

PLACE DU PORT
FORTRESS OF LOUISBOURG
by Christopher Moore
(1974)

COMMODITY IMPORTS OF LOUISBOURG
FORTRESS OF LOUISBOURG
by Christopher Moore
(1975)

STREET LIFE AND PUBLIC ACTIVITIES IN LOUISBOURG
FOUR STUDIES FOR ANIMATORS
by Christopher Moore
(1978)

Place du Port
Fortress of Louisbourg
by Christopher Moore
(1974)

Commodity Imports of Louisbourg,
Fortress of Louisbourg
by Christopher Moore
(1975)

Street Life and Public Activities In Louisbourg
Four Studies For Animators
by Christopher Moore
(1978)

The Manuscript Report Series is printed in a limited number of copies and is intended for internal use by Environment Canada. Copies of each issue are distributed to various public repositories in Canada for use by interested individuals.

Many of these reports will be published in Canadian Historic Sites or History and Archaeology and may be altered during the publishing process by editing or by further research.

Place du Port
Fortress of Louisbourg
1974
by Christopher Moore

Place du Port
 Fortress of Louisbourg
 1974
 by Christopher Moore

1	The Development of Place du Port (1717-40)
6	Place du Port Property
6	Ownership
7	The Morin <u>dit</u> Langevin Family
12	The Morin <u>dit</u> Langevin Building, 1717-68
12	Dimensions
13	Construction
15	Alterations 1737-40
16	1746-68
20	Functions and Activities of Place du Port
25	Appendix One. Other Morins and Langevins
27	Endnotes

Tables

14	1	First Morin Building - Dimensions
17	2	Dimensions of the Fish Market, 1746-49
19	3	Dimensions of the Morin Building, 1749-68

Figures

37	1	The 1727 plan for the redesign of the Place du Port area
39	2	Place du Port, with the Morin building and the pillory, in 1734
41	3	Vallee's map, which ignores the existence of Place du Port and alters the alignment of the Isle du Quay

- 43 4 Verrier's plan and recommendation for Place du Port, 1740
- 45 5 Morin Family Reconstitution
- 47 6 The Morin building, marked "1", in 1731
- 49 7 The Morin building, marked "1"
- 51 8 The apparently redesigned Morin building, marked "1", on a 1745
view

The Development of Place Du Port (1717-1740)

Place du Port, a small square adjoining the east end of the Louisbourg Quay, was formed as a consequence of the realignment of Louisbourg's streets. Realignment was first ordered in 1717, when Louisbourg was selected as the major fortification of Isle Royale and a planned urban development began.¹ Until that time, the inhabitants had placed their buildings and properties in irregular sequence along the shore of the harbour, with a major concentration of buildings on the peninsula between the two branches of the Grand Etang.

The first street plans did not affect these buildings or their haphazard streets, since Chief Engineer de Verville's plans of 1717 and 1718 established a grid pattern only as far east as Rue de l'Etang. Because two branches of the pond extended west to this street, it was then impossible to maintain the grid pattern across Blocks 4 and 5. Consequently the buildings in and north of Block 4 were not scheduled for realignment.²

In subsequent years the pond was reduced in size and it became feasible to impose a pattern upon this corner of the town. In 1722 and thereafter, Verville proposed the extension of a standard grid system into this area. Owners of buildings in the area had been forbidden in 1721 to repair them, so that they might be removed to permit reorganization once they began to collapse.³ The owners, however, resisted this delayed eviction. Due to the large number of structures in this area and the unwillingness of their influential occupants to move to other locations,⁴ the street plan for the area remained unsettled and unenforced. The royal *mémoire* of 31 May 1723, the definitive statement on the street plan of most of the town, merely requested the advice of the Louisbourg officials on what should be done with the disputed area around Block 4 and east of the Quay.⁵

Some of Verville's early plans had proposed an open Quay right to the pond, leaving clear the site of the future Isle du Quay block, possibly for a market,⁶ and enforcing the same Quay frontage upon Block 4 as had been applied to Blocks 1, 2 and 3. This would have required the demolition or removal of almost every building in the disputed area. Instead, in 1726, the governor, commissaire-ordonnateur and the new engineer, Etienne Verrier, recommended moving a number of these buildings northward and assembling them into a new block, the Isle du Quay (not then named). Minor adjustments to Block 4 would give it a straight frontage on Rue du Quay, with a cul-de-sac giving access to buildings isolated from the street. Rue du Quay, running east from the Quay, was to be a street of normal size bounded by Block 4 and the Isle du Quay. This plan, given royal approval in 1727, is reproduced in Figure 1.⁷ (Existing buildings are marked with dotted lines and lower case letters, while the proposed realignments are indicated by solid lines and capital letters).

Between 1726 and 1730, the Isle du Quay was formed almost exactly as planned, but the proposed changes were not made in Block 4. Verrier had intended that the placement of the Morin dit Langevin building (then unaligned, lettered "f" in Fig. 1) and the de la Motte building (Block 4, Lot D, lettered "g" in Fig. 1) should be adjusted to form the north frontage of Block 4 on Rue du Quay, leaving Lots B and C isolated behind them and accessible only by a short, angled alley behind the Morin building. Maps signed by Verrier revived modified versions of this project fairly regularly from 1726 to 1740.

In the event, neither the Morin building nor the de la Motte building was moved at this time. The Block 4 frontage was left unchanged, with a row of buildings in Lots E, D, C and B angling away south of the proposed alignment. The gap left between the Isle du Quay and Block 4 was a roughly triangular open area to which the name Place du Port was eventually given. It had one structure, the Morin dit Langevin building.⁸ (Fig. 2)

The basic shape of Place du Port as formed between 1727 and 1730 was determined by the divergent frontages of Block 4 and the Isle du Quay to the south and north of the Place. An approximate eastern boundary to the Place may be located where it narrows to normal street size, between the

Baron house of the Isle du Quay and Lot D of Block 4. There is no firm western boundary, for Place du Port merges into the Quay without a defined edge. No major changes were made to this outline, though the existence of the unplanned Place was not fully accepted and its function remained unclear for some years. Uncertainty about various proposals about the area's shape and function permitted the Morin dit Langevin building to remain unaligned in the middle of the Place for several years.

Many of the maps showing Place du Port between 1730 and 1745 simply ignore the existence of the Morin building, or even of the entire Place. In this respect the Vallée maps which accompany the 1734 survey of the town are of interest.⁹ (See Fig. 3) They leave out the Morin building and realign the Isle du Quay to cover most of Place du Port. As St. Ovide and Sabatier explained, "defects" in the alignments of the lots had been intentionally corrected on these plans.¹⁰ Place du Port and the Morin building projecting from it disturbed the regular grid pattern of the streets and evidently were still considered defects not suitable for official notice. Morin's property on Place du Port was not included in Vallée's 1734 statement of property concessions, but in that document, some of the properties in Block 4 and the Isle du Quay are said to front on Place du Port - one of the earliest uses of that name, which appears on no map before 1737.¹¹

Apart from the maps that ignore Place du Port, another series of maps proposes what should be done about it. These plans, like the others, imply that the concept of a public place there was not fully accepted, for they frequently revive the intention of 1726 to put the frontage of Block 4 on the same line as the other Quay blocks, thereby obliterating the Place. This was to be done either by extending Lots C, D and E of Block 4 north to the Quay alignment,¹² or by pivoting the Morin property so that it bordered the alignment, leaving an alley for access to the lots behind it.¹³ In either case most of Place du Port would be eliminated and the Morin building would no longer protrude on to the Quay. These changes were not made, but as late as 1740 Louisbourg officials were speaking of plans for the establishment of a square in Place du Port rather than acknowledging that one already existed.¹⁴

About 1737 a minor adjustment was made. Claude Morin dit Langevin removed the part of his building that had projected on to the Quay in defiance of an ordonnance of twenty years' standing. The small part of the building south of the Quay alignment apparently remained standing. Place du Port was not affected, except that the building on it was reduced in size.

The alterations made in 1737 are discussed in Verrier's lengthy note on a map dated 1740 (Figure 4) when Place du Port's function was again in question. The note, reproduced and translated below, suggests that by 1740 Verrier doubted the necessity of preserving Place du Port and was willing to let Morin extend his building to complete the facade of buildings along the Quay.¹⁵

Le nommé L'Engevin habitant de cette Ville, occupoit par une Concession provisionelle du 10^e 9bre 1717 Le Terrain ABCDEF, il luy fut ordonné il y a environ trois ans de tronquer Sa maison en GHIF et une petite cloture DEGH, pour suivre L'alignement des maisons qui sont sur le Quay, il obeit; Ce Particulier demanda pour estre dedomagé du terrain qu'il venoit de perdre La permission de retablir Sa maison Sur le Mesme alignement des d^{tes} maisons du Quay, il fut refusé parce que L'on vouloit faire de ce terrain une place. On estime que cette pretendue place Seroit d'aucune utilité l'espace en estant trop petite en Egard a une place publique. Une maison qui occuperait ce terrain décoreroit le Port, l'utile dédomageroit ce particulier, et le public Jouiroit de lagreable. Lorsque le Revettement du Quay Sera fait il se trouvera une place assés espacieuse pour y deposer les bois et autres marchandises.

[signé] Verrier

This passage is not a model of clarity and is to some degree open to interpretation, but some conclusions may be drawn from it. First, it does not state that Morin dit Langevin removed the entire building in about 1737. He **only** cut off the part extending on to the Quay. The compensation requested and refused in 1737 must have been the extension

of his building along the Quay alignment covering an area he had not previously occupied. There would be no compensation in maintaining the small piece of building left when the north end was demolished, for Morin had not been ordered to remove that part. In order to remove the offending part, it may have been necessary to tear down the entire building and then rebuild the permitted section, but the compensation refused in 1737 and reconsidered in 1740 surely involves not the existence of the building, but Morin's right to restore the entire house by extending it along the Quay alignment. Verrier saw the extension as decorative because it would produce the intended right-angle corner of the Quay. He was willing to sacrifice part of Place du Port because there would be enough storage space on the Quay.

If only a small section of Morin's building remained in 1737, did he extend it in 1740? There is little to prove that he ever did, but the building did not entirely disappear. In 1741 it served as a storage building.¹⁶ In 1740 the commissaire-ordonnateur and the acting governor had expressed hope that masonry buildings would be built in the area to decorate the port, but again there is no evidence of the completion of such buildings.¹⁷

The incomplete street alignment seems to have become accepted at Louisbourg. In 1752 Antoine-Louis Rouillé, the Minister of the Marine, ordered the governor and commissaire-ordonnateur to remove all the buildings which interfered with an open Quay running from the Dauphin Demi-Bastion to the pond, as had been proposed on Verville's plans. This would have required the demolition of all the buildings of the Isle du Quay and Presqu'île du Quay and the adjustment of most of those in Blocks 4 and 5. Rouillé suggested that the open space might be used as a market. Engineer Louis Franquet, while agreeing that these buildings marred the beauty of the port by obstructing the Quay, detailed all the inconvenience and expense which their demolition would require. The project was not implemented.¹⁸ Apart from alterations to the Morin building, no changes were made to the shape of Place du Port after 1730.

Place du Port Property

Ownership

The property in the middle of Place du Port was first conceded on 10 November 1717 to Claude Morin dit Langevin. "Concession du Sr. Langevin parallele a la maison dud. Sr. Burel de 50 pieds de long sur 20 pieds de large." This concession, given royal assent 22 June 1718,¹ does not specify whether there was already a building on the lot at the time, but a building is shown on maps of 1717. From that date, the property remained in the possession of Claude Morin until the fall of Louisbourg in 1745. When first ceded, it had been surrounded by other buildings, but the realignment of buildings and blocks eventually left it isolated in the middle of Place du Port. Morin's legal title to the lot had been weakened by the regulations about the realignment of the streets, the concession's original boundaries appear to have been forgotten, and the building's size and shape had been altered, but Morin's ownership was implicitly reaffirmed by Verrier's statement in 1740,² and he evidently continued to own it until 1745.

The Morin building, presumably converted or rebuilt, served as a fish market to the English and American occupants of Louisbourg between 1745 and 1749 and again after the final capture of Louisbourg in 1758.³ Documentation on its history during the second French occupation is limited, but the building probably returned to the possession of the Morin family for use as an open boutique.⁴ The single reference to this "boutique ouverte" owned by the Morins does not specify its location, but there is no evidence of any other owner of the Morins' Place du Port building. All residents were permitted to resume possession of their properties when they returned to Louisbourg in 1749,⁵ and since the English used it as a market in both occupations, it is a plausible assumption that it was "open", in arcade style, from 1749 to 1758, though it was evidently not a public market during that time.

The Morin dit Langevin Family

The first biographical sketch of Claude Morin dit Langevin (c.1680-1755) was written by his son Jean-Baptiste Morin in 1781.⁶ According to the son, Claude Morin immigrated to the Newfoundland colony of Plaisance in 1696, "tout jeune", on the recommendation of the Comte de Pontchartrain, Minister of the Marine. We are told that it was his intention to restore the fortunes of his impoverished family and that in order to devote all his energy to commerce, he refused a commission in the Plaisance garrison. He did serve as aide-major of the town militia and is said to have been wounded in the capture of St. John's in 1709. None of this, except for his militia rank, can be substantiated by the records of the Plaisance settlement, which do not mention Morin before 1711.⁷ Nevertheless, one statement in the younger Morin's description of his father's career rings true: Claude Morin was certainly out to "faire valoir son peu de fortune," to seek his fortune. At Plaisance and Louisbourg he involved himself in an unusual variety of business ventures. Compared to other Louisbourg commercial figures, his success does not appear great, but he was perhaps unmatched in his willingness to try new professions. In 15 years between 1713 and 1728, he was described as merchant, fisherman, merchant again, négociant, baker, tavernkeeper and innkeeper, and he also served as militia officer, church warden and estimator of property.

Though he was known as "Langevin", Morin apparently was not from Anjou. Some Louisbourg records give Angers as his birthplace, but his marriage contract states he was from Chinon in the archdiocese of Tours in Touraine, son of Claude Morin and Marie Troussard.⁸ Before coming to Louisbourg, Morin had been a merchant at Plaisance, where he seems to have been closely associated with Jean Lamoureux dit Rochefort. Rochefort was major of the Plaisance militia, and Morin aide-major, in a colony where the militia was frequently active against English settlement.⁹ In 1713 Morin, who was said to be about 33,¹⁰ married Rochefort's daughter, Madelaine, who was probably not older than 20. Morin and Rochefort were joint owners of a small ship of 18 tonneaux burden, also called "Madelaine", which they sent in trade to Martinique, Quebec and possibly New England.¹¹

When Plaisance was surrendered to the English in the peace settlement of 1713, Morin, described as a "charpentier", was hired to help make an inventory of the buildings there. His own house was estimated at 5,170 livres, making it one of the more valuable properties of the community.¹² The inventory was finished in September, 1714, and Morin and his wife left for Louisbourg shortly thereafter.¹³ During their first years there, they lived on Rochefort Point where, by 1716, Morin employed six compagnons-pecheurs in his fishery.¹⁴ He and Rochefort, who lived close by, still owned the "Madelaine", which was then commanded by François Chevalier.¹⁵ In 1715 Morin again acted as an adjustor, estimating the value of the various royal buildings in the town.¹⁶ He also performed this sort of duty in a number of private disputes and seems to have had some technical knowledge of construction practice.¹⁷

In the first concession of lots in 1717, Claude Morin received two properties, one on Rochefort Point and one on the future Place du Port site.¹⁸ He probably moved into the growing town and abandoned fishing for trade at that time, since he had a building in town by 1717 and there is no later reference to a fishing business. He still held the Rochefort Point concession in 1723,¹⁹ though it was not in use then²⁰ and he lost title to it thereafter.

Between 1717 and 1724, Morin's profession was merchant and négociant. Apparently the Place du Port site was at this time both his place of business and the home of his growing family. Details of his merchandising business are very limited (the only sale recorded involved forge tools),²¹ but he is frequently mentioned in association or in conflict with the neighbouring merchants, and he retained an interest in the "Madelaine".²² In 1724 he was a marguillier of the parish of Notre Dame des Anges.²³

In or about 1724, Claude Morin came into possession of another town lot and found a new profession, that of tavernkeeper. The way in which this new commercial opportunity arose may be reconstructed from indirect evidence. In 1727 Marie Heron, presenting for baptism the first of a series of children fathered by a sergeant of the garrison, stated that her husband, Nicolas Demié (or Demier) had been absent for three years.²⁴ In 1723 the same Nicolas Demié, master carpenter and tavernkeeper, held

Lot A of Block 19 in the town,²⁵ Evidently Morin took over Demié's lot and tavern business shortly after the latter's departure, for Morin is described as a "cabaretier" in 1724 and was definitely in possession of Demié's house by 1728.²⁶ That lot was officially ceded to him 14 November 1730, without any reference to the previous owner.²⁷

Morin became a baker at about the same time as he took over the tavern. The size of this business and even its location are unknown. The bakery may have been on the same Block 19 lot as the tavern, or even in Place du Port. Another possible site is a lot on the north shore of the barachois, which Morin had purchased in 1722 and which was still in his possession in 1735 and 1741, listed as "actuellement occupé".²⁸

"Morin, innkeeper" is the most common description of his status after 1724, though he was also a baker and was sometimes said to be a merchant. The inn on the corner of Block 19, facing the Place Royale (parade ground) and the citadel, was probably his major commercial interest after 1724. He apparently lived there with his large family and various lodgers until 1745.

Morin probably reduced his activity as a merchant after becoming an innkeeper. He is occasionally referred to as a merchant after 1726, but references to his commercial transactions cease after that date. If he was not an active merchant, and if he moved to Block 19 soon after taking possession of the house and tavern, the principal use of his Place du Port building may have been as a private storehouse for his inn and bakery. The building was habitable and was sometimes rented. In 1736 Morin's future son-in-law, Louis Lagroix, a captain of a merchant ship who was later a négociant and outfitter at Louisbourg, resided in "the house of Sr. Langevin Morin habitant situated on the quay."²⁹ In 1741 the building was hired for use as a storage place.

By the mid 1730s, Claude Morin may have been assisted in his various endeavours by some of his children. The Morin's first child, a girl, had been born in 1715 or 1716.³⁰ She was followed by 11 others, of whom two died in infancy and one in adolescence. (See Fig. 5) Their youngest child, Marie Josephe, was born in 1740, when Morin was about 60 and his wife over 40.³¹ None of the children married before the first capture of Louisbourg

and the subsequent evacuation of its inhabitants. It is not known whether all the children lived with their parents until 1745. By that time the two eldest sons, born in 1717 and 1720 respectively, were beginning careers in the colonial administration.

When he returned to Louisbourg in 1749 Claude Morin was temporarily impoverished and received royal assistance in the form of a musket and powder.³² Apparently he had turned over leadership of the family to his sons, for there is no evidence that he resumed any of his businesses. He was an old man, said to be about 80 and known as "Morin père" when he died in Louisbourg. He was buried in the parish cemetery on 2 January 1755.³³ His widow continued to live in their house in Louisbourg until the fall of the town in 1758.³⁴ She subsequently went to the new colony of St. Pierre and Miquelon, where she received one of the first concessions of land on the harbour of St. Pierre.³⁵

Claude Morin's eldest son, Jean-Baptiste, known in Louisbourg as Morin l'ainé (c.1717-88), began work in the magazin général in 1737.³⁶ By 1754 he was garde magazin as well as notaire royale, greffier of the Conseil Supérieur and secretary to the commissaire-ordonnateur.³⁷ In 1749 he and his wife, a native of Isle Royale whom he had married in France, employed four servants.³⁸ By 1758 they had two children and owned two slaves.³⁹ In 1753 he was described as "well off though a baker's son,"⁴⁰ and such rumors were cast about his integrity that he had to go to France to defend himself before being confirmed as garde magazin. He remained in the colonial service in France after the fall of Louisbourg.⁴¹

Antoine Morin (1720-85), known as Morin cadet, also began his career in the colonial service, but his major activity was private commerce. Though he was first described as a négociant in 1743,⁴² he was said to be just beginning his business in 1749 when the administration assisted him with a loan of ship's accessories which he was to repay when able.⁴³ Antoine Morin may have developed some business contacts during the four years in France, for at Louisbourg he frequently acted as a representative for French merchants and outfitters, as well as for residents of Louisbourg.⁴⁴ By 1750 he possessed at least one ship⁴⁵ and in 1752 he owned a large piece of land at the north end of Louisbourg harbour. It was

cultivated by tenant farmers whose produce he sold. On one map the stream crossing this land is called Ruisseau Morin.⁴⁶ In the town itself he operated a storehouse on the Block 19 site, and an open boutique in Place du Port.⁴⁷ He also retained some official duties, acting as garde magasin while his brother was in France and holding positions at the hospital and king's bakery. It was said that he had so many activities that he send a boy to fill these latter duties for him.⁴⁸ He and his brothers had militia commissions during the sieges.⁴⁹ After the fall of Louisbourg, Antoine Morin and his family settled in St. Pierre, as did his mother and his brother Claude-Joseph, also a négociant. In St. Pierre both brothers eventually received administrative positions, Antoine as contrôleur and Claude-Joseph as garde magasin.⁵⁰ After retiring to France, Antoine supported at least two of his unmarried sisters until his death in 1785.⁵¹

The Morin sons were more conspicuously successful in their careers at Louisbourg than their father had been. Claude Morin's commercial status stabilized at the level of innkeeper and baker. We may presume he was able to support his family and he saw his sons placed in administrative positions, but after 1725 there is no evidence of notable wealth: no major purchases of property, no shipping or trading activity, and no public offices. His sons, starting from minor administrative positions, rose higher and gained some power in the community. During the second occupation they had servants and slaves, owned valuable properties and constantly recorded financial transactions and legal matters. Two of their sisters married respectively a négociant, Louis Lagroix,⁵² and a ship's captain, Jean Lessenne.⁵³ However, there exists a number of references to the character of the Morin sons and not all are favourable. In 1753, the year that Jean-Baptiste Morin's integrity was being questioned, the merchants of St. Malo referred to the Morin brothers and their sudden wealth as examples of Louisbourg's "gros négociants" who by their lucrative trade with New England were forcing French merchants out of the market and yet raising prices at Louisbourg, to the detriment of both France and Isle Royale.⁵⁴ Near the end of his life, Jean-Baptiste Morin was jailed in France for mishandling official

funds,⁵⁵ and his son was forced out of his commission in the French army in 1781 because of a long career of "very dishonest and indecent conduct".⁵⁶ Jacques Prevost, who proposed Jean-Baptiste Morin for his various positions at Louisbourg, energetically defended him and all his family, but Governor de Raymond had suggested that Morin's promotions were part of Prévost's campaign to extend his own power by controlling as many offices as possible.⁵⁷ No suspicion was ever cast against the character of Claude Morin. Jean-Baptiste acknowledged having received from his father "an honest education and the principles of the sentiments of honour which always guided him."⁵⁸

The Morin dit Langevin Building, 1717-68

Because it was continuously owned by a single family, the Morin building on Place du Port is not frequently discussed in the notarized documents (house sales, leases, inventories, etc.) which comprise the major sources of information on domestic architecture. We are left with what details may be drawn from the maps and plans, supplemented by occasional documentary references and other information about the Morin family and Place du Port.

Dimensions

The early Morin building first appears in 1717, a long rectangular structure parallel to the Delort storehouse west of it and the Burel building east of it. Morin's 1717 concession established the area at 50 pieds by 20 pieds.⁵⁹ This may be the size of the building, though its measurements on the maps vary greatly. The two most detailed maps of the area, one made in 1726,⁶⁰ the other in 1740,⁶¹ agree that the alignment of the Morin building was four to six degrees away from being perpendicular to the row of buildings on Block 4. These maps place the northwest corner of the Morin building 2 toises 4 pieds from Block 4 and the northeast corner 2 toises 2 pieds away. Most of the other maps, giving less detail, place the building at a right angle to the Block 4 buildings, but on the average agree that the gap is roughly 15 pieds. When the Delort storehouse was realigned on the corner of Rue de l'Etang and the Quay, the Morin building,

with a porch or lean-to nearly touching the Delort building's northeast corner, diverged from the Delort alignment by 12 to 14 degrees. (See Table 1).

Construction

The type of construction is not specified, but some form of picket construction seems the most likely for the early building. Most of the early buildings in this area "are only of pickets with bousillage [a type of mud and straw fill] and almost all are roofed with bark."⁶² A 1731 view gives tentative support to the conclusion about the walls, for it gives the Morin building the same vertical striping given to other buildings known to have been of picket construction.⁶³ There is little evidence to support the reference to bark roofing. The use of bark as a roofing material was banned in 1717 and again in 1721, though bark roofs remained in existence for some years after that.⁶⁴ The 1731 view places horizontal stripes along the Morin building roof, presumably to suggest horizontal planking (See Figs. 6 and 7).

This first building stood from about 1717 to about 1737.⁶⁵ It had two floors. One view (1731-3) suggests the second storey was an attic, while another (1731-1) shows short knee walls to give additional head room in the upstairs room or rooms. There is no information on the layout of rooms on either level, but the building served as a storehouse and sometimes as a residence. The roof was hipped at the south end and gabled at the north, though one view suggests a partial hip at the top of the north wall. A chimney appears at the peak of the roof in about the middle of the building, and a dormer on the east slope below the chimney.

Evidently there was a balcony on the north end. There may have been one or two windows on the ground floor of that end and two windows and a door upstairs.

There is no data on features of the west wall, except that a porch or lean-to was attached to it from 1722 to 1737. This porch came very close to the corner of the Delort storehouse and on some plans is shown to adjoin it. The south end had a hipped roof, but there is no data on windows, doors or dormers in that wall and roof.

Table 1. First Morin Building - Dimensions

Plan	Length (in <u>toises</u>)	Width (in <u>toises</u>)	Distance from Lot B (in <u>toises</u>)
1717-2	7	3	1.5
1718-2	8	3	2.5
1720-2	7	3.5	3
1720-4	7	4	2.5
1722-1	8	3	2.5
1723-1	9	4	3
1723-2	9	4	2.5
1723-3	7	3.5	2.5
1723-4	10	4	2.5
1724-2	9	5	2.5
1726-4	9	3.5	2.3-2.6
1730-2	8	4	4
1731-3	9	4	2.5
1734-4	10	4	2.5
1740-4	8.6	3.6	2.3-2.6
ND6 (1718-23)	8	5	1
Average	8.3 <u>toises</u>	3.8 <u>toises</u>	2.5 <u>toises</u>

From 1720 to 1722, there was a porch or lean-to on the east wall. The location of the short-lived porch suggests there may have been a door near the north end of this wall and a window nearer the centre. On this side of the building a picket fence enclosed an irregular yard, the shape of which varies with every representation of it. There is no evidence of a garden inside the fence.

Alterations 1737-40

Substantial alterations were made to the Morin house in and perhaps after 1737. Verrier's 1740 note, quoted above, makes clear that the north section of the building was demolished about 1737. His statement apparently approves Morin's proposal for an extension of the remaining section in 1740. There is no conclusive evidence that the building remained in existence, but we are faced with a dearth of reliable information about the truncated building of 1737-40 and the possible 1740 enlargement alluded to by Verrier.

Verrier speaks simply of truncating the protruding section of the Morin building and fence in 1737, though the demolition would have removed more than half the house, including the balcony, the porch and probably the chimney. It may have been necessary to tear down the entire structure to achieve this, and the subsequent rebuilding of the permitted section could have included a realignment, so that the reduced building, properly aligned on the Quay front, would be rectangular, with its sides parallel to the Delort storehouse.

That some part of the building survived is certain, for it is described in 1741. In June of that year, Francois Lessenne asked the Admiralty of Louisbourg to supervise the public sale of a ship and its accessories which had come into his possession. Because he found it difficult to attract prospective buyers to his property near the barachois, Lessenne rented Claude Morin's storehouse on Place du Port. He stored the ship's accessories there during the public sale, which was held in front of the storehouse from 13 June to 15 June. The captain who purchased the bulk of the goods requested a judicial inventory, so officials of the Admiralty returned to Morin's storehouse on 16 June. Lessenne opened the door and the inventory was made.⁶⁶ Morin received 10 livres rent for the brief period of storage.

From that date until 1745, there are only unreliable maps to testify to the location of Morin's building. A pair of 1742 maps, showing Block 4 in outline form, widen the narrow extension filled by the Delort storehouse, possibly to include a small Morin building close beside the Delort building.⁶⁷ The final evidence is in the views of 1745. Two of these are too vague to be useful, but the third⁶⁸ appears to show a restored and enlarged Morin building on the east-west alignment in front of Block 4. (See Fig. 8). The building shown is hipped at both ends. It has a chimney near the middle of the roof, a dormer near the west end, and a door and three upstairs or ceiling-level windows at the west end of the long north wall. This view is the only scrap of evidence that Morin rebuilt his entire building on an east-west alignment along the Quay boundary. Though it is difficult to dismiss the building portrayed in the view, it is equally hard to credit its existence. We know from Verrier that Morin wanted to make the extension, yet what use he would have made of the building is unknown, since the building had enough empty space in 1741 to permit Lessenne to lease it for his sale. Furthermore it is difficult to explain the immediate and unremarked disappearance of all trace of this large new building, which is not shown on any other maps before, during or after 1745. It would seem that the bulk of the (admittedly limited) data goes against the existence of an enlarged, realigned Morin building between 1740 and 1745, but the 1745 view remains an unexplained anomaly.

1746-68

The next clear information on the building is dated 1746. The English maps of 1745 are ambiguous, some showing a small building beside the Delort storehouse, others leaving it out. However, the majority of 1746 maps do show the building and some label it "Fish Market".⁶⁹ It is shown regularly on the English plans, a rectangle of about 30 feet by 20 feet with its long sides parallel to the Delort storehouse and its front usually following the orthodox Quay alignment (See Table 2). There is no architectural data on the building and nothing to indicate whether it was a conversion of the small Morin building or a new building. It is certainly possible, though unattested, that the small, possibly decrepit

Morin building, or even a large new one, could have disappeared in 1745, torn down to provide timber for the French defences during the siege, destroyed by artillery fire, or torn down for firewood during the first year of the New England occupation. Each of these possibilities did occur to other buildings in the town.⁷⁰

Table 2. Dimensions of the Fish Market 1746-49

Plan	Length (in feet)	Width (in feet)	Distance from Block 4, Lot A (in feet)
1746-1	30	13	20
1746-4	28	18	15
1746-5	32	20	18
1746-8a	30	21	18
1747-1	30	20	15
1748-2	32	23	18
Average	30 1/3	19 1/6	17 1/3

The French occupancy of Louisbourg, which recommenced in July 1749, provides one or two clues to the nature of the building. On each of a series of maps begun in 1751 by the new engineer, Franquet, the wharf nearest the Morin building is labelled "Calle de la halle", the halle wharf.⁷¹ A halle is a market building, roofed to provide some shelter but frequently not walled, or not entirely walled. Furthermore, Antoine Morin was said to own an "open boutique".⁷² We may assume the Morin family regained possession of their Place du Port property, and so these two points of evidence suggest the New England fish market was open, in arcade style, and remained so after it returned to the possession of the

Morin family. It was not rented between 1749 and 1758 and there is nothing to suggest that anyone lived in it.

Map treatment of this building between 1749 and 1758 is ambiguous. The series of maps based on Franquet's 1751 study outline all the town blocks but give details of building shapes and roof designs only for public buildings. The one exception is the Morin building, presumably to show it is not a block, but an isolated building. No other information suggests it was a public building during the French administrations.

There is little consistency in the depiction of the building between 1751 and 1758. It is sometimes square, sometimes rectangular. Its roof may have been hipped only at the south end, hipped at both ends, or four-sloped with all the roof pitches meeting in the center of the roof. Inaccuracies in the maps are surely the cause of some of these differences, but there may have been actual alterations about which we have no other evidence. The building was probably about 15 pieds east of the Delort storehouse, with the northern ends of both buildings aligned on the Quay boundary (See Table 3).

The status of the Morin building is again ambiguous under the second British occupation. Though no reference to a market building has been found in the journals and records of this occupation, the Morin building is labelled "Market" on a 1768 map. The two detailed British plans which show the building, one of 1767 and one of 1768,⁷³ differ substantially, the first making it roughly square and set back about 15 feet from the Quay alignment, the other showing a rectangular building on the Quay frontage. The notes to this later plan describe the Market as being of wooden construction, much out of repair and unoccupied.⁷⁴

Table 3. Dimensions of the Morin Building, 1749-68

Plan	Length (in <u>toises</u>)	Width (in <u>toises</u>)	Distance from Block 4, Lot A (in <u>toises</u>)
1757-1	7	4	
1751-8	5	5	3
1751-10	6 1/2	4 1/2	3
1751-17	7	4	3
1751-27	5	5	1
1752-11	4 1/2	4	1 1/3
1757-6	5	5	1 1/2
1757-11	4	4	2 1/2
1758-28	4	3	2 1/3
ND 40	5	4	2
1759-1	5	3 1/3	1 1/2
Average	5 1/4	c.4	c. 1 1/4

	(in feet)	(in feet)	(in feet)
1767-1	27	24	17
1768-1	40	25	23
ND 27	25	18	11
Average	30 2/3	22 1/3	17

Functions and Activities of Place Du Port

Comprehensive information on the use of Place du Port must come from general studies of Quay activities, commercial operations and daily life at Louisbourg. It does seem valuable, however, to give brief consideration to a number of features which are to some degree special to and characteristic of Place du Port.

The first problem to consider is the variety of names used in this area. Many of the streets, squares and landmarks of Louisbourg had more than one name, and this imprecision also applies to the Place du Port area, which evidently had no street signs. For the sake of clarity and convenience, this report may have magnified the importance of the term "Place du Port". The name existed, but there is no certainty that every resident of Louisbourg made a routine association between the area and the name in the way that this report does. The Place was frequently left unnamed, and after the term "Place du Port" came into use, it was frequently applied to the entire eastern end of the Quay. This is understandable, since the square's commercial activity would certainly expand out into the Quay, particularly in front of the buildings of the Isle du Quay. Another term, Place du Quay, predates it, but the application of this name is not specific. It may be intended to refer to the entire Quay, including the east end associated with Place du Port. Rue du Quay was the name first applied to the street running east from the Quay, but by the street's association with Place du Port, the name gradually changed to Rue du Port, as in Vallee's 1734 survey, "Rue et Place du Port". Later uses of Rue du Quay may refer to the entire Quay, for Block 2 was sometimes said to front on Rue du Quay.¹

Place du Port was not an officially designated public square. The concept of public squares was one of the principles of the urban theory used in the planning of Louisbourg, but the site chosen for the public

square in the Quay area was in Block 3, in front of the lot reserved for the parish church.² This site was marked as a public square as late as 1752.³ The church was never built, however, and Place du Port gained importance by its location in a major commercial area. In 1745 the facade of Place du Port was formed by seven storehouses or commercial buildings and only three residences.⁴ This concentration of commercial activity around Place du Port must have been a key factor in its development and use, since the square's unplanned growth probably meant that its use was determined by the whim or the initiative of its resident merchants. The volume of business cannot be estimated, but there may be significance in the evident lack of importance of Place du Port in the estimation of Louisbourg officials about 1740.

It should be noted that despite its commercial air, Place du Port was not a market square on the standard French pattern. In Louisbourg's early years there had been discussion of building a market or halle, a feature then thought very necessary, but interest in this project had declined by about 1722.⁵ Diderot defines a halle as a public place in a town of some size intended for marketing all sorts of merchandise. Halle differs from marché in that the former signifies the covered, protected part of the marketplace.⁶ Market places were common features of French towns, including seaports such as St. Malo.⁷ Place du Port, however, was not precisely a market place of this type, and it appears that there was only a very limited amount of public marketing in the town. In the only documented instance yet found, a sailor newly-arrived from Quebec sold poultry and cheese to the people leaving the chapel of the King's Bastion Barracks after a Sunday morning mass in August 1740.⁸

Louisbourg's ability to conduct its trade without maintaining a large, institutionalized public market is not sufficiently explained by the climate or the size of the town, for the English apparently ran a market during both their occupations of Louisbourg. The reasons probably lie in the economic structure underlying Louisbourg's retail trade. Though research on this topic is only in a preliminary stage, there is little doubt about the important role of the private merchant and négociant, who bought or imported goods in bulk for sale through his own storehouse

and boutique. A market is an essentially egalitarian institution, permitting small-scale producers to bring their own goods from outside the town and sell them without having to maintain a building. The very small domestic production of Isle Royale in itself militated against a market serving independent producers. Furthermore, the owners of storehouses and boutiques would have had no reason to support a public market which would eliminate their role as middlemen for the goods brought by others. Consequently a market would not be indispensable at Louisbourg.

The factors influencing the English to open a Quayside market may have been the changed condition of the fishery and a change in the system of retail sales. During the first English occupation, 1745-49, there was virtually no Louisbourg fishery. English estimates of the total number of fishermen who had come to settle range from two to only six.⁹ Consequently fish was an import commodity at Louisbourg from 1745 to 1749. With no developed merchant community involved in the fishery, the sale of this and other commodities would be undertaken by visiting fishermen and traders, who would find a market on the Quay a natural solution, simply an improvement upon selling directly from their decks. Consequently it does not appear unlikely that there would have been a market during both English occupations, while there is as yet no evidence of a formal public market or of any public marketing in Place du Port during the French administrations.

The only late French source that refers to a halle at Louisbourg is the series of town maps begun in 1751, on which the Quay wharf nearest Place du Port is named the halle wharf, probably because of the new appearance of the Morin building.¹⁰ The halle wharf at the foot of Rue de l'Etang was built about 1743 during the construction of the Quay wall,¹¹ though the term halle apparently was not applied to it before 1751. The wharf disappeared from the plans shortly after Franquet's recommendation of that year that it be torn down. He states that the other wharves were sufficient and that this one was only built on gravel piled up in the corner of the Quay wall.¹² The brief existence of this wharf suggests that Place du Port's commerce was not a direct consequence of the unloading of cargo on the Quay and therefore may reinforce the supposition

that the commerce of Place du Port was chiefly determined by the businesses facing it. The only reference which suggests otherwise is Verrier's passing reference in 1740 to the storage of wood and other merchandise on Place du Port, which may suggest that the square was a general storage area for incoming cargoes. However, the variety of merchandises which could be left standing in an open square for any length of time would surely be limited by the amount of minor theft at Louisbourg, and also by the weather.

Though Place du Port was neither an officially sanctioned public square nor an orthodox market place, its commercial role and central location naturally brought it a number of functions peripheral to its commercial activity. Diderot says it was common for a market place to have a pillory¹³ and we know this was the case in St. Malo, where the market square was called "place du marché" and "place du pilory" interchangeably.¹⁴ At Louisbourg it appears that this feature was not, strictly speaking, a pillory but a carcan. A pillory encloses the head and hands of the person held, while a carcan is an iron collar which attaches around the neck. Pillory is to some extent a generic term for all instruments of this type, but the more specific of the relevant documents at Louisbourg refer to a carcan. The carcan, used from 1733 until perhaps 1745,¹⁵ stood on the Quay near the edge of Place du Port, for the punishment of minor offenders such as a fisherman named René Allain who was placed in the carcan for one hour on the 28 November 1737. He had been convicted of selling a net which belonged to his employer. Two large signs proclaimed the offence and the man who had bought the net was obliged to be present throughout Allain's hour in the carcan.¹⁶

The area near the carcan became one of the "lieux ordinaires et accoutumés," the normal and customary place where public announcements were made. When a judicial sale was to be held, for instance, the huissier of the Conseil Superieur would make the announcement "in a loud and intelligible voice" at a number of locations around the town, often including a spot near the carcan. The sales themselves were frequently, though not always, held on the Quay.¹⁷

What can be said about the appearance and atmosphere of Place du Port? The area was occupied from the beginning of the town, and some of its buildings were among Louisbourg's oldest. We may guess that a waterfront square close by the docks and surrounded by warehouses would be less attractive than many other parts of the town, but it should be noted that one of the square's businesses was a ladies' dress shop run by the widow Chevalier. The best comment must be a contemporary one. Demanding the demolition of a number of buildings around Place du Port in 1728, Sabatier, the procureur general, agreed that the irregular alignments and angles of the buildings of the area formed several coupe gorges in which terrible accidents could occur. A coupe gorge is a place where throats get cut. Even allowing for the hyperbole of a prosecutor strengthening his case (for the number of thefts and crimes around Place du Port does not seem unduly large), we can see that the reputation of the area cannot have been high at that time, and the angles and corners of the Place were never entirely eliminated.¹⁸

Appendix One. Other Morins and Langevins

In the course of research for this report it was necessary to distinguish the Morin dit Langevin family of Place du Port from various other Morins and Langevins, listed below, who were present in the colony. These notes do not attempt to do more than identify figures. Information here that is not specifically referenced comes from the Parish Records file and the Index of Occupants file of the Archives of the Fortress of Louisbourg

Jean Morin, who was in Louisbourg by 1717, worked as a clerk for Pierre Allain de la Motte and managed his affairs after de la Motte's death in 1723. Jean Morin died in 1725 and Claude Morin dit Langevin, claiming to be his cousin, was accepted as his heir and beneficiary. (See Terrence D. MacLean, Block 4, Fortress of Louisbourg unpublished manuscript report, 1974).

Jean Morin. Another Jean Morin apparently lived in Louisbourg at about the same time. This one was married to Perrine Poulain and they had a daughter, Helene-Bertranne Morin, who eventually married Pierre Chuquet. This Jean Morin had no known connection to Claude Morin dit Langevin.

Jean Baptiste Morin or Maurin was a sailor and privateer operating out of Louisbourg during the colony's final years.

Pierre Morin, maitre tailleur de pierre, worked in Louisbourg from before 1740 until the first siege, and returned in 1749. During the first occupation at least, he lived on Rue de l'Etang, and he was married to Marie Josephe L'Estrange. He seems to have had no connection to Claude Morin dit Langevin, except that there is one reference, apparently to him, in which he is named Sr. Langevin. (A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 186, fol. 237).

Morin, charretier, is mentioned in a list of purchases in 1734. (A.C., C11B, Vol. 16, fol. 80v., 15 octobre 1734).

Faucheux dit Langevin. A family of this name, headed by Mathurin Faucheux dit Langevin, a native of Angers, lived at Miré after 1730.

Jean Langevin, who married Marie Rose Gerine in Louisbourg in 1753, lived in the village of Rouillé. A son, Jacques Langevin, was born in 1755.

Simon Pierre Langevin, who may not have been a resident of the colony, was buried in 1750 after dying suddenly in Louisbourg.

Thomas Langevin was described in 1755 as the former clerk of Michel and Antoine Rodrigue. (A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 205, pièce 387, fols. 41v.-42v.). In 1756 he represented the French négociant Pascaud in a legal matter in Louisbourg. (A.C.-M., Liasse 6119, p. 18).

Sr. Langevin undertook some construction jobs in Louisbourg before 1720. He may have been a soldier, (A.C., C11B, Vol. 1, fols. 255-58), but it is possible that this was Claude Morin dit Langevin trying another profession.

Langevin. One of the soldiers in the first group to arrive in Isle Royale in 1713 was named Langevin. His profession was savetier, cobbler. (Census of 1713, A.N., Outre Mer, G1, Vol. 466, pièce 50).

Endnotes

The Development of Place Du Port (1717-1740)

- 1 Archives des Colonies (hereafter cited as A.C.), B, Vol. 39, fol. 270v., Mémoire du Roy aux Mrs de Costebelle et de Soubras au sujet des fortifications, 26 juin 1717.
- 2 Archives of the Fortress of Louisbourg (hereafter cited as A.F.L.), Map Collection 1717-2.
- 3 A.C., B, Vol. 44, fols. 576v.-77v., Paris, De Par Le Roy, Ordonnance qui regle les endroits ou il pourra estre Baty dans la ville de Louisbourg, 8 juillet 1721.
- 4 Ibid., fols. 577v.-78. Conseil à St. Ovide et De Mesy, 9 juillet 1721. The occupants are said to be unwilling to take other lots which would put them further away from the port.
- 5 A.C., C11C, Vol. 16, Paris, Le Roy, Ordonnance Etablissant le plan de la ville de Louisbourg, 31 mai 1723.
- 6 A.C., C11B, Vol. 8, fols. 21-27, St. Ovide et De Mesy, 1 décembre 1726, (fol. 26).
- 7 A.F.L., Map Collection 1726-4.
- 8 The first map to show this situation is A.F.L., Map Collection 1730-2.
- 9 A.F.L., Map Collection 1734-2 and 1734-5.
- 10 A.C., C11B, Vol. 15, fols. 110-11, St. Ovide et Sabatier, 6 décembre 1734.
- 11 Ibid., fols. 26-50, Vallée, Etat des Terrains Concédés dans la Ville de Louisbourg, 20 octobre 1734.
- 12 A.F.L., Map Collection 1737-7.
- 13 A.F.L., Map Collection 1737-6 and also 1733-7, which is unsigned.
- 14 A.C., C11B, Vol. 22, fols. 74-76, Bourville et Bigot, 30 octobre 1740.
- 15 A.F.L., Map Collection 1740-4. (L'Engevin, habitant of this town, occupied the area ABCDEF by a provisional concession of 10 November

1717. About three years ago he was ordered to truncate [the part of] his house in GHIF and a small enclosure DEGH, to follow the alignment of the houses on the Quay. He obeyed. This individual asked, as compensation for the area he had just lost, permission to re-establish his house on the same alignment as the said houses of the Quay. He was refused because it was wished to make of this lot a place. We judge that this intended place would be of no use, its space being too small with regard to a public place. A house which occupied this area would decorate the Port. The use of it would compensate this individual and the public would enjoy the pleasing [appearance]. When the revetment of the Quay is finished, it will be a large enough place for putting wood and other merchandises there).

