait le passage de Québec aux vaisseaux qui y vont, la ruine de la pêche aux îles Saint-Pierre par les Malouins, et généralement pour la côte de Terre-Neuve.[55]

As a solution, he suggested fortifying the mouth of the gut, which was only 50 fathoms wide at low tide. Fort Louis was to be the answer to these problems.

Fort Louis on the Little Beach: 1691

This fort was the first real fortification built in Placentia during the French occupation. Until that time they had been satisfied with picket fences or forts "qui étaient autant comme rien." It was to be quite a different matter with Fort Louis, the building of which was to lead to other defence works such as the Royal Redoubt.

As we have seen, Brouillan arrived at Placentia with a large reinforcement of men, arms and tools. Part of his instructions concerned the fortifications that were to be built (Fig. 5).[56] It appears that the governor responded to the king's wishes at the very beginning of his period in office, as, on March 1, 1692, His Majesty wrote to Brouillan in answer to a letter, which was obviously written in 1691:

> J'ay veu le plan du petit fort que vous avez commencé du costé de la Petite Grave. Je ne puis vous dire autre chose sur les raisons qui vous ont déterminé à préférer ce costé à la Grande Grave, et à ne vous pas servir du premier réduit si ce n'est que ayant une grande expérience, je veux croire que vous avez fait pour le mieux et que vous avez choisi le moins exposé aux insultes et le plus facile à défendre.[57]

According to this document, then, Brouillan must have undertaken a new defence work,[58] Fort Louis, situated on the northern point of the gut at water level.[59] It was very conveniently situated, as it was built only a short distance from the gut, the entrance to the harbour. This narrow channel, which was only 300 feet wide at low tide, made it possible for only one ship to enter at a time, and, even then, it was necessary to wait for favourable winds "rangent" W.-S.-W. and to manoeuvre the ship by "la toue," that is, pulling on ropes fixed to an anchor previously embedded on the beach.[60] With the cannons of the fort aimed in its direction, this passage became almost impossible to pass through.

In 1691, Fort Louis was built with piles which were "moutonnés" i.e., driven deep into the ground. The surrounding wall, which was about 300 paces in circumference and irregular in construction, was provided with two bastions, with neither flanks nor gorges, known as "Bourgogne" and "Royal," and four curtains made of clay and stones piled up between stakes driven into the ground. This enclosure, which surrounded the governor's headquarters and the barracks in the centre, which amounted to a simple row of stakes, protected by a battery of 26 cannons (1692), spread around the three sides. There was still no cistern for drawing water.[61] From 1691 onwards, however, the fort was constantly being improved and repaired until it finally became a stone structure.[62]

The Gaillardin Redoubt and the Battery on the South Gut: 1692

The construction of Fort Louis and the military threat led to the building of another defence work. On September 17, 1692, at the time of the English attack, Brouillan had a redoubt, made of pickets without any cannons, built on the top of Gaillardin mountain. The next day, he had a battery of four cannons set up on the point of the gut on the side opposite the fort "tant pour la randre impracticable aux Ennemis que pour la deffance des Cables qui la traverse."[63] So, at the end of 1692 Placentia had three fortifications: Fort Louis (or parade-ground) on the little beach, the battery on the Great Beach, and the Gaillardin redoubt.[64] At that time there was a garrison of about 40 men.

Beginnings of the Royal Redoubt: 1693

A year passed between the two attacks of 1692 and 1693. Brouillan took advantage of this time to reinforce his defensive positions. In a letter dated September 25, he announced to the minister the construction, in the north-east corner of the fort, of a powder-magazine 14 feet

square. It was solidly built with a vaulted roof.[65] Furthermore, he also asked permission to erect a redoubt on the hill (next to the Gaillardin) overlooking the fort; and he also asked that tiles or slates be sent for the roofs of the magazines and barracks. On February 25, 1693, the king responded to his request. Aboard the Loire, he sent him 20 recruits, four cannons, some arms, munitions, etc. He also gave categorical instructions concerning the fortifications. His Majesty wanted the post to be "si bien fortifiez, que les Anglais n'oseront plus songer à les insulter."[66] In order to give more help in the carrying out of his instructions, the Court ordered every ship going to Placentia to carry one or two barrels of lime for the fortifications, as the lime available in the country was of poor quality.

With the arrival of the spring reinforcements, the governor had already begun to have the redoubt on the mountain constructed when the English attack of 1693 began.[67] In order to improve the defence of this incompleted redoubt, Brouillan had a platform made and, with the help of purchase tackles and hoists, had a culverin with 10 pounds of balls and a battery of four cannons (1x10, 1x8, 2x2) mounted. Then, on August 30, he saw to it that a post made of pickets was constructed within musket shot of the redoubt. These were the only defence works carried out in 1693.

Once the attack was over, the governor was once again faced with the same problem: the militia was not very skilled in battle, as they did not know how to use the arms at their disposal; the inhabitants refused to work on the fortifications, or demanded to be compensated; the soldiers deserted their posts... So Brouillan continued to ask for help: he asked for more cannons, more soldiers, a chain 100 fathoms long and "égale en grosseur à celle de Brest" as well as four large buoys to close the entrance to the port.[68] On December 14, 1693, as the difficulties were too great, and there was a lack of cooperation on the part of th population, the governor announced a cessation of the work being done on the redoubt.

Completion of Construction: 1694

On March 10, the king made a fresh attempt. He ordered Brouillan to finish the redoubt that he had begun building on the hill, as well as the barracks, the magazine and the cavalier. Furthermore, he hoped that Fort Louis would be completely enclosed as soon as possible. The mother country announced that 40 new recruits,[69] two cannons and one mortar were being sent to help in these defence works... However, rather than receiving 1500£ for the fortifications, the colony only received 1146, as the cost of the troops'

clothing coming from Rochefort was deducted from the original amount.[70]

Saint-Clair was given the task of transporting this reinforcement. It is probable that the engineer, l'Hermite, came to Placentia in 1694 aboard one of the ships in this squadron. As soon as he arrived, this engineer, who was named adjutant of the island the following year, worked so well at the fortification of the place that within a few months Brouillan could inform the king that Fort Louis was enclosed and that his covered road would soon be finished. The supplies store was made of a basic framework caulked with lime and sand with a vaulted roof, which was "sa dernière perfection" and could contain 500 quintals of bread. As for the redoubt, it was finished according to the first phase of the plan. It was situated in a place that was practically inaccessible to the enemy as well as being an ideal place from which to cover the roadstead, the port and the fort. As far as the defence of the gut is concerned, the English captain, Fogg, claimed that it was protected by a chain as well as cables.[71] We doubt it, since the same year the governor of Placentia repeated his request to the Court to have a 100-fathom-long chain sent to him.[72]

The Barren Years: 1695-96

In the summer of 1695, the drought forced Brouillan to suspend work on the redoubt so as to improve the interior of the place (Fig. 6). The other work projects did not proceed any more rapidly because of the lack of cooperation on the part of the soldiers and the reductions in the funds intended for the colony.[73] In October the governor tried to increase the strength of the militia to compensate for the lack of first-class soldiers, but he was not successful. The post had, indeed, received 20 new recruits in 1695 bringing the strength of the garrison up to 120), but the levy consisted mostly of lame men. A military inventory carried out on September 10 showed that at that time Placentia had 34 cannons (4x36, 6x24, 6x18, 10x12, 3x10, 1x8, 2x4, 2x2) 12 of which were in the redoubt, 1900 cannon balls, 12 milliers of powder, 1 mortar, 200 bombs, some arms, 1 iron chain and 4 cables (2 of 5 inches in diameter and 2 others of 2 to 3 inches).[74] The year 1696 passed by without any further work being done on the fortifications, as the troops were away on the St. John's expedition. The only event to be recorded was the arrival of 30 poor-quality recruits.

A New Drive in Fortification: 1697

In 1697, L'Hermitte wrote a "Mémoire concernant l'établissement de Plaisance habité depuis longtemps." In his report, the engineer recommended modifications which,

according to him, would be aimed at improving the defence of the colony.[76] The cost of the work to be undertaken would amount at least to 26,000 livres (L). Obviously, the king refused to grant such a sum; he granted only 11,000L, only 2564 of which was to be spent on fortifications.[77] This amount was definitely not enough, and the quality of the work suffered as a result of it. The officers had no billets except those they had made for them, which were constructed of pickets "calefatés de mousses" and covered with bark. These shelters provided no protection, either against the cold or the rain, as a result of which many of the troops were lost. In spite of everything, 1697 remained a prosperous year for military construction.[78]

At Fort Louis, the batteries facing the sea, the entrance to the harbour and the haven were raised 1-1/2 feet, and the platforms were reconstructed of beams or squared stones. At the corner of the bastion there was also constructed a framework in the form of a cavalier on which to mount three cannons pointed towards the roadstead and the landward side. The two bastions and the curtain facing the sea were then covered with earth to serve as a base for a platform that could support 10 cannons.

In order to ensure communication between the fort and the redoubt, the garrison built an entrenchment guarded by 10 cannons, at the foot of the mountain (Fig. 13:P). On this high point, the military built a house 25 feet square, with a redoubt consisting of a dry wall and a palisade in the form of a covered way, to prevent an attack from the landward side. The masonry of royal redoubt was completed as far as the cordon. Inside, work continued on the construction of a half-underground powder magazine, i.e. it was sunken as far as the centre of the vault. On the outside, a dry wall with a good palisade completely surrounded the top of the mountain and thus served as a covered way "à ladite redoute." Lower down, another dry wall, almost parallel to the first, defended the base of the rock. Within pistol-shot of the redoubt (Fort Royal) and of the La Fontaine battery, the workmen built another post consisting of a palisaded dry wall: the detached redoubt (Fig. 16: H); this structure defended batteries (Fig. 14: H) of two cannons each, and were built during the summer for the defence of the roadstead.

To the east of the redoubt, on the neighbouring hill, the Gaillardin still formed an obstacle in the way of any invasion. Finally a battery of six guns was erected at the entrance to the roadstead on the Crévecoeur side (Fig. 13: K, médaillon), which the ships had to sail close to on account of the boom jutting out at Pointe Verte. To protect this battery, a palisade entrenchment with two other guns was built on a neighbouring hill. Other small batteries, including one with four cannons on the plateau to the east of the dwellings, protected the Great Beach.[79]

Maintenance Work: 1698-99

In 1698, the king made a greater effort to fortify the place: 18.9 per cent of the total budget of the colony was then assigned to the fortifications.[80] But this share of the budget was still far from being an acceptable minimum. The defence works were in ruins on all sides and there were not enough funds to remedy the situation.[81] In particular, Fort Louis was still made of pickets and required constant maintenance; the barracks (which were to be built with quite low roofs and covered with shingles nailed at both ends to resist the wind) for the 129 soldiers, and the powder magazine were still not built. However, the redoubt with its eight cannons was faced with stone and almost completed. In view of the state of the fortifications, le sieur Brisacier, chief writer for the Navy, in his turn wrote a memorandum to the king.[82]

The following year (1699), the king approved Brisacier's plan, but with one restriction: that it should be carried out slowly. For, in line with its post-war economy policy, the Court then proceeded to make an important cut in the colony's budget. The sum granted for the fortifications then changed from 7000L (18.9%) to 4000 (11.5%), showing a decrease of 7.4 per cent. No troop reinforcements were sent in April 1699, as the king even wanted to reduce the number of soldiers to 90. However, His Majesty still obliged captains of ships sailing to Placentia to take with them a supply of lime.

The consequences of these restrictions were serious for the colony: "Je crois devoir présenter à Votre Grandeur que ce poste ne sera de longtemps dans sa perfection, si la cour n'accorde que des fonds aussi médiocres que ceux qu'elle a donnés depuis le commencement de la dernière guerre."[83] The decrease of the garrison, added to the many desertions and leaves granted, reduced considerably the manpower needed for the defence works. "Votre Grandeur ne doit pas compter que l'on puisse jamais fortifier Plaisanc à moins qu'elle n'y envoie du monde."[84] So the governor, Monic, had to be contented with repairing rather than improving the royal bastion of Fort Louis, which had once again been severely damaged by the ice during the winter of 1698-1699 and rebuilt with earth and pickets with the "barbette" battery. As far as the redoubt was concerned, a little masonry work and some work on the inside walls was done; the few workmen available (9) made it impossible to complete it in this year.

The Year 1700

In 1700, out of a total budget of 34,844L for Placentia, 10,000 (28.7%) were allocated to the fortifications.[85]

However, these figures were misleading, since, of this sum, 8555L were intended for the purchase of utensils and munitions which the colony had to pay for. In spite of a reinforcement of 30 recruits, the garrison did not increase in strength; in fact, M. de Monic had to discharge an equal number of aged or wounded soldiers, so that in 1700, there were only 78 soldiers in the post. The improvements at Fort Louis were very limited. In fact, all that could be done was to repair it with large stakes covered with planks on the outside.[86] Inside the fort, the carpenters worked covering the storehouses, the powder magazine and the bakehouse with boards.

The construction work went well at the redoubt. All through the summer, the soldiers worked on the masonry; in mid-October 1700, Durand de la Garenne could write to the minister that three quarters of the fort was revetted, the cordon and the breastwork.[87] However, it seemed impossible to finish the work during that year; there was too great a shortage of lime and stone. The workers were also busily engaged on the construction of a platform on the seaward side, which was intended to be ready before the winter to be mounted with eight 18-calibre cannons. Inside the redoubt, the workmen were busy building two barracks for the soldiers; one of them was already faced with stone and work was being done on its roof.

So the defence work, accomplished during the year 1700, amounted to the stonework of Fort Royal, the construction of a barge (a kind of boat used to transport building materials), the platform on one of the sides, half of another platform at the "haut" Fort (Royal), the repairing of the royal bastion, a barracks and a few other structures at the "bas" Fort (Louis).

The Year 1701

As we have seen, on February 23, 1701, Costebelle wrote to the minister to inform him of his fears of an impending war and, in the circumstances, of the need to reinforce the defence works of the colony.[88] The threat from abroad necessitated, just as it had 10 years before, that the king should protect his colony. His Majesty at first agreed to replace the three companies "sur le pied" of 50 men per company.[89] As there were only 79 soldiers in Placentia in 1701, the Court had 79 recruits sent over to bring the detachment up to strength.[90] As far as the 10,000L to be spent on the fortification were concerned, 4000 had to be deducted for the workmen's wages, thus reducing the original sum by 40 per cent.[91] As far as construction materials were concerned, the king granted the 300 fathoms of rope requested by Monic, and maintained the order to the ships to transport limestone to the colony.

With this help the colony could continue with the construction of its defence works. A letter from l'Hermitte describes the works undertaken during the year 1701.[92] At Fort Louis, the engineer began by pointing out the mistake of wanting to construct the royal bastion of moutonné pickets; in his opinion, nothing but masonry could stand up to attacks from the sea, but again, help was needed from the mother country to be able to do the work. According to this letter, it appears that, following this statement, l'Hermitte changed the plan of the fort. At least, he makes mention of a new plan (that we unfortunately did not find) on which he indicates "ce qui est proposé de faire": it would be necessary to move back further inland all that part of the fort facing the sea and the gut. The engineer preferred to put a frieze rather than a rope on top of the wall because it was much less "coustageux." The top of this wall was to be made of turf, and not of squared stones, with a double row of stakes, with stones in between, 10 feet from the surrounding wall, to break the force of the "des coups de mer." Except for the row of stakes, no part of this project was carried out in 1701. In fact, nothing was done about the masonry at Fort Louis, and even less was done on the interior woodwork.

As far as Fort Royal - which was also used as a prison - was concerned, it was finished "apart from a few coverings" (Fig. 8). In his letter, l'Hermite wrote that the heavy masonry had been finished for a long time, and that it would only take the masons 10 or 12 days to put the fort in perfect shape.[93] The top of the wall was covered with a "plainte" of stone.[94] The largest barracks, the guardhouse and the shed were covered with planks, due to a shortage of shingles that had long been expected to arrive from Quebec. The flooring had to be laid and the bottom earthed in, a job which was to be finished during the winter. The engineer had also had four wooden look-out turrets set up on the four corners of the fort. On October 5, Durand de la Garenne, the newly appointed navy paymaster in Placentia wrote that "qu'il n'y a plus que le quart ou environ de l'enceinte du parapet à revêter de pierres de taille pour finir de couvrir le mur."[95] However, l'Hermite accused M. de Monic for not having had beams placed under the cannons until the ground had "affaisée," as a result of which the platform had sunk to such an extent that the battery could not even fire over the wall any longer.[96]

In 1701, the general plan of the Placentia fortifications was finished. Fort Louis, which had still been neglected in favour of the redoubt, had 28 cannons: 16 aimed in the direction of the roadstead and 12 towards the entrance to the harbour. The first group "stands on a point of Beech, and built with Turft, on the side, where the platform for the guns is." The second "is only pallasaded

about 6 or 7 feet high."[97] The wooden fort had no inside framework. On the top of the hill, the redoubt with its four dry-stone walls was almost finished. It was protected by one battery of eight cannons, two mortars and two small defence works: to the east, a guard-house with a palisade housed 100 men; to the west there was another palisaded construction. A number of batteries were spread out between the fort and the entrance to the sound for the protection of the defence works. The king was generally satisfied with the state of the fortifications, but he hoped that they would be completed as soon as possible, especially in view of the impending war.

Conclusion

So the declaration of war at the beginning of the 1690s had launched an important drive in the fortification of Placentia. During the course of the ten years following the beginning of hostilities, the colony's defences were increased by two forts (one of which was faced with stone), some entrenchments and numerous batteries. Only too often, however, plans to improve these defences suffered from conflicts of authority or personal ambition.[98]

According to La Hontan, the weakness of the fortifications (which is unquestionable) was mainly due to the fact that the governors were much more interested in their own interests than in the needs of the post.[99] He was not entirely mistaken.

But in fact the problem goes much deeper. The economic dependence of the colony upon the mother country was much more serious than its military weakness. It only took a poor fishing season, or the loss of one of the king's ships at sea and the post was reduced to its "dernière extrémité," and the cannons on the fort were no help. After 40 years of French occupation, Placentia was still a dependent colony and, like all colonies of this kind, was neglected in favour of the more profitable colonies. If ever France was forced to give up any territories on the American continent, the Newfoundland settlement could expect no favours. In 1694, Frontenac conceded that in the event of a heavy attack of the English against Canada, especially at seed time or harvest time, he would be obliged to sacrifice all the coast and only preserve the three main centres, Three Rivers, Quebec and Montreal.[100] The war that broke out in 1701 would make it necessary to apply this implacable logic.

The End of the French Occupation: 1702-13

The Events

In 1702, the king allowed M. de Monic to return to France. Daniel Auger de Subercase, who came from Bearn, took his place as governor of Placentia. The new commander had several years of experience in the country, as he had served in Canada since 1687 after having been in turn an ensign, a lieutenant and then a captain in France. He set sail for Newfoundland aboard the Suzanne on April 20, 1703. He arrived at his post at the beginning of June.

Subercase found his colony in a deplorable state: the wooden stakes surrounding Fort Louis were so rotten that they could not "souffrir une cheville" being driven into them; arms and ammunition amounted hardly to 30 muskets; the soldiers numbering three companies of marine infantry, with 50 men per company, "étaient animés d'une prévention diabolique, disant qu'ils étaient les gens du monde les plus malheureux."[1] Their grievances were mainly concerned with the forced labour on the fort and the neglect of the troops' maintenance. As far as the inhabitants were concerned, they were just as poverty stricken as ever, as a result of two vices, the scandalous trading practices of the merchants and the abandonment of remuneration to third parties.

Subercase had hardly had time to realize the misfortunes of the colony before the War of the Spanish Succession had its repercussions on the establishment.[2] As was the case during the previous conflict, hostilities were to break out between Placentia and St. John's. The French colony was assuming a position of ever-increasing importance in the imperialistic policy of the English. John Roope, the engineer of St. John's advocated that the French should be driven out of Newfoundland, as the elimination of their colony, on account of its strategic position, would lead inevitably to the downfall of the whole of New France.[3] Vaudreuil and the Court seemed to agree.[4] Furthermore, the king gave instructions to Subercase to taken precautions following the declaration of war; if possible, he should launch an attack upon the enemy and if not, he should defend himself well.[5] In 1703, defence was necessary.

The English Expedition of 1703

In March, two English warships were sighted off Cap Sainte-Marie.[6] L'Hermitte immediately palisaded all places in the fort through which the enemy could enter, and had cannons loaded with grape-shot placed in all the "avenues [of approach];" he doubled the guard of the fort. However, the danger was not apparent, as the attack did not take place. It was not until the month of August that it again seemed imminent. On August 24, 33 ships were seen lurking off the coasts. Several of them had come from England specially to take part in this expedition.[7] Subercase immediately ordered all ships back into port while three enemy ships moored off Placentia. The enemy fleet made no move until September 16, when it anchored in Sainte-Marie Bay. Then, learning that two French men-of-war (the Juste and the Hasardeux) would soon be arriving, the English gave up the game, much to the relief of the colony which, in the wretched state that it was in, was in the gravest danger.

The March on St. John's: 1703

In 1704, following a French attack headed by sieur de La Grange against Bonavista, a memorandum was sent by the English merchants doing business in Newfoundland begging His Majesty to see to it that Placentia was destroyed. The king sent a categorical reply:

> And as to Placentia We transmit to you the several accounts which we have lately received concerning the state of that place, and We are humbly of the opinion that it would be of the greatest importance to her Majesty's service and the good of the English Fishery that the said place be reduced.[8]

A plan of attack was worked out with the objective of taking the French capital with 400 men in the spring of 1705.

But Subercase was one jump ahead of the enemy. In the month of October 1703, he had already suggested to the Court that an expedition should be organized to capture from the English their establishment in St. John's and those on the coast. It was not until 1704 that he received the consent of the king to his project. For this purpose, on November 15, 1704, the Wesp, under the command of L'Espinay, brought him a detachment of 100 men made up of Canadians and Micmacs from Quebec. On January 8, 1705, the governor sent off an expeditionary force of 450 men. The detachment first went and camped 12 leagues from Placentia, then, on January 12, the detachment set off through the woods.[9] Subercase easily captured Beboulle and Petit Havre and then reached St. John's on January 31. The town was quickly taken, but

the fort resisted. After 33 days of occupation, the governor, having run out of ammunition, had to give up his conquest, thinking it wiser to go back to Placentia. Before leaving the place, the French burned down all the houses except three or four, while a detachment of 72 Canadiens and Indians continued to devastate the posts on the north coast. Thus it was that, at the beginning of 1705, all the English posts in Newfoundland, except for the fort of St. John's and the island of Carbonière, were taken by the French. Subercase estimated the enemy losses at 4 million L. The French suffered 15 casualties, either killed or wounded. On November 25, 1705 Costebelle summed up the results of the attack by writing: "Nous avons réduit toutes les habitations de la côte anglaise de Terre-Neuve dans une si grande extrémité qu'il ne faut pas douter qu'ils puissent ni qu'ils osent s'y rétablir tant que la guerre durera."[10] The Court of France was very satisfied with the results of the campaign, whilst the English, surprisingly enough, showed no reaction.

Subercase's Administration

The brief period of Subercase's administration as governor of Placentia was certainly the most dynamic and progressive of the colony's existence. The social, economic and agricultural development was given priority during this period. Subercase started by granting soldiers discharges on the basis of long service, thus getting rid of the most undisciplined of them. Then he saw to it that they would no longer have to pay for their uniforms, as they had been doing for several years. He also favoured the immigration of Micmacs, who were instructed to spread terror amongst the English neighbours. He formed a group of privateers, which included Canadiens, Micmacs and adventurers, who were to attack English ships. Lastly, the governor promised to have barracks made which would be equipped with stoves, thereby reducing the work involved in heating. In order to reduce the large number of desertions, the regulations and surveillance were made most severe; the death penalties and condemnations to the galleys were effective for several months. Social life and, in particular, religious life were governed by most rigorous laws. Attempts were made in the agricultural field, but without much success, "chacun n'ayant d'autres préoccupations que la morue." Each year, the merchants from Bayonne brought help in the way of provisions, in addition to which, help now came regularly from Quebec.

In spite of all these improvements, life continued to be far from easy in Placentia; the carrying out of projects was often neglected. Even so, Subercase's administration was successful in establishing order in the colony's affairs. It is evident that the Béarnais managed to

surmount many of the obstacles that had baffled his predecessors. The simple fact of having lived with understanding and awareness in the community signalled a man to be respected. On May 22, 1705, the minister relieved Subercase of his responsibilities and named him governor of Acadia to take the place of Brouillan, who had died.[12]
In Court circles, this nomination was considered as a promotion, which shows that little importance was attached to Placentia.

Philippe de Costebelle's Administration

Philippe de Pastour de Costebelle took Subercase's place in 1706. The king's lieutenant assumed the position of governor in a peaceful atmosphere and under favourable economic conditions. He owed this above all to his predecessor, who had managed to appease almost all the discontented.

The year 1707 was almost as calm as the preceding. Costebelle took advantage of this state of affairs to improve the fortifications and to have an ice-house built 50 paces above the lime kiln on the slope of the mountain.[13] In his orders, His Majesty strongly advised the governor to have his men work with all diligence on the defence works, and approved the use of the Micmacs in operations against the English posts; he should regularly attack the neighbours "affin qu'ils ne puissent songer qu'à leur propre deffense [...]."[14] The Court also strongly recommended the development of gardens and the raising of cattle. Besides, the governor, who was an anti-colonialist, had let himself be tempted by the ideas of Subercase and had his own garden which produced asparagus, artichokes, and green peas; he also kept a herd of twenty cattle, 50 sheep and "toutes sortes de volailles."[15]

On July 10, 1707, Costebelle wrote that Major Lloyd's English squadron was preparing to attack Placentia. To defend the colony, the king sent 2 light frigates, a few officers, but no soldiers.[16] However, the threat did not materialize, at least at Placentia; but the fleet went and destroyed the establishments of Petit Nord.

The English Blockade

In the summer of 1708, the English threatened once again. Seven warships cruised between Cape Ray and Cape Race (all along the south coast of Newfoundland) giving the impression that there would soon be an attack against the colony. Besides, the inhabitants of Placentia lived continually in expectation of an enemy attack. They simply could not understand why the English, although much more powerful, did not retaliate against the French invasions of their

colonies. Perhaps some of them, like Cornbury, were convinced that it was absolutely necessary to take Quebec in order to occupy Placentia, but we doubt it;[17] the English were not unaware of the fact that contacts between the capitals of the two French colonies were extremely limited. Nevertheless, in 1708 England started to adopt a new tactic: the blockade.[18] L'Hermitte had already declared that the only way to get control of Placentia was by hunger.[19]

It was for this purpose that the seven warships mentioned patrolled the bay all through the summer. They were under orders to attack all ships visiting Placentia. The results were not long in coming: the post was struck with famine in July, showing how short of reserve food supplies the colony was. In addition to the blockade, the colony was to be struck by another calamity. In the previous year, Costebelle had made an agreement with the commandant of St. John's for an exchange of prisoners, no matter how many. In December 1708, the French capital found itself with 500 former French prisoners who had to be fed without any resultant benefit. In this precarious situation Costebelle wrote in July:

> Nous n'avons jamais eu besoin d'un plus prompt secours regardant le vaisseau du roi destiné pour le transport des vivres de cette garnison comme un bien qui ne saurait parvenir jusqu'à nous sans un bonheur auquel nous ne devons pas nous attendre, le passage étant trop bien gardé.[20]

One month later, he proposed to send the inhabitants of the colony back to France, as it was impossible to feed them.[21] Fortunately, the Charente arrived on September 16 "dans un temps, disait le gouverneur, où je ne savais plus où m'adresser pour faire subsister la garnison."[22] The ship managed to pass through the blockade thanks to a relaxation of several days, a piece of good fortune that 13 other ships had not enjoyed. On November 2, the ships were back in the entrance to the bay and it was impossible to evade them without the help of fog or a storm.

The French Court made no attempt to end this surveillance; it claimed that it was too poor: "[...] c'est avec beaucoup de peine que S. M. soutient la colonie de Plaisance."[23] The king preferred to leave this responsibility to the ships' captains and the shipowners of Nantes and Bayonne, to whom he granted a new supply contract in 1708.

The Third Capture of St. John's

France had already approved the forays into English territory. She saw it as an effective means of preventing an attack against the settlement of Placentia.[24] It was

in December of 1708 that sieur de Saint-Ovide (nephew of the former governor, and a company commander) attempted to benefit from the directives of his superiors. With 170 Frenchmen, Canadiens and Indians, he undertook, at his own cost, an expedition against St. John's, which he captured on January 1, 1709. He destroyed the whole defence system there and took 800 prisoners. Most of them were transported to Quebec except for one officer and an engineer. This was the third time that the English capital had fallen into enemy hands. On the first two occasions, France had not been able to retain its conquest. Neither could it on the third occasion. France had sent four auxiliary marine companies under the command of Rivau to occupy St. John's: the situation in Europe made it impossible to do any more. The Court had tried to convince the Malouin merchants to intervene on their behalf, but to no avail. In the circumstances, Costebelle had to give up the occupation of St. John's, and the 200 auxiliary soldiers settled in Placentia. This attack was to be the last French attack against an English post.

The victory had had no positive results (any more than the two previous ones) for the French colony - quite the contrary. Although they were paid by Rochefort's funds, the auxiliary troops added to the colony's burden: they had to be fed, in spite of the fact that the English blockade was becoming increasingly inpenetrable to the supply ships coming from Quebec or Europe. The famine reached such a point that the soldiers were reduced to a ration of four ounces of bread per day.[25] On October 14, 1709, the governor wrote that the inhabitants had been without bread for two weeks and that they would have to return the fishermen to France, as they could not find enough food for them.[26] Once again, the mother country, being faced with a very serious economic crisis, could do nothing to help her colony. All she could do was to reiterate already existing laws or to promulgate new ones aimed at obliging ships' captains to lend their assistance to the colony. The king recommended that "le plus de ménagement qu'il se pourra."

The Blockade is Intensified

In 1710, the English reacted to the attack of 1709 with attacks made by their corsairs against French ships. Costebelle, who feared for the safety of Placentia, then decided to keep more soldiers than he had the means to support, in spite of the king's orders; he had three of the auxiliary companies returned to France, but kept those from Gotteville, who, incidentally, were very undisciplined.[27] The famine continued to take its toll. The king's ship, which generally arrived on March 15, or 20, did not appear until April 27, thus leaving the colony in a

state of the most extreme destitution for more than a month.

But 1710 was mainly noted for the predictions or conjectures made concerning the Treaty of Utrecht. As of February 26, in a letter from the Minister, the question was raised as to whether Placentia should be surrendered to the English in the coming peace treaty.[28] Obviously, the reaction of the merchants concerned was quick in coming. L'Empereur (Navy Paymaster at Saint-Malo) summarized perhaps better than anyone else the arguments in favour of keeping the colony under French protection:

> J'assembleray demain nos négotians pour dresser avec eux le mémoire que vous me demandés au sujet de l'isle de Terre-Neuve, mais je peux vous dire d'advance que si le Roy Le cedoit il n'aura dans dix ans ny matelots ny commerce ny navigation ny marine, que c'est cette pesche seule qui fait subsister toutte la coste depuis Dieppe jusqu'à Bayonne, et qu'il voudroit mieix pour L'estat que S.M. cedast une de ses meilleures provinces que cette isle qui ne paroist pas estre un objet.[29]

And this was so true that in 1716 these same merchants suggested to the king that he should exchange l'île Royale for fishing rights in Placentia.[30]

The year 1711 was certainly one of the most difficult that Placentia had ever known. The major cause of this sad state of affairs was above all the intensification of the English blockade. From June till October, 18 to 20 ships armed with 24 to 30 cannons blocked the entrance to the bay. One thing led to another. As the port was closed, business dwindled, and without business Placentia was inevitably bound to suffer from famine. The food shortage led to many problems. One of the main problems was the desertion of soldiers just at a time when their presence was so necessary, and no less a problem was their refusal to work on the fortifications. Added to these misfortunes was the shipwreck of the supply ships, together with the very poor fishing season of 1711 and the late arrival of the infantry troops expected to arrive from Port-Royal. So the colony was in a most lamentable state.[31]

So one can better understand why England did not launch a direct attack upon Placentia. In this situation, it would have been a mistake for her to do so, since she was already benefiting from a third of the colony's trade by capturing the ships on the way there.[32] In fact, the only ships that managed to break through the blockade were those which took advantage of the fog or storms. So the French shipowners were becoming less and less interested in risking a lot of capital in such a hazardous enterprise; and without help from the homeland, the post was destined to defeat. The English had only to continue their surveillance by means

of a strict control of the seas and await the right moment to take over Placentia without striking a blow.

But England had not bargained for the change of circumstances that took place in 1711. After the capture of Acadia, Placentia became the centre of interest of the French Court on the Atlantic coast: "La conservation de Plaisance est si importante pour l'Estat et pour le commerce du Royaume et la perte que nous avons faite de l'Acadie doit d'autant plus Faire chercher les moyens de conserver cette colonie."[33] For this purpose the number of troops had to be increased. First of all the colony received the two infantry companies from Port-Royal, and then 50 soldiers from France. Costebelle returned the three auxiliary marine companies, with the result that in 1711 Placentia had more than 250 military men.

In 1712 the blockade continued. The year 1713 was fateful. During this last year of official French occupation, all economic, political or military activity slowed down. Attention was focussed upon the negotiations related to the Treaty of Utrecht.

The Treaty of Utrecht

On January 18, Louis XIV still officially refused to cede Placentia.[34] However, eight months later, through secret diplomacy, he gave his orders to Costebelle concerning the procedure to be followed for the evacuation: the colony had been ceded.[35] In fact the treaty had been signed on April 11, 1713, and it stipulated that the population should evacuate the place before November of the same year. The Court refused to accept the latter clause. The French fishermen were already on their way for the fishing banks when the document was signed, and for this reason the king insisted that they should have permission to complete their fishing expedition. As a result, the season would be subsequently too advanced for the population to be able to leave the place without danger. So the king made an agreement with his "chère soeur la Reine de la Grande-Bretagne" to postpone the departure of the colonists until the following summer. The evacuation was carried out on September 25, 1714.[36]

The Treaty of Utrecht took away from the French the right to establish any permanent habitation in the island except for installations, cabins or stands needed for drying the fish, on condition that this would only be during the fishing season. Furthermore, fishing and fish preparation was only to be allowed on the north shore between Cape Bonavista and Pointe Riche, and even then only between April 5 to October 5. What England had not been able to take by force, she had gained by diplomatic means. The peace treaty had put an end to France's attempt to create an empire stretching from Hudson Bay to Placentia, and from

Nova Scotia to the West Indies.[37] France left Newfoundland to settle in Louisbourg in Cape Breton, where she erected fortifications far superior to those which she had built in Placentia. Besides which, the eleven last years of the French occupation of this colony had seen little improvement in the defence works in the place.

At first sight it may seem paradoxical that two similar causes could produce two different results. In fact, the war of the Augsbourg League had led to a considerable intensification of the building of fortifications in Placentia whilst the following conflict had led to almost opposite reactions. In fact, the reasons for this contradiction are easy to understand. They are due first of all to increased military action on the part of the enemy (not by attacks, but by a blockade) during the War of the Spanish Succession, and secondly to a series of disastrous fishing seasons which wrecked the colony's trade between 1690 and 1697. So, without supplies and without trade, Placentia was doomed to decline and hence neglect its fortifications.

The Fortifications

The Situation in 1702

We have said that in 1702, according to the opinion of the commandants of the place, the general plan of the fortifications in Placentia was completed. This did not mean that on that account they were impregnable: far from it. Costebelle, in whose opinion the only fortifications erected in the last ten years amounted to the redoubt "encore peut-on dire que toute sa force est due à son avantageuse situation," gives us a far from favourable description of the state of the forts.[38] Fort Louis, which served as quarters for the garrison and a depot for the fishing harvest, was nothing more "que comme de vieilles ruines d'une place qu'un long siège à boulversée;" it was open on all sides and the platforms could not even support the weight of the guns set up on them. On November 10, a strong gust of wind had blown down almost all of what remained standing. Costebelle had had the breach plastered up, but in his opinion this was to no avail since the place was "d'aucune défense;" the rest of the palisades swayed at the slightest puff of wind. "[...] vous devez juger, Monseigneur, de la conséquence dans un temps comme celui-ci de travailler à des fortifications promptes et solides [...]."[39] In the same year, 1702, the king accepted the previous plan of L'Hermitte, according to which the side of the fort facing the sea would be made of stone. However, the engineer was to replace the rope by a frieze made of wood and the stone parapet was to be topped with turf.

As far as the redoubt was concerned, although it was not too strong, it seemed to be in better condition than the "bas" fort. On November 10, 1702, L'Hermitte wrote that it was finished, except that all that remained to complete it was to construct a stairway and to rough-cast above the rope and around the barracks.[40] It is possible, as Costebelle claims, that the engineer might have grossly exaggerated the quality of the work.[41] At least, this is what seems to emerge from a letter from the commandant dated October 14.[42] Unfortunately, we have no further data on the basis of which we can judge which of the two was right. We also know that the "haut" fort did not yet have any water cistern, but that L'Hermitte intended to have one made, since he said "un fort sans eau est un corps sans âme."

These two defence works were protected by 48 cannons (38 in the lower fort and 10 in the upper fort), 3 mortars, which, incidentally, nobody knew how to use, and insufficient ammunition. As far as the garrison was concerned, it consisted of 150 men, who were short of supplies, worn out with fatigue duties and totally demoralised. The funds allocated to the fortifications amounted to 10,000L including the cost of munitions and the soldiers' pay.[43]

The Threat of 1703: No Stimulating Effect

In 1703, the threat of war seemed to be more imminent. Even so, unlike what had happened in 1690, there was no intensification of the defence operations. The Court renewed the funds granted for fortifications in 1702, but reduced the garrison to 120 men, most of whom had never seen a gun fired.[44] Several times Subercase pleaded with France to send two additional companies, but to no avail.[45] As a temporary solution to the problem, Costebelle established militia groups on the Great Beach, Pointe Verte and Petit Plaisance. As far as orders related to fortifications were concerned, they mainly had to do with Fort Louis. The king sent some materials to fortify the place and some munitions to replace those that were unusable, but omitted to send a new chain (the old one had twice broken) and 19-, 15-, and 12-inch cables. Once again, the wind blew down a third of the wall surrounding the fort. In October, the platforms had rotted so much, and the parapet had been so damaged by the sea that half of the cannons were almost on the point of falling into the sea. It was only then that the king realized the value of this fort. In a memorandum in which he recalled the merits of the defences, he gave instructions that all the sides of the fort should be made of stone, even those not facing the sea. It appears that these directives remained a dead letter in 1703, since in fact Subercase repaired the damages caused by

the bad weather with earth and wood. Besides, for masonry work to remain permanent it had to be completed during a single summer.

His Majesty gave no very precise instructions concerning the redoubt, as the meagre efforts of 1703 were almost exclusively devoted to Fort Louis. Even so, L'Hermitte supervised the construction of a dry-stone wall surrounding Fort Royal, whilst Costebelle had the platforms built up again. The main reason for the slowing down of the work on the fortifications was the lack of materials, especially wood.

From 1703 onwards, we have a series of English documents which give us a better idea of the forts in Placentia.[46] The document written in 1703 is signed by John Robins, who was a prisoner in the "haut" fort. He describes Fort Royal as having walls that were 16 feet high and 8 feet thick made of lime and stone. The garrison had to get its water outside the fortifications a musket shot to the north-west. The fort had 10 cannons, seven of them pointing towards the sea and three of them towards the harbour, as well as two mortars.[47] Jordan, another prisoner-spy, adds that there were two look-out turrets 100 rods apart and at the same distance from the redoubt.[48] As for the chain closing the entrance to the sound, the spies declared that the rings were about three inches in diameter, but that it was broken. The two cables were 14 inches in diameter. According to English reports, a ship was always anchored in the gut, ready to be scuttled in the event of too serious an attack.[49] The supply depot was at Fort Louis.

