

M.A. (HISTORY)

Acadian Settlement on Ile-Royale, 1713-1734

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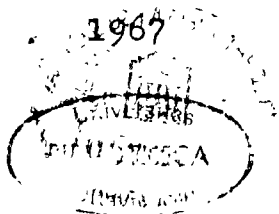
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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The phase of the struggle for empire in America, which ended with the war of the Spanish Succession in 1713, left France considerably weakened, and the geographic setting of her North Atlantic colonies substantially transformed. The Peace of Utrecht forced France to cede to Great Britain the region about Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland and, by virtue of Article XII, Acadia. Despite the enfeebled state of the realm, the experience and resources of France nevertheless allowed her to react with vigour to the impositions of the Peace.

Thus, France immediately set about regrouping what could be salvaged from her former possessions in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. The French islands of Saint-Jean and Cap Breton had not been affected by the Peace, and it was upon the latter that the authorities sought to carry on the lucrative cod fishery of the Grand Banks of Newfoundland. The scheme held promise, for the essential requirements of a strong colonial unit needed only to be transferred from the relinquished colonies: the civil and military establishments of Acadia and Newfoundland, the fishing population of Newfoundland, and the larger agricultural population of Acadia. Article XIV specified that:

...in all the said places ...to be yielded ... by the most Christian King..., the subjects of the said King may have the liberty to remove themselves, within a year to any other place, as they shall think fit, together with all their moveable effects. But those who are willing to remain there, and to be subject to the Kingdom of Great Britain, are to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same.¹

In June 1713, Queen Anne further allowed for the removal of the former French subjects by proclaiming in a letter to Governor Nicholson of Nova Scotia that the French of both Acadia and Newfoundland should be permitted to sell their immovables if they chose to immigrate elsewhere.²

The present study is concerned with the attempt of the French to influence the Acadians — the habitants especially, and also the official element, which had developed strong Acadian ties — to remove to their new colony, renamed Ile Royale in 1713. Accordingly, the succeeding chapters will consider the policy of the French authorities regarding Ile Royale in general, and its application to the Acadians in particular, the reactions of the British authorities in Nova Scotia, and those of the Acadians themselves.

The French authorities, in pressing the Acadians to settle in Ile Royale, sought to provide for the new colony a

1 From Thomas B. Akins, editor, Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Annand, 1869, p. 14, note.

2 From Ibid., p. 15, note.

solid agricultural base. The farmers declined because of the poor quality of the soil in the new colony. Many coasters, carpenters and a few fishermen came, however, attracted by early prospects of much activity in their occupations. Even a not inconsiderable number of "vagabonds" came as well.³

Unfortunately, the colony developed in such a way on Ile Royale that even the handful of settlers who came — sixty-six habitant families in all — managed poorly, to the degree that most gave up the task to return to their homeland in Acadia, while a few even ventured to settle on Ile Saint-Jean.

Successive chapters will be devoted to the various occupations which absorbed the immigrants, to the hopes and disappointments of the Acadian community and the failure of the project for Acadian settlement on Ile Royale. The subject is important because the settlement of Acadians on Ile Royale sheds new light on a French colonial society which the limitations of the way of life in Acadia were not capable of reflecting. Before the capture of 1710, the economy of the colony, blessed as it was with fertile land, had required of its occupants little of the labour characteristic of the frontier. In Acadia the Acadians had never been driven to passionate industry by stimulation and criticism from the other country, or by the availability of markets for their

³ Saint-Ovide to Council of the Marine, Nov. 30, 1717, AN, Cols., C11B 2, fol. 238v.

surplus produce. However, for a time at least after 1713, Ile Royale provided the Acadians with economic opportunities which had never been offered in Acadia.

The importance of this study is further apparent at a time when Acadian historiography is fairly crying out for renewal, just as has been in recent years Canadian history as a whole. Though no historical work to date has dealt specifically with the subject of Acadian settlement in Ile Royale following the Peace of Utrecht, historians of Acadia have always mentioned it as an incident of their broader preoccupations. Generally, historians have adhered to one of three interpretations in the nearly 150 years since Thomas Chandler Haliburton's Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia first touched upon the subject. The first to evolve was the English interpretation which, notably with Haliburton (1829), Murdoch (1865), McLennan (1918) and Harvey (1926), ascribed the failure of the scheme for Acadian settlement to the inability of the French to implement an energetic policy on behalf of the Acadians.

The French interpretation developed following the effort of the pioneer Garneau (1882), and includes Casgrain and Rameau de Saint-Père (1889), Richard (1921), Lauvrière (1924) and, more recently, Gustave Lanctôt (1964). In the tradition of François-Xavier Garneau, who openly strove to make his Histoire du Canada the vehicle of the patriotic

emotions of French Canada, these historians — three French Canadians, two Frenchmen and one Acadian — blamed obstruction by the British authorities for the failure of the scheme.

A more recent tradition, evolved from a sounder basis of scholarship, includes Parkman (1892), Brebner (1927), Bernard (1936) and Rumilly (1955). These historians — albeit the limitations of Bernard's Le drame acadien depuis 1604, the standard reference of Acadians generally to this day, which remains tinged with many of the limitations of the French interpretation — attributed the failure of the scheme of Acadian settlement primarily to the refusal of the Acadians themselves to sacrifice their prosperous circumstances for the bleak prospects of Ile Royale.