[signed] Verrier

- 16 Archives de la Charente Maritime (hereafter cited as A.C.M.), Liasse 6113, dossier 28, pièce 28 (pièce 79 of the year 1741). Procès verbal de vente des agres et appareaux du navire le Bon Joseph, 12 juin 1741.
- 17 A.C., C11B, Vol. 22, fols. 74-76, Bourville et Bigot, 30 octobre 1740.
- 18 Bibliothèque du Génie, MS 205b., fols. 67-99, Rouille à Franquet, 15 mars 1752; with Franquet's reply, 25 mai 1752. (Especially fol. 74).

Place Du Port Property

- 1 A.C., C11B, Vol. 2, fols. 154-61, St. Ovide et Soubras, Louisbourg: Toisés des Graves et Concessions, 10 novembre 1717. Confirmed by Archives Nationales, Archives de la France d'Outre Mer (hereafter cited as A.N., A.F.O.), G1, Vol. 462, fols. 100-06, Projet de Brevet de Confirmation des Concessions, Paris, 22 juin 1718.
- 2 A.F.L., Map Collection 1740-4.
- 3 A.F.L., Map Collection 1746-1.
- 4 A.C., C11B, Vol. 33, fols. 475-76, Séguin, 20 janvier 1753.
- 5 Ibid., Vol. 28, fols. 9-9v., Desherbiers et Prévost, 1 août 1749.
- 6 A.C., C7 220, Dossier Morin de Fonfay, Jean Baptiste, pièce 40, 20 février 1781.

- 7 A.N., A.F.O., G1, Vol. 497, pièce 18, Plaisance, Recensement, 27 octobre 1711.
- 8 Ibid., G3, Vol. 2055, pièce 2, Plaisance, Contrat de mariage du S. Claude Morin et Magdelaine Lamoureux Rochefort, 15 janvier 1713.
- 9 Ibid. See John Dunn, The Militia of Isle Royale 1713-1745 (Fortress of Louisbourg, 1971. National Historic Sites Service Manuscript Report No. 31) for information on militia activities at Plaisance and Louisbourg.
- 10 A.N., A.F.O., G3, Vol. 2055, pièce 31, Plaisance, 28 juin 1713.
- 11 Ibid., pièces 104-06, 8 octobre 1713.
- 12 Public Record Office, Colonial Office 194, Vol. V, fols. 342-65, Plaisance, Inventaire des Maisons de Plaisance, 27 août-6 septembre 1714.
- 13 A.N., A.F.O., G1, Vol. 466, No. 51, Recensement des habitants établis dans le havre de Louisbourg, 4 janvier 1715.
- 14 Ibid., No. 52, Recensement des habitants, 1716. Also A.N., A.F.O., G3, Vol. 2056, No. 54, de la Motte versus Morin, 23 novembre 1717, which refers to Morin's fishery.
- 15 A.N., A.F.O., G3, Vol. 2056, 1716, No. 38, Engagement pour Morin et Lamoureux du S. Chevalier, no date.
- 16 A.C., C11B, Vol. 1, fols. 255-56, Estimation fait par les Sieurs Lelarge et Morin, 19 octobre 1715.
- 17 A.N., A.F.O., G2, Vol. 194, fols. 301-04, 12 mai 1735.
- 18 A.C., C11B, Vol. 2, fols. 151-61, St. Ovide et Soubras, Toisés des Graves et Concessions, 10 novembre 1717.
- 19 A.C., C11A, Vol. 126, fol. 111, Etat des emplacements, 1723.
- 20 A.C., C11C, Vol. 16, Paris, Le Roi, Fortifications 1722, 15 mai 1722, states that the area between Rochefort's lot and Ste. Marie's lot is unoccupied.
- 21 A.N., A.F.O., G2, Vol. 200, pièce 203, fols. 3v.-4v., Claude Morin versus Martin Poirier, 13 juillet 1744, concerning a sale made in 1723.
- 22 Ibid., G3, Vol. 2057, No. 6, Vente entre Monjeau et Morin, 4 juin 1720.
- 23 Ibid., G1, Vol. 406, fol. 7, Baptême de Marc-Claude Joseph Morin, 12 avril 1724.

- 24 Ibid., fol. 3lv., Baptême de Françoise Cecile, fille de Marie Heron, 24 août 1727.
- 25 A.C., C11A, Vol. 126, fol. 111, Etat des Emplacements Concedés, 1723.
- 26 A.N., A.F.O., G2, Vol. 184, fols. 10-10v., Plumatif d'audience, Lucas versus Morin, 19 juillet 1728.
- 27 A.C., C11B, Vol. 15, fols. 26-50, Etat des terrains concedés, 20 octobre 1734.
- 28 Ibid., fols. 15-25, Etat des terrains actuellement occupés, 27 décembre 1734. A.N., A.F.O., G1, Vol. 466, No. 74, Etat des terrains actuellement occupés, 1741. On the undated plan A.F.L., Map Collection N.D. 45, the Morin lot is not separated from the adjoining lot of Joannis Daguerre.
- 29 A.N., A.F.O., G2, Vol. 183, fol. 419, Requet du S. Louis Lagroix, 28 novembre 1736, "En la maison du S. Langevin Morin sittué sur le quay."
- 30 A.N., A.F.O., G3, Vol. 466, pièce 53, Recencement des familles de Louisbourg, 1716.
- 31 Ibid., G1, Vol. 407, fol. 53, Baptême de Marie-Josephe, 15 juillet 1740. This child was known as "Josette" and used that name in signatures.
- 32 A.C., C11B, Vol. 28, fols. 160-87, Prévost, Etat des effets tirés des magasins, 1 août 1749.
- 33 A.N., A.F.O., G1, Vol. 409, le registre, fol. 42v., Enterrement de M. Morin pere, 2 janvier 1755. The text of the document refers to "Monsieur Antoine Morin" but it seems very likely that this is an error. The heading refers to "Morin pere," Claude Morin's normal title after 1749, and I am certain no other Morin fits the description in this document: "ancien bourgeois et négociant de cette ville agé d'environ quatre-vingt ans muni de tous les sacrements en presence de plusieurs personnes respectables de la ville avec tous les ceremonies." Claude Morin was alive in 1753 but dead before 1758, and even without taking this document into account, it seems unlikely that he would leave Louisbourg at such an age, without his wife and without selling his house or leaving any other record. Nor is it

- likely that he would die at Louisbourg without leaving record of his death.
- 34 Ibid., 2e registre, fol. 43v., Contrat de mariage: Jean Lessenne-Catherine Morin, 21 mai 1758.
- 35 Ibid., Vol. 467, pièce 21, St. Pierre, Concessions de peche données a l'Isle Saint Pierre, 1764.
- 36 A.C., C7 220, Dossier Morin de Fonfay, Jean Baptiste, fol. 31, Mémoire des services de Morin à partir de 1737. See H. Paul Thibault, L'Ilot 17 de Louisbourg (Fortress of Louisbourg, 1972, National Historic Sites Service Manuscript Report No. 99), pp. 137-40, on Jean-Baptiste Morin.
- 37 Greffier: A.N., A.F.O., G1, Vol. 193, No. 1, fols. 6-6v., Appointed 23 juillet 1749; notaire royale: Ibid., fols. 5v.-6, Appointed 4 août 1749; secretaire: Ibid., Vol. 211, No. 530, pièce 2, 14 décembre 1752; garde magasin: A.C., C11B, Vol. 34, fols. 138-39, In office 30 septembre 1754.
- 38 A.N., A.F.O., G1, Vol. 466, pièce 76, No. 169, Denombrement general des familles ... 1749. Morin's wife is Marie Charlotte Bochet de St. Martin.
- 39 Ibid., Vol. 409, 2e registre, fol. 34, Acte de mariage de Joseph dt Victor negre et Victoire negresse, tous deux esclaves de Sr. Jean Baptiste Morin, 7 janvier 1758.
- 40 A.C., C11B, Vol. 33, fols. 475-76, Séguin à Rouillé, 20 janvier 1753, "il paroist a son aise quoique fils d'un boulanger de cette ville."
- 41 A.C., C7 220, Dossier Morin de Fonfay, Jean Baptiste, fol. 31, Mémoire des services du S. Morin.
- 42 A.C.M., B, Registre 272, fols. 185-85v., 5 juillet 1743.
- 43 A.C., C11B, Vol. 28, fols. 160-87, Prévost, Etat des Effets tirés des magasins, 1 août 1749. Between 1745 and 1749 Antoine Morin married Catherine LaBorde, sister of a notaire royale, A.N., A.F.O., G1, Vol. 466, pièce 76, Dénombrement general, 1749.
- 44 Particularly M. Pascaud, négociant at La Rochelle, holder of a monopoly on seal hunting in the Isles de la Madelaine, A.N., A.F.O., G2, Vol. 188, fols. 430-31, 1751.

- 45 A.C.M., Liasse B 6116, pièce 14, fols. 2-2v.
- 46 A.N., A.F.O., G3, Vol. 2041-1, No. 105, Vente du terrain à Morin, 2 septembre 1751. Ibid., Vol. 2047-2, No. 5, Bail à loyer d'une habitation, Morin à Catherine Dinan et autres. See A.F.L., Map Collection N.D. 49.
- 47 Magasin: A.C.M., Liasse B 6121, No. 86, p. 153, Vente judiciaire requis par le S. Morin cadet, 9 septembre 1754. Boutique: A.C., C11B, Vol. 33, fols. 475-76, Séquin à Rouillé, 20 janvier 1753. That this reference applies to the Place du Port building is argued elsewhere in this report.
- 48 Ibid., Seguin à Rouillé.
- 49 A.C., E 317, Dossier Antoine Morin, fol. 6, Mémoire des services du Sr. Morin. See also John Dunn, The Militia in Isle Royale 1713-1745 on the Morins' militia service.
- 50 On Antoine, see A.C., E 317, Dossier Antoine Morin, fol. 6; On Claude Josephe, ibid., dossier Claude Josephe Morin, pièce 2.
- 51 A.C., E 317, Dossier Antoine Morin, fol. 50, Mémoire de Louise, Margueritte et Josette Morin fille et soeurs d'Antoine, Also, ibid., fol. 57, death of Antoine Morin, 8 janvier 1785.
- 52 A.N., A.F.O., G3, Vol. 2047-2, No. 64, Contrat de mariage de Louis Lagroix et Magdelaine Morin, 8 juillet 1753.
- 53 Ibid., G1, Vol. 409, 2e registre, fol. 43v., Mariage de Jean Lessenne et Catherine Morin, 21 mai 1758.
- 54 A.C., C11C, Vol. 9, fols. 202-05v., St. Malo, Observations Sur Ce qui S'est passé Touchant Le commerce de France a L'Isle Royale depuis l'année 1750 jusqu'en 1753.
- 55 A.C., C7 220, Dossier Morin de Fonfay, Jean Baptiste, fol. 50, 18 juin 1785.
- 56 A.C., E 317, Dossier Morin, Jean-Antoine-Charles, pièce 21, Martelli au Ministre, 1 octobre 1781, "Une conduite très malhonnete et indecente."
- 57 Apart from certificates in Morin's dossier, see A.C., C11B, Vol. 33, fols. 328-34, Prévost à Rouillé, 20 novembre 1753. Raymond notes his concern over Prevost's plans in ibid., Vol. 32, fols. 99-100, Raymond à Rouillé, 16 décembre 1752.

- 58 A.C., C7 220, Dossier J.B. Morin de Fonfay, fol. 40, 20 fevrier 1781.
"Une honnête education et les principes des Sentiments d'honneur qui l'ont toujours aménés ..."
- 59 A.C., C11B, Vol. 2, fols. 151-61, St. Ovide et Soubras, Louisbourg: Toisés des Graves et Concessions Accordées, No. 21, 10 novembre 1717.
- 60 A.F.L., Map Collection 1726-4.
- 61 Ibid., 1740-4.
- 62 A.C., B, Vol. 44, fols. 576v.-77v., Paris, Le Roy, 8 juillet 1721,
"les maisons, magasins et Cabannes qui ont esté Basti jusqu'a present dans la ville de Louisbourg ne Sont que de pieux avec du bousillage et couvertes presque toutes d'Ecorces."
- 63 A.F.L., Map Collection 1731-3.
- 64 Christian Pouyez, "Sur Les Toits et Couvertures" (Fortress of Louisbourg Preliminary Architectural Studies, Unpublished Manuscript Report, 1972), pp. 18-20.
- 65 A.F.L., Map Collection 1717-2 is the earliest plan showing the Morin building. Ibid., 1740-4 states that it was partially demolished about three years before the date of the map. The data in this section summarizes the information from the map and view collection, especially Map Collection 1731-1 and 1731-3.
- 66 A.C.M., Liasse B 6113, 1741, No. 79, Inventaire judiciaire requis par le Sr. Jean Labady, 16 juin 1741.
- 67 A.F.L., Map Collection 1742-2 and 1742-6.
- 68 Ibid., 1745-1.
- 69 Ibid., 1746-1, 1746-4 and 1746-6.
- 70 Depot des Fortifications des Colonies, Amerique Septentrionale (hereafter cited as D.F.C., A.S.), No. d'Ordre 216, Rapport du nommé Girard La Croix, refers to buildings torn down by the defenders, and others destroyed by enemy fire. Governor Knowles stated in 1746: "the Garrisons wanting fuel last year, a great number of Houses and Enclosures were pulled down," P.R.O., C.O., Nova Scotia, A28, pp. 191-200, Knowles to Sec'ty of State, 8 July 1746 [Old System Calendar].
- 71 A.F.L., Map Collection 1751-7.
- 72 A.C., C11B, Vol. 33, fols. 475-76, Séguin, 20 janvier 1753.

- 73 A.F.L., Map Collection 1767-1 and 1768-1.
- 74 P.R.O., C.O., 217, Vol. 25, fols. 135-41, Mich. Franklin, Report on the present state of Louisbourg, 26 septembre 1768.

Functions and Activities of Place Du Port

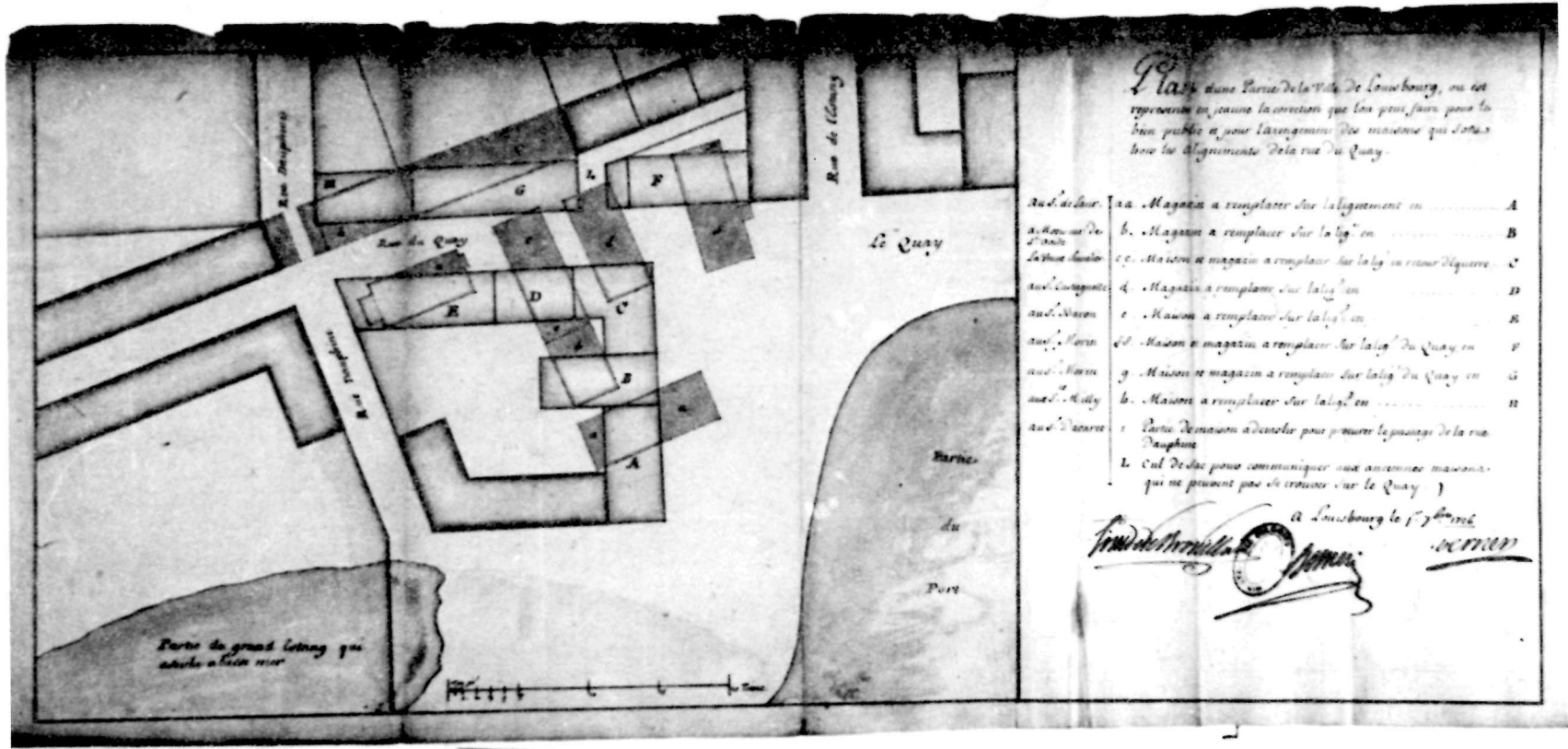
- 1 See Brenda Dunn, Block 2, pp. 40, 53, 63, 69.
- 2 A.C., C11C, Vol. 16, Paris, Le Roy, Ordonnance Etablissent le plan de la ville de Louisbourg, 31 mai 1723.
- 3 A.F.L., Map Collection 1752-11.
- 4 Information on these buildings comes from Pouyez et Proulx, L'Isle du Quay de Louisbourg (Fortress of Louisbourg, Unpublished Manuscript Report, 1972), and from Terrence MacLean's report-in-progress on Block 4.
- 5 The market sites discussed in 1721 were in Blocks 1 and 3. A.C., C11C, Vol. 15, pièce 206, De Mesy, 24 novembre 1721, with the notes of the Conseil de la Marine, quoting Verville, 19 mars 1722.
- 6 Diderot et d'Alembert, Encyclopédie, Tome VIII, Article "Halle".
- 7 A.N., A.F.O., G2, Vol. 194, No. 79, fols. 320 and 323, Duchambon et Carrerot contre Robert et autres, 1735.
- 8 Ibid., Vol. 186, fols. 246, 252, 259v., Procédure criminel contre Louis Davory, accusé de vol, août 1740.
- 9 P.R.O., C.O., Nova Scotia A28, pp. 191-200, Knowles to Secretary of State, 8 July 1746 [old calendar] and A.C., C11B, Vol. 28, fol. 114, Hopson and Desherbiers, Resolutions taken the 3-14 July 1749, Article 7.
- 10 A.F.L., Map Collection 1751-7.
- 11 A.C., C11B, Vol. 25, fols. 19-22v., Duquesnel et Bigot, 28 octobre 1743. See Rodrigue Lavoie, Louisbourg Quay (Fortress of Louisbourg, Unpublished Manuscript Report, 1965) on the construction and maintenance of these wharves.
- 12 Archives de Comité Technique du Génie, Article 14, pièce 41, Franquet, Mémoire sur les Cales et Sur le Quay, 14 décembre 1751.
- 13 Diderot et d'Alembert, Encyclopédie, Tome VIII, Article "Halle" ; Tome II, Article "Carcan"; and Tome XII, Article "Pilori".

- 14 A.N., A.F.O., G2, Vol. 194, No. 79, fols. 320 and 323, Duchambon et Carrerot contre Robert, 1735.
- 15 A.C., C11C, Vol. 11, fol. 81v., paiement pour l'établissement d'un carcan, 28 août 1733. The carcan is first shown on A.F.L., Map Collection 1734-4 and is last shown on *ibid.*, 1740-4, but there is documentary reference to it in 1742. A.N., A.F.O., G2, Vol. 168, 20 septembre 1742. I have found no reference to a pillory during the second French occupation, but the English built one in 1759. Boston Public Library, Diary of Jacob Haskins, 18 July 1759.
- 16 A.N., A.F.O., G2, Vol. 184, fols. 546-76, Procédure Criminel contre René Allain et François Joly, 1737, especially fols. 574-75v.
- 17 See inter alia, A.C.M., B, Liasse 6113, dossier 4, pièces 6-8, 23 juin 1738; *ibid.*, dossier 8, pièce 32, Carrerot [1739]; *ibid.*, registre 271, fol. 21v., Procès verbal de publication, 4 novembre 1753.
- 18 A.N., A.F.O., G2, Vol. 179, fols. 544-44v., Sabatier à St. Ovide et De Mesy, 16 juin 1728.

Illustration References

- 1 Archives of the Fortress of Louisbourg, Map Collection No. 1726-4. Archives Nationales, Archives des Colonies, C11A, Vol. 126, fol. 240.
- 2 A.F.L., M.C. No. 1734-4. A.N., A.C., Archives de la France d'Outre Mer, Dépôt des Fortifications des Colonies, IV-180.
- 3 A.F.L., M.C. No. 1734-5. *Ibid.*, IV-183.
- 4 A.F.L., M.C. No. 1740-4. A.N., Outre-Mer, Atlas Moreau de S. Mery, F3-290:52.
- 5 Morin Family Reconstitution
- 6 A.F.L., M.C. No. 1731-1. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cartes et Plans, GeC.5019.
- 7 A.F.L., M.C. No. 1731-3. Archives de la Guerre, Archives du Comité Technique du Génie, 14-1-22.
- 8 A.F.L., M.C. No. 1745-1. B.N., C & P, Service Hydrographique de la Marine, 131-11-6.

1 The 1727 plan for the redesign of the Place du Port area.

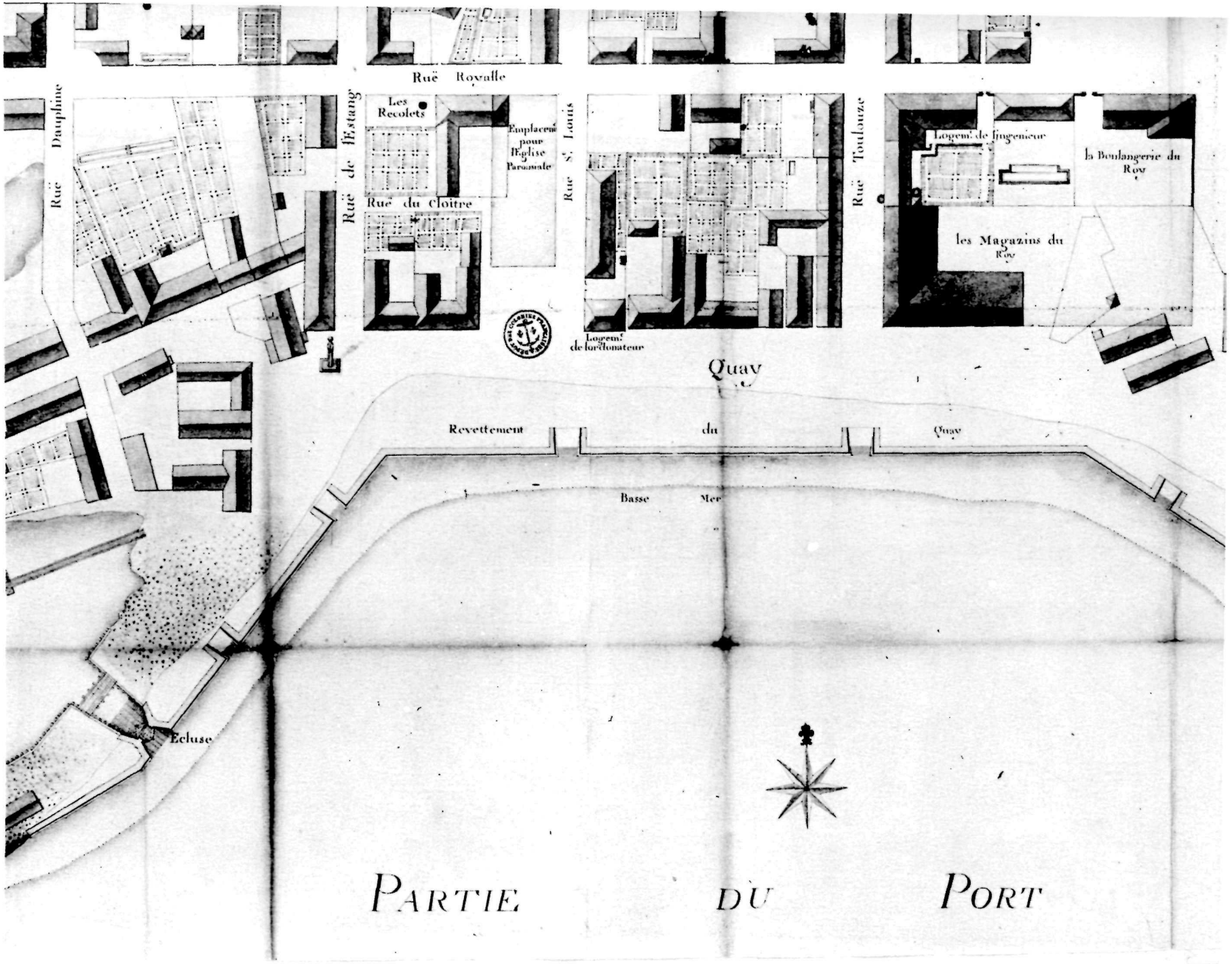


Plan dans l'Etat de la Ville de Luxembourg, en ce qui concerne en partie la correction que l'on peut faire pour le bien public et pour l'alignement des maisons qui sont hors l'alignement de la rue du Quay.

- | | | |
|------------------|---|---|
| aux d'alignement | a. Magasin à remplacer sur l'alignement en | A |
| aux d'alignement | b. Magasin à remplacer sur la ligne en | B |
| aux d'alignement | c. Maison et magasin à remplacer sur la ligne en | C |
| aux d'alignement | d. Magasin à remplacer sur la ligne en | D |
| aux d'alignement | e. Maison à remplacer sur la ligne en | E |
| aux d'alignement | f. Maison et magasin à remplacer sur la ligne du Quay en | F |
| aux d'alignement | g. Maison et magasin à remplacer sur la ligne du Quay en | G |
| aux d'alignement | h. Maison à remplacer sur la ligne en | H |
| aux d'alignement | i. Partie de maison à démolir pour faire le passage de la rue Dauphine | I |
| aux d'alignement | l. Cul de sac pour communiquer aux anciennes maisons qui ne peuvent pas se trouver sur le Quay. | L |

à Luxembourg le 17^{me} Mars 1771
Trudon de la Motte
J. J. J.
 1771

2 Place du Port, with the Morin building and the pillory, in 1734.



- 3 Vallee's map, which ignores the existence of Place du Port and alters the alignment of the Isle du Quay.

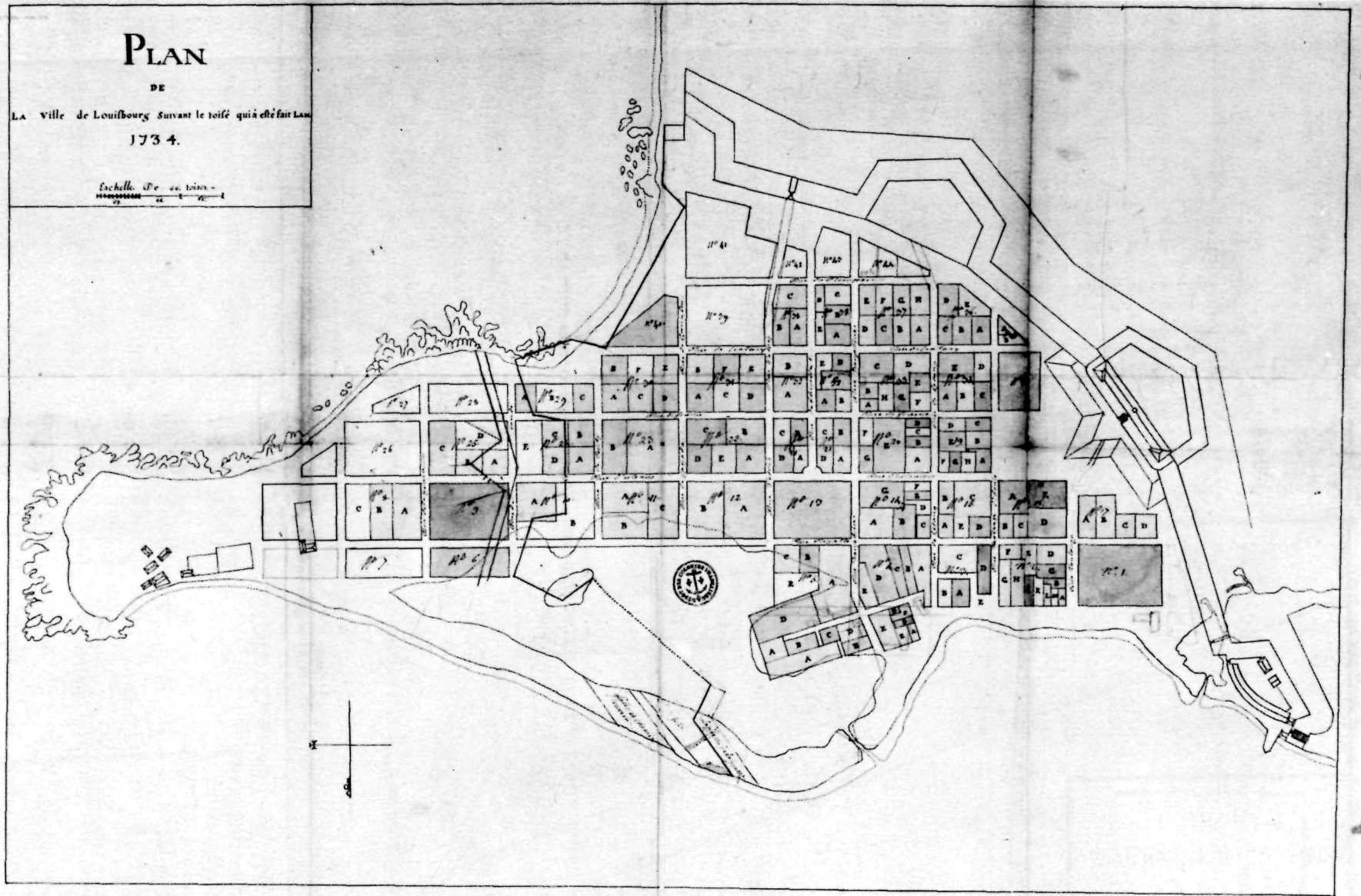
PLAN

DE

LA Ville de Louisbourg suivant le toisé qui a été fait L'an

1734.

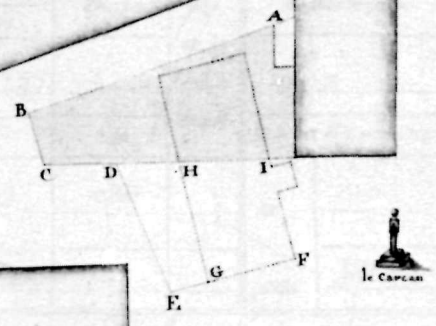
Échelle De 100 Toises -
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



4 Verrier's plan and recommendation for Place du Port, 1740.

PARTIE DU PLAN
DE LOUISBOURG

1740



Partie du Quay

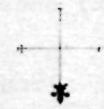
Place du Port

Remarque sur le Terrain coloré de jaune

Le nomme L'Ingois habitant de cette Ville occupoit par une Concession provisoire du 10^e J^uin 1717 Le Terrain ABCDEF, il luy fut ordonné il y a environ trois ans de brouter sa maison en GHIF, et une petite Cloture DEGH, pour servir à l'alignement des maisons qui sont sur Le Quay, et obtint, Ce Particulier demanda pour estre dédomagé du terrain qui venoit de perdre la permission de rebâtir sa maison sur le mesme alignement des d^{es} maisons du Quay, il fut refusé, parce que l'on vouloit faire de ce terrain une place. On dit que cette prétendue place seroit d'aucun utilité, le space en estant trop petit en regard à une place publique. Une maison qui occuperoit ce terrain decouvroit le Port, luy le dédomageroit ce particulier, et le public. Jouroit de l'agrecable. Lorsque le Revêtement du Quay sera fait il se trouvera une place assez espacieuse pour déposer les bois et autres marchandises.

vermily

52



5 Morin Family Reconstitution.

Mari : MORIN dit Langevin Prénom : Claude Fils } Claude Morin
 NOMS Marie Troussard
 Femme : LAMOUREUX dt Rochefort Prénom : Madelaine Fille } Jean Lamoureux dit Rochefort
 Madelaine Pichot

PROFESSION
 négociant 1723
 aubergiste 1726
 boulanger 1726

MARIAGE	célébré à	
n° 1	Plaisance	
	né à	demeurant à
MARI	Chinon en Touraine	Plaisance
FEMME	Plaisance	Plaisance

Rang du mariage	Age au mariage	Dates		Durée	Age en fin d'observ.	Remariage le
		de mariage	de fin d'observ.			
1	33	15 janvier '13	2 janvier '55	42		X
		de naissance	de décès	Age		Durée du veuvage
1	c16		2 I 1755	c80		
			c 1764			108+

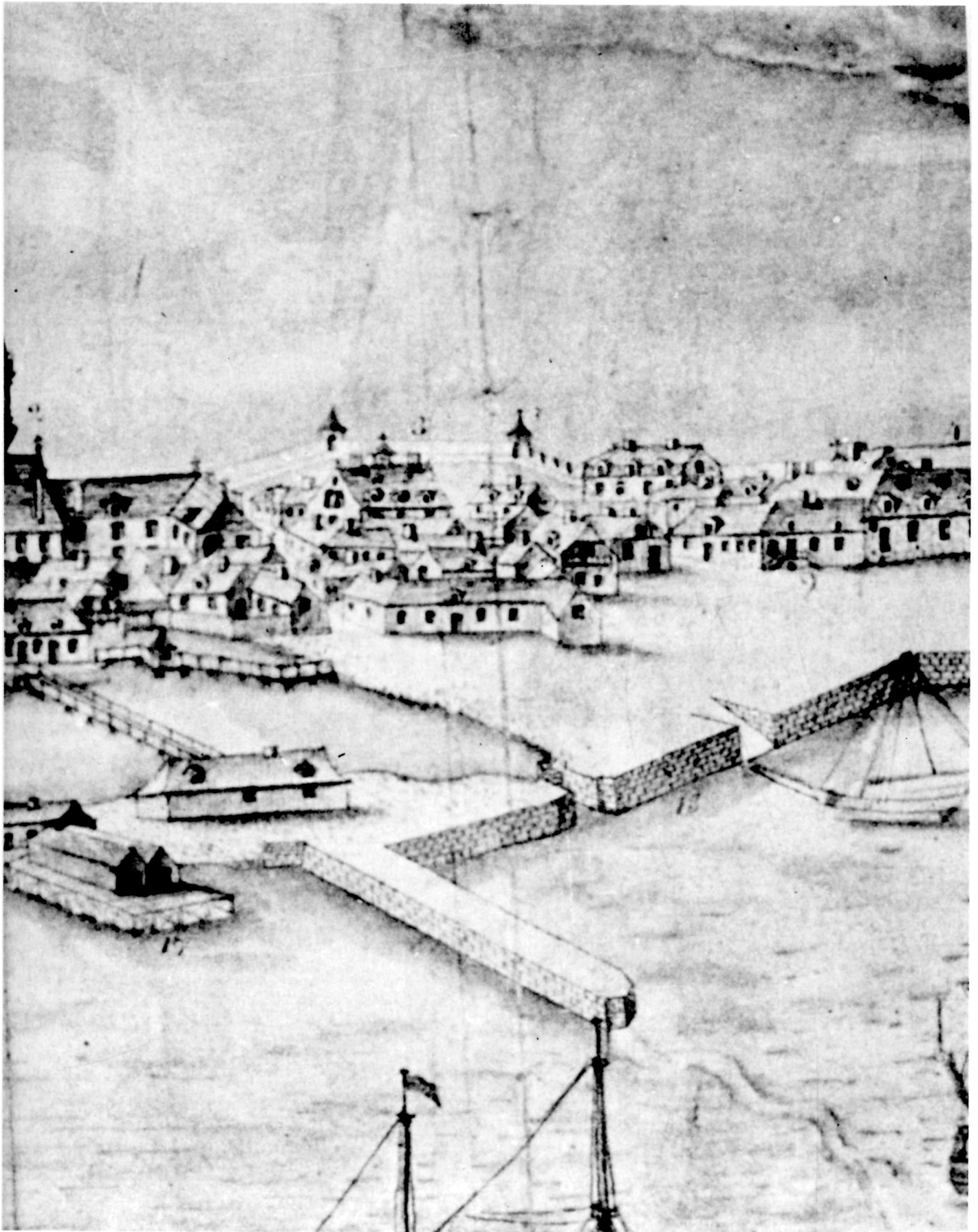
Prénom et NOM du nouveau conjoint
X
Lieu du décès
Louisbourg
St. Pierre

Groupe	Durée (ans)	Nbre de nals.	Age de la mère	Durée de mariage	Inter- valle en mois	Sexe	Rang	NAISSANCES		DÉCÈS		MARIAGES		Prénom	Prénom et NOM du conjoint
								Date	Date	s. m.	Age	Date	Age		
			3-192-3			f	1	1715-1716	P 1776	v	60+	8 VII 1753	c37	Marie-Madelaine	
15-19	3	1	20	4		m	2	c 1717	P 1788	m	71+	1746-1748	c30	Jean-Baptiste	
20-24	5	2	23	7		m	3	8 X 1720	8 I 1785	m	64	1746-1748	c27	Antoine	
25-29	5	3	24-26	8-10		f	4	1721-1723						Marie-Anne	
30-34	5	2	27	11		m	5	12 IV 1724		m				Marc-Claude-Joseph	
35-39	5	2	28	12	10	f	6	20 II 1725	P 1786	c	61+			Marguerite	
40-44	5	2	31	15	40	f	7	11 VI 1728	17 VI 1728	c				Louise	
45-49	5	0	32	16	17	f	8	25 IX 1729				21 V 1758	28	Catherine	
			36	20	39	m	9	29 I 1733	21 V 1733	c				Michel	
0-4			37	21	21	f	10	16 X 1734						Louise	
5-9			40	24	35	m	11	18 IX 1737	12 II 1756	c	18			Guillaume	
10-14			43	27	34	f	12	14 VII 1740	P 1786	c	46+			Marie-Josephe (Josette)	
15-19							13								
20-24							14								
25-29							15								
30-34															
Total		12													
Garçons		5													
Filles		7													

Possibly Marie-Anne was born 1st; Marie-Madelaine 4th.
 The age of the mother is an estimation.

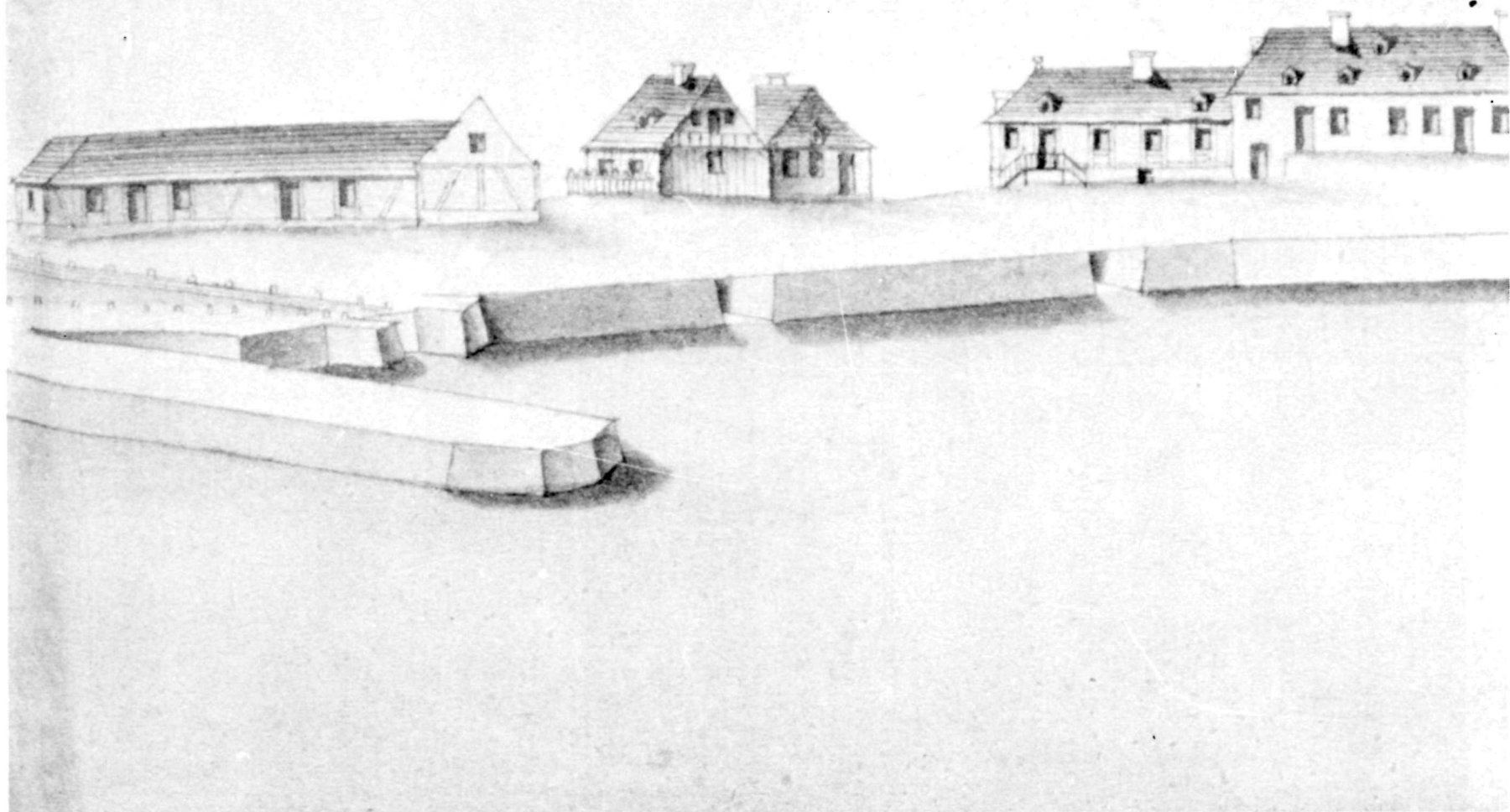
OBSERVATIONS

6 The Morin building, marked "1", in 1731.

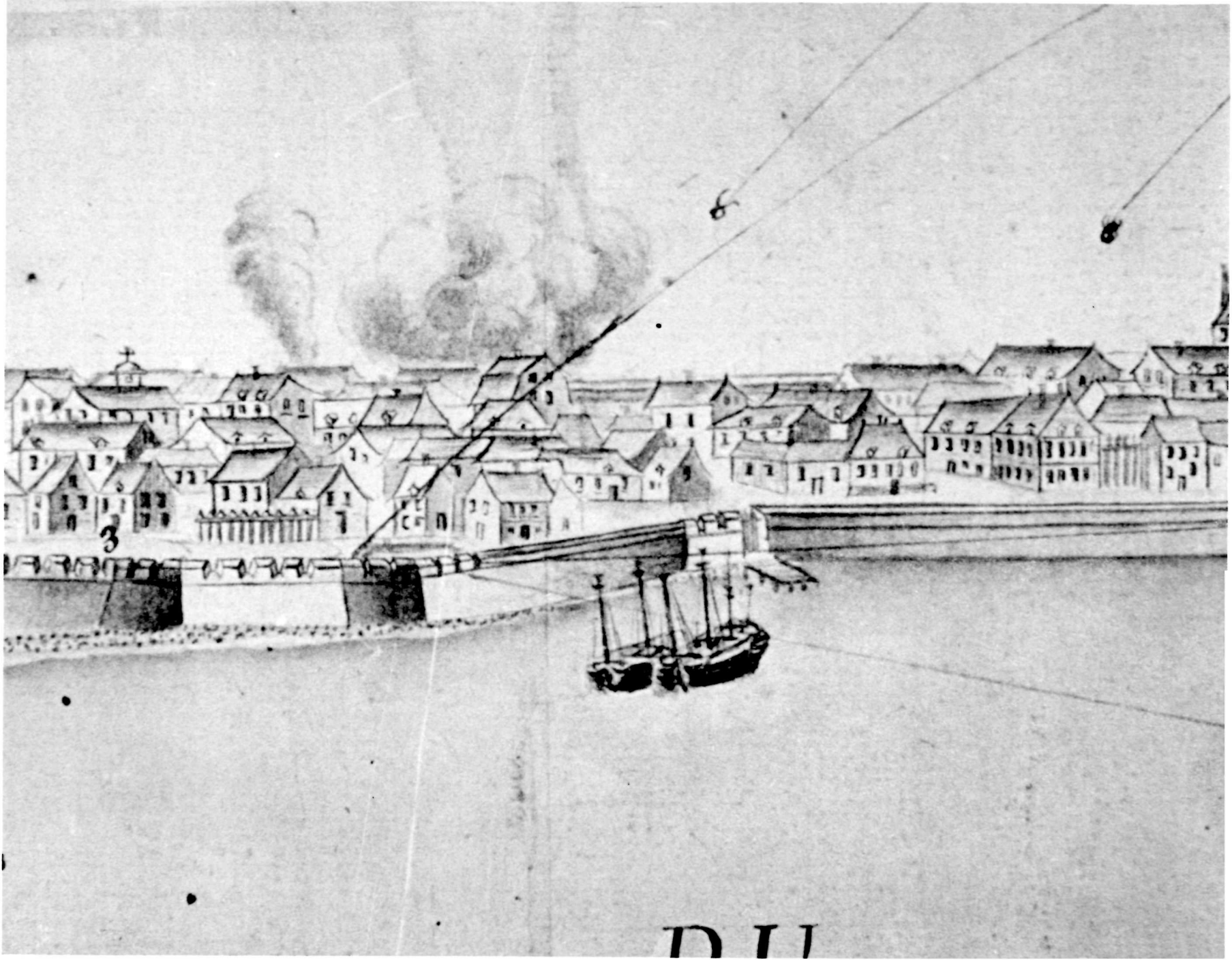


7 The Morin building, marked "1".

VEUE



8 The apparently redesigned Morin building, marked "1", on a 1745 view.



Commodity Imports of Louisbourg,

Fortress of Louisbourg,

April 1975,

by Christopher Moore.