The Poor Efforts of 1704

In 1704, Subercase continued his efforts to fortify the place. His demands were first of all for additional troops, and then for two warships needed to protect Placentia and attack the enemy. As usual, the king gave encouragement and advice, but very little equipment.[50] The governor received 45 recruits without uniforms bringing the strength of the garrison up to about 150. Nevertheless, Subercase managed to put up quite an impressive performance, considering the limited means at his disposal. In the spring, he had Fort Louis rebuilt with 9-foot-high pickets on the old foundations on the sides facing the sea, the port and the land. In the summer, the governor did the work over again from "bout en bout" (Fig. 9).[51] The side of the fort facing the Great Beach was entirely rebuilt, and one of the sides was reduced to half its original height to make it less vulnerable to the winds and waves, and the platform was raised. The fortification was also enlarged on the east side thus extending the fort to the sound. On the harbour side, from the gut as far as the former swamp,[52] a

double row of stakes was built against the old ones, which were too low. At the end of the summer, Subercase declared that Placentia had never been so well defended.[53]

This evaluation of the situation seems to us to be rather exaggerated. Once again, we have the advantage of benefiting from the testimony of spies or English prisoners, who clarify the situation of the forts. The two most important documents for 1704 are those of Samuel Hooper and Francis Andrews and his companion, John Evans.[54] In their reports to the English authorities, these three persons tell us that the entrance to the redoubt is on the east side; that heavy stones are placed on the top of its walls ready to roll down upon the enemy; that the garrison of this fort consists of ten soldiers and an officer who are relieved every two weeks; that its provisions come from Fort Louis and that the water is kept in six casks containing 400 gallons each. Even the French deserters provide the English with information.[55] Jean Le Moine reveals that the redoubt is badly constructed and that the palisade is 50 feet from the wall on the landward side, but that on the seaward side it is not more than ten feet away from the wall. As for Fort Louis, it would appear to have 16 cannons[56] and two mortars; the masons are constantly working on improving it. Half a mile away from this defence work, the French have a little battery and a guardhouse with five cannons mounted on it.

Return to a State of Calm and Slowdown of Defence Works

According to L'Hermitte, very little work was done on the fortifications in 1705. Fort Louis, however, still seems to have taken precedence over the redoubt. On October 22, Subercase wrote to the minister in his usual optimistic vein, to the effect that the fort had "jamais été dans l'état où il est et qu'il est aussi bon qu'un fort de petit bois puisse être."[57]

In the redoubt, the work was limited to the construction of a platform for the two mortars and the repair of the one for the cannons. This latter platform was in such bad condition that it took 10 to 12 days to repair it. Now "elles sont un peu moins mauvoises."[58] In addition to these constructions, Subercase had redoubts built on the Great Beach and at Petit Plaisance.

The year 1706, in which Costebelle was appointed to the governership, is an unproductive period in the history of Placentia. It seems that there was no building due to a lack of funds: "Les fonds des fortifications de Plaisance sont si absorbés par les dépenses extraordinaires qui ont été faites ci-devant que je ne sais plus par où m'y prendre pour continuer des traveaux indispensables auxquels il faut s'attacher pour la sureté de la place."[59] In this year there were 36 cannons in Placentia,[60] and 15 in the

upper fort; the garrison consisted of three companies of 50 men each.[61] The barracks for these men were not yet completed. They were constructed of pickets 23 feet long surrounding a wooden framework covered with planks. The dimensions must have been 128 feet long by 24 feet wide[62] (Figs. 9, 10a, 10b).

In 1707, the governor directed the construction of several defence works, but the great shortage of workmen made it difficult to complete them.[63] Once again, Costebelle had to be satisfied with drawing up fine plans[64] (Fig. 11). However, he did complete some constructions. By the summer, the stonework on the fort was under way; 40 soldiers and nine masons were working on it every day. But the work was soon interrupted by torrential rain. In December, Durand wrote that the natural stone wall on the east side was already built up to a height of about nine feet.[65] The barracks were now being lived in. On December 10, a gusty wind and the high tide destroyed all the old picket fortification on the side of the entrance to the harbour; the platform was also completely demolished. No improvement was made to the redoubt, except for the erection of a wall 30 fathoms long and made of dry stone close by, to reinforce its defence.

In actual fact, from 1707 onwards, the fortifications of Placentia deteriorated. The problems to be faced were too great: the shortage of manpower, limited funds,[66] the refusal of the shipowners to collaborate, the few local resources in construction materials, the bad weather, the shortage of food supplies and, in general, the dependence upon the mother country. Those were the difficulties which prevented the completion of the work. The only help given by the Court to overcome these obstacles consisted of recommendations and advice.

The English Blockade and the Cessation of Defence Works

We have seen that in 1708 England applied its blockade policy. This was far from eliminating the usual problems of Placentia. Work on the fortifications was immediately affected. On October 28, Costebelle wrote to the minister that the work was going slowly as a result of the late arrival of the ships, which did not reach Placentia until May.[67] The construction work was started up again on Fort Louis, on the masonry work on the curtain, 1-1/2 faces of the central bastion and the powder magazine. Nothing appears to have been done to Fort Royal. It seems that L'Hermitte simply suggested reconstructing the entrenchment, now in ruins, of dry stonework.

We have another description of the fortifications in 1708 coming from an English spy, John Woodward.[68] The writer describes Fort Louis as having 29 cannons and two mortars mounted on it. He declares tht he saw a stone wall

about 30 rods long between the mountain and the fort. This wall apparently was six feet high and three feet thick and itself protected by a ditch six feet wide filled with water. Once completed, this wall will greatly improve the defence of the fort, but for the moment it still seems weak. The spy gives no details of the "Castle" (Fort Royal). In short, Durand de la Garenne was perhaps right in writing that Fort Louis "ne pouvait à proprement parler sirvir en France que d'un parc à renfermer les bestiaux."[69]
Furthermore, according to L'Hermitte, the garrison had never been as bad as it was in this year, 1708.[70]

On February 26, 1709, Costebelle asked France for reinforcements. He asked for a frigate, two new companies[71] (as those already stationed there were not giving satisfactory service), food supplies, a gunner and money for the fortifications, as he had not received a sou for this purpose since 1706.

France did little in response to his request. She simply instructed the governor to reduce expenses and repeated her orders to the ships' captains to bring help to the colony in the form of food supplies and workmen. In spite of everything, Costebelle managed to build or strengthen some defence works. According to a letter of his dated June 28, he had all the points which were important for defence fortified (Fig. 12), and set up three batteries between the redoubt and Crèvecoeur (4x 18 at La Fontaine, 4x 18 near the redoubt, and 4x 12 at Crèvecoeur) (Figs. 13, 14); the gut was now closed by cables and two chains supported by double longboats; pickets with mortars, covered roads and entrenchments surrounded the Gaillardin consisting of a dry wall. The governor made the stone masons work all through the winter at the quarry extracting the materials required for the constructions.

There is an abundance of evidence coming from the English in 1709 which gives us a precise idea of Forts Louis and Royal and their surroundings. Every sentence in these English documents is most important. The documents give us the best description we have of Placentia's fortifications during the French occupation. Being conscious of this fact, and in view of the imposing length of these texts, we considered it preferable and more useful to present them in an appendix.[72]

The year 1709 marks the official end of the work undertaken by France to fortify Placentia. From 1710 until 1713, famine, the lack of funds and the "fatigue" of the soldiers combined as a partial cause of the cessation of work on the fortifications. All Costebelle could manage to get done during these four years was to create an escarpment at the front of the redoubt by means of a ditch six foot deep hewn out of the rock, with no water in it.

The Treaty of Utrecht

In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht put an end to French colonization in Newfoundland. As we have seen, the evacuation was delayed some months on account of the fishing. During this year of respite, Costebelle kept only 25 soldiers in the post; the others went to île Royale. His Majesty advised those remaining to live peacefully with the small English garrison that had immediately occupied the place in order to prevent any sabotage. Although their departure was postponed until 1714, the French population had to remove all their cannons, munitions, furniture and utensils from the forts before handing them over to the English. So the British flag flew over the empty forts of Placentia from 1713 onwards.[73]

Conclusion

The history of the French fortifications of Placentia gives the impression that it just fizzled out. After a serious effort to ensure the defence of the colony in 1709, the work was suddenly abandoned in the following year. It was not to be resumed until several decades later under the English occupation. In the last chapter, we have already given three reasons that partly explain why construction work stopped in 1710. But in fact, the real reason was much deeper and leads to an obvious and established conclusion: the only reason why France was interested in Newfoundland's soil was because of the surrounding sea. We have already mentioned that as early as 1710 France could already foresee the end of the war. It was becoming more and more obvious that she would then have to give up her possessions in Newfoundland. However, what was important for her was to retain her fishing rights, even if they might be limited. Once she was sure of this trade, the loss of Newfoundland became much easier to bear. Now, nothing leads us to believe that the clause in the Treaty of Utrecht guaranteeing the French this right was not already foreseeable in 1710 and that, in such circumstances, Louis XIV no longer had any reason to defend the island. If such was the case, the history of the French fortifications in Placentia was dependent upon that of the fisheries and had to face the same difficulties as the fisheries in each period. At least, this is what seems to emerge from the whole history of the colony.

Furthermore, the last years of French colonization in Newfoundland were to give a clear indication of the dependence of the colony on its mother country. This weakness hindered the progress of the fortifications and prevented them from reaching the two objectives for which they had been constructed: to defend the fisheries and the entrance to the gulf.

As we have already stated, Placentia was a dependent colony. Now, it is of the utmost importance for an establishment of this kind that the mother country should control the means of communication, so as to ensure the replenishment of its supplies; otherwise the colony is bound to decay. The English blockade was to prove the validity of

this thesis. As long as France met her commitments towards her colony, the post survived. But from 1708 the English had realized that it was quite useless to run the risk of heavy losses by launching a direct attack upon Placentia. As L'Hermitte had anticipated, the solution was to keep at a distance and to block the route to supply ships. Thus, being subjected to close surveillance of its port by the English, the colony experienced many internal difficulties which increased as time went on: famine, shortage of food, the rebellion of the soldiers, etc. The cause of these difficulties was clear: France no longer had any control, or much less contol over the communications and so abandoned the colony to its own means of survival, that is to say, nothing. In these circumstances, the cannons of the redoubt and Fort Louis, and the garrison stationed there could no longer protect the fisheries. On the contrary, this whole defence system proved rather to be a burden, a fact which the governors did not fail to point out. Perhaps France had realized the situation when she decided to no longer spend precious capital on defence works that had been rendered powerless. The Placentia fortifications also failed in so far as their second purpose was concerned.

We know that Placentia, when fortified, was to serve as a military base for the French warships entrusted with the protection of the entrance to the gulf, that is Labrador, Newfoundland, Cape Breton and Acadia. Now, we have been unable to find any document proving that the colony ever played this role. Even the island of Newfoundland as a whole was never a strategic point for the control of America. We are in agreement with G. Graham when he says that: "The fundamental fact in the history of Newfoundland prior to the 20th century is its complete aloofness from general strategical consideration."[1] As long as France could not maintain a large fleet in the North Atlantic, the fortifications in Placentia had no power on a wide front.

In conclusion, Placentia was perhaps the pivot of French colonization in Newfoundland, but it seems to us that her fortifications were a hindrance, since they did not achieve the purpose for which they were intended. They were supposed to protect the fisheries and defend the gulf; but without the support of the mother country, these responsibilities became impossible to assume for so dependent a colony. The basic problem was to maintain contact with Europe; once this was lost, the fortifications were destined to fail.

Appendix A. "An Account of Placentia in the Year 1709"

There are living upon the Great Beach of Placentia forty seven familys the greatest part boatkeepers upon which Beach there is no manner of fortification the inhabitants are with arms and commanded by one Rochefort a militia major [illegible] inhabitant of the place. The inhabitants in case of an allarm have respective posts for their defence.

Upon the little Beach are but few houses except what are built within the fort and those only [illegible] excepting one Suttling house. The fort itself is a quadrangle and has in it 26 guns mounted sixteen of which front toward the sea, 8 fronting the Entrance of the Harbour, and 2 facing the little Beach, with Pallisados sett double about tenn foot distance and filled up with Dirt, the Platform raised in the inside that front the Sea and Entrance of the Harbour of about four foot upon which the guns are mounted, and the works not above five foot high from the Platform, the other two sides are plain and only fortifyed with a double row of Pallisados, between which are placed two Cannons fronting the Mount; The magazine is in one corner of the Fort next the little Beach built with stones, A considerable quantity of amunition with one chain for [illegible] the Harbour was brought from France in the [illegible] man of war this year. The Redoubt upon the Hill looking into the Fort is built with stone and Pallisados around in which a guard of 30 men are kept Commanded by a Lieutenant and releved monthly, they have now 14 guns and 2 mortars, the guns are pointed over the Walls upon which are placed great stones to roll down if assaulted, There is another small Fort building opposite to the Redoubt which is [illegible] be the [illegible] to [illegible] the Redoubt when attempted, at the foot of the Redoubt under the Hill's four guns mounted to defend the Entrance of the road, as also four guns at [illegible] [illegible] the south [illegible] entering the road but no guard kept at the latter there is not water to [illegible] at the Castle but what is brought up by soldiers and mules and kept in Cisterns, which water brought from a Valley [illegible] the fourth of a mile from the Redoubt, The Inhabitants on the great Beach are Obliged to cross an arm of the Harbour for

all the water they use, The Fort has the same trouble of bringing in their water.

The Trade of Placentia is much Inferior to that of the English coast of Newfoundland; nothing but the Fishery is there minded; here are about fifty Artificers dayly at work cutting stones out of a large Quarry of which they have abundance in order to build a wall all around the Fort and [illegible] built one square, that fronts to the Harbour about tenn foot high which is levell with the lowest Platform of the Fort.

The Shipps using Placentia are generally fishing ships each shipp commonly [illegible] their lading of Fish, there are yearly from 40 to 60 sails, the greatest number of which are Bask, and but few of them of any force the Malouins are the [illegible] are generally shipps from tenn to 24 guns, of which there are 15 to 20 [illegible] yearly; The number of Boat keepers by the French at Placentia and places adjacent, I Judge may be 360 of which belongs to the Shipping, 230, there is not left in the whole Country Soldiers Included (of which there are now over 400) and 800 men after the sailing of their shipps.

The French Trade from Canada although but very small is very advantagious to the Inhabitants, there [illegible] not above six small [illegible] the Trade yearly; their loading concist of Flour, Bread and [illegible] for which they expect, Salt, Wine, Brandy, and other merchandise, the prices of Bread and Flour are generally from 18 to 24 livres per Quintal. Two shipps and a sloop was sent in June last to load Provision for the Garrison, which if necessary will raise the Price to a prodigious degree, and most of the People must starve for want of Bread.[1]

Appendix B. "Observations made by Mr. Allen Southmayd and Mr. In. Collin in Placentia in the Month of June 1709"

From Point de Vert where there is four guns mounted to the Westward runs a point of Rocks about a mile, round which runs the Channell until you come to a point called Claves Cure where is six guns mounted from thence the Channell is on the southward and shore until you enter the harbour.

The road between Point Vert and the Fort which is distant about three miles is good anchorage, and rooms enough for 500 sail of Shipps, having seen shipps ride there at all time of the summer in safety.

At our arrivall in Placentia the 10th Aprill 1709, there was 34 pieces of Cannon mounted in the lower Fort, 12 pointing to Point Vert, 18 pointing to the Grand Beach and 4 pointing into the Harbour with 3 mortar pieces, and in the Castle on the Hill 10 pieces of Cannon mounted and 2 mortar pieces, 150 men in Fort and Castle, 16 of which with an Officer are in the Castle and relived monthly, Monsieur Saint-Ovide carryed with him from St. John's 48 pieces of Cannon most of which are mounted, some in the Fort, some in the Castle, and others in a small battery beneath the Castle raised during the time we were there, in which was designed to mount 12 guns. The largest Cannon they have, are mounted against the narrow passage at the Entrance of the Harbour, They have this summer made a new Row of Pallisados next the land about 12 foot distant from the former the 2 inward rows being much decayed, and in many places easily pulled down by hand, next the water is only the Walls made of Wood and sodds raised this spring about two foot higher than formerly; The guns mounted on the Platform are about 10 or 12 foot from the water which flows 2/3 round the Fort, the men on the Platformes being 2/3 of their bodys covered by the Works; their Magazine of Powder is in the N.E. corner of the Fort covered from sight, as you enter towards the Fort by a row of new stones built next the hill for the Soldiers, that point of the Fort next the Harbour is a wall of very good stones, began last summer and raised about 8 foot high, about 10 foot broad and which they design if possible to finish this summer, on the North side of the Fort is a hill equall in highth to that on which the Castle stands, and about musquet shott from each place on the top of which is a

Platform pallisaded in, and stones layed without the Pallisados about three foot high, in which was formerly mounted but one gun but how many at present are uncertaine, the guns mounted on this Platforme are directly over the Fort, and do Command all the shipping in the Harbour, the place where the Inhabitants live and the Fort with the same ease as the guns in the Castle.

Round the Castle was this spring put up a new row of Pallisados a considerable distance from the Former and much more stronger, their walls are much decayed, as we are informed and are ready to fall at the fireing of their Cannon, they have no water in the Castle, but such as they keep in Butts and which they fetch 2 or 300 paces from the Walls.

The Topps of the Wall are heaped up with large stones of 1, 2 and 300 weight to throw on the heads of those that may scale the walls.

They have now 50 men with a Captain and other Officers constantly in the Castle, and upon an Allarme, Monsieur St. Ovide the Lt. Governour takes his post there the Castle itself is scare large enough to hold 150 men, when they come to a wall engagement, The six best guns from St. John's are mounted here, and all the choicest of their Cannon, estiming that place their only security, it being impossible for the Fort or any part of the Harbour to hold out one hour after the taking this castle.

The Fort and Castle are so near one the other, that with a speaking Trumpett, they call to each other, and from the Fort so the Inhabitants they may do the same.

On the back part of the Castle between Clave and the Castle near the Water is a breast work, about half a mile in length made to oppose the landing there, and between that and the Castle are severall others to retreat to, if beaten from the former.

The Garrison this spring have been reinforced from France with 200 men added to the former 150 all which the Governor oblige to be constantly at work in the strengthening the Place, and the shipps men with the Inhabitants as often as he pleaseth which is generally once or twice a week. In the narrow entrance of the Harbour, the tide runs about 6 knotts with a rapid motion, being 40 fathome wide, and deep enough for a shipp of any Burthen over which is two iron chains fixed in the ground on the South side, and have over with a Capstan to the Fort Between which chains, are two Cables of 16 inches fixed in the ground with Anchors after the same manner as the Chains.

When we came from Placentia there was 43 sail of shipps with one man of War of 56 guns and 6 or 8 shipps that mounted from 14 to 26 guns the rest being generally large Flyboats but without force.

They reckon there is belonging to the shipps about 3,000 men including those that fish at Cape St. Marie and other places which we judged to be near 1,000.

The Soldiers in the Fort and Castle 350 and the Inhabitants in and about Placentia 700 very few shipps more was expected when wee came from Placentia which was on the 15th June last. The Inhabitants and Officers of the Garrison have plenty of mony, there having severall shipps from the South sea been lately there, which have left large quantitys behind them. Aboundance of plate they also have there being Lodged most of the Plunder taken on the English Coast of Newfoundland both this and the last War, The Inhabitants are very fearfull of loosing the place, wee having heard them providing provisions and other necessarys to carry in the wood with them in case they should be attacked this summer.

They have advices every other day from Cape St. Maries [illegible] where they keep a watch to discover what shipps enter the Bay, and upon the Discovery of a Fleet they have a beacon which they fire at point de Vert on sight of which all the Fishing boats are to repaire [illegible] to Placentia.

From thence they send to St. John's or any other English Harbour and in 8 days return again, there hath been severall times People carryed from St. John's and other places in Newfoundland to Placentia and made Servants and thereby engage them so much to the Interest that at this time there is not less then 40 or 50 English and Irish that have declared themselves Subjects to the King of France and have severall times taken up arms against the English.

St. John's, Newfoundland
the 7th July
1709.[1]

Appendix C. "Mr. Digori Heart's Description of the Castle and Fort of Placentia, 1709"

The Castle is scituate upon a hill on the N-W side of the Harbour about half a mile from the Fort consisting of sixteen guns teen whereof being Iron and six brass, the Iron guns are near 12 pound shott, but I am uncertain of the Dimensions of the brass guns, 7 are placed fronting the Sea, I suppose the Walls to be near 14 foot thick, without being all stone, the breast work over which the guns are planted are near 2 1/2 foot thick as for the Magazine it lyes at the N-W corner of the Castle under the Platforme, concerning the water they keep in the Garrison, in only 5 butts, The place where they are supplyed with water lyes in a low Valley to the Northward of the Castle, it lyes very low where you may hide a thousand men without discovery, being about Pistol shott from the Castle; about a musquet shott from the Castle N-W lyes a Platforme of four guns Pallisadod round with a larger descent then the Castle; There is a battery of six guns which lyes upon a hill equivalent with the Castle both which Command the Watering place, this Platform likewise Command the Fort and the Harbour. Between the two aforsaid Platforms, lyes a Valley and the Castle cannot do them damage, The Fort lyes at the W. side of the Entrance in of the Harbour, consisting as I suppose of 40 Ordnances being double palisadod (and a shipp going in is obliged to go close to it) 14 or 15 fronting the Bay, at the outside of the Entrance into the Harbour, They have got two chains and two Cables athwart the Entrance to have up when Attached by the Enneny, the Magazine lyes in the W. corner, a large white house which shows it self plaine from the other, The Ordnances of the Fort I suppose to be about 24 pound shott and lyes low to the water' the Uper Deck guns of a fourth rate lyes equivalent with them, but there runs a strong tide, which would be apt to [illegible] a shipp to shoare, if stopped by Chaine or Cable; The heighth of the breast work within the Castle upon the Platform is about two foot high and full of large stones in Order to have down [Letter incomplete].[1]

Appendix D. "Lettre du roi à M. de Costebelle, Gouverneur à Plaisance, sur la remise de Plaisance aux Anglais à Fontainebleau, le 29 septembre 1713"

Monsieur de Costebelle, je vous ai fait donner mes ordres pour vous préparer à évacuer la Ville et forts de Plaisance et les autres ports de Votre Gouvernement de l'Ile de Terreneuve cédés a ma Chére Soeur la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, par le traité conclu a Utrecht le 11 avril dernier entre mes plénipotentiaires et ceux de la Grande Bretagne. J'avais donné mes ordres pour l'équipement des vaisseaux nécessaires pour faire cette évacuation et vous transporter avec les officiers, la Garnison, et les habitants de Plaisance et autres endroits de l'île de Terreneuve, à mon île royale, vulgairement appelé du Cap Breton, mais la saison étant trop avancée pour une pareille exécution qui ne pourraient se faire sans exposer mes troupes et mes sujets à périr de froid et de misére, et mettre mes vaisseaux dans un péril évident de se perdre dans une saison aussi fâcheuse, j'ai jugé à propos de remettre leur transport à l'île royale au printemps prochain; Voulant néanmoins donner de plus en plus des marques de la sincérité de mes intentions et de la bonne foi avec laquelle je veux exécuter de ma part les articles du traité de paix, ma chère soeur la reine de la Grande Bretagne ayant désiré que Plaisance avec ses forts et ceux des autres endroits de l'île de Terreneuve lui fussent remis conformément audit traité, je vous écris cette lettre pour vous dire que mon intention est que vous les remettiez aux officiers qui seront chargés de ses ordres, que la justice y soit administrée au nom de ma chère soeur la reine de la Grande Bretagne, que ses officiers y aient toute l'autorité et que le pavillon anglais soit seulement arboré sur tous les forts; mon intention est aussi qu'en attendant que la saison permette qu'on puisse vous transporter à l'île royale, vous restiez avec mes officiers, mes troupes et mes sujets dans la ville de Plaisance ainsi qu'il a été convenu entre ma chère soeur la reine de la Grande Bretagne et moi, que vous les y fassiez vivre avec sagesse et dans une exacte discipline, et que vous vous comportiez de manière qu'il n'arrive aucune discussion ni désordre qui puisse altérer l'union et la bonne intelligence entre les deux Nations, en ne vous ingérant en aucune manière de rien de ce qui aura

rapport au Gouvernement de Plaisance et de l'Ile de Terreneuve.

Avant de remettre les forts mon intention est que vous en faissiez retirer l'artillerie, poudre, boulets, armes, munitions de guerre, meubles et ustensiles que conjointement avec le Commissaire Durand de la Garenne, vous en fassiez un inventaire exact et qu'ensuite vous fassiez mettre le tout dans des magasins et que vous preniez les précautions nécessaires pour en empêcher le dépéressement et que vous les fassiez garder avec soin et prévoyance jusqu'à ce qu'on les transporte à Votre île Royale du Cap Breton, et, la présente en laquelle ne doutant point que vous ne vous conformiez exactement n'étant à autre fin, je prie Dieu, Monsieur de Costebelle qu'il vous ait en sa Sainte Garde.

Ecrit à ... etc.[1]

List of Abbreviations

PAC	:	Public Archives
BEC	:	Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes
BN	:	Bibliothèque nationale
CHR	:	Canadian Historical Review
CO	:	Colonial Office
DFC	:	Dépôt des fortifications des colonies
NHPSB	:	National Historic Parks and Sites Branch
DR	:	Dalhousie Review
DRCHSNY	:	Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York
ER	:	Empire Review
MHC	:	Massachusett Historical Collection
MSGCF	:	Mémoire de la Société généalogique canadienne-française
NAF	:	Nouvelles acquisitions françaises
NF	:	Nova Francia
NSA	:	Nova Scotia A
PM	:	Pensylvania Magazine
RHABPB	:	Revue archéologique et historique du Béarn et du Pays Basque
WO	:	War Office

Notes

Introduction

1 A.J.H. Richardson, "Placentia, Newfoundland," Manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Ottawa, 1962, p. 3.

2 M.P. Murray, "Forgotten Ferryland: a Study in Arrested Development, 1500-1700," Newfoundland Quarterly, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Sept. 1954), p. 7f.

3 G. Musset, Les Rochelais à Terre-Neuve, 1500-1789 (La Rochelle: the author, 1899), p. 12.

4 H. Harrisse, D.W. Prowse and R. Perret make references to the colonies as early as 1508. As far as Charles de La Roncière is concerned, he puts forward the thesis that the French must have fortified Newfoundland as early as 1555, probably at St. John's.

5 Henry Harrisse is of the opinion that 1550 marks the date on which Newfoundland expeditions became so common that they were no longer counted.

6 M.P. Murray, op. cit., p. 10.

7 PAC, MG21, Lansdown MSS., Vol. 100, fol. 95-97.

8 According to Charles de La Morandière, Histoire de la pêche française de la morue dans l'Amérique septentrionale (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1962), Vol. 1, p. 221, the expansion of English armaments in the second half of the XVIth century was not so much the result of an economic need as of political concern. England wanted to build up a powerful navy, and realized that a commercial fleet could be a real training ground for sailors.

9 The French fishing fleet fell from 150 ships in 1580 to 75 in 1600. A.J.H. Richardson, op. cit., p. 4.

10 Although at the end of the XVIth century England dominated the Newfoundland fisheries, she was aware of its real strength: she only occupied a narrow stretch of territory between Cape Race and Cape Bonavista; and, when she went beyond its limits, her people had to know the Basque language "pour être entendu des tribus indiennes." C. de La Roncière, La question de Terre-Neuve: les droits indiscutables de la France (Paris L. de Soye, 1904), p. 59. For some people,

colonization seemed like a way of controlling this threat.

11 David Kirke had fully understood the problem when he said, towards 1635: "The ffrench if once the Island be ffortified will be destroyed of their nussery...of mariners...," PAC, MG21, Egerton Mss. 2395, fol. 261. Furthermore, Newfoundland was the port of the Gulf, hence, the port of Canada.

12 "West Country" generally referred to the traders who exploited the Newfoundland fisheries. They were categorically opposed to colonization, all the more so as the colonists were not professional fishermen. They claimed that colonization could have no beneficial effects, considering the physical demands of the island; on the contrary, they claimed that it would ruin the fishing by the intrusion of colonists, who would destroy or take possession of the fishermen's installations (landing platforms, beaches, wood, etc.); they claimed that Newfoundland was naturally protected and had no need of settlers to protect it. According to the laws of 1663 and 1671, they managed to have their opinions validated, and until 1680 it was forbidden to establish English colonies in the island. This facilitated the establishment of Placentia.

13 According to L.E.F. English, the town of Placentia was founded by the Basques, who named it after a town in Spain; at that time it was a permanent station with dwellings and business premises. See L.E.F. English, "The Basques," manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa, n.d., p. 18. Other documents mention a certain Sureau, who owned a house "54 toises du Gaillardin," long before the foundation of the colony. PAC, MG7, I, A, 3, Coll. Margry, Vol. 9283, fol. 256.

14 Ibid., Vol. 17329, p. 287.

15 C. de La Roncière, op. cit., p. 46.

16 One difficulty arises concerning the projects related to Placentia at the beginning of the century. The settlers who came there did so on an individual basis and not as company or government agents. This being the case, it is obviously more difficult to trace the documentation. But according to the cartography of the period, it can be assumed that Placentia was well known.

17 A memorandum of 1674 says that the French began to frequent the fishing grounds more regularly after the Pyrenees Treaty (1659) and that they quickly appropriated the English market on account of the lower costs of exploitation. PAC, MG11, CO1, Vol. 34, No. 27.

18 According to some memoranda, it seems that from the discovery of Newfoundland in 1497 until the treaty of

1632, the French had no right to fish in the waters surrounding the island. From that time onwards, on the pretext of promoting the commerce of Canada and Acadia, they obtained England's permission to engage in fishing activities in the area provided they paid a 5 to 10 per cent tax on their catch. PAC, MG11, CO195, Vol. 2, p. 25. According to Charles de La Roncière, one should not believe this "dissertation historique," as the French were never excluded from the Newfoundland fishing grounds, and the name of the island is proof enough. C. de La Roncière, "Le premier routier-pilote de Terre-Neuve, 1579," BEC, Vol. 65 (1904), p. 12.

19 A.B. Perlin, "An Outline of Newfoundland History," Newfoundland Quarterly, Vol. 55, No. 4 (Dec. 1956), p. 4.

20 "Quoique le désir de soutenir les droits de sa Couronne et ce qu'il devoit au bonheur de son Royaume eussent dû engager le Roi Charles à faire tous ses efforts pour s'opposer à cette usurpation nous ne devons pas être surpris qu'il les ait souffertes connaissant son attachement servile pour la Cour de France." PAC, MG5, B, 2, Vol. 13, fol. 42.

21 D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland from the English Colonial and Foreign Records (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896), p. 177ff.

The Birth of a French Colony in Newfoundland: 1662-1670

1 PAC, MG18, H, 27, p. 163ff.

2 PAC, MG7, I, A, 3, Coll. Margry, Vol. 9281, fol. 153.

3 PAC, MG7, I, A, 4, Coll. Baluze, Vol. 149, fol. 10.

4 Ibid., fol. 5.

5 Canada. Parliament, Edits et Ordonnances, (Quebec: Fréchette, 1854), Vol. 1, p. 9.

6 C. de La Morandière, op. cit., p. 411.

7 This letter is quoted in: C. Millon, Aventure du Rochelais Nicolas Gargot dit "Jambe de Bois" (La Rochelle: Rupella, 1928), p. 183.

8 The Malouins and the states of Brittany were opposed to the ratification of the letters of concession, because they granted Gargot exclusive fishing rights which had "d'une très mauvoise conséquence pour les sujets de Sa Majesté."

9 We shall come back to these two letters in the second part of this chapter.

10 C. Millon, op. cit., p. 144f. Several writers refer to Gargot's memoranda "cité" in Millon. Now, Millon, except as an appendix, did not really copy the memoranda of the seaman from La Rochelle; he simply fictionalized the data in his possession and presented them as Gargot's words. So there is a much wider margin of error.

11 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, p. 81-86.

12 "[...] que S.M. entrant dans le délail des besoins de ses sujets habitués audit lieu de Plaissance, leur envoye non seulement des munitions de bouche mais mesme qu'elle pourvoit jusqu'aux moindres choses nécessaires à leur vêtement et entretien et que ainsy il [gouverneur] doit avec une aplication fidèle et charitable entrer en connaissance de ce qui chacune de ces familles peut avoir besoin pour se maintenir et passé les années." Quoted by C. de La Morandière, op. cit., p. 417.

13 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, p. 32.

14 C. de La Morandière, op. cit., p. 417, claims that he arrived on December 31, 1667. This date is unacceptable. It is very unlikely that Louis XIV let a year pass by before appointing a new governor and, what is more important, we have found a letter from La Palme dated August 15 in Placentia. PAC, MG7, I, A, 6, Vol. 144, fol. 523.

15 These figures seem to us rather high. On the basis of later information, one is led to believe that the number of 150 soldiers is much higher than the actual number. It must be borne in mind that this evidence comes from English people, who want England to drive the French from the island. Under these circumstances it is to their advantage to exaggerate the threat.

16 PAC, MG11, CO1, Vol. 22, No. 69.

17 A.J.H. Richardson, op. cit., p. 4.

18 It is a good thing to know that the authors, and, above all, La Morandière, support their statements by quoting from the memoranda of Gargot, whom we have already mentioned (note 10).

19 We say "according to the usual conjectures" since we have traced a letter from the governor (note 21) dated September 18, 1662 at Placentia; thus at least six weeks before the "supposed" arrival of Du Perron. What remains to be seen is how long he had been in office and how he had made the crossing. Probably not with Gargot, since the latter gives a list of those eating at his table and Du Perron's name does not appear on it. Perhaps he was aboard the second ship.

20 If we accept the beginning of September as the probable date of Du Perron's arrival, it is then possible that he could have built a very elementary fort. But this does not seem to be the case according to the two extracts we quote later on.

21 PAC, MG7, I, A, 6, Vol. 111, fol. 323.

22 Ibid., Vol. 114, fol. 566.

23 Du Perron's period in office covers a period during which correspondence between France and the colony is extremely limited on account of the winter. The two weak points (notes 18 and 19) mentioned, and the fact that no writer refers to this letter of September 18,

1662, leads us to believe that they were not aware of it.

24 When Fort Louis was built in the Jerseyside area, it was said that it would not be constructed on the same site as that of the "vieux fort." As for Castle Hill, documents prove that the first construction dates back to the 1690s.

25 D.W. Prowse, op. cit., p. 181.

26 Loc. cit. We shall see that this fort was built at water level, on the north side of the gut.

27 It is to be noted that maps drawn since 1720 which refer to an "old [French] fort" are referring to Fort Louis, which was built in about 1690, to distinguish it from the new fort, Fort Frederick.

28 PAC, MG7, I, A, 5, Coll. Clairambault, Vol. 1016, fol. 467.

29 This letter has already been quoted (note 21).

30 A letter from the Basque captain, d'Haristeguy de Saint-Pierre-de-Luz, adds that in 1662, the fort of Placentia was burned "par l'intelligence et mofit secret" of the owners of the Basque and Breton ships. PAC, MG7, I, A, 6, Vol. 112, fol. 49.

31 PAC, MG2, B^2, Vol. 9, fol. 368.

The Colony Gets Organized: 1670-1690

1 From 1670 to 1684.

2 PAC, MG2, B^2, Vol. 10, fol. 375.

3 Collection de documents relatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France (Québec: A. Côté, 1883-1885) (henceforth referred to as Collection de documents), Vol. 1, p. 381ff. An important memorandum from the governor, Parat, in 1686, leads one to believe that the king had not yet made his usual generous payments this year. The total expenses amounted at that time to 2000L, 1200 of which went to the governor of the colony, who was remunerated, contrary to Prowse's opinion (p. 186). The rest of the money went to the almoner and the surgeon.

4 The governors must also have speculated on food and supplies, since the king instructed La Pioppe to have this practice stopped (note 2).

5 "Il seroit fâcheux d'arrester ces Anglois car la colonie de Boston est fort riche et possède des navires de grande force qui pourroient venir pirater Plaisance. Le mieux est de laisser les habitants continuer à recevoir des vivres des Anglois." Note from the Secretary of State written in the margin of a letter from Parat, dated August 14 1685. PAC, MG1, F^3, Vol. 54, fol. 269. In 1688, the king accepted this deception, although he tried to find a way of doing

without it. His Majesty to Parat, March 8, 1688: PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, p. 29.

6 The figures indicating the population of Placentia for this period were grossly exaggerated by English witnesses; John Aylod and John Downing evaluated it in 1676 at 250 families, 2000 persons and 400 soldiers (Prowse, op. cit., p. 206). In actual fact, the population returns of 1671 and 1673 show much lower figures: in 1671, 11 families and 74 persons are quoted; in 1673, 10 households and 64 inhabitants are shown (F.D. Thibodeau, éd., "Recensements de Plaisance." MSGCF, Vol. 10 (1959), p. 179ff). In 1676, the colony had 67 inhabitants (PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, p. 64). As for the census of 1687, it shows 19 families and 86 inhabitants. (Canada. Parlement, Recensement du Canada, Vol. 4, (1871), p. 20). These figures, however, do not include enlisted men (170 at Placentia in 1687), that is to say, fishermen coming from Europe who undertook to serve 36 months with a resident fisherman, often with the purpose of evading service on the king's ships. In 1687, the total population of the island amounted to 663 persons including enlisted men (Ibid., p. 20).

7 PAC, MG7, I, A, 5, Clairambault Collection, Vol. 1016, fol. 467.

8 "[...] n'y ayant aucune force qui les en puisse empêcher d'autant qu'il n'y a pour toute retraite et fortification que quelques méchantes cabanes faites de pieux et d'écorces d'arbres sur le bord de la mer, où les habitants du lieu ne peuvent avoir aucune défense ni mêm empêcher que dix hommes armés n'y viennent mettre lee feu, quant ils en auront dessein, il est vrai qu'il y a huit pièces de canon mais sans poudre, balles, ni mèche et en fort mauvais état ni ayant personne même qui en puisse avoir soin, il est cependant très constant que ce poste est de la dernière conséquence pour cette pêcherie tant cause de sa grave qui est très nécessaire pour sécher la poisson qu'à cause de la sureté de son port qui est assurément sans pareil lorsqu'on y est entré, ce sont aussi les raisons qui ont porté S.M. à y fonder une colonie qui néanmoins se détruira dans la suite si on ne le met dans un autre état qu'il est, ce poste étant en un mot sans défense naturelle ou artificielle." PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, p. 63.

9 PAC, MG2, B^2, Vol. 31, fol. 30.

10 PAC, MG2, B^3, Vol. 21, fol. 309.

11 D.W. Prowse, op. cit., p. 182f.

12 Parat's memorandum (note 3) sums up very well the colony's situation in its relations with its mother country: "Il n'y a rien de sy bien situé que le pais que les François possèdent dans cette isle, et il

serait à souhaiter que le Roy voulus faire quelque dépense pour la maintenir.

S.M. envoyait autrefois pour douze mille livres par an de vivres à Plaisance comme il paroist par les comptes qu'il envoye. Depuis que cela ne se faict plus, la colonie a esté obligée d'avoir recours, pour subsister, aux Anglois, qui, oultre les vivres qu'ils apportent, prennent touttes les marchandises de rebut. Trois habitans avoient accoutumé de se rendre maistres des marchandises qui arrivoient dans l'isle sans rien débourser, et les vendoient ensuitte à un prix excessif." Parat réclame des munitions et des outils "pour remuer la terre" en plus de faire parvenir un mémoire "de ce qu'il a fait pour l'établissement du fort (et) de ce qu'il faudra faire pour l'achever." Il prie de plus S.M. de lui donner 30 hommes pour garder ce fort et se faire obéir dans la colonie.

13 At this time, France employed about 16000 to 20000 men in its Newfoundland fisheries. D.W. Prowse, op. cit., p. 187.

14 "Les soldats que S.M. vous envoye vous mettront en estat de punir ceux qui le mériteront. Il faut aussy que vous appliquiez à restablire le bon ordre dans vostre gouvernementet que vous empeschiez autant que vous le pourrez le désordre dont vous mescrivez [...]." C. de La Morandière, op. cit., p. 433.

15 It was a question of soldiers in the marine infantry who had been forcibly taken from Rochefort but were promised that they would be relieved at the end of three years. The commandant was called Louis de Pastour de Costebelle, a corporal of the Marine Guards at Toulon, who was then given the rank of infantry lieutenant. He must not be confused with his brother, Philippe de Pastour de Costebelle, who came over in 1692.