The findings of the present undertaking appear to confirm the interpretation first suggested by Francis Parkman, and later expressed in more specific terms by J. Bartlett Brebner.⁴

The primary sources used in this study involved some considerable difficulties, particularly in the preparation of Chapters VI, VII and VIII, which deal with the economic setting of the Acadians on Ile Royale. There appear, for

⁴ Francis Parkman, A Half-Century of Conflict: France and England in North America, part sixth, vol. 1, Boston, Little, Brown, 1922, p. 196-197; J. Bartlett Brebner, New England's Outpost, Acadia before the Conquest of Canada, New York, Columbia University Press, 1927, p. 67.

instance, no surveys of the agriculture of the colony, which probably would have allowed a more definitive conclusion regarding farming on Ile Royale in general, and the involvement of the Acadians in particular.

For the fishery, only general figures relating to the annual yield are recorded. The censuses, however, do on occasion identify individuals as fishermen, and the censuses of the latter years of the period under study indicate as well the number of vessels owned by individuals, and whether they were employed in the fishery or in coasting. Unfortunately there is no information relating to the catch or the profits realized by the fishermen of Ile Royale. For the coasting trade, on the other hand, there are valuable records of the sums paid by the Crown for services rendered in coastal transport. These, however, reflect only a part of the real picture of the trade, for many more Acadians were hired to transport merchandise and supplies on behalf of the merchants of Louisbourg. Presumably many Acadian navigators were hired as crew on the vessels of merchants and coasters, but we have no information as to who or how many.

Though the general correspondance frequently refers to the Acadians' skill in the trades — particularly carpentry — there are no records of contracts or detailed reports of actual work done. The only evidence is contained in the general correspondance and memoirs, and in the censuses,

which identify individual Acadians as carpenters, builders or tradesmen.

Despite the dearth of primary sources of a specific nature, the importance of the general correspondance must not be underestimated. The correspondance of the officials of the colony, of the Ministry of the Marine, of Nova Scotia even, make possible an intensive study of the Acadian involvement in the politics of France in North America between the Peace of Utrecht and that of Paris a half-century later. It is to be expected, nevertheless, that the archives of many of the Atlantic ports of France might bring to light in the future much new information relative, especially, to a fuller understanding of the Ile Royale Acadians in their economic setting.

CHAPTER II

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT AND ILE ROYALE

Throughout the winter of 1713, prior to the publication of the terms of the peace, the Court of France anticipated its decisions regarding her possessions in North America. Plans were formulated whereby the effect of France's losses would be minimized. In the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, where she was virtually certain to lose both Acadia and Newfoundland, France reacted by laying the basis of a new colonial venture on the island of Cape Breton.

The foundation of the new colony, renamed Ile Royale, was prompted by economic considerations. The essence of the effort there was the rehabilitation of the cod-fishery from which England strove to exclude the French by acquiring Newfoundland.¹ The military factor, the concept of a strong naval fortress at Louisbourg to serve as a barrier against the British in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence area, materialized only some years later, once the valuable Newfoundland fishery was safely relocated. The timely advantage of Louisbourg as a clearing-house for the trade of the mother country, New France, the West Indies, British Acadia, as well as the lucrative contraband emanating, ironically, from New England

¹ Pontchartrain to Gaulin, March 29, 1713, AN, Cols., B 35, fol. 259v.

itself, also evolved once the fishery was set on its new footing. In fact, Louisbourg became an entrepôt of trade as a result of the new colony's supply of fish.

Though Acadia, with its self-sufficient rural population, traditionally had been of little interest to ministers contemplating the broad needs of the French empire, in 1713 France hoped the Acadians would contribute the valuable support the new colony lacked in staple foodstuffs.² A vigorous campaign was initiated even before the publication of the terms of the Peace to have the 2500 or so Acadians immigrate as a body to Ile Royale, and bring with them their livestock, their knowledge in husbandry, navigation and the various woodworking trades.³ Only then could the infant colony hope to achieve the desirable degree of self-sufficiency.

Meanwhile, however, the British were showing signs of concern about losing the Acadian population to the hitherto empty Ile Royale.⁴ It was learned in France that the commander at Annapolis Royal (formerly Port Royal) was withholding leave for the Acadians to emigrate as stipulated by Article

² Id. to L'Hermitte, March 21, 1714, AN, Cols., B 36, fol. 429v.

³ Cf. Id. to Gaulin, op. cit., fol. 259v-261.

⁴ Vetch to Lords of Trade and Plantations, Dec. 12, 1713 o. s., PRO, CO 218 1, fol. 41v-42v.

XIV of the Treaty. To uphold the rights of France in the matter, the commander at Louisbourg determined to send officers in the summer of 1714 to Annapolis Royal for a confrontation with Governor Nicholson on the subject.⁵ They were to discuss the stipulated year for the removal, and whether boats, livestock and grain should be considered as movables. Finally the officers, Louis de la Ronde Denys and Jacques de Pensens, both captains of the Louisbourg garrison, were to organize the actual removal.⁶

Nicholson allowed the officers to meet with the Acadians and to draw up lists of those among them who desired to emigrate. It speaks well for the eloquence of the French envoys that less than a year after the Acadians had politely declined the original overtures of the French Crown, now the entire French population of Annapolis and Mines, with the exception of two or three families, indicated their intention to remove to Ile Royale.⁷

As for determining whether or not the official year

⁵ L'Hermitte to Nicholson, July 11, 1714, AN, Cols., CLLD 8, fol. 30-31v.

⁶ Id., "Mémoire pour servir d'instruction...", July 12, 1714, AN, Cols., Cl1B 1, fol. 67-68v; Saint-Ovide to Nicholson, July 24, 1714, PRO, CO 217 1, fol. 237.