Commodity Imports Of Louisbourg,
 Fortress of Louisbourg,
 April 1975,
 by Christopher Moore

v	Preface
x	Major Sources of Commodity Import Information and Shipping Data
1	Part One: Shipping
2	1. The Shipping Season
4	2. Shipping Statistics
7	3. The Tonneau
10	4. Charts
30	Part Two: Commodity Imports
30	Introduction to the Tables
33	Organization of the Tables
35	Tables of Commodities Imported
86	Index of Commodities Imported by Region:
86	- French Terminology
99	- English Terminology
111	Notes on Tables
	Charts
11	1 Arrival Dates Of Ships At Louisbourg, 1737
12	2 Arrival Dates Of Ships At Louisbourg, 1740
13	3 Arrival Dates Of Ships At Louisbourg, 1742

- 14 4 Numbers And Tonnages Of Trading Ships
- 16 5 Import Shipping By Port Of Origin
- 19 6 Ships Arriving At Louisbourg 1742, 1743

PREFACE

The main object of this report is to reduce the data on Louisbourg's imports into useable and accessible form. It is intended to summarize what is known about the range of goods imported at Louisbourg, as a contribution to understanding more about the "basket of goods" available to residents of the town. At the same time, it contains some basic information on the mechanics of importation at Louisbourg, and it presents the available data on the sources of Louisbourg's imports.

The import tables which form the heart of this report are drawn from a limited number of sources. Two branches of the colonial administration at Louisbourg kept records on the import trade. One was the office of the commissaire-ordonnateur, who was required to administer and report on the commerce of the colony; the other was the Admiralty, which functioned as a form of Customs service. These two offices yield most of our information on the import trade.

The Tableaux de Commerce, drawn up under the commissaire-ordonnateur's supervision, attempted to set forth in compact form some major indicators of the state of commerce. Where they touch on imports, these tables present valuable data. Unfortunately there is only one year for which these detailed tables cover Louisbourg's imports from all its five major supply areas^{*}, and we have no tables at all for most years. The tables

* France, Quebec, the French West Indies, Acadia (i.e., mainland Nova Scotia) and New England were all covered in 1737.

which exist do not include pacotilles, private cargoes shipped by individuals renting cargo space aboard ship, though it was claimed that one-third of all goods brought from France to Louisbourg were in pacotilles.¹ Furthermore, there is doubt about the reliability of the import and export tables. In 1740 and 1742 the Minister of Marine complained about the imprecision of the tables and the inconsistency in the listed quantities and prices.² Whether or not the figures were intentionally distorted, it appears clear that the figures given cannot be taken as precise data on the size and value of Louisbourg's imports or on the overall balance of trade.

The commissaire-ordonnateur's detailed tables are supplemented by the Admiralty's records of the arrivals of cargo vessels.³ As part of its duties, the Louisbourg Admiralty heard statements of arrival (arrivées) from the captains of ships visiting Louisbourg. As soon as possible after arrival, usually on the same day, the captain or his representative appeared before the Admiralty, where he gave the name and size of his ship, summarized its cargo, stated its place and date of departure and presented his certificate of permission to sail. In addition he could make a statement on any notable events or accidents which had occurred during the voyage.

1. A.C., C11B, Vol. 22, fol. 219-222, Bigot au Ministre, 17 décembre 1740.

2. A.C., B, Vol. 70, fol. 400, Maurepas à Bigot, 13 mai 1740; Ibid., Vol. 74, fol. 582v., Maurepas à Bigot, 15 juin 1742. See the discussion of this topic in Guy Fregault, François Bigot, administrateur colonial (Ottawa, Institut d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française, 1948), Vol. 1, Chapter 5.

3. Archives de la Charente Maritime, B, Registre 272, passim.

Unfortunately most of these arrival records have not survived. We have only a single volume of statements of arrival, beginning in May 1742 and concluding in September 1743. This volume is apparently not a record of all the arrivals of those two years, for it includes passing reference to the arrival of a ship in April 1742, for which the statement of arrival is no longer extant.⁴ It seems likely that the terminal dates of the record are quite arbitrary; the arrivals from May 1742 to September 1743 fill a single volume and the records preceding and following them were evidently kept in other volumes now lost. Nevertheless, the official correspondence of the period suggests that very few cargo ships arrived during the parts of 1742 and 1743 for which the records are missing. The gaps probably do not seriously distort the record of imports to Louisbourg in 1742 and 1743, though a few ships were probably left out.

As a rule, the Admiralty records do not include ships which came only to fish, nor naval ships. The information is therefore limited to privately-owned merchant ships. A more important problem is the lack of detail in the descriptions of cargo given in the arrivées. A merchant captain from the British-controlled colonies of New England or Acadia had to give a detailed statement of his cargo and await written permission before unloading or selling any part of it. Consequently Admiralty accounts of cargoes imported from New England and Acadia in 1742 and 1743 are quite precise. However, trade with France and the French colonies was not subject to the same restrictions. A captain arriving from Saint Malo, Québec or Martinique was asked only for a general description of

4. Ibid., fol. 117-118v., Declaration de Pierre Dartiague, 2 novembre 1742.

his cargo, so something like "wine, salt, and other merchandise" is often the most specific description which can be found in the Admiralty records.

Despite their shortcomings, these bodies of data, supplemented by a few other collections, are our best source of import information, and they do contain a substantial amount of data. We will get no precise knowledge of all the trade of every year, but a comparison with fragmentary data from the 1720's and 1730's suggests that the goods being imported did not change to any extreme degree year by year. The data we do have may include a fairly good proportion of the commercial goods imported. Undoubtedly many goods have been missed due to the superficiality of the data and the limited number of years covered, but the most serious drawback to comprehensive lists of consumer goods may be the amount of goods brought here as personal belongings or private cargoes, and therefore never registered as imports. Combining the list of goods compiled here with the artifact collection, the inventories, the lists of royal stores, and other descriptions of goods and possessions might produce a fairly comprehensive list of the entire range of consumer goods and material possessions available to the inhabitants of Isle Royale.

The tables of imported commodities which form the major part of this report are essentially lists, and a list cannot assemble all available data on each imported item. I have used a footnoting system to add supplementary information where feasible, but documentary research or reference to secondary sources will be required for specific information about many imported items.

Examination of Louisbourg's exports has been largely left aside in this report. While at first glance it might seem necessary to subtract

Louisbourg's re-exports from its imports before forming conclusions about the variety of goods available at Louisbourg, the sources on imports and exports are in fact not comprehensive enough to support such a detailed comparison. I have proceeded on the assumption that any commodity shipped to Louisbourg would have been in some degree available for purchase there, even if entire consignments were often re-exported. For this report, the Louisbourg export tables were used only to search for goods otherwise unrecorded, which were probably not produced in Louisbourg and therefore must previously have been imports. In this way a number of commodities shipped to Louisbourg but not mentioned on the existing tables of imports were found.

As with exports, the subject of prices has been left aside in the present report. There is a good deal of price data in the import tables, but that information will best be used as part of a wider study of prices using a broader range of sources. A study of coinage, monetary values and inflation would be basic to an examination of prices and costs at Louisbourg. Furthermore, there are indications in the official correspondence that the price lists entered on the import tables were doctored to improve the appearance of Isle Royale's trade balance. Hence it seems both practical and duly cautious to put aside price data in the course of the present study, despite the importance of that topic.

MAJOR SOURCES OF COMMODITY IMPORT INFORMATION AND SHIPPING DATA

Isle Royale:

- 1719 - A.N., Outre Mer, Gl, Vol. 466, no. 59, St. Ovide, "Recencement des vaisseaux qui sont venus de France et autres lieux à l'Isle Royale en 1719", 9 pp. Shipping lists.
- 1721 - A.C., C11C, Vol. 9, fol. 10-20, De Mesy, 7 décembre 1721, "Batiments venus à l'Isle Royale en peche troque et Commerce", Shipping lists, cargo summaries. Ibid., fol. 22-26, "Batiments navigans pour la compte des habitans de l'Isle Royale et des Acadiens", Shipping lists.
- 1723 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 6, fol. 223-223v., 12 décembre 1723, "Etat des navires qui sont venus." Shipping totals.
- 1725 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 7, fol. 396-399v., Delaforest au Ministre, 17 décembre 1725. Discusses shipping totals. Ibid., fol. 400-401v., Etats of English cargoes at Louisbourg, 1725.
- 1726 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 8, fol. 197, L'Amirauté au Ministre, 4 décembre 1726. Discusses shipping totals.
- 1728 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 10, fol. 61-65v., St. Ovide et de Mesy, 14 décembre 1728, Etat des permissions données ... aux capitaines ... anglais 1728. List of English cargo.
- 1730 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 11, fol. 69, De Mesy, 4 décembre 1730, "Isle Royale Commerce." A table of shipping arrivals.

- 1731 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 12, fol. 64, De Mesy, 1731, "Isle Royale 1731."
Table of shipping arrivals.
- 1732 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 13, fol. 243, 22 décembre 1732, "Liste générale des Batiments venues." Table of shipping arrivals. Ibid., fol. 247-255v., Desmarest, 15 novembre 1732, "Liste des batiments anglais." Ships and cargo listed.
- 1733 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 14, fol. 233, 24 novembre 1733, "Isle Royale 1733."
A table of shipping arrivals. Ibid., fol. 276-292v., Rondeau, Receipts of ships' duties to pay for lighthouse costs. Lists all the ships which paid duties proportional to their tonnage for 1733.
- 1734 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 16, fol. 120, 30 novembre 1734, "Estat des Batiments Venues 1734." A list of shipping arrivals. Ibid., fol. 125-139v., "Estat des recettes des droits du fanal 1734." Arrival lists and tonnages for 1734. Ibid., fol. 12, Sabatier, 15 décembre 1734.
An addendum to the list of 30 novembre 1734.
- 1735 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 17, fol. 90, "Table de Commerce 1735." Table of shipping arrivals. Ibid., fol. 72-80, "Estat des recettes des droits de la fanal 1735." List of ships paying lighthouse duties for 1735.
- 1736 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 18, fol. 170, "Isle Royale Pesche et Commerce 1736." Table of arrivals.
- 1737 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 19, fol. 289-291, "Estat des Batiments Venus à l'Isle Royale 1737." Lists name, size, port of origin, etc. of arrivals. A.C., C11C, Vol. 9, fol. 50-95, "Estat des Cargaisons dans la colonie 1737." Detailed list of cargoes imported, by ship and by port of origin. Does not agree with the 1737 C11B list cited above.

- 1738 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 20, fol. 220, Le Normant, 3 novembre 1738, "Peche et Commerce Isle Royale 1738." A table of shipping arrivals.
- 1739 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 21, fol. 152, Bigot, 2 novembre 1739, "Peche et Commerce Isle Royale 1739." Ibid., Vol. 26, fol. 225-226, n.d., "Peche et Commerce Isle Royale." Virtually the same totals, except the latter includes comparisons with 1738. Ibid., Vol. 22, fol. 236, n.d., "Droit de la fanal 1739, 1738." Total receipts only.
- 1740 - A.C., F2B, Vol. 11, fol. 12-18, "Tableaux de Commerce: Louisbourg 1740." Ship arrivals, imports and exports of Louisbourg to and from all regions except France. A.C., C11B, Vol. 22, fol. 238, Bigot, 7 novembre 1740, "Peche et Commerce 1740." Table of ship arrivals. Ibid., Vol. 23, fol. 160-160v., "Peche et Commerce de 1740." Ship arrival totals for 1739 and 1740.
- 1742 - La Rochelle, Archives de la Charente-Maritime, B, Registre 272, passim., Declaration d'arrivée des batiments de mer, 1742.
Information on ship arrivals and cargo summaries.
- 1743 - La Rochelle, Archives de la Charente-Maritime, B, Registre 272, passim., Declarations d'arrivée des batiments de mer, 1743.
Information on ship arrivals and cargo summaries. A.C., C11B, Vol. 25, fol. 117, Bigot au Ministre, 21 octobre 1743. Discusses ship arrivals of 1743. Ibid., Vol. 26, fol. 209-212v., Bigot 1744, "Peche et Commerce 1743." Ship arrival totals for 1743 and 1742.
- 1744 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 26, fol. 227, "Peche et Commerce 1744." Ship arrival totals for 1743 and 1744.

1752 - A.C., F2B, Vol. 11, fol. 20-36, passim., "Tableaux de Commerce."

Shipping and cargo imports to Louisbourg from Québec, les Isles, France. A.C., C11B, Vol. 33, fol. 495, Amirauté, 10 janvier 1753, "Estat des batiments venus en peche et traite 1752." Table of shipping arrivals. A.C., C11C, Vol. 16, n.p., 31 décembre 1752. New England cargoes.

1753 - A.C., F2B, Vol. 11, fol. 22-23, 29, "Tableaux de Commerce."

Shipping and cargo imports to Louisbourg from Isles and France. A.C., C11B, Vol. 33, fol. 436, Prevost, 24 décembre 1753, "Peche et Commerce 1753." Table of shipping arrivals.

1754 - A.C., F2B, Vol. 11, fol. 30, 33, 35, "Tableaux de Commerce."

Shipping and cargoes to Louisbourg from Québec, France, Isles, 1753.

1755 - A.C., F2B, Vol. 11, fol. 36, "Tableaux de Commerce." Shipping and cargoes, New England to Louisbourg, 1755.

Québec - A.C., F2B, Vol. 11, "Tableaux de Commerce", fol. 1-12 are tables of import and export kept at Québec from 1727 to 1739. These include shipping and cargoes to and from Isle Royale.

PART ONE: SHIPPING

My research for this study was focused on the commodities which found their way to Louisbourg for sale. Consequently this report does not pretend to be a comprehensive study of Louisbourg's shipping activity. However, the limited number of sources consulted did produce some shipping information which is not irrelevant to this report. As a result, some observations about shipping are included in this section, more as a preliminary sketch than an exhaustive study of shipping activity in Isle Royale.

As with the data on commodities, the figures on shipping totals and tonnages are not to be taken as precise. Most of the figures are of doubtful accuracy and are included to suggest general trends. For instance, two apparently independent bodies of information on the shipping totals of 1737 do not correspond in their total numbers and place-of-origin lists.

1. The Shipping Season

An ice-free harbour was an important factor in Louisbourg's selection as the chief settlement of Isle Royale, for it gave the colony at least the potential for year-round shipping. In emergencies it was possible for ships to leave or enter Louisbourg at almost any time of year, and there are a few references to ships arriving in mid-winter.¹ As a rule, however, climatic and economic variables affected the volume of shipping throughout the year.

The most important of these was the ice season. The risks and inconveniences to shipping vastly increased during the months when drift ice filled the harbour and lined the adjacent coast. Consequently, ship movements virtually ceased at the height of the ice season (roughly February and March) and the great majority of ship movements took place between May and November.

Climatic conditions elsewhere in the world also affected shipments to Louisbourg from its various supply areas. Transatlantic voyages were less secure and therefore less common in winter. Trade with Quebec was

1. A ship left La Rochelle November 6, 1756 and reached Louisbourg January 30, 1757. Louis Antoine de Bougainville, Adventure in the Wilderness: The American Journal of de Bougainville (Norman, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1964), April 19, 1757. On the other hand, a French ship which sailed January 31, 1756 came within sight of Louisbourg and was forced away by the ice. A.C., F2B, Article 2, M. de La Lande Magon, fils, au Ministre, 1 fevrier et 8 avril 1756. Winter arrivals by ships from New England may have been more common. Four arrived in January and February of 1755. A.C., F2B, Article 2, fol. 37, "Etat des batiments venus de la Nouvelle Angleterre à Louisbourg, 1755."

limited to the months when the Saint Lawrence was navigable, and trade with the Caribbean may have been reduced during the hurricane season. The climate on land also affected the shipping season, for shipments were to some extent determined by the production cycles of the various export crops of each region.

Such climatic influences upon shipping meant that Louisbourg's import season began as soon as navigation was free from the dangers of ice. This was usually in April, though there appears to be no year-by-year information on the end of the ice season or the arrival of the first ship. Fishing ships were generally the first to arrive. The economic benefits of an early start to the fishery encouraged the early arrival of fishing ships, and there are references to ships being damaged or wrecked by ice in an attempt to reach shore as early as possible.² Apart from the profit motive, a long-standing custom of the fishing fleet encouraged early arrivals. In areas where there were no local authorities, the first captain to arrive in the spring traditionally received authority to allocate shore space and settle disputes. The presence of local officials and permanent shore settlements in Isle Royale had reduced the importance of this practice, but it was maintained in some of the fishing ports of the island.³

2. For example, Delaforest, an Admiralty official, mentions a ship lost in the ice April 15, 1725 while trying to arrive first at Niganiche. A.C., C11B, Vol. 7, fol. 396.

3. Archives de la Charente-Maritime, B, Registre 272, fol. 136-136v., déclaration d'arrivée de Joannis Dalfouet, 28 avril 1743. He claimed to have been the first arrival at Niganiche that year and requested the consequent privileges.

It was intended that the fishermen should bring supplies with them, since Isle Royale was often short of food by the end of winter. However, the fishermen often neglected to bring sufficient supplies, and the restocking of the colony generally did not begin until the arrival of trading ships (or ships came both to trade and to fish) days or weeks after the first fishing boats.⁴ Consequently the import season may be said to begin with the arrival of these trading ships, and to conclude in the late fall, though ships previously arrived might depart from Louisbourg as late as December or January.

Fluctuations in the number of ships arriving during this import season arose from variables too numerous to list. Economic conditions in Louisbourg and the supply areas, war or threat of war, the state of the fishery, and every individual ship owner's perception of the chances of profit affected the totals of ships arriving to trade at Louisbourg. The accompanying charts show this fluctuation in a number of years.

2. Shipping Statistics

During most years of Isle Royale's existence the greatest range of goods and the largest amount of goods came to the colony from France. There were usually more ships from France than from any other region and since the French ships had the largest average sizes, the total tonnage was generally substantially larger. In 1733 for instance, 54 ships came to Louisbourg from France compared to 20 from New England, 18 from the West Indies and 13 from Quebec. (There is no data on the shipping from

4. A.C., C11B, Vol. 24, fol. 77v.-82, Bigot au Ministre, 4 mai 1742 and Ibid., fol. 83-86v., Bigot au Ministre, 2 juin 1742. Despite the arrival of the fishing fleet there were still serious food shortages in Louisbourg in June 1742.

Acadia). The French ships' average size was about 85 tonneaux, compared to 55 tonneaux for the ships from Quebec and the West Indies, the next largest, so quantities of goods from France were larger that year than those of all the other regions combined. The volume of shipping from regions other than France seems to have increased in importance over the years. In 1742 for instance, only 34 ships came from France while 38 came from New England, though the French ships' total tonnage was nearly double that of the New England ships. In 1743 France again had the largest number of ships and the largest tonnage. In the second occupation, 1749-1758, the role of the Antilles and New England in Louisbourg's commerce increased greatly, to reach absolute figures larger than those for France. In 1752 there were 34 French ships against 57 from the West Indies and 116 from New England. Further information on these trends may be seen in the accompanying charts.

The tables of imports suggest the degree of competition between Louisbourg's various supply areas. Many basic supplies came to Louisbourg from more than one area, but the economic and climatic diversity of the supply regions reduced competition between them. The typical exports of one region were generally products not produced by the other regions: coffee from the West Indies, skins and furs from Acadia, for example. I have discovered record of only two products which came to Louisbourg from all of its supplying regions: flour (but only in small quantities from the West Indies and Acadia) and tobacco.

The volume of shipping from each port of each region is shown in a chart, but a partial port-by-port analysis of the origins of specific commodities has not produced unusual findings, even when the data are

adequate. There are few commodities dominated by a single port. It would be valuable to discover evidence of product specialization among ports, for instance to know whether most of the New England lumber arriving at Louisbourg came from a single New England port, or whether most of the finished products from New England were shipped from Boston. This does not appear to be the case. Lumber was shipped from most New England ports, as were finished goods. There are notable deviations: in New England, Boston and Newbury appear to have dominated the export of bricks, and in France the fishing ports shipped most of the salt and fishing equipment. In general, however, ships carried mixed cargoes, and commodities brought from one port might be brought by ships of most ports of the region.

It seems beyond dispute that the reshipment of goods was very common. Louisbourg was a way station for goods travelling between New England, Quebec and the West Indies, and many of its supplying ports were also centers for transshipment. Ships routinely brought goods from ports other than their stated departure point, and there are frequent references to ships with one home port arriving at Louisbourg from a different port. Consequently port of origin does not reliably specify the origin of the commodities shipped. Some data on origin by port is given here, but origin by region (i.e. from France, New England, the Isles, Acadia, or Quebec) seems more significant in most cases. Determining specific points of origin for some kinds of Louisbourg imports would be more successful by methods such as artifact analysis than by noting port-by-port import origins. Analysis of ceramics artifacts, for example, can suggest the source of the items, while a reference to a consignment of faience shipped from Bordeaux gives little new or conclusive information about

the kinds of faience in use at Louisbourg. In some cases the name of the commodity in itself is indicative, as with Bordeaux wines, St. Maixant hats, or Montauban cloth, but the import tables show that some cloth produced in Provence arrived in Louisbourg from the West Indies.

3. The Tonneau

The tonneau was virtually the sole unit used by the French to measure ship size in the 18th century.⁵ The documentation contains few references to the overall length or other dimensions of ships, but a ship's capacity, measured in tonneaux, was routinely included in shipping tables, boat sales and other references to ships. The history of the tonneau involves a tangled evolution from medieval systems of measurements, but a standard and fairly simple means of assessing the tonneau capacity of ships existed, for even ships newly built in makeshift yards along the coast of Isle Royale are described as being of a given tonneaux.

One meaning of the tonneau is similar to that of the modern short ton. As a measurement of weight, one tonneau equals 2,000 livres. However, the total weight of a ship's cargo tells little about the ship, since the weight of a full cargo would vary according to the material forming the cargo. A constant measure of a ship's ability to carry cargo must come from its capacity, and consequently tonneau was also interpreted as a cubic measure describing the volume of a ship's hold.

5. The major source for this section is Pierre Bouguer, Traité du Navire, de sa construction et de ses mouvemens (Paris, Chez Ant. Jombert, 1746), particularly pages 225-248. See also Paul Gille, "La Jauge au XVIIIe siècle" in Michel Mollat, ed., Les Sources de l'Histoire Maritime en Europe du Moyen Age au XVIIIe siècle (Paris, S.E.V.P.E.N., 1962), pp. 465-470.

In the mid-seventeenth century, a tonneau had been accepted to be the amount of space filled by four barrels of the type used to transport Bordeaux wines. This rule of thumb became inadequate once it was necessary to maintain a unified scale of measurement throughout the French merchant marine, so the royal Ordonnance de la Marine, promulgated in 1681, stabilized the tonneau at 42 cubic pieds of capacity.⁶ Ideally, the average cargo loaded in the average ship would weigh 2,000 livres for every 42 cubic pieds of interior area used for cargo and non-cargo uses,⁷ but the relationship between cubic capacity and weight was obviously very arbitrary. Since a basis for comparison was needed for the assessment of harbour fees and other taxes and duties, the cubic tonneau gave a less changeable estimate of the profit-producing ability of ships than would a measurement of cargo weight or total displacement.

Determining cubic capacity simply required measuring the size of the ship's hold. Since a ship's hold is rarely a perfect cube, it was necessary to measure length, breadth, and depth at various points along the hold to give an estimate of the total volume enclosed. The volume was then converted into tonneaux (at 42 cubic pieds to one tonneau), which were usually rounded off to a multiple of five.

Since ships paid duty based upon their cargo capacity, there was a tendency to underestimate volume whenever possible. It seems likely that

6. Yet the measurement of tonneaux by barrels continued into the 18th century. The captain of a French naval frigate in 1756 diagrammed his cargo placement by allowing one tonneau for every four barrels. A.C., C11C, Vol. 10, fol. 241-327v., M. de Tourville, "Journal de bord du Sauvage...", 1756-1758.

7. It was estimated that only two-thirds of capacity could be used for cargo, due to the need for crew space, etc. Since a tonneau of cargo on average filled only 28 cubic pieds of space, the measurement was set at 42 cubic pieds to allow for this extra third. ($28/42 = 2/3$) Gille, op. cit., p. 466.

such underestimations would have been practiced in Louisbourg, though there is no specific evidence of this.⁸

Questions of jauge, that is, of the size and capacity of ships, were under the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, which employed a carpenter to examine ships.⁹ However, it is not clear that estimations of size were always checked by the Admiralty. The sworn statements heard by the Louisbourg Admiralty of the completion of ships built in Isle Royale included tonneau capacity, but the estimates were not attested to by an official carpenter.¹⁰ In case of dispute, king's carpenters could be brought in to make an impartial estimate of capacity.¹¹

Measurement of a ship's hold was not the only way to estimate tonneaux. Experience showed what weight of any regularly shipped commodity would fill a tonneau's space. In 1737, a ship was chartered at Quebec for a voyage to Louisbourg at a fixed rate per tonneau, "according to the use and custom of the tonneau of Quebec, which is 8 quarts to the tonneau or 10 quintals of biscuit the same."¹² A quart is a dry measure used for grain or vegetables, but a quintal is 100 livres, so it is clear that only a thousand livres of biscuit were needed to fill the space of one tonneau.

8. Christopher J. French, "Eighteenth Century Shipping Tonnage Measurement", in Journal of Economic History, Vol. 33, No. 2, September 1973, pp. 43-44.

9. Archives de la Charente-Maritime, B, Registre 270, fol. 42, Reglement des droits et salaires des officiers du siege de l'Amirauté, 24 mai 1735. Titre 6, article 5, declarations de construction et jauge de batiments.

10. Ibid., Registre 272, fols. 2 and 7, declarations de construction, 12 et 30 mai 1742.

11. A.N.O., G2, Vol. 184, fol. 591, Claude Perrin vs. Carrerot, Larreguy et Ducos, 5 décembre 1738.

12. Ibid., fol. 587, 29 juillet 1737, "...suivant l'usage et coutume du tonneau de Quebec qui est huit quarts au tonneau et dix quinteaux de biscuit idem...."

The charts four and six give indications of the tonneaux measurement of ships visiting Louisbourg. The largest average tonnage of all ships visiting Louisbourg in any given year was less than 100 tonneaux, and cargo ships of over 200 tonneaux (or about 8,500 cubic pieds of capacity) were not very common. Yet there is reference to at least one merchant ship of 350 tonneaux¹³ and shipbuilders of Isle Royale were working on ships as large as 120 tonneaux in 1737.¹⁴ Ships as small as ten or twelve tonneaux often came to Louisbourg from Acadia and even from New England.

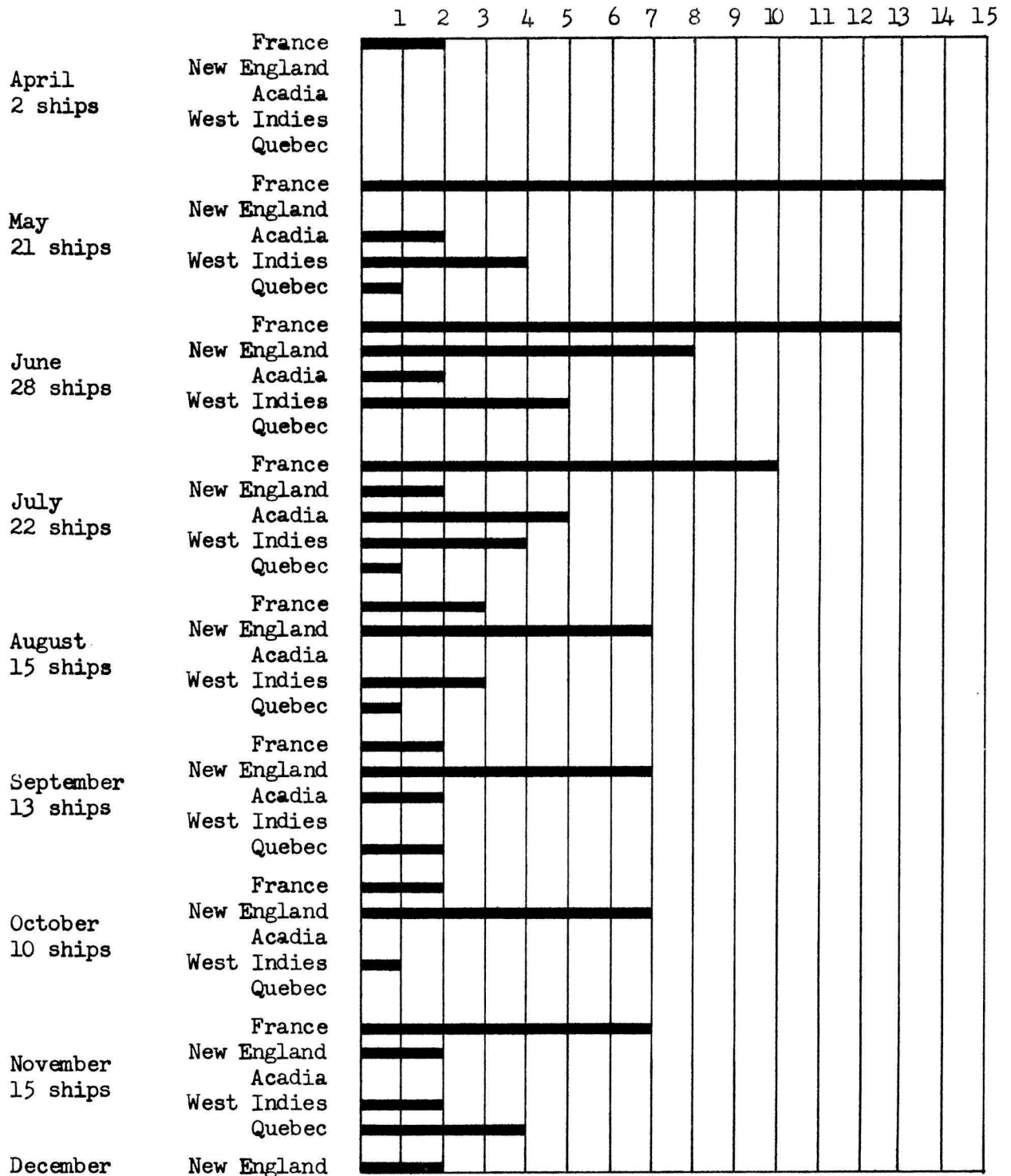
There was no close relationship between a ship's type (i.e. goelette, navire, senau, etc.) and its tonneaux measurement. These terms describe various ship designs and riggings, which could be built in various sizes. Obviously coastal schooners would usually be smaller than transatlantic ships, but the tonneaux range of schooners was fairly large, with tonnage from 15 tonneaux to 100 tonneaux being recorded.

13. A.C., C11B, Vol. 19, fol. 13-19, St. Ovide et de Mezy au Ministre, 23 octobre 1737. Compagnie des Indes ships which stopped at Louisbourg were larger.

14. A.C., C11B, Vol. 20, fol. 325, "Etat des Batiments de mer construits et achetés pendant 1737", n.d.

CHART 1

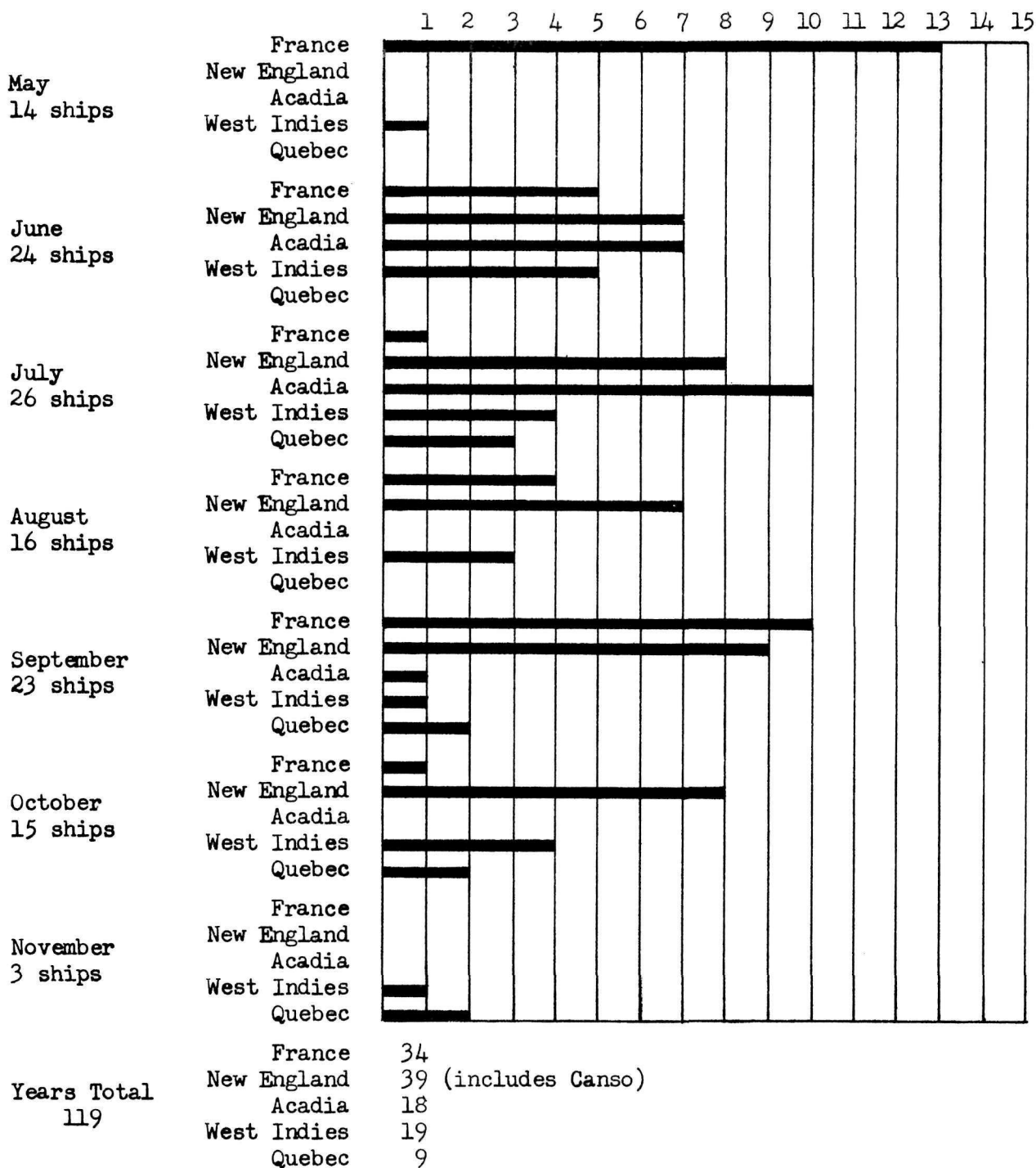
Arrival date of ships at Louisbourg, 1737
 Source - A.C., C11C, Vol. 9, fol. 50-95



Years Total	France	56 including 3 of unknown date
131	New England	35
	Acadia	11
	West Indies	19
	Quebec	10

CHART 3

Arrival date of ships at Louisbourg, 1742
 Source - Archives de la Charente-Maritime, B, Registre 272



Other Regions 2*

* August 1742: 1 from England
 1 from Vera Cruz
 Both ships stopped in en route elsewhere.

CHART 4

Numbers and Tonnages of Trading Ships arriving at
Isle Royale, Various years 1719-1752

	France	New. Eng.	Isles	Acadia	Quebec	Other	Total	
1719								
Ships	22	1	3	2	10		38	
Tx.	1838	50	120	90	530		2628	1719
Ave. Tx.	88	50	40	45	53		69	
1721								
Ships	59	9	9	3	7	1	88	
Tx.	6120	265	425	48	290	25	7173	1721
Ave. Tx.	104	30	47	16	41	25	82	
1733								
Ships	54	20	18		13		+105	
Tx.	4600	745	1006		722		+7073	1733
Ave. Tx.	85	37	56		55			
1737								
Ships	56	35	19	11	10		131	
Tx.								1737
Ave. Tx.	(87)		(50)	(23)	(68)			
1740								
Ships		39	22	16	17		+94	
Tx.		1131	1215	260	1196		+3802	1740
Ave. Tx.		29	55	16	70			
1742								
Ships	34	38	19	18	9	2	120	
Tx.	2965	1563	1261	242	689	290	7010	1742
Ave. Tx.	87	41	66	13	77	145	58	
1743								
Ships	45	31	18	21	5		120	
Tx.	4429	1290	1252	269	420		7760	1743
Ave. Tx.	98	42	70	13	84		64	
1752								
Ships	36	116	57		4		211	
Tx.	4342	4685	4364		465		13615	1752
Ave. Tx.	121	40	77		116		65	

CHART 4 (con't)

Notes:

- French ships which came to fish without a cargo to sell have been excluded as much as possible.
- The 1721 figures include one ship from Placentia.
- The average tonnages for 1737 are drawn from an incomplete list of shipping arrivals of that year, in A.C., C11B, Vol. 19, fol. 289-291, n.d. (1737).
- The 1742 figures include one ship from England and one from Vera Cruz, both stopping in en route elsewhere.

Sources:

- 1719 - A.N., Outremer, G1, Vol. 466, #59
- 1721 - A.C., C11C, Vol. 9, fol. 10-20
- 1733 - A.C., C11B, Vol. 14, fol. 276-292v.
- 1737 - A.C., C11C, Vol. 9, fol. 50-95
- 1740 - A.N., F2B, Vol. 11, fol. 12-18
- 1742 - A.C.M., B, Registre 272
- 1743 - Ibid.
- 1752 - A.N., F2B, Vol. 11, fol. 20-23. New England data from A.C., C11C, Vol. 16, n.p.

CHART 5 Import shipping by Port of Origin, Various Years

For each year the first column gives total number of ships and the second gives the percentage.

Part 1 - France

	1719		1733		1742		1743		1752	
Audierne					1	3	1	2		
Bayonne	4	19			2	6	2	4	6	17
Benaudet					1	3				
Bordeaux	1	5	1	2	2	6	8	18	5	14
Bourgneuf	1	5								
Brest					3	9	1	2		
Cherbourg							1	2		
Ciboure	1	5								
Dunkirk									1	3
Granville			1	2						
Havre de Grace					1	3	1	2		
Ile d'Yeu	1	5								
La Rochelle	1	5	2	4	1	3	2	4	4	11
Marennes			1	2						
Marseilles			1	2	1	3	1	2		
Morlaix/Roscroft			4	7	1	3	2	4		
Nantes	3	14	6	11	3	9	4	9	2	6
Paimboeuf	1	5			1	3				
Passage (Spain)							1	2		
Rochefort					1	3			2	6
Sables d'Olonne	1	5	2	4					4	11
Saint Brieux	1	5								
Saint Fronant	1	5								
Saint Jean de Luz			21	39	5	15	12	27	2	6
Saint Malo	4	19	15	28	10	29	9	20	10	28
Saint Martin de Ré					1	3				
Seudre	1	5								
	21	100	54	100	34	100	45	100	36	100

Part 2 - British Colonial Ports

	1733		1740		1742		1743		1752	
Boston	14	70	19	49	12	32	8	26	5	4
Canso	5	25	7	18	3	8	3	10		
Cape Anne					1	3				
Casco Bay					3	8	4	13	11	9
Connecticut (port unspecified)									2	2
Falmouth			1	3						
Halifax									11	9
Ipswich			2	6					2	2
Marblehead					2	5	2	6	5	4
Newbury	1	5	4	10	8	21	4	13	32	28
New England (port unspecified)									1	1
New London									2	2
New York							2	6	10	9
Piscadouet (Piscataqua)			5	13	8	21	7	23	17	14
Providence									1	1
Rhode Island			1	3					9	8
Salem					1	3	1	3		
Old York									6	5
Vremede [Bermuda?]									2	2 (stopover only)
	20	100	39	100	38	100	31	100	116	100

Part 3 - Acadia

	1737		1740		1742		1743	
Baie Verte	2	40	1	6	2	11	2	10
Beaubassin			1	6	2	11		
Cap Sable			1	6	2	11	1	5
Chebucto			1	6				
Coté de l'est							1	5
Mines			3	19	3	17	2	10
Port Royal	3	60	5	31	7	38	2	10
Tatamagouche			4	25				
Acadia (unspecified)					2	11	13	62
	5	100	16	100	18	100	21	100

There are no records of the trade between Acadia and Louisbourg between 1749 and 1755, though connections were maintained with the harbours of the Gulf of St. Lawrence shore of the Isthmus.

Part 4 - Caribbean Islands

	1733		1737		1740		1742		1743		1752	
Cap François, St. Domingue			2	13	3	14	1	5	2	11	13	23
Leoganne, St. Domingue					4	18	3	16			2	4
St. Domingue (unspecified)	2	11	2	13	1	5	1	5			3	5
Fort St. Pierre, Martinique					2	9	3	16				
Trinite, Martinique							2	11				
Martinique (unspecified)	11	61	8	53	10	45	8	42	15	83	36	63
Guadeloupe	5	28	3	20	1	5			1	6	3	5
La Grenade					1	5						
l'Amerique (unspecified)							1	5				
	18	100	15	100	22	100	19	100	18	100	57	100

CANADA - Quebec was the port of origin of all Canadian ships arriving at Louisbourg. For the totals, see Chart 4.