16 The Minister to Parat, March 30, 1687: PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 13, fol. 40.

17 According to Mgr de Saint-Vallier, if the two officers had had the same kind of temperament, "ils auroient déjà eu des affaires fasheuses." R. Le Blant, Un colonial sous Louis XIV, Philippe de Pastour de Costebelle... (Dax: P. Pradeau, 1935), p. 60.

18

	1615	1677	% of decrease
Ships	250	112	55
Men	5000	1161	77
Tons	15000	7304	52

PAC, MG11, CO195, Vol. 2, p. 24.

19 PAC, MG7, I, A, 6, Vol. 172 bis, fol. 626; ,PAC, MG2, B^2, Vol. 68, fol. 116.

20 PAC, MG2, B^2, Vol. 10, fol. 375.

21 PAC, MG21, Egerton Mss., 2395, fol. 562.

22 G. Tomkinson, "That Wasp's Nest, Placentia," DR, Vol. 19 (June 1939), p. 204-214.
23 PAC, MG11, CO1, Vol. 1, p. 381.
24 Collection de documents, Vol. 1, p. 381.
25 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, fol. 157.
26 A 1687 plan (Fig. 5) seems to indicate that this redoubt was situated on the south coast, on the same side as the habitations. However, it is very probable, if not certain, that this was a mistake. Père Baudry's note which accompanies this plan indicates: "Nord orienté vers le bas." Now, it is not absolutely certain that the fleur-de-lis indicates the north (it is very unusual to find a map with the north at the bottom of the page); it may indicate the south. A second hypothesis is that the author (unknown) may have made a mistake in the direction of his cardinal points. Be that as it may, if we accept that the north was oriented towards the bottom of the page, it indicates that the fort is situated on the south bank of the gut, on the side of the Great Beach. Now, a letter from Parat contradicts this. In his criticism of the Recollects, who settled on the south side, the governor declares: "Mais il me semble qu'il est bien rude de n'avoir point d'aumosnier au fort, car ils se sont lougés à la grave pour leur commodité & il nous faut passer l'eau [...]." The only place where it is possible to cross the water is between the south and north banks of the gut. Sixte le Tac, Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle-France ou Canada (Paris: G. Fischbacker, 1888), p. 237. This letter is quoted in an appendix.
27 PAC, MG7, I, A, 5: Clairambault Collection, Vol. 1016, fol. 467.
28 C. de La Morandière, (op. cit., p. 432) gives the population of Fort Louis in 1687 and quotes a letter from Parat in which the governor asks for repairs to be carried out on a fort, which the author believes to be Fort Louis. Now, it is quite obvious that this historian is mistaken in both cases, since Fort Louis was not built before 1691.
29 Perhaps it is a question of the plans of the future Fort Louis.
30 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, fol. 171.
31 Ibid., fol. 192.
32 Ibid., fol. 197.
33 PAC, MG11, CO1, Vol. 51, No. 29.

The Colony at War: 1690-1702

1 PAC, MG11, CO195, Vol. 2, p. 11. This memorandum was written by agents of the West Country who were trying to minimize the threat from France, in order to prevent England from colonizing Newfoundland. We know that at

the time, some English politicians were beginning to consider colonization as being the only valid way of counteracting French imperialism. Besides, the fur trade was practically non-existent in Newfoundland.

2 F. Thompson, The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 7. But for all that, English colonization did not benefit from it.

3 Quoted in C. de La Morandière, op. cit., p. 441.

4 A report drawn up by Pastour de Costebelle, on August 25, 1690: "[...] les matelots avoient si fort pris les soldats à la dant [sic] à l'imitation du peu de subordination de leurs capitaines à l'esgard de M. le Gouverneur et au mien, qu'il ne pouvoit passer aucun soldat dans la rue auquel il ne feut chanté injure en langage basque [...]." Quoted in R. Le Blant, "Une sédition basque à Terre-Neuve," RHABPB (1932), p. 17).

5 Le Blant quotes a text which gives us a good idea as to how the Basques were considered in Placentia: "C'est en quoy les Basques ont bien de l'avantage, ayant de bons habits de peaux. Ils vont rarement au marigot et sont peu paresseux. Le soir, ils viennent aux échaffaux et ont leurs chaloupes chargées, que les autres pescheurs ne les ont pas à demy. Aussy les appellent-ils tous Sorciers et disent qu'ils font jouer la Barrette, qui est une toque qu'ils portent sur la tests, qu'ils font tourner lorsqu'ils sont en colère; tous ces reproches ne sont fondés que sur une haine, que tous les pescheurs ont contre eux, parce qu'ils sont plus habiles à la pesche que toutes les autres nations." Ibid., p. 8, n. 16.

6 Ibid., p. 11f. (This article gives a very good idea of the mutiny of August 1690.) Very probably, the Basques were the instigators of the 1663 mutiny of which the governor, Du Perron, was one of the victims. (See the chapter entitled "The Birth of a French Colony in Newfoundland: 1662-1670," n. 30.) So, judging by all appearances, they were strongly anticolonial.

7 Costebelle to the minister, Oct. 5, 1690; PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, p. 85.

8 Memorandum from Captain Croiset, August 22, 1687: "Il n'a pas esté difficule Monsieur de s'apercevoir à Plaisance que M. Parat qui en est gouverneur est brouillé avec ce qu'il y a de cap^{nes} marchands qui y viennent pour la pesche des mollues, pour se donner à leur endroit des airs d'une fierté ridicule, et avec tous les habitants qui sont 25 ou 30, et ceux des environs parce qu'il exige d'eux des choses extraordinaires et qu'il les ranconne épouvantablement." PAC, MG7, I, 3, Arnoul Collection, Vol. 21, 334, fol. 299.

9 PAC, MG1, F^3, Vol. 54, fol. 301ff.

10 PAC, MG1, C^{11}, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, p. 244.

11 Costebelle was certainly very shrewd in the service of the king. His perspicacity and practical common sense are most evident in his memorandum written in August: "Mais comme il ne faut pas doutter qu'à bien considérer les choses L'isle de Terreneuve estant un androit très considérable tant à l'esgard de la pesche que pour l'hinterest du commerce et le revenu qui en peut provenir au roy qu'a la moindre guerre avec l'Angleterre nos ennemis ne se saisissent d'un poste sy advantageux il est nécessaire pour la deffance de L'entrée du port et pour empescher les habitans anglois et forbans qui sont sur ces Costes de venir ravager le pays comme ils ont faist cette année que suivant l'advis d'un ingénieur de faire un enclos de bons gros piquets en manière de pallissade sur la pointe de la grande grave ou de l'autre Costé du goulet de la petite grave avec une bonne batterie de Canons ou tous les habitans seroient obligés de se rettirer l'hyver et dy bastir des Cabanes à la mode du pays suivant le terrain quon leur donneroit pouvant lesté sand aucune crainte se remettre le long de la rivière pour vaguer a leur pesche n'éstant pas a la port du mousquet dudit anclos ou ils se remettroient apres le déspart des navires et pour la deffance de ce poste qui est asses advantageux parce qu'on voit venir sone nnemy déscouvert il est nécessaire d'un entretien de deux compagnie complettes avec des officiers sur le pied de celles de québec après quoy on peut tenir le pays en secureté et ayec le temps y voir une riche et belle collonie." PAC, MG1, F^{3}, Vol. 54, fol. 294.

12 Costebelle to the minister, December 28, 1690; PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, p. 314.

13 PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 16, Pt. 1, fol. 19.

14 PAC, MG2, B^{3}, Vol. 64, fol. 184.

15 According to R. Le Blant (Un colonial sous Louis XIV, Philippe Pastour de Costebelle (Dax: P. Pradeau, 1935), p. 75), 1691 marks the beginning of this policy. However, the author mentions that the court had already considered the possibility of handing over the responsibility of maintaining the colony to individuals. However, the author does not tell us whether or not this policy was adopted or continued. Now, judging from the lists of expenditures of the post and from Parat's memorandum of 1686 (n. 3), we are led to believe that such was the case and that 1691 is only the continuation of this policy, and not the beginning.

16 One can find an example of these contracts in: PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 19, fol. 123f., or in C. de La Morandière, op. cit., p. 467.

17 The funds for this year amounted to 11,040L, 2s, 8d; PAC, MG2, B^3, Vol. 467, Pt. 1.
18 PAC, MG1, G^1, Vol. 467, Pt. 1.
19 R. Le Blant, Un colonial sous Louis XIV, Philippe de Pastour de Costebelle, (Dax: P. Pradeau, 1935), p. 76.
20 PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 16, Pt. 1, fol. 199ff.
21 PAC, MG2, B^3, Vol. 70, fol. 164.
22 However, the crew was rescued. A member of the crew was Philippe de Pastour de Costebelle who was coming to replace his elder brother, Louis, who was given the rank of lieutenant..
23 The account of this battle is to be found in: PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, p. 343ff.
24 Perhaps it was a reprisal for the two "courses" commanded by Saint-Ovide and Costebelle against Trinity Bay and Trépasses Bay on September 6, 1692.
25 PAC, MG2, B^2, Vol. 82, fol. 103.
26 PAC, MG1, F^3, Vol. 54, fol. 333.
27 An account of this attack is to be found in: PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, p. 269ff. Figure 1 should also be studied to get a better idea of the plan of attack.
28 The chain mentioned by C. de La Morandière, op. cit., p. 452 is probably the fruit of his fertile imagination since, the following year Brouillan insisted on the advantages to be gained from closing the gut with a chain. His wish was not to be realized until 1695.
29 Gustave Lanctot, éd., Nouveaux documents de Lahontan sur le Canada et Terre-Neuve (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940) p. 50-58. La Hontan first came to Placentia on August 18, 1692. He took part in the defence of the colony against Williamson (see above) and left again in the autumn. His good conduct at the height of the attack won him the praises of the king, who sent him back to Newfoundland with the title of king's lieutenant. The baron assumed his position on June 20, 1693, took part in the defence of the colony against Wheeler and deserted on December 14 of the same year. So his memorandum is based on a good knowledge of the place. However, it must not be forgotten that La Hontan's writings are often influenced by his objectives.
30 Ibid., p. 56.
31 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, p. 478.
32 Costebelle to the Minister, October 14, 1695: PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, p. 100ff.
33 Ibid., Vol. 2, Pt. 1, p. 98.
34 Ibid., Vol. 2, Pt. 1, p. 5.
35 Ibid., Vol. 2, Pt. 1, P. 18.
36 R. Le Blant, Un entrepreneur à l'Ile Royale, Gratien Darrigrand, 1684-1754 (Blois: J. de Grandpré, 1936),

p. 8. As soon as they reached the necessary age, all the male inhabitants had to take training in the handling of weapons.

37 PAC, MG1, F^3, Vol.54, fol. 350.

38 Ibid., fol. 351.

39 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, p. 28.

40 PAC, MG1, F^3, Vol. 54, fol. 348.

41 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, Vol. 3, Pt. 1, p. 24.

42 C. de La Morandière, op. cit., p. 455.

43 It would be pointless to give a detailed account of the attack. We should simply be repeating the account of l'abbé Beaudouin, who was an eyewitness. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}D$, Vol. 3, fol. 27ff.

44 Loc. cit.

45 A few months after the attack on St. John's, Brouillan had to return to France for health reasons. M. de Monic, who was assistant medical officer of the navy at Placentia, was then appointed interim governor.

46 C. de La Morandière, op. cit., p. 476.

47 PAC, MG1, F^3, Vol. 54, fol. 374.

48 We are borrowing the following description from La Morandière; as it is impossible to verify the accuracy of the writer's account, it should be accepted with discretion. C. de La Morandière, op. cit., p. 483.

49 "Ces dettes proviennent de deux causes. La première est l'avidité des marchands qui leur portent des vivres. Ils ont accoutumé de porter outre les vivres beaucoup de choses inutiles ou superflues et obligent les habitants de les prendre au prix qu'il leur plait sans quoi ils leur refusent les vivres dont ils ont besoin. Cette conduite introduit le luxe auprès des habitants et comme ils ne peuvent pas gagner assez pour payer ce qu'ils achètent ils se constituent en dettes dont ils ne sauront jamais sortir.
L'autre est l'augmentation des gages que les pêcheurs qui viennent de France pour travailler pour le compte des habitants demandent. Autrefois ces gages étaient fixés au tiers de la pesche. A présent celà n'a plus de bornes et il arrive souvent que l'habitant n'a rien de reste après que la pesche est faite." Quoted in C. de La Morandière, op. cit., p. 487.

50 This king's lieutenant had made himself known for his anti-colonial ideas. On October 20, 1699, he wrote to the Minister: "Il me paraît que les personnes qui sont pour l'augmentation des habitants n'ont guère réfléchi sur la situation et sur ce qu'il peut y grossir ou diminuer le commerce comme il est fort sûr que ce terrain ne pouvant s'agrandir par aucun endroit pour faciliter l'établissement d'un plus grand nombre de pêcheurs il faut absolument que celui des vaisseaux diminue si celui des habitants augments; il reste à examiner lequel des deux est le plus avantageux à la

France." Judging by his correspondence, it is obvious that he favoured commerce, which was the only source of revenue for the colony. As he saw it, the habitants had always taken and continued to take the place of fishermen, whilst, as the fortifications were almost completed, the settled inhabitants were no longer of any use. In short, he condemned the very principle of colonizing Placentia. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 2, Pt. 2, p. 351.

51 Ibid., Vol. 3, Pt. 1, p. 167.

52 The fact that the soldiers had to assemble at the convent in case of attack seems to us to prove the point.

53 Memorandum already quoted: n. 11.

54 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, p. 310.

55 Costebelle to the Minister, January 1, 1691: ibid., p. 229f.

56 Quoted in ibid., p. 449. The former redoubt mentioned by His Majesty refers to Costebelle's enclosure built on the Great Beach, and not to the one that Parat built in 1687. Besides this, the latter construction (Fig. 5) was situated on the same site as that of Fort Louis.

57 PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 16, fol. 82.

58 According to the text, it is a quesion of a new defence work and not of improvements made on Costebelle's enclosure, as R. Le Blant seems to believe, Un colonial sous Louis XIV, Philippe de Pastour de Costebelle (Dax: P. Pradeau, 1935), p. 73.

59 La Morandière, Prowse, La Roncière and Crouse are all mistaken in situating the fort, either on the Great Beach, or on the mountain.

60 R. Le Blant, "Daniel Auger de Subercase, governor of Placentia; 1703-1705." NF, Vol. 7, No. 1 (January-June, 1932), p. 6. It was the practice to send a habitant to meet the ships wishing to enter the sound, so as to guide them in. In 1707, it was suggested that a pilot should be engaged.

61 G. Lanctôt, op. cit., p. 56.

62 We shall give a more detailed description of this fort when it is completed.

63 PAC, MG1, F^{3}, Vol. 54, fol. 322.

64 This does not refer to the first foundations of the Royal Redoubt, which was further to the west, in 1693. See Fig. 2: B and C.

65 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, p. 362.

66 PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 16, Pt. 2, fol. 215.

67 The testimony of English prisoners (PAC, MG11, CO1, Vol. 68, No. 94 III) and that of La Hontan (F. de Nion, Lahontan, Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, Un outre-mer au $XVII^{e}$ siècle (Paris: Plan-Nourrit, 1900), p. 315)

prove that in fact the redoubt was started to be built in 1693.

68 In October 1693, the colony had 34 cannons of 24 and 18 pounds of balls. Its garrison consisted of two companies with 50 men in each. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, p. 432ff.

69 Added to the 52 others and 8 officers already there, the garrison must then have had a total complement of 100 men. PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 17, Pt. 1, p. 48f.

70 Loc. cit.

71 PAC, MG11, C01, Vol. 68, No. 101^{I}.

72 PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 17, Pt. 1, p. 26f.

73 The amount allocated for the fortifications was 1500L, whilst wages alone amounted to 7900L. L.M. de la Roulaye had already suggested that the Court should use the 2000 crowns that the king received from the tax-collectors to make Placentia safe from attacks; but it appears that his memorandum did not lead to any action being taken. Memorandum of M. de la Roulaye, January 30, 1695: PAC, MG1, DFC, caron 2, No. 104.

74 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, p. 76f.

75 PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 19, Pt. 2, p. 26.

76 In particular, L'Hermitte suggested that a canal should be dug at the west end of the Great Beach and that a fort should be built there to protect it. He also thought that the redoubt on the higher ground should be made of stone, with a vault in one of the half-bastions and with quarters. In his opinion, Fort Louis should also be made of stone on account of the effects of the sea and rain, which rotted the pickets. The construction of another earthwork on the point of the plateau east of the dwellings was equally indispensable. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, p. 185ff.

77 Ibid., p. 155.

78 It would be useful to refer to Fig. 13 to get a better understanding of the following description.

79 Brouillan to the Minister, Dec. 22, 1697; PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, p. 181ff; l'Hermitte to the Minister, August 27, 1697; PAC, MG1, DFC, carton 2, Pt. 3, Order no. 107.

80 This is the distribution of the budget:

Fortifications	1000 livres
Salaries	4420 "
Pay	22,424 livres
To the governor for the fortifications	6000 "
Medical supplies	300 "
Church	1000 "
Total:	37,628 livres

PAC, MGL, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, p. 192.

81 Ibid., p. 216.

82 Ibid., p. 236.
83 Ibid., Pt. 3, p. 311.
84 Ibid., p. 330.
85 PAC, MGL, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 3, Pt. 125. At the same time, Canada received (1698) 458,102L, 143,000 of which (31.2%) was for the fortifications and the war and (1699) 408,102L of which 100,000 were for defence (24.5%). PAC, MGl, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 113, Pt. 1, fol. 182.
86 There was a shortage of adequate materials: the local stone was brittle and the lime was a new product, still not much used.
87 Durand de la Garenne to the Minister, October 18, 1700; PAC, MGl, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 3, Pt. 1, p. 82.
88 PAC, MGL, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 3, Pt. 1, p. 167.
89 The three companies were under the command of Villemarceau, Saint-Ovide (nephew of Brouillan) and Costebelle.
90 PAC, MGl, B, Vol. 22, Pt. 3, p. 44.
91 Ibid., p. 152.
92 L'Hermitte to the Minister, September 25, 1701; PAC, MGl, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 3, Pt. 1, p. 169.
93 See n. 92.
94 This was probably the word, "plinthe." So it was a mistake to use the word, "peinthe" used by the transcriber (MGl, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, p. 169) as the original clearly shows the word, "plainte."
95 Durand de la Garenne to the Minister, October 5, 1701; PAC, MGl, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 3, Pt. 1, p. 321f.
96 L'Hermitte to the Minister, October 15, 1701; Ibid., p. 256.
97 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 2, p. 57.
98 A letter from Costebelle makes this point clear: "[...] c'est une image de la tour de Babel que ce poste: chacun veut monter si haut que l'on met du sable où l'on devrait mettre de la pierre; je puis assurer V.G. avec vérité que les esprits sont si désunis qu'il est très difficule que le roi puisse jamais y être bien servi ni le commerce recherché de ceux qui autrefois en auraient acheté les préférences." Costebelle to the Minister, Oct. 8, 1701; PAC, MGl, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, p. 248.
99 G. Lanctot, op. cit., p. 52. Furthermore, Costebelle definitely alluding to L'Hermitte, further emphasized these statements: "[...] il y a beaucoup de personnes qui ne s'arrêtant qu'à l'utile en général pensent bien, écrivent de même et donnent le plan d'une place dans sa perfection disant que tout ce qu'ils savent qu'il faut faire pour la rendre telle qu'ils l'ont déjà bâtie sur le papier.
On ne peut aller si vite dans le pays que nous habitons, il est de conséquence de se conformer aux

saisons, au nombre d'ouvriers et aux matériaux que l'éloignement où nous sommes des ports de France rendent toujours très rares dans celui de Plaisance."

100 Frontenac to the Minister, Nov. 5, 1694; PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 13, p. 3.

The End of the French Occupation: 1702-1713

1 Subercase to the Minister, Oct. 21, 1703: PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 4, Pt. 1, p. 34.

2 None of the threats prior to 1703 was really serious.

3 John Roope to the Council of Trade and Plantation, November, 1703: Great Britain. Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies (London: HMSO, 1913), 1702-1703, p. 849.

4 "As for Placentia, it cannot be ceded to the English without completely surrendering the fishing to them and letting our passage from France to Canada be closed to us. The English could establish rights over them by using small squadrons to patrol the area and render Canada worthless to France." PAC, MG1, $C^{11}A$, Vol. 21, p. 203.

5 "La situation des affaires de l'Europe et la proximité du voisinage des Anglois doit l'engager [Subercase] à une continuelle attention et à ne jamais rien négliger de ce qui peut contribuer à la sécurité et à la conservation de sa place." PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 23, Pt. 3, p. 27.

6 C. de La Morandière, (op. cit., p. 492) confuses this threat with Graydon's attack in the month of August.

7 R. Le Blant, "Daniel Auger de Subercase," NF, Vol. 7, No. 1 (January-June 1932), p. 11f.

8 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 22, p. 52f.

9 The detailed account of this attack is to be found in R. Le Blant, "Daniel Auger de Subercase," NF, Vol. 8, No. 1 (January-June, 1932), p. 27ff.

10 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 4, Pt. 1, p. 343.

11 In 1704, Placentia received from Charente 45 recruits without uniforms. Most of them were sick, a fact which led to a terrible epidemic of dysentery.

12 "La satisfaction que S.M. a de vos services et le soin qu'il luy a paru que vous aviez pris de bonifier la colonie de Plaisance l'a engagé à vous choisir pour remplir la place de Gouverneur de l'Acadie qui a vacqué par la mort de M. du Brouillan." PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 27, Pt. 4, p. 688.

13 The spring water needed for the forts was drawn at the foot of this mountain.

14 "Elle [S.M.] est persuadée que vous vous en [Micmacs] servirez utilement pour faire une forte guerre aux anglois connaissant comme vous faites de quelle conséquence cela est pour cette colonie et combien il

serait important de les chasser entièrement de l'île de Terre-Neuve c'est à quoi vous devez travailler vivement et efficacement." PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 29, Pt. 2, p. 389.

15 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 6, Pt. 1, p. 66.

16 At that time there were 144 men in the garrison. Their uniform was as follows: brimless cap, blue "mazinet" breeches, blue "maganiet" jacket, _____ stockings, "morlaix" shirt, linen tie (1/4 long and 1/3 wide), shoes made of cowhide (not turned inside out) with double leather soles. The sergeants' hats were trimmed with fine silver braid, and the breeches, jacket and stockings were red. PAC, Ibid., Vol. 5, Pt. 2, p. 287. This description does not agree in every detail with the illustrations we have seen of the uniforms of the Marines. This does not necessarily mean that it was not these troops who were at Placentia, and for two reasons: first of all, there are many differences in dress, and then, it appears that before 1708, the troops garrisoned in Canada did not necessarily wear the same uniforms as the French troops. The difficulty in obtaining the necessary materials was the cause of this difference. Costume militaire français au XVIII^{e} siècle (Anonymous document, PAC, n.d.) p. 40.

17 E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York (Albany: Weed Parson and Co., 1953), Vol. 5, p. 65.

18 The plan had already been proposed by John Roope in 1706. PAC, MG11, CO195, Vol. 4, p. 83.

19 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 6, Pt. 1, p. 66.

20 Ibid., p. 8.

21 Ibid., p. 29. Perhaps he was happy about it, considering his anti-colonial ideas (see preceding chapter, n. 50).

22 Ibid., p. 38.

23 Ministry to Costebelle, June 6, 1708; PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 29, Pt. 5, fol. 1132.

24 "[...] estant certain que tant que vous pourrez les harecler par des partis que vous envoyerez chez Eux vous les empêcherez de songer à venir insulter Plaisance." Ibid., p. 1139.

25 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 6, Pt. 1, p. 286.

26 Ibid., Pt. 2, p. 295.

27 Ibid., Vol. 7, Pt. 1, p. 72. Costebelle said of these troops: "[...] les troupes du roi les plus mutines et les moins propres à supporter les fatiques de la guerre."

28 Minister to Sr. De Blampignon, February 26, 1710; PAC, MG2, B^{2}, Vol. 220.

29 The Emperor, March 2, 1710; PAC, MG2, B^{3}, Vol. 181, fol. 69.

30 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 7, Pt. 1, p. 47.
31 Durand de La Garenne then wrote: "Ils [the habitants] sont si misérables et les vivres sont si rares et si hors de prix qu'il ne reste presque personnel dans les habitations que les familles avec quelques domestiques, le pays est entièrement dénué de vivres et de sel." The author then suggested that they should move to Acadia or Cape Breton. Ibid., p. 196.
32 Costebelle to the Minister, October 24, 1711; PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 7, Pt. 1, p, 207.
33 PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 33, Pt. 1, p. 75. M. de Champigny was of the same opinion; PAC, MG2, B^3, Vol. 194. fol. 160.
34 King to the Duke of Aumont: "Je me suis toujours expliqué sur le premier article que je nt consentirois jamais à cette exclusion [excluding the French from the Newfoundland fisheries]; Le préjudice quelle causeroit a plusieurs provinces de mon Royaume seroit irréparable. Elle feroit périr un grand nombre de matelots que cette peschefait subsister, et les dommages que cette interdiction produiroit dailleurs, seroient si considérables que la paix à ce prix ne seroit plus un bien pour mon Royaume." PAC, MG5, A, 1, Vol. 243, fol. 35.
35 See Appendix D.
36 Costebelle was the only person to recognize the advantages of the expulsion: "Plus j'examine les mémoires qui m'ont été donnés des ports et des terres de l'île du Cap Breton, plus je m'aperçois que les français ont beaucoup gagné en dédant l'île de Terreneuve aux Anglais." The hardships of the last few years had perhaps influenced Costebelle in expressing this thought. PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 7, Pt. 1, p. 372.
37 H.A. Innis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 487.
38 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 3, Pt. 2, p. 277ff.
39 Ibid., p. 382.
40 Ibid., p. 364.
41 See the conclusion of the second chapter.
42 "[...] sa situation est naturellement des plus avantageuses et c'est ce qui l'a jusqu'à présent plus conservée que ses canons, car s'il y a des personnes qui aient présenté à V.G. le fort de Plaisance comme quelque chose de bon dans l'état où il est aujourd'hui non plus que dans sa nouveauté, elles doivent avoir tiré ses avantages de la quantité et de la grosseur de son artillerie sand réfléchir au peu de solidité de ses bastions et de ses palissades." PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 3, Pt. 2, p. 338.
43 PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 23, Pt. 2, p. 433.
44 Ibid., p. 73.

45 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 4, Pt. 1, p. 2. On November 14, 1703, Subercase also asked for a white flag, a red flag with three pennants (1 white, 1 English and one Dutch) to be used for communications between the inhabitants, the ships and the redoubt. Ibid., p. 135. Later, (1707 at least), it appears that the redoubt communicated with the ships by cannon shots.

46 This series of descriptions indicates England's increasing interest in Placentia. The English reports should be accepted with reservations in certain cases, considering their often political aims.

47 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 3, p. 110.

48 Ibid., p. 109.

49 This was the usual practice in case of an attack. In view of the shallowness of the gut, it would have then been impossible for an enemy ship to pass through it.

50 "Rien n'est si important pour établir solidement et conserver cette colonie que la construction du fort ainsy S.M. désire que vous y apportiex une entière applications [...]." PAC, MG1, B, Vol. 25, p. 69.

51 This plan (Fig. 9) was certainly drawn after the extensive work carried out in 1704, or at least represents the plan of the fort to be built. Otherwise, it would not be identical with that of 1706 (Fig. 10b).

52 In 1703, Subercase had drained this marsh by means of locks, which put an end to the yearly flooding of this side of the fort as well as creating a magnificent stretch of land for a kitchen garden.

53 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 4, Pt. 1, p. 181.

54 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 22, p. 43ff.

55 Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 93.

56 Fig. 9, indicates 42 of them.

57 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 4, Pt. 1, p. 300.

58 PAC, MG1, F^{3}, Vol. 54, Pt. 2, fol. 412.

59 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 5, Pt. 1, p. 63.

60 See Figs. 9, 10a, 10b.

61 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 3, p. 558.

62 PAC, MG1, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 5, Pt. 1, p. 149.

63 Lusancay to the Minister, March 8, 1707: "Si on pouvait trouver des ouvriers pour Plaisance, qucun de nos négocians qui y envoye des vaisseaux ne refuse de les embarquer aux conditions que vous leur prescrivez; mais jusqu'à présent nous n'en pouvons persuader aucun d'y aller. Je ne scay quelles mesures prendre pour en trouver (à moins d'user d'autorité) j'ay seulement dit aux marchands que je n'expédierois point leurs rolles, qu'ils n'en eussent trouvé et embarqué," PAC, MG2, B^{3}, Vol. 146, dossier No. 66.

64 In 1707, l'Hermitte refused Subercase's proposition of moving Fort Louis, which was in too exposed a position, to the Gaillardin. L'Hermitte objected to the plan

because of the difficult approach to the mountain. Besides, we find it hard to see how the colony could have found the money needed to undertake such an enterprise, seeing that it could hardly maintain the existing fort.

65 PAC, MG1, C^{11}C, Vol. 5, Pt. 2, p. 297.

66 In 1707, the funds for the fortifications were "tiré sur l'avenir." Under Subercase's administration they were already spent a year in advance. Ibid., Pt. 1, p. 203.

67 Ibid., Vol. 6, Pt. 1, p. 51. And he added, in a burst of optimism: "Si les fortifications que j'y ai fait commencer sont une fois conduite à leur perfection il deviendra l'entrepôt de toutes les richesses du Pérou qui se transporteront en Europe ce qui ne servira qu'à augmenter le commerce courant de ceux qui l'habitent."

68 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 4, p. 342.

69 PAC, MG1, C^{11}C, Vol. 6, Pt. 1, p. 162.

70 Ibid., p. 200.

71 Ibid., p. 244. At this date, the 4 auxiliary companies were not yet in the colony. In the autumn, he would ask for five.

72 See Appendices A, B, C. While reading them, it would be better to refer to Figures 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16.

73 R. Le Blant, Un colonial sous Louis XIV, Philippe de Pastour de Costebelle (Dax: P. Pradeau, 1935), p. 177.

Conclusion

1 G. Graham, Britain's Defence of Newfoundland, CHR, Vol. 23 (1942), p. 260-279.

Appendix A

1 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 4, p. 385ff.

Appendix B

1 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 4, p. 399ff.

Appendix C

1 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 4.

Appendix D

1 PAC, MG1, C^{11}C, Vol. 7, Pt. 2, p. 375ff.

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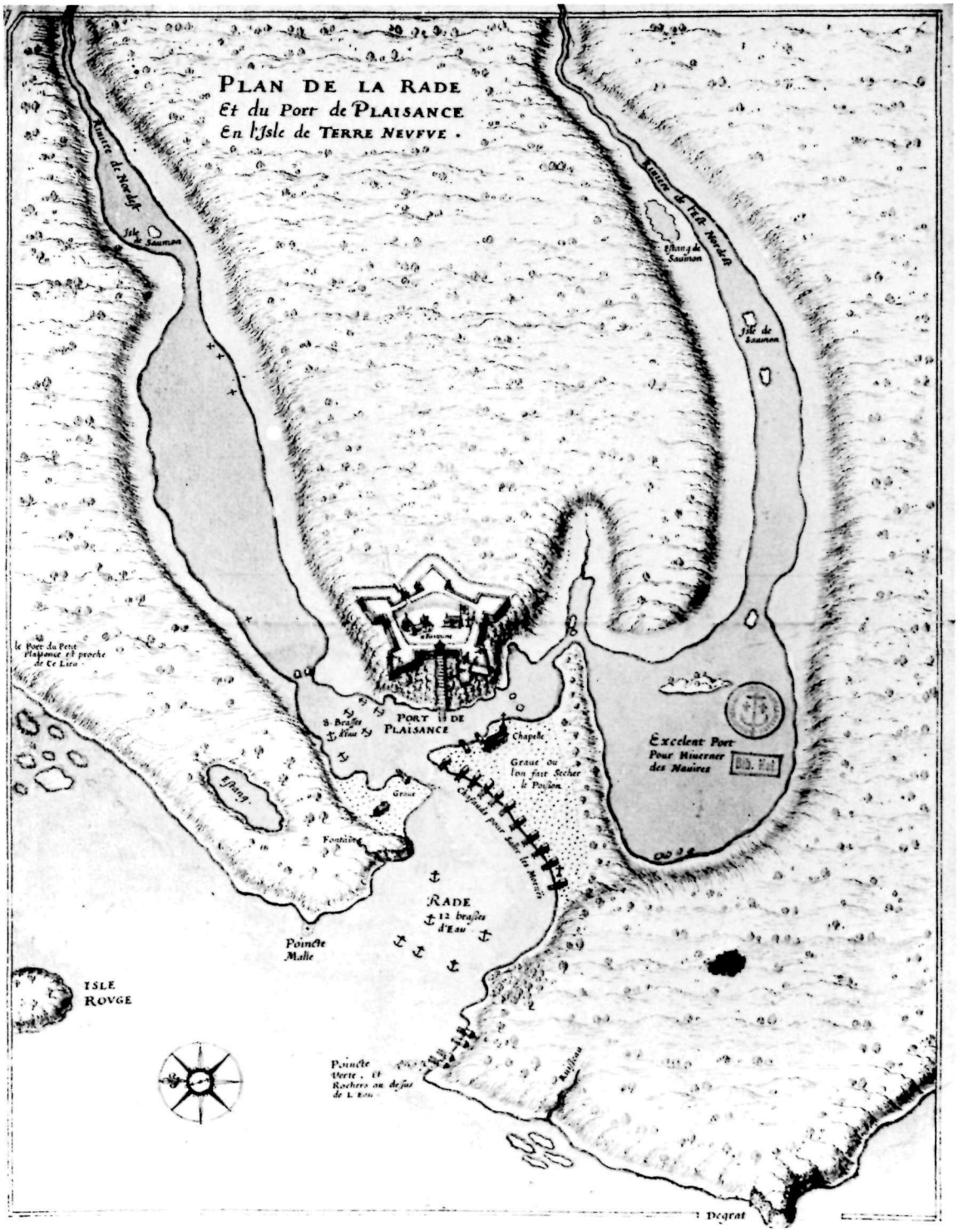
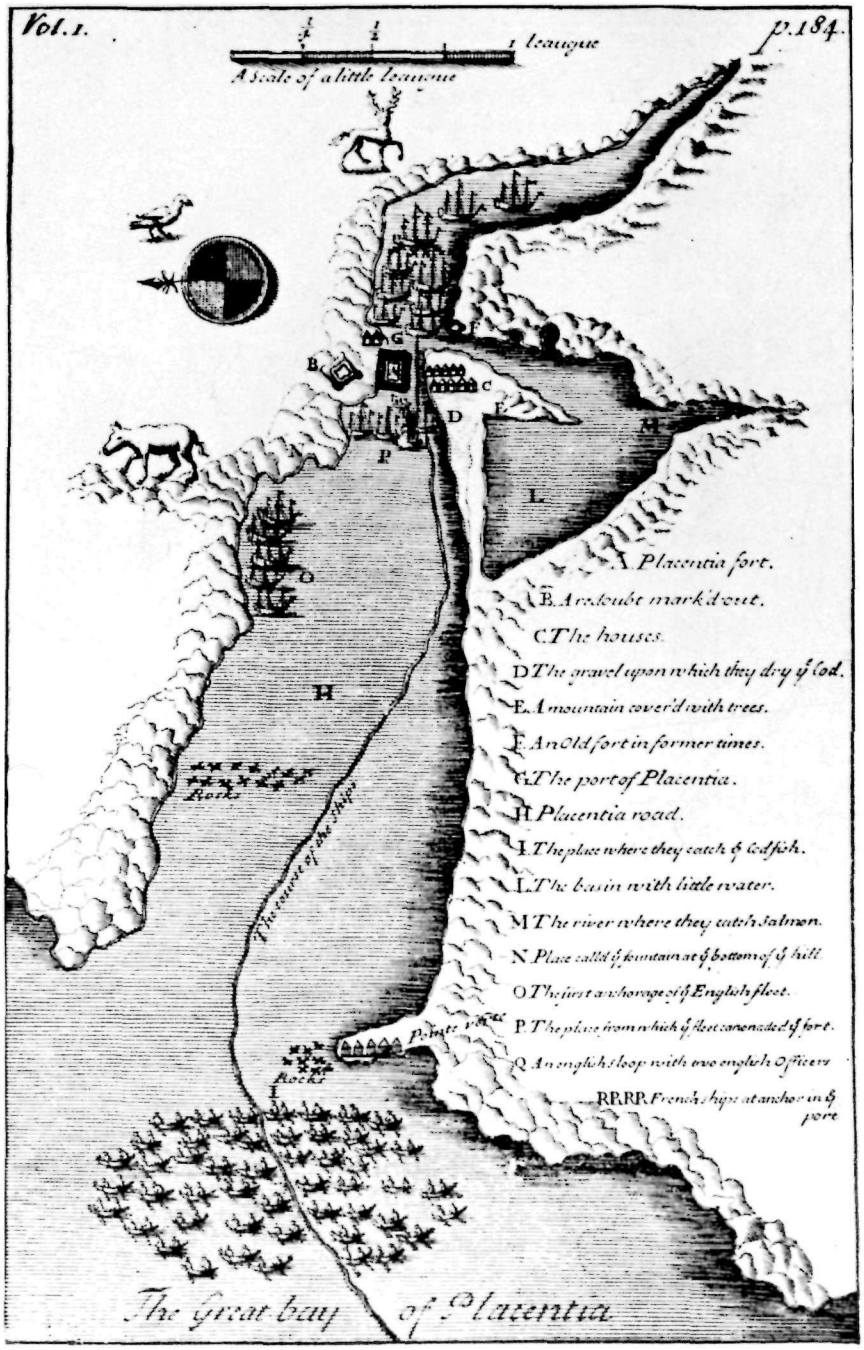
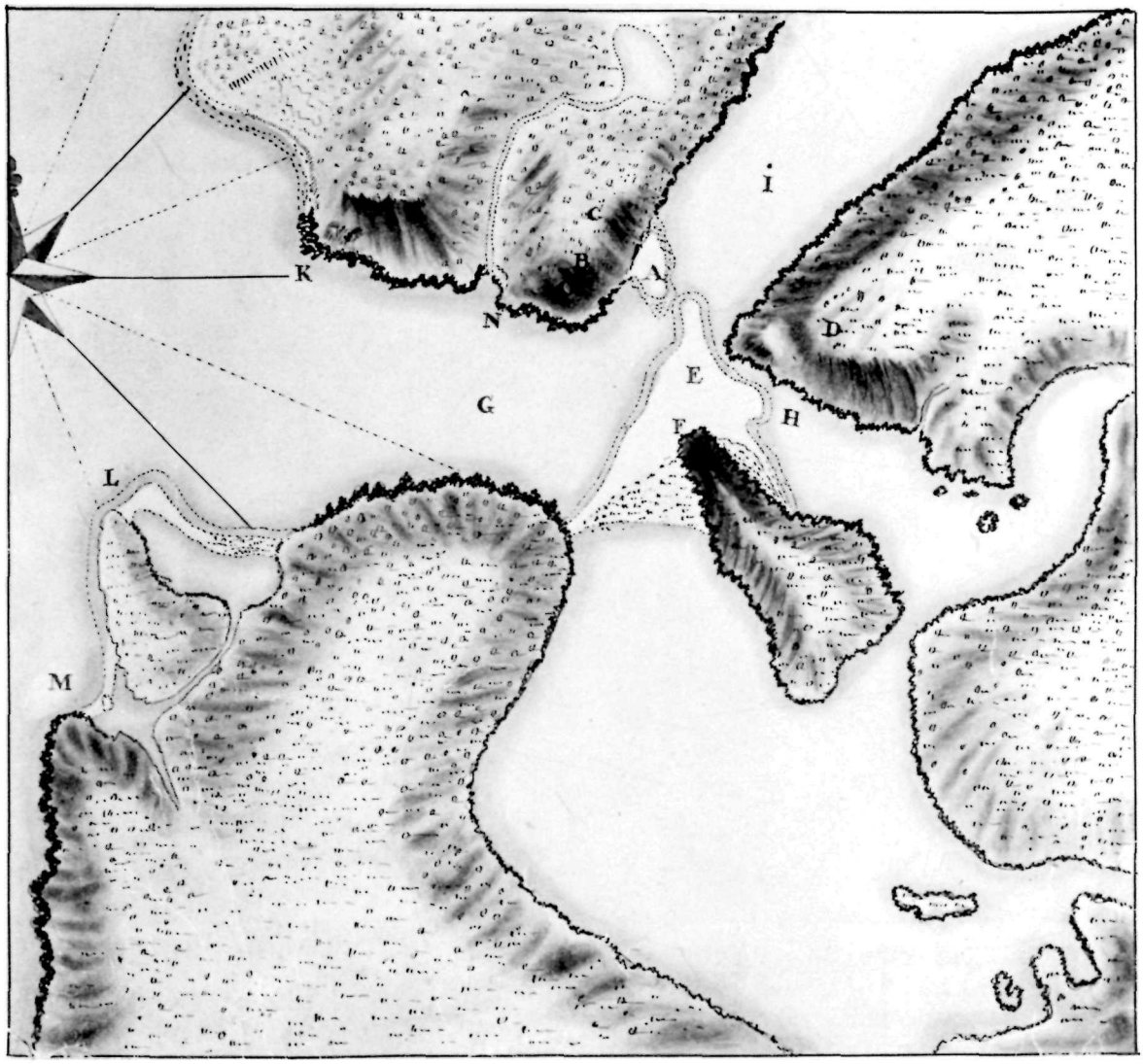
ILLUSTRATIONS



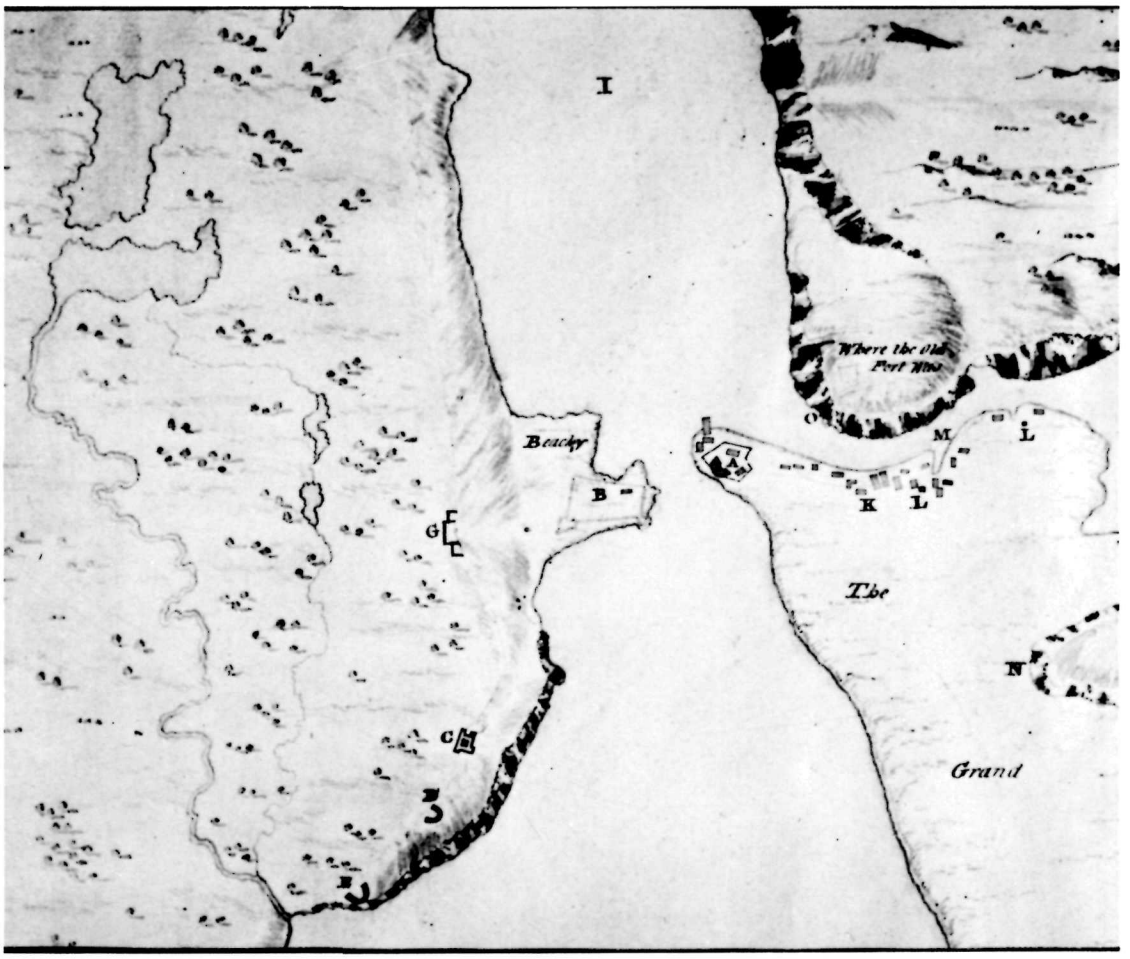
1 "Plan de la rade et du port de Plaisance en l'Isle de Terre-Neufve." This plan of the "Vieux fort" probably dates from the middle of the 1670s. (Public Archives Canada.)