⁷ Habitants of Annapolis Royal, Aug. 25, 1714, PRO, CO 217 1, fol. 196-197v; Habitants of Mines, Sept. 9, 1714, PRO, CO 217 1, fol. 226-227. The French officers did not go to Beaubassin.

for removal had elapsed on the anniversary of the Peace, April 11, 1714, Nicholson referred this to the consideration of his superiors in England. He also referred the details of what constituted movables, and the implementation of Queen Anne's letter regarding the disposal of the Acadians' immovables.⁸

Some Acadians signified their willingness to remove immediately and in late summer of 1714, with Nicholson's permission, about twenty-five heads of families, some with their families, embarked for Ile Royale on three small vessels. As an apparent gesture of good faith, Nicholson further allowed them to carry with them liberal amounts of personal belongings, sheep and cattle, wheat and peas and several barrels of salted meat.⁹

The Governor's request for further instructions from London prompted the Lords of Trade and Plantations to seek the advice of his predecessor in Nova Scotia, Samuel Vetch. In November 1714, Vetch reported his observations in which he vividly portrayed the prospect of the Acadian removal leaving the

8 "Copie des minutes du Conseil tenu à Annapolis Royal", Aug. 19, 1714 o. s., PRO, CO 217 1, fol. 208-209.

9 [List of Passengers on the sloop Marie-Joseph], Aug. 18, 1714 o. s., PRO, CO 217 1, fol. 201-201v; De Pensens to Nicholson, Aug. 30, 1714, PRO, CO 217 1, fol. 202; "Liste des habitants ...qui s'embarquent sur ...le Saint-Louis", [Sept. 5, 1714], PRO, CO 217 1, fol. 224.

province "intirely destitute of inhabitants" and rendering
Cape Breton:

...at once the most powerful colony the French have
in America and of the greatest danger and damage to
all the British colonies as well as the universal
trade of Great Britain.¹⁰

Vetch went on to quote the resources which would become En-
gland's loss and France's gain: "5000 cattle besides a great
number of sheep and hoggs, ...and a considerable quantity
of wheat and peas."¹¹ He concluded that the Acadians should
be prevented from leaving the Province:

I am of opinion that by the Treaty, the French
inhabitants are allowed either to remove if they
design'd it or at least to make a demand of the
same in a year's time after the ratification of
the Treaty, neither of which was done, nor would
the inhabitants have offered to goe had they not
been not only importuned but threatened by the
French officers in the French King's name, to be
treated as rebels if they did not remove, which
how far that is consistent to the Treaty is with
the forgoing particulars most humbly submitted....¹²

As a result of Vetch's depositions, Governor Nichol-
son, who had returned to London in the Fall of 1714, recom-
mended his lieutenant, Thomas Caulfield, to seek all lawful
means to hinder the Acadians from settling on Cape Breton.¹³

¹⁰ Vetch to Lords of Trade, Nov. 24, 1714 o. s.,
PRO, CO 217 1, fol. 97-97v.

¹¹ Ibid., fol. 98-98v.

¹² Ibid., fol. 98v-99.

¹³ Nicholson to Caulfield, Dec. 20, 1714 o. s.,
PRO, CO 217 2, fol. 30v-31.

In March 1715 the Lords of Trade urged the King formally to adopt similar measures. Fearing the loss of the Acadian population would defeat the settlement of Nova Scotia and rapidly increase that of Cape Breton, the Board recommended that orders should be sent to persuade the Acadians to remain, and that fitting encouragement should be offered to those willing to live under the English Crown. They advised that they could be forbidden by law from taking their cattle and grain with them should they nevertheless desire to remove, since the year for carrying their movables away had elapsed.¹⁴ This first official British statement of policy on the Nova Scotia problem was ratified by the Crown almost exactly in the terms of Samuel Vetch's report of the preceding November.¹⁵

Meanwhile, the French policy regarding the Acadians was being undermined by many weaknesses, of such consequence that any single one would have been sufficient to cause to founder the programme of drawing the Acadians to Ile Royale. The principal hindrance in dealing with the Acadians was the timidity of the French in their relations with England following the Peace. Instances of this are gleaned from the dispatches of the weeks that both immediately preceded and

¹⁴ Lords of Trade to George I, March 17, 1714/15 o. s., PRO, CO 218 1, fol. 82-88.

¹⁵ Cf. Id. to Stanhope, June 2, 1715 o. s., PRO, CO 218 1, fol. 111v.

followed the Treaty of Utrecht. Ministerial directives reminded officials at every level of the cautious restraint France was to use in its dealings with England. It should not have been necessary, normally, to deal with the problem of securing the allegiance of nationals "sans bruit, ...et sans que les anglois en ayent connoissance."¹⁶ Another factor which hindered the Acadian removal to Ile Royale was the fact that by 1713 the ministry of the Marine, which administered the colonies, was out of touch with all that had become Acadia in the century that preceded Utrecht. The seventeenth had been a tumultuous century for the Acadian settlers, during which Frenchmen had taken arms against Frenchmen at least as frequently as destructive incursions from the British colonies to the south had raided its settlements. Innumerable instances of the Crown's indifference to the land of adoption of the Acadians had transformed its people over the years. They had been forced to forgo the close affinity afforded by the regular arrival of ships from the mother country, and by the presence of a sufficiently strong and well-equipped garrison which the colony had so frequently required in the century preceding the final surrender of 1710.¹⁷

¹⁶ Pontchartrain to Gaulin, March 29, 1713, AN, Cols., B 35, fol. 26lv.