CHART 6Ships Arriving At Louisbourg 1742, 1743

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Tx</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Departure Date</u>	<u>Type</u>
May 1742					
10	Madelaine de Nantes	60	Painboeuf	April 1	navire
11	St. Luc	80	St. Malo	March 27	brigantin
12	Medée de Nantes	120	Nantes	April 2	navire
21	La Reine des Anges	80	St. Malo	April 10	courvette/ brigantin
21	Ste. Catherine	70	Bayonne	March 20 [*]	brigantin
22	Vigilant	80	Trinité, Martinique	April 29	batteau
23	Marie Julienne	60	Audierne	April 12	navire
25	Phenix	60	St. Malo	April 25	navire
25	Aventurier	38	St. Malo	April 26	navire
29	Hirondelle	60	St. Malo	April 10 [*]	navire
29	Providence	70	Bordeaux	April 25	navire
29	Legerre	50	St. Malo	April 9	navire
29	Tonnant	60	St. Jean de Luz	March 26 [*]	brigantin
30	St. Bernard de Ciboure		St. Jean de Luz	March 30 [*]	brigantin
June 1742					
1	Marie Joseph	80	Martinique	April 28	senau
3	St. Antoine	12	Beaubassin, Acadie	May 31	batteau
4	Thetis de Nantes	80	Nantes	May 10	navire
5	Plant	20	Acadie	24 days	batteau
5	Amitie	130	St. Jean de Luz	May 9	navire
6	Marguerite	30	Baie Verte, Acadie	June 1	batteau
6	Ste. Anne	cll	Minas, Acadie	4 weeks	goelette

* Not a direct voyage

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Tx</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Departure Date</u>	<u>Type</u>
June 1742					
7	Vierge de Grace (no cargo)	c60	St. Malo	May 4	navire
8	Rebeca	80	Newbury, N.E.	May 2	goelette
8	Phenix	30	Newbury, N.E.	May 2	batteau
8	Louis	20	Casco Bay, N.E.	June 1	goelette
13	Joseph	20	Port Royal, Acadie	11 weeks	batteau
13	Marie	60	Martinique	May 19	goelette
14	Glocester	36	Cape Anne, N.E.	9 days	goelette
16	Ste. Anne	5	Minas, Acadie	5 weeks	batteau
19	Notre Dame de Bon Secours	100	St. Jean de Luz	April 13*	navire
20	Princesse	157	Bordeaux	May 7	navire
23	Marianne	50	Martinique	May 27	batteau
23	Marie	12	Baie Verte, Acadie	15 days	batteau
23	Merimach	40	Casco Bay, N.E.	10 days	navire
24	Therese de Martinique	40	Leoganne, St. Dominique	April 23	batteau
25	Soleil Levant	c50	Leoganne	May 18*	batteau
27	Soualler	15	Piscatequa, N.E.		goelette
29	Singe	50	Boston, N.E.	June 10	batteau
July 1742					
1	Reine du Nord	100	St. Pierre, Martinique	May 31	brigantin
2	Marie	25	Cap Sable, Acadie	7 days	goelette
2	Trinité	126	Cap, St. Dominique	May 25	navire
2	Noucassel	30	Piscatequa, N.E.	3 weeks	goelette
5	Angelique	60	Quebec	June 15	goelette

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Tx</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Departure Date</u>	<u>Type</u>
July 1742					
5	Experiment	40	Newbury or Boston	10 days	batteau
5	St. Bernard	80	St. Pierre, Martin- ique	May 31	navire
6	Marie	10	Cap Sable, Acadie	17 days	goelette
6	Reine du Nord	100	St. Dominique	June 3	goelette
6	Union	3	Port Royal, Acadie	3 weeks	goelette
6	Marie Joseph	3	Port Royal, Acadie	3 weeks	goelette
7	Julie	110	Benaudet, r. de Quimper	May 20	navire
6	Marie Joseph	3	Port Royal, Acadie	3 weeks	goelette
6	Marie François	3	Port Royal, Acadie	3 weeks	goelette
6	Nanette	3	Port Royal, Acadie	3 weeks	goelette
13	Marie	36	Boston, N.E.	15 days	batteau
22	Swan	50	Port Royal, Acadie	3 weeks	goelette
22	Lizard	20	Marblehead, N.E.	June 20	batteau
22	Ranger (no cargo)	30	Canso	3 days	goelette
23	Bety	50	Boston, N.E.	10 days	goelette
24	Heureuse Marie	130	Quebec	25 days	navire
24	[unnamed]	15	Beaubassin, Acadie	2 weeks	
24	Ste. Anne	12	Mines, Acadie	24 days	goelette
25	Suzanne	50	Casco Bay, N.E.	11 days	batteau
25	Marie Madelaine de St. Malo	100	Quebec	July 16	navire
30	Dauphin		Newbury via Nfld.	*	batteau

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Tx</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Departure Date</u>	<u>Type</u>
August 1742					
1	St. Bernard	150	Bayonne	June 9	navire
3	Ranger		Salem, N.E.	30 days	batteau
3	Marie	50	Boston, N.E.	11 days	batteau
4	St. Guyonne	40	Isles via Niganiche	* June 9	batteau
7	Union	c50	Piscatequa, N.E.	July 3	goelette
7	St. Esprit	40	St. Malo	June 6	navire
7	Clefton (en route to N.E.)	40	Bristol, England	2 months	brigantin
13	Sucré	c40	Piscatequa, N.E.	24 days	batteau
16	Fleur de la Mer	40			batteau
16	St. Jean Baptiste	250	Marseilles	May 19	navire
23	St. Louis	60	Martinique	July 24	batteau
27	Success	50	Boston, N.E.	Aug. 10	batteau
27	Andromaque	50	St. Malo	June 26	navire
29	Singe of Boston	40	Boston	Aug. 8	batteau
29	Sans Pareil	60	Martinique	32 days	batteau
30	Baleine de Nantes (no cargo)	250	Vera Cruz	June 17	
Sept. 1742					
2	St. Jean	155	Newbury, N.E.	10 days	brigantin
2	Blacsoualle	12	Piscatequa, N.E.	8 days	goelette
2	Ste. Anne	5	Acadie	6 weeks	goelette
3	Cherbourg	60	Isle de Ré	60 days	navire
4	Prince de Dombes	60	La Rochelle	54 days	navire
4	Thomas	40	Piscatequa, N.E.	12 days	goelette

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Tx</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Departure Date</u>	<u>Type</u>
Sept. 1742					
c10	St. Charles	60	Rochefort	July 22	batteau
11	Suece	30	Boston, N.E.	12 days	batteau
12	Serra	20	Piscatequa	12 days	batteau
13	Marianne	63	Morlaix	July 18	brigantin
13	Marguerite	45	Leoganne, Isles	July 30*	batteau
13	St. Louis	80	Havre de Grace	54 days*	senau
13	Minerve	160	Nantes	Aug. 8	navire
16	Comtesse de Maurepas	c200	Brest	Aug. 12	navire
18	Hazardeux	50	Quebec	9 days	batteau
22	Speramin	40	Newbury, N.E.	11 days	batteau
22	Merimech	70	Marblehead, N.E.	9 days	senau
22	Soualler	30	Boston, N.E.	Aug. 25	batteau
23	Reine des Anges de St. Malo	80	Brest (pour le Roi)	Aug. 18	brigantin
25	Gracieuse	60	St. Jean de Luz	Aug. 19	brigantin
26	Paix	60	Camaret, near Brest		brigantin
28	Trois Maries	139	Quebec	10 days	navire
30	Cezar	30	Boston, N.E.	15 days	batteau
Oct. 1742					
1	Esperance	50	Martinique	Aug. 28	batteau
1	Vernon	50	Boston, N.E.	15 days	brigantin
7	St. Germain	60	Martinique	Aug. 24	batteau
9	Charmante Bety	40	Newbury, N.E.	Sept. 26	goelette
12	Expedition	c70	St. Malo	Sept. 8	brigantin
13	Phenix	65	Quebec	Oct. 5	navire

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Tx</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Departure Date</u>	<u>Type</u>
Oct. 1742					
14	Sept Freres	55	Quebec	Sept. 25	brigantin
16	Trialle	70	Boston, N.E.	7 days	batteau
16	Pembrock	25	Canso	same day	goelette
17	Marie	50	Newbury, N.E.	15 days	goelette
18	Canceaux (no cargo)	50	Canso	Oct. 17	goelette
27	Charmante Suzanne	50	Boston, N.E.	20 days	batteau
27	Elizabeth	80	Martinique	Sept. 13	goelette
29	Vigilent	60	Martinique	36 days	batteau
29	Sifleur	40	Piscatequa, N.E.	15 days	batteau
Nov. 1742					
5	St. Louis	50	Quebec	28 days	goelette
5	St. Antoine	40	Quebec	Sept. 29	batteau
12	Patient	c40	St. Pierre, Martinique	Oct. 1	brigantin
April 1743					
2	Cheval Marin	140	St. Jean de Luz	Feb. 27	flatte
2	St. François Xavier	200	St. Jean de Luz	March 3	navire
2	St. Jean	100	St. Jean de Luz	Feb. 26	navire
5	Andromaque	180	St. Malo	Feb. 28	navire
7	Ville de Bayonne	150	Passage, Espagne	March 9	navire
7	St. Claire, de Ciboure	150	St. Jean de Luz	Feb. 27	navire
7	St. Jean	150	St. Jean de Luz	Feb. 28	navire
7	Sainte Rose	120	St. Jean de Luz	March 5	navire
10	Amitie	120	Bayonne	March 11	navire
13	Frankland	60	Boston, N.E.	April 6	goelette

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Tx</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Departure Date</u>	<u>Type</u>
April 1743					
26	Endeavour	60	Boston, N.E.	3 weeks	batteau
27	Grand St. Esprit	140	St. Jean de Luz	March 17	navire
29	Deux Amis	60	St. Malo	1 month	goelette
May 1743					
2	Céré	92	La Rochelle	March 16	navire
7	Swan	35	Boston, N.E.	3 weeks*	batteau
10	Concorde	70	Morlaix	March 28	brigantin
11	Marie	60	Martinique	April 4	goelette
13	Grace de Dieu	100	St. Malo	March 28	brigantin
21	Elizabeth, de Louis- bourg	80	Martinique	33 days	goelette
23	Cezar	20	Salem, N.E.	14 days	batteau
27	Charmante Nanette	50	Newbury, N.E.	17 days	goelette
27	Diligent		Guadeloupe	April 15	batteau
27	St. Louis	80	Le Havre	March 27	senau
28	Ste. Anne	9	Mines, Acadie	5 weeks	goelette
June 1743					
4	John	30	Boston, N.E.	12 days	batteau
7	Tonnant	70	St. Jean de Luz	March 31*	brigantin
8	Trinité	120	Bordeaux	April 24	navire
10	Sucez	60	Newbury, N.E.	8 days	goelette
10	Sara	20	Piscatequa	15 days	goelette
10	St. Antoine	15	Acadie	11 days	batteau
10	Marie	12	Baie Verte, Acadie	8 days	batteau
12	Themis	160	Bordeaux	March 21	navire

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Tx</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Departure Date</u>	<u>Type</u>
June 1743					
12	St. Bernard, de Ciboure	80	St. Jean de Luz	March 28*	navire
14	Marie	80	St. Jean de Luz	April 14*	brigantin
14	George Bernard	110	St. Malo	April 24	navire
15	Ste. Catherine	60	St. Jean de Luz	March 20*	brigantin
16	Nanette	3	Acadie	15 days	goelette
16	Marie Françoise	3	Acadie	15 days	goelette
16	Marie Josephe	3	Acadie	15 days	goelette
16	Union	3	Acadie	15 days	goelette
16	St. Année	3	Acadie	15 days	goelette
16	Marie Joseph	3	Acadie	15 days	goelette
16	Marguerite	3	Acadie	15 days	goelette
17	Soualler	80	Boston, N.E.	9 days	brigantin
17	Square	36	Canso	3 days	goelette
18	Belle Ursule, de Roscroft	76	Bordeaux	April 14	brigantin
19	Legere	50	St. Malo	*	navire
20	Fleur de la Mer	25	Piscatequa, N.E.	13 days	batteau
20	St. Luc	80	St. Malo	April 4	brigantin
20	Reine du Nord	180	Bordeaux	April 14	brigantin
20	Experiment	41			batteau
23	Madelaine	80	Martinique	May 28	goelette
25	Providence, de Roscroft	60	Bordeaux	April 14	navire
25	Reine des Anges	80	St. Malo	April 24*	navire
26	Deux Freres	130	Cap, St. Dominique	May 30	brigantin

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Tx</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Departure Date</u>	<u>Type</u>
June 1743					
27	Suzanne	35	Casco Bay, N.E.	14 days	batteau
26	Ste. Claire	118	Bordeaux	April 18	goelette
27	Medée	120	Nantes	April 25	navire
27	Marie	5	Acadie	8 days	goelette
28	Kitery	45	Piscatequa, N.E.	8 days	brigantin
28	Mauley	30	Casco Bay, N.E.	15 days	batteau
28	Marie	40	Canso	same day	goelette
29	Marie Julienne	70	Brest	May 9	navire
29	Vigilent	60	Martinique	33 days	batteau
July 1743					
1	Franquelin	50	Marblehead, N.E.	9 days	goelette
1	Marie	30	Acadie	15 days	batteau
1	Marie de Grace	50	St. Malo	April 28	brigantin
4	Cezar	20	Marblehead, N.E.	12 days	batteau
7	Resurrection	120	Nantes	May 17	navire
7	St. François		St. Jean de Luz	March 17 [*]	navire
7	St. Charles	60	Martinique	May 24	batteau
7	St. Charles	25	Quebec	19 days	batteau
7	Soleil Levant	50	Martinique	June 10 [*]	brigantin
7	Jacques	20	Piscatequa, N.E.	15 days	goelette
7	Vierge de Grace	68	St. Malo	*	navire
7	Gloaster (no cargo)	36	Canso		batteau
9	Julie	100	Audierne	May 16	navire
10	Marie	102	Bayonne	May 11	navire

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Tx</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Departure Date</u>	<u>Type</u>
July 1743					
15	Marie		Cap Sable, Acadie	10 days	goelette
17	Endeavour	25	Piscatequa, N.E.	11 days	batteau
18	Sept Freres	55	Quebec	July 5	brigantin
18	Ville de Lisbonne, de Rouen	25	Bordeaux	May 25	navire
22	Madelaine	15	Coté de l'est, Acadie		goelette
23	Ste. Anne	4	Port Royal, Acadie	15 days	goelette
23	St. Pierre, de Quebec	90	Martinique	June 23	brigantin
27	St. François, de Cap	50	Cap, St. Domingue		batteau
30	Jean Benjamin	45	Casco Bay, N.E.	5 days	goelette
31	Aimable	60	Quebec	July 20	batteau
August 1743					
1	Experience	50	Martinique	July 4	batteau
3	Dauphin	45	Martinique	July 5	navire
6	Guillaume Elisse	20	Acadia	27 days	goelette
6	Demoiselle Marie	70	Bordeaux	May 20	goelette
9	Intrigant (no sale of cargo)	140	Quebec	July 29	navire
9	Vierge de la Garde	100	Marseilles	April 24	navire
11	Midnight	30	New York	14 days	batteau
13	St. Louis, de Louis- bourg	60	Martinique	July 18	batteau
15	Trial	40	New York	15 days	batteau
16	St. Antoine	30	Baie Verte	13 days	batteau
17	Marie Françoise	100	Martinique	July 17	goelette
18	Le Phenix	50	Mines, Acadie	15 days	goelette

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Tx</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Departure Date</u>	<u>Type</u>
August 1743					
18	Marie Sara	25	Piscatequa, N.E.	15 days	goelette
18	Reine du Nord	62	Martinique	July 19	goelette
21	Heureux	140	Quebec	Aug. 11	navire
21	Royal Roe	25	Boston, N.E.	10 days	goelette
22	Pistellion	45	Martinique	July 22	brigantin
23	St. Pierre	100	Martinique	July 19	batteau
23	Canard de Nantes	30	Nantes	May 20	navire
24	St. Louis	50	Cherbourg	May 21	navire
26	Françoise	3	Acadie	5 days	goelette
27	Marie Anne, de Morlaix	60	Morlaix	June 21	navire
28	St. Jean	60	Martinique	25 days	brigantin
28	Haute Poil	30	Acadie	15 days	batteau
30	Louisbourg	65	La Rochelle	June 27	goelette
31	Legere, de Nantes	80	Nantes	June 27	navire
Sept. 1743					
2	Anne	50	Casco Bay, N.E.	12 days	goelette
6	Suzanne	120	Newbury, N.E.	8 days	batteau
6	Charmante Bety	55	Newbury, N.E.	8 days	goelette
6	Prosperité	12	Port Royal, Acadie	15 days	goelette
6	Jean	50	Boston, N.E.	6 days	batteau
7	Hirondelle	12	Piscatequa, N.E.	10 days	goelette
9	Lizard	20	Boston, N.E.	13 days	batteau

(This list may not be a complete list of all arrivals 1742-1743)

Source: Archives de la Charente-Maritime (La Rochelle), B, Registre 272, passim.

PART TWO: COMMODITY IMPORTS

Introduction To The Tables

These tables aim to give as much information as possible about the range of commodities imported at Louisbourg, and the regions from which they came. In addition, the details of quantities to some extent suggest the amounts of each commodity shipped to Louisbourg.

The years for which data has been presented were determined by the availability of data. Only between 1737 and 1755 do we have sufficient data for general conclusions, and the years for which data is most complete are covered here: 1737, 1740, 1742, 1743, 1752 and 1753. Where possible, reference has been made to other years: there is information on imports from Quebec before 1740, France in 1754, New England in 1732 and so on. In the years for which the records are most complete, there are still large gaps. Information on imports from France in 1740 is unavailable. For 1742 and 1743 the data for France, Quebec and the West Indies are superficial. In the early 1750's the records for France are good, but information on the other areas is frequently lacking. Consequently the tables have many spaces for which no information is available. In cases where it appears that the absence of a commodity is actual and is not just a matter of lack of evidence, a dash has been placed in the tables. Where information is lacking, the space is left blank. Only where a dash is inserted is it safe to assume that the commodity in question was not imported, for a dash means that the data for that particular year and region appears comprehensive, without including that item.

In the tables the commodities are organized into groups and subgroups by their type, and in alphabetical order within the subgroups. The indexes at the end of the report make them accessible by alphabetical order in both languages, and also gather all the commodities of each region, but the main tables contain the essential data on the goods according to their type or function.

Some supplementary information on the imported goods is provided in the notes which follow the tables. Reference to these notes is indicated by an asterisk beside the name of a commodity in the main tables, and the notes are gathered in alphabetical order.

Definitions and translations for the listed items were formed with the help of dictionaries and reference works in the Fortress library, but some identifications are necessarily tentative, and further research would be needed to produce detailed descriptions of many of the listed products. Mlle. Marie-Hélène Sabatier helped in the identification of many obscure terms.

Many different units of measurement were used for the imported commodities. The basic unit of weight was the livre, or pound, often abbreviated here as #. One hundred livres made one quintal, so large quantities are often measured in quintaux (abbreviated qtx). Dry goods were often measured by their container: barrique (bque), baril, boucault, tierçon and caisse were different sizes of containers and hence measuring devices at the same time. A barrique was roughly three times as large as a baril.¹ The boisseau (roughly equivalent to the bushel and of a capacity

1. This and most other equivalences are drawn from the tables of measurements in Marcel Trudel, Initiation à la Nouvelle-France (Montreal, Holt Rinehart Winston, 1968), pp. 237-239.

of 13 litres) was sometimes used for dry goods, as was the minot (which equaled 3 boisseaux) and the quart (4 quarts made one boisseau).

Specific commodities had special units of measurement. Clothing materials usually came in lengths of aunes (1 aune = 3 pieds 8 pouces). The width of these rolls of cloth is not often listed. Apparently different materials had varying standard widths, which might range from half an aune to more than one aune. The term verge also appears as a measurement of cloth. Rolls of tobacco were called endouilles. Precious metals were measured by the marc, a weight of half a livre (1 livre = 16 onces). Paper was measured in rames, reams. Wooden vessels called tinettes were used for shipping butter, and a wide range of bottles and containers were used for alcohol, including veltes, pots and flaçons.

Precise quantities are not always given in the sources. When quantity is not known, the name of the commodity has been written into the relevant space on the tables. A number listed in the tables unaccompanied by a word such as qtx, bques or barils refers to total quantity in units. The number 327 in the listing for sheep, for example, simply means an import of 327 sheep. Where a notation such as "+94 qts" is used, the documentation shows imports of 94 quarts, plus further imports in the same year of unspecified amounts. Hence the total quantity is unknown, but larger than 94 quarts.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
1. Foodstuffs	47
- food	47
- grains	54
- drink	56
2. Clothing	59
- clothing	59
- footwear	61
- headgear	62
- accessories	64
- materials	65
3. Work	70
- construction materials	70
- tools	71
- craft or occupational equipment	74
- ship supplies	75
- fishing equipment	77
- chemicals, paints, preservatives	78
- metals	79
- containers	81

	<u>Page</u>
4. Home and Household	82
- kitchen, cooking, tableware	82
- lighting implements	84
- furniture	85
- furnishing, decoration	86
- medicines, cosmetics, amusements	88
5. Miscellaneous	90
- weapons and guns	90
- precision instruments	91
- livestock	91
- fur and skins	93
- miscellaneous or unidentified	94

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
<u>FOODSTUFFS</u>								
Amandes/Almonds *	France	820 #				23 qtx	239 qtx	
Anchois/Anchovies	France	-				-	232 qtx	
- avec olives/with olives	France	3 caisse; 6 barils						
Anguilles/Eels *	Quebec	-	4 bques	-	-	-		
	Acadia	-	6 quarts	-	-			
Artichaux/Artichokes	France	-				16 bques	42 bques	
Bettrave/Beets	New England	-	-	-	-			1 baril-1755
Beurre/Butter	Acadia	-	-	5 barils; 7 tinettes	56 tinettes			
	New England	-	-	50 livres	16 barils	1700 livres		1 quintal-1732
	Isles	-	beurre			beurre		
	France	1187 qtx		beurre	beurre	898 qtx	512 qtx	
Biscuit *	Quebec	151 qtx	7500 qtx	-	-	-		
	France	3077 qtx		biscuit		2096 qtx	2434 qtx	
	New England	374 qtx	-	200 qtx		2757 qtx		1755: 97 qtx
Biscuits au lait	New England	-	-	-	6 petits barils			
*Asterisks refer to additional information in the notes which follow these tables.								

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Boeuf et Viande Salé/ Salt Meat	Acadia	-	6 quarts	51 quarts	20 quarts			
	Quebec	-				-		Imported 1730's
	France	191 quarts		boeuf salé		869 quarts	408 quarts	
	New England	69 quarts	-	12 quarts		237 qtx		
Boeuf Frais/Fresh Beef (Also see Livestock)	New England							Imported 1755
Cacao	Isles	-					cacao	Also 1754
Capres/Capers	France	-				capres	134 flaçons	Also 1754
Cannelle de Guinée/ Cinnamon	Isles	100 #						
Cervelat/Sausage	France	-					24	
Chocolat/Chocolate	New England	-	-	-	1 boette	20 livres		
	France	250 #				37 #	-	1754: 100 #
	Isles	-					chocolat	Also 1754
Choux/Cabbage	New England	-	-	-	-			1755: 50 choux
Citrouille/Pumpkin	New England	-	-	156	-			
Confitures/Preserves	France	confitures				109 #	106 #	
	Isles	250 #					confiture	Also 1754
Cornichon/Pickles	France	-				-	-	1754: 2 barils

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Boeuf et Viande Salé/ Salt Meat	Acadia	-	6 quarts	51 quarts	20 quarts			
	Quebec	-						Imported 1730s
	France	191 quarts		boeuf salé		869 quarts	408 quarts	
	New England	69 quarts	-	12 quarts		237 qtx		
Boeuf Frais/Fresh Beef (Also see Livestock)	New England							Imported 1755
Cacao	Isles	-					cacac	Also 1754
Capres/Capers	France	-				capres	134 flaçons	Also 1754
Cannelle de Guinée/ Cinnamon	Isles	100 #						
Cervelat/Sausage	France	-					24	
Chocolat/Chocolate	New England	-	-	-	1 boette	20 livres		
	France	250 #				37 #	-	1754: 100 #
	Isles	-					chocolat	Also 1754
Choux/Cabbage	New England	-	-	-	-			1755: 50 choux
Citrouille/Pumpkin	New England	-	-	156	-			
Confitures/Preserves	France	confitures				109 #	106 #	
	Isles	250 #					confiture	Also 1754
Cornichon/Pickles	France	-				-	-	1754: 2 barils
								FOOD

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Cuisse d'Oye/Goose Legs	France	-				59 barils	12 barils	Also 1754
Enrées/Foodstuffs	Quebec	-	-	enrées		-		
Epiceries/Spices	France	208 #				epicerie		
Fayaux/Kidney Beans*	France	-		fayaux	fayaux	-	-	
	New England	-	239 boisseau	260 minots				1732: 1 bque; 6 quarts
Feves/Beans*	New England	-	-	3 boisseau				
Figues/Figs	France	-				43 qtx	11 qtx	Also 1754
Fromage/Cheese	France	910 #				47 qtx		
- d'Hollande	France						59 qtx	Also 1754
- Gruyere	France						17 qtx	Also 1754
- petit fromage	Quebec	-	9 doz	-	-			
- Gruyere	Isles	-						Imported 1754
	New England	-	-	200 #	-	713 livres		Also 1755
- de pays	Quebec							Imported 1754
Fruits/Fruit	New England	fruits						
Fruits à l'Eau de vie/ Brandied fruit	France	-				-	688 flaçons	Also 1754
	Isles	-	-					Also 1754
Graisse/Grease*	France	-				22 qtx	-	

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Cuisse d'Oye/Goose Legs	France	-				59 barils	12 barils	Also 1754
Enrées/Foodstuffs	Quebec	-	-	enrées		-		
Epicerie/Spices	France	208 #				epicerie		
Fayaux/Kidney Beans *	France	-		fayaux	fayaux	-	-	
	New England	-	239 boisseau	260 minots				1732: 1 bque; 6 quarts
Feves/Beans *	New England	-	-	3 boisseau				
Figues/Figs	France	-				43 qtx	11 qtx	Also 1754
Fromage/Cheese	France	910 #				47 qtx		
- d'Hollande	France						59 qtx	Also 1754
- Gruyere	France						17 qtx	Also 1754
- petit fromage	Quebec	-	9 doz	-	-			
- Gruyere	Isles	-						Imported 1754
	New England	-	-	200 #	-	713 livres		Also 1755
- de pays	Quebec							Imported 1754
Fruits/Fruit	New England	fruits						
Fruits à l'Eau de vie/ Brandied fruit	France	-				-	688 flaçons	Also 1754
	Isles	-	-					Also 1754
Graisse/Grease *	France	-				22 qtx	-	
								FOOD

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Gras Double et Oreille de Cochon/Tripe & Pig's Ears	France	-				15 qtx	-	
Harang/Herring*	Acadia	-	-	-	3 barils			
- blanc/white	France	-				-	-	1754: 2 barils
Haricots/beans	New England					110 boiss-eaux		
Herbes Salés/Herbs	Quebec	-	-			-		Imported 1754
Huile d'Olive/Olive Oil	France	23776 #			huile d'olive	12900 #	11200 #	Also 1754
	Isles	6650 #	182 caves	huiles	huiles	huile d'olive	-	Also 1754
Huile de Morue/Cod Oil	Quebec	-				-		Regular import 1730's & 1750's
	Acadia	-	2 quarts	1 baril				
- de poisson/fish oil	New England			3 quarts				
Huîtres Amarinés/Marinated Oysters	France	-				-	-	Imported 1754
	New England	-	-	-	-	159 barils		1755: 8 barils
Jambon/Ham	France	4190 #				7500 #	3400 #	Also 1754
	New England	9 jambons				18		1755: 400 livres
Langues de Morue/Cod tongues	New England	60 quarts						

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Langues de Boeuf/Beef* tongue	France	-				320 langues		1754: 9 qtx
	New England					32, de boeuf		
Lard ou Lard Salé/Salt Pork	Quebec	-	8 qtx			-		Regular im- port 1730's
	Acadia	-	10 qtx					
	New England	37 quarts	-	6 barils	-	470 qtx		1732: 6 qts; 1755: 70 qtx.
	France	295 quarts		lard	lard	447 qtx	312 qtx	Also 1754
Légumes/Vegetables*	France	8 qtx; 117 bques		legumes		legumes	474 bques	Also 1754
	Quebec	324 qts; 17 bques				-		Imported 1739
	New England	3 qts; 2 bques						
Maqueraux/Mackerel*	Acadia	-		5 quarts				
Mélasse/Molasses	France	43 bques						
	Isles	1164 bques	1969 bques	melasse	melasse		melasse	1754: sirop de melasse
Miel/Honey	France	-				2 qtx		Also 1754
Morue et Goberge/Cod	Acadia	-	21 qtx	440 qtx	c950 qtx			
	New England	-	-	16 qtx	-			
	Quebec	-	-					Occasional, 1730's
Navets/Turnip	New England					36 boiss- eaux		1732: 8 barils 1755: 5 barils FOOD

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Noisettes/Hazelnuts	France	-				-	8 qtx	Also 1754
Noix/Walnuts	New England	-	-	1 baril	-			
Oeufs/eggs	France					20,000 noix		Also 1754
Oignons/Onions	New England	-	-	307 quarts	+ 93 qts	1504 doz		
						18340 bottes		1732: 9 barils; 1755: 11 qtx
	Quebec	17 quarts	-			-		
Olives	France	olives				10 caisses	184 flaçons	
Pain/Bread	Acadia	-	5 qtx					
	New England	-	-	pain	pain			
	France	-	-	pain	pain	-	-	
- pain d'épice/spice bread	New England	pain d'épice	-		pain d'épice	2 barils		
Poires/Pears	New England	poires	poires	11 quarts	-			Also 1732
Pois/Peas - blanc et vert	Quebec	-	726 quarts			-		Regular import
	Acadia	-	18 bques		10 boisseau			
	New England	-	-	-	200 boisseau	63 qtx		
	France	-	-	pois	pois			
Poivre/Pepper	France	830 #					24 qtx	Also 1754
Pommes/Apples	New England	pommes	pommes	505 quarts	37 quarts		362 quarts	1732: 150 barils; 1755: 28 qts
	Quebec	4 bques	-			pommes		

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
- pomiers/apple trees	New England	-	-	-	-			1732: 8 pomiers
Pommes de Terre/ Potatoes *	New England	-	-	11 boisseaux	-	8 quarts		1732: 2 barils
Prunes/Plums	France	5096 #				44 qtx	180 qtx	Also 1754
Raisins/Grapes	France	10 qtx				21 qtx	17 qtx	Also 1754
	New England	raisins						
Saindoux/Lard	New England	160 #	6300 #	-	-	3030 #		
	France	110 #				-	-	
Sardines	France	-				10 qtx	10 barils	Also 1754
Saucisses/Sausages	France					16 qtx	7 qtx	Also 1754
Saumon Salé/Salted Salmon	Quebec	-	2 bariques			-		Regular import 1730's & 1750's
	Acadia	40 saumon			1 baril			
Sucre/Sugar	France	-				8 qtx		Also 1754
- blanc/white	Isles	-	149 qtx	sucre blanc	sucre blanc			
- brut/raw	Isles	9560 #	94 qtx	-	-		sucre brut	Also 1754
- commun ou ordinaire/ common	Isles	7987 #	sucre commun					
- raffiné/refined	Isles	7677 #						
- d'Erable/maple	Acadia		30 livres					
- en pain/in loaves	Isles						sucre en pain	Also 1754

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Sucre/Sugar - con't								
- de Canne/cane	Isles	560 #						
- en Teste	Isles	-	en teste					
Tabac/Tobacco	Quebec	139 qtx	63 qtx			-		Regular im- port 1730's & 1750's
	Acadia	-		1 baril	2 barils			
	Isles	-	1206 endouilles	tabac	tabac		tabac	Also 1754
	New England	-	-	tabac	tabac	2350 livres		
	France	200 #				398 #		
- tabac rapé/snuff	France	-					41 #	
- de St. Vincent	Isles	863 endouilles						
- de St. Dominique	Isles	404 endouilles						
Vinaigre/Vinegar	France	90 qts; 30 bques		vinaigre		7 bques	10 bques	Also 1754
	Isles	-	-				vinaigre	
Vivres/Supplies	Quebec			vivres		-		
<u>GRAINS</u> *								
Avoine/Oats	Quebec	12 bques	-	avoine				44
	Acadia	-	349 bques	210 bques	225 bques			
	New England	985 boisseaux	-	5 boisseaux	45 boisseaux			1732: 5 bou- cault FOOD

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Blé d'Inde/Corn	Acadia	-	-	-	50 boisseaux			
	New England	blé d'Inde	1237 boisseaux	+500 boisseaux	1050 boisseaux	4271 boisseaux		Also 1732 & 1755
Blé Froment/Wheat	Acadia	-	5 barriques					
	New England	-	-			1094 boiss.		
Farine/Flour	France	3198 qtx		farine	farine	1676 qtx	838 qtx	Also 1754
	Acadia	-	959 qtx					
	New England	38 qtx; 598 quarts		100 quarts	526 quarts	6034 qtx		1755: 200 qtx
	Quebec	59 qtx	9333 qtx	farine	farine	-		Regular import 1730's & 1750's
	Isles	-	-				farine	
	New England	-	-	1 balle	3 qtx	105 qtx		
	New England	-	-			1 bque		
Foin/Hay	France	36 boucault						1754: 70 livres
- graine de/ seeds	New England	-				1 boisseau		
Graine/Seed	France	4 bques						1754: 40 barils
- de jardinage/ garden	New England	-						
Gruau/Oatmeal	France	4 bques						
Herbage/ Feed	New England	herbage	-	-	-			
Jersau pour Pigeons/ birdseed	Acadia				35 boisseaux			
Millet	France	-				-	-	1754: 17 boisseaux
Ris/Rice	Acadia	-	8 qtx	1 quintal				
	New England	250 #	100 qtx	ris	30 quarts	85 qtx		1732: 9 qts
	Isles	-	-	ris				
	France	35 qtx				50 #	4 qtx	

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Soy/ Bran	New England	-	1 bque	-	-			
<u>DRINK</u>								
Bière/ Beer	New England	-			1 1/2 boucault	9 barils		
	France	-					10 barriques	
Café/ Coffee	Isles	4015 #	9420 #	café	café		café	Also 1754
Cidre/ Cider	New England	2 bques	3 barils		4 quarts	36 barils		
	France	159 bques				81 1/2 bques	242 bques	Also 1754
Capilaire*	Quebec	17 bques	2 barils			-		Frequent import
- sirop de capilaire	France	-				-	50 flaçons	
Eau de Vie/ Brandy	France	10245 veltes		eau de vie	eau de vie	eau de vie	5352 veltes	Also 1754
	France	15825 pots						
- de Hendaye	France	120 quarts						
- de France	Isles	-	-					Imported 1754
- eau sans pareil	France					10 livres		
Guildive/ Tafia*	Isles	1966 bques	2308 bques	guildive	guildive			Also 1754 & 1755
	France	106 bques				-	-	
Limes et Limejus/ Limes, lime juice	New England	-	-	5 doz limes	6 limes, 1 baril			46
Liqueurs	France	liqueurs				794 pots		Also 1754 FOOD

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other- Years
Liqueurs - con't	Isles	liqueurs		liqueurs				
- des Isles	Isles	-					liqueurs	
- de Provence	Isles	-						Imported 1754
- de Ville	France						1726 pots	
Rhum/Rum	New England	-	-	1 bque				
Sirop/ Sugar syrup *	Isles	-		sirop				
Sirop d'Orgeat/Barley syrup	France	-				-	50 flaçons	
Tafia *	Isles	-	-	tafia				
Thé/ Tea	New England	-	-	14 #				
	France	-				156 #	-	
Vin/ Wine *	France			vin	vin			
	Isles			vin	vin		vin	
- d'Aubaque	France	-				79 bques		
- blanc/ white	France	89 bques						
- de Bordeaux	France	960 bques				1318 bques	3313 bques	Also 1754
- des Canaries	France	vin des C.						
- de Cap Breton *	France	-						1754: 400 bouteilles
- de Champagne	France	-						1754: 30 bouteilles
- de Cognac	France	80 bques						

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Vin/wine - con't								
- d'Espagne	France	-				6 bques		
- de Frontignac	France	vin de F.		vin de F.	vin de F.	-	-	
- de Guillac	France	12 bques						
- de La Rochelle	France	98 bques						
- de liqueur	France						2024 bques	
- de Musea	France	vin de M.						
- de Nantes	France	18 bques						
- de Navarre	France	28 quarts				37 bques		Also 1754
- de Provence	Isles	-			115 bques			
- de Renar	France	-					2 1/2 bques	
- de Saintonge	France	-				348 bques	48 bques	
- de Torsac	France	623 bques						
- de Bordeaux	Quebec					vin de B.		
- de Bordeaux	France	205 bouteilles				vin		
- de Frontignac	Isles	vin de F.						

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
<u>FOOTWEAR</u>								
Babouche/Slipper	France						20 doz	
Bas de coton/Cotton stocking	France	-				-	48 paires	Also 1754
- de fil	France	-				3 aunes	-	
- de fisland	France	4080 paires				-	-	
- de la Lic	France	90 doz				-	-	
- de laine à femme/ woman's woolen	France	-				-	96 paires	
- de laine à homme/ men's woolen	France	-				-	185 paires	Also 1754
- de St. Maixent	France	852 paires				-	78 doz	Also 1754
- de Segovie	France	101 paires				-	-	
- de soie/silk	France	-				75 paires	-	Also 1754
- de soie à la Bour- gogne	France	-					18 paires	
- de laine fabriqué à l'Acadie/wool	Acadia	-	-		30-40 paires			
Bottes/Boots	France					232 paires	-	Also 1754
- de pecheur/fisher- man's	New England France	186 paires				10 paires -	-	
Bottines/Halfboots	France	5 paires				-	54 paires	Also 1754
Chaussettes/Half-hose	France	-				164 paires	-	
- de fil	France	-				-	156 paires	
CLOTHING								

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Chaussures/Footwear	France	-	-	chaussures		-	-	
Pantoufle de cuir/ leather slipper	France	-				-	-	1754: 24 prs.
Sabots/Wooden shoes	France	-				1385 paires	156 paires	
Souliers/Shoes	New England	-	-	28 paires	-			
- commun/ordinary	France	5856 paires						
- de cuir à femme/ women's leather	France	-				-	souliers	Also 1754
- à femme/women's	France	88 paires						
- brodée à femme	France	-				-	148 paires	Also 1754
- fort/strong	France	300 paires				-	-	
- à homme/men's	France	-					3859 paires	Also 1754
	Quebec	-	-					Imported 1754
- d'enfants/childrens	France	12 doz				-	-	Also 1754
<u>HEADGEAR</u>								
Bonnets/Caps	France					984	-	
- d'enfants/childs	France					-	10 doz	
- de laine/woolen	France	15 doz				-	-	Also 1754
- piqués	France	-				-	-	Imported 1754
- de St. Maixant	France	-				-	117 doz	
- de Segovie	France	164				-	-	5
- de cuir/leather	New England	-		2	-			CLOTHING

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Bonnets/Caps - con't - de paille/Straw	New England	-	-	-	-			1732: 12 doz
Boucle de perruque/Wig buckles	France	-				-	1000	
Bourse à cheveux/Hair- sack	France	-				334	36	Also 1754
Chapeaux/Hats	New England	-	-	8	-			
- de differents prix/ of various prices	France	chapeaux						
- commun/ordinary	France	-				1293	843	Also 1754
- de castor/beaver	France	-				3	50	Also 1754
- à point d'Espagne	France	-				-	10	
Cheveux pour perruques/ Hair	France	-					30 livres	1754: cheveux
Coiffures Montées/Hair- pieces	France	-					54	1754: 10
Moules à Perruque/ Curlers	France	-				-	-	1754: 500
Perruques/Wigs	France	40						
- de laine/wool	France	-				-	98	
- de cheveux/hair	France	-				-	42	

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
<u>ACCESSORIES</u>								
Bijouterie/ Jewelry	France	bijouterie				-	-	
Boutons/ Buttons								
- de cuivre doré/ gilded copper	France	-				-	32 doz	Also 1754
- de poil de chevre/ goat hair	France	-				-	132 doz	Also 1754
- garniture de bouton/ button garnishes	France	-				84 doz	-	Also 1754
Carde/ carding brush	New England	-				4 doz		
Ceinturon/ Swordbelt								
- de Maroquin/Moroccan leather	France	-				-	24	
Col de velours/Velvet collar	France	-				-	144	
Fil/ Thread								
- à coudre/ sewing	France	165 #				-	-	
- d'or/ gold	France	-				-	-	1754: 3 onces
- de Rennes	France	-				2048 #	465 #	Also 1754
Galons d'or/Gold braid	France	-				-	-	1754: 50 aune
Gants/Gloves	France	-				21 doz		
- de chamois à femme	France	-				-	60 paires	
- de peaux	France	-				-	-	1754: 162 prs
- de soie à femme	France	-				-	51 paires	
Guêtres/Gaiters	France	100 paires				-	-	

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Guêtres/Gaiters -con't								
- de toile blanche avec boutons de cuir	France	-				-	82 paires	
Manchettes brodées/Cuffs	France	-				92 paires	-	
Mouchoirs/Handkerchiefs	France	-				182		
- de Cholet	France	-				-	116 doz	Also 1754
	Isles						mouchoirs	Also 1754
- des Indes	France	20 pieces				-	-	
- de soie/silk	France	-				-	-	Imported 1754
- de cotton	France	-				576	-	
Rubans de soie/Silk ribbons	France	-				-	-	1754: 110 aunes
<u>MATERIALS</u>								
Baptiste/cambric	France	-				144 aunes	-	
Basin/dimity	France	-				6 aunes	100 aunes	
Bougrand/Buckram	France	6 pieces				-	91 aunes	Also 1754
Cadiz/Cadiz cloth	France	282 aunes				-	-	
Calmande/Calamanco	France	1172 aunes				5228 aunes	1388 aunes	1754: 344 aunes
Camelot/Camlet	France	60 aunes				2 pieces	125 aunes	1754: camelot de Paine
Carisé	France	487 aunes				-	-	
								CLOTHING

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
- de Montauban	Quebec	-	-			-		Imported 1754
Draperie diverse	France	draperie						
Durgne	France	80 aunes				-	-	
Etamine/ Coarse muslin	France	60 aunes					12 pieces	
Etoffes/ Fabrics								
- du pays/ local	Acadia	-	-	20 verges; 30 aunes	des pieces			
- de soie, d'or et d'argent/ silken, golden, silver	France	-				1 piece	-	1754: étoffe de soie
Flanelle/ Flannel	Isles	-	-					Imported 1754
	France	4 pieces				-	-	
Freize	France	60 aunes				-	-	
Indienne de Provence	Isles	-	-				indienne	
Laine/ Wool	France	-						1754: 9 qtx
- filée/ yarn	Quebec	-	-			-		Imported 1754
Marrigues	France	1880 aunes				-	-	
Mazamet/ Mazamet cloth	France	553 aunes				-	-	
	France	14 pieces				-	-	
Molton	France	-					139 aunes	
Mousseline/ Muslin	France	-				92 aunes	-	Also 1754
Panne	France	-				2 pieces	-	

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Peluche/ plush - coupon pour veste et culottes/ cutting for a suit	New England	-	-	-	2 coupons			
Ras de Cecile	France	-				-	20 aunes	
Ratine/Rateen	France	379 aunes				-	8 aunes	
Serge	France	140 aunes				-	-	
- de Caen	France	-				-	-	1754: 617 aunes
Siamoise	France	-				1122 aunes	1332 aunes	Also 1754
	Isles	-	-			-	-	Imported 1754
Soie/Silk	France	soyerie				1165 livres	389 # à coudre	1754: 3 livres
	New England	-	-			6 ballots		
	Isles	soyerie						
Toile								
- de Beaufort	France	-				-	-	Imported 1754
- blanche/ white	France	-				-	6161 aunes	Imported 1754
	Isles	-				-		Imported 1754
- de Bretagne	France					6670 aunes		
- de brin	France							Imported 1754
- de chemise de Mor- laix/ for shirts	France	-			toile de chem- ise	-	-	
- de cotton	France	24 pieces				270 aunes	-	Also 1754

CLOTHING

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Toile - con't - d'hollande	France	2 barils				36 aunes		
- de lin	France	3000 aunes						
- de ménage/ household	France	4042 aunes						
- de Nantes	France			toile de Nantes				
- d'étoupe/oakum	France	-				-	-	Imported 1754
- Royale	Export							Export 1754
- rousse de ménage	France	-				16216 aunes	9530 aunes	Also 1754
Velours/Velvet	France	-				3 aunes	-	

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
<u>CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS*</u>								
Bardeaux/Shingles	New England	427,000	446,000	347,280	338,050	402,300 & 28,000 <u>essentes</u>		1732: 303,00 & 28,000 <u>* essentes</u>
	Quebec	103,000	12,000	bardeaux	bardeaux	-		Regular im- port 1730's & 1750's
Bois ecarri/square tim- ber	New England	-	-			2246 pieds		
Bois Franc/Hardwood	Acadia		80 sq. pieds	-	-			
- bois de gayac	Export							Exported 175
Bordage/Planking	New England	10,000 pieds	-			11500 pieds		
- de chêne au delà de 4 pouces/oak, more than 4 pouces	Quebec	-	-					Regular im- port 1730's
- de chêne d'Acadie/ Acadian oak	Acadia	-	-		bordage			
- de chêne/oak	New England	-	600 pieds	bordage	+19,000 pieds			
Briques/Bricks	New England	296,000	58,000	63,500	134,080	359,850		1732:121,000 1755: 5,000
	France	-				500	-	
	Quebec	-	-			briques	-	
Carreaux de Verre/ Window Panes	France	carreaux			carreaux	9,400	10,472	Also 1754
	Quebec	-	-			-		Imported 175
Carreaux de brique/ Tiles	New England	1,500	-	-	-			

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Charpente/Timbers	New England	-	-			8, de maison		1732: 1 maison
Chassis/Windowframe	New England	-	-			400		de charpente
Chevrons/Rafters	Acadia	50 chevrons						
	New England	-	-			4000 pieds		
Fleaux de Fer/ Iron door	France	1 fleau				-	4 fleaux	Also 1754
Lattes/laths	New England	-	-			200		
Madrier/Planks	New England	-	-	9,000 pieds	30,000 pieds	6500 pieds		
	Acadia	-	-	540	madriers			
- de pin/ pine	Quebec	-	-			-		Regular im- port 1730's
Merrains/Barrel staves	New England	50,700	-	8,200	7,700	402,411		
Piquets/pickets	New England					1,580		
Planches/ Boards	New England	333,200 pieds	450,000 pieds	410,177 pieds	290,000 pieds	2,095,768 pieds		1732: 339,000 1755: 80,000 pieds
	Acadia	-	-	4,341 pieds	40,000 pieds			
	Quebec	3,850 planches	810 planches	planches	planches	-		Regularly 1730's & 1750's
- de pin/ pine	France	700 planches				-	-	
Terasse/Tile or paving	New England			quelques menues				
stone								
<u>TOOLS</u>								
Barre de Guindeau/ Hand- spike	Acadia	-	-		300			
Beche/Spade	France	-				-	-	1742: 12
Brouette/Wheelbarrow	Acadia	-	-	brouettes				
Ciseau à Menuisier/ Chisel	France	-				-	-	1754: 50 WORK 19

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Year
Cloux/ Nails	France	cloux				398 qtx	144 qtx	Also 1754
	Quebec	-	40 qtx					
Couteaux/ Knife								
- à habiller	France	-				-	24	1754: 48
- pour charpentier/ carpenters	New England	-	-	2	-			
Enclume/ Anvil	New England	1 enclume	-	-	-			
Espar/ lever	New England	-	-			180		
Faux à faucher/ Scythe *	France	-				60 faux	-	
	New England	-	14 faux	-	-	48		
Goje de Barrique	New England	-	-	-	-			1732:2 gojes
Gohine/ Compass Saw	New England	-	-	2 doz	-			
Haches/ Axes	France	-				225	-	
	New England	829	1,122	538	108	752		1732: 186
	Acadia	-	6	24	6			
Manches à Piquer/ Pick- handles	Acadia	-	-		manches			
Meules/ Grindstones *	New England	78	-	-	62			
	Acadia	-	-	40	192			
Outils/ Tools	France	-				3 qtx	-	
Pelle/ Spade	New England	-	-	2 pelles	pelles			
- de bois/ wooden	Acadia	-	-	2,854	pelles			62

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Pincette/Tongs	New England	-	-	1 pincette				
Pioche/Pickaxe	Acadia	-			5 pioches			
- pioge de fer/iron	France	-				1,060 #		
Poulies/Pulleys	France	-				400	100	
	Acadia	-	-	180	300			
	New England	-	172	451	425	723		
Quincaillerie/Hardware	France	quincaillerie				109 qtx	34 qtx	Also 1754
	New England	quincaillerie	-	-	-			
Scies/Saws	France	2, de long					24	1754: 6 lames de scie
	New England	-	12, de long	10 divers	7 à bois			
Selle et Bride/Saddle and bridle	New England	-	-	2	-			
- licous et selle/Halter, bridle	Acadia	-	-	5 licous, 1 selle		12 licous		
- selle/saddle	France	-				-	-	1754: 1
- harnois a cheval/Harness	Quebec	-	-			harnois		
Socs à charue/Plough-shares	France	-				12	40	1754: socs de bois
Vanne à Vanner le blé*/winnow	Export							Exported 1752