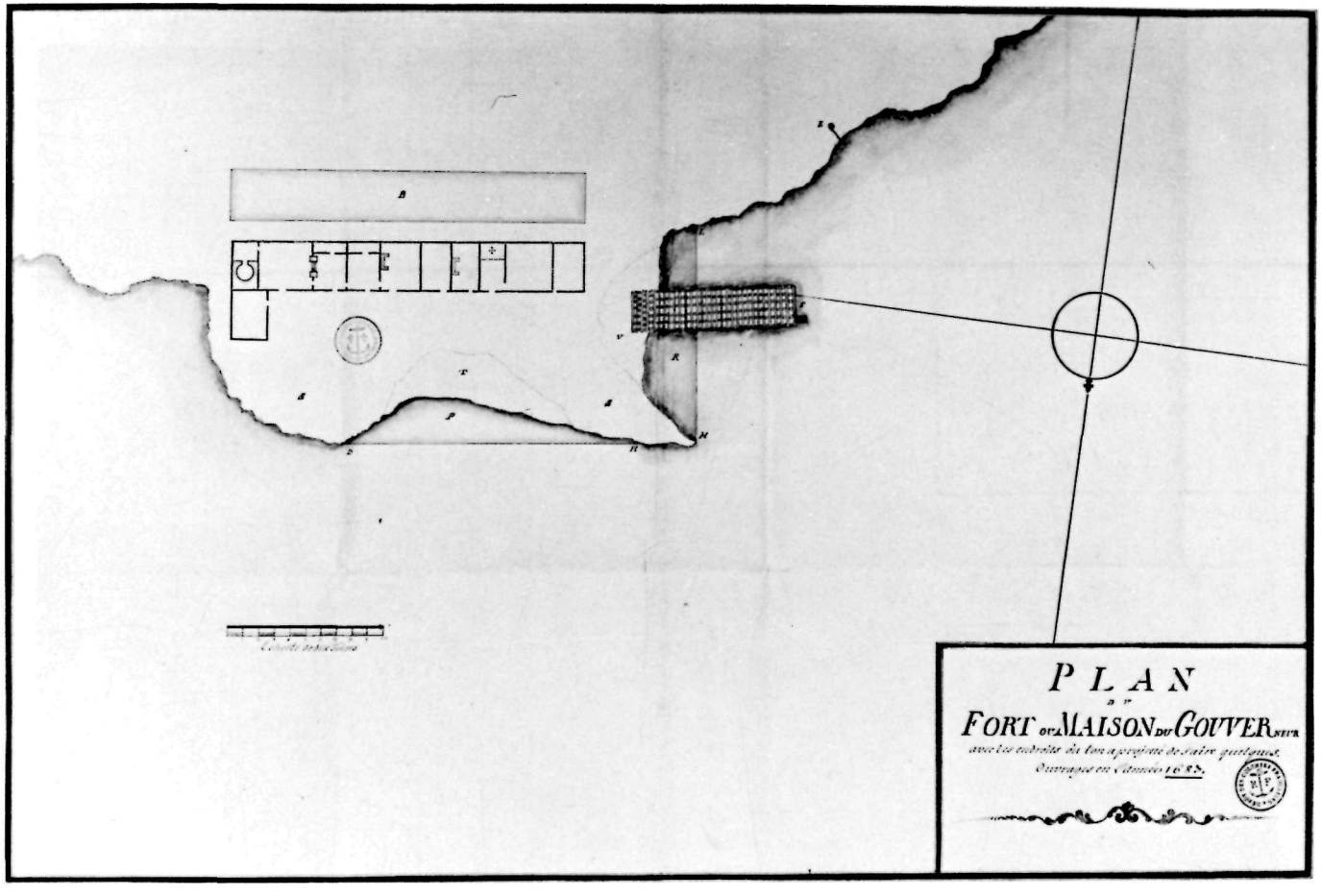
2 Plan of Placentia (circa 1696). This plan is the work of La Hontan, who probably drew it for England about 1696. The author had collected his information on the place during the course of two visits to Placentia, in 1691 and in 1692. The map, which was made especially in connection with the English attack of 1692, seems accurate in every detail. (Public Archives Canada.)



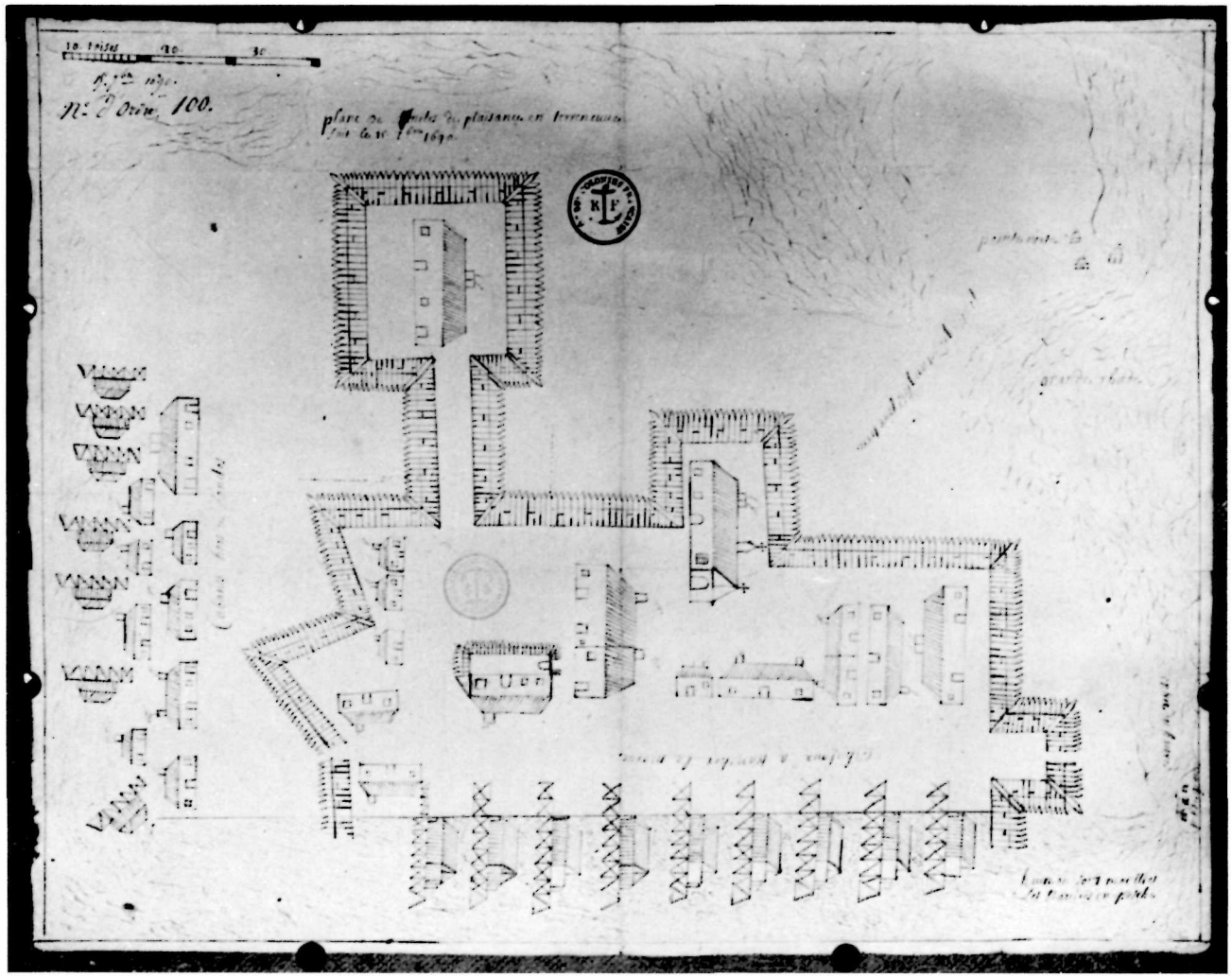
3 Special map of Placentia and its environment (1709).
A Position of the fort.
B Redoubt mountain.
C Gaillardin mountain.
D Mountain known as the Old Fort.
E The Great Beach.
F Rocky promontory from which freestone was obtained.
G The roads where the ships moored.
H Entrance to the little bay known as Rivière d'Ascaigne.
I Part of the harbour.
K Crèvecoeur heights where there is a battery of 6 cannons: 4 of 12 pound balls and 2 of 24.
L Pointe Verte.
M Le Bergeron.
N La Fontaine battery
O Battery below the redoubt.
(Public Archives Canada.)



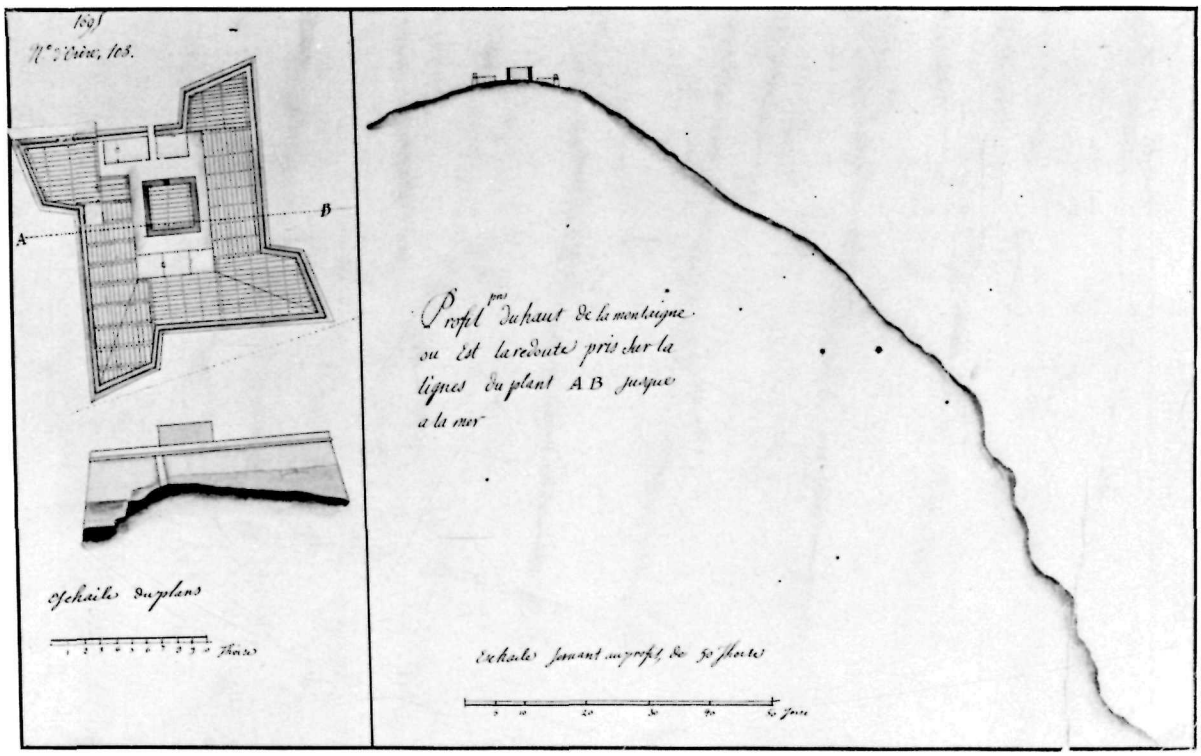
4 "Plan of the New Redoubt, fort, castle and out batteries at Placentia," (1741). (detail)
A New Redoubt. (Fort Frederick)
B Fort demolished. (Former Fort Louis)
C Castle. (Fort Royal Français)
D Horse shoe battery.
E Fountain battery.
G The Gaillardin.
I The Harbour.
K The town.
L Wells of fresh water.
M French dock for boats.
N Quarry hill.
O Fountains of fresh water.
(Public Archives Canada.)



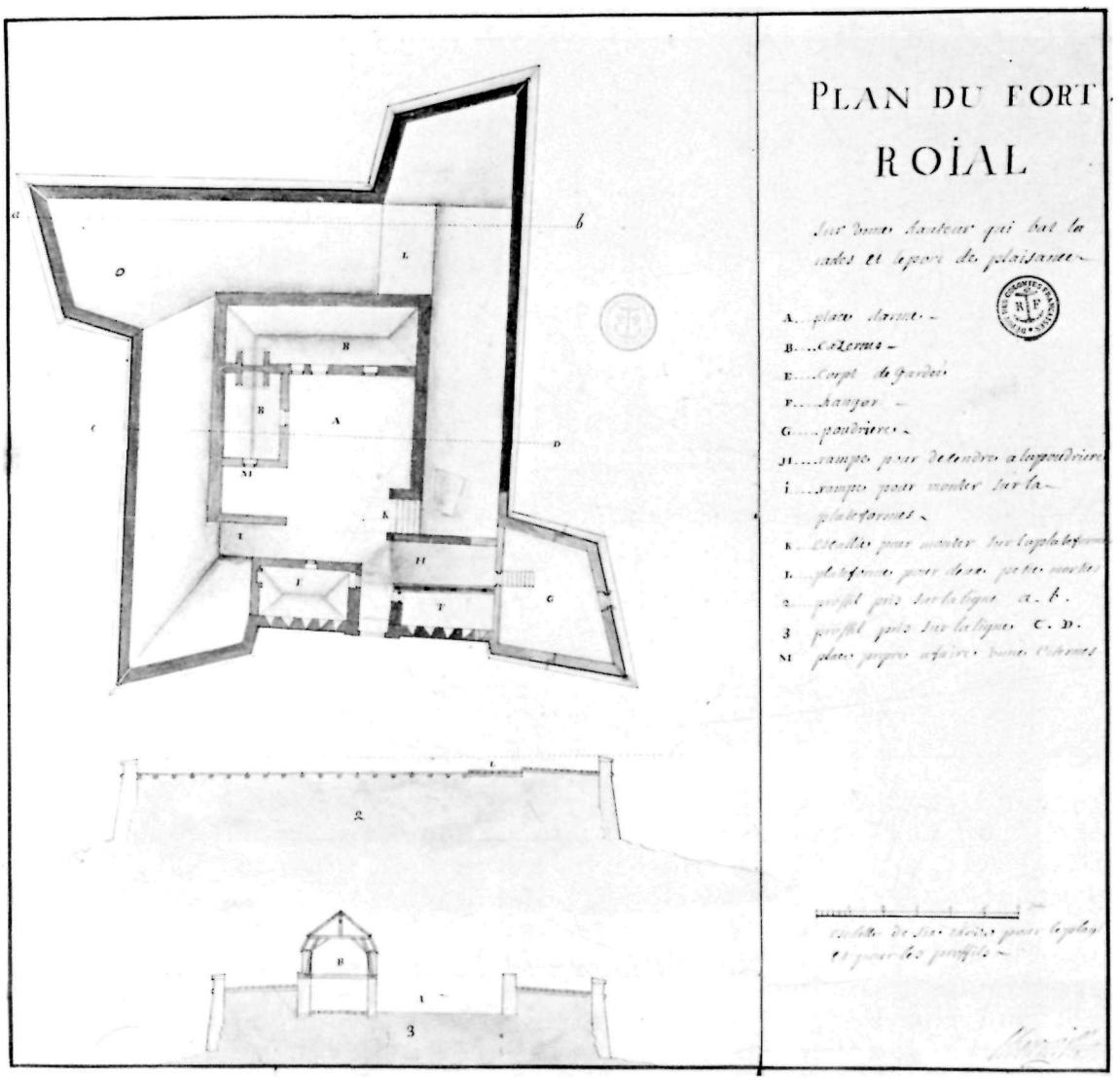
5 "Plan du fort ou maison du gouverneur avec les endroits où l'on a projeté de faire quelques ouvrages en l'année 1687." This map, of which we have neither the legend nor the author's name, mistakenly orientates the north towards the bottom of the page. (Public Archives Canada.)



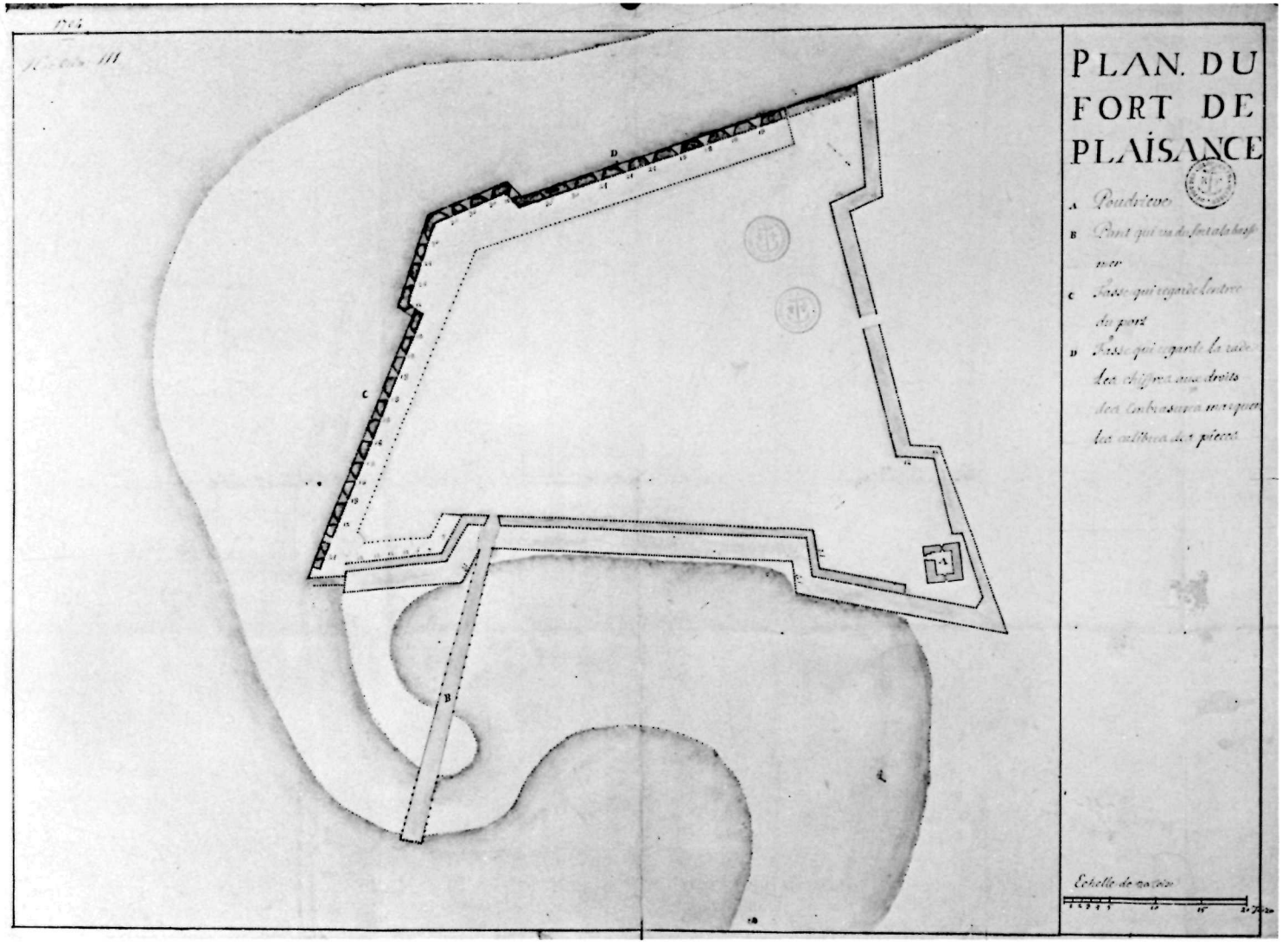
6 Plan of the enclosure of Placentia in Newfoundland (1690). This plan, which dates from September 15, 1690, shows the enclosure built by Costebelle on the south bank of the gut, in the direction of the habitations. We presume that this plan was drawn by the officer himself. (Public Archives Canada.)



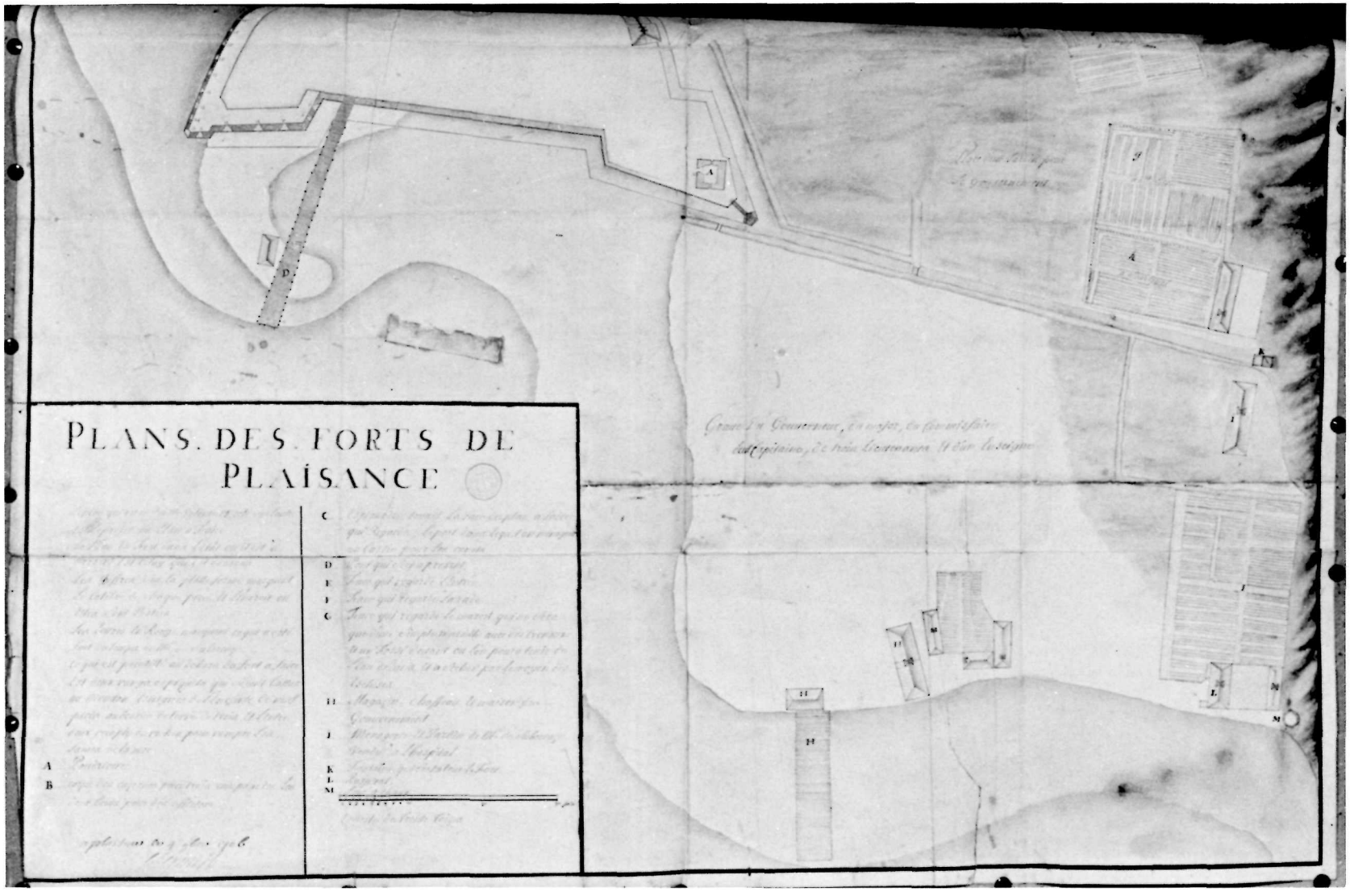
7 Plan and profile of the redoubt, 1695. This plan shows a fort with four half-bastions, equipped (on the north, west and south sides) with platforms made of planks and intended to serve as mountings for the cannons. The half-bastion on the north-east side is not equipped with such a platform, because of the underground powder-magazine located there. These platforms were constructed by filling in the space between the outside wall and the masonry work inside with earth and quarry stones. The stairs leading to the platforms are not clearly shown on the plan, but they are probably situated on the north side of the redoubt, near the north-east half-bastion. The entrance is on the east side and is flanked on the inside by the guardroom and the powder-magazine. There are three wooden barracks far to the west. In the centre there is a square blockhouse, perhaps made of stone, with a platform made of planks. It is this last construction that is seen protruding between the walls on the profile accompanying the plan. The fort is also provided with a coping and a parapet. (Public Archives Canada.)



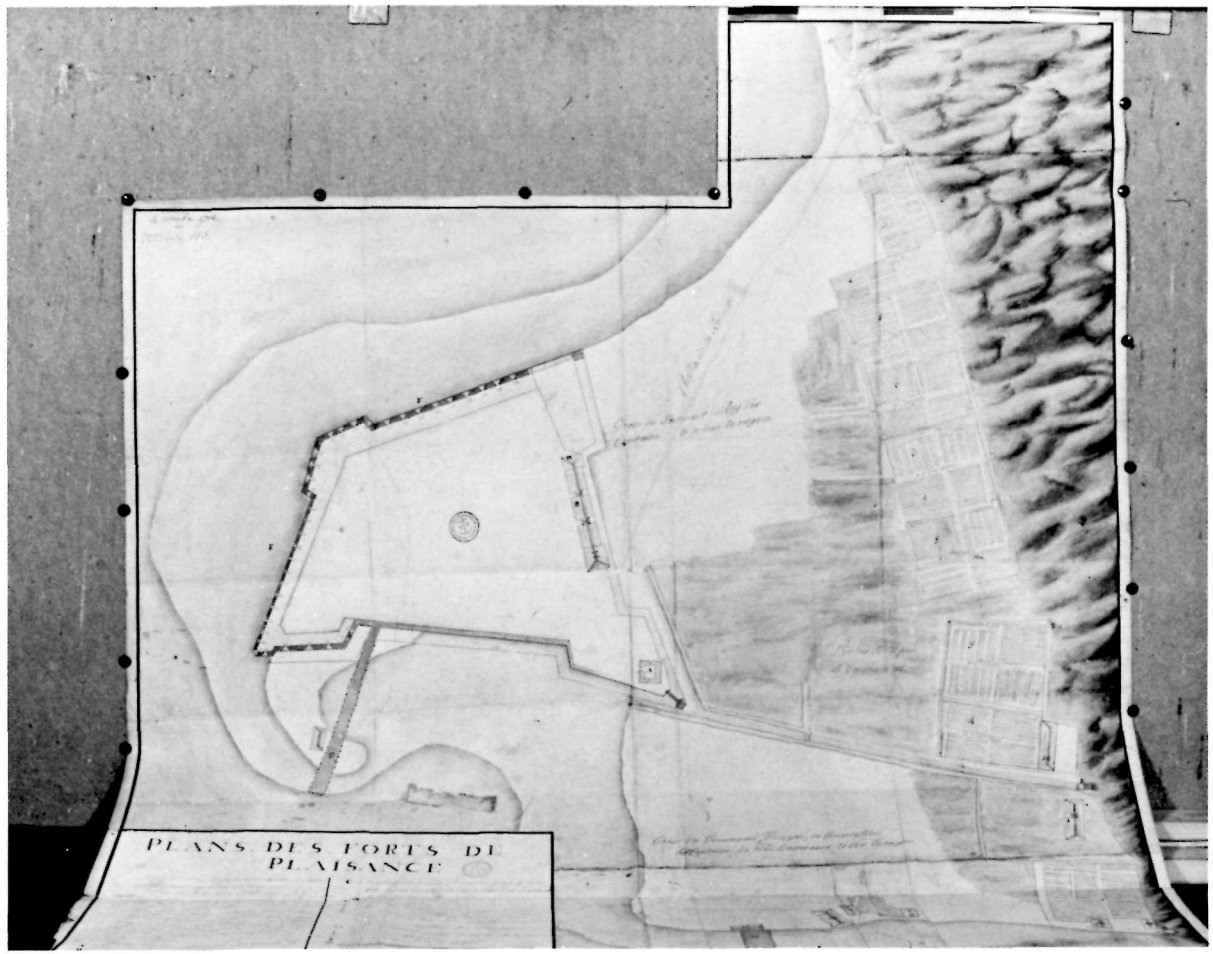
8 Plan of Fort Royal (1701). On this plan we can see that the former half-bastion on the north-east side (G) is now completed. The east entrance seems to have been moved and is flanked by a guardhouse (E) and a shed (F). The barracks (B), which are made of stone, occupy all the west side and part of the south wall. The blockhouse has been replaced by the parade-ground. Those are some of the differences we notice when we compare this plan with that of 1695 (Fig. 7). As for the other details such as the platforms, the coping, the parapet, the stairs, etc., there seems to be no change except for a considerable increase in masonry. (Public Archives Canada.)



9 Plan of the fort of Placentia (1704). (Public Archives Canada.)

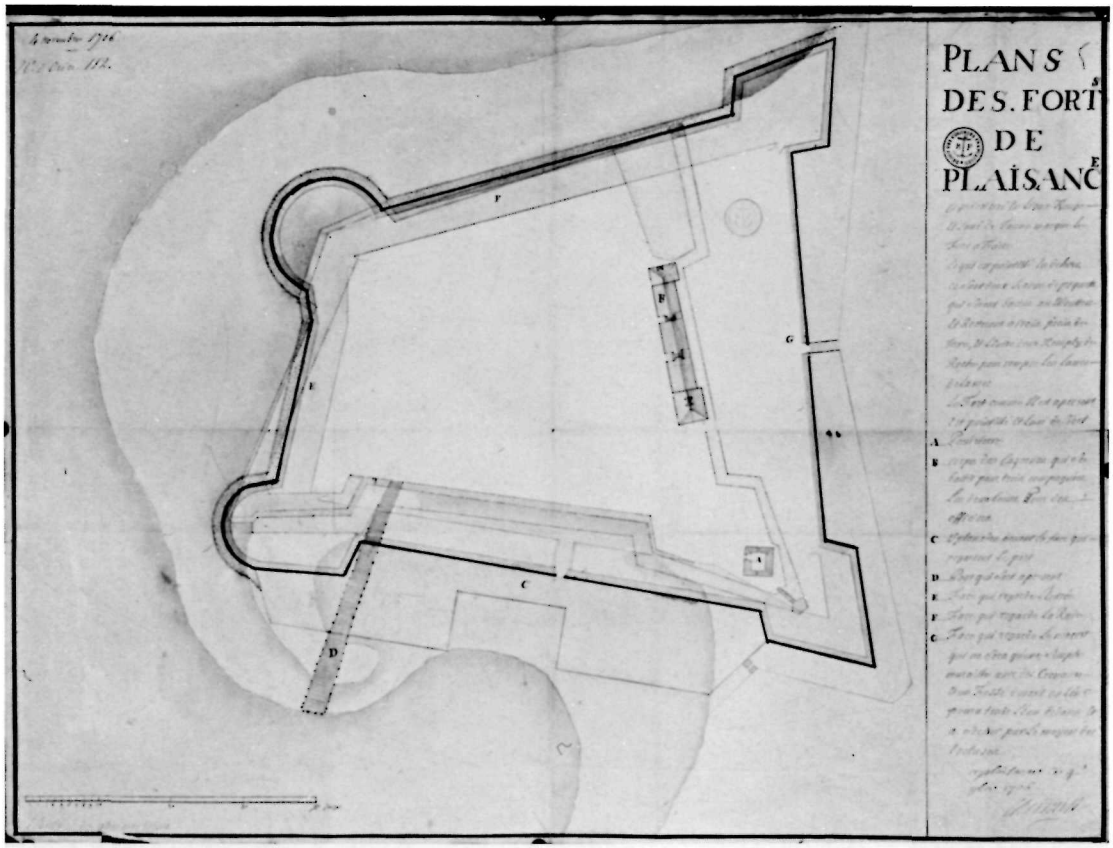


a

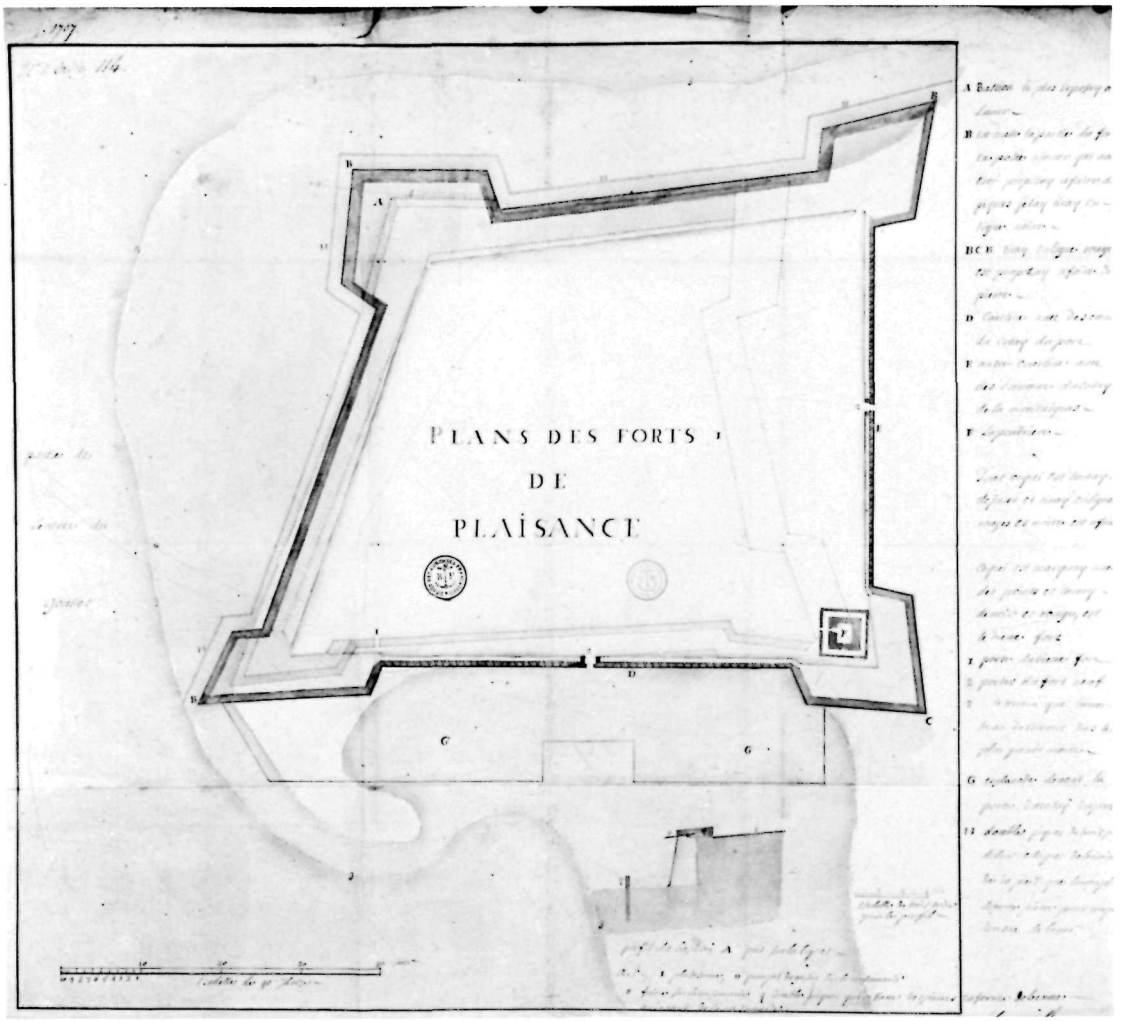


b

10 a, b. Plans of the Forts of Placentia (1706). This is a description written by L'Hermitte which accompanies the plan. At the beginning of his letter, the author refers to a plan that we have been able to trace, and he adds: "J'en envoie aussi un à Votre Grandeur où j'ai compris les graves du fort, les marais et les jardins jusqu'à la montagne, elle _____ tout ce qui a été fait d'augmentation du temps de M. de Subercase je l'ai marqué en lettres rouges et l'ai fait le plus intelligible qu'il m'a été possible." (Public Archives Canada.)