¹⁷ Cf. notably J. Bartlett Brebner, New England's

Thus when Pontchartrain, the Minister of the Marine, formulated the invitation to remove to Ile Royale, it was conceivable that the Acadians should be reticent:

Je ne doute point qu'animé par ces deux motifs
 ["la gloire de Dieu est d'abord intéressée dans ces
 oeuvres et ensuite la seureté de l'établissement
 que Sa Maté veut faire"] vous ne reussissiez à
 faire venir ... les habitants de l'acadie à l'isle
 du Cap Breton.¹⁸

For the Acadians, the tone of the letter betrayed that the colonial officials no longer appreciated their situation. Their missionary, Felix Pain, wrote from Acadia to this effect to the Governor of Ile Royale, Philippe de Pastour de Costebelle: "Il nous paroît, monsieur, qu'on n'a eu qu'une faible connoissance de ce pays".¹⁹

In effect, it would have been a noteworthy achievement, under even the most favourable circumstances, to transfer some 2500 persons to a new habitat. The situation of the Acadians, however, was particularly inauspicious, settled as they were on land in full production. It is not surprising that they should decline the invitation to remove to Ile Royale, densely wooded and unfurrowed by the plow.

Outpost, Acadia before the Conquest of Canada, New York, Columbia University Press, 1927, p. 37-42.

18 Pontchartrain to Gaulin, op. cit., fol. 260v.

19 Pain to Costebelle, Sept. 23, 1713, AN, Cols., Cl1C 7, fol. 277v.

The basis of the French appeal for settlers was not the assurance of concrete material compensation for the losses the Acadians would suffer. Rather, the authorities appealed to their religious sentiments, to the sentiments of loyalty which they owed their king. The first reaction of the Acadians suggested their preoccupation with insuring at least comparable material circumstances on Ile Royale was stronger in this instance than the appeal to God and King. The missionary Antoine Gaulin reported as follows in August 1713:

Il paroît très difficile de les engager à quitter leurs terres. Les Anglois les promettent les mêmes avantages qu'on leurs fait esperer au Cap Breton.²⁰

The incentives which the French court offered to Acadians willing to settle on Ile Royale amounted to half-measures the effectiveness of which was further hampered by the indecision of colonial officials both at Louisbourg and at Versailles. Thus, in his letter of March 29, 1713, Pontchartrain promised every facility to immigrant Acadians, but in effect this was restricted to a reduction for ten years of half the duties on fish and fish oil entering France.²¹ Though some Acadians had fished on a small scale in Acadia, very few were attracted to the Ile Royale fishery. Reducing the duties on

²⁰ Gaulin to Id., Aug. 26, 1713, AN, Cols., C11A 7, fol. 224v.

²¹ Pontchartrain to L'Hermitte, March 22, 1714, AN, Cols., B 36, fol. 445.

fish was hardly an incentive to occasion the removal of many Acadiansto Ile Royale, the more so because the Acadians, in practice, had long before rid themselves of restrictions in the area of what little trade had developed among them.²²

The question of whether food supplies should be issued to new immigrants until such time as they were able to produce crops of their own originated in the colony itself. La Ronde Denys, who had been delegated to meet Governor Nicholson and the Acadians in 1714, had made the unauthorized promise of one-year of food supplies for immigrants.²³ At Versailles this was regarded as a bold pledge²⁴ because of the near-bankruptcy of the Treasury.²⁵ Nevertheless, the Commissaire-ordonnateur Soubras judged, on his own initiative, that to withhold assistance after it had been promised would hamper the immigration project seriously. Thus in the autumn of 1714, he issued foodstuffs to the several Acadians who had accompanied La Ronde and De Pensens back to Ile Royale.²⁶

22 Cf. Brebner, loc. cit.

23 La Ronde Denys and De Pensens, Report of their mission to Annapolis Royal, Aug. 30, 1714, PRO, CO 217 1, fol. 198v.

24 Pontchartrain to Soubras, June 4, 1715, AN, Cols., B 37, fol. 219-219v.

25 Id. to Costebelle, March 22, 1714, AN, Cols., B 36, fol. 442-442v.

26 Costebelle to Pontchartrain, Oct. 26, 1714, AN, Cols., C11C 11, fol. 12v.

This action managed to save face for the Crown, and shortly thereafter steps were taken to regularize the granting of food supplies to immigrants.²⁷

Providing transportation was another problem which required swift implementation to secure the good faith of the Acadians towards the French Crown. In February 1714 the Minister had promised to send a vessel to Acadia to fetch those desiring to emigrate. For those who had built their own vessels rigging was promised.²⁸ However, it was stipulated the rigging would have to be paid for by the Acadians themselves.²⁹ To make matters worse, as late as 1716 the Acadians' request for rigging for their vessels was still under consideration at the ministry.³⁰ The Crown proved to be equally indecisive in providing transport in King's vessels. As early as February 1714, it was left to the discretion of the officials at Ile Royale to send one or several vessels to Acadia as required.³¹ However, apart from the

²⁷ Pontchartrain to Costebelle and Soubras, June 4, 1715, AN, Cols., B 37, fol. 230v.

²⁸ Id. to L'Hermitte, Feb. 28, 1714, AN, Cols., B 36, fol. 425v.

²⁹ Id. to Beauharnois, March 2, 1714, AN, Cols., B 36, fol. 94.

³⁰ Council of the Marine to Costebelle and Soubras, April 22, 1716, AN, Cols., B 38, fol. 26lv.