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Registres en blanc/ Register books	France	-				-	-	1754: 20
Romaines/Scales	France	-				-	-	1754: 4
<u>SHIP SUPPLIES</u>								
Aiguilles à Voile/Sail Needles	France	-				150	100	
Ancres/ Anchors	France	8600 #				ancres	14,800 #	1754: ancres de fer
Avirons/Oars	France	61 traques				42 avirons		
	New England	-	-	12	5,000 pieds	4520 pieds		
	Acadia	-	-	223	345			
	Isles	-	-				avirons	
- à chaloupe	New England	-	-	-	-			1732: 40
Bray/Pitch	France	120 qts; 168 qtx						
- bray gras/liquid	France					236 barils	272 barils	Also 1754
- bray sec/dry	France					134 qtx	92 qtx	Also 1754
- bray	New England	-	-	bray	-			
Baques d'etaye et de* foque	Export							Export 1753, 1754
Brinballe/Pump handle	Export							Exported 1753
Canot et Batteau/Ship's boats	New England	-	-	4 canots		8 canots		1732: batteau 1755: canot

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Cercle de Mat/Mast * circles	New England	-	-	2,000	circles			
	Acadia	-	29 doz					
Chopines de Pompe/Pump bucket	France	-				-	12	
Cordages assortis/Rope	France	+ 1,595 qtx		cordage	cordage	2,532 qtx	722 qtx	Also 1754
Dragues/Grapple or Sea Anchor	France	-				200 #		
Etamine pour Girouettes/ Windsock *	France	-				-	12 pieces	1754: 13 pieces
Etoupe/Oakum	France	30 bques				26 qtx	71 qtx	Also 1754
	Isles	-					etoupe	
Figure de Navire/figure * head	New England	-	-	1 figure	2 figures			
Fil à Voile/Sailmaker's thread	France	765 #				3 qtx	9 qtx; 50#	Also 1754
Grappin/Grapple	France	-				grappins	50 qtx	Also 1754
- de chaloupe	France	122 grappins						
Goldron/Tar	France	160 qts		goldron	goldron	96 barils	134 barils	Also 1754
	New England	-	-	goldron	3 barils	6 barils		
Grounable pour batiment *	New England	6,000	-	-	-			
Mats/Masts	New England	-	-	2 mats	2 petit mats	66 mats		

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Pomme de Racage/ Parrel trucks	France	-		72		-	-	
Pompes/ Pumps	New England	pompes	-	22	7	19		
- de pavillion	Export							Exported 1754
- de Barrique	Export							Exported 1754
- housse de pompe/ housing	New England	-	-	-	6	42		Exported 1754
Racage*	New England	-	-	-	24 doz	22 doz		
Ragues*	New England	-	-	-	12 doz			
Toile à Voile/Sailcloth	France	29,538 aunes				24,667 aunes	19,285 aunes	Also 1754
- de 4 fils	France	300 aunes				-	-	
Voile/Sail	France	1 voile				-	-	
Volet à batteau/Boat compass	France	-				62	164	1754: volets à chaloupe
<u>FISHING EQUIPMENT</u>								
Ains/Fish hooks								
- à pescher/for fishing	France	-				22,200	27,800	
- à maqueraux/mackerel	France	-				-	2,224	1754: 3,000
- à morue/for cod	France					-	-	1754: 63,400
Crocs à Morue/Cod barrels	France	20,280				-	-	
- à maqueraux/mackerel	France	-				1,000 crocs	-	

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Fouine/Trident*	Acadia	-	-	60	15			
Lignes de peche/Fishing lines	France	21,378 #		lignes		156 qtx	84 qtx	Also 1754
	Isles	-	-				lignes	
Plomb de peche/Weights	France	-				49 qtx	22 qtx	Also 1754
Rets à pecher/Fish nets	France	568 nets				128	88	1754: 62
- aunes de rets/netting	France	2,526 aunes				-	-	
Sel/Salt	France	16,009 bques		sel	sel	6,494 bques	9,617 bques	Also 1754
	New England	-	-	6 bques	12 bques			
	Isles	-	-	-	-		sel	
<u>CHEMICALS, PAINTS, * PRESERVATIVES</u>								
Amidon/Starch	France	-				4 qtx	1 qtx	
Blanc de Baleine/Sperm-aceti	Export							Exported 1755 & 1756
Blanc d'Espagne/Whiting	France	-				15 qtx	-	
Ceruze/White lead	France	433 #				100 #	-	
Chaux/lime	New England	-	-			70 boucaults		
Couperose/Vitriol*	France	-				10 qtx	-	
Huile de Lin/Linseed oil	France	690 #				24 #	100 #	Also 1754
Indigo	Isles	-	-	indigo			indigo	Also 1754
Litharge/Oxide of lead	France							1754: 200 #
Noir de fumée/Lamp black	France	200 barils				170 barils	-	
	New England					30 barils		WORK

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
<u>CONTAINERS</u>								
Bacquet/ Bucket	New England	-	-	-	baquet			
Barils/ Barrels	New England	-	-	26 divers	-			
	Acadia	-	-		40 barils			
Boette/ Box	Acadia	-	-	2 boettes				
Boucault/ Cask *	New England	-	-	8 bucaux	-	547, vides		1755: 20 "en botte"
Bouchons de liège/ Corks	France	-				21,000	10,600	Also 1754
	New England	6,500	-	-	-			
Bouteilles Vides/ Empty bottles	France	-				2,400	-	Also 1754
Caisse/ Case	New England	-	-	-	-			1732: 5 petits
	Acadia	-	-		1 caisse			
Coffre/ Chest	New England	-	-	4	2			
Seaux/ Pail *	New England	-	-	70	12	60		1732: 4 doz
Seillau/ Bucket	New England	scilleaux	324, de bois	258	48			1732: 6 doz

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Rechauds/Portable stoves	New England	-	-	6	-			
	Quebec	-	-			-		1754: rechaud
Serviettes de table/ Napkins	France	42					13 doz	1754: 88 1/2 doz
Tabatière/Tobacco holder								
- de carton/pasteboard	France	-				-	-	1754: 40
- de corne/horn	France	-				-	-	1754: 40 doz
Tamis/sieve	New England	-	-			24		
Tapis de table/Table-cloth	France	4 tapis				-	-	1754: 6
Tournebroche/Roasting spit	France	-				-	-	1754: 4
Verres à Boire/Glasses for drinking	France	verrerie					114 doz	1754: 164 doz verres
	New England	verrerie	-	-	-			
<u>LIGHTING IMPLEMENTS</u>								
Bougie/Candle	France	-				bougies	-	
- de table	France	-					24 livres	
Chandelle/Candles	France	13,848 #			chandelles	193 qtx	315 qtx	Also 1754
	New England	-	-			120 livres		
	Quebec	-	5 qtx			-		
Chandelier/Candleholder	Isles	-	-				chandelles	Also 1754
	France	-				-	-	1754: 144

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Chaise/Chair - con't								
- de commodité	New England	-	-	6	-			
- pour l'hôpital	New England	-	-	-	-			1732: 12
- de paille/straw	New England	-	-	64				
	France	12				-	-	1754: 72
- de ratin/rattan	New England	-	-	-	-			1732: 6
- roulant/wheelchair	New England					8		Exported 1753
Commode	Quebec	-	-			-		1754: commode
	New England	-	commode	-	-			1732: 11
Fauteuil/Armchair	New England	-	-	-	-			1732: 1
- garni/decorated	France	1						
Matelas/Mattress	France							1754: 2
Tables	New England	27	18	26	9	19		1732: 10 1755: 4
- de marbre/marble	New England					2		Exported 1752
Tiroir à linge/Linen drawer	New England	-	-	-	-			1732: 1 tiroir
<u>FURNISHINGS AND DECORATION</u>								
Chenets/ Andirons	Quebec	-	-			-		1754: 1 paire
Courte pointe et couverte/Quilts	New England	-	-	12	-			HOME

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Couverture de laine/ woolen blanket	France	-				20	133	Also 1754
	Acadia	-	-	plusieurs				
Drap de lit/Bed linen	France	-				-	-	Imported 1754
Mercerie/ "Notions"*	France	-		mercerie		167 qtx	100 qtx	Also 1754
	Quebec					mercerie		
Miroirs/Mirrors	France	6				-	10 glace miroirs	
	Quebec	-	-			-		1754:miroirs
	New England	18 glaces	-	-	-			
Ratiers/Rat traps	New England	-	-	12	-			
Savonettes/ Soap dish	France	-				9 doz	-	Also 1754
Serrure/ Locks	France	-				-	70	
Tableaux, Estampes/ Pictures, prints	France						tableaux	
Tapisseries Peintes/ Tapestry	France					-	-	1754: 30 pieces
	Quebec							1754:tapisseries
Tours de lits/Bed valence	France	-				-	-	1754: 3

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Poudre à poudrer/Powder	France	-				18 qtx	5 qtx	Also 1754
Savon/Soap	France	11,568 #		savon		8 qtx	269 qtx	Also 1754
	Isles	400 #	155 qtx					Also 1754
Violons/Violins	France	-				24 violons	-	

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
<u>PRECISION INSTRUMENTS</u>								
Cloche/Bell	France					1 cloche		
- de fonte/Cast bell	France							1754: 1
Compas de route/Compass	France	-				48	-	
	New England	-	-	21	7	60		
Horloge/Clock	France	-				-	48	
	New England	-	-	6	-			
Longue-Vue/Telescope	New England	-	-	3				
Montre/Watch	France	-				24	-	
Porte-Voix/Loud hailer	New England	-	-	-	-			1732: 4
Pendule/Pendulum	Quebec	-	-			-		1754: 1
	New England	-	-	-	-			1732: 5
Quart de Nonante/ quadrant	New England	-	-	1	-			
<u>LIVESTOCK</u>								
Agneaux/Lambs	Acadia	4	-					
Bestiaux/Livestock	Quebec	-	-	bestiaux		-		
	New England			8				1732: 57 bêtes à corne
Brebis/Ewe	Acadia			3, avec petites				
Boeufs/Cattle	Acadia	184	155	25				MISC. 18

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Boeufs/Cattle - con't	New England	19	-	23	19	356		
Canard/Duck	New England	-	-	-	-			1732: 5
Chevaux/Horses	New England	33	-	7	-	37		1732: 3
	Quebec	-	-			chevaux		
	France	24						
Chevres/goats	New England	-	-			19		
Cochons/Pigs	Acadia	6	10	2	12 petits			
	New England	40	52	52 et 1 truy	19	89		1732: 5 1755: 2
Genisse/Heifer	New England	-	-	-	13			
Moutons/Sheep	Acadia	55	60	40	91			
	New England	578	445	327	242	2081, en vie		1732: 618 1755: 340
	Quebec	140	-			moutons		
Oies/Geese	New England	-	260	95	16			1732: 57 1755: 52
Poules et Dindes/Chicken & Turkey	New England	poules	331 poules	87 poules; 1 dinde	72 poules			
	Acadia	6 doz poules	246	185	60			
Vaches/Cows	Acadia	13	20					
	New England	27	24	26	12	80		1732: 2
	Quebec	-	-			vaches		
Veaux/Calves	Acadia	4	5					
	New England	2	-	8	-	50		1732: 1 1755: 1 MISC.

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Volaille/Poultry	Acadia	-	-		12			
	New England	volaille	-	36	volaille	3376		1732: c60
<u>FURS AND SKINS</u>								
Boeuf, peaux de/Cowhide	Isles	-	-					1754: peaux de boeuf
Caribou, peaux de/Caribou	Acadia	-	-		35			
Castor, peaux de/Beaver	Acadia	-	20 #	40 pieces	60 #			
Chamois, peaux de/Goat	France	-				120	-	1754: 56
Cuir/Leather	New England	-	-	cuir	-			
- cuir fort	France	-				11 qtx	-	
- cuir tanné	Isles	10	-					
Fouines*/Mink	Acadia			60	50			
Lapin, peaux de/Rabbit skin	Acadia	-	-	2,340	11,800			
- lapin/Rabbit	Acadia	-	-		lapin			
Ligne, peaux de	France	-	-			-	4	
Loup-Marin/Seal	Acadia				15			8
Loup Cervier, chat cervier/Lynx	Acadia	-	33	70	146			
Loutre/Wolf	Acadia	-	3	16	3			
Mareque/Moroccan leather	France	-				312 aunes	60 aunes	Also 1754
Martre/Marten	Acadia	-	20	46	15			MISC.

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Peau de Mouton apretée/ dressed sheepskins	France	-				95	602	Also 1754
Poil de chevre/Goat hair	France	-	-	30		-	-	
Origneaux, peaux/Moose	Acadia	-	322	177	300			
	New England	-	-	1	peaux			
Ours, peau d'/Bearskin	Acadia	-	6	3	8			
Peaux/Skins	New England	-	-	peaux	peaux			
	Quebec	-	-			-		Regularly in 1730's
- blanches	France	-				-	-	1754: des peaux blanches
Pelleteries/Pelts	Acadia	pelleteries	-					
Rats Musqués/Muskrat	Acadia	-	-	130	500			
Renard, peaux/Fox pelts	Acadia	-	-	2				
Peaux de Veau Corroyées/ Curried calfskin	France	-				874	-	
<u>MISCELLANEOUS OR UNIDENTIFIED</u>								
Marchandise/Merchandise	France	-			merchandise			48
	Isles	-	-	merchandise				
Mercerie/"Notions"*	France	mercerie		mercerie		167 qtx	100 qtx	Also 1754
	Quebec	-	-			mercerie		MISC.

Commodity	Source	1737	1740	1742	1743	1752	1753	Other Years
Negres/Negroes	Isles	3	-					
Pomiers/Apple trees	New England							1732: 8
Bellie	France	35 pieces				-	-	
Canette*	New England	-	-	144	8, de bois			
Coctif	France	8 pieces						
Dragées*	France	-					80 livres	1754: 408
Paravent*	France							1754: 1
Rasades/Beads & trinkets	France					40 livres	-	
Semi-Double*	France	6 pieces						
Terasses*	New England			quelques menues				
Charettes/wagons	New England	-				47		
- harnois de/rigging	New England					2		
Presents for sauvages/ Gifts for Indians	Acadia	-	-	-	presents			

INDEX OF COMMODITIES IMPORTED BY REGION: FRENCH TERMINOLOGY

(An English Index Follows, p. 109)

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
Acier	79	Armoire	85	Aviron	75	Anguille	47	Agneau	91
aiguille	75	avoine	54			avoine	54	anguille	47
ain	77	aviron	75					aviron	75
amande	47, 121							avoine	54
amidon	78								
anchois	47								
ancre	75								
argenterie	79								
artichaux	47								
assiette	82								
aviron	75								
				(B)					
Babouche	61, 62	Bacquet	81	Berceau	85	Bardeau	70	Barils	81
baptiste	65	bardeau	70	beurre	47	bestiaux	91	barre de	71
bas	61	baril	81	boeuf,	93	biscuit	47	guindeau	
basin	65	bestiaux	91	peau de		bordage	70	bas	61
beche	71	bettrave	47			brique	70	beurre	47
bellie	95	beurre	47					blé d'inde	55
beurre	47	biere	56					boette	81
bidon	82	biscuit	47					boeuf	48
								bois	70

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
biere	56	blé d'inde	55					brebis	91
bijouterie	64	boeuf	48					brouette	71
biscuit	47	bonnet	62						
blanc	78	bordage	70						
d'espagne		bottes	61						
boeuf	48	boucault	81						
bonnets	62	bouchon	84						
bottes,	61	bray	75						
bottines		brique	70						
bouchon	84	bureau	85						
boucle	63								
bougie	84								
bougrand	65								
bourse	63								
bouteille	81								
bouton	64								
bray	75								
brique	70								
bureaux	85								

(C)

Cadiz	65	Caisse	81	Cacao	48	Capilaire	56, 121	Caisse	81
cafetière	82	canapé	85	café	56	carreaux de	70	caribou,	93
calmande	65	canard	92	canelle	48	verre		peau	
camelot	65	canette	95	capot	59	chandelle	84	castor,	93
capas	59	canot	75	chandelle	84	chenets	86	peau	
capilaire	56, 121	capot	59	chemise	59	cheval	92	cercles de	76
						clou	72	mat	
								chevron	71

<u>France</u>		<u>New England</u>		<u>Isles</u>		<u>Quebec</u>		<u>Acadia</u>	
	<u>Page</u>		<u>Page</u>		<u>Page</u>		<u>Page</u>		<u>Page</u>
capot	59	carreau de	70	chocolat	48	commode	86	cochon	92
capres	48	brique		confiture	48			couteau	72, 82
carisé	65	cercle de mat	76	cotton	66				
carreaux de	70	chaise	85	cuir	93				
verre		chapeau	63						
cartes	88	charette	95						
casques	59	charpente	71						
ceinturons	64	chassis	71						
ceruse	78	cheval	92						
cervelat	48	chevres	92						
chaise	85	chocolat	48						
chamois,	93	choux	48						
peau de		cidre	56						
chandelier	84	cire	74						
chandelle	84	citrouille	48						
change	59	cochon	92						
chapeau	63	coffre	81						
chaudière	82	commode	86						
chaussettes	61	compas	91						
chaussure	62	courtepointe	86						
chemise	59	couteau	72, 82						
cheval	92	couverte	86						
cheveux	63	cuillere	82						
chocolat	48	cuir	93						
chopine	76								
cidre	56								

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
cierge	74								
ciseau	72								
cloche	91								
clou	72								
coctif	95								
coffre de chirigue	88								
coiffure	63								
col	64								
compas	91								
confiture	48								
cordage	76								
cordillat	66								
cornichon	48								
corps piqué	66								
cotton	66								
cotton à lampe	85								
couperose	78								
couteaux	72, 82								
coutil	66								
couverture	86								
crocs	76								
cuillères	82								
cuir	93								

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
cuisse d'oye	49								
cuivre	79								
culottes	59								
				(D)					
Dentelle	66	Dinde	92	Drap	66	Drap	66	Drap	66
dragées	95, 121								
dragues	76								
drap	66								
drap de lit	87								
drogues	88								
dorure	79								
doublure	66								
durgne	66								
				(E)					
Eau de senteur	88	Ecarde	64	Enrées	49	Enrées	49	Etoffe	67
eau de vie	56	enclume	72	étoupe	76	étain	79		
eau sans pareil	56	espars	72						
encre	74	essente	70						
épée	90								
épicerie	49								
épingle	74								
essences	88								
estampes	87								

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
étain	79								
étamine	67								
étamine pr. girouette	76								
étoupe	76								
				(F)					
Faïence	82	Fanal	85	Faïence	82	Farine	55	Farine	55
fanal	85	farine	55	farine	55	fer	80	fouines	78, 93
farine	55	fayaux	49	flanelle	67	feuillard	74	fusils	90
fauteuil	86	feves	49	fromage	49	fromage	49		
fayaux	49	figure de navire	76	fruits à l'eau de vie	49				
feaux	72	foin	55						
fer	80	fourchette	82						
fer blanc	80	fromage	49						
feuillard	74	fruits	49						
feuille de corne	74								
figues	49								
fil	64								
fil à voile	76								
flanelle	67								
fleau	71, 123								
freize	67								
fromage	49								
fruits à l'eau de vie	49								
fusil	90								

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
				(G)					
Galons	64	Gamelle	83	Guildive	56			Gamelles	83
gants	64	genisse	92						
garniture	64	goldron	76						
gilet	60	gohine	72						
gobelet	82	goje de	72						
goldron	76	barrique							
gomme	74	grounable	76						
graine	55								
graisse	49, 123								
gras double	50								
grapin	76								
gruau	55								
guetres	65								
guildive	56								
				(H)					
Habit	60	Hache	72	Huile	50	Harnois à	73, 95	Haches	72
haches	72	haricot	50	d'olive		cheval		huile de	50
harang	50	herbage	55			herbes salés	50	morue	
horloge	91	horloge	91			huile de	50		
huile de lin	78	huile de	50			morue			
huile d'olive	50	poisson							
huitre	50	huitres	50						

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
Jambon	50	Jambon	50	(I-J-K)				Jersau	55
jupons	60			Indigo	78			jupe	60
				indienne	67				
				(L)					
Laine	67	Lampes	85	Lignes de	78	Laine filée	67	Lapin	93
lampes	85	langues de	48	peche		lard	51	lard	51
langues de	48	morue	51	liqueurs	56	legumes	51	loup marin	93
boeuf		lard	71					loup servier	93
lard	51	lattes	51					loutre	93
légumes	51	légumes	56						
liege	74	limes	91						
ligne de	78	longue-vue							
peche									
ligne, peau	93								
de									
liqueurs	56								
litharge	78								
				(M)					
Manchettes	65	Madrier	71	Marchandise	94	Madrier	71	Madrier	71
mante	60	marmitte	83	melasse	51	mercerie	94	manche à	72
marchandise	94	mat	76	mouchoir	65	morue	92	piquer	
mareque	93	merrain	71			mouton	92	maqueraux	51
marmitte	83	meules	72			miroir	87	martre	93
marrigues	67	morue	92					meules	72
masques	88	mouton	92					morue	92
matelas	86							mouton	92

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
mazamet	67								
melasse	51								
mercerie	94								
mesches	85								
mesches à canon	90								
miel	51								
millet	55								
miroir	87								
molton	67								
montre	91								
mouchoir	65								
moules à perruque	63								
moulin à café	83								
mousseline	67								
mouton, peau de	94								
				(N)					
Noir de fumée	78	Navets	51	Negres	95				
noisettes	52	noix	52						
noix	52								
				(O)					
Ocre	79	Oeufs	52			Oignon	52	Origneau, peau d'	94
olives	52	oignon	52					ours, peau d'	94
osier	74	oies	92						
outils	71, 72								

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
Pain	53	Pain	53	Pipes	88	Peaux	93, 94	Pain	53
panne	67	pain d'epice	53			pendule	91	pelle	71
pantoufle	62	peaux	93, 94			planche	70, 71	pelleteries	94
papier	74	peintures	78, 79			plaque de poele	83	pioche	73
paravent	95	pelle	71			plomb	80	pipe	88
peaux	94	peluche	68			poele à frire	83	planche	70, 71
peigne	88	pendule	91			pois	52	plomb	80
peinture	78, 79	piege	74			pommes	52	plumes	74
perruques	63	pincette	73					poids	74
Pierre à fusil	90	pipes	88					pois	52
pioche	73	piquets	71					poudre de guerre	90
pipes	88	planche	70, 71					poules	93
planche	70, 71	plat	83					poulies	73
plaque de poel	83	poire	52					présents pour sauvages	95
plat	83	pois	52						
plomb	80	pomier	53						
poel coulé	83	pommes	52						
poele à frire	83	pommes de terre	53						
poids	74	pompes	77						
poil de chevre	94	portevoix	91						
pois	52	pots	83						
poivre	52	poules	93						
pomade	88	poulies	73						
pomme de racage	77	quart de nonante	91						
poudre à poudrer	89								

<u>France</u>		<u>New England</u>		<u>Isles</u>		<u>Quebec</u>		<u>Acadia</u>	
	<u>Page</u>		<u>Page</u>		<u>Page</u>		<u>Page</u>		<u>Page</u>
poudre de guerre	90								
poulies	73								
prunes	53								
quincaillerie	73								
				(R)					
Raisins	53	Racage	77, 124	Redingotte	60	Rechaud	84	Rat musqué	94
rapes	83	ragues	77, 124	ris	55			renard	94
ras de cecile	68	ratiers	87					ris	55
rassades	95	rhum	57						
ratine	68	rechauds	84						
redingotte	60	ris	55						
registres	75	rousine	79						
ris	55								
rets	78								
romaines	75								
rubans	65								
				(S)					
Sabots	62	Saindoux	53	Savon	89	Saumon	53	Selle	73
sardines	53	scies	72, 73	sel	78	soulier	62	sucré d'érable	53
saucisse	53	seau	81	siamoise	68				
savon	89	seillau	81	sirop	57				
savonnette	87	sel	78	sucré	53				
scies	72, 73	selle	73						
sel	78	son	56						
selle	73	souliers	62						
semi-double	95, 124	sucré	53						

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
serge	68								
serrure	87								
serviette	84								
siamoise	68								
sirop de capillaire	56, 131								
sirop d'orgeat	57								
socs à charrue	73								
soie	68								
soufre	79								
souliers	62								
sucre	53								
suif	85								
(T)									
Tabac	54	Tabac	54	Tabac	54	Tabac	54	Tabac	54
tabatière	84	tables	86	tafia	57	tapisserie	87	terebentine	79
tabliers	60	tamis	84	toile	68				
tableaux	87	terasse	95						
tapisseries	87	terebentine	79						
tapis de table	84	thé	57						
thé	57	tiroir à linge	86						
toile	68								
toile à voile	77								
tour de lit	87								
tournebroche	84								

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
				(U-V-W-X-Y-Z)					
Ustencille de peche	77	Vache	92	Vin	57	Vaches	92	Vache	92
veau, peau de	94	veau	92	vinaigre	54	vin	57	veau	92
velours	69	verres	84			vivres	54	volaille	92
verdot	79, 125	volaille	92						
verres	84	yolle							
verre, carreaux de	70								
vestes	60								
vieux oing	79								
vin	57								
vinaigre	54								
violons	89								
voile	77								
volet à batteau	77								

INDEX OF COMMODITIES IMPORTED BY REGION: ENGLISH TERMINOLOGY

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
Almonds	47, 121	Anvil	72			Andirons	86	Axes	72
apron	60	apple trees	53			apples	52		
anchovies	47	apples	52						
anchors	75	<u>armoire</u>	85						
armchair	86	axe	72						
artichokes	47								
axe	72								

(B)

<u>Baptiste</u> / cloth	65	Barrel	81	Brandied fruit	49	Biscuit	47	Barrels	81
barleywater	57	barrel staves	71	butter	47	boarding	70	beaverskins	93
syrup		beans	49			boards	70	beaver pelts	93
<u>basin</u> /dimity	65	beef	48			brick	70	beef	48
bedhangings	87	beer	56					black powder	90
bed linen	87	beets	47					boards	70
beef	48	biscuit	47					box	81
beer	56	boarding	70					bread	53
bell	91	boards	70					butter	47
<u>bellie</u>	95	boat	75						
belts	64	boots	61						
biscuit	47	<u>boucault</u> ,	81						
boards	70, 71	container							
boat compass	77	bran	56						
boots(half boots)	61	bread	52						

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
bottles	81	brick	70						
<u>bougrand</u> /cloth	65	bucket (<u>bacquet</u>)	81						
braid	64	bucket (<u>seau</u> ; <u>seillau</u>)	81						
brandied fruit	49	butter	47						
brandy	56								
bread	53								
breeches	59								
brick	70								
buckles	63								
butter	47								
buttons	64								

(C)

<u>Cadiz</u> /cloth	65	Cabbage	48	Candle	84	Candles	84	Calf	92
calfskin	94	calf	92	<u>capot</u> /cape	59	<u>capilaire</u>	56, 121	canteen	81
<u>calmande</u> /cloth	65	<u>canette</u>	95	cheese	49	cheese	49	caribou pelts	93
<u>camelot</u> /cloth	65	cap	62	chocolate	48	cod	51	case	81
candle	84	capot	62	cinnamon	48	commode	86	<u>cercle de mat</u>	76
candleholder	84	carding brush	64	cocoa	48	cows	92	chickens	93
candles	84	case	81	coffee	56			cod	92
canteen	81	<u>cercle de mat</u>	76	cotton	66			cod oil	92
capers	48	chair	85	cowhide	93			corn	55
capes	59	<u>charpente</u>	70	cradle	85			cow	92
<u>capilaire</u>	56, 121	cheese	49						
<u>capot</u> /cape	59	chest	81						
caps	62	chickens	93						
		chocolate	48						

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
cards	88	cider	56						
<u>carisé</u> / cloth	65	clock	91						
cart grease	79	cod	92						
<u>casagues</u> / capes	59	cod tongues	92						
chair	85	commode	86						
chamois leather	93	compass	91						
cheese	49	compass saw	72						
chisel	71	cooking pot (<u>marmitte</u>)	83						
chocolate	48	cork	74, 81						
cider	56	corn	55						
cloak (<u>mante</u>)	60	cow	92						
clock	91								
clothing	59								
<u>coctif</u>	95								
coffee mill	83								
coffee pot	82								
<u>coiffure</u>	63								
collar	64								
comb	88								
compass	91								
cooking pot (<u>chaudière</u>)	82								
cooking pot (<u>marmitte</u>)	83								
copper	79								
<u>cordillat</u> / cloth	66								

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
cork	71, 84								
corks	84								
<u>corps piqués</u>	66								
cotton	66								
<u>coutil</u>	66								
crocks	76								
cuffs	65								
(D)									
Desk	85	Desk	85	<u>drap/ cloth</u>	66	<u>drap/ cloth</u>	66	<u>drap/ cloth</u>	66
door bar	71, 123	duck	92						
<u>dragées</u>	95, 121								
<u>drap/ cloth</u>	66								
drugs	88								
<u>durgne/ cloth</u>	66								
(E)									
<u>Eau sans pareil</u>	56	Eggs	52			Eels	47	Eels	47
								<u>étouffe/ cloth</u>	67
								ewe	91
(F)									
Faïence	82	Feed	55	Faïence	82	Fish oil	50	Feather	74
figs	49	figurehead	76	fishing lines	78	flour	55	flour	55
fishing equipment	77	fish oil	50	<u>flanelle/ cloth</u>	67	foodstuffs	49	fox pelts	94
fish hooks	77	flour	55	flour	55	frying pan	83		
fishing line	78	forks	82	foodstuffs	49				
flannel	67	fruit	49						

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
flints	90								
flour	55								
<u>freize</u> / cloth	67								
fruits in brandy	49								
frying pan	83								

(G)

Gaiters	65	Geese	92					Gifts for Indians	95
gilding	79	glassware	70, 82, 84					grind stones	72
glassware	70, 82, 84	goats	92						
gloves	64	<u>goje de</u>	72						
glue	74	<u>barrique</u>							
goatskin	93, 94	grind stones	72						
goblet	82	<u>grounable</u>	76						
goose legs	49								
grapes	53								
grapnel	76								
graters	83								
grease	49, 123								

(H)

Hair	63	Ham	50	Handkerchiefs	65	Herbs,	50	Handspike	71
hairsack	63	hat	63			salted			
half-hose	61	hay	55			hoopwood	74		
ham	50	heifer	92			horses	92		
handkerchief	65	horse	92			horses'	73, 95		
hardware	73					harnesses			
hay	55								

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
hazelnuts	52								
herring	50								
honey	51								
hoopwood	74								
horn sheets	74								
horse	92								
hose	61								
Ink	74			(I)					
iron	80			<u>Indienne/</u> cloth	67	Iron	80		
				indigo	78				
				(J)					
Jewelry	64	Jug	82						
				(K)					
Knife	72, 82	Knife	72, 82					Knives	72, 82
				(L)					
Lace	66	Lamp	85	Leather	93	Lead	80	Lamb	91
lamps	85	lantern	85	liqueurs	56	livestock	91	lead	80
lamp black	78	lard	53					lynx pelts	93
lamp wicks	85	laths	71						
lantern	85	leather	93						
lead	80	levers	72						
leather	93	limes	56						
linings	66	linen drawer	86						
linseed oil	78	livestock	91						
liqueurs	56	loud-hailer	91						
lock	87								

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
				(M)					
<u>Maraque</u>	93	Mast	76	Merchandise	94	<u>Mercerie</u>	94	Mackerel	51
<u>marriques</u>	67			molasses	51	mirrors	87	maple sugar	53
masks	88							marten pelts	93
mattress	86							mink	93
<u>mazamet/cloth</u>	67							moose pelts	94
medicine chest	88							muskets	94
<u>mercerie</u>	94							muskrat hides	94
merchandise	94								
millet	55								
mirror	87								
molasses	51								
<u>molton/cloth</u>	67								
<u>mouselline/cloth</u>	67								
musket	90								
muslin	67								
				(N)					
Nail	72	Navy beans	49, 50	Negroes	95	Nails	72		
napkin	84	nuts	53						
navy beans	49, 50								
needles	75								
nets	78								
nuts	52								

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
Oakum	76	Oars	75	Oakum	76	Oats	54	Oars	75
oars	75	oats	54	oars	75	onions	52	oats	54
oats	54	onions	52	olive oil	50				
ochre	79	oysters	50						
olive oil	50								
olives	52								
oxide of lead	78								
oysters	50								

(P)

Paint	78, 79	Paint	78, 79	Pipes	88	Peas	52	Peas	52
<u>panne</u>	67	peas	52	preserves	48	pendulum	91	pelts	93
paper	74	pears	52			planks	70	pens	74
<u>paravent</u>	95	<u>peluche/ cloth</u>	68					pick axe	73
parrel truck	77	pendulum	91					pick handle	72
peas	52	pig	92					pigeon feed	55
<u>peau de ligne</u>	94	picket	71					pigs	92
pepper	52	pipes	88					pipes	88
perfume	88	pitch	75					plank	70
pick axe	73	planks	70					poultry	92
pickles	48	plates	83					powder (black)	90
pictures	87	potatoes	53					pulleys	73
pins	74	pots	83						
pint pot	83	poultry	92						
pipes	88	<u>pulleys</u>	73						
pitch	75	pumpkin	48						
		pumps	77						

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
plates (<u>plats</u>)	83								
plates (<u>assiettes</u>)	82								
plough-shares	73								
<u>pomade</u>	88								
powder (black)	90								
powdering powder	89								
preserves	48								
prints	87								
prunes	53								
pulleys	73								
				(Q)					
Quilt	86	Quilt	86						
				(R)					
<u>Ras de cecile</u>	68	<u>Racage</u>	77, 124	<u>Redingottes</u>	60			Rabbit	93
rateen	68	<u>ragues</u>	77, 124	rice	55			(skins)	
<u>redingotte</u>	60	rat traps	87					rafters	71
registers	75	resin	79					rice	55
rice	55	rice	55						
roasting spit	84	rum	57						
rope	76								
				(S)					
<u>Sabots</u>	62	Saddle	73	Salt	78	Salmon	53	Saddle	73
saddle	73	salt	78	shirt	59	salt pork	51	salt pork	51
sails	77	salt pork	51	<u>siamoise/</u>	68	sheep	92	seal skin	93
sailcloth	77	saw	72	cloth		shingles	70	sheep	92

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
sailthread	76	<u>scilleau</u>	81	soap	89	shoes	62	skirt	60
salt	78	sheep	92	sugar	53	skins	93, 94	spade	71
salt pork	51	shingle	70	syrup	57	stove tops	83	stockings	61
sardines	53	shoes	62			supplies	54		
sausages	48, 53	sieve	84						
saw	72, 73	skins	93, 94						
scale	75	sofa	85						
scythe	72	spade	71						
seed	55	spice bread	52						
<u>semi-double</u>	95, 124	sugar	53						
serge	68								
sheepskin	94								
shirt	59								
shoes	62								
<u>siamoise/cloth</u>	68								
silk	68								
silverware	79								
skins	94								
slippers	61, 62								
soap	89								
soap dish	87								
spade	71								
spices	49								
starch	78								
steel	79								
stocking	61								
stove tops	83								

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
stove, cast-iron	83, 84								
sugar	53								
suit	60								
sulphur	79								
syrup, <u>de</u> <u>capelaire</u>	56								
sword	90								

(T)

Table cloth	84	Tables	86	Tafia	56, 57	Tapestries	87	Tobacco	54
tafia	56, 57	tar	76	tafia	56	tin	79, 80	tridents	78
tallow	85	tea	57	(<u>guildive</u>)		tobacco	54	turpentine	79
tapestries	87	teaspoon	82	tobacco	54				
tar	76	telescope	91	<u>toile</u> /cloth	68				
tea	57	<u>terasse</u>	95, 124						
teaspoon	82	tile	70						
thread	64, 76	timbers	71						
tin (<u>étain</u>)	79	tobacco	54						
tin (<u>fer blanc</u>)	80	tongs	73						
tobacco	54	trap	74, 87						
tobacco container	84	turkey	92						
<u>toile</u> /cloth	68	turnips	51						
tongue of beef	51	turpentine	79						
tools	71, 72								
trimmings	64								
trinkets	95								
tripe	50								

<u>France</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>New England</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Isles</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Acadia</u>	<u>Page</u>
				(U)					
Underskirt	60								
				(V)					
Vegetables	51	Vegetables	51	Vinegar	54	Vegetables	51		
velvet	69								
<u>verdot</u>	79, 125								
vinegar	54			(W)					
violin	89								
Waistcoat	60	Warming stove	84	Wine	57	Warming oven	84	Weights	74
walnuts	52	wagon	95			window panes	70	wheelbarrow	71
watch	91	wax	74			wine	57	wolf pelts	93
weights	74	window frame	71			wool/ <u>filée</u>	67	wood	70
whitelead	78								
whiting	78								
wicker	74								
wicks	85								
wicks for cannon	90								
wig curlers	63								
wigs	63								
window panes	70								
windsock	76								
wine	57								
wooden shoes	62								
wool	67								

NOTES ON TABLES

Amande/almond: There is also a commodity called "dragées" of which 80 livres were imported in 1753 and 408 livres in 1754. The word may mean "sugared almond", but apparently it could also be "small shot" or "buckwheat".

Anguilles/eels: Though I have seen no reference to the domestic harvesting of eels during the existence of Louisbourg, Nicolas Denys cited the barachois of Louisbourg harbour as a good source of eels in his Description géographique et Historique des côtes de l'Amérique Septentrionale, first published in 1672 (Toronto, the Champlain Society, pub. #2, 1908, facsimile edition, New York, Greenwood Press, 1968, p. 181). Map ND 70 shows a Port à l'Anguille ("Eel Harbour") on Isle St. Jean.

Bague d'etaye, bague de foc: See the note on Ragues.

Biscuit is evidently similar to hard tack or rusk, a durable and easy-to-transport substitute for bread.

Boucault is a container and also a unit of measurement for grain and other commodities.

Canette may mean any of: bottles for beer; sewing machine spool (obviously a modern use, but perhaps related to weaving terminology); or spout for a keg or barrel.

Capilaire: Le Robert defines capilaire as "the name given to several cryptogamous vascular plants", and notes "Capilaire du Canada, of which the leaves are used in the preparation of a cough syrup."

Chevrons/rafters: were a frequent export and may have been produced in Isle Royale mills.

Circle de mat: See note on Ragues.

Clothing: The prevalence of fabrics and accessories over ready-made clothes in this list may suggest that tailoring and domestic clothes-making were common in Louisbourg. It is notable that French goods dominate all aspects of the clothing imports. On clothing generally, consult the series of reports on Louisbourg costume by Monique LaGrenade.

Construction materials: Note the dominance of New England, supplemented in some categories by Acadia and Quebec. For reference on these materials and their uses, consult the Preliminary Architectural Studies series.

Couperose should be either couperose verte (green vitriol or ferrous sulphate) or couperose bleue (blue vitriol or copper sulphate) but the adjective is not specified.

Dragées: See the note on Amandes.

Essente/shingle: The word on the document, dessente, is assumed to be a misspelling for this.

Etamine pour girouette: A piece of muslin hung from the top of a mast to indicate wind direction.

Faux/scythe: See note on Seaux.

Fayaux, feves: Such imports from France are generally listed under the general heading of légumes. There is frequent reference in the official correspondence to beans and peas forming a major part of shipments of légumes.

Feuilles de corne: Sheets of horn would be used for horn lanterns.

Figure de navire/Figurehead: One of those imported in 1743 is described:

"figure de lyon".

Fleaux de fer: I have assumed these to be iron bars for doors, but fleau can also mean flail, a threshing tool.

Fouines: may mean either "mink" or "trident" and is therefore listed under Skins and Furs as well as Fishing Equipment.

Grains: the only grain known to have been common at Louisbourg which is not listed among the imports is blé noir, which is often listed among the royal stores.

Graisse/grease: The term usually refers to a cooking product similar in use to lard, but there should also have been imports of lubricating grease for ironwork and construction.

Guildive: See note on Tafia.

Harang/herring: Both herring and mackerel were used as fishing bait as well as for food.

Langues de boeuf/Beef tongue: The import table of 1752 says only "langues". "Boeuf" is not specified in that instance.

Légumes/Vegetables: See note on Fayaux.

Mercerie: Mercerie was used to refer to any assortment of saleable odds and ends. See the descriptions of the term in Quillet and Larousse. Diderot says a mercier "sells everything and makes nothing."

Meules à aiguiser: are grindstones, but when the reference is simply "meule", problems with spelling make it possible that some of the grindstones are actually mules, mules.

Paints: Some paints and chemicals are discussed in Christian Pouyez'

Paints report. Note that the imports include turpentine, which the Paints report predicted would have been used.

Paravent: may mean either a folding screen or a chandelier, candlestick.

The one imported in 1754 was worth 100 livres.

Plomb/lead: Plomb en graine probably refers to lead shot for muskets.

Pommes de terre/potatoes: Potatoes were not much used as a food in France

until the late 18th century. It is possible that the reference here is to sweet potatoes or some other variety, but in 1729, De la Perelle's mémoire "Sur l'Isle Royale", (A.C., C11C, Vol. 9, fol. 29-32) included pommes de terre among the island's potential crops.

Ragues, racage, grounable, circle de mat, bague d'etaye, bague de foc:

All these are tentatively identified as part of the rigging and equipment of sailing ships, but no specific descriptions have been found.

Sceaux and faux: Due to changing spellings some of the imports listed as sceaux, buckets, may overlap with faux, scythes.

Semi-double: may mean "half-lined", a partially lined clothing material.

Sirop: This is probably cane sugar syrup, produced in one stage of the refining of raw sugar into molasses and other sugar products.

Sirop de capilaire: See note on Capilaire.

Tafia: A rum-like spiritous liquor derived from low grade molasses, brown sugar, etc. Guildive is evidently a synonym.

Terasse/tile or paving stone: The identification of this word is only a hypothesis. Another possibility is tirasse, a type of net used for hunting birds.

Vannes: Vanner means "to winnow". A vanne is an apparatus for winnowing grain. On this and other farm instruments see R.L. Séguin, L'Equipment de la Ferme Canadienne (Montreal, Ducharme, 1959).

Verdot: is possibly intended to mean verdet, verdigris, but it could also suggest "greening", green paint or powder.

Wines: On wines, see Gilles Proulx' report on Aubergistes et Cabaratiers de Louisbourg, translated as Innkeepers and Tavern keepers.

Street Life And Public Activities In Louisbourg
Four Studies For Animators
by Christopher Moore
1978

Street Life and Public Activities in Louisbourg
Four Studies for Animators
by Christopher Moore

1	Preface
3	Harbour Life and Quay Activities
4	Shipping and the Harbour
14	The Quay: Movement of Goods
19	Conclusions
22	Law, Order and Street Life
22	The Town Guard
27	Other Social Controls
30	Public Punishments
35	Conclusions
37	Festivals and Celebrations
37	The Days of Celebration: Religious, Official, Private
37	The Calendar of Religion: Holy Days and Fast Days
42	Official Celebrations
45	Private Celebrations
45	Methods of Celebration: Religious, Official, Private
45	Religious Observances
48	Official Celebrations
51	Private Celebrations
53	Appendix A. Salutes of 1752
55	Appendix B. The Moveable Feast Days of 1744, 1745 and 1758
56	Public Auctions in Louisbourg
56	History of the Judicial Auction
57	The Local Context
58	Authorization for Public Auctions

59	Organization and Publicity
60	Some Auctions
67	Roles, Texts and Formalities
67	Bailli or Lieutenant-General
67	Procureur du Roi
67	Greffier
68	Huissier
69	Drummer
69	Owner or Heir
70	Bidders
70	Conclusion
71	Conclusion
72	Endnotes

Preface

Once microfilm made available the original documents filed in the Archives Nationales in Paris, historians of Ile Royale could pass beyond military and political accounts of the short-lived colony. Ile Royale had supported a sizeable bureaucracy and in consequence the archives held a formidable body of data on which the Louisbourg researchers could build historical studies of many kinds. Building contracts and blueprints led to architectural studies, censuses and parish records to demography and biography, shipping records and business contracts to economic history, payroll documents to administrative history and so on. But street life? It is not the sort of subject on which the minister of marine's officials kept dossiers. In the absence of sketches, diaries, newspapers, private correspondence and most forms of personal reports, it seems at first an unpromising endeavour. Yet the material emerges, if the researcher has time and inclination to glean for it. It is found mostly in the peripheral statement, it is never the principal subject of a document, but gradually it appears. The items of information gathered here were almost all ones which turned up and were noted in the course of other research, until gradually there were enough that the diverse items began to support one another.

The methodology of this study of Louisbourg street life is not complicated. It uses no elaborate model and no explicit theory. To quote from Fernand Braudel's The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, I used only the "simple method of my original research - which was a collection of descriptive details."¹ Consequently the reader will find a great many minor events footnoted and only a very few citations to secondary sources. It is not the only way to do history, perhaps rarely the best, but for a subject such as this one it seems indispensable.

It can only work where there is an abundance of detail. If the following pages succeed in illuminating the life of 18th century Louisbourg, credit must go first to the people of Louisbourg, who tended to be garrulous in courtroom testimony, and second to the clerks who copied all that detail down.

Four topics are studied here, each with some relation to the needs of street life animation programs at the Fortress of Louisbourg. The first takes Louisbourg less as a fortress than as a port city, and considers how port activities influenced the look of the town. The second turns to law and order, not to illuminate the criminal mind in Louisbourg, but rather to concentrate on surfaces: the means of deterrence arrayed on Louisbourg's streets and the variety of public misdeeds that these aimed to control. The last two studies touch on two events which often enlivened the streets and squares of the town: public festivals and public auctions. These four topics contribute to the process of suggesting the life and the liveliness of the town of Louisbourg.

This work is based on notes I began to keep in the course of a variety of other research projects concerning Louisbourg. I am indebted to my former colleagues of the History section of the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park who tolerated this pursuit of historical odds and ends. Particular thanks are due to Brenda Dunn, who found some of the best items, and to Terrence MacLean for his editorial support and patience.