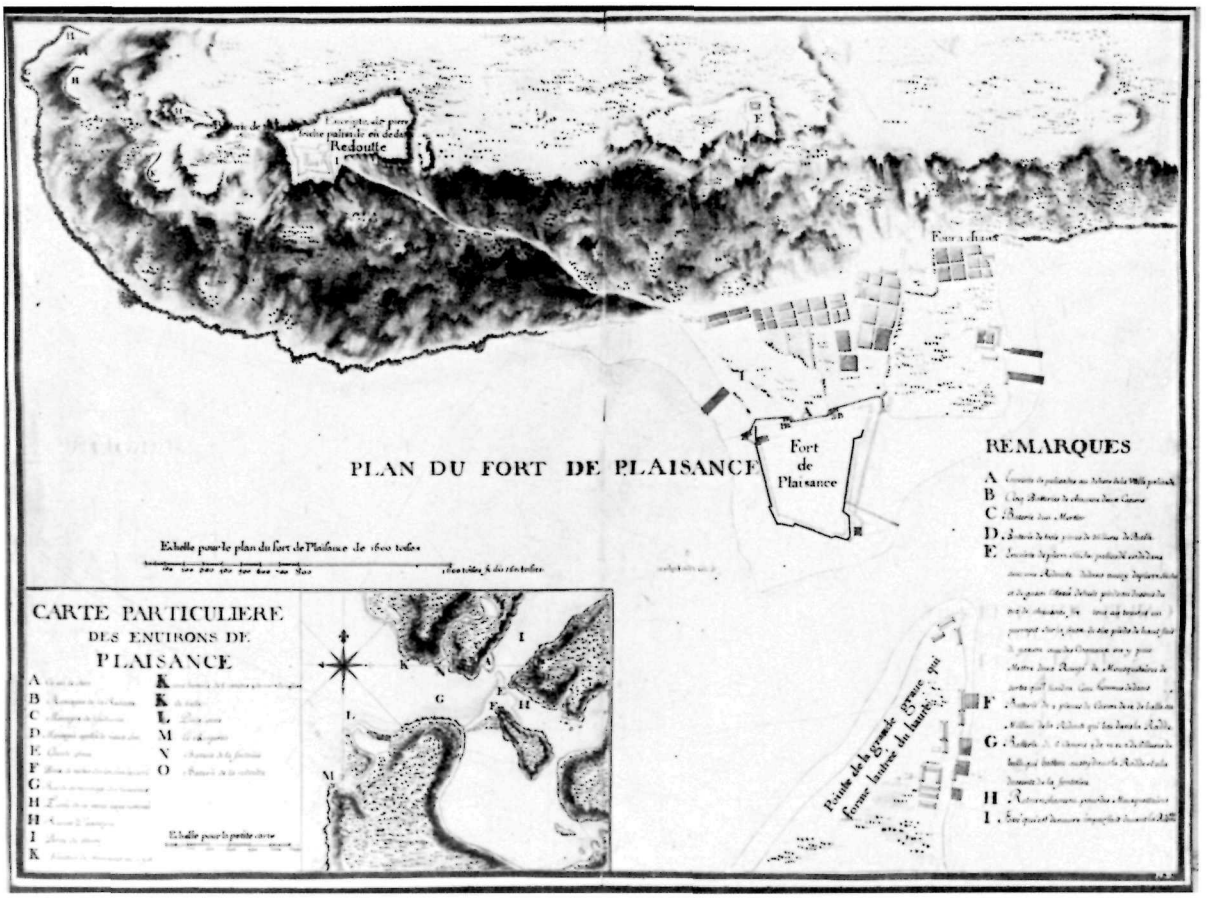


11 Plans of the Forts of Placentia (1706). According to L'Hermitte's letter that we have quoted (Fig. 11), it is a plan of the fort as it was and a plan of the fort to be built. To make it easier to understand the document, we have indicated with a thick line the contours of the fort to be constructed. (Public Archives Canada.)

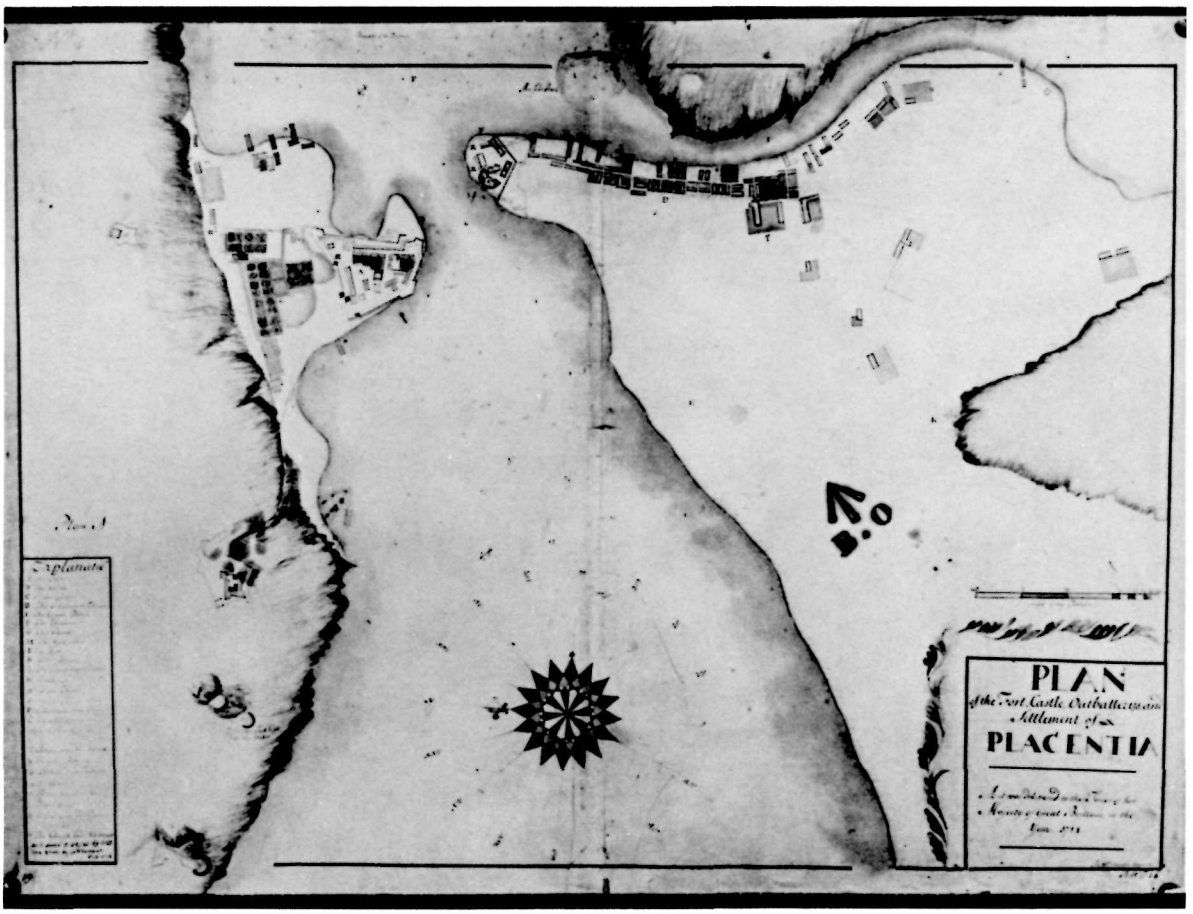


12 Plans of the Forts of Placentia (1707). Plan of the fort as it exists and of the one that is to be built. (Public Archives Canada.)

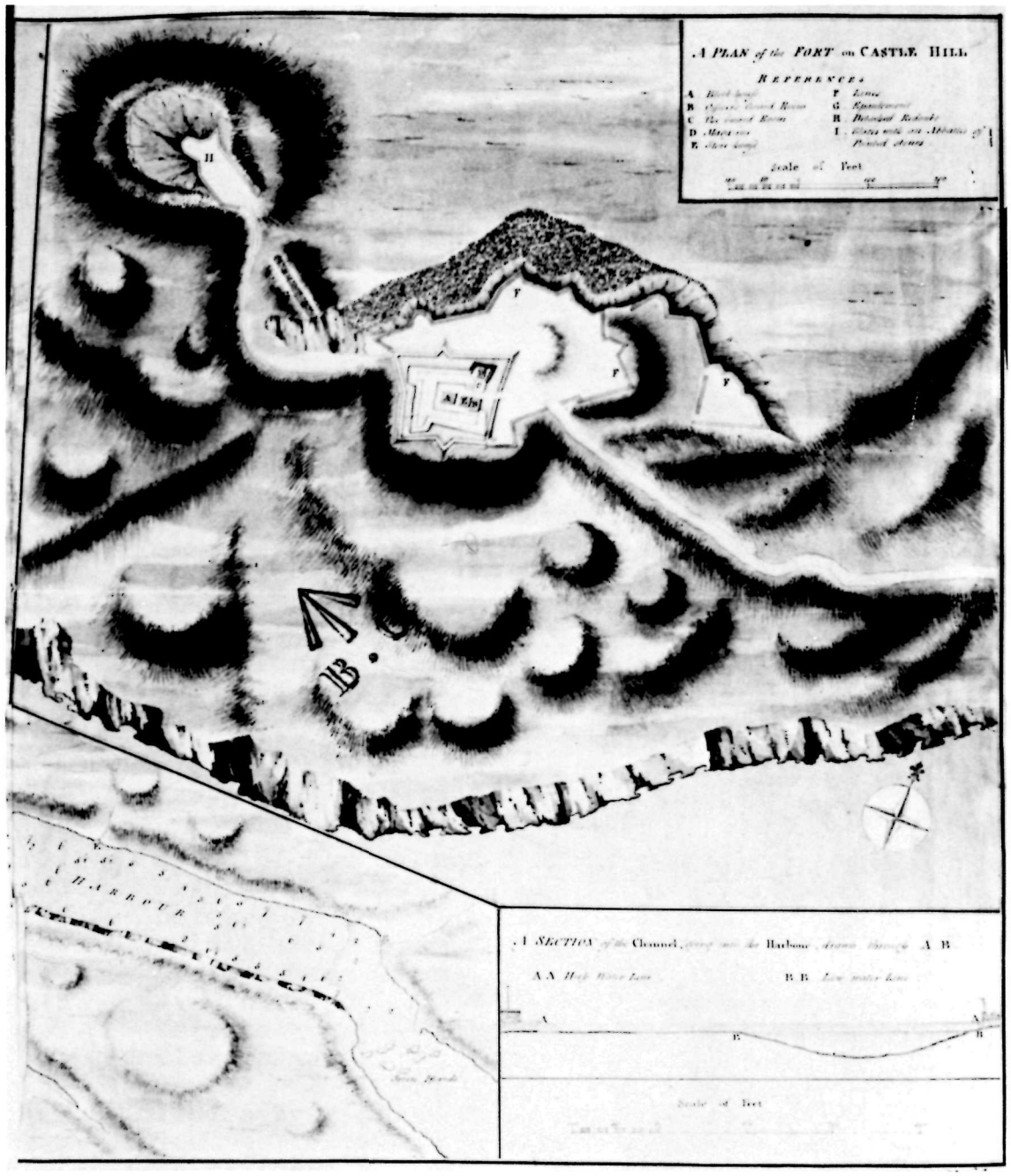
13 "Plan du fort de Plaisance et des environs" (1709); as an inset: "Carte particulière de Plaisance et des environs." (Public Archives Canada.)



14 "Plan du fort de Plaisance;" as an inset: "Carte particulière des environs de Plaisance" (1713). (Public Archives Canada.)



15 "Plan of the fort, Castle, Out batterys and settlement of Placentia" (1714). (Public Archives Canada.)



16 "A plan of the fort of Castle Hill" (1762). (Public Archives Canada.)

Placentia: 1713-1811
by Jean-Pierre Proulx

Abstract

In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht gave England supremacy over the whole territory of the island of Newfoundland. The struggle between the French and the English for the control of the fisheries was at an end. By virtue of article XV of the agreement, Placentia, the former French capital, was taken over by England and the French had to evacuate the place to make way for the conquerers.

The purpose of this document is to recount the history of Placentia and its fortifications from 1713 until the withdrawal of the British troops in 1811. From the economic point of view, the study shows the continuous and increasing stranglehold of the residents of Placentia over the local fishing during this period. From the military point of view, the study establishes, in particular, the interaction which existed between the military action in Placentia and the European political situation. This activity is relatively important up until the Treaty of Paris in 1763. However, from that date onwards, the military history of Placentia is nothing but an account of the fortifications falling in ruins until the withdrawal of the garrison in 1811.

Submitted for publication 1971, by Jean-Pierre Proulx, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Ottawa.

Introduction

The first phase of the history of Newfoundland had been the evidence of an economic disturbance in Europe caused by the discovery of the fishing banks in the new world. Apart from a few expeditions at the beginning of the XVIth century, it took two of the great European powers, France and England, some two decades to realize that to gain control of this new source of wealth could give them an enviable international power, both at the economic and military level.

The second period of the history of the island began towards the middle of the XVIIth century and ended with the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. This was the period of the struggle for supremacy in the exploitation of the fishing industry. There were two opposing theories: whilst in France the authorities opted in favour of colonization, in England, the West Country, alleging that settlements could hinder the progress of the fishing industry, dictated its anti-colonial policy to the government. Furthermore, the influence of this group of merchants had something to do with the weak military presence of the English in the island before 1713. In the second half of the XVIIth century, the two rival countries came into armed conflict. The French had a definite advantage over the English on account of their colony of Placentia, which was better equipped militarily than the English colony, St. John's. However, as a result of her rather timid initiatives and unimportant victories, France could not gain absolute control over the fishing industry. The struggle could have gone on endlessly had it not been for the Spanish Succession. The Treaty of Utrecht, which put an end to this European war between the mother countries in 1713, also put an end to the skirmishes between the French and the English for the domination of the Newfoundland fisheries, a struggle which had marked the second phase of the history of this large island.

Even if, for political reasons, the agreement was indulgent towards France in its defeat, nevertheless, it gave England complete hegemony over the whole territory of Newfoundland and gave France nothing but fishing and fish-drying rights between capes Bonavista and Riche, approaching from the north. A special place in the Treaty was devoted to the French colony of Placentia on account of

its importance at the time. The French fishing industry in Newfoundland and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence at that time reached extraordinary proportions: it employed between 16,000 and 20,000 men, and was operative in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, Gaspé and Newfoundland. In the opinion of the English, Placentia was the capital of this important industry. Its geographical situation gave it numerous advantages that England had always shown a desire to possess: in the spring, the port was freer of ice than any other port, thus making it possible to reach European markets before any competitors; there was an abundance of herring, which was used as bait; the ships were safe, once inside the port, and there were beaches suitable for the drying of the fish. It is not at all surprising that England took advantage of the peace treaty to gain control of this important post. Article XV of the agreement stipulated that the French capital would be handed over to the English, and that the French would evacuate the place.

Theoretically speaking, the colonists were supposed to leave Placentia in the summer of 1713. But, as the French fishing-ships had already left Europe when the treaty was signed (March 31), and as the deportation of the French residents under these conditions would have caused enormous losses to the owners of these ships, which were coming to pick up the habitants' fish, England agreed to delay the departure for several months. It was the intention of Louis XIV to transport to Havre à L'Anglais in l'île Royale (Cape Breton), not only the soldiers and munitions of the fort of Placentia, but also all the civilian population. Most of the inhabitants were willing to comply, but some of them were rather hesitant. They were afraid that France would not provide the transportation needed to take them, their possessions and their rowing boats to their destination. They were also afraid that the necessary efforts would not be made to ensure the security of the new establishment in l'île Royal. No doubt, those who were uncertain about the move were eventually convinced for, in January 1714, Pontchartrain announced that as of the month of October, 1713, 31 fishing crews totalling 155 men had gone from Placentia to Havre à l'Anglais, and that the remainder of the inhabitants were ready to go as soon as possible.[1] The operation continued throughout the following summer, and was completed in October 1714 with the help of the chevalier de Saujon. The people and their possessions were evacuated aboard the Héros, the Charente, the Samstack and the Africain and in carts and rowing-boats which the habitants handled themselves. Between 15 and 200 French people left Placentia. Before leaving, the colonists tore down the palisades of Fort Louis and attempted, without much success, to sell their properties.[2] The new English governor, Colonel John Moody, more or less assumed exclusive rights over these transactions. Those who remained in the colony

swore allegiance to the British Crown. A memorandum dated February 4, 1715 states that few French people swore such allegiance, except for 50 to 60 volunteers, who hid in the woods when the inhabitants were leaving for l'île Royale.[3] It is probable that the few English people who were already settled in Placentia remained there.

The chapters of this document will be divided according to the major wars that took place during the period covered by the study, that is, from 1713 to 1811. Any other way of dividing the text would not do justice to the history of Placentia which, under the English occupation, was always strongly influenced by the phases of peace and war.

1713-42

State of the Colony

The period following 1713 in Newfoundland was a period of confusion, economic changes and social disorders caused mainly by the war and the complete disappearance of any control over the fishing. After the Treaty of Utrecht, the colony of Placentia was placed under the government of Nova Scotia, whilst the remainder of the island continued to be controlled by the admiral or commodore of the French fishing fleet. The motivation for this policy was that in Newfoundland, since William III's law of 1698, it was forbidden to own any property.[1] As the Queen of England had given permission to the conquered people to sell their possessions, the law had to be evaded to find buyers. So the former French capital was placed under the administration of Nova Scotia, where the right of ownership was recognized.

John Moody

On March 21, 1713, Lieutenant-Colonel John Moody was appointed governor of Placentia. In September, he embarked at Kingsale bound for Newfoundland, but he was driven by a storm to Portugal, where he had to spend the winter. He finally reached Placentia on May 21, 1714. On June 5 of the same year, he took possession of the place in the name of England and declared a state of peace.

Once he reached the post, Moody contravened the orders he had received from England, to the effect that he should concern himself principally with the effective operation of the fisheries. He first of all discouraged the few Frenchmen who were still living in Placentia, by forcing them to sell their fish to the captains of the English ships at ridiculous prices. With the help of the merchants of New England, he appropriated almost all the land belonging to the French people who had gone to Cape Breton, and then sold it at high prices to the English fishermen.[2] He perhaps even forbade the inhabitants to settle on the little beach, which he had bought from Costebelle in order to demand rent from the fishermen who needed this beach to dry their fish.

First of all, Moody was opposed to the smuggling of goods, which flourished after 1713. Apart from the ships from New England, which exchanged their products in Newfoundland after having taken on supplies in the islands of Saint-Pierre, French ships also came to do business with their compatriots on the south coast, or even with the officers in the garrison at Placentia. Captain William Taverner, who was appointed royal surveyor for the south coast of the island in 1714, was, moreover, accused of illicit trading with the French. Moody even had to oblige all the captains of French ships to unload their merchandise outside the territory under his jurisdiction.[3]

Very soon, however, Moody realized that smuggling was necessary. Often the English ships did not come as far as Placentia, and very severe shortages of supplies arose in mid-winter, causing serious problems for the colony. In 1714, Moody even had to send some inhabitants back to Europe on account of the shortage of food.[4] In such a precarious situation, smuggling became a considerable help to the colony. Although he at first objected to the practice, Moody soon openly condoned it; added to which, this form of trade gave him a lucrative monopoly over the merchandise.

These abuses of power on the part of the lieutenant-governor helped to create social conditions in Placentia which were, to say the least, difficult. In the absence of rules and regulations, the garrison became accustomed to the worst type of abuses, going even as far as mutiny, as we shall see when we come to discussing the troops.[5] The Placentia merchants soon accused Moody of putting his personal interests before the well-being of the place. These accusations were echoed by the merchants of Barnstaple and Biddeford in England. Eventually, in 1717, the controllers of army accounts recommended that Moody should be ordered to return to England, together with Admiral William Passenger, to answer the many accusations made against them. Moody was replaced in the same year by Martin Purcell. As agreed in 1713, the new lieutenant-governor was still responsible to the governor of Nova Scotia, Richard Phillips, who was also appointed in 1717.

Samuel Gledhill

Purcell, about whom we known practically nothing, was in his turn replaced by Gledhill in 1719. The new lieutenant-governor repeated, even more blatantly, the abuses of power of which Moody had been guilty. He was wealthy enough to be able to acquire the rights over a large number of houses and landing stages, with the result that almost the entire population depended upon him in one way or another. In 1723, a great deal of correspondence was

exchanged between Newfoundland and England on the subject of Gledhill's activities. In their letters, the London merchants complained that the Queen's representative was interfering in fishing activities in such a way as to cause the merchants to lose money. They accused him of monopolizing the wine and spirits business and of using the beaches as if they belonged to him and renting them out at high prices. Other complaints also came from the mayor of Poole and from merchants in St. John's and Placentia, including such influential people as Sweetman, Saunders, Richard Walsh, and Peter Signac.[6] Complaints continued to reach London in 1725. These accusations combined with a corrupt and disorganized social situation led to Gledhill's recall to London in 1728.

Even if Gledhill was the most unscrupulous lieutenant-governor that Placentia had ever known, the colony does not seem to have fared too badly in spite of it all. In fact, even if from 1718 to 1728, according to Lounsbury "the island suffered from neglect and mal-administration by the authorities in England, from the indifference of the commodores, and from the continual bickering of the planters, fishermen, and colonial traders,"[7] it was, even so, a prosperous decade.

So, once Fort Frederick was completed in 1722, new inhabitants and business firms settled in the place. Several Irish people and papists came to work there for large firms such as Walsh and Sweetman and Saunders. This latter company owned two fish stores, some habitations, a forge, a general store, a shop and some cookrooms. It seems that this firm was also proprietor of a naval shipyard built early in the 1720s.[8] This shipyard made Placentia a terminus for European ships in need of repair. It was during this same period that the inhabitants from Jersey began to visit the place and eventually to settle there, hence the name of the small district of Jerseyside situated to-day on the north point of the gut.

Henry Osborne

The English government began to realize more and more the need for a government in Newfoundland, "for this set of people that live here are those that can't live in Great Britain or any where else but in a place without government."[9] In 1729, this wish to control the economy and policy of the settlement was partially felt in St. John's on the other side of the Atlantic. A first governor was appointed for the island and the "Committee of Council" recommended that Placentia should be placed under the protection of this high dignitary, and this came into effect in the same year. So, from 1729 onwards, the colony was no longer responsible towards Nova Scotia, but came under the jurisdiction of Newfoundland.

On May 22, 1729, Henry Osborne, the captain of the Squirrel, was appointed governor with limited powers. Lord Beauclerk, who was not allowed to assume the position because he held a seat in Parliament, was given the position of commodore, or admiral in chief of the fishing fleet. The orders accompanying the nomination of Osborne made him a military authority entrusted with the responsibility of administering oaths of allegiance. He also had the power to appoint magistrates and other officials as well as to instruct magistrates to hold sessions and to establish courts and prisons. But, above all, he had to strictly avoid any infringement of the act of 1699 concerning fishing. It was over this last point that quarrels soon broke out. The root of the problem was this: the admirals, who were protected by the merchants of the West Country, still had full authority in relation to the governor in matters concerning fishing. On the other hand, the governor, by dint of his position, could henceforth appoint magistrates whose function was to protect citizens against the abuses of the merchants. The latter, through the medium of the admirals objected to this prerogative of the governor, which prevented them from exploiting the population without their having any recourse to justice. In spite of this opposition, Osborne managed to make some moves aimed at establishing order in the colony. In the case of Placentia, he returned to the inhabitants the properties that Lieutenant-Governor Gledhill had unjustly taken possession of a few years before. Then, early in 1729, he visited Placentia, where he appointed three magistrates: Thomas Salmon, Peter Signac and Thomas Buchannon. During his two years in office, Osborne also tried to improve the lot of the troops in Placentia and to establish discipline amongst the civilian population. In fact, Newfoundland was at that time "a sanctuary and refuge for them that broke in England"[10] to such an extent that even the merchants who were in a good position complained of the disorder, especially during the winter, when there was no form of authority in the colony. However, Osborne did not remain in the colony long enough for him to be able to tackle the problem of smuggling, as he was replaced in 1731 by Clinton. This latter appointment, however, marked the beginning of a new stage in the history of the colony since for the first time the governor occupied at the same time the position of commodore.

From the time Clinton was appointed in 1731 until the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1742, there was a quick succession of governors of Newfoundland: E. Falkingham, 1732; R. McCarthy, 1733; Lord Muskery, 1734; H. Lee, 1735; P. Vanbrugh, 1738; H. Medley, 1739; Lord Graham, 1740; and T. Smith, 1741. There is very little to say about this decade except that the old quarrels seem to have been settled and that the colony progressed "normally,"

due mainly to the admirals' loss of power following a report in 1732 in which they were accused of being the fomenters of the troubles in Newfoundland.

Generally speaking, the creation of a local government in 1729 greatly improved the social climate in the island. The different accounts of the fisheries and the population prove the point: in 1727, 27 persons spent the winter in Placentia whilst in 1741 there were 330; there were 30 houses in 1731, and 53 in 1742 while in the same year there were 87 houses and 650 persons wintered in St. John's. These figures show that Placentia was an important centre and that it was catching up on the capital, St. John's, as far as population was concerned. However, fishing, apart from that carried out by the residents, does not seem to have progressed to the same extent during this period of 1713 to 1742.

Fishing

Important changes took place in the fishing in Newfoundland between 1713 and 1742. The climate of disorder prevalent at the time led each year to disputes between the residents and the traders. Generally the latter provided the inhabitants with different types of merchandise in exchange for fish. The population experienced serious difficulties in years when the catch was poor. Furthermore, as against the permission to buy salt, the captains of ships coming from Europe often forced the residents to buy objects they did not need. All these difficulties led several residents to emigrate to New England. This departure of Newfoundland workers led to a rise in wages which rose from the £20 to £14 which were current in 1708 to £20 and £30 in 1715. The number of emigrant fishermen in 1717 was estimated at 1300. So Newfoundland became more and more a sailors' training-school for New England than for England. The mother country did not take too kindly to this change as she was already beginning to fear that her colonies were already independent enough.[11] Giving up the payment for catches on a percentage basis was also partly responsible for the drop in the quantities of fish caught during this period. The fishermen were less interested in catching as much fish as possible, as they were paid fixed wages.

The greatest change which took place in the fishing industry after 1713, however, was the development of deep-sea fishing, which became necessary on account of the poor results of coastal fishing. The French, who had been using this technique for a long time probably taught it to the English:

> The methods employed were quite different from those followed in the harbors...Instead of using the dory, the fishermen employed decked shallops, sloops, or other small vessels such

> as shalloways. These boats remained at sea for five or six days until fully laden when they returned to the harbours to deliver the fish for curing to persons who remained ashore for that purpose. As soon as the shallop had discharged its cargo, it returned to the banks for another catch.[12] (Fig. 2)

As far as fishing in Placentia in particular is concerned, the first years of the English occupation were marked by an almost complete absence of fishermen from England.[13] Captain Taverner, who was commissioned by the British Government in 1714 to make an inventory of the lands in Newfoundland ceded by France to England, claims that this absence of fishermen from England was due to the fact that they had not yet had time to occupy the place and that their ships were not suited to the fishing conditions in Placentia, where it was often necessary to go eight to ten leagues from the coast to catch fish, and the light English shallops were only built to operate within a radius of about one or two leagues.

So the residents of Placentia (hardly a hundred in all) took advantage of the absence of fishermen from England to take the lion's share of the fishing in Placentia and along part of the south coast of Newfoundland. In 1720, of the 31 boats fishing in the area, 25 belonged to the inhabitants of Placentia (Tables 1 and 2). A resident with five boats could catch 100 quintals of fish. The merchants of the West Country reacted strongly against this control of the fishing by the resident population. This activity adversely affected their monopoly and their economic interests on account of the business the inhabitants of Placentia carried on with New England. As they could not compete with them for the reasons already mentioned, the merchants went as far so recommending in a memorandum from the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantation that all the inhabitants of Placentia should be deported. This plan perhaps had some effects, as we shall see later. Until 1722, the future of Placentia as a fishing centre seemed uncertain. This last year, however, was marked by the construction of Fort Frederick, which assured more adequate protection for the fishermen. As a result, the population began to increase noticeably. There were 167 inhabitants in the summer of 1720, whereas three years later there were 218, 79 of whom spent the winter there. However, Placentia was still far from being a large centre like St. John's, where there were 444 persons in this same winter of 1720.

However, we do not know if this progress continued in the mid-1720s, as there are no statistics available for Placentia for the years 1724, 1725 and 1726. But the report for 1727 is, to say the least, peculiar. According to this report, the population had fallen to 28, 27 of whom spent the winter there. Fishing statistics seem to agree with

these figures, since only four of the 124 boats belonged to the inhabitants. Now, no special event can explain satisfactorily such a sudden decline in the progress of the colony other than the 1718 project to deport the inhabitants to Nova Scotia. Another explanation might be the results of Gledhill's decision in 1727 to let the fishermen have, for 130 pounds sterling, a part of the beach divided into nine landings 60 feet by 8 feet with 4 feet on each side. This decision may have limited the activities of the inhabitants, who preferred to leave the place rather than to be so limited and exploited.

Also, there is no doubt that Gledhill's tyranny discouraged several fishermen from remaining in the colony. In 1723, he expropriated the property of the important dealer, Salmon, for the needs of the fort. The following year, he forced all the inhabitants once again to swear an oath of allegiance.

The situation had become almost unbearable for the inhabitants of Placentia and of Newfoundland in general. Weakened by the war and the bad fishing, the West Country neglected fishing and turned to business. As we have seen, this policy made it possible for the inhabitants to take over in the area of fishing. But in the 1720s, the West Country was still too powerful to give up the control of the fisheries so easily. These merchants were probably the instigators of the transfer of Placentia's administration to the government of Newfoundland in 1729.

Following this transfer, the fisheries became more productive but, strangely enough, it was once again the inhabitants who benefited most from this improvement, while the reverse was to be expected. The inhabitants' catches rose from 27,420 quintals in 1720 to 124,395 in 1738. This progress seems to have continued as the years passed by, since in 1764 the catches amounted to 352,690 quintals. As far as the number of fishing boats belonging to the inhabitants is concerned, there were 381 in 1713, 654 in 1749 and 1236 in 1764. Judging by these figures, it seems obvious to us that after the Treaty of Utrecht the resident population became more and more active in the fishing industry; consequently, there was a slight improvement in the social situation resulting from better incomes. The mother country did not look too favourably upon this change. This increase in the power of the inhabitants seemed likely to lead to an increased feeling of independence, which was already strong enough in the colonies of New England. This feeling became even stronger as the participation of England in the Newfoundland fisheries became less and less each year. In 1731 Nova Scotia had 22 ships fishing in Placentia with 224 passengers on board and the catches amounted to 30,000 quintals; in contrast, in 1740 there were not more than six English boats at Placentia with seven passengers and their catches amounted to 11,000 quintals. According to

these figures, the economic movement which had led to the inhabitants taking control of fishing after 1713 continued to be operative. At least, this is true of Placentia, which was the third most important fishing port in Newfoundland after St. John's and Renews. One fifteenth of the total fishing fleet was then based at Placentia. But already one tenth of the merchant fleet came from the Newfoundland proprietors, who built their own boats. Placentia seems to have been one of these ship-building centres.

The West Country was still the group most interested in the exploitation of fishing. The ships belonging to these merchants sailed from Bristol, Dartmouth, Poole and Bedford. They were brigs, brigantines, schooners and sloops. The average tonnage of these ships was 75 tons. The largest were sometimes as much as 350 tons and were generally well armed, as at that time Newfoundland did not have any fortress capable of ensuring adequate protection for the fishermen.

Defence

The Fortifications

Theoretically speaking, the island of Newfoundland controlled the entrance to the gulf, and Placentia, on the south coast was admirably situated for this purpose. Paradoxically, neither France nor England ever seemed in too much of a hurry to really fortify the place. Without exception, there is no document in the whole history of the island proving that it would have served as a base for attack or defence. The reason is simple: a colony that is neither militarily nor economically self-sufficient is condemned to play an insignificant role, or even to perish, unless the mother country can ensure communication with its colony. Now, Placentia was precisely one of these colonies.

During the French period, France could not maintain a naval force in the North Atlantic and for this reason, the fortifications of Placentia could have no influence whatsoever upon the activities in the gulf. An enemy ship could pass close to the fortifications without any misgivings, seeing that there was no naval force available to give chase. The English blockade of the colony during the final years of the French occupation was proof enough.

Under English occupation, the political principle was the same. What was most important was to control the sea, and not to support a worthless territory. Ports, even if they are fortified, have no strategic value unless they can serve as naval bases: "no amount of fortifications could have saved Newfoundland had the command of the sea been lost, any more than Louisbourg masonry could have saved

French Canada."[14] England was to have the advantage because of her awareness of this principle much more rapidly than France. As they already had an excellent control of the seas, the English almost completely neglected the fortifications of Placentia during the whole of the XVIIIth century, until they finally abandoned them completely at the beginning of the next century. The only defence work they carried out was to protect their local trade and not as part of a defence plan for North America.

In the XVIIIth century, the defence of Newfoundland depended upon the Royal Navy, which ensured its safety in two ways: (1) by means of a convoy under the command of a commodore (a governor, after 1729) which escorted the fishing fleet on the outward (June) and homeward (November) journey; in the interim it patrolled the coast; (2) by means of stationed ships which were assigned to the defence of certain localities.[15] With such protection available, the fortifications of Placentia were useless and consequently neglected.

When the English took possession of Placentia, after having abandoned their fort at St. John's, they found Castle Hill (the royal redoubt of the French) in much better condition than a report from Phillips in February 1714 had first led them to believe. This report indicated that Fort Louis and the Gaillardin were completely in ruins and that it would take at least £15,000 pounds to repair the Castle; that such an expenditure would not be worthwhile, and, finally, that a simple battery at the entrance to the port would be sufficient.[16]

As soon as he arrived, Moody attacked - albeit, without too much success - this policy of not fortifying the place. The expulsion of the French from Newfoundland had considerably lessened the risk of invasion, hence this negligent policy concerning the fortifications, which were in such bad condition that in 1714 Captain Phillips could state that "the Castle [was] not fit to receive an English officer." On the other hand a report from the Board of Trade said:

> That the fort of Placentia is very ill situated, being commanded from a neighbouring mountain, even by musket shot, whereon the French built a redoubt, and to secure the rest of the rang of Hills adjoining, did likewise erect a Guard House, in another Place which was entirely gone to ruin, and the fort itself with its barrack and store houses were left in a very bad condition by the french; insomuch that the repairs were estimated at fifteen thousand pounds, exclusive of the detacht redoubts on the Hill.
>
> .....

> Where fore the Board did agree with General Richards that a good Battery only for the defence of the Harbours' mouth should be erected & cover'd by a stone redoubt or tower, sufficient to hold ammunition for the guns and provisions for about 40 to 50 men, who in case of necessity might retreat to the said tower, but at other times be lodg'd in Barracks, adjacent to the redoubt & enclosed by Palizadoes.[17]

The document even mentions that the workmen were to take the stones from the Castle to carry out these building operations. However, we do not know if this was done during the minor repairs carried out in 1714 and in 1715; they seemed to be limited to a few repairs for the protection of the garrison. However, one document mentions that at that time cannons were mounted on the Castle and some platforms were repaired.[18] However, it is impossible to verify this statement. What is certain is that in 1714 a ship was sent from England with the materials necessary to rebuild the fort, but it sank before reaching its destination.

The year 1715 marked a sudden reversal in the policy of military construction in Placentia. According to a report of March 6, 1715, the Office of Ordnance came to a decision to fortify Placentia.[19] At that time it was realized that it was more economical to build a new fort rather than to repair the old one: that was how Fort Frederick (Figs. 4, 5, 6) came into being. What could have led to such a reversal in English policy? At first sight, nothing seemed to justify this move other than to give a feeling of confidence to the fishermen, who, in 1715, were still leaving Placentia. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that Fort Frederick was not a fortress: it was rather a small defence work intended to protect the fishing boats and the garrison. But there is a long way to go between a project and its realization. In the following year, 1716, work had not yet begun on the construction of the fort, nor had its site been determined. All the government had done was to accept the project. Yet it was a matter of urgency to proceed with the project as quickly as possible. The dilapidation of the old French forts was getting worse and worse and the distress of the troops was increasing. "The miserable circumstances which HM garrison here is in for want of their cloathing, being almost quite naked, and all the fortifications, barracks, and houses being in a manner quite open to the attacks."[20] In 1719, the Court ordered Phillips to give all necessary protection to the people who were building the fortifications, after which he should transfer the troops to Annapolis, leaving only 50 men to protect the place.[21] In the following year, no work was done on the fort. All the material had to be transported from England, and the captains of the fishing

vessels were very demanding. The work was finally begun in 1721, six years after England decided to fortify Placentia.

Fort Frederick, so named in honour of the Prince of Wales, was built on the south point of the gut opposite the old French fort, Fort Louis. The land on which it was built had first belonged to Videll, who had sold it to Chevalier. In 1714, Moody had bought it for the sum of 4000L (£226/13/4) before renting it to the inhabitants of Placentia.[22] The fort was "a little picketted work with a stone semi-circular battery, barracks and brick guardhouse. It was at first smaller than fort Louis, for the garrison had soon been reduced to less than a 100 men."[23] The materials from the former French fortifications must certainly have been used for the erection of this defence work. However, it seems that the fort was not maintained very well since, a few years later it had already deteriorated. As far as the armaments of this fort are concerned, we know that, in 1725, it had eight cannons of 18, mounted 4 x9 "on ship carriage," and some balls.[24]

When Placentia came under the jurisdiction of the government of Newfoundland, in 1727, England considered the possibility of withdrawing the garrison (which amounted to one company) from the colony, or of making it into a new, independent garrison. However, nothing seems to have been done about it. Notwithstanding, Placentia was still responsible to Nova Scotia in military matters. The lieutenant-governor had a strictly military role to play, but, almost always, he exploited the fisheries for his own personal ends, thus obstructing the progress of this trade.

"We were made," declared Thomas Bannister in 1715,

> to hope we should supply the whole world with fish after the delivery of Placentia but such unhappy managers were they in this Article that they have only increased the Nation's charg by taking an expensive garrison to maintain. While the French removed to a more happy clime, and better situation to annoy us, their fishing ground inlarg'd.[25]

No threat from any enemy was felt between 1713 and 1742, and, apart from Fort Frederick, nothing was ever done to fortify Placentia. During this time, the only cannon shots to be heard were those fired to mark the birth of a royal infant, the King's anniversary, his coronation, or perhaps to summon the faithful to religious ceremonies.

At the beginning of the 1740s, war was becoming more and more imminent. The London merchants submitted a memorandum requesting that Newfoundland should be fortified to protect commerce. In 1740, the only fort in the whole of the eastern part of the island, where three quarters of the fishing and commerce was carried on, was Fort Frederick in Placentia, defended by a few cannons. Even in St. John's,

there was not a single fortification. With the approaching war and the arrival of Governor Smith in 1741, the protection of Newfoundland was to improve.