³¹ Pontchartrain to L'Hermitte, loc. cit.

three small vessels which came from Acadia in the late summer of 1714, no government-chartered boats brought Acadians to Ile Royale.

Apart from the indecision of the French authorities and their failure to appreciate the circumstances of the Acadians, another serious effect resulted when word got back to the various settlements that the Crown had fallen into arrears in paying for service rendered on Ile Royale by Acadian carpenters and builders.³²

Notwithstanding, however, the opposition of the English authorities to their departure, and the unhelpfulness of the French, it was the Acadians themselves who were the real determinant in bringing about the virtual failure of the immigration scheme.³³ Their affection for Acadia and the bountiful ease of the Bay of Fundy marshlands was stronger than their hatred of England and protestantism, and their love for France and its institutions. It is likely that, even if the English had not been opposed to their removal, or had the French offered strong incentives to attract them to Ile Royale, the Acadians would have remained nevertheless precisely where they were. In the first place, they had

³² Council of the Marine to Soubras, June 26 1718
[sic pro "1717"], AN, Cols., B 39, fol. 285v.

³³ Cf. Brebner, *op. cit.*, p. 67; Donald G. Creighton, Dominion of the North, A History of Canada, Toronto, Macmillan, 1957, p. 107.

ascertained for themselves that nowhere on Ile Royale could they ever hope to match the agricultural yield of the marshlands of Acadia. Secondly, the Peace had stipulated that they should have in Acadia freedom of religion insofar as the laws of Great Britain should allow. The British authorities had given assurances that this last clause would be given the broadest possible interpretation.³⁴ Thirdly, the Acadians keenly appreciated the independence that followed the remoteness from garrison and administrative impositions. Finally in the wake of the appeals of the mother country, the Acadians as a whole sought to reconcile their allegiance to their Faith and their King and continued residence in British and Protestant Nova Scotia. They answered the entreaties of the French authorities with the reminder that they could in fact best serve the broad interests of France by remaining in Acadia where their religious freedom was guaranteed and whence they could come to the aid of their countrymen by supplying their needs in grain and livestock.³⁵

Following their refusal to emigrate to Ile Royale, the Acadians sought in 1715 and 1716 to consolidate their position in Nova Scotia. Wedged as they were between the

³⁴ "Mémoire concernant les habitants de l'Acadie", 1717, AN, Cols., C11D 8, fol. 40.

³⁵ Cf. Armstrong to Lords of Trade, Feb. 28, 1715/16 o. s., PRO, CO 218 1, fol. 141.

diplomatic crossfire of two rival empires, they sought first-ly to remain faithful to France by resisting the oath of allegiance to the British King on the basis of their 1714 commitment to remove to Ile Royale.³⁶ On the other hand, the majority declined French pressures to emigrate under the pretext of the inadequate facilities offered in Ile Royale.³⁷

Finally, after years of French attempts to have them settle on Ile Royale, and of English threats to remove them forcibly if they persisted in refusing the oath of allegiance, a temporary solution to the problem was reached. France finally admitted "les anglois estant possesseuses de l'Acadie, ceux qui l'habitent sont censés sujets de cette couronne...."³⁸ The Acadians swore a form of allegiance to Great Britain which, however, had so relaxed its requirements and left so many loop-holes that they secured all the essentials of their way of life.³⁹ The status which the Acadians had assured for themselves in 1727 remained in force until 1755, when removal was discussed once again,

³⁶ Habitants of Mines to Philipps, May 1720, AN, Cols., C11D 8, fol. 55-55v.

³⁷ "Mémoire concernant les habitants de l'Acadie", 1717, AN, Cols., C11D 8, fol. 40v.

³⁸ Maurepas to Beauharnois, April 24, 1731, AN, Cols., B 55, fol. 498.

³⁹ "Traduction du sixième article des ordres de M. le Gouverneur Armstrong... regardant particulièrement les

this time with less accomodating vigour.

Though the majority of the approximately 500 families of the Acadian community of Nova Scotia refused to remove, a number of Acadians — sixty-six families⁴⁰ —, however, were attracted by the prospects offered by the new French colony in Ile Royale. These sixty-six families are the subject of the present study, in which it is proposed to review their social and economic origins in Acadia, their chosen habitat in Ile Royale, the motives which compelled them to remove there, and finally the economic setting in which many, for a time at least, achieved greater prosperity than they had known in Acadia.

habitants de l'Acadie", Oct. 1727, AN, Cols., C11D 8, fol. 67-69.

40 Cf. Appendix 1.

CHAPTER III

ILE ROYALE: THE PROPOSED HOMELAND

In the spring of 1713 the Island of Cape Breton was little changed from what it had been less than a century earlier before the enterprises of modern colonization had reached its shores. Though Europeans frequenting the fishing banks of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence had for generations sought refuge in the countless bays and inlets along the eastern coast of the Island,¹ it was not until 1629 that an organized venture was attempted. The British, under James Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, established in July of that year an armed fort complete with a garrison of sixty men at Port de la Baleine (modern Baleine), a few miles north of the future Louisbourg.

This station was short-lived, for but a few weeks later a French captain, Charles Daniel, bound for Quebec, was thrown by foul weather upon the shores of Cape Breton. Learning of the English fort at Baleine, Daniel attacked and destroyed it, and built a fort of his own at Cibou, which he renamed Sainte Anne (later Port Dauphin and now Englishtown). From this station Daniel, a member of the Company of the

¹ Tryggvi J. Oleson, Early Voyages and Northern Approaches, 1000-1632, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1963, Chapter 18, p. 141 ff.