Harbour Life And Quay Activities

The quay in its 1745 state was a new feature of the Louisbourg landscape. Bernard Muiron, public construction contractor at the time, had only turned to the quay after bringing the landward fortifications close to completion. Though the quay wall was considered an element of the town's defences, other harbour batteries made the quay wall less strategic and lowered its priority in fortification planning. So the construction program which incorporated the quay into the general design of the town was barely completed when the first siege began. As late as the spring of 1744, Engineer Etienne Verrier was still making plans to complete the banquette along the quay wall and to provide enough earth to raise the level of the quay surface, leaving a slight slope to drain water toward the harbour.¹

The legislation establishing the quay, and the building program that provided the walls, wharves and gates of 1745, have been detailed elsewhere. The intention here is to cover the functions and activities of the port of Louisbourg, many of which centered on the quay. These functions began well before the completion of construction, for the existence of a large quayside area had been assured since the appearance of the town plan of 1723.² Adjustments and the removal of houses and properties took years, but the basic outline of the quay had been established since at least the late 1720s: a roughly rectangular open area bounded to the west by the Dauphin Demi-Bastion, to the south by Blocks 1, 2, 3 and part of Block 4, and to the east by the Ile du Quay. In any case the port activity of Louisbourg was determined more by the colony's economic growth than by the development of its fortifications.

Most of the quay's functions developed from its role in the movement of goods. Ile Royale survived on its long distance trade, sending out huge quantities of cod and small amounts of other local products, while it

brought in consumer goods and industrial supplies for local consumption and for re-export. This import and export business, on a per capita basis one of the largest on the continent, made the loading, unloading, transport and storage of goods one of Louisbourg's principal activities.³ The quay was the centre of this trade.

Shipping And The Harbour

Much of the quay's activity stemmed from its role as the destination or point of departure for the town's commercial shipping. To grasp the volume and variety of that shipping, we must move away from the quay and consider the harbour as a whole, on a summer day in the 1740s. By the 1740s, Louisbourg could have expected the visits of up to 150 trading vessels from other regions each year. Many of these would have been together at Louisbourg at mid-summer, for most arrived in the summer months and few would have stayed less than a month. At the same time, hundreds of schooners and shallops were active in the fishing industry around Ile Royale and a substantial fleet of coastal traders was hauling goods between Louisbourg and the other settlements of Ile Royale.

The long distance trading vessels were all wind-powered, wooden craft, but as the 1731 view of Louisbourg makes particularly clear, they came in a variety of sizes and types. In 1742 and 1743, the most common of these were the batteau, the goelette and the navire, together comprising about 85 per cent of ocean-going vessels at Louisbourg (71 batteaux, 70 goelettes, 62 navires, of 240 identified vessels in 1742-43).⁴ The latter two types are easy to define. The goelette was the schooner, a two or three-masted vessel with its sails aligned fore and aft, that is, roughly parallel to the length of the vessel. Schooners had been introduced to Ile Royale from New England and most commercial schooners visiting Louisbourg in the 1740s traded between those two regions, though some arrived from Acadia, the West Indies and Quebec. The navire, slightly less common than the others but usually a larger vessel, was the ship, the basic three-masted merchantman with its square sails set at right angles to the length of the vessel. The batteau is more difficult to define, for the term often

means a small open boat rather than the long distance traders referred to here. Batteaux arrived regularly from all the regions with which Ile Royale traded. It seems likely that batteau was an unspecific term covering a variety of types and rigs which had not been grouped into specific categories.⁵ The other frequent visitor to Louisbourg from overseas (33 cases or 14 per cent of all in 1742-43) was the brigantin, a two-masted vessel with a square rigged foremast and fore and aft sails on the mainmast. The senau or snow, the ketch and the flatte were also seen on occasion. Illustrations of several of these types can be seen in the Verrier films view of Louisbourg harbour.

The type and size of craft from different regions was influenced by several factors. Coastal vessels could safely be quite small, but since they had to sail close to shore and in variable winds, they used fore and aft sails for greater maneuverability. Transatlantic vessels had to be larger both for safety and for economic efficiency. Their deep-sea, trade wind routes were well suited to the square sails of the ship. Hence the longer the voyage, the greater seems the tendency to both larger size and square rigging, though no firm association can be made between one region and one type of vessel. Ships tended to come from France and to be the largest vessels, while New Englanders favoured schooners smaller than the average French vessel, but exceptions can be found: some schooners were as large or larger than some ships.

The size of vessels was normally measured in tonneaux, a cubic measurement of carrying capacity. Vessels trading at Louisbourg ranged from tiny Acadian schooners of 12 or 15 tonneaux to French ships of up to 300 tonneaux, though the average of all visiting merchant craft was usually between 50 and 75 tonneaux. The capacity of a tonneau is discussed elsewhere,⁶ but there are very few available examples which relate tonneau measurement to length and breadth of vessels. One 53 tonneaux schooner was found to measure 51 pieds (about 54 feet) from end to end. A two-masted brigantine of unspecified tonnage under construction on Nicolas Baron's shore in the same year, 1737, was just slightly larger and longer.⁷ If the schooner figure is at all typical, we may suspect that vessels much longer than 100 pieds would have been notably larger than average at Louisbourg.

Fifty or more long distance vessels with two or three masts each would have been an impressive addition to the harbour of Louisbourg, but they were far from being the only vessels in sight. In summer, there was often a naval ship of war visiting the colony to bring supplies and to patrol in the vicinity. This was usually a frigate with a tonneau measurement of as much as 700 tonneaux. Even with some of its cannon removed to increase its cargo space, it would have dominated all the other ships in size, manpower and firepower. The only potential match for a naval ship, at least in size, was one of the vessels of the Compagnie des Indes which sometimes visited Louisbourg. These long distance travellers were also joined by a substantial local fleet.

Less impressive individually but much more numerous than the overseas visitors were the fishing vessels. Hundreds of fishing boats operated each summer out of Louisbourg and its adjacent harbours. These were of three types, the batteau or ship, the schooner and the shallop.

The ship as a cargo carrier has been described above, but these vessels could also be used for offshore fishing. Fishing ships, anchored far offshore, caught cod on lines lowered from the sides and stored the salt-dried product in their holds, so captains of fishing ships had little need to visit Louisbourg or any other harbour unless they also had cargo to sell, needed supplies, or intended to outfit a shore-based fleet of smaller fishing craft.

Another offshore vessel, the schooner, was an important innovation of the Ile Royale fishery, used for voyages to offshore banks as far away as Saint Pierre or Sable Island.⁸ Their catch was lightly salted aboard ship but was soon brought ashore for open air drying. The combination of offshore fishing and shore drying was new to the French fishery but was accepted rapidly. Schooners provided an important proportion of Ile Royale's fish catch. Ordonnateur Prévost reported in 1751 that fishing schooners were normally between 30 and 50 tonneaux.⁹ These would probably be two-masted vessels less than 50 pieds in length. Despite Prévost's claim that schooners under 30 tonneaux were impractical, Jean Hiriart had a 16 tonneaux schooner fishing in 1734.¹⁰ Similarly the crew size of schooners probably varied, though the 1743 ordonnance regulating the industry took 11 men

per schooner as a standard.¹¹ In the 1740s, 50 or 60 schooners were active in the fishing industry each summer. Not all sailed out of Louisbourg, but the coming and going of this fleet would have added another aspect to local port activity.

The other vessel of Ile Royale's fishing industry was the chaloupe, or shallop, of which about 250 were used yearly throughout Ile Royale during the 1740s. The shallop was the principal vessel of the Ile Royale fishery and its use established the typical pattern of the local industry: three-man shallops making daily trips and bringing their catch each evening to a shore base, where landsmen split, cleaned and lightly salted the cod before putting it out to dry. In Ile Royale's early years, the shallop was an open, undecked vessel, clinker built and propelled by the oars of its three-man crew. This vessel, equivalent to the dory, had been brought to Ile Royale by the Newfoundland fishermen who moved there in 1714, but it soon began an important process of adaptation. In Newfoundland, cod could be caught close to shore, so the shallop was a small vessel not suited to long voyages or open waters. At Ile Royale, however, the cod were often further from shore, and some of the French fishermen complained that the dangers of taking shallops out to the distant fishing grounds would destroy the value of the new colony's fishing industry.¹² Instead, the fishermen adapted the shallop to suit the new circumstances. In 1714 shallops were apparently unsafe for anything other than day trips close to shore. By the 1730s, however, shallops were being used for voyages from Louisbourg to Niganiche.¹³ In 1743 the governor and ordonnateur reported that they regularly permitted colonists in shallops to cross to the coast of Newfoundland in search of seabirds' eggs.¹⁴ By this time the shallop had grown so much that another category of vessel called the demie-chaloupe or half shallop had appeared, and even these were substantial craft. In 1739, when the admiralty had to inspect a vessel wrecked at Lighthouse Point, at least five men, including Louis Levasseur, the lieutenant-general and his procureur, greffier and huissier crossed the harbour in a half shallop, though a strong surf was still battering the wreck.¹⁵ It is possible that a half shallop was precisely what the name implies. Some shallops could be dismantled for storage or transport, so it may have been

possible to cut a shallop in two amidships, building in transom sterns to create two half shallops out of one big one. Such work would confirm what some illustrations of Louisbourg harbour seem to suggest: that shallops were pointed at both bow and stern. According to both LeNormant and Prévost,¹⁶ demie-chaloupes were principally used for setting bait nets within the harbour or close to shore.

As with larger vessels, there are few references to the dimensions of shallops or half shallops and these craft were rarely even given a tonnage measurement. In 1750 shipbuilder Louis Gilbert contracted to build several shallops with a keel length of 28 to 29 pieds, for 350 livres per vessel.¹⁷ There is no need to take this for a standard size or a maximum. The shallop and half shallop could have been built in almost any size, to be a harbour craft, a fishing boat, or a vessel which could safely complete lengthy sea voyages. This adaptability was typical of the shallop. At Gaspé shallops had been used earlier for trips upriver to Québec and in the British American colonies the nature of the shallop had always been changeable.¹⁸

The larger shallops could not have been propelled solely by oars. Shallops like those built by Gilbert had a mast and a triangular fore and aft sail in lateen rig. There is some evidence that a shallop could have more than one mast: fisherman Jean Hiriart referred to the mat de mizaine, the mizzen mast, of one of his shallops in 1734.¹⁹ It seems likely that the larger shallops would have been at least partially decked, and some may have had their hulls completely covered over. At that point in its evolution, there would have been little to distinguish a two-masted, decked shallop from a small schooner or skiff. However, it appears that the fishing shallops retained the original three-man crew.²⁰

Added to the merchant ships to be seen at Louisbourg all summer long, the fishing shallops making their daily rounds and the fishing schooners on their slightly less frequent visits would easily have doubled the number of vessels present in the harbour. In addition there were the coastal traders, the caboteurs, hauling local and imported products. Up to the 1750s, wood was probably the most important local cargo. A local official wrote in 1752: "The coasters of this region go every winter into the woods.

Some cut planks and boards there, some make bois de charpente. Others produce firewood. It takes them most of the summer to haul what they have produced during the winter."²¹ However, government expenditure records of the 1750s show a large number of vessels engaged in hauling coal from Mordienne and L'Indienne to Louisbourg. How much fish was moved to Louisbourg for export from the central port is unknown, but part of the food, fishing equipment, hardwares and cloth imported annually to Louisbourg and a few other ports must have been distributed among the outports by the ships of the caboteurs. By the 1740s, the coastal fleet numbered 40 or more vessels, mostly schooners. We may assume that several of these were present at Louisbourg, loading or unloading or looking for business, on our chosen summer day.²²

Louisbourg harbour was also home to a variety of barges, flatboats and small craft for transportation across the harbour and between ship and shore. These are discussed in more detail below. All together there were probably some hundreds of vessels of all types and sizes to be found in or near the harbour of Louisbourg on a summer day. The number declined in winter, of course, as the visiting traders departed. Over 100 shallops continued to fish in November, December and January, but as the ice season approached more and more vessels left on trading voyages or were withdrawn into 'hivernment', winter quarters. For wintering, some vessels were drawn up against the quay. Others were stored on beaches, grounded in shallows such as the barachois, or tied up against chaffauds around the harbour.²³ Vessels inevitably suffered in wintering, and contracts attest to extensive repairs made on ships left too long. However, a schooner and a batteau left in the care of north shore resident René Herpin in 1724 were still there in 1732, though by then the admiralty called them an interference with the cleanliness of the port.²⁴

Apart from the active vessels for trade, fishing or local service, and those beached for storage or repair, new vessels were regularly being built in and launched from small shipyards around the harbour. Ile Royale was producing a dozen or more merchant vessels annually by the 1740s, some of them at sites on Louisbourg harbour.²⁵ Judging by LeNormant's 1739 estimate that a quarter of the shallop fleet had to be replaced each year,

every fishing property would have had a shallop or two under construction at some time of the year.²⁶ According to Prévost, the residents would occasionally burn a derelict vessel to recover its iron,²⁷ but other damaged or worn vessels were pulled ashore or towed to the careening wharf for repair, hull scraping and caulking. Except for the careening dock, most repairs (and all building) appears to have been done in makeshift facilities rather than in permanent shipyards.²⁸

How many sailors might have been found aboard the hundreds of vessels visiting Louisbourg on a given day in the busy summer season?

A ship could be brought from France by as few as nine or ten men, but about 15 was a more typical crew for a transatlantic voyage, and a few French ships had 25 or 30 crewmen. In addition, French ships arriving in the spring could carry as many as 50 fishermen-passengers coming to work in Ile Royale. Vessels from Quebec and the West Indies were apt to have ten or 12 sailors, most of the smaller New England schooners needed six or eight, and many tiny Acadian craft made the journey from Annapolis Royal or Beaubassin with crews of just three. The total crews of all the merchant vessels to visit Louisbourg in 1742 may have been roughly 2,500 men.²⁹ Easily enough merchant ships to employ 500 to 1,000 sailors could have been present on a particular day in July or August.

As many men may have been aboard fishing vessels. By LeNormant's 1739 estimate of three men per shallop and 11 men per schooner (not counting the shore workers supporting each crew), the Ile Royale fishing industry of 1742 could have employed about 1,500 seamen.

If we add crews for a naval frigate, several coastal vessels and some local craft, we can safely postulate the presence of 1,500 and more sailors aboard all the vessels occupying Louisbourg harbour on one busy summer day. Almost as large a part of the town life of Louisbourg was enacted on the water as in the town, so the quay should be seen as the point of contact between town and harbour, not only as a central place within the town.

Many sailors evidently lived aboard ship during their stay in port, unless they were wintering over or had a residence in the colony. Though, for example, the tenants of innkeeper Louis Marie in mid-December 1750 included several navigators and sailors,³⁰ all of Louisbourg's inns could

scarcely have accommodated the summertime rush of sailors. Crews went ashore for work or entertainment, but there is evidence that they often lived on their ships. A visiting captain in 1750 sent part of his crew ashore to cut or gather wood, but after several days' work, all returned to the ship, including one who had become ill. The sick man, ship's carpenter Guillaume Bigu , was treated aboard ship by the ship's surgeon but died there on 13 September.³¹

A vignette of shipboard and harbour life is provided in the testimony of a trial in August 1741. Between eight and nine in the evening of Sunday, 13 August, Michel Pelegrin, aged 24, was dining below decks on his ship the Marie Julienne, while two of his shipmates, Guillaume Glonaguen, aged 25, and Jacques LeQuair, aged 16, rested in bunks or hammocks in the same area. Glonaguen testified: "being in bed on the said ship, he heard that the crew of Sr. Cadou, ship's captain, was passing along the side of the said ship Marie Julienne in their canot singing, which led him to get up and go up on deck." Pelegrin carried on the story:

at the same time he saw a pirogue with one man in it passing silently alongside the said ship Marie Julienne. As soon as the man noticed the witness and the others, he moved away from the ship and took his pirogue under the ensign of the ship Saint Jean which belongs to Sieur Larreguy. From there he went near the ship Ville de Bayonne, which he circled.

After a long time he returned to the ship Saint-Jean and having attached his pirogue, he climbed aboard the said ship.³²

By this time Pelegrin and the others were suspicious, and when they saw the man lower the Saint-Jean's ensign and leave the ship with it, four of them jumped into their shallop and gave chase. They caught the pirogue and after being joined by another shallop from shore, took the suspected thief and the pirogue to a naval vessel anchored nearby.

At the subsequent trial, it became clear that no crime had been committed. The man in the pirogue was a local tailor who had gone to the Ville de Bayonne to lower its flag, as a favour to its guardian who had gone ashore due to illness. He had only stopped at the Saint-Jean because he noticed that its ensign had also been left flying. Still, the

incident hints both at the liveliness of the harbour and at the quiet shipboard life of sailors in harbour. Two men dozing at eight in the evening probably welcomed the diversion of a few sailors singing as they passed. The singers were probably returning to their ship for the night, though the Saint-Jean and the Ville de Bayonne were still deserted. The trial also illustrates the polyglot nationalities of the seamen who visited Ile Royale. The men of the Marie Julienne testified in Breton Gaelic, translated by their captain. A soldier was found to translate the Portuguese of the Ville de Bayonne's guardian, and the suspected thief was a Spanish Basque. French, English, Spanish, German (spoken by some members of the Karrer regiment), Portuguese, Breton, Basque and Micmac could all have been heard along the Louisbourg quay.

The Marie Julienne incident effectively details several other aspects of harbour life. Note the number of ships gathered at anchor in a small area: three merchant vessels and a naval ship were involved in this incident. Note also the diversity of small craft: the canot with its group of singers, the piroque carrying its lone occupant, and two shallops, one from the Marie Julienne, one from shore. These probably represent the principal varieties of small craft used for personal transportation. The canot was the standard ship's tender. Reports of wrecks frequently describe the crew taking to their canot as the main vessel sank. Canots would vary in size according to the ship which carried them, or according to their local uses. In January 1752, six soldiers took a canot from the Island Battery to the head of Louisbourg harbour. Bad weather prevented them from returning to the island, even after they abandoned the spruce boughs they had gone ashore to gather.³³ During the 1745 siege, a canot was used to carry news back and forth to the Island Battery, but when 90 English prisoners had to be removed from the battery, shallops were required.³⁴ The piroque mentioned may have resembled a canoe, though in 1753 a piroque with oars (avirons) was rented for the service of the Island Battery and in 1734 fisherman Jean Hiriart of Petit de Grat lost a large, six-oared piroque (une grande piroque de six nages).³⁵

The hundreds of ships and thousands of sailors who visited Louisbourg each summer came under the authority of the Louisbourg Admiralty, local

branch of an institution that was not a military command like the British Admiralty but a customs service, a port authority and a supervisory and judiciary agency for the French merchant marine. The admiralty court had authority over most matters related to shipping and the sea. Its officials collected shipping taxes and charges and administered a complex regime of passports, seamen's papers and cargo manifests. They tested and licensed captains and could condemn unseaworthy vessels to demolition or repair.

The admiralty's principal agent for harbour administration and shipping control was the port captain (Pierre Morpain until 1745, Joannis Galand Dolhabarats after 1749). The principal harbour regulations enforced by Morpain in the 1740s were those in an ordonnance published by local authorities in 1732 and given royal confirmation in slightly different form in the next year. The ordonnance's purpose was, "to establish an order suitable to the service of his Majesty and to the good of the colony regarding the anchorage of ships in this port as well as their beaching, loading and unloading whether of ballast, cargo or other effects."³⁶ Considering the volume of shipping using Louisbourg harbour, the need for such rules must have been pressing. The port captain was to ensure that all captains anchored their vessels on a north-east, south-west alignment at a safe distance from each other and properly secured. Captains had to leave at least one guardian aboard to prevent fires and other accidents and to do such chores as raising the proper flag on a Sunday or holy day. All loading or unloading was to be done between half tide and full tide, under the supervision of the port captain, who also directed the loading and dumping of ballast and the preparation of vessels for wintering at locations of his choosing.³⁷

Harbour regulations could not prevent all accidents, particularly when storms broke cables and drove ships into each other or ashore. James Johnstone's memoirs give a vivid description of an anchored ship catching fire and being towed away from other vessels by a crowd of shallops.³⁸ One captain paid a local carpenter 3,000 livres to repair a schooner driven ashore by the storm of 1-2 October 1752.³⁹ But such incidents do not mean that the regulations and the other aspects of admiralty law were not enforced. More than one captain abandoned a vessel rather than pay for

all the repairs without which the admiralty would refuse to give permission to sail.⁴⁰ The admiralty regularly took statements about the qualifications of sailors requesting certification as 'pilots hauturiers, though in 1743 Pierre Morpain was said to be the "only one in the colony who teaches navigation to the young men."⁴¹ Earlier, this and other aspects of marine science had been the responsibility of Jean-René Cruchon de La Tour, master hydrographer, but he was not replaced after his death in 1738. Maintenance of ships on shore was also enforced: in 1743 ship-owners were given only two weeks to clear away the derelict vessels littering the shore and taking space needed for other craft.⁴² Even minor aspects of port legislation were enforced periodically: an official was sent around the merchant vessels on 12 May 1732 to collect 10 livres from each captain who had neglected to fly his pavillon on the previous day, a Sunday.⁴³

The Quay: Movement Of Goods

The quay was supervised as diligently as the harbour, but perhaps with less success, for ordonnances continued to complain of the clutter and disorder reigning there. The quay was more prone to disorganization because of the variety of events which occurred there regularly. Apart from the quay's service as a main street and gathering place for the residents of Louisbourg, activity generated from the transportation industry which crowded the quay had a constant influence on its appearance. Most of the goods carried by the vessels in the harbour eventually crossed the quay.

The unloading and storage of merchandise was a process of several steps. Not every ship unloaded at the quay wharves. Since local custom affirmed that merchants and shippers would collect their purchases of cod from the fishing properties, some vessels probably approached the fishermen's chaffauds to take on stocks of cod and also to unload supplies. However, the volume of goods traded directly at the small fishing wharves may have been small, for when Nicolas Larcher built an unusually large wharf on his property in the Dauphin Fauxbourg, the governor complained of the

problem of supervising the trade which could be conducted on such a wharf.⁴⁴ Even so, not every vessel could tie up at the quay. Even the new wharves built in the 1740s were in shallow water, and only small vessels could safely reach the wharfside, particularly at low tide. Naval frigates and other large vessels never came to the wharves, and during the 1745 siege a fairly small ship which safely entered the harbour under enemy fire grounded beside the quay wall.⁴⁵ Some vessels, however, able to choose their tides and to stay at the deep end could safely moor at one of the wharves to load or unload. We have no firm data enabling us to judge how small a ship had to be to have unrestricted use of the wharves, but some merchant ships, as well as the naval transports, had to anchor offshore and be unloaded by barges.

Barging and lightering produced another species of harbour craft to enliven the port. Shallops could be used in this service, but many local merchants owned gabarres, the principal type of lighter, and made a notable income by renting these vessels to shipowners. The records of local government spending during the visits of naval transports are particularly well stocked with examples: "to Sieur D'holobarats for 24 days of his gabarre - 192 livres"; "to Sieur Antoine Morin for the rental of his gabarre during 68 1/2 days - 695 livres"; and "to Sieur Dolhabarats for the chartering of his gabarre used to unload his Majesty's ship Le Rubis during the said year (1735): 180 livres."⁴⁶ Private vessels also needed assistance from gabarres. One captain wrote to his owner: "M. Fautoux rented for me a gabarre to assist in the loading of the oil and paid for this rental 90 livres,"⁴⁷ while a Quebec merchant unable to obtain a gabarre had to load his purchases of cod with a shallop.⁴⁸

There is little in the Louisbourg documentation referring to the appearance or size of gabarres, except for a 1734 contract specifying that shipbuilder Jacques Lecomte would build a gabarre 18 to 19 pieds long, 6 pieds wide and 2 1/2 pieds deep, at Miré for the Fathers of Charity.⁴⁹ Gabarre was as imprecise as other shipping terms - a gabarre, presumably some sort of transport ship, crossed the Atlantic on at least one occasion,⁵⁰ and the smaller local cargo barges probably also existed in a variety of shapes and sizes.

If most transatlantic and long distance vessels were too large to reach the wharves, gabarres must have had a major part of the unloading task. Cargo first had to be hauled up from the ships' holds (except wood, which could be piled above decks).⁵¹ Then, after a short barge trip, it would again be unloaded, from the barge to the wharf. These tasks were evidently part of the sailor's duty. The Louisbourg censuses show no population of longshoremen and too few day labourers for such work. Since there are documentary references to sailors being involved in loading activities, we may assume this to have been one of the sailor's main duties during his port stay. It was, however, not the only duty: the captain who hired a carpenter to repair his schooner after a storm provided his crew as labourers in the reconstruction.

Once goods were safely ashore, charretiers or wagoneers took charge. Unlike many aspects of the transshipment of goods, wagon driving was a specialized profession. It supported the small group of local residents who owned the wagons and draft animals which could be hired on a piece-work basis or by the day. The need for such a group became clear when one considers the volume of cargo imported and exported annually, the amount of stone, slate, wood and mortar needed by the construction industry, and the quantity of fuel, fodder and other commodities to be brought into the town annually. Even when goods were only to be moved a few blocks charrettes became necessary, for many commodities were packaged in lots weighing hundreds of pounds. Charretiers (also called chartiers) can be found earning fees for hauling the governor's laundry to and from a laundress by the barachois, for transporting loads of hay and for bringing ship supplies to the quay for an auction.⁵² The construction industry surely employed many wagons and barrows, and the import/export business needed many more.

Once again we have little basis for a description of a local charrette, though there were surely a variety of types. A two-wheeled tombereau loaded with sand was abandoned by André Ballé, a charretier, when one of the shafts by which the horses or ox was connected broke, just as Ballé was crossing below the high tide line of the barachois.⁵³ What appears to have been another two-wheeled charrette is alluded to in a 1755 document which

effectively illustrates the process of longshoring in Louisbourg.

Describing the incident, merchant Joseph Brisson testifies:

being on the quay, he noticed people were unloading a boucau (a type of barrel) of syrup off a charette which was by the gate of the grand wharf. He noticed they had put a piece of firewood at the end of the charette, raising the end of the charette about half a pie from the ground. When the boucau reached the end of the charette, it fell and the shock it received knocked out the plug of the upper end. Syrup spilled, whereupon the wagoneer and two English (sailors) doing nothing to raise and place the boucau, the rest of the plug sprang out and the syrup was lost.

Another witness, a soldier on sentry duty, described events slightly differently:

the wagoneer held the boucau by the middle, with an Englishman at each end. When the boucau came a certain distance from the back of the charette, the two Englishmen let go, and since the wagoneer was unable to hold the boucau himself, it fell to the ground.... Since neither the wagoneer nor the Englishmen deigned to make any effort to right the boucau, the rest of the plug came out and the rest of the syrup was lost.⁵⁴

James Creighton, the New England captain, sued the wagoneer, Jean Campy, and won half the price of the boucau of syrup. Though the witnesses seem to have blamed the workmen for the accident, what is most striking from our perspective is the sheer volume of work of this sort required to load and unload scores of ships every summer, barrel by barrel and sack by sack ("I unloaded with the use of 239 sacks supplied by M. Fautoux," wrote one captain).⁵⁵

The difficulties of loading were one reason for the long periods of time vessels spent in port. Though some ships stayed at Louisbourg all summer because their crews were fishing, and others had their stay extended while a captain or owner pursued additional cargo or better prices or some other advantage, longshoring was also a cause of delay. A merchant captain

who had arrived on 26 October 1740 was only ready to leave on 4 December, "though the cod and oil was ready the day of my arrival."⁵⁶ In 1754 Ordonnateur Prévost made special efforts to reduce the port time of a naval transport, the Chariot Royal. It arrived 17 May and was ready to leave on 15 June, and would have been ready sooner but for the "Pentecost holidays, the bad weather and the ice which filled the harbour for five consecutive days."⁵⁷ Both these stays seem fairly short, considering the amount of work to be done, but in the case of the naval vessel at least, time was saved only **by** the expenditure of large sums for gabarres and other assistance.

The volume of goods arriving at the quay wharves and unavoidable difficulties in coordinating the arrival of goods with the presence of wagons or lighters led to frequent blockages around the wharves and their narrow entrances. In 1743 wagons were banned from the wharves, and captains were obliged to have their cargos moved off the wharves to the main area of the quay, because the reloading had been damaging the newly built wharves and walls.⁵⁸ In 1744 fencing was being planned for the banquette of the quay wall, to ensure that the public could not clutter the wall with merchandise.⁵⁹ Crowding during the exchange of goods was not the only problem. Ordonnateur Prévost issued a stern ordonnance in April 1754 regarding the variety of goods left to litter the quay. He ordered:

all captains, outfitters, proprietors and other individuals of this town who have wood of all kinds, anchors, rope, pirogues, shallops and other effects left since last autumn on the quay of this town and blocking the wharves and the quay itself, not needed for commerce, to clear, as soon as this ordonnance shall be published, passage on all the wharves, and to take measures to remove all the goods spread along the quay from the pièce de la Grave as far as the Dauphine Gate, without interfering with the pond beside the Artillery wharf, nor the coalyard. All depositing shall be done outside the town or in individuals' storehouses and yards. Nothing shall in future be left on the quay unless it is to be removed within twenty-four hours.⁶⁰

The variety of goods left on the quay may have been greatest at the end of the quiet winter season, during which it was less essential to keep the quay clear, but problems also arose in summer. In July 1742, Ordonnateur Bigot ordered Jean Dibarret to remove lumber that had been blocking the quay since its delivery from Niganiche in May.⁶¹ In this case the delay was caused by a dispute over ownership, but goods must often have been left for more than a day, if only to await the arrival of a barge or wagon. Not all of these goods could have been moved easily on short notice. Not only were there large volumes to be moved but many individual items were large and heavy. The ordinary quart of flour, for instance, weighed 200 pounds or more. Salt pork, wine, sugar and other basic commodities came in containers of similar bulk.⁶² Ships' anchors and cables were even heavier. A 1757 auction included several cables, 7 or 7 1/2 pouces thick, up to 100 brasses (fathoms, that is 6 pieds per brasse) in length and weighing over 1,000 livres each.⁶³

To cope with the summer rush of cargo and with the propensity of individuals to damage the wharves or to clutter the quay, the administration regularly implemented measures to enhance the quay's efficiency. When coal became a major fuel in the 1750s, a coal yard was developed near one of the wharves at the east side of the quay.⁶⁴ Previously, measuring devices had been placed on the quay, at which buyers and importers of firewood could check the cord measure of the wood as it was being unloaded.⁶⁵ Merchants and other businessmen owned scales and other measuring devices which they probably brought out to the quay when large consignments were being unloaded for delivery. Public and private weighings and measurements were another important aspect of the transshipment process of the Louisbourg quay.

Conclusions

Elsewhere, the quay has been described as an auction site, a place of public punishment and public announcement, and as a main street. Some of its commercial activity has been suggested here. Partly as a consequence of all these activities the quay became the site of uncounted numbers of

peripheral functions attracted to that area by its role as a town centre. Much of this inconsequential daily life is more easy to imagine than to document, but a few examples of interest may be given.

A hint of the busyness of the quay comes from a court case in 1754. Admiralty huissier Michel Neel, conducting his duties on the grand wharf around five or six in the evening of 31 May, had a dispute with Poullard LaBruyere, captain of a Saint Malo ship. The two had argued before, over a shallop which the huissier had seized, but on this occasion Poullard shouted that Neel was incompetent, that he did not know his job. Neel sued Poullard for this remark, claiming that more than 50 people on the wharf had heard his reputation being attacked. Five witnesses were called to testify.⁶⁶ This is the only known reference to the size of a quayside crowd, but if there were 50 people on the wharf alone, the quay must have been busy enough to justify Johnstone's earlier description of it as "couverte de monde."⁶⁷ The point need not be laboured with documentary examples, for the varied activities of the quay obviously attracted people in large numbers.

The behaviour of these crowds can partially be guessed. Though there was no formal market on the quay, there was certainly some impromptu buying and selling. A number of references to open air selling specify the place d'armes rather than the quay,⁶⁸ but a variety of street sales and exchanges doubtless went on, even if wholesale deals and major consignments tended to be arranged by correspondence or in merchant offices. The quay would also have seen informal eating and drinking ("Brought with him and one other person for the unloading of the coal, a chopine of rum")⁶⁹ and surely some games, some music and much conversation. All of the normal activities of the 18th century crowd would have been a continual feature of quayside life.

In 1974 when I used Vernet's painting of the quayside of Marseilles to illustrate an article about the economy of Ile Royale, I felt obliged to stress that the painting was of a French port, not of Louisbourg.⁷⁰ It remains necessary to make adjustments in viewing Vernet's work as an aid to knowledge of harbour activities of Louisbourg, yet virtually the whole range of activities depicted on the quayside of Marseilles is

mirrored by equivalent events recorded in the documentation about Louisbourg. To restore and reanimate a Louisbourg harbour and quay with the life and vigor of the Vernet paintings is no small challenge and no small opportunity.

Law, Order And Street Life

Trying to imagine the street life of Louisbourg in the 18th century , we are probably all influenced by the cliché of the lusty, brawling port town of olden days, as built up by bad history and the movies. In fact, Louisbourg does provide many examples of public disorders, from thefts and killings to tavern brawls and street arguments. And since we know that a large part of the population consisted of groups of young men and that drinking establishments were important social centres, it is easy to suspect some truth behind the cliché. Nevertheless, Louisbourg was not anarchic. Powerful instruments of social control did exist and they managed to impose limits on the range of public disorders. In attempting to give some hint to the street life of Louisbourg, the following pages may stress deterrence and control rather more than crime and disorder. However, the reader, by changing the emphasis from punishment to crime and from law enforcer to law breaker, will perhaps set his own balance among these examples of law enforcement in Louisbourg and its contribution to the town's street life.

1. The Town Guard

Louisbourg had no police force or marshalcy to preserve public order or arrest and hold suspects, but the military garrison was an effective substitute for such a force. In Ile Royale as in other colonies and in France, policing was one of the routine functions of town garrisons, sanctioned by the Code Militaire and other ordonnances. Consequently, the Louisbourg ordonnateur could leave the routines of police duties to the town major and his adjutants, who supervised guard and patrol duties.¹

In theory, all soldiers did their share of guard duty, but some individuals preferred to specialize in fortification work or other pursuits. Since all soldiers employed in fortification building contributed five per cent of their earnings to a fund which reimbursed the soldiers doing guard duty, it was possible for some soldiers to become full time labourers, paying compensation to those who gave up builder's wages to do extra guard duty. In 1741 the Swiss company of soldiers claimed that because they did more construction work than the average French soldier, their obligatory contributions to the guard fund were benefiting the French companies rather than themselves. In the 1741 building season, they contributed 760 livres to the fund but collected only 517 livres for guard duties. Evidently they were paying the French soldiers to do about a third of their guard service.² Guard duty could also be sold or bartered. In 1751 a soldier promised to serve four sessions of guard duty in return for debts he owed and favours done for him.³ Some soldiers could have been on policing duties almost full time.

When assigned to guard duty a soldier went from his regular barracks or residence to one of the town's five guardhouses. Stationed there, soldiers could eat and sleep between periods of sentry duty, but they were not supposed to leave the guardhouse without permission. One soldier questioned about his absence from the guardhouse claimed that his sergeant or corporal had permitted him to go away to eat,⁴ but the records of military discipline refer to punishments for soldiers absent from their guard posts.⁵

Throughout their session at the guardhouse, soldiers were "on call" in case they were needed, but the principal duty of the soldiers assigned to guard duty was to take their turns at the sentry posts. The town had five guardhouses in 1745: at the Dauphine Gate, at the townside entrance to the King's Bastion, at the Queen's Gate, at the Maurepas Gate and at the Pièce de la Grave. From these, sentries were posted to survey all areas of the town from 21 principal sentry posts, the location and manpower requirements of which had been listed by Governor DuQuesnel in 1741.⁶ DuQuesnel's list was intended to back his contention that the garrison was barely large enough to perform the peacetime routines, let alone respond to wartime needs. It appears to permit each soldier two days out of three

in other pursuits, and thereby triples the number of men actively engaged on guard service. However, neither DuQuesnel's list nor any other source makes clear how long an individual soldier's tour of guard duty would last.

The normal sentry routine probably followed the 24-hour schedule proposed by Suthren's Drill Manual, with each soldier spending an entire day at the guardhouse: eight hours as sentry, eight hours "on call," eight hours sleeping. The eight hours of sentry duty were not served consecutively but were divided into sessions of one or two hours each. It is not clear whether a soldier on guard duty could have hoped for several consecutive hours of sleep. Suthren states that the guard should be changed at mid-day and documentary evidence includes such supporting examples as Sgt. Louis-Jean Romelo dit Charly, who was on duty at the King's Bastion guardhouse at 8:45 p.m. on a Sunday in 1740 and was still there the following morning.⁷

DuQuesnel reported that sentry duty "is very tiring for the soldier, particularly in a country as hard as this," but boredom and resulting slackness were perhaps the most serious problems.⁸ The previously mentioned permission given one guardsman to go into town to eat and drink with friends suggests the relaxation of routine which the officers evidently tolerated. Moreover the numerous disciplinings for drunkenness and unauthorized absence during Surlaville's tenure as major des troupes in the 1750s suggests that even when discipline was firm, the soldiers' behaviour was lax. One guard admitted that while on guard at the King's Bastion, he left his post to relieve himself, leaving his weapons by a fence. Having relieved himself without having his absence noted, he took the opportunity to break into an adjacent house and steal some money before returning safely to his sentry post.⁹

Despite such lapses, a guard routine was maintained throughout the town. Guards frequently quelled disturbances, stopped soldiers out after retreat, and seized lawbreakers. There is regular testimony to the presence of soldiers performing their functions at their proper posts. A King's Bastion sentry who met Gabriel Hyathinthe LeBon as he left the chapel towards midnight insisted that he go to the guardhouse to light a tallow candle before going on. Because LeBon was drunk and also bleeding,

the guards persuaded him to spend the night at the guardhouse. He was later charged for damage he had done in the chapel, but keeping him at the guardhouse seems to have been done on the initiative of the guards.¹⁰

Quay area guardsmen who were cited as witnesses to events occurring in that area provide additional evidence that the guard routine was generally performed properly.¹¹ Furthermore, guards themselves were under security, not only by the officer commanding their guardhouse, but also by la Ronde, a regular circuit of the guard posts made by the senior guard officers.¹²

DuQuesnel's report is the best source of information on the placement of sentries up to 1745. One sentry was placed in front of each guardhouse where the officers, non-commissioned officers, drummers and off-duty guards were based. In addition to its guardhouse sentry, the King's Bastion guardhouse provided three other sentries: one at the governor's door, one at the prison door and one on the ramparts at the flanked angle, that is, by the guerite where the two fronts of the bastion meet. The Queen's Gate guardhouse sent sentries to the flanked angle of the Queen's Bastion, to the Princesse Demi-Bastion platform and to the Queen's Gate itself, as well as maintaining one sentry at the guardhouse. (Later, in the 1750s, the Queen's Bastion barracks had its own guardhouse and sentries).¹³ The Maurepas Gate postings were similar. Besides the man at that guardhouse, there were sentries on the ramparts at the Brouillan and Maurepas Bastions, and another at the Maurepas Gate between them.

Few of these postings would have been much noticed by the townspeople, for they were at predominantly military locations where few townspeople would be found. More significant to town activities were the Dauphine Gate and Pièce de la Grave guardhouses, whose sentries were closer to the civilian population and the busiest streets. From the Dauphine guardhouse, one man guarded the powder magazine and at night one patrolled the ramparts. One sentry stood at the gate itself (the town's main entrance) and one stood before the guardhouse. The Pièce de la Grave guardhouse had a sentry in front of it and another at the Pièce de la Grave battery. The other guards from this post were in the town: one at the entrance to the Magasin du Roi in Block 1, one at the entry to the Marine Treasury offices in the ordonnateur's building in Block 2, and another (in the daytime only) at the hospital door, on Rue d'Orléans.

Sentries did not stand constantly in one spot. The ramparts sentries probably moved back and forth to keep in touch with each other and cover the full length of the ramparts. A town sentry, Sgt. Bellefond dit LaRochelle, described himself "walking along the Quay, being on guard at the Dauphin bastion" and responding to an emergency on Rue de l'Etang south and east of the quay.¹⁴ The guard was able to cover even more territory by deploying a town patrol of six men. DuQuesnel's 1741 list allocated two extra soldiers per shift to the King's, Queen's and Pièce de la Grave guardhouses, for duties which the list does not specify. These six men may have formed a patrol, for disciplinary records of the 1750s refer to soldiers "caught by the patrol" after retreat.¹⁵ Special patrols could also be formed to conduct a search or make an arrest: "at seven to eight in the evening he heard it said that soldiers and a sergeant had been sent to visit the houses of the residents because Sieur Ganda had complained of being robbed a very short time before."¹⁶

Sentry duty from the town's guardhouses was limited to the area within the fortifications. However, the Royal Battery guard performed a similar policing function on the north shore. In response to a call for assistance after a fight on the north shore fishing property of the widow LaFlourie, Sgt. Jean Riviere, commanding the Royal Battery guard in 1744, led a patrol of six soldiers and arrested six men before they could flee.¹⁷ Some patrols went further afield: the colonial budgets often recorded expenses for boatloads of soldiers sent up or down the coast in pursuit of deserters or criminals.¹⁸

The sentries, the patrols and the "on call" guards in the guardhouses were the principal representatives of military policing, but soldiers could be used for other security services. From at least 1726 soldiers were stationed aboard all New England vessels at Louisbourg. Every foreign vessel needed permission from the governor and ordonnateur before it could sell its cargo, and the soldiers were placed aboard to ensure that the limits on foreign sales were obeyed. By the 1750s well over 100 New England vessels visited Louisbourg yearly, so soldiers guarding ships may sometimes have outnumbered town sentries.¹⁹

Sentries were empowered to seize and hold individuals overnight in the guardhouses. As soon as possible after the arrest of a civilian, the

guard sergeant made an arrest report from which the procureur du roi could begin criminal proceedings if he chose. Once the decision to hold and charge the suspect had been made, he was transferred to the King's Bastion prison, or perhaps, after 1742, to the newer one at the Maurepas Gate. In this way the guards could easily transfer their prisoners to the civil power for trial.

The mere existence of a town guard could be used to quell minor disturbances: Baptiste Dion, a mason, "heard noises on Rue de l'Etang around eleven o'clock of the same night and, going to a dormer window in the attic, he stopped it by threatening the noisemakers with the guardhouse."²⁰ If such threats were insufficient, the guards themselves were brought in. When Michel Daccarrette came home about four a.m. on a Saturday morning in 1734 he kicked his servant awake and the boy, only 15, fled into the yard where he discovered a stranger. Daccarrette himself collared the man and, finding stolen goods under his coat, sent a servant to alert the officer at the guardhouse. The guard officer sent a corporal and two "mousquetaires" who arrested the thief.²¹ Sometimes the sentries discovered thefts or disturbances themselves. The aforementioned Sgt. Bellefond dit LaRoche heard shouts of "On m'assassine! On me tue!" while patrolling the quay late at night. Going to investigate, he discovered that one of the fighters had been stealing tobacco from Louis Delort's warehouse. He brought four "fusiliers" from the guardhouse. They took the suspect back to their guardhouse, after depositing the tobacco for safe keeping with the sentry at the ordonnateur's building.²²

2. Other Social Controls

The presence of the guard doubtless limited violence and disorder in Louisbourg's streets, for the preceding examples testify to the soldiers' ability to act promptly to prevent crimes or seize wrongdoers. However, 21 sentries scattered about the town could not cover every part of Louisbourg, still less police the more remote fishing stations. Many disorders were quelled without the assistance of the sentries. In the theft at Daccarrette's house, Daccarrette himself pursued, caught and searched

the thief before calling the guard, and this sort of personal intervention seems to have been common, even when one's own property was not endangered. In one case, a participant testified modestly, "he heard the plaintiff crying loudly, 'Au voleur, au voleur' which led his two friends and the witness himself to go out and run to see what it was." Similarly, a group of sailors aboard a ship in the harbour voluntarily pursued a man seen using a small boat to steal from an anchored vessel, even though naval authorities on a royal ship were close at hand.²³ Disorders in settlements without garrisons always had to be settled by the residents themselves. Probably the majority of the theft cases tried in the Louisbourg courts developed, not from discovery and capture by guardsmen, but from civilian complaints and investigations after the fact.

Apart from crimes that evaded the notice of the guard, there was a class of public disorders in which the guard was reluctant to become involved. Most public arguments, child abuse cases and family fights and even some physical attacks were evidently settled by private citizens or left simmering until an aggrieved party complained to the courts. It is likely that the soldiers preferred to avoid involvement in many personal disputes and that the guard authorities did not insist that the sentries quell every minor disturbance among the civilians.

Documentation on fights and family quarrels is abundant. A new guardian was demanded for the orphaned Koller children after witnesses saw them being beaten outdoors by their grandmother.²⁴ Servanne Bonnier and Angelique Butel went to court to complain of each other's slanders after an argument provoked by the way one was treating her children.²⁵ Several witnesses testified in separate wife-beating cases involving Jean Laumonier, an artisan, and Jacques Mullet, a merchant.²⁶ Half a dozen people saw innkeeper Louis Marie attack a guest who had complained about the food being served.²⁷ Some disputes were more serious: merchant Léon Fautoux and a military administrator fought in a public house; Marc Riollay was severely beaten on the Royal Battery road by a group of north shore residents; Bertrand Imbert was nearly killed by a sailor in a north shore cabaret.²⁸ In all these cases there were no guards but an abundance of witnesses and interveners. In the case between Mullet and his wife,

the witnesses included two people who had been sitting on their doorsteps on Rue de l'Etang on the Sunday afternoon in question. Other cases brought forth witnesses working outdoors at a wide variety of jobs: digging wells, crushing almonds, feeding chickens, running errands or simply walking by.