The Garrison

After the peace treaty of 1713, the French troops remained in Placentia until the spring of 1714, even though the colony was under British rule. General Nicholson was appointed as general of His Majesty's troops in Newfoundland, and Colonel Moody as commandant of the garrison in Placentia. Apart from the military personnel who had come from St. John's, this garrison numbered 173 soldiers recruited from different Irish regiments, who were divided into four independent companies (Nicholson's company numbered 40 men, Moody's 46, Vetch's 48 and Phillips' 39).[26] Altogether there were about 350 soldiers dressed in old uniforms, the souvenirs of Nicholson's disastrous voyage to Canada. "The clothing consisted of coats made of very unsufficient stuff without any lineing, no wast coats, and britches without any stockens, except one pair for the first year."[27]

The remuneration of these soldiers caused some difficulties. The system of payment and subsistence had been modified in such a way that the wages were even lower than those of the preceding years, and the special funds for beer were cancelled. Moody often had to take money out of his own pocket to help the garrison. Some soldiers even had to wear wooden shoes. In such a difficult situation troubles soon arose in the colony. In a letter to the minister, Moody wrote: "for God sake, dont let me be made a meal of by the hungry soldiers."

Their situation was even worse one year after their arrival. The soldiers were still short of clothes, food and money; so they revolted on August 30, 1714. The 150 men left the fort with their weapons and went to the foot of the mountain. There they "haulted in a mutinous manner."[28] Moody managed to calm them down, but not without some trouble. In the autumn, the soldiers apologized for their conduct and decided to write a memorandum explaining their grievances to the authorities. However, the memorandum did not bring any results.

In 1717, the garrison was reduced to 200 men.[29] The troops do not seem to have been influenced by the social progress of the colony. Their situation was still just as wretched. In 1730, the commanding officer was confined to bed an account of age and infirmities; his men were reaching retirement age, and they had no arms or ammunition and were almost naked. In 1732, there were 24 soldiers in Placentia under the command of Joseph Gledhill junior, lieutenant-governor, and Edward Falkingham, governor. These men were part of a detachment of the Royal Regiment of

Artillery.[30] In 1741, the detachment of Phillips Regiment of Foot had a total strength of one captain, one lieutenant, two sergeants, two corporals, one drummer and 25 soldiers.[31]

1742-55

State of the Colony

The War of the Austrian Succession broke out in America in 1742. Two years later and until 1748, Newfoundland remained without a governor. This assertion may be confusing, since the position of governor was actually assigned to Charles Hardy in 1744-1745 and to Richard Edwards in 1745, but these two gentlemen probably never took up their duties. In 1746, Charles Watson was appointed commodore, but not governor. It will be remembered that these two positions were actually held by one person since the appointment of Clinton in 1731. In 1747, England appointed neither a governor nor a commodore.

This attitude is understandable when one considers that, in the policy of the British Empire, Newfoundland was never part of the plantation system.

> During the 17th and 18th centuries Great Britain's oldest colony was never a colony at all judged by the contemporary definition, but was always regarded as an overseas fishery industry to which were attached for better or worse a number of permanent settlements, the inhabitants of which proved a constant embarasment to those who sought to maintain the WC policy and to preserve the nursery for seamen.[1]

In short, the Newfoundland government had only been established to protect a flourishing industry and to discipline those who exploited it.[2] As the number of the latter became smaller in time of war, the governmental organization was considered useless. In the four years during which there was no local government, social disorders and smuggling reigned supreme. Smuggling continued to thrive even after the period of anarchy for, in 1749, there were still 66 ships from New England which came to Placentia to do business.[3]

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) brought back the pre-war situation, whilst the treaty renewed articles 13 and 14 of the Treaty of Utrecht, which prohibited the French fron fishing anywhere except between Cape Bonavista and Pointe Riche, and from setting up permanent establishments

there. In the same year, the new governor, Otho Hamilton arrived in Placentia. This nomination re-established the pre-war form of government, with the difference that the powers of the civil administration were to continually increase until the Seven Years War. In 1749, the new lieutenant-governor had a stone prison built in Placentia. Five years later he had a scaffold erected; this gives us some idea of the social climate in the colony at the time. At that time, Placentia was the only place in Newfoundland where the right of property was recognized. A marine captain came regularly to verify judicial procedures.

In 1750 the governor's powers were increased. Francis Drake's commission granted him the right to establish superior courts for the judgement and punishment of all crimes, except treason. A similar attempt had been made unsuccessfully in 1738. These new directives were put into effect in 1754 when William Keen of St. John's was murdered by an Irish Catholic. The new governor, Dorrill, then passed very severe laws against the Irish Catholics, laws which went as far as deportation. The resultant discontent in Placentia was very strong, all the more so as the population was largely Irish, as the Irish had literally invaded from the early 1750s; Sweetman and Saunders, two of the big merchants in Placentia were Irish.

Fishing

The period of the War of the Austrian Succession did not leave us much in the way of statistical data. However, the documents do make it clear to us that the establishment of Placentia had a great many difficulties during the European conflict and that the fishermen were sorely tried. After the fishing season, they had to go and join the convoy at St. John's, if they wanted to have some form of protection on the return journey. As the trip from Placentia to St. John's without escort was very dangerous, the fishermen eventually preferred not to go beyond St. John's. As a result, only three fishing vessels came to Placentia in 1746.[4] Furthermore, the fact that Placentia is not mentioned in the fishing report for 1745-1746, indicate that this colony's activities slowed down during the conflict; we learn from another document that in 1744 the fishermen threatened not to return to Placentia if the port was not better protected.[5]

The desertion of Placentia by the English fishermen caused serious problems for the resident community: they had to use up their fish reserves and, when they were exhausted, take in stores of all kinds of foodstuffs and merchandise. They were saved by the goods smuggled in by the merchants of New England. But the Newfoundlanders were not the only ones to suffer from the situation brought about by the war: the English merchants saw their business declining at an

alarming rate. So they did not wait long before pressuring the government to intervene. As soon as the war was over in 1749, the speech from the throne appealed to the patriotism of the citizens: the government appealed to them to help the fishing industry. Thus it was that some rich Westminster merchants created a society aimed at encouraging the exploitation of the fishing banks of Newfoundland.[6] For their part, the Commons set up a committee to inquire into the situation of English fishing in Newfoundland.

For six years, the results were remarkable for the inhabitants. In fact, there was an unprecedented increase in the population of Placentia: the number of residents who spent the winter there rose from 330 in 1741 to 1613 in 1749;[7] and the number of their fishing boats rose from 17 to 172; in 1716 the "by-boat-men" (or, independent fishermen) numbered 286, and in 1749 there were 421 of them, and two years later there were 554; as for their servants (or "engagés"), their numbers rose from 1538 in 1716, to 3848 in 1751. Concurrently with this demographic expansion, the inhabitants' catches reached record figures: they rose from the pre-war figure of 7000 quintals to 66,900 quintals in 1750.

The demographic progress and the economic prosperity were accompanied by transformations in the fishing industry itself. In fact, towards the middle of the XVIIIth century, this industry had ceased to be a precarious venture and had become an established business. The West Country was still the group most interested in this trade, but the inhabitants of Newfoundland were playing an increasingly important role in it, as can be seen from the figures quoted in the preceding paragraph. In fact, the exploitation of the Newfoundland fisheries gradually passed from the hands of the English contractors into those of the Newfoundlanders. It was then that the shallop became the key factor of the fishing industry, taking the place of the large fishing-boats. It was also at this same time that there was a complete change in the method of paying the fishermen; they were no longer remunerated by receiving a share of the profits, but by wages.[8]

> They [the inhabitants] allow the same wages as merchants & Boatkeepers pay viz the green men from £. 5 to £. 7 & their passage out or £.12 for two summers and a winter; to other from £.10 to £.27 their agreements commonly run for them to be paid 1/3 in trucks, the rest if they save it, to be paid in bill of exchange; their truck is in cloathing, but far the greater part in rum, They have various scandalous arts of defrauding the servants of their hire, if they cannot persuade them to run out their wages in truck & liquor, there are a great many will not

> pay them the remainder honestly according to the agreement between them.[9]

It was Placentia which profited most from this era of progress and general prosperity in Newfoundland (in spite of the anti-colonial laws).[10] It was Placentia which experienced the greatest demographic expansion as well as the greatest increase in the volume of catches. Thus she managed to become the fishing capital, taking the place even of her rival, St. John's.

Defence

In the early 1740s, when the War of the Austrian Succession broke out in Europe, the colony of Placentia was defenceless. Her fortifications were in ruins: Fort Frederick was "much decayed" and its 12 cannons "not to be trusted for above half a dozen rounds each."[11] A letter from the engineer, Fournier, in 1743 gives us a description of the fort and the work to be done on it:

> Pursuant to your Orders by your letter of the 16th October 1743 directed to me, I have made a survey of the present Fort & found it very ruinous & in a defenceless Conditions the Walls being Rubble Work cover'd on ye outside Port-Lands stones very much decayed, above all the side fronting the sea, a great deal of the Port-Land stones being fallen down & the Rubble work naked & very Loose, the parapet also, chiefly on that Side, being mostly fallen down & what stones remains of it very loose & 14 uncapable of supporting the gunns in case of a Repeated fire.[12]

As far as the Castle, the royal redoubt of the French, is concerned, the thirty years of peace that it had gone through had contributed towards its almost complete ruin; it had never been considered necessary to fortify the place, as the island was protected by the ice in winter, and in the summer by the convoys accompanying the fishermen. As for the garrison, at the outbreak of war it consisted of an infantry company (37 men) and a detachment of 30 men from the Royal Artillery. For three years, these troops had not received any supplies.[13]

In view of such a pitiful defence system, it is not surprising that England's engaging in war led to the construction of some military defence works in Placentia. In November 1743, the governor, Thomas Smith, granted Gledhill the sum of £500 to repair Fort Frederick. Only wood was to be used for the repairs, except for the magazines, as it was fully understood that these repairs were purely temporary, in view of the intended construction of a new defence work.[14] In the same year, Gledhill announced that the work had been completed, but that the

place was still very weak. However, the engineer, Whibault, and his assistant, Fournier, had had the semicircular battery casemated and reinforced; a bastion had also been added on the side facing the land. In spite of these defence works, Fort Frederick was still (according to the engineer), "really most despicable...a mere nothing." In fact, this fort commanded neither the roadstead nor the port; added to which, it was at the mercy of the cannons of any ships that might have managed to enter the gut, or of any enemy that might occupy Dixon Hill (a hill situated at the southern end of the Great Beach). The fort had eight 18-pound cannons and 4x9, half of which were unusable. Finally, the fort was so small that it could not accommodate all the garrison, which, in 1743, consisted of 31 soldiers and 16 gunners. Several of them had to be billeted in the homes of the inhabitants, leading - as is always the case - to numerous disorders. The outbreak of war did not lead to any work being done on the Castle; it was still neglected.

However, in the correspondence of Thomas Smith, the governor of Newfoundland, reference is made to the "New Fort" (Fig. 7). This was a new defence work erected in the early 1740s on the very same site as that of the old Fort Louis, built by the French. This is how A.J.H. Richardson describes it:

> More regular than its predecessor, being a perfect quadrilateral with bastions, it has the sides towards the sea and the gut built up to a massive thirty foot thickness, faced on each side with masonry, and one of these sides casemated; the other sides were palisades on a masonry foundation. It also had three pretty good barracks in it. Unfortunately, this fort was never completed, platforms never being placed for cannon; construction was inferior and most of the walls were bulging within a decade. Another defect of the New Fort was that it had been pushed so near the sea to avoid command by the Castle that it was exposed to all the violence of that element.[15]

The construction of the New Fort does not seem to have reassured the population of Placentia. In 1744, it was rumoured that the French from Louisbourg were preparing to attack the colony. On August 2, the merchants met together and signed a petition to the governor asking him to provide better protection for them:

> ...so we fully know the advantages that will accrue to the Government, by securing this place from falling into the ennemy's hands who would by the possession of it, easily make themselves masters of the whole island, therefore as we think ourselves entirely open to the ennemy's hands, shall be obliged to

> quitt the Land with our familys and Effects, unless you take it into your serious consideration, by granting us your utmost succours...[16]

On October 2 of the same year, Joseph Gledhill, the son of the former lieutenant-governor, sent the petition to London, and added:

> And what endangers this place very much is that all the Servants are Irish Papists which in the Winter makes nigh ten papists to one protestant. In this unhappy situation wee are daily afraid that he french will take strong attempt upon this place, which fears are daily confirm'd by yr. French prisonners brought in here by Privateers who reports that at Lewisbourg, there are 5 men of Warr whose design is to come here with a strong party of Indians, they knowing perfectly well that this place is the Key of the whole Island and it's strongest barrier. The defenceless condition of this Harbour and the news of such designs has so alarmed yr, Inhabitants & Traders to this place that they all unanimously joyn'd in a petition sent round to St. John's for the governour who shall come to this Land a true Copy of which I have the Harbour so send inclosed to your Grace, to desire he'd send a man of Warr round & what other help he can secure them against an Enemy being all resolved if not granted to carry away their Effects quit their Plantations & go they'll come no more to this Harbour unless farther protected there being no security for them, such an even would prove the entire ruin of this Southern fishing, a great loss to his Majesty's revenues & and his subjects & a great advantages to yr French & their settlements. In this present urgency wee cannot expect a more ready help-then from yr, Navy who of late have much neglected this place; Therefore it is in his Majesty's subjects' names Residing, fishing & Trading in this Harbour that I with Due submission humbly implore your grace would be pleased to take it into consideration & become their protector in supporting their interest in the King's Council, that the Lords of the Admiralty may have Orders to Dispatch as soon as possible some men of Warr to this place to guard them from their Enemies.[17]

If one can judge by the work carried out, England does not seem to have responded to the appeal. It is true that in

the following year the home country reduced the threat to the base by taking Louisbourg.

When Otho Hamilton was appointed governor of Placentia in 1748, the garrison was not in any better condition than the forts. It consisted of one company of the Newfoundland Regiment (that probably came over in 1745) and a detachment of the Royal Artillery. It was short of arms, clothing and provisions, which led Gledhill to state: "I am heartly sorry this place is so much neglected because of course trade is entirely decayed for there has not been a ship of war here these 4 years past."[18] Furthermore, the soldiers were forbidden to do any fishing, even though this was often their only means of finding sustenance. Moreover, Hamilton wrote that it was difficult to enforce this regulation on account of the very low wages and great destitution from which the troops were suffering. Added to which, this poverty caused many cases of desertion.

For the year 1751, we have a very important report written by Leonard Smell concerning the fortifications of Placentia.[19] The first sentence of this document is very revealing: "The fortifications of Placentia (if they deserve that name) have every defect of design, situation and execution, and not withstanding their great expense, are scarce capable of being made sufficient against a Privateer." According to this engineer, the batteries were more like "centry box" than fort defences. The New Fort was badly situated and Fort Frederick was very weak. According to the writer of the memorandum, it would not be wise either to repair the defence works or to build new ones, for the following reasons. First of all, the Placentia forts were useless. They provided no protection for the other fishing stations a few miles along the coast from Placentia, since there was no route by which the troops could reach these posts; as far as ships were concerned, they had to wait for favourable winds to be able to sail out of the straits. "Thus it appears to me that no considerable fortifications in Newfoundland could answer the intention for which they ought to be built; it will neither secure the possession of the Island or fishery, nor protect any District of Country, excepting its own small circuit." In the second place, only control of the seas could protect Placentia; the land did not need to be defended since there was nothing there to defend. Smell next goes on to explain why the French had fortified Placentia, pointing our clearly that this was not a sufficient reason for the English to do the same: if they did so, it was on account of the kind of government that made a garrison (!) necessary to enforce the laws; this was the only place really exploited; their fleet was very weak. The engineer ended his report by listing the work that was to be done if, in spite of his report, England decided to fortify the place. The main point he insisted upon was the protection of the mountain. According to documents of the

time, it seems that England reacted favourably to Small's very logical ideas. However, the approach of the Seven Years War was to change the views of the mother country, which, just the same, undertook some defence works at Placentia. In short the war was to have the effect of slowing down the decline of the colony.

1756-63

State of the Colony

During the Seven Years War, the population of Newfoundland continued to increase. From the 7000 inhabitants in 1750, the population rose to 10,000 in 1758 and 16,000 in 1764.[1] The majority of this population was Roman Catholic. A state of disorder reigned almost everywhere in the island; justice was non-existent: it was administered by judges who often exploited their powers for their own personal gains. One tenth of the population was idle for seven months of the year, with the result that there were thefts and many irregularities. Two thirds of the provisions came from the American colonies, and the rest from the mother country.

As far as Placentia itself was concerned, the Seven Years War signalled the beginning of its decline. Her rival, St. John's, managed once again to surpass her in importance. Just before the war broke out, there were 852 inhabitants in the colony of Placentia; in 1762 there were not more than 340. Of the 182 private houses that existed there in 1754, there were not more than 20 remaining in 1762 (see Tables 1 and 2). The place was steeped in drunkenness, to such an extent that in 1757 the governor had the taverns closed, except for three which were owned by Richard Allen, Richard Spragg and Moses Freeman.

In the spring of 1762, Thomas Graves was named governor of Newfoundland; he was the last governor to be appointed to this position under the formula that had been operative since 1729. His instructions included the following orders: (1) prevent the French from fishing anywhere but in the places permitted under the Treaty of Utrecht, that is, between Cape Bonavista and Pointe Riche; (2) combat the smuggling carried on with Saint-Pierre; (3) study the possibility of military construction to protect the fishing and trade with the Indians, and (4) establish freedom of conscience and respect for religion. Above all, the instructions insisted on the protection of fishing according to the law of 1699.

The year 1762 brought a certain renewal of life to the declining fishing colony, although very short-lived. In fact, it was in June of the same year that St. John's was

captured by the French. After having lost all its territories in America, France sent troops to take St. John's, which was intended to be used as a bargaining factor in the peace negotiations. However, the plan failed, as Lieutenant-Colonel William Amherst recaptured the place three months later. However, during the few months that St. John's became "French" once again, Placentia once again became the main English colony in Newfoundland. During this brief period, the post regained its former importance before finally dying out in the second half of the XVIIIth century. The brief episode of 1762-1763 was Placentia's swan song.

The Treaty of Paris, which put an end to the Seven Years War was signed in 1763. Following this treaty, a royal proclamation (Oct. 7, 1763) established governments in the territories recently acquired by England. The proclamation stipulated that such governments would be created everywhere, except in regions where they were not necessary, or when there was no colonization program, "such we apprehend to be the case of Newfoundland, where a temporary fishery is the only object."[2] This passage makes us once again measure the importance of the Newfoundland establishments and colonies in the British Empire.

Fishing

The fishing business in Newfoundland during the Seven Years War was on the whole prosperous, in spite of several poor seasons. Those who gained the greatest benefit were the inhabitants of the island and the Americans, and not the merchants from England. In 1754, the English catches in Placentia had amounted to 12,300 quintals, whilst in 1763 they totalled 4000 quintals. On the other hand, the inhabitants' catches for the same years remained about the same. As far as the harvest of the independent fishermen is concerned, it rose from 2000 quintals in 1753 to 30,000 in 1762 in Placentia. It is obvious from these figures that it was the settled population which produced most of the fish, thus continuing the economic trend which began in 1713.

In 1758, a memorandum from the Lords of Trade concerning fishing in Newfoundland severely criticized the law of 1699. The document stated that the law was doing harm to the business by permitting the inhabitants to take over the best fishing grounds by virtue of the article of the law, which granted ownership to the inhabitants who had occupied these places since 1685, or earlier. The memorandum was directed specially against the colony of Placentia, which had been inhabited a time long before 1685. Fortunately for the residents, this memorandum did not have any effect.

Generally speaking, the XVIIIth century marked a definite recession for France in the area of fishing. This

downward trend was due mainly to the losses sustained at the hands of the English during the wars. The loss of Acadia and, above all, the loss of Placentia had produced a big change in the habits of the French fishermen after 1713. Phélipaux, Secretary of State for the Navy, directed his attention immediately to the question of finding new waters for them to fish in. His efforts led to the establishment of Louisbourg. But this solution was not sufficient to prevent a decline in the fishing business. Choiseul declared: "Ou notre pêche à la morue est maintenue, ou la guerre recommence."[3] The attack upon St. John's and its capture by the French in 1762 should be viewed in the light of the rivalries in the fishing industry. France and England signed the Treaty of Paris in the following year. From that time onwards, the French fishermen were prohibited from fishing within less than three leagues from the coast of Newfoundland, except on the French Shore between Cape Bonavista and Pointe Riche. The treaty also renewed the former understandings contained in the Treaty of Utrecht. This really rang the knell for the French presence on the shores of Newfoundland, as O.T. Murphy wrote:

> By the Treaty of Paris of 1763, England had regained the position in the fisheries which she had earlier lost to Louis XIV, and from then on she rapidely extended her efforts to eliminate the French fishermen from the Newfoundland fisheries in order to undermine French naval and economic strength.[4]

England had decided to eliminate her French rival not only from America, but also from maritime trade.

Defence

In 1753, on the eve of the Seven Years War, the garrison of Placentia included a detachment of the Royal Regiment of Artillery (number unknown) and a company of Colonel Hapsom's regiment (57 men) that had been stationed there for at least a year.[5] As for the armaments, the place had in 1754, 15 cannons of 18 and 4x9 with mountings, nine 4-inch mortars (brass), two "wall pieces swivelled" and 150 muskets and bayonets.[6] Four years later, that is, in 1758, the garrison numbered 115 military men, most of whom were billeted in the homes of the inhabitants, because there was not enough room for them in the barracks. This garrison was made up of the 40th infantry regiment of Hamilton (one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, two drummers, 83 soldiers), and the Royal Regiment of Artillery (one captain, one sergeant, two bombardiers, five gunners, 11 artillerymen one drummer).[7] So, according to this account, the military strength had been increased in Placentia at the beginning of the war.

The war had also had its effect upon military construction. In 1751, the engineer, Smell, had already suggested that the hill should be fortified if they wanted to protect the colony.[8] In 1757, the governor, Richard Edwards, took up the same theme and asked that a fort should be constructed on Castle Hill to protect the defence works at the foot of the hill, as the French had done;[9] he estimated that the cost of this work would amount to about £506.

In the following year, Otho Hamilton made a new attempt: "A pallisaded redoubt with a blockhouse in the middle & a battery of 6 pieces of cannon six or 9 pounders would answer all ends and purposes and put it out of the French power."[10]

Besides, the officers in Placentia had good reason to be alarmed as to the possibility of a French attack: the documents prove it to-day. In his memorandum of 1758, Montcalm declared that Louisbourg was powerless to defend the entrance to the gulf and that it was therefore of no use to France as a key to Canada. In fact the fortress was neither on the route nor at the entrance to the gulf of the Saint Lawrence, and the king's vessels could not winter there. Therefore, Placentia would be much more useful, and France should take possession of it; besides, it was not more than 15 to 20 leagues from Banc Verd, which one was forced to pass by in order to enter the river. Out of 100 ships coming to Canada, 80 were going to recognize the surroundings of Placentia; to do the same at Louisbourg, it would have been necessary to go 100 leagues further.[11] On May 9, 1759, another memorandum, this time coming from Monsieur de Plalestry, also recommended that Placentia should be occupied if France did not want England to cut off her route to Canada.[12]

And so England reacted to protect her colony. The construction work was begun in 1758, but the engineer was immediately recalled to England and so gave up the work he had begun. It was four years before it was completed. Thomas Graves, who was governor at the time (Fig. 10), went to Placentia in July 1762 and set about having the work begun by Hamilton on the redoubt hill completed. This hill, which had become Castle Hill, was renamed Castle Graves, in honour of the governor (Fig. 8). The work consisted mainly of building a blockhouse inside the former Fort Royal; then pickets were put up around the redoubt, cannons were mounted on wooden platforms, a fifteen-foot-high wall was erected, and finally a new dry-stone wall was built around the summit of the hill.

> He also had the face of the hill which is very steep, stuck full of large sharp stones, that it most cost the enemy a great many men to get within the line. He also added one or two spur works but most of the smaller works on these

> hills had been abandoned since 1713. Graves also moved troops into the New Fort from Fort Frederick, which was prevented by the gut between from mutually supporting the Castle. Finally, it seems likely he protected the south beach instead by building a blockhouse at its western neck (Fig. 9).[13]

Furthermore, England decided to reinforce the Placentia garrison. In addition to Amherst's soldiers, who had stayed in the colony, the garrison included in 1762 a detachment of the Royal Regiment of Artillery (14 soldiers) and the 40th infantry regiment (79 in number).[14] At the time when St. John's was captured by the French in 1762, some volunteers had also joined the regular troops.

Once the danger was over, Graves asked that Castle Graves should be maintained in good condition and that it should be inspected twice a year. As we shall see, his request went unheeded.

1763-1812

State of the Colony

In 1764, Hugh Palliser was appointed as Governor of Newfoundland (Fig. 11). He was one of the best men to hold this position. We are indebted to him for numerous reports on the general situation of the island. According to the report of 1765, the population of Newfoundland at the time was 20,000 persons, 10,000 of whom were unemployed during the winter. In the opinion of this governor, these people were not only of no use, but harmful to the colony, as they were neither good sailors, nor good warriors, and above all they were not available, as they were too far away; added to which, the fact that they were Roman Catholics did not go in their favour.

> Inhabitants such as above described are no Security to the Country, but the contrary; for they always have and always will join an invading Enemy, as well from necessity as Inclination, on such Occasions, and Three Fourth of them are Roman Catholicks.
> Those Inhabitants besides being a Loss to this Country, are a Nuisance to that, particularly by their great Consumption of Wood for Fuel, causing a scarcity thereof at Hand for the Use of the Fishery, and this lays the Country more and more open to an invading Enemy.[1]

Palliser recommended that all the inhabitants should return to England at the end of each fishing season. This policy would have had the double effect of putting an end to the irregularities committed during the winter, while at the same time increasing the maritime fleet. One of the main irregularities committed by the residents and referred to by Palliser, consisted of building habitations and erecting enclosures when the governor was away, i.e. between two fishing seasons. These cabins were often left unfurnished or even unpainted, so that the goveror could not distinguish them from the old ones. Now, the fact that the right of property was forbidden in Newfoundland was precisely to prevent the settlement of colonists, which would have done harm to the fishing industry. However, no organization was

as yet established to deal severely with offenders or to prevent such cases from arising.

Palliser also reproached the inhabitants for smuggling. According to the governor, the inhabitants obtained almost all their supplies by illegal means. Thus, all they imported from England were small quantities of different provisions used to feed the sailors during their crossing. On the other hand they bought almost all the pork, beef, butter, wool and some manufactured goods imported illicitly. The West Indies provided all the bread, flour, rum, sugar, molasses, a little pork and beef and a few other articles, which amounted in 1764 to £102,304 3s. Manufactured products used for fishing were brought in by the salt boats from foreign countries. All these countries also took part in transport and trading for the inhabitants.[2]

Information concerning Placentia became more and more scarce after 1762. However, it appears that the prestige of the colony steadily diminished. We know that the population in the winter of 1768 amounted to 511 inhabitants as compared with 1800 in 1758, which indicates a marked decline that was to become more accentuated as time went on. Even so, in 1772 there were six public houses; the cost of a license was £10. We also know that at that time it was the practice to repatriate all those who were a burden for the colony. Finally, in quite another area of thinking, it was forbidden for more than two Catholics to live in the same house, unless it belonged to a Protestant; in 1776, Catholic priests were not yet allowed to celebrate mass in Placentia; religious freedom was not granted until 1784. From that time onwards, there was always a priest in Placentia and the faithful were allowed to build a church, which was completed in 1793 by Father Bourke.

In 1775, Placentia was quite violently affected by the American Revolution. The island was deprived of numerous products which until then had been brought in illicitly by New England. In the same year, Palliser's bill concerning the fisheries became law; it was aimed at the same objectives as William III's law, but without the abuses. Through this law, the fleet was reinforced and the fishermen were given greater protection. This law led the historian, Reeves, to say at the end of the war in 1783, "that it [Newfoundland] has been a more genuine British Fishery, and of more Value to the Mother Country, than it ever was before." But "notwithstanding the Increase of Inhabitants Newfoundland is still nothing but a great Ship, dependent upon the Mother Country for every thing they eat drink and wear, or for the Funds to produce them."[3] This last sentence was all the more true when in 1783 the smuggling with the former colonies of New England hardly existed any longer on account of the war. Nine tenths of local production consisted of potatoes.

In 1786 there was a major event in the history of Placentia. The ship, Pegasus, visited the colony with Prince William Henry (later William IV) aboard (Fig. 13). The visitor made many gifts as he toured the colony. First of all he provided part of the funds for the new Anglican church (1787-1902), as the first one, Our Lady of Angels, was in bad condition. The prince offered a solid silver communion set to mark the construction of this new church. As far as George III was concerned, he presented the royal arms for the church. To express their loyalty to the Prince, who had presided over the court of justice, the Protestants persuaded the governor to forbid Catholics to bury their dead in the Protestant cemetery. So, in 1787, the Catholics opened their own cemetery on the very same site as their present church. At that time the winter population of Placentia was about 800, while at St. John's it was almost 4000 (see Tables 1 and 2). These inhabitants came mostly from Waterford in Ireland. In 1794, there were about 200 houses or "butts" made from sand taken from the beach.[4] In 1791, the colony ranked fourth amongst the Newfoundland ports for imports, and sixth for exports.[5] At that time, very few ships came into the harbour because of the difficult approach. In short, Placentia was playing a less and less important part in the life of Newfoundland.

The social climate of the island evolved rapidly. In 1790 Reeves declared: "It must be understood that Newfoundland is no longer a place resorted to only by mere Fishermen who carried out sufficient provisions for themselves & their men, caught their fish and at the close of the season returned to the mother country."[6] In the same year, a memorandum from the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations recommended the creation of a court of civil jurisdiction. It was established the following year in spite of the protests of the merchants, who were not happy to see the installation of an authority which would prevent them from exploiting the population. They based their claims on the fact that Newfoundland was not a colony: "This is not a colony. We are not allowed to build or repair, except for the benefit of the Fishery."[7]

At the beginning of the XIXth century, the situation in Newfoundland was as follows:

> It was still a government, which had its sources in the fishery carried on from the West of England. It came into life with the arrival of the fishing fleet in the spring and expired with the departure of the fleet in the autumn. With the Governor at their back, the justices were as effective as the hostility of the harbour admirals permitted them to be. When the Governor returned to England in October,

> the power which lay behind the commissions of the justices disappeared with him.[8]

Nevertheless, in no other British colony had the governor been given such powers as in Newfoundland. His authority was not subjected to the opposition of either an assembly or a council; there was no democracy, as the population had no voice in any matters. In short, Newfoundland was not a colony like the others from the economic, political and commercial points of view.

In the case of Placentia, there was a considerable migration towards Nova Scotia and the United States at the turn of the century. It appears that, in 1799, three ships left the bay in search of more clement lands.[9] The fact that the right of property had not been recognized for the inhabitants of the island at the time was no doubt one of the main reason for this desertion. Again, in 1790, the governor, Mark Milbanke wrote: "I am also directed not to allow any possession as private property to be taken of or any right of property whatever acknowledge in any hand whatever, which is not actually employed in the fishery."[10] It was even forbidden to build a home with a chimney, to cultivate the land or even to give a grant of land.[11] In the tables showing population and amounts of fishing, we notice that Placentia had lost most of its importance from these two points of view at the end of the century.

In 1805, the governor, Erasmus Gower, described in a letter the relative importance of Placentia at the time.

> My Lord,
>
> Observing the expense of maintaining a garrison at Placentia in Newfoundland under my Government, and the apparent inutility of such an establishment I this season sent Captain Ross, the commanding Royal Engineer, to survey the works and make a report on the defences of that Harbour which being accordingly done I have the honor to transmit the same to your Lordship, and to offer a few observations on the subject in order that HM Government may be informed that the situation of this Harbour requires no such expenses as is at present bestowed on it whether considered as a fishing harbour or a port of rendezvous for a convoy. As a fishing harbour, Placentia though formerly considerable, has greatly declined there being but one mercantile house established in it and not more than 6 or 8 vessels annually loaded there while in Burin, St. Lawrence and other harbours on the Western Shore of Placentia bay a considerable number of merchants and planters are settled, who carry on the principal part of the fishery of that district.

> As a port of rendezvous for a convoy, Placentia cannot be used St. John's being the only port at which it is convenient of usual for the Trade to assemble from the several parts of the Island for that purpose.[12]

In 1807, Colonel Murray called Placentia a "nearly deserted harbour."[13] Following the Napoleonic Wars, the colony finally lost the little importance it still had. In the middle of the XIXth century one writer described Placentia as follows: "Placentia is still the chief place of the area, but now little more than a mere village with the vestiges of its ancient fortifications. It still has a lieutenant governor, who however holds merely a nominal post."[14]

Fishing

The Newfoundland fishery diminished very definitely after 1762.[15] After having recorded catches amounting to as much as 50,000 quintals (1760), England, in the course of the next half-century did not manage to exceed 13,000 quintals, the total of the catches in 1789 (see Tables 1 and 2). As far as the inhabitants' catches are concerned, they seem to have been better. From the 1760s onwards, one could already notice a distinct change in fishing technique, which finally led to stationary fishing at the beginning of the XIXth century. A new fishing procedure had appeared immediately after the American War of Independence: it was mixed fishing, so called because it was a combination of fishing on the move and stationary fishing; it was in fact fishing on the grand banks but drying the fish on land. This fishing procedure contributed towards the increase in the settled population to which England was always opposed. As a counter measure, the authorities passed many laws, some of which obliged ships' captains to take back to Europe with them as many passengers as they had brought to Newfoundland, so as to prevent the passengers from settling permanently in the island.

At that time the population of the island was divided into three well-defined groups: the merchants, the independent fishermen and the hirelings. The merchants were the proprietors of the stores, and the people who furnished the products needed for the inhabitants' existence or fishing. They often had almost complete control over the fishermen, who owed them large sums of money: so they were in a position to impose their will upon the fishermen. It was therefore inevitable that serious disputes arose between these two groups. The independent fishermen were divided into two categories: those who came from England only for the fishing season, and the residents; by the end of the XVIIIth century, the number of the first category had diminished considerably, much to the advantage of the second

group. The resident fishermen were very poor and depended upon the merchants for their fishing tackle. However, they had a stranglehold upon the hirelings. This latter group was the lowest on the social scale and the most mistreated of all; they had no protection against either the inhabitants or the merchants. Their dissolute way of life often enslaved them even more: because they drank a lot, the hirelings had to spend the winter in the colony to work in order to pay off their debts, and quite often they got even deeper into debt. Generally the "maître," who was either a merchant or an independent fisherman (boatkeeper) usually gave the hireling the sum of £5 to £25 per fishing season. During the summer, he did nothing but fishing. Once the season was over, if he had to remain in the colony, he could cut wood, repair tools, or prepare for the next season.

There were two categories of ships: the first were fishing ships, and they came from Bristol, Dartmouth and mostly from Poole; the second category were traders (sack ships) which brought supplies and left with a cargo of fish; they came mainly from the English colonies in America. Their number increased in proportion to the increasingly important part the residents played in the fisheries.

In 1775, Palliser's law was accepted: its purpose was to settle all the fishing problems by simply abolishing colonization. In contrast to the law of 1699, this new law emphasized the judicial means needed to ensure that the law was respected - but it was not respected.

As far as Placentia is concerned, we have very little documentation relating to this period. At the turn of the century, the place was still a fishing post where there was a dominant atmosphere of distrust between the fishermen and the merchants. The fishing seems to have been good in Placentia during the 1790s. Its production, which was exported to Spain, Italy and Portugal,[16] amounted to a third of the total production of Newfoundland. Towards 1812, fishing became exclusively an occupation engaged in by the resident population.

Defence

During the half-century following the Treaty of Paris, the troops in Placentia continued to live under the same miserable conditions they had experienced during the previous years. In 1764, Governor Palliser declared that most of the soldiers had been there for 20 years and that several of them were invalids or unfit for military service; he added:

> When I came to Placentia I found eleven men (a large part of that garrison) had deserted a few days before, with their arms, accountrements & Regimentals, supposed to be gone to St. Pierre, I found one man in irons for treasonable

> expressions & positively refusing to do duty; such Behaviour in old Soldiers, who have served with reputation in War, is very extraordinary....[17]

As a general rule the soldiers received no allowance for clothing, and since 1760 they had received nothing for heating. So they had to buy their own clothing and even be subjected to a deduction from their wages for the purchase of a shallop which they needed to be able to collect wood for their heating.[18] Incidentally, it was in one of these shallops that the deserters made their escape in 1764. However, Palliser seems to have been able to settle some difficulties and the disturbances settled down. In 1764, the garrison included two units: the 45th regiment (replaced the following year by the 59th infantry regiment), with one captain, no lieutenant, one ensign, three sergeants, one drummer, and 44 soldiers, only four of whom were on Castle Hill. The other unit consisted of Captain Dover's company of the 2nd batallion of the Royal Regiment of Artillery; it consisted of one captain, no lieutenant, one sergeant, one corporal, one bombadier, four gunners, 10 artillerymen and one drummer. On Castle Graves, there were one bombadier, one gunner and two artillerymen. In the same year the fort was equipped with 16 18-pound cannons, 4x12, 8x9 and four 4-inch mortars (brass).[19]

As far as the fortifications were concerned, they were going to be completely neglected. Immediately after the war, the engineers and officers who were opposed to the extension or even the maintenance of the Placentia fortifications resumed their opposition. In 1765, the engineer, Debbieg, recommended that Placentia should be abandoned in favour of St. John's. Palliser supported him by declaring that a blockhouse and a few batteries would be sufficient to protect the post.[20] These opinions seem to have been well received by the authorities of the Board of Ordnance, judging by a letter of August 3, 1769.

> Having taken into consideration that part of the Earl of Hillsborough's letter dated the 28th Ult. wherein his Lordship signifies that It having been represented that the Fortress of Placentia is of little or no use, His Majesty is pleased to direct your Lordship to state whether you have any, and if any, what objections to that Fortress being dismantled and the Stores removed to St. John's.
>
> .....
>
> In this situation no particular objection to the dismantling Placentia occured from any consideration within our Department to judge of but having observed the following Paragraph in a Report of Captain Debbieg Engineer on the Subject of Newfoundland in general, tho' he

himself had not visited that Harbour we have transmitted the same for your Lordship's information.[21]

However, three years later, in 1772, the decision to demolish the place does not seem to have been taken. According to a letter from the Board of Ordnance to Hillsborough: "We pray to know from your Lordship, whether any thing is determined upon that subject the place being in a ruinous condition and the expence of the Establishment still continued."[22]

We quote from a report of Governor Shuldham, dating from 1772 to give a description of the state of the fortifications, and use the personal opinion of the governor of Placentia concerning them.[23] Fort Frederick, situated on the southern point commands the entrance to the port. To the west of this defence work there were mounted three batteries of 16 x 18: eight on the half-moon or large battery, six on the left battery and two on another battery. Part of the large battery had been made bomb-proof. The casemates on the inside could accommodate 50 soldiers, and were equipped with a magazine and a cistern. This section of the fort was in quite good condition in spite of a few repairs that were needed. The same thing was true of the wooden barracks inside the fort, which could accommodate as many as 200 men. As far as the rest of the fort is concerned, it was in an advanced stage of dilapidation. The New Fort did not seem to play any part in the life of the place and was in very poor condition. The governor described Castle Graves, on the hill, in the following terms (Fig. 13):

a small work consisting of four Demy Bastions, on which are mounted 12 guns (4x12, 4x9, 4x6) The Remparts of this Castle are faced round with a stone wall, on which there is placed an Earthen Parapet and a row of Palisades the whole is surrounded with a narrow dry Ditch Bordered with Pickets.... The outer wall of the rempart has been badly built from the beginning, is now Bulged out in many places, and from its Elevation being greatly exposed to the severity of the Climate, must soon Tumble down. The Parapet is in a worse condition by being still more Elevated.
The Platforms of the Batteries are in several places decayed as are also some of the Gun carriages.
The Blockhouse the Guard Room and Magazines within this Fort are in good order and may be serveceable for many years.[24]

So, according to Shuldham, the fortifications of Placentia were in no fit state to offer the slightest resistance if an enemy should appear before the post.

The governor then gave his opinion on the necessity of preserving Placentia as a fortified post. He recognized the fact that establishments on the coast were necessary to provide the fishermen with materials. He also recognized that in this respect Placentia had always played the role of capital of the south coast, and that it would have been a shame to discourage the "Adventurers" from making use of the place by refusing to ensure their protection. On the other hand, he considered it pointless to spend too much money on a system of fortifications which was very often useless, since England had control of the seas. He suggested that it would be preferable to set up batteries which, in collaboration with the warships, would have been able to provide Placentia with adequate protection: "it appears to me that such Batteries would be at an easy expence effectually defend the Road and protect the Town from an insult...."[25]

In the same year (1772) the Government seems to have given consideration to these remarks, since it ordered a partial withdrawal of the troops.