Hundred Associates, carried on trade in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence for four years, sometime after which the station at Sainte Anne was abandoned.²

Not until 1650 was a new settlement established. That year Nicolas and Simon Denys attempted to set up fishing and trading stations at Saint Pierre (later Port Toulouse and now Saint Peter's) and Sainte Anne respectively. The latter post was quickly captured and destroyed by rival French interests in Acadia, while at Saint Pierre the establishment of Nicolas Denys flourished for some years before a fire wiped out the entire station during the winter of 1668-1669. After this disaster Denys retired to another of his several posts, at Nipisiguit (Bathurst, N. B.), abandoning Cap Breton to its fate.³

Forty-four years were to pass before the French presence was again felt officially on Cape Breton Island. During the late winter of 1713, in anticipation of the long-term effects of the Peace of Utrecht on France's interests in North America, the French government ordered a small advance party of troops from Plaisance in Newfoundland to Cape Breton. The immediate purpose of this expedition was to affirm French

² George Brown, ed., Dictionnaire biographique du Canada, vol. 1, Articles "Stewart", p. 627-628; and "Daniel", p. 255, Quebec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1966.

³ Ibid., Articles "Denys, Nicolas", p. 64-67; and "Denys, De la Trinité, Simon", p. 269.

occupancy of the Island. As indicated in the preceeding chapter, France contemplated a strong effort in order to consolidate the position of her North Atlantic fishing industry, following the damaging terms of the Peace.

The party, led by Joseph de Saint-Ovide de Brouillant, who later in 1718 was to become the second governor of the new colony, found but one Frenchman and twenty-five or thirty Indian families living on the Island.⁴ The document which records the taking of possession indicates some few traces of the earlier occupation of Nicolas Denys.⁵ At Saint Pierre notably, a road built by Denys between the harbour and the Baie Royale (now Bras d'Or Lakes) to facilitate the passage of small vessels from one body of water to the other, was distinguishable in 1713: "Il n'y a de là [la mer] à la baie Royale que neuf cent pas de terre à traverser, le chemin y est fait et battu...."⁶

De Saint-Ovide's first object was to take formal possession of Cape Breton and thus signify France's intention to utilize the territory. It was agreed provisionally by the officers comprising the expedition that le Hâvre à l'Anglois (renamed Port Saint Louis, and later Louisbourg) best combined

⁴ Saint-Ovide to Pontchartrain, Sept. 5, 1713, AN, Cols., Cl1B 1, fol. 11.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ "Mémoire sur l'Ile Royale", 1713, AN, Cols., Cl1B 1, fol. 13v.

the strategic requirements and the eventual needs of a large civilian population to be drawn chiefly from Newfoundland and Acadia. There would also be new immigration from France, the latter in connection with a fishing industry considerably expanded from the proportions achieved on Newfoundland before 1713.

Before long, however, memorials began finding their way into the offices of the Minister of the Marine at Versailles opposing the choice of Louisbourg and praising the qualities of two other locations, Saint Pierre and Sainte Anne. The arguments presented to the authorities in favour of Sainte Anne were effective, and in 1725 the order was given abruptly to transfer the seat of government to the latter location.⁷

The new capital, renamed Port Dauphin, was more easily fortified than Louisbourg, and at considerably less outlay. From the point of view of the fishery, however, its shores were some distance farther from the Grand Banks than Louisbourg. In the end this would be the determining factor, for the fishery was the mainstay of the colony. Thus in 1719 the expense involved in removing a colonial capital to a new location was repeated, and once and for all, Louisbourg was made the chief settlement of Ile Royale,⁸ the new name for

⁷ John S. McLennan, Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall, 1713-1758, London, Macmillan, 1918, p. 34.

⁸ Ibid., p. 32-34, and p. 59.

Cape Breton Island.

Meanwhile efforts were begun also in 1713⁹ to encourage the French inhabitants of Newfoundland and Acadia to follow the path of their sovereign to the new colony. The prospects for success in the Ile Royale venture were not unfavourable. The military and official personnel of both Acadia and Newfoundland were already being reassigned to the new colony. The Island was in all its geographic essentials suitable for a large-scale fishing industry, and, furthermore, could with relatively little cost draw on a population already skilled in that trade. The much larger agricultural population of Acadia was well suited to insure Ile Royale a self-providing and balanced economic situation.¹⁰

No particular problem rendered difficult the transfer of the Newfoundlanders and their movables to Ile Royale. Indeed the economy of the French colony on Newfoundland was

⁹ Pain to Costebelle, Sept. 23, 1713, AN, Cols., C11C 7, fol. 226-227v.

¹⁰ A novel conjecture was uncovered in Gérard Malchelosse, "Deux tournants de l'Histoire de l'Acadie, 1713 et 1755", in Cahier des Dix, no. 5, 1940, p. 110. The author explains how troops were direly needed to garrison Ile Royale in 1713. The bankrupt state of the French treasury after 1713, and the recollection that the Acadians had "brought supplies to the Port Royal garrison /before the surrender of 1710/ free of charge", determined Versailles to have the Acadians evacuate Acadia in order to fortify Ile Royale with, in the words of the author, "the best soldiers in all America". I have not encountered any suggestion that the Acadian removal to Ile Royale had even the remotest military connotations, nor indeed that the Acadians, collectively, had ever shown either any

based exclusively on the fishery, and this industry essentially was financed, prosecuted, even manned by sources in France. Furthermore, the fishermen needed only to load their gear onto their own boats, or those provided by the Crown, and resume their fishery from Ile Royale. For the Newfoundlander, therefore, there was little hesitation in choosing between removal or allegiance to King George I. Failure to follow the flag unequivocally meant the drying up of the economic source which of necessity had always been the mainstay of the French Newfoundland fishing trade. Thus with few exceptions, virtually the entire French population of Newfoundland removed to Ile Royale from 1713.¹¹

In Acadia, however, the situation was quite different. The province was much larger, numbering some 2500 persons in 1714. Furthermore, there existed certain essential difficulties which delayed and for the most part precluded a large-scale immigration of Acadians to the new French colony to the East. The Acadians were a group which for nearly a century of comparative isolation had been fashioning its own collective personality to the point that on Ile Royale they were frequently

notable degree of military ardour, or even aptitude.