All the examples in the preceding paragraphs came to court without any involvement by the sentries, for though the guard did not often become involved in civil or family matters, the courts regularly did. These disputes and a great many other instances of trivial conflict led to hearings before the bailli. The swiftness with which a complaint could be made and a sentence imposed probably formed a deterrent less obvious but just as influential as the presence of the town guard.

Surveillance by the garrison, the participation of civilians in law enforcement, the constant presence of witnesses, and the proximity of law courts all formed controls upon public disorders in Louisbourg. These seem to have been fairly effective, for most public disorders fell into only a few categories. Most crimes and disturbances seem to have been either: 1) committed secretly in the hope of avoiding sentries or other interveners; or 2) emotional outbursts, such as family quarrels, tavern arguments, and most of the town's killings. There are virtually no examples of banditry or outlawry, few cases of overt defiance of authority (the 1744 mutiny being an important exception), and little in the way of flagrant transgression of public mores. Louisbourg had its share of disorder, deviant behaviour and lawbreaking, to be sure, but the social controls operating in the town ensured that the street life of Louisbourg was not dominated or typified by disapproved or disruptive activities.

The same probably applies to the "lusty" part of the "lusty and brawling" cliché mentioned at the start of this paper, though guides and animators are used to being asked which building housed the town brothel. Doubtless there is a history of prostitution in 18th century Louisbourg to be written, but the researcher undertaking the project would spend much of his time reading between the lines of the documents. The parish records furnish some possibly relevant examples of illegitimacy and there are a few references to 'filles de mauvais vie.' Both high and low society in Louisbourg provide examples of liaisons which should have scandalized the devout,

and sexual innuendo was a basic component of many of the insults thrown back and forth in arguments. But disapproved forms of sexual conduct were probably subject to social control like other kinds of disapproved behaviour. It seems certain that no building could have been publicly labelled as the brothel. Sex, like violence, was certainly no stranger to Louisbourg, but the town was probably fairly successful in keeping both of them off the streets, except perhaps in cases of spontaneous and emotional incidents. Spontaneous violence might be typified by the soldier disciplined for breaking bottles and a window in a tavern, and sex by the man in the Dauphin Fauxbourg who tried to kiss a young girl against her will and was promptly hauled into court.²⁹

3. Public Punishments

The Louisbourg courts ruled on cases ranging from capital crimes such as premeditated murder to misdemeanors such as selling liquor after hours. Depending on the offence and the courts' view of its seriousness, the sentences imposed could be anything from torture and execution to a small fine. Many of the sentences were to be served at least partly in the public view, and all punishments were seriously intended to educate and discourage potential lawbreakers. "It is important to make an example to prevent such licence, which could become more frequent," wrote the procureur, asking the superior council to impose a harsher sentence than that given by the bailliage.³⁰ The need to deter potential lawbreakers was a common theme of discussions over sentencing. Public punishments on the streets of Louisbourg were another form of social control. It is easy to believe that a deterrent effect would have been achieved by the grisly punishments sometimes used.

The response of the people who witnessed the public punishments of the 18th century is unclear. Public support was not entirely on the side of the authorities. It was difficult to find executioners and the house that the authorities eventually built for the executioner was carefully placed remote from the rest of the town. On the other hand, some evidence suggests that public support for the punishing authorities added to the

convict's ordeal. Public shame reinforced judicial punishment in a case of December 1733, when Thérèse Petit, wife of innkeeper Julien Auger dit Grandchamps, was convicted and fined for contempt during a superior council hearing. Later in the month Petit's sister, wife of merchant and sea-captain Joseph Brisson, appeared before the council to say that her sister's conviction had caused the whole family to be mocked and reproached. She asked that the council make clear that the sentence was only a fine, not a "note of infamy."³¹ The public scorn to which the family was apparently subjected for such a minor sentence suggests that being pilloried or whipped or otherwise punished in public must have meant severe humiliation. So public scorn for convicted offenders may have been an important deterrent to disapproved forms of behaviour, at least for people established in the community.

A fine was the simplest court sentence, and could be imposed for a wide variety of offences. For her disrespect to the council, Thérèse Petit paid 3 livres to the court and 30 livres "to be distributed to the poor of this town." For making a wrongful accusation, Pierre LeBlanc was fined 10 livres "for the poor of this town," to be paid to the parish curé.³² For signing a contract in contravention of the 1743 ordonnance on the fishing industry, merchant Pierre Rodrigue and fisherman Jean Daccacq each paid 50 livres.³³ For his attempt to kiss a girl against her will, Mathurin Josset paid 10 livres for the poor and 30 livres to the girl.³⁴ Court costs could be assessed in addition to the fine, which sometimes went "to the King" or to the admiralty rather than to the poor or the victim. Apparently no publicity was attached to fines, except by the word of mouth communication which led to Thérèse Petit's humiliation.

Prison sentences were sometimes imposed in addition to or instead of a fine. Though prisons were principally used for holding suspects before and during trial, prison sentences were not unknown. The military authorities in particular used confinement as a disciplinary measure, at least in the 1750s, but the civilian courts also gave prison sentences. Fisherman Pierre Lamet received four days for striking Jean Dobiola at Niganiche. His sentence might have been severe had he still been Dobiola's indentured servant, for to strike one's master was a serious offence, but

the fight had happened the day after his service had ended.³⁵ In another civil imprisonment, Marie Tanquerel and her husband were each given eight days "for invective."³⁶

The town's main prisons were in the King's Bastion barracks and, after 1742, adjoining the guardhouse at the Maurepas Gate. Before the first siege there was no prison in which to hold women, and Judith Pansart dit LaBretonnière, being held until she could be banished in the spring of 1735, was boarded with a resident of the Dauphin Fauxbourg.³⁷ After 1749 part of the Queen's Gate guardhouse and two King's Bastion casemates served as prisons. A 1752 report gives evidence of the horrible condition they were in,³⁸ and in 1740 a man being jailed until banishment was allowed to remain free for the winter, "considering the harshness of the prisons and the rigours of the climate."³⁹

The courts could order a variety of physical punishments, and these were usually inflicted in public. The mildest physical punishment was the pillory or carcan in Place du Port, which has been described elsewhere.⁴⁰ Soldiers were sometimes put in the carcan as a military discipline, and the courts sentenced a variety of individuals to a few hours in the carcan. Judith Pansart, the woman banished in 1736, had been ordered pilloried as well, for two hours on each of three consecutive days, but that part of her sentence was removed on appeal.⁴¹ Unfortunately, no evidence has been found that suggests either the size or mood of crowds which gathered when convicts were subjected to the pillory or any other public punishment.

Physical punishments were often used to reinforce the authority of employers and masters, and punishments were sometimes carefully used as an object lesson to all employees. When an engagé named Jean Fanton was convicted of attacking his employer, Guillaume LePestour of Niganiche, in 1730, all the engagés of the fishing proprietors of Louisbourg, Laurembec and Baleine were ordered to gather on the quay. Fanton, bare shouldered, was brought from prison and made to run the gauntlet of the engagés' whips (verges) seven times. He was then returned to Niganiche to suffer the same punishment from the engagés of that harbour.⁴² Similarly, when four sailors were convicted of disobedience in the same year, one was obliged to "courir la bouline," that is, to run the gauntlet of ropes' ends, five

times. One of the others received one turn at the same punishment and the other two had to watch. To administer the punishment, two crewmembers from each merchant ship in the harbour were ordered to gather on the quay.⁴³ In other cases, when there was no need to involve fellow employees, whippings were administered by the executioner. Mathurin Bunau, a convicted thief, was condemned on 24 December 1737 "to be beaten and thrashed bare (shouldered) with whips by the executioner of high justice in the four principal intersections of this town at three in the afternoon and to be branded at the last intersection with a hot iron representing a fleur-de-lys on his right shoulder...."⁴⁴ Other thieves were similarly whipped and branded, though the brand was sometimes in the form of a V (for voleur).⁴⁵

More bizarre physical punishments apparently existed. Nicolas Casteloir, who stole a fishing shallop, was sentenced to "avoir la cale mouillé," that is, to be tied into a rope and harness and dropped three times into the sea from a spar of the mainmast of a vessel in the harbour. The superior council replaced this sentence with three hours in the carcan, but since the admiralty sentence had ordered that the punishment be administered "à la manière ordinaire," this ordeal may have been inflicted on other occasions, perhaps as a naval or shipboard punishment.⁴⁶ Soldiers were subject to punishment on 'the wooden horse,' but it is not known whether the 'horse' was located out in public view or within a predominantly military area.

The courts did not give long prison sentences. Serious offenders were often deported, usually back to the place they came from, "outside the town and the jurisdiction of this Bailliage" (i.e., out of the colony). Apparently banishment, which could be preceded by a physical punishment, a fine, or forfeiture of local assets, led to no further punishment at destination, but simply removed the convict from the locality of his crime. The procedure affected all regions, for Ile Royale, which frequently returned convicts to France, itself received salt smugglers called faux saulniers who had been convicted and banished from France for evading the high taxes on shipments of salt. A 1739 document gives the names of 30 faux saulniers sent to Ile Royale for life, but so far their later careers have not been uncovered.⁴⁷

A grimmer form of banishment used in Ile Royale was sentencing to the galleys. The French navy maintained a fleet of galleys in its Mediterranean service, and convicts from all over the French empire were sent to Toulon to become rowers. Louisbourg contributed its share of galley prisoners, usually sentenced for life for a major crime.

Finally there was capital punishment, more often sentenced than carried out (for the higher court commuted several death sentences) but still a familiar part of the justice of Ile Royale. Thieves, deserters and other criminals as well as murderers were executed, though execution seems to have been most certain in cases of planned, pre-meditated murder. Even capital punishment had degrees of severity. Some men were hung on a gallows erected either on the quay near the carcan or at gallows sites outside the walls, near Black Rock or beyond the King's Dauphin curtain wall.⁴⁸ Some bodies were to be quartered after death or to be left hanging for long periods. Other men suffered a harder death. Bernard Darospide

dit Detchepart, convicted of the murder of several of his fellow crew-members aboard the fishing schooner Marguerite in 1740, was condemned:

to have his arms, legs, thighs and neck broken while alive on a scaffold which for that purpose shall be erected on public square by the carcan and to be placed subsequently on a wheel, face turned toward heaven, there to finish his days. This done, his dead body is to be carried by the executioner to the highway on the other side of the Pledien bridge leading to the end of the bay

evidently for abandonment there. The superior council confirmed this sentence, though it added permission for the executioner to secretly strangle Darospide on the scaffold hours after his bones had been broken, rather than leave him alive for a longer time. Secretly presumably meant only that the victim would not be told of what was about to happen. This grim ceremony was carried out on 23 August 1740.⁴⁹

Some sentences made provision for a public ceremony of amends. In civil cases, apology and restitution to the injured party could be required, as when a merchant apologized and withdrew suggestions about another merchant's insolvency before a representative group of merchants and

seacaptains.⁵⁰ In criminal trials the convict could be ordered to ask forgiveness "from God, King and Justice" before his sentence was carried out. Bernard Lailloque, one of the men arrested by the Royal Battery patrol organized by Sgt. Jean LaRivière, was told:

to make honourable amends, wearing only a shirt, with a noose around his neck and holding in his hands a burning wax torch weighing two livres, at the door of the parish church of this town and at the place where the Carcan is situated, and being there, bareheaded and on his knees, to say and declare in a loud and intelligible voice that by accident and thoughtlessly (comme mal avisé) at night he struck with a club Jacques Dubé who died of the blow, that he repents this act and asks forgiveness for it from God, King and Justice. Subsequently (he is) to be conducted to la chaisne to be joined to it and to serve as a prisoner in the King's galleys in perpetuity.⁵¹

What effect the blockade and siege of Louisbourg later that spring had on the plans for Lailloque's transport to France is unknown.

Conclusions

No specific conclusions may yet be offered about deviant behaviour or societal mores in Ile Royale. Though some opinions can be found here this does not claim to be a major study of criminality in Louisbourg, which for a start would have to attempt to measure and compare local crime rates. However, this brief survey of some examples of Louisbourg's law and order, apart from possibly providing some starting points for such a study, does offer some ideas for street life animation.

A sentry routine could be a useful element of animation and interpretation at Louisbourg. On the other hand, whippings, brandings, hangings and the crimes which produced them are poor candidates for town life animation, for there are limits to the realism of historic site animation. Even the pillory should be used with restraint, for though it is less violent, it perhaps suffers from overuse as a feature of colonial town re-creations. A record of law forces and public punishments is important

to town animation chiefly because of the impression it gives of a town which certainly was not free of crime and violence, but which had powerful instruments of deterrence and punishment to limit and control such disorders. A grasp of that situation could be a useful hint to animators' behaviour and activity while in costume.

Festivals And Celebrations

From church services to dinner parties to artillery salvoes, Ile Royale had a wide variety of ways to celebrate its holidays.

Many days of special observance in Ile Royale were religious in origin, while others marked state occasions and some were community events created by society at large. In establishing the days celebrated and in studying the forms of celebration, I have divided each section into religious, official and private celebrations, but this is largely an organizing device. The reader will see that religious holidays were also observed by state and private festivities, just as the celebration of secular festivals had religious aspects. While festivities differed in their origins, no firm division can be maintained between church, state and society, in this as in other matters.

The Days Of Celebration: Religious, Official, Private

The Calendar Of Religion: Holy Days And Fast Days

Ile Royale was part of the diocese of Quebec, which since its establishment in 1674 had included all the French domains on the North American continent.¹ Though none of Quebec's bishops visited Ile Royale, they retained overall responsibility for the religious organization and spiritual life of Louisbourg. In Ile Royale as in other distant parts of the diocese, however, the bishops had to delegate some of their authority to vicars-general or to the local missionaries. In addition, they maintained a vicar-general in Paris (in the 1740s, Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu) who could represent them at court and also expedite news directly from France to the scattered parts of North America. Consequently, in religious as in governmental administration, Ile Royale had a measure of isolation from its superiors in Quebec.

In Ile Royale's early years, Bishop de Saint-Vallier (second bishop of Quebec, consecrated 1684, died 1727) apparently intended to exercise fully his authority over the new colony, "the most distant parts of our diocese being no less under our pastoral care than the colony of Canada where we reside."² In 1717 he welcomed the Recollets de Bretagne, who would provide many of Ile Royale's priests, but he underlined their subordination to him and his representatives, and asked them to follow the usage, ritual and catechism of his diocese.³

Later the bishops of Quebec showed less direct interest in Ile Royale. Though in 1744 Bishop de Pontbriand ordered a series of public prayers to be offered in Ile Royale, most of the pastoral letters and rulings issued by the bishops and acting bishops concern themselves almost exclusively with the administration of the parishes along the Saint Lawrence River valley. Divergences of practice may have developed between Canada and Ile Royale, but the actual state of relations between the local clergy and the diocesan officials will not be clear unless the correspondence between the clergy of Ile Royale, Quebec and Paris is discovered and researched.⁴

There remain unanswered questions about the strictness of Ile Royale's adherence to the regime of holy days established from Quebec. However, the calendar of holy days to be observed was a matter reserved to the bishop of each diocese, so Ile Royale should have followed the list of holy days used in Canada. At the time of Ile Royale's foundation, the holy days were those listed by Bishop de Saint-Vallier in 1694: they included the main events of the liturgy, several feast days of Mary, and the saints' days of all the apostles and a few special patrons.⁵ In all, counting Sundays and holy days, about 90 days or a quarter of the year were holy days of obligation.

Obligation was taken seriously in the Diocese of Quebec. Each Sunday and holy day required attendance at high mass and at vespers, and no work could be done on those days. Furthermore, many of the holy days were preceded either by abstinence or fast days. The days of abstinence, when no meat could be eaten, were the three Rogation days (Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday before Ascension Thursday), Saint Mark's day (25 April), and

every Wednesday and Saturday of the year. On the days of fast (jeûne) listed below, no meat, eggs or dairy products could be eaten. Only one main meal (at noon) and an evening snack were permitted on a fast day. It has been estimated that the meatless days of the religious calendar totalled five months.⁶

The Holy Days of Obligation listed in 1694:

- a) Moveable Feasts (see the 1744, 1745 and 1758 calendars in the appendix):
 Easter and two following days. (In addition, the 40 days of Lent - except the Sundays - were fast days. Lent includes three of the 12 Ember days);
 Ascension (the 40th day after Easter - a Thursday);
 Pentecôte (50th day after Easter - a Sunday) and the two following days;
 (In addition, the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday following Pentecost were Ember days, hence fast days);
 Sainte-Trinité (the octave of Pentecost, that is, one week afterwards);
 Fête-Dieu (Thursday following the octave of Pentecost);
 The feast day of the Patron of the Parish (For Louisbourg, Notre-Dame, 15 August, which was a holy day in any case).
- b) Fixed Holy Days (When these fell on a Sunday, the Monday was observed):
- | | | |
|----------|----|--|
| January | 1 | Circoncision |
| | 6 | Epiphanie ou fête des rois |
| February | 2 | Purification |
| | 24 | Saint-Mathias, apôtre |
| March | 19 | Saint-Joseph, patron du pays |
| | 25 | Annonciation |
| May | 1 | Saint-Philippe et Saint-Jacques, apôtres |
| June | 24 | Saint-Jean Baptiste (Its vigil - the preceding day - was a fast day) |
| | 29 | Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul (The vigil was a fast day) |
| July | 25 | Saint-Jacques, apôtre |
| | 26 | Sainte-Anne |
| August | 10 | Saint-Laurent (The vigil was a fast day) |
| | 15 | L'Assomption, ou fête Notre-Dame (Vigil was a fast day) |
| | 24 | Saint-Barthélemy, apôtre |
| | 25 | Saint-Louis |

September	8	Naissance de la Sainte-Vierge
	14	(Exaltation de la Sainte-Croix: not a holy day of obligation, but the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday following it were Ember days, hence fast days)
	21	Saint-Mathias, apôtre (Vigil was a fast day)
	29	Saint-Michel
October	28	Saint-Simon et Saint-Jude (Vigil was a fast day)
November	1	Toussiant (Vigil was a fast day)
	30	Saint-André (Vigil was a fast day)
December	3	Saint-François-Xavier, seconde patron du pays
	8	Conception de la Sainte-Vierge
	13	(Sainte-Lucie: not a day of obligation, but the following Wednesday, Friday and Saturday were Ember days, hence fast days)
	21	Saint-Thomas, apôtre
	25	Noel (Vigil was a fast day)
	26	Sainte-Etienne
	27	Saint-Jean l'Evangile

This list was not immutable. Though most days of obligation were established by the bishop for the entire diocese, other observances could be added or removed for particular parishes. In 1716 Bishop de Saint-Vallier gave Ile Royale a special dispensation in response to requests by the Recollets there. He announced in a letter to them:

With regard to the holy days of the months of June, July and August, the most normal times of the fishery, we agree with you, dear brothers, that it is right to dispense with them for those who go to the sea to fish, and not for those who stay ashore to dry the fish, whom we judge to be obliged to hear Holy Mass and observe the said holy days under pain of sin. This dispensation for those who go to sea to fish will save them from many sins. Excepted however are Pentecost, Sainte-Sacrement, L'Assomption and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and Saint-Jean, which we judge should be observed by all. If for special reasons you judge it proper to give a

dispensation for one of these holy days to those who fish at sea, you must not do it without obliging them to hear Holy Mass before going.⁷

Though this was the principal formal change of the religious calendar of Ile Royale between 1713 and 1745, other days and other saints were probably honoured as well. Though local curés could not change the holy days of obligation, they could add special masses, benedictions or other services to mark days of local importance, or in response to crises. The Recollets, evidently part of the Franciscan Orders,⁸ would place special emphasis on the feast days of Saint Francis of Assisi, 4 October. The days of such saints as Georges (patron of soldiers, 23 April), Christophe (patron of sailors, 25 July; this is also the holy day of Saint-Jacques-le-Majeur, whose shrine is at Compostella in the Basque region of Spain) and Saint-André (patron of fishermen, 30 November, a holy day of obligation) may have received special attention. After 1716, however, the Recollets made no known requests to the bishop for special changes to the local religious calendar.

In 1744 Bishop de Pontbriand announced that starting in 1745, the number of holy days would be reduced, by moving the observance of several saints' days to the nearest Sunday, with the attendant fasts moved to the Saturday. The following days were moved to Sunday observance:

February	2	Purification - to first Sunday of February
	24	Saint-Mathias - to first Sunday after February 19
March	19	Saint-Joseph - to first Sunday after March 13
May	1	Saints Philippe/Jacques - to first Sunday of May
June	24	Saint-Jean-Baptiste - to first Sunday after June 20
July	26	Sainte-Anne - to first Sunday after July 23
August	10	Saint-Laurent - to first Sunday after August 6
	24	Saint Barthélemy - to first Sunday after August 15
	25	Saint-Louis - to first Sunday after August 22
September	8	Naissance - to second Sunday of September
	21	Saint-Mathieu - to first Sunday after September 16
	29	Saint-Michel - to first Sunday after September 23
October	28	Saints Simon/Jude - to first Sunday after October 24

November 30 Saint-André - to first Sunday after November 19
 December 3 Saint-François-Xavier - to Sunday after Conception
 21 Saint-Thomas - to Sunday after Christmas

These changes, which replaced several working days to the calendar in the busy summer months, were probably not instituted in Ile Royale until 1749. The bishop announced the changes on 24 November 1744, which may have been too late for the news to have reached Ile Royale that winter.⁹

Furthermore, the bishop had put special obligations on Ile Royale shortly before reducing the number of holy days. Issued on 19 October 1744, probably early enough to reach Ile Royale before winter, Bishop de Pontbriand's letter was to be read at the first Sunday mass after its arrival. In the letter the bishop reminded the people of Ile Royale that the military successes they had had in the summer of 1744 were as much God's work as man's, and that thanksgiving was required. On the first available day after the letter's arrival, a solemn Mass and a Te Deum were to be sung in thanksgiving. From then until November 1745, every Mass was to include the oration "Pro quacumque neccessitate" and every vespers or benediction service was to be followed by the antiphon "De pacem Domine."¹⁰ These services were incorporated into the local ritual, presumably from about mid-November 1744 until the deportation of the colonists in mid-summer of 1745. Bishop de Pontbriand also instituted public prayers in Canada in 1745 after learning of the siege of Louisbourg, but his mandements from then until 1759 made no mention of Ile Royale.

Official Celebrations

In most years the official correspondence of the Louisbourg administration said little about dates reserved for official celebration. Fortunately, one year, 1752, was celebrated with such vigor that extra documentation was required to explain the expense. Though the reports only cover the first nine months of the year, that year's calendar of official celebration can be adapted to other periods.¹¹

The first date celebrated in 1752 was "la feste de Monseigneur Rouillé," minister of marine. This was probably an annual event in honour of the

minister, who was saluted with 21 guns on 17 January, the feast day of his patron, Saint-Antoine. Before 1745 the salute would have been for the patron saint of Rouillé's predecessor, Comte de Maurepas. Since Maurepas' christian name was Jean, the saint's day would probably have been either 24 June or 27 December.

On 13 February "dimanche gras" (the Sunday before the beginning of Lent), the commandant of Ile Royale, Comte de Raymond, was saluted by 15 guns on the occasion of his recovery from illness. No equivalent event is known in another year but it seems plausible that the commandants who preceded Raymond would by custom have received the same salute in similar circumstances.

Two events were noted in May. 1 May was the "fête de M. l'ordonnateur," Jacques Prévost (more precisely the day of his patron saint, Saint-Jacques-le-mineur), who received a 13-gun salute. His predecessors in office presumably heard similar salutes on the anniversaries of their patrons. On 28 May 1752 a very special event, the birth of the Duc de Bourgogne, was celebrated by a series of salutes described below.

The summer months saw official salutes to four religious festivals. 1 June 1752 was la fête-dieu, a holy day of obligation noted by a 21-gun salute. On 3 June 1752 the colony received word of the six-month Jubilee proclaimed by Pope Benoit XIV in celebration of the Holy Year, and 21 guns were fired in belated salute (for the six months were to have begun on 1 January). The 8 June was the octave of the fête-dieu, announced by a 14-gun salute. Finally, the fête de Saint-Louis, 25 August, was greeted by a series of salvoes saluting several members of the royal family. In the meantime, Comte de Raymond's patron saint had been saluted on 24 June (15 guns) and on 17 July the count was again honoured at his departure on a tour of the colony.

The announcement of the Jubilee was a unique event, though it suggests the link between official and religious observances. The other three holy days, the fête-dieu, its octave (which appears to have been the celebration of the Sainte-Sacrement) and the fête de Saint-Louis were apparently the only three religious dates chosen for annual official celebration. The choice of the fête de Saint-Louis is explained by that saint's ties to the

French royalty, but the other two days are relatively insignificant dates of the liturgical calendar. The octave of the fête-dieu was not a day of obligation, and the religious observance of the fête de Saint-Louis had been moved to the nearest Sunday in 1745. Their selection as days for official celebration is unexplained. Bordereaux of official expenses routinely include costs for the celebration of Saint-Louis on 25 August, while official accounts and journals mention the fête-dieu and Sainte-Sacrement in 1745, 1758 and other years.¹² Other more important dates of the religious calendar received no official recognition.

One other celebration regularly recorded in the official expense accounts was the annual "festin des sauvages." The French regularly presented gifts to their Indian allies and a feast was part of the presentation ceremony, judging by the food, wine and tobacco regularly purchased for this event.

No other salutes are mentioned in the artillery account, which concludes on 30 September 1752. Since no salutes had been given in the last three months of 1751,¹³ there probably were no regular observances between October and the end of the year. The officially sanctioned salutes appear to have been limited to three religious holy days, one of them virtually a national day of France, plus the saints' days of the minister of marine and the two senior colonial officials.

A variety of special events could also be celebrated. In 1752, for instance, the Jubilee, the birth of the Duc de Bourgogne, the Comte de Raymond's convalescence and his departure from Louisbourg for a tour of the colony were the objects of varied salutes. Other years saw the commemoration of other events. Major Surlaville has left record of the honours paid to Raymond on his arrival in the colony in 1751, and the arrivals and departures of other high officials would have produced similar observances.¹⁴ The funeral of Michel de Gannes de Falaise in October 1752 was noted by a 9-gun salute, so Governor DuQuesnel probably received a 15-gun tribute at his burial in October 1744. In the same year the retirement of Lieutenant du Roi Bourville and the promotions of Louis DuPont DuChambon to lieutenant du roi and acting commandant may also have been saluted. Royal events could also have been noted in the 1740s.

The Dauphin of France married in 1743: Quebec and probably Louisbourg celebrated in 1744.¹⁵ However, salutes consumed valuable gunpowder, a commodity which Louisbourg would not have expended recklessly in the uncertain military climate of 1743-45. So the celebrations of that period may have been restrained.

Private Celebrations

One did not need a state occasion or a liturgical holy day to justify a party. Various celebrations were held by the different groups and classes of Louisbourg. Weddings, baptisms and other family events were presumably celebrated as much as the means of the host would allow, but not all festivities were connected to a particular event. In one of his commands Governor Drucour entertained his officers daily, and other governors of Ile Royale were almost as regular in their invitations.

It seems that the only annual community celebration independent of religious or official occasions was Carnaval. Carnaval was linked to the religious calendar, of course - it was the period preceding Ash Wednesday, the beginning of Lent - but its observance, pervasive to all levels of society, went without official or religious support. Among the middle and lower strata of society, Carnaval seems to have been a brief celebration, closely linked to Mardi Gras, the day before Ash Wednesday. One individual referred to an event "seven or eight days before Carnaval" as if Carnaval were a specific date. However, the celebration of Carnaval could be stretched to cover much of the period from the end of the Christmas season (6 January, fête des rois) to Lent. In 1758 Grillot de Poilly reported the opening of Carnaval for the colonial elite on 12 January, more than a month before Ash Wednesday.

Methods of Celebration: Religious, Official, Private

Religious Observances

On holy days of obligation the faithful attended High Mass, vespers, and sometimes benediction or a Te Deum. They observed the days of fast or abstinence that preceded the holy day, and did not work that day. They

could not buy liquor in taverns or inns, for local ordonnances supported the church by limiting sales of liquor during hours of service on Sundays and holy days. The people of Louisbourg observed at least some of these rituals. There is frequent reference to attendance at mass and vespers, Prévost noted the interruption of work during the Pentecost holy days, and, for example, individuals were fined "for having been surprised during the second feast of Christmas (i.e. fête de Saint-Etienne, 26 December) selling drink during the divine service in the morning and for gaming during vespers."¹⁶

Given his way, Bishop de Pontbriand would have enforced the holy days in sterner fashion, "since these are days which should be entirely consecrated to the services of God." He preferred that dancing, even at weddings, should be boy with boy and girl with girl, and was shocked that there might be mixed dancing after dark.¹⁷ These strictures were a dead letter in Ile Royale, if the 1758 diary of the military engineer Poilly is any guide. The balls which he describes went on until dawn (some were even held on Sunday) and there is no hint that the sexes refused to mingle.

The church did not mark its festivals only by renunciation and by prayer. Music and parades were an important part of the ritual of many holy days. The processions (for which the route is unknown) probably included parishoners, troops, representatives of the sailors and fishermen, and other groups, going through the streets chanting a litany. Poilly refers to the procession of the Sainte-Sacrement on 1 June 1758, the octave of the fête-dieu. This procession, which may sometimes have been held on the fête-dieu or on both days, probably went back to the origins of the colony. In 1730 some of the Basques refused to pay the dime for the support of the local church because the curé had taken away their right to carry two of the poles of the canopy (which probably covered the carrier of the consecrated host) in these parades.¹⁸ The chimes of Louisbourg's church bells would also celebrate the festivals, and most of the services seem to have been sung, so the air of religious observation would not have been entirely solemn. The near total adherence of the population to the Catholic faith would make the religious festivals into community events of some importance, if many Catholics practiced their faith.

How influential was the religious calendar on daily life in Ile Royale? The question demands a great deal more investigation. In Canada as late as 1700 there were only about 60 priests, very widely dispersed. In 1683 the intendant had reported that three-quarters of the colonists rarely went to mass or the sacraments.¹⁹ The greater degree of urban concentration in Ile Royale may have increased the access of its people to their priests, but there is much to be learned about the disposition of religious services and the relations between church and colonist.

There is, nevertheless, abundant evidence that the religious calendar was deeply engrained in popular awareness. Individuals from sea captains to servants are described attending both mass and vespers at the barracks chapel or at the Royal Battery.²⁰ People were distinctly aware of the religious holy days, for testimony reporting on prior events constantly used holy days as an aid to memory:

- he bought them three weeks after les fêtes de Noel. (G2, Vol. 201, dossier 223, pièce 32, p. 9, 1752).
- the eleventh of November, jour de Saint-Martin, there was a windstorm. (C11B, Vol. 17, ff. 281-84, Levasseur, 22 décembre 1735. Note that this was not even a day of obligation).
- he bought them last autumn a few days before les fêtes de Toussaint. (G2, Vol. 201, dossier 225, pièce 25, 15 juillet 1751. Note that this was testimony given the following summer).
- seven or eight days before Carnaval; five days before Mardy gras (two different events are being dated here, but Carnaval and Mardi Gras seem to refer to the same day. G2, Vol. 185, ff. 415v. and 387, mars 1739).
- the sixth of January, last day des roys, at four p.m. (G2, Vol. 182, f. 154).
- testifies that on the jour de Sainte-Anne, 26 July last, being en degrat at L'indienne; ... that the jour de la Notre-Dame, 15 August 1719, being en degrat at L'indienne. (These two witnesses remember a holy day but evidently disagree about which one it was. A.D., Charente-Maritime, 6011, dossiers 3 and 14, n.d.).

All these examples cannot prove Catholic devotion, for the day off work may have been more clearly remembered than the devotional acts, but they stress the general awareness of whatever days the church made significant. This awareness made holy days useful deadlines for contracts. The Saint-Michel, 29 September, was important as a payment and delivery deadline in the fish trade. Sainte-Catherine (25 November), Saint-Jean (either Jean-Baptiste, 24 June or Jean l'Evangile, 27 December) and doubtless other dates were used to start contracts, pay rents and complete other transactions. The holy days used for these economic purposes were chosen pragmatically: the crop year or the economic cycle determined the time more than any association between the transaction and the saint whose day it was.²¹

The clergy were willing to hold additional church services to mark official or private events, not only for baptisms, marriages or funerals, but also for celebrations or thanksgiving. A Te Deum service was part of the ceremonies of the Comte de Raymond's arrival in 1751, religious services marked royal celebrations, and the crew of a vessel saved from ship wreck requested a thanksgiving service as soon as they reached Louisbourg. In the last case, the crew, clad only in their shirts, made a procession to the church where a high mass was sung "at unrestricted cost." The crew had vowed at the height of a storm to hold such a service if saved, and the promise was fulfilled the day after their arrival.²² Such devotions before and after voyages were probably common in a seafaring town such as Louisbourg.

Official Celebrations

The state occasions of Ile Royale were conducted with gusto, if the records of 1752 are any example. In the first nine months of 1752 more than four tons of black powder were expended in artillery salutes and salvoes of rejoicing. Musketry, fireworks, bonfires, decorations, dances, dinners and free wine for the people contributed further to the enthusiasm with which major festivals could be celebrated.

Celebrations in 1752 were greater than usual. The six tons of powder consumed for all purposes in that year (nearly 4 1/2 tons for celebrations, one ton for target practice and half a ton for signalling to ships approaching in fog) was about triple the normal peacetime consumption of the 1730s and 1740s. The main cause of the increase was the 28 May celebration for the Duc de Bourgogne, which alone burned nearly three tons of powder. Bourgogne was the first son of Louis XV's son and heir, and his birth was specially welcome because it assured the continuation of the dynasty. (In the event, both Bourgogne and his father died before the king. A brother born in 1754, to a smaller celebration if any, became the unfortunate Louis XVI). Governor de Raymond and Ordonnateur Prévost spared few expenses in responding to the royal command that they "assist" the Te Deum of thanksgiving which was to be offered by the parish church. Since the celebrations which followed were reported in an anonymous mémoire,²³ in a public ordonnance,²⁴ and in the government accounts,²⁵ they can be covered in some detail.

Celebration began early on Sunday, 28 May 1752. At daybreak every piece of artillery in the town and on two naval vessels in the harbour fired simultaneously to commence the day. With all pieces loaded at the heavy charge de salut (see appendix), the fortress artillery alone consumed a weight of about 1,500 livres of powder in this one salvo.

The rest of the morning may have been quieter, but the people were busy with more than Sunday mass, for Raymond and Prévost had ordered the previous day that every house or room facing a street must have lamps in its windows ready for illumination at Sunday sunset. Royal buildings and naval ships were also readied for illumination (the 1752 bordereaux records the preparation of 2,000 lamps for lighting at government expense), while elaborate arches and lamps covered the intersection of Rue Toulouse and Rue Royale.

In mid-afternoon, the senior military officers, the councillors, the bailliage and admiralty officials and "les dames de la ville" gathered at Raymond's residence for a four course meal and toasts to the king, the queen, the dauphin, the dauphine, the newborn duc, his sisters: mesdames de France, and the comte de Raymond. The toasts alternated with the sound

of the heavy artillery, which had begun with a 21-gun salute to the king, followed by the same for the queen and lesser salutes to all the others named in the toasts.

At six p.m. Raymond's guests moved to the chapel to attend a service begun by a Benediction. The Te Deum which followed was accompanied, if not obliterated, by another general salvo from all the artillery of the fortress and the ships.

After the service, all left the chapel to go in procession "as is the custom of the colonies" to the esplanade of the Maurepas Gate where a bonfire had been prepared by the troops. As the governor set the bonfire ablaze, the troops ranged on the ramparts and along the covered way, fired three musket volleys, joined by three salvos from 21 guns.²⁶ General celebrating began. Raymond distributed barrels of his wine among the troops and the public. Vive le Roi was cried so often "that one could not doubt that the heart of the residents, troops and colonists ... was truly French." To ensure that the celebrations did not go too far, Raymond dispatched special patrols. After a 9 p.m. fireworks display and a great number of rockets, the governor and his party retired to a ball which lasted until daybreak.

In discussing the event, J.S. McLennan (who provides a translation of the descriptive mémoire, which he attributes to Raymond) suggested that the cause of all this was Raymond's love of show and his inclination to go to extremes.²⁷ Accounts of other festivals, however, suggest that this celebration followed the standard practice of the colony. When the birth of Bourgogne's father, the dauphin, was celebrated in 1730, the guns of the town, the naval ships and the merchant ships, fired three general salvos: one at dawn, one during a Te Deum and one at the lighting of a bonfire (the bonfire was matched by other bonfires at the houses of many of the colonists). The windows of all the houses were illuminated and the members of the elite entertained each other at a series of dinners. It seems, therefore, that the Bourgogne celebrations in 1752 followed a pre-existing model.

On 25 August 1752 the fête de Saint-Louis led to a celebration smaller than but similar to the festivities of 28 May. Twenty-one guns from the

Pièce de la Grave announced the day. Further firings saluted the king, the queen, the royal family and the Te Deum service. While the royal birth celebrations were rare, the Saint-Louis celebrations of late August were an annual event. There are no artillery records to prove that identical salutes were fired each year, though government accounts for most years of the late 1730s and 1740s show expenses for a bonfire to celebrate la fête de Saint-Louis. As the artillery salutes of August 1752 imitated those of May 1752 and also those of October 1730, the Saint-Louis bonfires and celebrations probably resembled those of the Bourgogne celebrations, though on a smaller scale. That is, 25 August of every year was probably marked by church services, a procession, a bonfire near the Maurepas Gate, and perhaps even with fireworks and illuminations. The distribution of wine may have been a special touch of the Bourgogne festivities, for the 1752 bordereaux is the only one to cite such an expense,²⁸ but the celebrations would surely have been general even when the people had to buy their own. They were willing enough to do so at other festivals.

Private Celebrations

Given the nature of the society and its surviving documentation, it is to be expected that the people's own celebrations are less well recorded than those supported by the state. There is, however, enough evidence to show that the urge to spend and celebrate at festival times was common to Louisbourg society at all levels.

The officer corps and administrative elite was used to celebrating special occasions (or of creating occasions to celebrate) by dinners and dances. Such events as the royal birth celebrations of 1730 and 1752 saw a series of formal dinners. In addition, senior officers entertained regularly, and weddings, new appointments and Carnaval were all celebrated by gatherings of the elite. Surlaville mentions several dinners marking Raymond's arrival in the colony in 1751,²⁹ and Poilly cites a long list of Carnaval celebrations:³⁰

January 29: M. Gabarus gave a ball which began at eight, with an ambigu (a cold meal where the meat and dessert

courses are presented at the same time) at two in the morning. The dancing went on until dawn.

February 2: Messieurs d'Artois (i.e. the officers of that regiment) gave a very fine ball with an ambigu served with much propriety.

February 5: M. de Chauvelin, captain of the Bourgogne Regiment, married Mademoiselle de Thiéri. The Bourgogne officers gave a ball with a fine ambigu.

These, except the last, were part of Carnaval, but could as easily have celebrated any other festival.

Celebrations on a smaller scale amused other levels of society. Jacques-François Rolland, a minor merchant, admitted he might have spent 80 livres in Carnaval celebrating in 1743, but he thought that amount tolerable and was more aggrieved by the constant coffee parties of his wife and her mother. (Rolland's boutique stock, incidentally, included several Noels, Christmas books of some kind).³¹ Other merchants would regularly have entertained the transient merchants and captains they dealt with: Jean-Baptiste Duboë seems to have given frequent dinners, one for a group of Recollets.³²

Celebrations of soldiers, sailors and workers are more difficult to document. A marine archer named Lahaye apparently complained of his need for money both at les fêtes de Noel of December 1725 and at Carnaval of 1726 (unless the witnesses had confused the dates again).³³ Celebrating was important enough to provide some spending by almost everyone, it seems, and Raymond's order for special patrols in May 1752 suggests the enthusiasm which a festival could provoke.

On Easter Monday, 27 March 1758, Louis Gassot and his wife entertained several people in their Louisbourg apartment with dinner and conversation. The group dined on an outarde (a seabird) with bread and wine, and they shared the cost.³⁴ Evidently not only the officer corps enjoyed a dinner party. These few references hardly form comprehensive accounts of the common peoples celebration of festival days. They show convincingly that the celebration of many calendar events and special occasions were a notable part of the daily life of all the residents of Ile Royale.

Appendix A. Salutes Of 1752

1. The artillery salutes of the fête de Saint-Louis, 25 August 1752.
 - a) To announce the day - In the morning, at the battery of the Pièce de la Grave, 21 firings, of which 13 were 36-pounders and eight were 24-pounders, with the charge de salut.
 - b) To the king's health - 21 firings, the same.
 - c) To the queen's health - At the Pièce de la Grave, 19 firings, 11 with 36-pounders and eight with 24-pounders.
 - d) To the health of the royal family - Same battery, 17 firings, nine with 36-pounders, eight with 24-pounders.
 - e) At the Te Deum service - Same battery, 21 firings, 13 of 36-pounders, eight of 24-pounders.
2. Some of the other salutes of 1752.
 - a) 17 January, on the occasion of the patron saint's day of Mgr. de Rouillé, minister of marine. While his health was drunk, there were 21 firings at the Pièce de la Grave, 13 with 36-pounders and eight with 24-pounders.
 - b) 1 May, on the occasion of the patron saint's day of M. l'ordonnateur, 13 firings of 36-pounders at the Pièce de la Grave.
 - c) 1 June, at the fête-dieu, 21 firings of 36-pounders (site unspecified).
 - d) 8 June, at the octave of the fête-dieu, 14 firings of 36-pounders, five of 24-pounders and two of 18-pounders.
 - e) 24 June, from the Pièce de la Grave for the patron saint's day of M. le Comte de Raymond, 15 firings, eight of 36-pounders, seven of 24-pounders.

3. Powder charges for celebrations of January-September 1752.

The charge de salut was used in all ceremonial firings where the charge is specified.

Cannon Size	Charge de Combat	Charge de Salut
36	14 <u>livres</u>	18 <u>livres</u>
24	9 <u>livres</u> 6 <u>onces</u>	12 <u>livres</u>
18		9 <u>livres</u> 5 <u>onces</u>
12		6 <u>livres</u> 12 <u>onces</u>
6		4 <u>livres</u> 8 <u>onces</u>

Source: Col., C11B, Vol. 32, fol. 309, Sainte-Marie, Etat de la consommation des poudres de guerre pour l'usage de l'Artillerie..., 1 janvier-30 septembre 1752.

Appendix B. The Moveable Feast Days of 1744, 1745 and 1758.

	1744	1745	1758
Mercredi des cendres/ Ash Wednesday	25 February	3 March	15 February
Pâques/Easter	5 April	18 April	26 March
Ascension (Thursday)	14 May	27 May	4 May
Pentecôte/Pentecost Sunday	24 May	6 June	14 May
Sainte-Trinité/Trinity Sunday	31 May	13 June	21 May
Fête-Dieu/Corpus Christi Thursday	4 June	17 June	25 May
Octave de la Fête-Dieu	11 June	24 June	1 June

Easter is the Sunday after the first full moon after the vernal equinox. The other days are set by the date of Easter: Ash Wednesday 40 days before, Ascension 40 days after, Pentecost 50 days after, and so on.

Source: Comte de Mas Latrie, Trésor de Chronologie (Paris, Victor Palmé, 1889).

Public Auctions In Louisbourg

The public auction, heralded by drum rolls and conducted with loud announcements and competitive bidding, frequently enlivened the streets of Louisbourg. Held at a variety of locations around the town, but always outdoors for at least part of the time, auctions might last half an hour or run for days. To attract as large a crowd as possible the seller used a variety of publicity measures and as much of the law's pomp and ceremony as he could afford. Consequently the public auction in Louisbourg's street was at once a legal procedure, an economic transaction and a community gathering.

History Of The Judicial Auction

The public auctions of Louisbourg are an example of the way in which French law was applied to Ile Royale, slightly modified to fit local circumstances. The basic laws of judicial auctions were contained in the Coutume de Paris (the body of law covering private property and its disposal, used in the colonies as well as in parts of France) and the 1551 Edit des Criées of King Henri II.¹ These laws spelled out the procedure of which a debtor's goods could be seized and sold for the benefit of his creditors.

This procedure was simple. Once a creditor had gained a conviction for non-payment in his local court, he could ask the huissier² of the court to secure payment. This official would visit the debtor and command payment. If the debtor refused to pay the huissier could seize goods, and real estate if necessary, and proceed with an auction which would earn the amount of the debt.

Once this administrative system was established to organize and conduct auctions in debt cases, a demand arose for the courts to perform a similar service, that of auctioning goods at the owner's request. Eventually

anyone who wished to dispose of some property and was willing to pay the fees could ask local court officials to manage a public auction for him. In Louisbourg requested sales were far more common than ones following conviction and seizure.

The Local Context

In Ile Royale the court principally responsible for public auctions was the bailliage, the rough equivalent of the local courts specified in the French laws. In cases involving ships, seagoing accessories or seamen's possessions, however, the bailliage yielded to the Louisbourg admiralty. Since the bailliage was not created in Ile Royale until 1734 (the admiralty had existed since 1717), the superior council served as the basic court until that time, but it left routine functions such as most auctions to the ordonnateur, the chief civil administrator, whose responsibilities included the administration of justice.³ The bailli or judge and the lieutenant-general of the admiralty each had the authority and the supporting staff to order and administer judicial auctions. Each held regular sittings in his own home, where there was little room for an audience other than court officials, the disputing parties and others with a direct interest in the case at hand. It was this lack of suitable public meeting rooms that led to official sanction for outdoor auctions.

In 1736 Jean de Lasson had the misfortune to be the first property owner to have his land seized and sold by the bailliage. He was convicted of debt, he failed to pay and his north shore fishing property was seized, auctioned and sold for 2,500 livres. Lasson could not object to his conviction but he claimed that 2,500 livres was a poor price and insufficient to cover his debt. The small room in which the bailli had auctioned the property was too small for a large crowd and a vigorous auction. Consequently, Lasson asked that the sale be repeated, this time outdoors and with adequate publicity. The law did not demand such procedures, he admitted, but both at Plaisance and at Ile Royale the colonists had become accustomed to outdoor auctions. Lasson asked that the sale of seized properties be handled by the same customary usage.