> ....but it does not appear that the continuance at Placentia of so large a Detachment of the King's troops as a company and half will, in the present state of the fortifications, be necessary, I have received His Majesty's commands to give orders to the governor to cause such a number of those troops to be removed to St. John's.[26]

Thus it was that a company of the 59th regiment which had been at Placentia since 1765 under the command of Lieutenant George Herbert was transferred to St. John's. The garrison was then reduced to 16 men of the Royal Regiment of Artillery and to 23 men of the 59th, i.e., to 39 men, including officers, under the command of the commandant, Phillip Martin.

The reduction in armed strength would perhaps have been even more drastic, had it not been for the War of American Independence, in 1775. The engineer, Pringle, then submitted a detailed report on the defence of the town to the Board of Ordnance.[27] The repairs proposed by Pringle were probably never carried out, since in the following year an account of the situation of Fort Frederick and Castle Graves not only makes no mention of any works, but rather described the deplorable state of the fortifications:

> The whole of the stockades round the fort and Castle so rotten that they are continually falling down, the Guns carriages, except three quite unserviceable, the platforms and sleepers so decayed that the guns drop through them, the merlons all broken down, the masonry of the fort giving way from the foundation, the

> magazine so open as to let in the water, in short the whole is in a very ruinous state and unfit for defence.[28]

In 1777, the military force of Newfoundland consisted of nine warships, from 300 to 400 volunteers and 450 regular servicemen.[29] Of all this military strength there was nothing but a few soldiers at Placentia. In 1778, a detachment of the Royal Highland Emigrants arrived in Placentia to reinforce the garrison. In 1780, there were 11 men from the Royal Regiment of Artillery, and 33 from the 84th regiment. In 1781, the Placentia merchants asked the Government to repair the fortifications of Castle Graves to protect the trade, but nothing was done about it. In the following year, it was reported that the cannons were in bad condition. The 1784 report on the fortifications revealed that at Castle Graves there were two 9-pound cannons out of service. As for the fort itself, it was "in a most ruinous state having been abandonned & in a great measure dismantled, the stone facing at it has fallen in a great many places."[30] Fort Frederick was in just as bad a state, and the New Fort is not even mentioned. In 1785, Placentia had altogether 16 18-pound cannons, 1x12, 3x9 and 2x6; in addition, there were nine 4-inch French mortars (brass) which were unserviceable.[31] That year's report on the fortifications gave the condition of the forts in three lines: in ruins, not having had any maintenance since the Seven Years War; there was no engineer. At the time of the French Revolution, war broke out in 1793 and Governor Wallace tried to reinforce the defence of Newfoundland by improving the fortifications and increasing the number of troops. He even ordered all members of the population capable of carrying arms to be ready to do so. However, it seems that nothing was done for Placentia, at least, as far as the fortifications were concerned. The report of the Royal Engineer, in 1795, mentioned: "on the top of Castle Hill, there remains a square stone building originally of some strenth, but at present is so much in ruins that the firing of its two guns a few times would shake it entirely down."[32]

At the end of the XVIIIth century, Placentia was under the control of the Royal Nova Scotia Fencibles of Infantry. In 1796, when the French were attacking certain posts on the coast (Bay Bull), the garrison consisted of 40 men of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment. The garrison then made life hard for the inhabitants. The social situation in the island was difficult, and it appears that the soldiers were not always very well behaved...Newfoundland was just a fishing post. Governor Gower was one of the last to speak about the fortifications of Placentia, and this was in 1805:

> ...the present post is altogether inadequate thereto the Battery being without a parapet

> and so low as to be exposed to the cleared by one round of Grape shot from the sea and commanded several heigts on shore. I am clearly of opinion that a fortification so ineffective _____ be attended with no advantage whatsoever.[33]

In 1807, the colony, that for a long time was due to be disarmed, received some new cannon carriages, and the garrison, which at that time consisted of one sergeant and five soldiers from the Royal Regiment of Artillery, was increased by one subaltern, 20 men from the Nova Scotia Regiment, and five artillerymen.[34] In the following year, Governor Holloway went back on the decision to disarm Placentia. The Board of Ordnance offered no objection, but the official decision was never made. In 1810, Governor J.T. Duckworth declared: "The ruinous Fort at Placentia indeed has not yet been dismantled, but it is not in any degree fit for Service, and ought certainly to be abandoned, for it might at any time be plundered by a Privateer, and the Stores taken away."[35] Finally, on April 8, 1811, the order was given to disarm Placentia. "In conformity to....orders of the 8th of April last, the Garrison of Placentia has been dismantled and the whole of the serviceable ordnance ammunition and stores brought to St. John's."[36]

On May 25, 1812, the Board of Ordnance wrote to the governor that he was to sell the buildings and rent the land. In the case of the land, it was understood that the state reserved the right to use portions of the land for the public service if the need should arise. Governor Duckworth pointed out, however, the problem involved in the renting of sites, in that nobody in Newfoundland had definitive rights over the land reserved for the fishermen; so anyone renting a site ran the risk of seeing it taken away from him the next year by the first fisherman to come along. Ten years later, a report on Castle Graves stated: "On the Castle Hill there are the ruins of a large work. The guns were many years since spiked and thrown over the cliff, the site is considered, I understand, the property of the public & should be so reserved."[37]

Once stripped of its military role, Placentia was no longer to play a significant role in the history of Newfoundland.

Conclusion

Under the English occupation, Placentia replaced St. John's as England's pied-à-terre in Newfoundland until 1762. In the domain of fishing, it was in Placentia that the tendency for the inhabitants to intrude upon the exploitation of fishing first began. This new trend became more and more accentuated until the end of the XVIIIth century, thus making Placentia become more and more a colony of Newfoundland rather than an extension of the West Country.

In the military field, the first half of the XVIIIth century was marked by the construction of two forts (Frederick and New Fort) and some defence works at the Castle. However, the Treaty of Paris had the effect of establishing a lasting peace in Europe. The colony of Placentia, whose importance had always depended upon various armed conflicts, felt the repercussions of peace. After 1763, fewer and fewer references are made to Placentia in documents, leading one to suppose that there was a loss of prestige, which, indeed, became more and more accentuated until the disarmament of 1811.

Unlike Canada, the possession of Newfoundland was never sought on account of the value of its territory: the objective of any struggles over the island was to gain control of the fisheries and not of the land. To gain this control, England relied upon its maritime fleet in contrast to France, which depended upon its fortifications. England's approach to the question was much more realistic, since the existence of a base in Newfoundland to control the fisheries was dependent upon a naval force, as the island could not itself provide its own means of survival or its defence. Once the control of the seas was established, the fortifications could in no way have any influence upon the activities in the gulf: on the contrary, they were rather a burden upon the mother country on account of the maintenance of the defence works and the troops it had to provide. Hence, England's policy of disarming Placentia at the beginning of the XIXth century was most logical. On account of its sea power, England no longer needed the forts of Placentia. Now, once Placentia was disarmed, it became just a simple fishing port like so many others, and the history of the place during the XIXth century was incidental and without great importance.

Notes

Introduction

1 Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), MG1, $C^{11}B$, Vol. 1, fol. 108.
2 PAC, MG5, A1, Vol. 284, fol. 234.
3 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 5, p. 202.

1713-1742

1 This law (10 and 11 William III, c. 25) was intended to encourage trade in Newfoundland: "No alien or Stranger whatsoever (not residing within the Kingdom of England, the Dominion of Wales, or Town of Berwick-Upon-Tweed) should at any Time hereafter take any Bait or use any Sort of Trade or Fishing whatsoever in Newfoundland, or in any of the Islands or Places above-mentioned" (F.F. Thompson, The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 7). This law put the destiny of Newfoundland in the hands of the "Fishery Admiral" or commodore, i.e. the master of the first fishing ship to arrive in one of the island's ports at the beginning of the fishing season. In this way, this law greatly retarded the colonization of Newfoundland.
2 PAC, MG11, CO195, Vol. 6, p. 292.
3 R.G. Lounsbury, The British Fishery at Newfoundland, 1634-1763 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 255.
4 PAC, MG11, CO196, Vol. 6, p. 178.
5 R.G. Lounsbury, op. cit., p. 254.
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8 H.W. Le Messurier, A Lecture on Placentia, Delivered in the T.A. Hall (n.p., n.p., 1910), p. 25.
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11 H.A. Innis, The Cod Fisheries: the History of an International Economy (hereafter cited as: The Cod

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12 R.G. Lounsbury, op. cit., p. 249.
13 PAC, MG11, CO195, Vol. 6, p. 200.
14 G. Graham, "Britain's Defence of Newfoundland," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 23, No. 3 (1942), p. 267.
15 Ibid., p. 273.
16 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 5, p. 205.
17 Ibid., Vol. 17, p. 87.
18 Loc. cit.
19 Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 64.
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21 PAC, MG11, CO218, Vol. 1, p. 468.
22 MG11, CO194, Vol. 7, p. 71.
23 A.J.H. Richardson, "Placentia, Newfoundland," manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1962, p. 6.
24 MG21, Stowe Mss. 482, fol. 150.
25 A.J.H. Richardson, op. cit., p. 6.
26 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 5, p. 236. The number of soldiers in Placentia in 1714 presents a problem. Most of the documents mention the number 173, whilst the following year it is a question of 364. Now, it does not seem that any troops have arrived in the meantime. It is our opinion that the difference comes from the fact that the St. John's garrison must have moved to Placentia. In 1714, there would then have been two groups of soldiers: those recruited in Ireland and those who came from St. John's.
27 Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 176.
28 Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 237.
29 Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 264.
30 Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 181.
31 Ibid., Vol. 11, p. 140.

1742-1755

1 R.G. Lounsbury, op. cit., p. 336.
2 Loc. cit.
3 H.A. Innis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 145.
4 R.G. Lounsbury, op. cit., p. 313.
5 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 24, p. 294.
6 M. Lewis, "Papers Relating to the Westminster Fish Market, 1750 - 1751," The Mariner's Mirror, Vol. 2 (1815), p. 32.
7 See Tables 1 and 2. It is difficult to find a complete explanation for such progress. It is certain that the production of the fisheries had a great influence upon this increase in population. Furthermore, the return to a peaceful situation in 1748 certainly brought back several fishermen from England, who may subsequently have settled permanently in the colony. The fact that

the population of St. John's dropped in the same period seems to support this thesis. Smuggling and massive immigration, which always seem to be prevalent in time of war, may also have contributed towards this increase. It is also possible that the record was falsified by new data which are not referred to in the document, for example, a larger territory. However, this last possibility is not very probable.

8 H.A. Innis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 152.
9 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 17, p. 22.
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11 [Newfoundland. Provincial Archives], Reproduction of official documents relating to Newfoundland, kept in the Research Division, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa, fol. 9, p. 6.
12 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 24, p. 195.
13 G.W.L. Nicholson, The Fighting Newfoundlander, a History of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment (London: printed by Thomas Nelson, 1964), p. 5.
14 [Newfoundland. Provincial Archives], op. cit., p. 5.
15 A.J.H. Richardson, op. cit., p. 7.
16 [Newfoundland. Provincial Archives], op. cit., p. 9.
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18 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 12, p. 39.
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1756 - 1763

1 H.A. Innis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 148.
2 Great Britian. Privy Council, Boundary Between the Dominion of Canada and the Colony of Newfoundland in the Labrador Peninsula (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1927), p. 1690.
3 D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland from the English Colonial and Foreign Records, 2nd ed. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896), p. 213.
4 O.T. Murphy, "The Comte de Vergennes, the Newfoundland Fisheries and the Peace Negotiations of 1783: a reconsideration," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 46, No. 1 (March 1965), p. 32.
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8 PAC, MG12, WO55, Vol. 1557, Sect. 2.
9 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 13, p. 223.
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12 H.A. Innis, Select Documents in Canadian Economic History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1929), p. 147.
13 A.J.H. Richardson, op. cit., p. 8.
14 M.J. McCarthy, "A History of Placentia," Reproduction of an unpublished text, Ministry of Education, Newfoundland, n.d., p. 83.

1763-1812

1 Great Britain. Privy Council, op. cit., p. 1859.
2 Ibid., p. 1860.
3 Ibid., p. 1916.
4 J.M. Murray, The Newfoundland Journal of Aaron Thomas, 1794-1795 (Don Mills: Longmans Canada, 1968), p. 98.
5 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 21, p. 428.
6 Ibid., Vol. 38, p. 300.
7 G.W.L. Nicholson, op. cit., p. 42.
8 Great Britain. Privy Council, op. cit., p. 1690.
9 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 23, p. 474.
10 A.P. Newton, éd., The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832 (London: Longman, 1941), p. 204.
11 According to the Duckworth proclamation of August 9, 1810.
12 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 44, pp. 213-14.
13 Ibid., Vol. 47, p. 109.
14 J.M. McCarthy, op. cit., p. 107.
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19 [Newfoundland. Provincial Archives], op. cit., fasc. 8, p. 16.
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21 PAC, MG11, CO5, Vol. 161, p. 43.
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23 PAC, MG11, CO194, Vol. 30, pp. 115-26.
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26 PAC, MG11, CO218, Vol. 161, p. 53.
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TABLES

Table 1. Fisheries*

	FISHING SHIPS						NUMBER OF MEN BELONGING TO						NUMBER OF BOATS KEPT BY						QUINTALS OF FISH MADE BY															
	Fishing ships		Sack ships		American		Fishing ships		Sack ships		American		Passengers		Fishing ships		American		Independent fishermen		Inhabitants		Independent fishermen		Fishing ships		American		Independent fishermen		Inhabitants		Exportations		Price per quintal		Stages		Train-vats	
	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J
1720	2	14	3	13	4	15	30	228	24	182	20	75	11	?	5	6	-	46	1	46	25	9	6	316	510	5800	-	-	120	9220	2250	1290	2800	-	28	28	12		4	-
1722	1	-	1	-	0	-	50	-	10	-	-	-	34	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	1400	-	-	-	-	-	2950	-	4300	-	28	-	6		12	-
1723	12	30	1	25	3	10	273	450	7	200	16	150	44	275	47	81	-	-	2	55	31	22	10	270	9110	1700	-	-	350	880	6150	330	-	43500	11	13	22	55	10	0
1727	25	18	2	14	0	9	704	324	15	176	-	63	123	450	120	3	-	-	-	110	4	12	-	450	26870	9600	-	-	-	22000	600	1600	26870	33200	28	30	26	50	26	-
1731	22	20	4	24	14	10	1500	397		264	120	6	243	740	180	53	0	-	0	148	21	20	0	808		15400	-	-	-	32100		3150		41990	25	13	26	68	26	-
1732	24	26	5	35	7	12	497	445	48	420	41	72	228	900	130	25	3	-	4	156	32	33	28	1057	-	17200	-	-	-	39775	-	8300	-	66350	-	126	38	65	38	58
1733	18	22	1	18	2	27	632	300	10	144	-	135	20	592	119	116	7	-	0	123	10	22	-	757	31700	18600	1500	-	-	26100	2500	3900	35700	38100	-	12	30	96	30	-
1734	20	22	3	14	7	16	602	396	33	160	65	96	47	796	98	16	-	-	8	146	37	16	47	875	31100	18500	-	-	1585	37500	8360	4200	41000	57900	11.6	11	27	86	27	6
1735	17	13	7	48	6	17	595	195	184	480	40	102	50	150	106	27	0	-	7	100	48	13	143	536	32000	8300	-	-	1500	35000	10900	3500	44000	74500	20	20	20	46	20	0
1736	12	15	4	40	4	22	412	270	39	360	31	110	63	910	61	30	-	-	-	151	28	9	-	1010	27900	6400	-	-	-	45300	6540	1000	34440	90000	21	10.6	9	80	9	0
1738	12	10	10	32	7	15	400	140	112	288	56	75	50	557	70	13	0	2	6	122	58	31	33	894	29600	3420	-	650	1800	42700	14400	9150	41400	55500	20	19	30	92	9	0
1739	13	10	3	32	3	33	292	101	23	340	27	270	64	763	52	13	-	-	4	125	40	16	0	828	17540	6920	-	-	2000	49750	13700	4900	28800	50000	0.1	0.1	28	61	30	0
1740	6	9	1	12	5	10	120	80	10	110	26	60	7	540	21	18	-	-		76	26	20	0	609	11000	4560	-	-	1000	22500	10200	6000	18000	30000	0.1	0.1	18	55	28	0
1741	14	7	3	32	4	16	320	70	30	420	25	132	10	749	50	12	-	-	0	91	17	19	-	661	20000	4000	150	-	-	45300	7000	8600	26000	57000	10	10.6	20	63	18	0
1742	12	11	1	53	3	21	245	163	7	580	26	180	241	180	44	18	-	-	32	143	16	10	254	1000	18400	5100	-	-	8400	45800	4800	3000	31600	53900	10.6	10.6	21	80	20	0
1748	4	7	4	40	10	24	120	96	50	472	150	214	100	1233	15	12	-	-	150	142	70	35	570	1301	6000	4440	-	-	40000	52200	21000	13700	60000	54000	13	12.6	74	70	21	0
1749	20	9	15	38	18	25	245	130	370	430	332	197	900	1223	46	15	-	-	-	135	172	26	-	1020	26000	3750	-	-	-	40200	100400	7800	100000	67570	12	13	200	80	74	0
1750	18	13	14	36	17	20	215	158	350	400	366	180	850	1380	46	41	-	-	-	199	172	21	-	1269	1800	5800	-	-	-	64000	66900	7800	84900	77200	12	12	200	99	200	0
1751	31	11	5	30	10	40	950	200	60	294	96	320	700	1400	110	33	-	-	-	132	95	36	-	1403	40000	5500	-	-	-	40900	2900	13600	42900	60000	13	13.6	200	75	200	0
1752	38	27	4	27	17	32	1160	363	100	277	236	212	580	1601	164	16	21	-	6	192	171	39	-	1601	42400	10000	5600	-	4600	58600	36210	8800	79800	82300	13	13	77	128	200	0
1753	14	29	6	21	12	32	1000	400	100	214	126	216	250	1310	45	20	-	-	10	107	60	34	86	741	15000	29170	-	-	2000	22470	12000	6800	29000	58440	13	13	30	157	76	0
1754	9	58	3	24	6	32	360	696	40	152	48	324	110	1198	56	40	-	-	-	175	101	50	-	1191	12300	52200	-	1000	-	26250	20200	8000	32500	87450	13	14	50	157	30	0
1755		58		10		28		734		150		160		1500		10	-	-		96		40		1022		58000		-		5500		1660		62500		14		120		5
1757	2	16	12	5	5	16	35	190	150	149	28	124	67	572	5	24	-	-	10	68	184	28	50	585	1500	19000	-	-	3000	15950	55200	5700	58900	32500	13	14	109	61	109	1
1758	4	20	15	18	10	28	120	204	250	532	60	203	100	196	20	17	-	-	-	61	190	33	-	586	4500	11000	-	-	-	17100	57000	7600	57000	35100	14.6	14.6	110	118	110	6
1759	7	20	16	31	5	16	240	216	160	458	50	225	300	590	30	20	-	-	10	78	200	46	75	807	9000	19450	-	-	4000	16100	60000	9700	73000	45250	13	16.9	130	60	130	10
1760	30	33	15	26	20	29	850	250	150	354	150	194	500	509	150	8	-	-	80	82	50	30	586	536	50000	23850	-	-	15000	22060	12000	3960	60000	69256	16	19	350	100	350	2
1762	4	-	3	-	10	-	40	-	30	-	80	-	100	-	-	-	-	-																						
1763	5	19	5	57	30	54	150	241	60	561	160	340	100	1088	11	14	-	-	110	-	1000	-	730	-	-	-	-	-	-	30000	-	-	-	30000	-	13	-	50	-	70	-
1764	4	33	7	26	5	51	40	291	68	290	30	311	163	1281	6	20	-	-	-	46	35	10	-	250	4000	19600	-	-	-	16650	14000	3100	18000	62985	13	16.9	10	51	10	2
1765	5	36	5	40	13	36	72	314	45	413	91	203	160	1660	10	25	-	-	-	100	70	42	-	856	2150	29600	-	-	-	29300	24500	10150	20141	65550	16.9	16.9	30	83	30	2
1766	3	40	4	32	6	42	64	490	56	319	36	265	120	1389	9	36	-	-	8	100	63	36	40	1120	1690	28500	-	-	1280	26700	11680	11300	14650	65000	13.1	17.1	37	128	37	2
1767	5	60	4	27	3	65	59	700	42	273	18	379	110	1902	16	36	-	-	-	130	43	51	-	990	3500	41500	-	-	-	38000	14800	14000	17000	84000	12	13	18	107	18	2
1768	5	101	5	33	5	58	48	869	54	327	40	342	140	1859	15	38	-	-	-	143	68	60	-	550	3400	49500	-	-	-	35200	14500	15500	17900	94200	13	12	31	108	31	4
1789	14	6	-	110	-	68	108	72	-	973	-	496	294	1542	31	6	-	-	-	154	96	66	-	1278	4200	60525	-	-	-	40000	27200	16500	31400	110000	13	11.5	33	158	-	-
1790	11	4	-	82	-	60	58	37	-	699	-	709	181	584	16	4	-	-	31	227	68	216	-	-	13100	6320	-	-	-	43100	31200	56500	44300	321678	11	10.6	40	480	28	3
1791	12	83	4	69	1	56	104	-	36	755	6	516	400	609	24	-	-	-	20	172	118	162	-	-	7150	870	-	-	11300	31120	37000	26154	55000	251490	11.5	10.5	45	420	45	3
1793	11	5	-	56	2	65	-	-	-	-	-	-	303	441	11	5	-	-	50	168	97	144	-	-	7200	-	-	-	13500	21390	26250	19170	16650	244514	13	21	46	420	46	3
1794	11	4	1	49	-	77	90	33	-	121	-	478	215	331	20	4	-	-	-	170	140	131	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40500	28000	30100	-	-	14	12.6	44	410	80	2
1797	5	-	-	52	-	64	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	155	130	116	-	-	3500	1200	-	-	-	40000	25000	30000	30000	400000	14	11.5	35	400	60	2
1801	3	4	9	137	-	191	73	39	83	906	-	1621	37	139	26	4	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12700	-	10300	-	13.6	-	16	-	16	-
1804	-	69	6	126	-	-	-	-	47	1299	-	-	7	405	-	-	-	-	-	28	82	108	-	-	12000	1200	-	-	-	9800	24000	33620	-	225000	15	19.5	68	290	68	-
																			-	-	65	108	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	58	27	58

* P = Placentia
J = St. John's
Fishing ships: ships equipped for fishing by the West Country merchants.
Sack ships: ships which came from Europe or America to transport the fish to the markets. These ships were not used for fishing.
Ships from America: "America" in this sense means the continent (the U.S. and Canada), and not the United States of to-day.
Passengers: the meaning of this term is not too clear; it may refer to persons coming to settle in Newfoundland.

Independent fishermen (By boats men): fishermen who were financed by merchants who were not part of the West Country monopoly. These fishermen lived in England or in Newfoundland. They were paid wages and and not a share of the profits.
Inhabitants: fishermen who lived in Newfoundland all the year round.
Exportations: Quintals of fish carried to foreign markets.
Price per quintal: price of fish.
Stages (échafauds)
Train-vats (cuves pour l'huile)

Table 2. Population*

	HOUSES						SUMMER POPULATION												WINTER POPULATION													
	Private		Public houses		Acres cultivated		Masters		Men servants		Masters' wives		Men servants' wives		Children		Total		Masters		Men servants		Masters' wives		Men servants' wives		Children		Total		Births		Deaths	
	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J	P	J
1720	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	125	-	12	-	6	-	12	161	167	389	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	156	-	-	-	-	-
1722	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	-	78	-	13	-	8	-	50	-	165	-	14	-	60	-	13	-	8	-	50	-	145	-	-	-	-	-
1723	-	-	-	-			10	93	161	117	4	73	5	5	38	156	218	444	10	93	30	117	4	73	5	50	30	156	79	444	-	-	-	-
1727		66		6		-	4	72	14	180	4	62	1	20	5	100	28	434	4	68	13	140	4	62	1	20	5	100	27	390		10		4
1731	24	17	6	31		-	30	53	100	330	11	45	0	23	38	106	179	577	30	53	190	320	11	45	0	23	38	106	269	557	4	12	2	9
1732	16	43	11	10	3	100	19	53	106	346	23	7	2	33	50	119	200	558	17	53	86	346	23	7	2	33	49	118	177	557	2	12	2	40
1733	13	38	10	14	0	-	23	45	40	190	23	47	4	12	21	133	111	427	23	45	40	130	23	47	4	12	21	133	111	367	0	11	7	33
1734	19	41	11	14	-	129	30	44	196	277	25	50	6	20	47	153	304	544	30	43	196	308	25	50	6	20	40	141	297	562	11	14	4	4
1735	18	42	15	16	4	60	21	17	180	19	20	5	16	12	55	66	292	119	21	17	100	17	18	5	15	12	55	57	209	108	5	9	8	17
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1738	23	82	10	12	-	100	32	91	404	122	8	79	14	28	55	105	513	425	32	88	404	119	8	38	14	25	55	96	513	366	6	11	4	9
1739	44	55	5	12	5	200	24	56	276	117	31	54	15	29	46	99	392	355	24	55	276	103	31	53	15	25	46	91	392	327	10	8	6	7
1740	41	53	8	14	8	100	24	54	180	115	31	54	15	28	52	98	302	349	24	53	150	100	31	50	15	23	52	90	272	316	4	7	4	3
1741	18	56	5	12	30	200	30	57	200	130	40	54	10	42	50	96	330	379	30	20	200	150	40	20	10	12	50	150	330	352	10	15	6	10
1742	43	75	10	12	2	200	21	76	179	370	20	64	7	32	66	108	293	650	19	76	90	370	16	64	3	32	56	108	184	650	14	12	35	17
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1791	55	600	4	12	50	1660	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53	503	301	1820	28	310	21	208	96	290	497	3133	24	76	8	69
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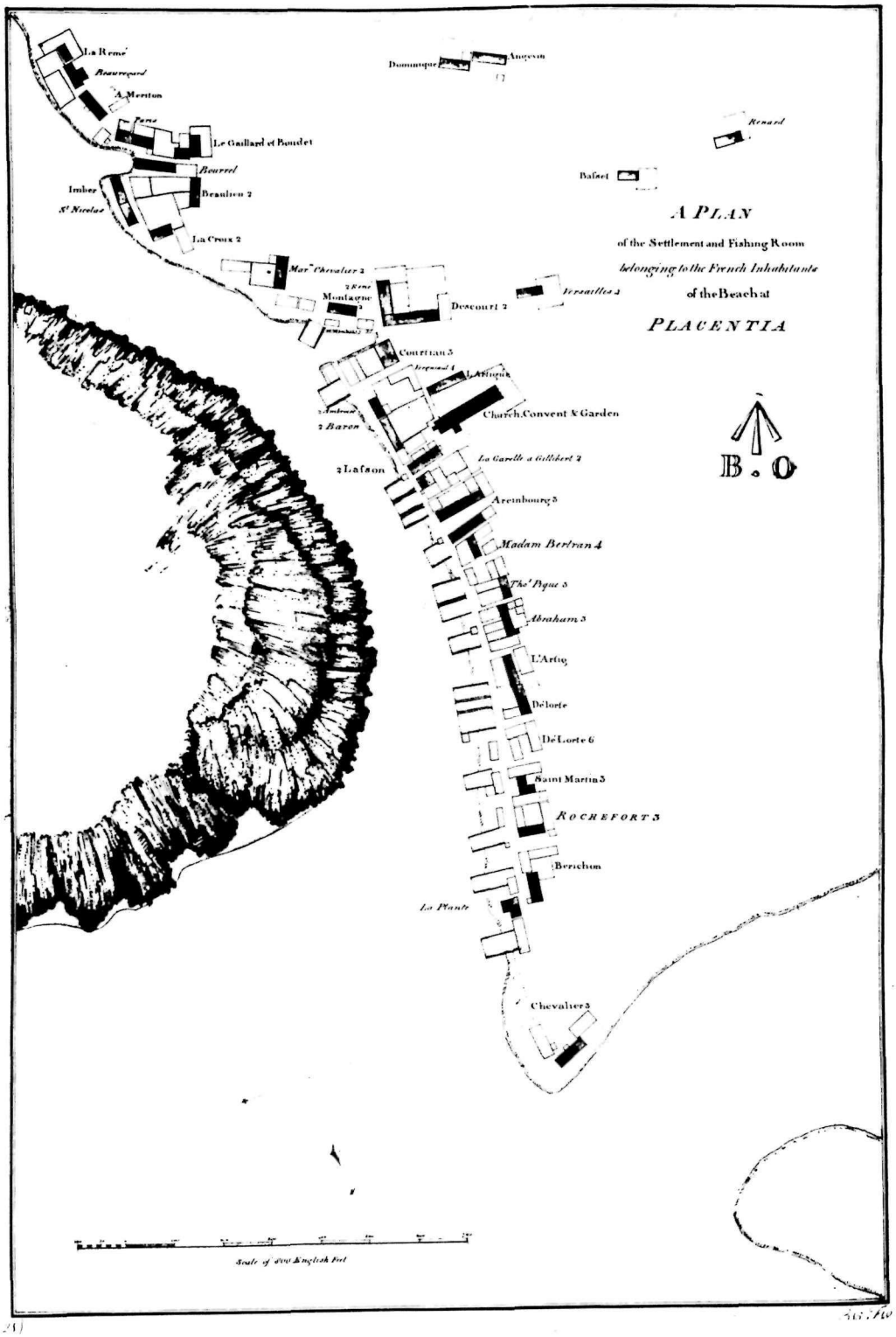
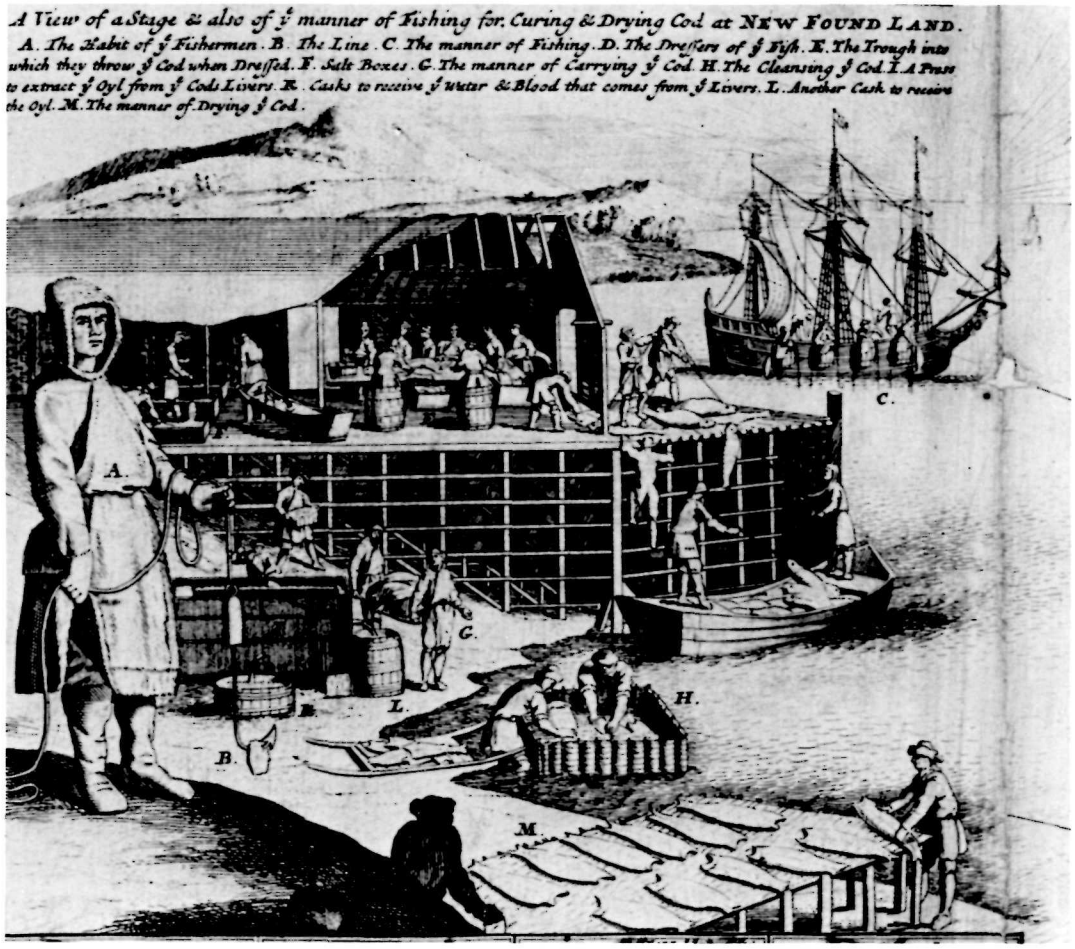
1811	44		4		147	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40		50		28		6		60		184		7		3	

* P = Placentia
J = St. John's
Houses - (Private)
- Public houses
Population - Masters (Heads of crews)
- Men servants: simple fishermen
- Masters' wives (Mistresses)
- Men servants' wives (Women servants)
- Children

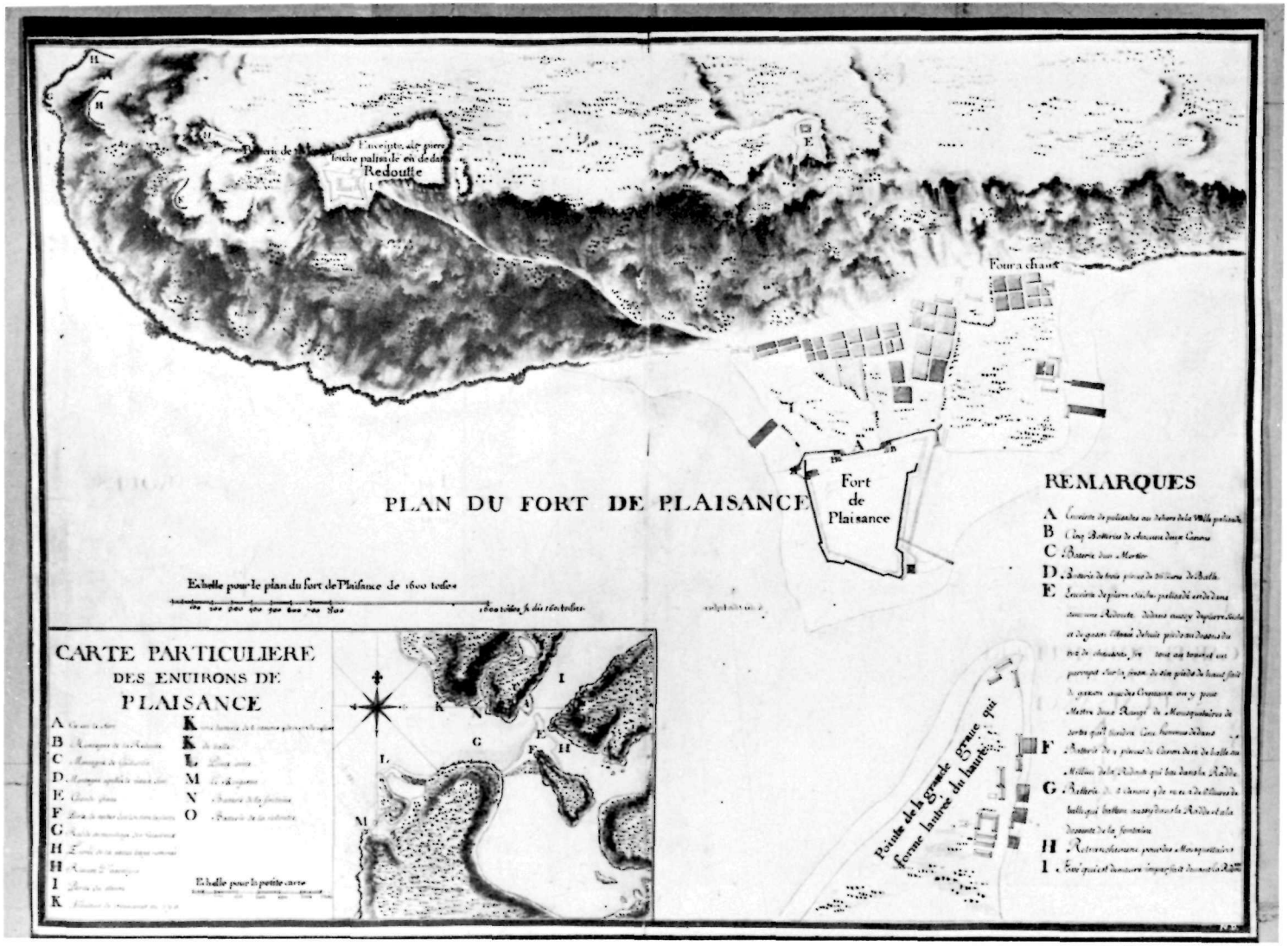
ILLUSTRATIONS



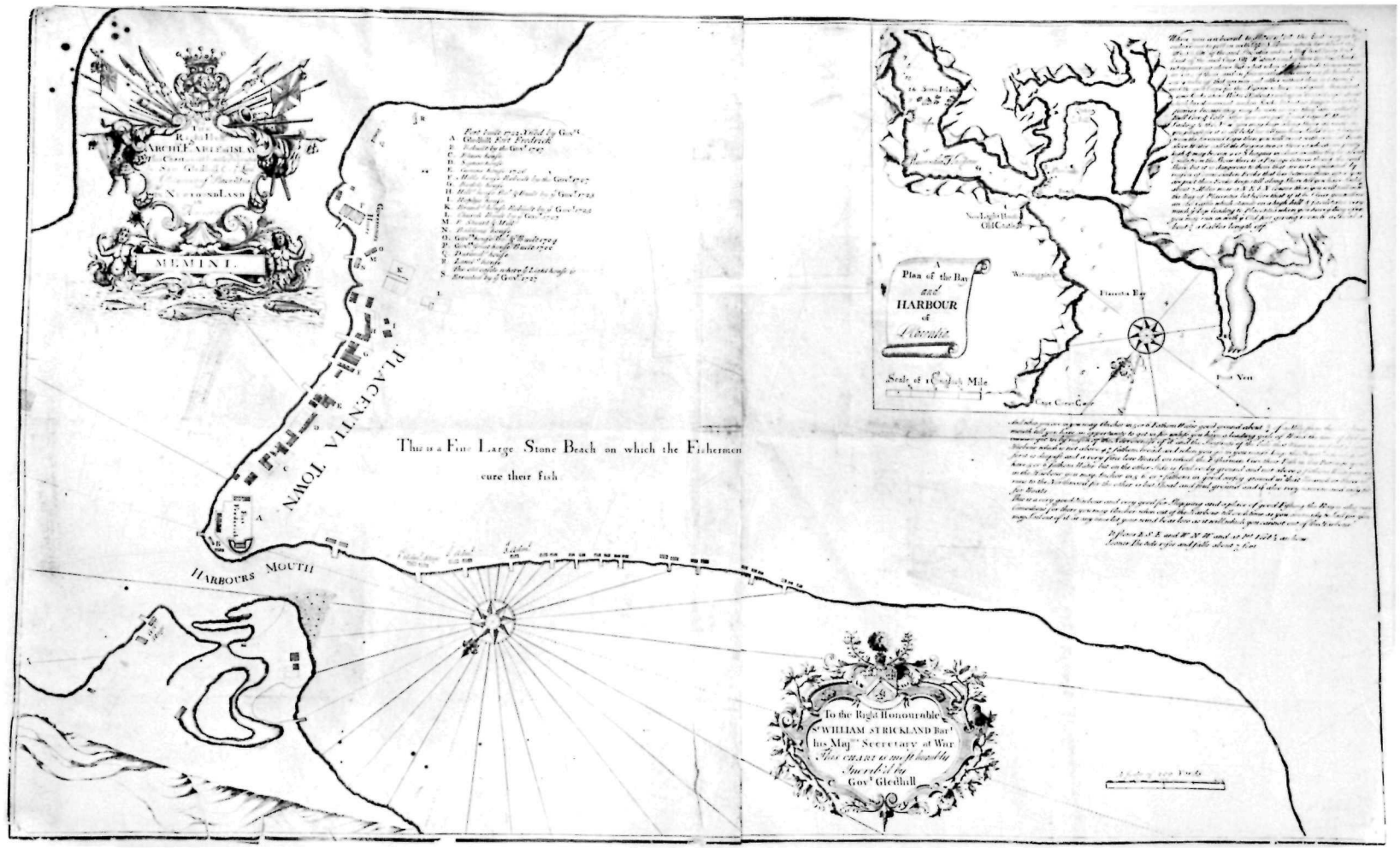
1 Plan showing French properties in Placentia at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). (Public Archives Canada.)