¹¹ The most recent figures available are those of the census of 1711 which indicate a total settled population of 246 men, women and children, and 352 "matelots pecheurs", living in seven settlements, the most important of which was Plaisance ["Recensement de Plaisance, 1711, Oct. 27, 1711, AFO, G1 467-1 (PAC transcript)"/].

reckoned a distinct people. It is not surprising that the authorities, faced with these difficulties, and lacking realistic and clearcut directives from Versailles, were forced to improvise and to rely mainly on the expedients of their own judgement and the meagre resources at hand.

The single consideration which most fully and consistently created an obstacle to the removal of the Acadians was the nature of the soil on Ile Royale. In Acadia successive generations of settlers had extracted an easy and bountiful living from the reclaimed coastal marshes of the Bay of Fundy, a practice with which their forefathers had been familiar along the Bay of Biscay in France.¹² Ile Royale was barren by comparison to Acadia, though later New Englanders would speak of good farmland by New England standards.¹³ In the final instance, despite the efforts of the French to entice them to Ile Royale, and those of the English to induce them to remain in Acadia, the Acadians themselves were the deciding factor in depriving the new French colony of the valuable agricultural support it had counted on in 1713. The missionary Felix Pain, writing from Mines (now Minas), explained the problem to Governor Costebelle:

12 F. J. Monkhouse, A Regional Geography of Western Europe, London, Longmans, c1959, p. 334.

13 Pain to Costebelle, op. cit., fol. 227.

Ils ont de très bonnes terres qu'ils cultivent et qui sont d'un grand rapport pour les grains, environnés de quantité de prairies pour la subsistance de leurs bestiaux. C'est ce qui fait qu'ils ont bien de la peine à se résoudre aujourd'hui à quitter leurs biens, qu'ils ont fait avec beaucoup de peines et de sueurs.¹⁴

From the start in 1713 the Acadians were aloof and sceptical about the wisdom of sacrificing the easy and bountiful circumstances which had been won by successive generations amid much disappointment and armed strife. Following this initial rebuff the authorities at Versailles sought during the winter of 1713-1714 to find more concrete and specific inducements to offer the hesitant Acadians. The first ships from France in the spring of 1714 carried instructions ordering Port Dauphin to be reserved as a refuge for the immigrants, and praised the area as abounding in "de bonnes terres, les plus beaux bois du monde et même un peu de pesche. Ils ne peuvent pas craindre de manquer de paturages à cet endroit."¹⁵

It is true that the area held some promise of success in husbandry, and the Acadians, relenting but yet cunning and suspicious, sent observers to inspect the land before committing themselves, their families and the fruits of their labour to the irrevocable task of immigrating to Ile Royale.

¹⁴ Ibid., fol. 227v.

¹⁵ Pontchartrain to Durand, March 23, 1714, AN, Cols., B 36, fol. 445v.

These observers returned with the well-founded opinion that nowhere along the fog-bound and rocky coast of the colony did the land compare with what they had been accustomed to in the fertile tidal inlets of Acadia.¹⁶ This only added weight to the first opinions of the Acadians as recorded by Felix Pain. Governor Costebelle remarked gloomily:

Ils voudroient pouvoir se transplanter dans des campagnes où il n'y eut qu'à traîner la charue dedans, pour être assurés d'une abondante récolte. Voilà ce qu'ils ne sauraient trouver sur l'Ile Royale.¹⁷

This is by no means an overstatement of the Acadians' condition. In Acadia little effort beyond what Costebelle described was required of them.

Thus the immigration of the Acadians was at no time in the years following the Peace of Utrecht nearly so important as was hoped for by the French authorities. There was nevertheless a certain small movement of individual families, who in a variety of circumstances and for diverse reasons removed to Ile Royale between 1713 and 1734. By 1726 there were nearly 300 Acadians in the colony.¹⁸

In the years 1713, 1714 and 1715 there was much

¹⁶ "Mémoire du sieur Bourdon", (n. d.), AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 112-112v.

¹⁷ Costebelle to Council of the Marine, Sept. 9, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 131.

¹⁸ "Recensement général ...Ile Royale", 1726, AFO, G1 467, item 68.

suspicion and hesitation among the Acadians regarding immigration to Ile Royale. This, coupled with and attendant upon the broken promises and the indecisiveness of the colonial administration, added considerably to the growing pains of the colony. We have seen how the Acadians were first allotted the Port Dauphin area in 1714. Eight Acadians in fact were granted permission to settle there,¹⁹ but quickly changed their minds.