The new bailli consulted the superior council, which accepted Lasson's request. The law was not to be changed, but greater efforts could be made to ensure a successful auction. Henceforth all public sales, including those of seized goods, could be held where a crowd could be gathered, preferably "la place du Quay," after the huissier had publicized the auction.⁴ In acknowledging the inadequacy of the bailli's quarters as an auction site, the council formalized the existing local procedure: for a public auction, the bailli would leave his small courtroom and travel with his officials to the quay while the huissier went out to drum up a crowd of bidders.

The sale of Lasson's property was neither the first public auction nor the first outdoor auction in Louisbourg. Its interest is as a judicially-ordered, involuntary sale. By requiring that such sales be held outdoors and with adequate publicity, the administration of Ile Royale gave official sanction to the already standard practice used for voluntary sales. The 1736 ruling on auctions of seized goods in effect borrowed the established local custom for use in judicially-ordered sales.

Authorization For Public Auctions

One did not need the bailli's permission to sell one's goods. If he could find customers an individual could sell a whole cargo from a newly-arrived ship or hawk a few small items in the street. However, the officially-sanctioned public auction was attractive for several reasons. The auction sale appealed as a way to dispose of goods rapidly and conveniently and perhaps even at a good price. The auctioning system offered by the courts was attractive to those not used to marketing by themselves, because it provided official sanction, recognized rules of procedure and even an auctioneer. Finally, the authorities' ability to publicize and promote a sale was greater than the individual's, particularly when the sale was a single event rather than part of a selling career. All these factors drew individuals into the bailliage or admiralty courtroom to request that judicial auctions be arranged for them. Such auctions initiated by owners or their heirs were much more common than the involuntary sales that followed conviction for debt and the seizure of goods.

People requesting judicial auctions had a variety of motives, some quite trivial. One man stated "that having the intention to return to France to live there in retirement from this colony, he desires that the judicial sale of his goods be proceeded with."⁵ A large merchant firm requested an auction of a collection of goods left with them which otherwise "they could only dispose of very slowly."⁶ A more common reason for an auction was a death and the consequent need to proceed with the distribution of an estate among its heirs. Whatever the cause, the auction sale disposed of unneeded belongings, raised money to pay creditors, or simply converted the assets of an estate into a form more easy to distribute among its owners. No case is known of a judge refusing a request for a judicial auction, though in cases of debt, the debtor, if convicted, could by appeal and other means prevent or delay sale. In cases where an estate was left without heirs or executors or where the courts were already directly involved, it was the officials themselves (specifically the procureur du roi) who initiated the request for a sale, but the procedure was simple in all requests for auctions. One appeared before the bailli or lieutenant-general (usually at their regular court sittings, but in an emergency a ruling could be secured at any time), made one's request and received permission. Even if a sale resulted from a conviction in the superior council, it was the lower courts which conducted the auction.

Organization And Publicity

Once the bailli authorized an auction much of the organization was left to the huissier. Least senior of the court officials, he was responsible for preparing the auction, publicizing it and probably even for calling out the items to the bidders. In ordering an auction, the bailli consulted with the interested parties, for the procedure to be followed was flexible. A small auction could be arranged on short notice with the minimum of publicity. At the other extreme, months could pass between authorization and sale. A major auction might be heralded by extensive publicity spread over several weeks.

The nature of the sale and the wishes of the parties determined the amount of publicity. The bailliage and the admiralty charged fees for all of their services, so the owners, creditors or court officials had to balance the expenses of organization against the potential revenues from a well attended sale. The simplest of preliminaries was merely a few drum rolls and a loud announcement to attract some attention. Alternatively, an auction could be 'cried' at the end of three Sunday masses, proclaimed by regularly posted placards and verbal announcements all over town, and started with the procession of the huissier and a drummer all through the town.

Some Auctions

Since the form of each auction was determined by its particular circumstances, it is worthwhile to describe several different auctions roughly typical of the variety encountered at Louisbourg.

1. Sale of a chest of clothes, 13 September 1753.

The sale was undertaken at the request of a visiting merchant, Tanguay Mervin of Saint Malo. At his regular Friday afternoon sitting on 6 March 1753, bailli Laurens de Domingé Meyracq granted Mervin's request for the sale of a chest full of clothes. The following Friday, after the two p.m. sitting, the bailli, his greffier (the clerk who recorded the bailliage's sittings - in this case probably Antoine Lartigue) and the huissier (François Merard) proceeded to the quay. There a drummer of the compagnies franches beat the drum to attract a crowd. The goods were displayed and sold for cash in a few minutes. The procedure was simple and brief and the record of the sale fills only a few lines in the bailliage registers.⁷

Sales of this type were not uncommon. They were often requested by an employer or the procureur du roi as the simplest way to dispose of the belongings of a transient worker who died while in the colony. However, since the admiralty had jurisdiction over the succession of fishermen and sailors who died at sea, many of these small sales involved not the bailliage officials but the lieutenant-general of the admiralty and procureur du roi, greffier and huissier. Their procedures were not significantly different from those of the bailliage.⁸

2. Sale of a house, 10 November 1741.

At the death of Pierre Mons and his wife Marie Monier, their three children were left a house, property and garden on Rue d'Orléans. Evidently they disposed of most of the estate's goods among themselves, but on Monday, 2 October 1741, one of the heirs, Hugues Mons (acting for himself and his younger brother François) and François Riché (acting for the third heir, his wife Françoise Mons) requested bailli Joseph Lartigue to authorize the judicial auction of their house. Since the sale of the house was important to Mons and Riché, they were willing to pay for a full publicity campaign and to wait several weeks for the auction.

Publicity began on 7 October, a Sunday. The bailliage huissier, Jean-Jacques Chantrel, announced the sale to people leaving the Sunday mass at the chapel of the King's Bastion barracks. Then, accompanied by a drummer, he read and posted placards about the auction at several locations around the town. A second announcement and placarding took place the following Sunday and a third on Sunday, 4 November. The location of the placards is not given in the records of this case, except for the general reference "at the normal and customary places." Fortunately, records of other sales specify notice sites. Potential sites include: by the main doors of the church, at the entrance of the bailliage or admiralty courtroom, at the Magasin du Roi, at the passage across the barachois outside the Porte Dauphine, on the Beausejour house or other buildings along the quay, and on the house, boat or piece of property to be sold. Not more than five of these sites would have been used, perhaps only two or three.⁹ For a well publicized sale such as this one, the placards would be re-read and replaced twice before the sale.

A few days after each public announcement the bailliage sat to accept bids from potential buyers who had inspected the house. After the first publicity, François Riché, husband of one of the heirs, entered the first bid, 900 livres, probably just to set a minimum for other bidders. No other bids were received after the second announcement.

The third receiving bids, the auction itself, began at two p.m. on Friday, 10 November 1741. First, huissier Chantrel was dispatched with

a drummer from the town garrison literally to drum up a crowd. With the drum beating 'the ban' they went to "the corners and crossroads of the town and all along the quay," Chantrel periodically announcing the sale in a loud voice. At the eastern end of the quay, they joined bailli Lartigue, procureur Antoine Sabatier and greffier Laurens Domingé Meyracq. In a "loud and intelligible voice," Chantrel announced the auction rules. These were principally a statement of the time period allowed for payment and a reminder that any bids accepted became legally binding on the bidder. Then the sale began, with shopkeeper Quintin Lelievre offering 950 livres. Louis Vallée, the government surveyor, bid 1,000 livres and merchant Julien Fizel said 1,100 livres. Vallée responded with 1,150 livres, countered by Fizel's 1,200 livres. Bids apparently ceased at 1,200 livres but the auction was not over. The final bid was publicized until five p.m., probably by another circuit of the town by Chantrel and the drummer. At five, the officials and interested bidders gathered again (probably in the bailliage rooms of Lartigue's house this time) for another round of bidding.

The final part of the bidding was enlivened by the imposition of a time limit. When bidding was reopened, the officials lit a tiny piece of candle ("un petit bout de bougie") and announced that the successful bid would be the highest offered before the candle burned out. This stimulated a flurry of new bids. Vallée offered 1,225 livres. A new bidder, merchant Antoine Morin, offered 1,250 livres, promptly met by Vallée's 1,300 livres. Fizel reentered the bidding at 1,325 livres, at which point the huissier, Jean-Jacques Chantrel, offered a bid himself: 1,350 livres. But Vallée cried 1,400 livres just as the candle went out and got the house.

The cost of organizing the sale is not specified, but the normal fees of the officials are known. The bailli charged 8 livres for his presence at the sale, while the procureur du roi got 6 livres. The greffier was paid 4 livres, the huissier and the drummer 2 livres each, but all three probably got equivalent amounts for each time they prepared and posted the placards announcing the sale. In total there may have been 50 livres of costs to be paid. Vallée had to pay this sum over and above his bid of 1,400 livres, for the sale of a boat or a house differed from multi-item auctions in requiring that the sole buyer pay the costs. When several items were sold, costs were paid from the total revenues of the auction.¹⁰

3. Auction of farm animals, 24 March 1735.

When Judith Pansart dit LaBretonnière was convicted for her part in a robbery, the superior council ordered that she be banished from the colony and that her goods be sold to pay court costs and her fine. In one of the most quickly arranged auctions on record, the bailliage completed the first sale on 24 March 1735, three days after the trial. The previous day, a Wednesday, huissier Louis Adam and a drummer had publicized the sale by reading and posting notices which announced the sale of seven goats, four kid goats and some poultry which Pansart had been raising on her north shore property.

The sale began at nine the next morning, heralded by the usual procession of Adam and the drummer through the corners and crossroads of the town to the quay. They evidently attracted a good crowd, for the record states that several bids were made for at least some of the items. The buyers were Swiss sergeant Yodocus Koller (three goats, two of them younger ones, 60 livres), sergeant Dubois (a goat and its kid, 26 livres), the widow Perré (a goat and two kids, 30 livres), butcher Pierre Santier (a goat and two kids, 41 livres), Sieur Morel (five turkey hens, 37 livres) and the wife of innkeeper Grandchamps (12 chickens, a cock and two ducks, 41 livres). For their work the huissier received 10 livres, "a boy who helped tend the goats" was given 2 livres, and the drummer received 4 livres. The other officials presumably received the usual fees, for a total charge of 34 livres was to be deducted from the total revenue of the sale.¹¹

4. Sale of the estate of Anne Guyon Despres, 17-22 March 1745.

The largest auctions were those which sold the goods of an estate so that the proceeds could be divided evenly among the heirs of the late owner, after all the debts of the estate had been paid. The great range of goods sold at these auctions, which could include real estate, furniture, housewares, clothes, boats, slaves, animals and any other form of property, can be seen from the inventories and sale records analysed in Blaine Adams's report Domestic Furnishings.¹² The routines of auction procedure in these cases can be found in a description of a 1745 example, the sale of the goods of Anne Guyon Despres, widow of Jean Chevalier.¹³

The widow Chevalier died on 4 August 1744, in the Rue du Quay house of her son Pierre Belair. At 5:30 p.m., within an hour of her death, procureur du roi Antoine Sabatier visited Michel Hertel de Cournoyer, the acting bailli, and asked that the house be sealed in readiness for an inventory of the widow's property, because one of the principal heirs, a daughter, was living in France and could not be present to defend her interests in the succession. Cournoyer ordered that these procedures begin. Eventually an inventory was made, the daughter was consulted and it was decided that the widow's belongings would be sold.

The sale was scheduled for 17 March 1745. The records say nothing about prior publicity. It is possible that the routines of announcement and placarding by the huissier were observed. However, Pierre Belair and Guillaume Delort, the representative of the absent daughter, were probably able to publicize the sale without official assistance in the months between the inventory and the sale, for the auction would dispose of the entire estate of a long-time resident of the town. If no official publicity was arranged for the weeks before the sale, then the standard circuit of the town made by huissier Joseph-Felix Chesnay and a drummer would have been the beginning of official participation in the sale procedure. Chesnay, the drummer, and the crowds they had gathered joined Cournoyer, Sabatier and Meyracq, the greffier, at the widow's former home, the Presqu'ile du Quay house of her son Pierre Belair, at two p.m. on 17 March.

The auction proceeded according to form. First the preliminary announcements of binding obligation and of the time period allowed for payment were read. Then either the bailli or the huissier called out and displayed each item for bidding. Once the highest bid was found, the greffier recorded the name of the bidder and his price and made arrangements to receive payment from him. Some bidders paid cash, but for this sale the preliminary announcement had specified that payment could be delayed until the end of September, so most bidders simply promised future payment for their purchase. Meanwhile the next item was being prepared for presentation to the crowd.

The Chevalier auction lasted three days. It began at two p.m. on 17 March and ran until five p.m. It resumed at nine a.m. the next morning,

paused at noon, and ran again from two p.m. to five p.m. The final session was held at two p.m. on 22 March, when a female slave was sold. Each session of the auction was preceded by drumming, the announcement of the terms of payment and a reminder of the contractual obligation of any accepted bid.

Though the names of all successful bidders are given, the records make no estimate of the total size of the crowd, which was probably gathered at the door of the house or in a main room. Nine hours were required for the sale of 72 items, for an average of seven or eight minutes per item, so even sizeable delays in moving and presenting sale goods would still have permitted time for some vigorous bidding.

The crowd changed with each session, of course. Only Pierre Belair and Chesnay, the huissier, bought an item at each of the three main sessions. Many of the buyers in the first afternoon session were neighbours, people from the Ile du Quay, Presqu'ile du Quay or Block 4, such as Blaise Cassaignolles and Madame Santier. The morning session brought some young women of social prominence, Mlles Henriette DuChambon and Josette de Cournoyer, accompanied by the latter's mother. The third session attracted a new crowd: merchant Claude Perrin, merchant artisan Jean Claparede, fisherman Jean-Baptiste Hiriart and a visitor from Quebec, Pierre Angers. Few items sold for less than 5 or 6 livres and the buyers were mostly householders of the town, rather than the fishermen, soldiers and sailors who participated in some of the smaller sales.

In all, 20 individuals or families made purchases worth a total of 1,453 livres 7 sols. Pierre Belair, son of the late owner and still resident in the house from which her possessions were being sold, was the most active bidder, buying 27 items worth roughly half the total value of the sale. The next most active bidder bought only six items.

After the sale ended the heirs and the bailliage officials began to collect payments and pay debts. The funeral, the sale, the inventory and other matters cost 340 livres, and at least one bad debt had to be accepted. Pierre Angers, who owed 70 livres 10 sols for his auction purchases, had died a few weeks later resisting the New England landings on 11 April 1745.¹⁴

Despite the siege and capture of Louisbourg, the heirs and the greffier continued to meet to complete the succession. On 7 July, probably shortly

before his departure for France, Pierre Belair, acting for his sister as well as himself, received 1,041 livres 2 sols in cash and unexpired IOUs from the greffier. The remaining debts did not fall due until September, but if Belair managed to collect payment for all of them, he and his sister would have received about 520 livres each as the net proceeds of the auction. In a sense, collection of the debts would have been fairly easy, for most of the IOUs were signed by Belair himself, who owed the succession more than 700 livres for his auction purchases.

For an estate auction the Chevalier sale was not unusually large or long. The sale of Governor DuQuesnel's estate in October and November 1744, took 20 sessions of three hours each and raised over 20,000 livres. In that case, the four bailliage officials and their drummers charged 440 livres for the sale alone.¹⁵ Auctions running through many sessions and earning several thousand livres from the bidders were normal, since the estates of many people more prosperous than the widow Chevalier were liquidated by auction.

The Chevalier sale, it may be noted, did not take place on the quay. Though the bailliage and the admiralty officials specified the quay if the choice of site was left to them, estate sales were routinely held in or in front of the home of the deceased owners, surely a great convenience when an entire household was being sold. Consequently any house in or around Louisbourg could be an auction site. Nevertheless, some large auctions occurred on the quay. One which resulted from the business collapse of shopkeeper Jacques-François Rolland in 1743 was moved from the house of his mother-in-law, the widow Cruchon de la Tour, to an Ile du Quay house rented by Leger Lucas, a major creditor. Lucas and other creditors had requested the change because the first house was too far off to attract large crowds and active bidding.¹⁶ Similarly, François Lessenne moved the sale of some ship accessories to a quayside storehouse because he found it difficult to draw a good crowd to his own property by the barachois.¹⁷ The quay's location and its association with public auctions and other community events evidently made it a popular sale site. A few auction records specify the eastern end of the quay, as do the Rolland and Lessenne auctions mentioned above, but some of the admiralty

auctions refer to the quay de la marine, which may mean the small Block 3 square adjacent to the marine offices in the ordonnateur's building.

Roles, Texts And Formalities

Bailli Or Lieutenant-General

The judges authorized auctions in their courtrooms, and at the specified time went with their officials to the auction site.

Since the judge directed the auction he may have participated actively in auctioning the sale items, though it seems more likely that he left such functions to the lower officials. If the judge did participate actively, some of the duties attributed to the huissier below would pass to him. Otherwise he presumably stood by supervising.

Procureur Du Roi

As legal counsel to the court he represented the law and the crown's interests in all court matters. He advised on auction rulings when some point of law was involved and could request the judge to order an auction when the law required one. The bailliage and the admiralty each had a procureur.

The procureur accompanied the judge to most auctions, but had no active role in the sale and was not always present.

Greffier

As clerk to the court he always accompanied the judge to record proceedings. For small auctions he retained only a summary record of events. For a major auction he kept a lengthy transcript, listing each item, the name of the successful bidder and the price. (Examples of these can be studied in the documentation cited in the endnotes to this report).

As court treasurer he also received payment from each purchaser. The buyer either paid him with cash or a cash substitute, or signed the record where his debt was noted. After the auction the greffier itemized the

costs, finalized the accounts and paid the net earnings to the owner(s) or heir(s).

Since auctions and other events frequently required the greffier to work outside his office or courtroom, he may have had some sort of portable writing desk for his paper, pens and ink, and possibly also a small strong-box for cash and receipts.

Huissier

The huissier publicized auctions through posted notices and verbal announcements. Surviving copies of placards which the huissier posted suggest that they had a standard form similar to the following: (Bracketed sections would vary for each auction).¹⁸

De Par Le Roy

Le public est avertit que (pour satisfaire aux condamnations prononcés contre Judit de la Bretonniere)¹⁹ il sera (demain vingt quatre du courant sur les deux heures du relevée)²⁰ procedé sur le quay de cette ville à la vente judiciaire de (sept chevres, quatre cabris, douse poules et un cocq, une canne et un canard et cinq dindes) lesquelles seront adjudgés au plus offrant et dernier encherisseur (à la premiere criée)²¹ à la charge par l'adjudicataire de payer (comptant)²² le prix de son adjudication: sinon sera recriée à sa folle enchere²³ à laquelle il demoura obligé par corps et biens comme depositaire de justice. Et à ce que personne n'en ignore j'ai (Louis Adam Huissier audiencier au Conseil Superieur et Bailliage royal de Louisbourg isle Royale y demurant Rue Royale)²⁴ lu, publiée et affiché copies du present aux lieux accoutumés de cette ville etant assisté d'un tambour: ce fait en presence des sieurs (prigent Lebris praticien, nicolas Taillefer au service du Sr Richart residents separement en cette ville) temoins²⁵ qui ont signé avec moi le dit jour et an.²⁶

(Lebris N. Taillefer Adam huissier)

The verbal announcements made by the huissier probably consisted of a reading "in a loud and intelligible voice" of all or a part of the text of this placard.²⁷

At or just before the scheduled time for an auction, the huissier went out to attract a crowd. For a small auction, his announcements were only made on the quay and perhaps first at the courtroom door, but a major sale involved a procession from the courtroom through the streets to make announcements at several corners. The last part of the route would frequently be eastward along the quay to an auction site near the Ile du Quay.

At the auction the huissier, under the bailli's supervision, announced the terms of the auction, probably by reading the relevant section of the placarded announcement, and then began auctioning the items. The huissier repeated his role at each session of a long auction.

Drummer

In his compagnies franches or Karrer drummer's uniform, the drummer accompanied the huissier on all of the publicizing rounds. Auction records give no information about the type of drum carried or the beat used. Nor do they state whether he drummed continuously or only to herald the huissier's street corner announcements. However, a recent study of French military drumming implies strongly that the beat used was the one called "le ban," since this was often a prelude to announcements and proclamations.²⁸

Owner Or Heir

The owner or heir of the goods to be sold usually initiated the sale by requesting the judge to authorize one. He had no prescribed role in the auction but he probably publicized the auction by word of mouth and, with his friends, servants or employees, assisted the huissier by preparing items for presentation and sale. He could enter the bidding if he found the prices too low or wished to keep a particular item that was being sold.

Bidders

Bidders came from all strata of society, though the type of goods sold and their value would affect the composition of the crowd and the diversity of the bidders. The crowd gathered at the auction site in response to the drumming and the huissier's announcements. The degree of showmanship displayed by the auctioneer is unknown, but bidding apparently meant calling out a figure: "quinze sols," "un livre" (20 sols), "trois livres et demi," etc. Bidders had to be ready to pay cash or to accept a binding obligation to pay in future, depending on the announced terms of the auction.

Conclusion

Auctions have been explained in detail here because of their potential for occasional animation at the Fortress of Louisbourg. Apart from a few items for auction and a variety of costumes, restaging an auction would require little more than a group of well rehearsed, French-speaking animators. But the image of community activity which makes the public auction an attractive subject for animation also makes it an interesting point of social history. The auctions moved outdoors because there was not a single hall in Louisbourg adequate for public group activities, and that lack may be symptomatic of a general dearth of social institutions to serve the Louisbourg community. In that context, the enthusiasm of a bidding crowd with the attendant procession, drumming and announcement is noteworthy as one of the few regular functions bringing together all the citizens of Louisbourg on a more or less equal footing.

Conclusion

Historic site animation will usually have a general idea to impart. Animation of the activities discussed here will presumably be making the case that Louisbourg was a busy society of diverse interests and not the isolated military outpost of traditional historiography. Such an animation program might hope to suggest a harbour alive with vessels and a crowded quayside busy with the products of a transatlantic trading network. There should be indicators that in military Louisbourg, authority had its instruments of order. Whatever its volume of taverns and its population of transient young men, the town imposed limits on public behaviour. The celebration of an occasional festival might be intended to show some of the outlets offered to the population, all carefully stratified according to social standing, while the public auction might demonstrate the same thing on a more ad hoc and egalitarian basis.

Yet animation, like theatre, achieves realism less by its generalities than by recreating patterns of observed detail. A lecturer could explain why Louisbourg was a busy commercial centre by charting export values and shipping tonnages on a graph. From an animative viewpoint, that is not a useful proof. An animative team will say the same thing, for instance, by the patterns of activity it creates along the quay. The details provided in these four studies have been intended as the material from which such patterns might be woven.

Endnotes

Preface

- 1 Fernand Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II (translated by Sian Reynolds, New York, Harper and Row, 1972), Vol. 1, p. 272.

Harbour Life And Quay Activities

- 1 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 26, f. 200, Verrier, Mémoire, 8 février 1744.
- 2 Ibid., C11C, Vol. 16, Ordonnance établissant le plan de la Ville....., 31 mai 1723.
- 3 Louisbourg's trade is analysed in Christopher Moore, Merchant Trade In Louisbourg, Ile Royale (University of Ottawa, unpublished M.A. thesis, 1977).
- 4 A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Reg. 272, passim, as summarized in Christopher Moore, Commodity Imports of Louisbourg (Fortress of Louisbourg, unpublished manuscript, 1975).
- 5 On one occasion translator Antoine Castaing translated batteau for sloop, a small, fore and aft rigged craft, but it seems doubtful that the many batteaux from France were sloops. A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Liasse 6115, pièce 166-67, Procès sur le bateau l'Aimable Rose, 1750.
- 6 Christopher Moore, Commodity Imports Of Louisbourg (Fortress of Louisbourg, unpublished manuscript, 1975).
- 7 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 186, f. 442, 10 novembre 1737; A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, 267, f. 90, 10 août 1737.
- 8 A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, 272, f. 60, 13 août 1742, Naufrage sur le banc St. Pierre.

- 9 C.T. Génie, Article 14, No. 14, Prévost, Mémoire sur le commerce, 1751.
- 10 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 194, dossier 56, pièce 5, 13 novembre 1734.
- 11 Col., F3, Vol. 50, f. 254, Règlement, 20 juin 1743.
- 12 A.N., Col., C11C, Vol. 7, ff. 3-11, Reflections des négociants de Saint Jean de Luz...., 1716. See also the shallops illustrated in the 1717 Veue de Louisbourg by L'Hermitte.
- 13 A.N., Col., C11C, Vol. 11, Bordereaux des paiements, passim.
- 14 Ibid., C11B, Vol. 25, f. 29, DuQuesnel et Bigot, 5 novembre 1743.
- 15 A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Liasse 6113, 1739, pièce 28, 4 février 1739.
- 16 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 21, f. 297, LeNormant, Mémoire, 1739; C.T., Génie, Article 14, pièce 48, Prévost, Mémoire, 1751.
- 17 A.N., Outre Mer, G3, 2047-1, pièce 151, Contrat de construction, 24 septembre 1750.
- 18 David Lee, "The French In Gaspé," Canadian Historic Sites Occasional Papers No. 3; William A. Baker, Sloops And Shallops (Barre, Mass., Barre Publishing, 1966).
- 19 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 194, dossier 196, pièce 5, 13 novembre 1734.
- 20 Fishermen's contracts always refer to a three-man crew, and shallop productivity did not increase.
- 21 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 32, f. 25, Mémoire par DeLobara, décembre 1752.
- 22 As well as schooners there were a few charrois, esquifs and batteaux.
- 23 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 12, f. 238, Ordonnance, 27 avril 1732; A.N., Outre Mer, DFC, Amerique Séptentrionale No. 48, Rapport du nommé Girard Lacroix, 11 mai 1745; Durrell/Bastide map of Louisbourg harbour 1745 (all of these have some reference to hivernment).
- 24 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 191, Reg. 1, f. 15v., 23 juin 1732.
- 25 According to occasional reports by the ordonnateurs, in various years of C11B.
- 26 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 21, f. 297, LeNormant, Mémoire sur les habitants, 1739.
- 27 C.T. Génie, Art. 14, pièce 48, Prévost, Mémoire sur le commerce, 1753.
- 28 A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Reg. 267, f. 90, 10 août 1737: "en chantier sur la grave du S. Baron"; *ibid.*, Liasse 6113, pièce 13, 1741, "les chantiers du passage."

- 29 The estimates in this paragraph are based in A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Reg. 272, passim.
- 30 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 200, dossier 215, 15-29 décembre 1750.
- 31 A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Liasse 6115, pièce 79, 14 septembre 1750.
- 32 Ibid., Liasse 6113, pièces 3-10, 16 août 1741.
- 33 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 201, dossier 240, Procès contre Richard dit Duhameau, janvier-mai 1752.
- 34 DFC., Amérique Séptentrionale, No. 216, Rapport ... de Girard Lacroix, 11 mai 1745.
- 35 A.N., Col., C11C, Vol. 14, f. 14, Bordereau de 1753; Hiriart's vessel is cited in A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 194, dossier 56, 12 novembre 1734.
- 36 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 12, f. 238, Ordonnance, 27 avril 1732.
- 37 Ibid; Marine, A1, Vol. 71, f. 29, Ordonnance du Roi, 2 juin 1733.
- 38 Public Archives of Canada, MG 18 J10, Mémoires du Chevalier de Johnstone (a transcript of the manuscript from which the published translation was made), p. 294.
- 39 A.N., Outre Mer, G3, 2041-1, pièce 147, 4 octobre 1752.
- 40 A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Liasses 6011 and 6014, passim.
- 41 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 25, f. 25, 4 novembre 1743.
- 42 A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Liasse 6114, pièce 48, 5-24 mai 1743.
- 43 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 12, f. 242, 12 mai 1732.
- 44 Ibid., Vol. 33, f. 78, Raymond, septembre 1753.
- 45 DFC., Amérique Séptentrionale, No. 216, Rapport ... de Girard Lacroix, 3 juin 1745.
- 46 A.N., Col., C11C, Vol. 11, f. 146v., Bordereaux, 1737; *ibid.*, Vol. 14, f. 59v., Bordereaux, 1754; *ibid.*, Vol. 11, Chapitre 6, Bordereaux, 1735. There are many other examples.
- 47 A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Reg. 275, f. 33v., 4 décembre 1740.
- 48 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 181, ff. 479-88, 15 août 1732.
- 49 A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Reg. 274, Jacques Lecomte et les pères, 24 octobre 1734.
- 50 A.N., Col., F2B, Vol. 11, Tableaux de Commerce France/Ile Royale, 1752.
- 51 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 30, f. 139, Vente d'un cargaison saisie, mai 1751.

- 52 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 199, dossier 189, pièce 39, Mémoire de Jean Lau, 20 novembre 1744; A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Liasse 6113, pièce 79, 12 juin 1741.
- 53 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 197, dossier 130, Ballé vs. Chouquet, 29 janvier 1740. A wagon and ox were rented for service on Ile St. Jean in 1754; A.N., Col., C11C, Vol. 14, Bordereaux pour 1754.
- 54 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 203, dossier 357, f. 32v., 11 avril 1755.
- 55 A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Reg. 275, f. 33v., 4 décembre 1740.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 32, f. 124, Prévost au ministre, 15 juin 1752.
- 58 Ibid, Vol. 25, f. 204, Ordonnance, 17 avril 1743.
- 59 Ibid, Vol. 26, f. 200, Verrier, Mémoire, 8 février 1744.
- 60 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 34, f. 59, Ordonnance, 8 avril 1754.
- 61 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 198, dossier 167, pièce 8, Bigot, 1 juillet 1742.
- 62 Quarts de farine pesant net: 183.6 livres, 185.5 livres (A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 197, dossier 151, p. 36); 195 livres (ibid, Vol. 204, dossier 471, f. 99v.); Quarts of nails net weight each: 352 livres, 380 livres (ibid, Vol. 202, dossier 289); 6 caisses rice net weight: 213.5 livres each (A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 30, f. 123).
- 63 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 212, dossier 544, Vente des biens, 1757.
- 64 Shown on several maps of the period and mentioned in the above ordonnance.
- 65 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 24, f. 319, 23 avril 1740.
- 66 Col., C7, dossier M. Neel, juin 1754.
- 67 Johnstone Mémoires, op. cit., p. 289.
- 68 For instance, A.N., Outre Mer, G2, 212, dossier 553, Procédure contre Davou, pièce 9: "Interrogé d'ou il avoit eu ces chemises, repondu qu'il les avoit achettez l'été dernier d'un marchand qui etoit sur la place d'armes," décembre 1757; pièce 33: "ayant pris ce marchand pour un ameriquain y en ayant souvent sur la place."
- 69 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 198, dossier 175, Compte de René Levasseur, 1 novembre 1743.
- 70 The article is "The Maritime Economy of Ile Royale" in Canada: An Historical Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Summer 1974). Vernet's painting of Marseilles, one of a series, is analysed by Jean Boudroit in Neptunia, No. 115 (3e trimestre 1974).

Law, Order And Street Life

- 1 Military animators can consult Victor Suthren's Infantry Drill Manual on the routines of guard administration. See also Charles Lindsay, Guardhouses in C.H.S.: Occasional Papers No. 12.
- 2 A.N., Col., C11C, Vol. 9, ff. 98-99, Cailly, Mémoire, 24 octobre 1741.
- 3 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 189, f. 43v., Procédure contre St. Sulpice, février-octobre 1751.
- 4 Ibid, Vol. 186, f. 330, Procédure contre St. Amant, tambour, décembre 1740.
- 5 A.N.Q., Fonds Surlaville (copies in P.A.C., MG 18, F 80 and at Fortress of Louisbourg Archives), ff. 45-50, Etat des prisonniers, août 1751 (several examples).
- 6 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 23, f. 71, DuQuesnel à Maurepas, 19 octobre 1741.
- 7 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 186, f. 257v., Procédure contre Louis Davory, août 1740.
- 8 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 23, f. 71, DuQuesnel à Maurepas, 19 octobre 1741.
- 9 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 197, dossier 135, pièce 4, Procédure contre Pierre Prévost dit LaFleur, 23 septembre 1740.
- 10 Ibid, Vol. 189, f. 148, Procédure contre G.H. LeBon, janvier 1753.
- 11 Ibid, Vol. 203, dossier 357, f. 32v., 11 avril 1755. Other examples can be found in the compilation on Louisbourg military life, Un Simple Soldat (Fortress of Louisbourg unpublished manuscript, 1975).
- 12 Described in Suthren's Drill Manual. Also A.D., Calvados, F 1821, Fonds Surlaville, Journal de M. de Surlaville, 17 août 1751: "At la ronde-major, a sentinel was found asleep."
- 13 P.A.C., MG 24 L3, Collection Baby, Documents Militaires, Vol. 46, pp. 29721-25, "Role des bataillons et compagnies....," 31 juillet 1753.
- 14 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 186, f. 229, Procédure contre L. Davory, 8 août 1740.
- 15 Surlaville papers cited above, f. 48v., août 1751.
- 16 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 179, f. 129, Vol chez Ganda, 1725.
- 17 Ibid, Vol. 188, dossier 1, ff. 13, 14, Procédure contre Lailloque, 1744.
- 18 For example, A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 36, f. 231, Bordereaux pour 1756.

- 19 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 8, f. 201, De Mesi à l'Amirauté, 16 mai 1726.
- 20 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 186, f. 252v., Procédure contre L. Davory, 1740.
- 21 Ibid., Vol. 183, ff, 78-91, Procédure contre J. Mamier dit Landry, particularly f. 83, 15 juillet 1734.
- 22 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 186, f. 228, Procédure contre L. Davory, août 1740. These soldiers were from the Dauphine guardhouse, since the Pièce de la Grave guardhouse, which would have been closer, was not then built.
- 23 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 202, dossier 288, Wassogne versus Barouillet. Témoignage d'A. Didion, 15 septembre 1753. The shipboard incident: A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Liasse 6113, pièces 3-10, 16 août 1741.
- 24 The incident is covered in Brenda Dunn, Block 2 (Fortress of Louisbourg unpublished manuscript report, 1972).
- 25 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 199, dossier 190, 1744-45.
- 26 Ibid., Vol. 180, f. 877, 15 mars 1731; *ibid.*, Vol. 203, dossier 367, 1755.
- 27 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 200, dossier 215, Procédure contre L. Marie, 15 décembre 1750.
- 28 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 12, f. 221, St. Ovide à Maurepas, 19 janvier 1732; A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 183, f. 398, no date; *ibid.*, Vol. 209, dossier 496, Requête de Bernard Imbert, 20 août 1751.
- 29 The soldier's case is cited in: A.N.Q., Fonds Surlaville, Etat des prisonniers, 1751. Mathurin Josset's case is A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 196, dossier 121, f. 31v., n.d.
- 30 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 189, f. 259, Procédure contre G.H. LeBon, 1753.
- 31 *Ibid.*, Vol. 191, Reg. 1, f. 107, 1 décembre 1733; *ibid.*, f. 112v., **Audiences du Bailliage**, 29 décembre 1733.
- 32 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 204, dossier 470, f. 89, Audience du Bailliage, 22 novembre 1751.
- 33 *Ibid.*, Vol. 193, Reg. 1, f. 56v., Audience, 14 décembre 1751.
- 34 *Ibid.*, Vol. 196, dossier 121, f. 31v., Procédure contre Mathurin Josset, n.d.
- 35 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 183, f. 379, 20 octobre 1735.

- 36 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 32, f. 354, Laborde, 11 avril 1752.
- 37 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 195, dossier 82, pièce 10, mars 1735.
- 38 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 32, f. 354, Laborde, 11 avril 1752.
- 39 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 186, f. 321v., Procédure contre L. Davory, 1740.
- 40 Christopher Moore, Place du Port (Fortress of Louisbourg unpublished manuscript report, 1974), p. 47. The carcan was also used in the 1750s.
- 41 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 191, Reg. 1, f. 145, Appelation de J. Pansart, 1735.
- 42 Ibid, Vol. 184, f. 54, Procédure contre Fanton, 14 août 1730.
- 43 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 184, f. 58v., Audience, 10 octobre 1730.
- 44 Ibid, Vol. 191, Reg. 2, f. 35v., Audience, 24 décembre 1737. See also A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 184, f. 454, Procédure contre Bunau, décembre 1737.
- 45 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 189, f. 141, Procédure contre J.B. Chaffour dit St. Sulpice, 25 octobre 1754. Another case specified 21 coups de fouet at each intersection. Ibid, Vol. 191, Reg. 1, f. 65, Audience, 30 mai 1733.
- 46 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 191, Reg. 2, f. 107, Audience, 22 septembre 1740.
- 47 A.N., Col., B, Vol. 68, p. 336, Ordre du Roi, 7 avril 1739.
- 48 The gallows outside the town appear on several maps in the Louisbourg map collection.
- 49 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 191, Reg. 2, f. 103v., Audience, 23 août 1740.
- 50 A.N., Col., E 240, J.B. Duboé, 8 juin 1754.
- 51 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 200, dossier 200, Sentence contre Lailloque, 1 février 1745.

Festivals And Celebrations

- 1 A simple introduction to the diocese of Quebec can be found in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography articles on three of its bishops: Laval, LaCroix de Saint Vallier (both in Vol. 2) and Dubreuil de Pontbriand (Vol. 3). These also provide a select bibliography.

- 2 Henri Têtu et C-O. Gagnon, eds., Mandements, lettres pastorales... des évêques de Québec (Québec, Archêveché de Québec, 1887-90, 6 vols.), Vol. 1, p. 488, Lettre aux Recollets de l'Ile Royale, 9 juillet 1716.
- 3 Ibid., p. 494, Lettre aux Recollets de Bretagne, 5 juillet 1717. (The Recollets had been in Ile Royale before this letter).
- 4 The official correspondence in A.N., Col., B and C11B offers some useful information in this regard. See, for instance, the dispute over Chanoine Fornel around 1724-27.
- 5 Mandements, Vol. 1, p. 335, Liste des fêtes observées (1694).
- 6 Marcel Trudel, Initiation à la Nouvelle France (Montreal, Fides, 1968), p. 272.
- 7 Mandements, Vol. 1, p. 288, Lettre aux Recollets, 9 juillet 1716.
- 8 Some Recollet orders were Franciscan, others Augustinian.
- 9 Mandements, Vol. 2, p. 40, Lettre de 24 novembre 1744. The official correspondence of late 1744 implies that some ships from Québec may have arrived as late as 20 décembre, but their date of departure from Québec is unknown.
- 10 Mandements, Vol. 2, p. 36, Lettre de 19 octobre 1744.
- 11 The principal source for the following events is: A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 32, f. 309, Ste. Marie, Etat de la consommation des poudres de guerre, 30 septembre 1752.
- 12 The bordereaux are: A.N., Col., C11C, Vols. 11-14. The festivals are mentioned in A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 11, ff. 16, 23v., Bourville et deMesi, 3 décembre 1730; DFC., Amerique Septentrionale, September, # 216, Rapport du nommé Girard Lacroix, 1745 and Bibliothèque du Génie, Ms. Reliés, # 66, Grillot de Poilly, Journal des evenements, 1758.
- 13 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 32, f. 360, Etat de la recette et depense des poudres de guerre, 30 septembre 1752.
- 14 A.D. Calvados, Fonds Surlaville, Journal de M. de Surlaville, 3 août 1751.
- 15 Mandements, Vol. 2, p. 34, Mandement de 29 août 1744.
- 16 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 199, dossier 195, f. 35, Condemnation de 30 décembre 1743.
- 17 Mandements, Vol. 2, p. 15, Lettre circulaire, 20 avril 1742.

- 18 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 11, f. 16, Bourville et deMesi, 3 décembre 1730. Allan Greer's report The Soldiers of Ile Royale (Fortress of Louisbourg unpublished manuscript report, 1976), mentions soldiers in these processions.
- 19 W.C. Eccles, Canada Under Louis XIV (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1969), p. 225.
- 20 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 196, dossier 119, St. Martin vs LaBranche, 15 juin 1736. Both men attended both Pentecost mass and vespers at the Royal Battery. A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 212, dossier 553, pièce 5, f. 5, 23 décembre 1757: vespers. Ibid, Vol. 183, f. 398: Royal Battery Mass circa 8 or 9 a.m., undated.
- 21 Trudel lists the feast days used for payments on the Canadian seigneuries in Les Débuts du Régime Seigneurial (Montreal: Fides, 1975), p. 202. The Saint-Michel is discussed in Christopher Moore, Merchant Trade in Ile Royale (University of Ottawa, unpublished M.A. thesis, 1977).
- 22 Public Archives of Canada, MG 18 J10, Mémoires de la Chevalier Johnstone, p. 290.
- 23 A.N., Col., F3, Vol. 50, f. 477, Mémoire non signé, 28 mai 1752.
- 24 A.N., Col., C11B, Vol. 32, f. 360, Ordonnance, 27 mai 1752.
- 25 The account of powder consumed has been cited above. The bordereaux of expenditures is Col., C11C, Vol. 13, ff. 172v.-75, 188.
- 26 The author of the anonymous mémoire, understandably confused, reported these as three general salvos, but the gunpowder accounts specify that 21 guns were used.
- 27 J.S. McLennan, Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall (London: MacMillan, 1918), p. 191.
- 28 Though the mémoire claimed the wine was Raymond's, the government paid 540 livres for six barriques of red wine to be distributed. The 1752 bordereaux also refers to a bonfire at Port Toulouse on 25 août 1752.
- 29 A.D., Calvados, Fonds Surlaville, Journal de M. de Surlaville, 3 août 1751.
- 30 Bibliothèque du Génie, MS. Reliés, #66, Grillot de Poilly, Journal, 1758. Only a few examples are quoted here.
- 31 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 198, dossier 180, pièces 14-16, octobre 1743.
- 32 Ibid, Vol. 203, dossier 363, pièce 2, Power vs. Duboé, mai 1755.

- 33 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 179, f. 157, 10 avril 1726.
 34 Ibid., Vol. 206, dossier 464, 29 mars - 3 avril 1758.

Public Auctions

- 1 See Claude Joseph de Ferrière, Nouveau Commentaire Sur la Coutume de la Prevosté et Vicomté de Paris (Paris, 2 vols., 1728), Titre XVI.
- 2 Literally the usher, but huissiers had powers equivalent to bailiffs or sheriffs.
- 3 On the judicial and administrative context in which auctions fit, the essential reading is T.A. Crowley, Government and Interest: French Colonial Administration at Louisbourg (Duke University, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1975).
- 4 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 191, Reg. 1, f. 181, Requête de Jean de Lasson, 9 mai 1736.
- 5 Ibid., Vol. 203, dossier 366, Requête d'Olivier, 9 juin 1755.
- 6 Ibid., Vol. 206, dossier 416, Requête de Beaubassin Sylvain, 15 décembre 1756.
- 7 Ibid., Vol. 202, dossier 283, Vente judiciaire d'une coffre, 6-13 septembre 1753.
- 8 I have seen no evidence that any of these court officials wore robes or other particular costume, either during their court sittings or while proceeding with auctions or other outdoor functions. Though they earned fees, the officials' basic salaries were low, and neither the records of their appointment nor the accounts of royal expenses mention judicial robes.
- 9 The admiralty cited its placarding sites more often than the bailliage. Most of the sites listed here are mentioned in the admiralty records: A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Liasse 6113, passim, but the bailliage probably used the same sites.
- 10 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 197, dossier 154, ff. 16v., 20v., 24v., 27v., Vente d'une maison, 2 octobre - 10 novembre 1741.
- 11 Ibid., Vol. 195, dossier 82, pièce 2, Vente des bestiaux, 24 mars 1735.
- 12 Blaine Adams, Domestic Furnishings Report (Fortress of Louisbourg unpublished manuscript, 1972).

- 13 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 199, dossier 187, Succession d'Anee Guyon Despres, 4 août 1744- 7 juillet 1745.
- 14 Angers is identified from the Girard Lacroix siege journal, A.N., Outre Mer, DFC, #216 and from reference to him in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. III, p. 76.
- 15 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 199, dossier 189, Succession DuQuesnel.
- 16 Ibid, Vol. 198, dossier 180, pièce 8, Vente des biens de Rolland, 21 octobre 1743.
- 17 A.D., Charente-Maritime, B, Liasse 6113, pièce 79, 12 juin 1741.
- 18 A.N., Outre Mer, G2, Vol. 195, dossier 82, pièce 1, 23 mars 1735.
- 19 A more common reason would be "à la requête du Sieur...."
- 20 The day of the week and the date are usually given. Two p.m. is common, though some auctions were held at 9 a.m.
- 21 When bids were accepted on three occasions, as in the Mons house sale, "à la troisième criée" would be placed here.
- 22 The specification might be "en argent comptant ou bon lettre de change" or could specify a date for payment, "dans tout le mois de septembre prochain."
- 23 A bidder who could not pay the sum he had offered was legally liable à la folle enchere. The item would be offered again but if a lower bid was accepted, the original bidder had to pay the difference.
- 24 In a sale by the admiralty, the admiralty huissier would sign, but it seems that huissiers sometimes substituted for each other.
- 25 Not all placards bear the names and signatures of witnesses.
- 26 The last phase of the text suggests that the posted copies carried the date of posting. It is likely they also carried, after "De Par le Roy" the name and title of the authorizing judge.
- 27 The admiralty's public sale register contains several good examples of placards posted and read at various locations. See A.D., Charente-Maritime, Liasse 6113, 1738, first item, pièce 2; 1739, first item, pièce 2; 1741, pièce 17, pièce 79 et cetera.
- 28 Margaret Fortier, 18th Century French Drumming (Fortress of Louisbourg unpublished manuscript report, 1977), especially pp. 14-16.