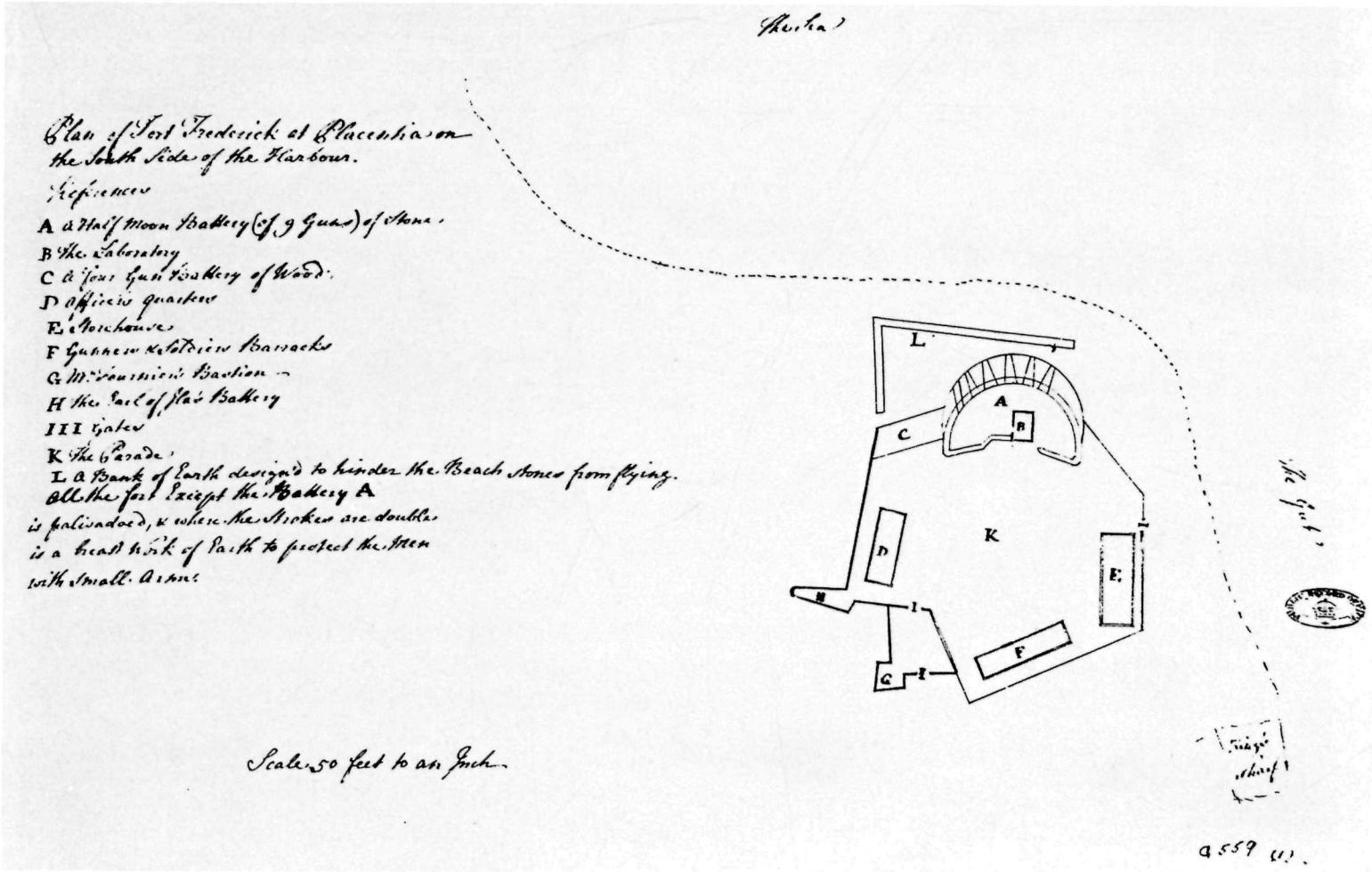
2 The different operations involved in the exploitation of fishing. (Public Archives Canada.)



3 The fortifications at Placentia when the English arrivedin 1713. (Public Archives Canada.)

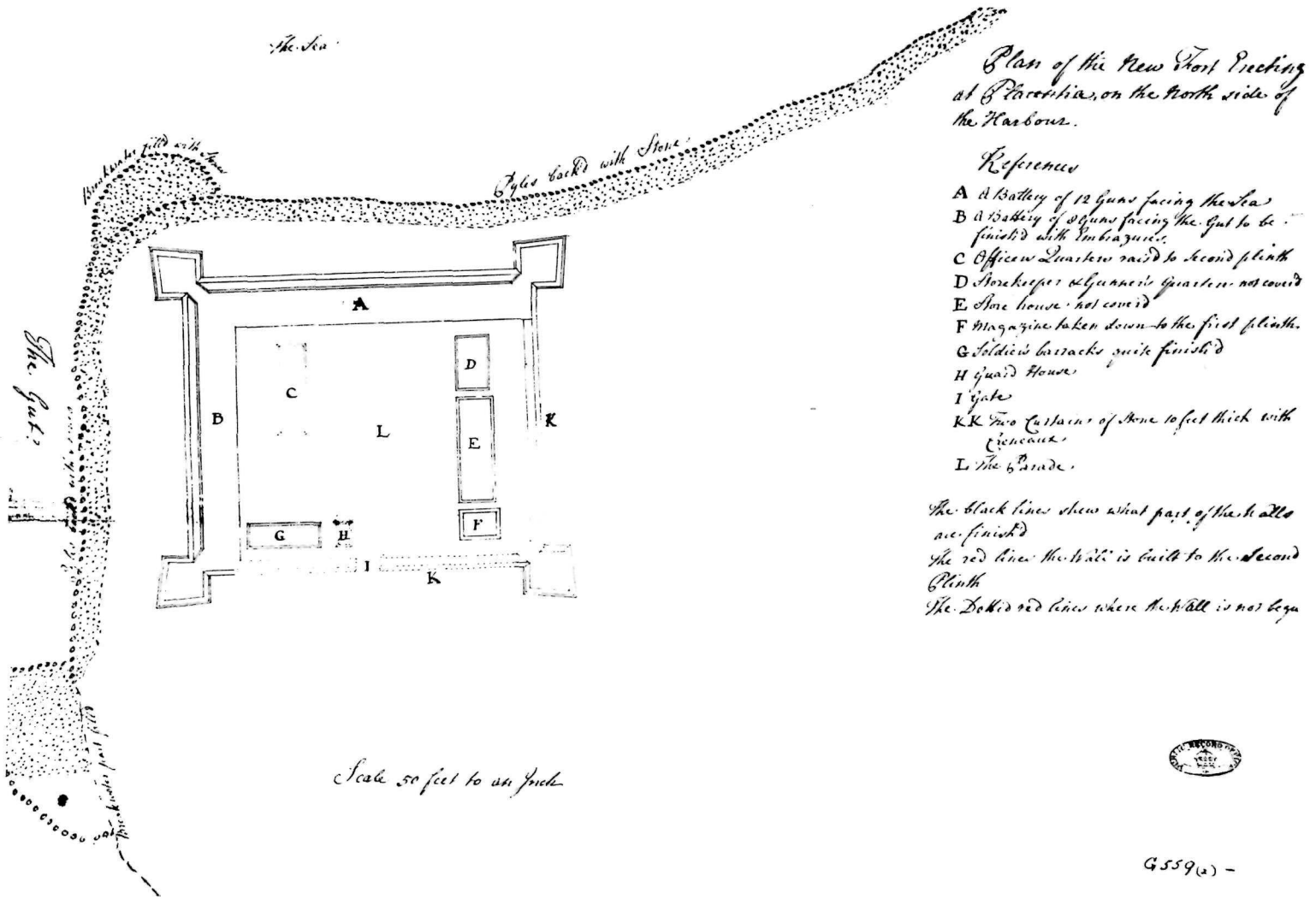


4 This map shows the exact location of Fort Frederick. It was the first defence work built on the town side, i.e. on the "grande grave." (Public Archives Canada.)



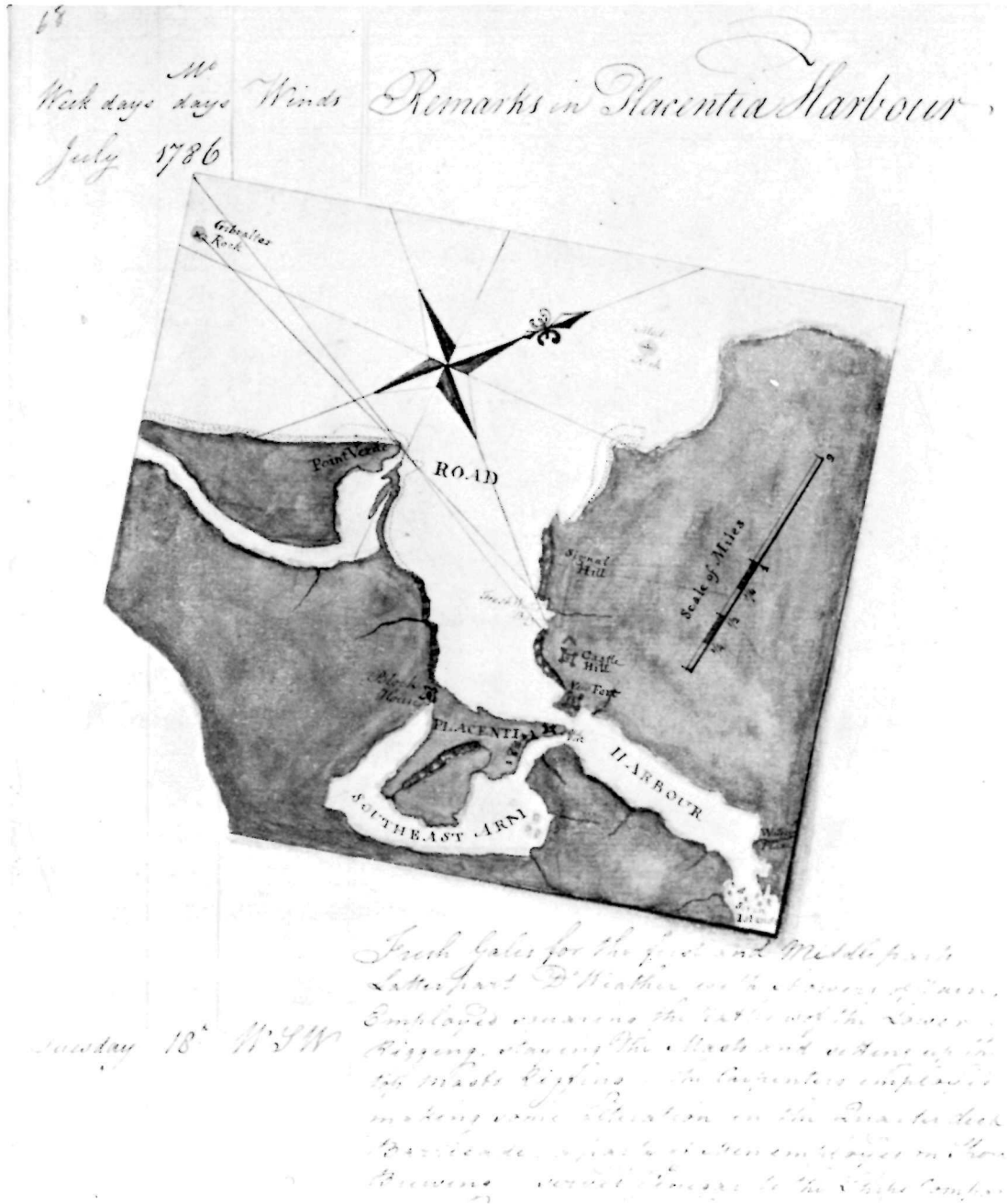
5 This diagram shows Fort Frederick in the 1720s. (Public Archives Canada.)

6 Overall view of Placentia and its surroundings in 1725. The plan might be misleading on account of the use made of the terms "New Fort" and "Old Fort." The "New Fort" on the plan is in fact Fort Frederick, and the "Old Fort" is the remains of the French fort built towards the end of the XVIIth century: Fort Louis. It was not until the 1740s that the actual "New Fort" was built by the English on the site of the ruins of Fort Louis. (Public Archives Canada.)



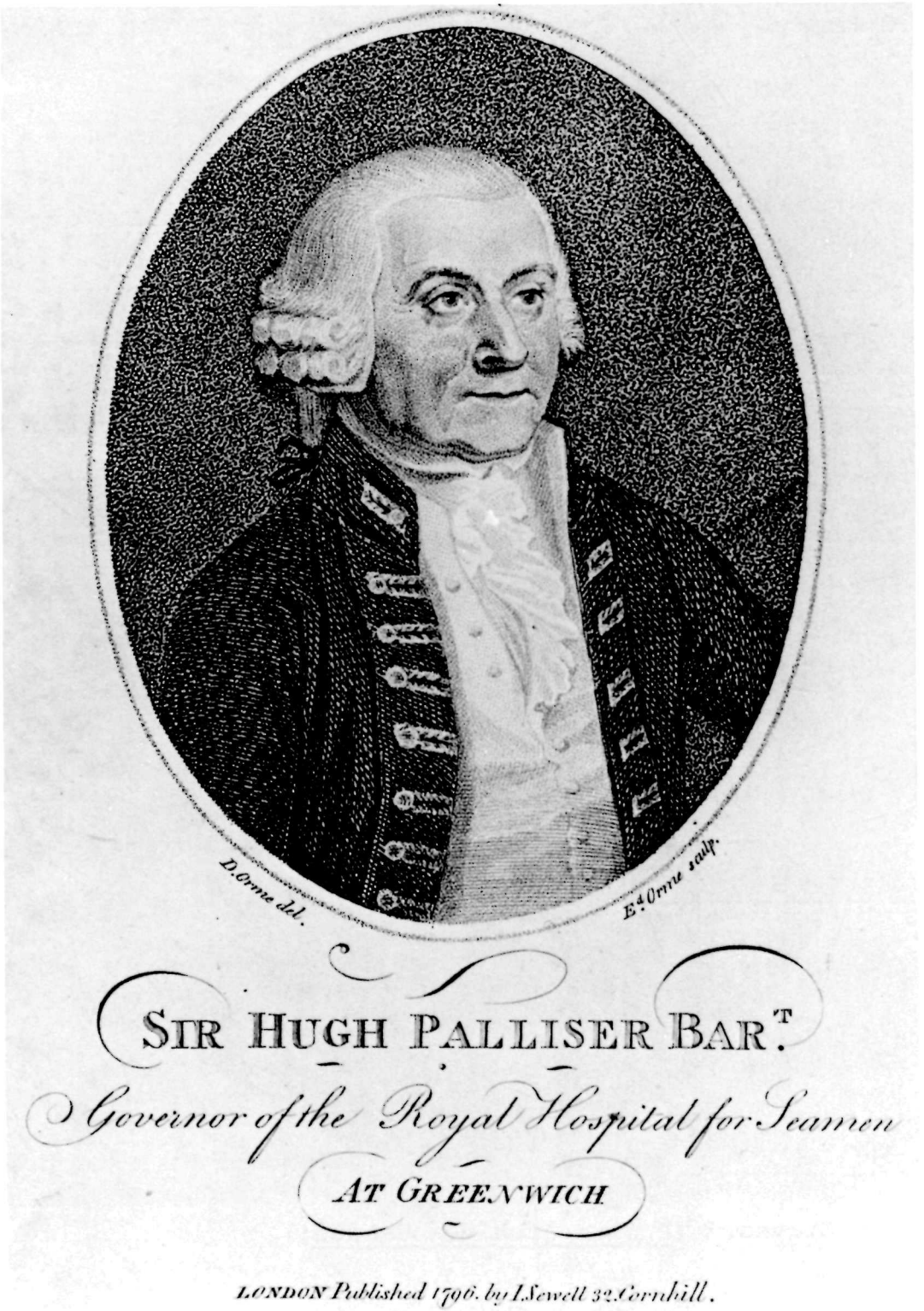
7 Plan of the New Fort. (Public Archives Canada.)

8 Plan of Castle Graves, 1762. (Public Archives Canada.)

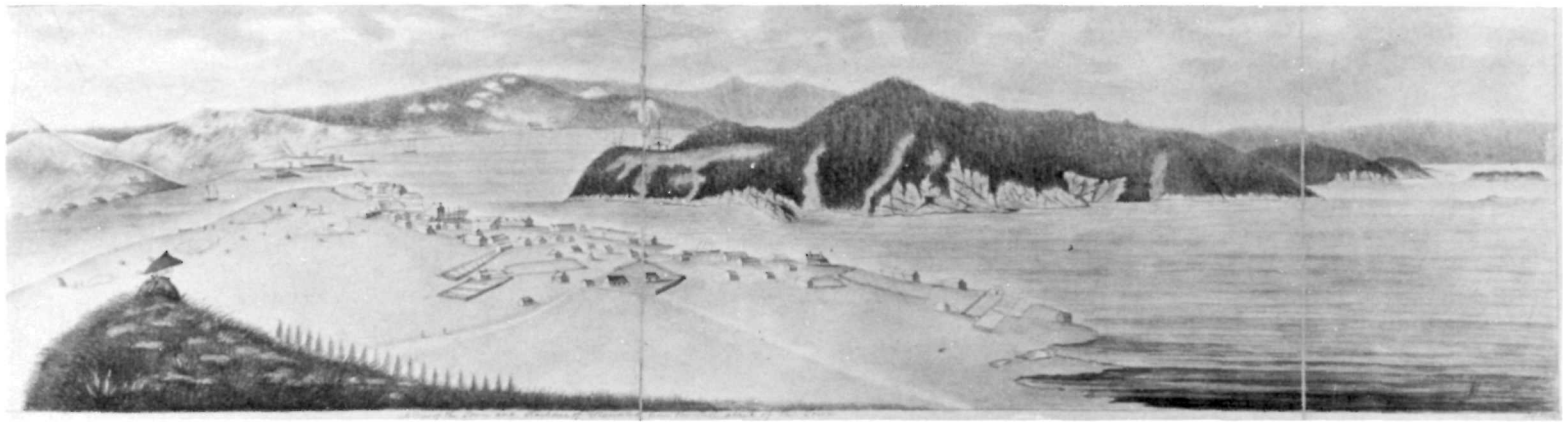


9 Blockhouse to the south-west of Placentia. (Public Archives Canada.)

10 Thomas Graves. (Public Archives Canada.)

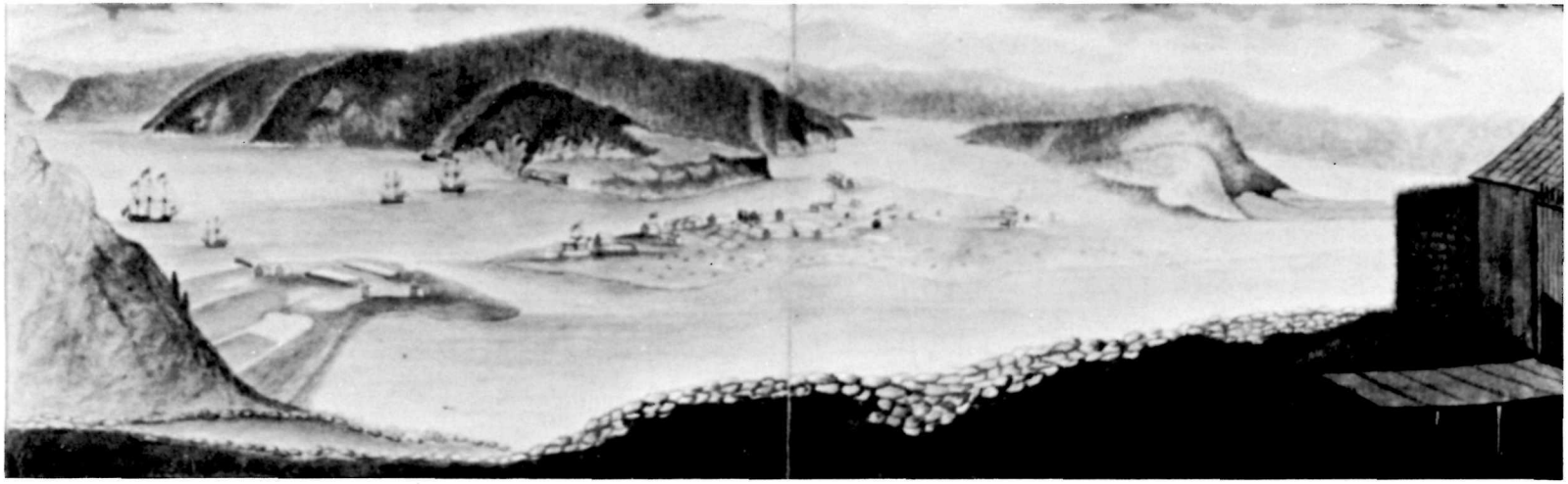


11 Sir Hugh Palliser. (Public Archives Canada.)



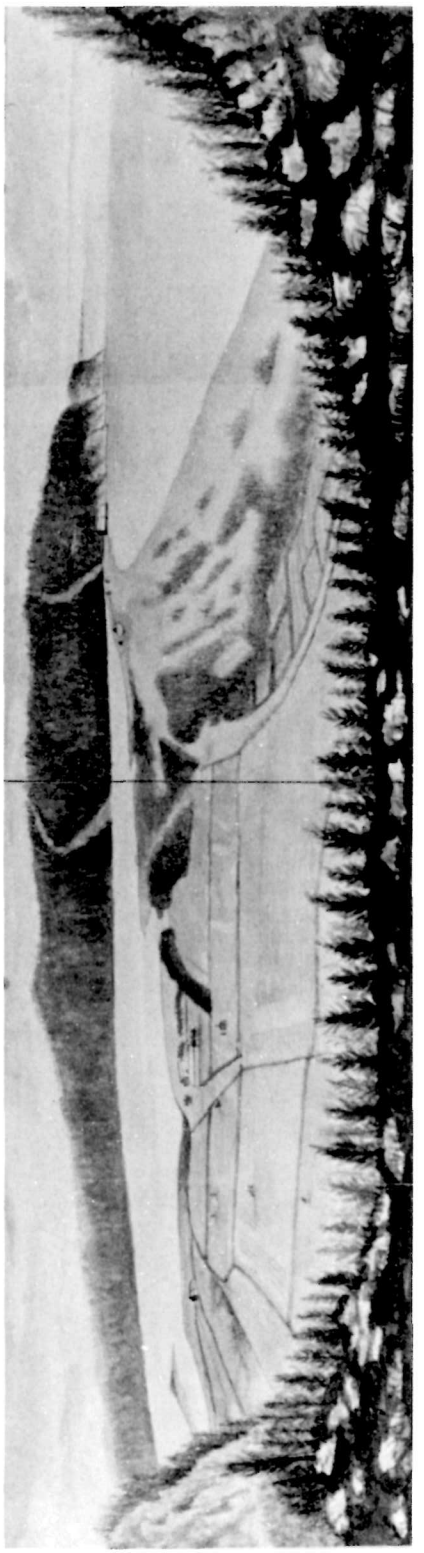
a

12 a-h: Views of Placentia at the time of the visit of Prince William Henry, the future William IV. (Public Archives Canada.)



b

c



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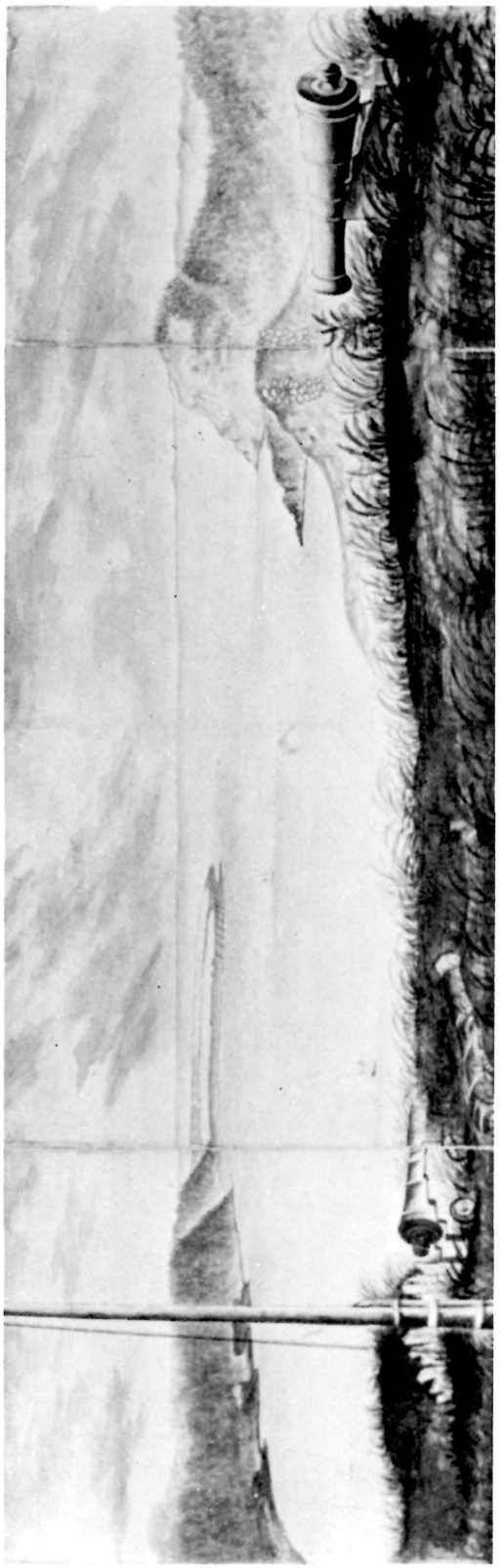

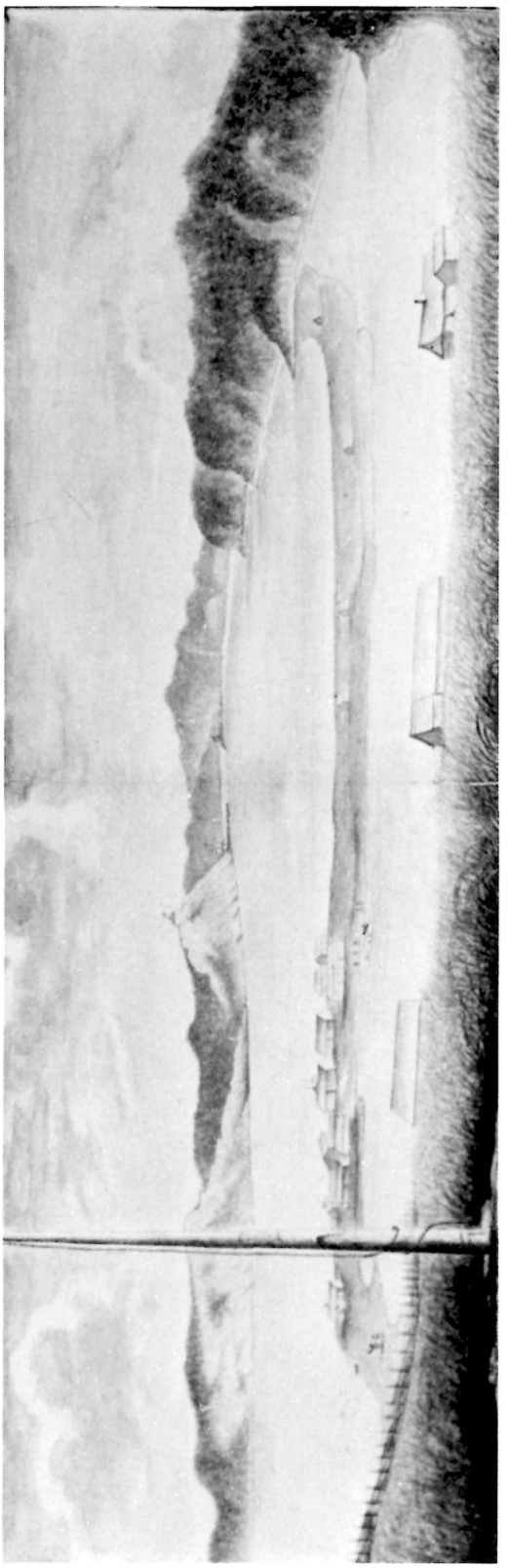

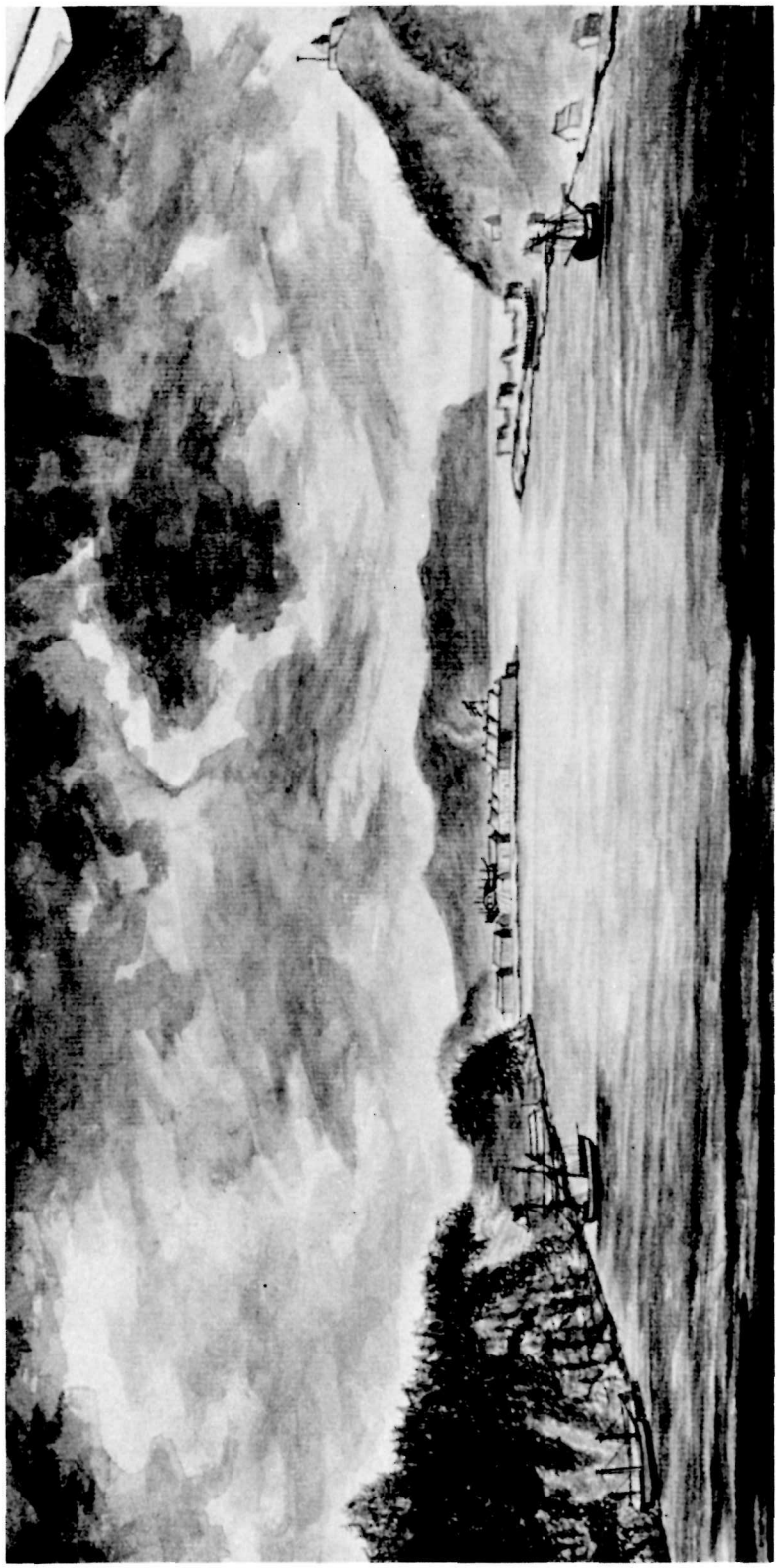

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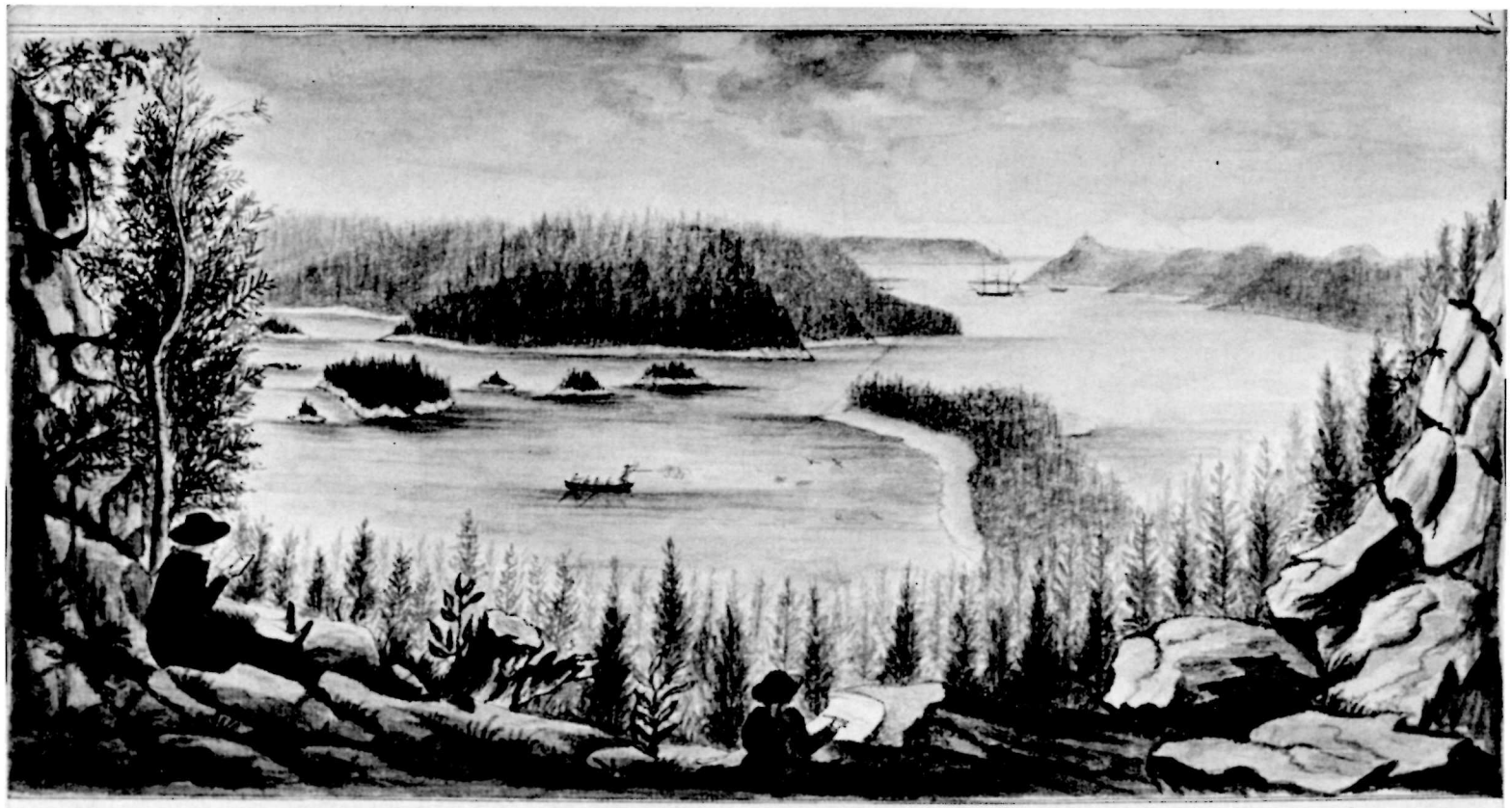
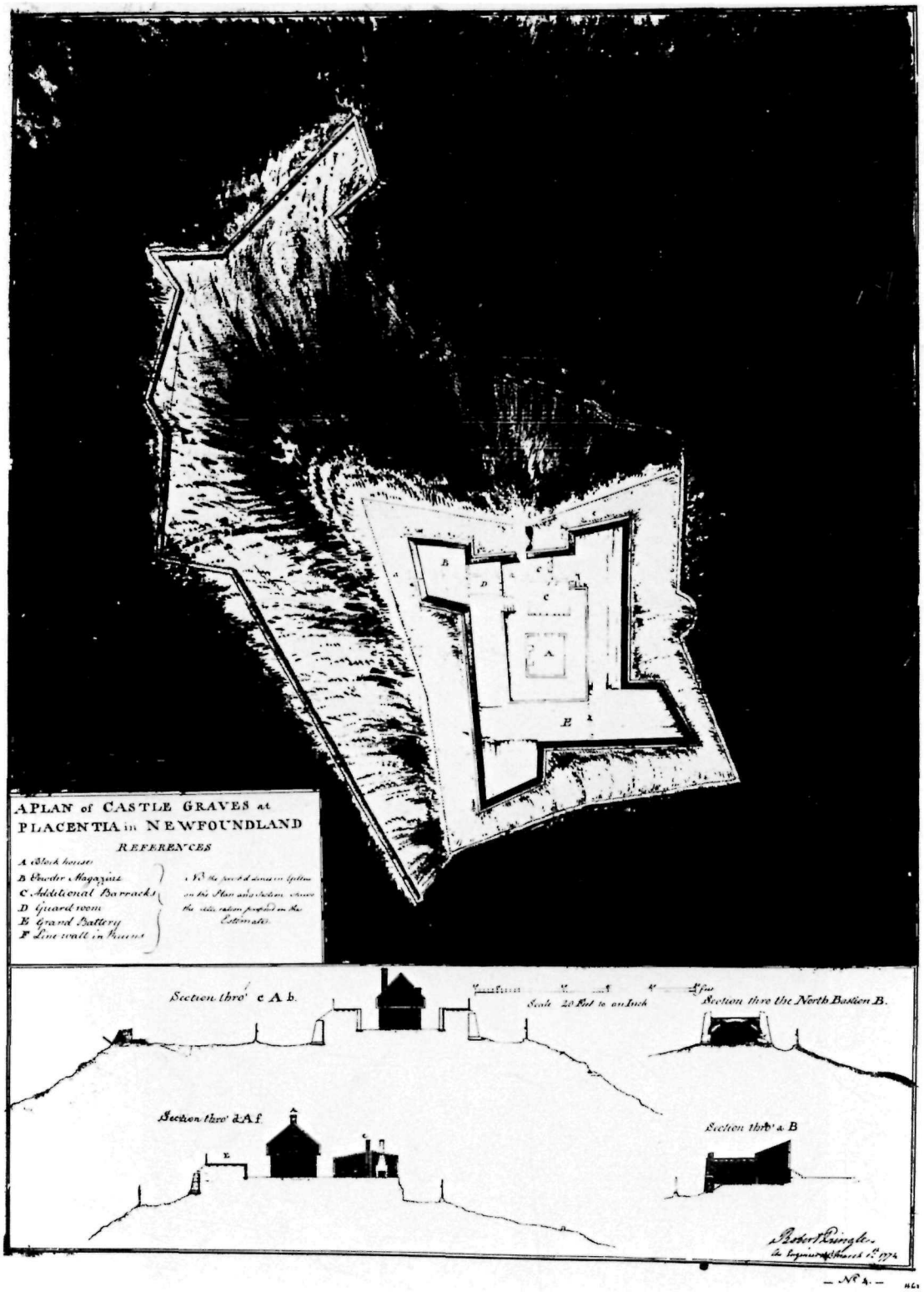


h A View of the seven Islands in the Harbour of Placentia



13 Castle Graves, 1775. (Public Archives Canada.)

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