Then there was talk of settling about the large bay at Saint Pierre.²⁰ The same year, 1714, four Acadians, sailing through the passage de Fronsac (modern Strait of Canso) to Louisbourg, discovered the Magistégouac River, or the Petit Saint Pierre (modern River Inhabitants). The shores of this river seemingly offered some material consolation for the losses they would suffer upon leaving Nova Scotia.²¹ Arrangements were made to grant land near its mouth to approximately twenty-five Acadian families.²² Upon closer inspection, however, they decided against settling at the Petit

19 L'Hermitte, "Mémoire des habitants de l'Acadie qui sont venus voir les terres de l'Ile Royale", Aug. 25, 1714, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 104-105.

20 Sieur Bourdon, "Mémoire....", (n. d.), AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 112-112v.

21 L'Hermitte to Pontchartrain, Aug. 25, 1714, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 57-58.

22 Id., "Mémoire des habitants...", fol. 104-105.

Saint Pierre: "Ils ont trouvé de beaux bois, un assez beau pays mais point de pâturages et ne furent pas à propos de s'y établir."²³ De Soubras, the commissaire-ordonnateur at Ile Royale, confided to Pontchartrain, the Minister, that it seemed likely the Acadians, if indeed they would settle on Ile Royale at all, would be inclined to choose the vicinity of Saint Pierre (Saint Peter's), where the fishery was reputed to be good.²⁴

This the Acadians did in effect, and in the autumn of 1714 eight families had come to settle, seemingly intending to pursue the fishing trade.²⁵ Though fishing had been excellent there in 1714, the yield in 1715 was disappointing. It is not difficult, knowing the context, to suppose that those few Acadians who had come to Ile Royale would at the least rebuff by either nature or the authorities, seek to return to Acadia.

Thus in the summer of 1715, in an attempt to save the situation, Soubras supplied provisions to four Acadian families from Port Toulouse who agreed to attempt anew that autumn an agricultural settlement near the mouth of the Petit Saint Pierre River. The commissaire-ordonnateur hoped they

²³ Soubras to Pontchartrain, Oct. 27, 1714, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 87.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Costebelle to Pontchartrain, Oct. 26, 1714, AN,

would be impressed by the fruits of their own industry in an area which on Ile Royale had an unusually high reputation for fertility.²⁶

This venture seemed to work out favourably, for the following year Costebelle praised the experiment and used it as an inducement to revitalize the whole project of Acadian immigration:

...déterminer les habitans du Port Royale et des Mines à se transporter à l'Ile Royale pour faire l'essay des terres dela petite Rivière de Saint Pierre. Je ne doute que s'ils agissent de bonne foi dans cette découverte ils ne soient très satisfaits de leurs travaux.... Vous pouvez les assurer de ma part qu'ils seront bien reçus et que le Roy leur donnera tous les secours qu'ils pourront raisonnablement espérer.²⁷

A number of Acadian habitants did come to the new settlement, from both Port Toulouse and Acadia.²⁸ They were ministered supplies for one year, which largesse was renewed annually. However, the Acadians remained characteristically reluctant to break new ground. In 1715 when they arrived at

Cols., C11C 11, fol. 12v.

²⁶ Soubras to Council of the Marine, Sept. 21, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 173v; and Dec. 2, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 194v.

²⁷ Costebelle to Durand, Nov. 1, 1716, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 411-411v.

²⁸ Compare Costebelle to Council of the Marine, Sept. 9, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 131; Saint-Ovide to Id., Sept. 10, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 199; and "Recensement des habitans de l'acadie dans l'isle Royale", 1717, AFO, G1 467, item 57.

Petit Saint Pierre, they gravitated to the low-lying interval lands near the bank of the River. Unfortunately, this river, not diked as were the tidal rivers of Acadia, inundated the intervals in springtime. As the Acadians knew this, they refused in 1716 to sow their crops, and to show generally the other tangible signs of a permanent agricultural settlement.²⁹

Despite their inactivity they remained on the King's rations until the spring of 1717, for early that year there were twenty-eight or twenty-nine families benefiting from the generosity of the Crown.³⁰ By the spring Petit Saint Pierre was virtually abandoned and the Acadians who had settled there had either returned to Acadia or been absorbed into the Port Toulouse community.³¹ Thus the latter place was the only remaining settlement of Acadians on the Island.³² Before continuing to study the details of the development of this village, it would be well at this juncture to learn more of the background of the settlers who were to constitute the single permanent Acadian community which settled on Ile Royale after 1713.

²⁹ Costebelle to Council of the Marine, Feb. 26, 1717, AN, Cols., C11B 2, fol. 25v-26.

³⁰ "Recensement des habitants de l'Acadie ...auxquels il est fourni des vivres pour un an...", 1717, AFO, G1 467, item 57.

³¹ Beaucours to Council of the Marine, Nov. 19, 1717, AN, Cols., C11B 2, fol. 244v; "Ressensement ...du Port Toulouse", Nov. 1717, AFO, G1 467, item 58.

³² Cf. the various censuses of 1717, AFO, G1 467.

CHAPTER IV

THE ACADIAN SETTLERS OF ILE ROYALE

There were two distinct types of settlers from Acadia who migrated to Ile Royale after 1713: the military and official element of the old colony, and the habitant or peasant class. This chapter will discuss both.

Almost all of the military and official class of the former French colony were reassigned to Ile Royale following its establishment in 1713. Though this study is not concerned primarily with the latter group, they nevertheless constituted an integral part of the Acadian community of Ile Royale. In effect, the colonial officials who had been posted to Acadia had generally married Acadian girls culled from the colony's few leading families. Their sons, born in Acadia and destined in turn to receive preferment, and their daughters, groomed for fitting marriages in the colony, had in turn married into the official families. Throughout the history of Ile Royale, from 1713 to 1758, a considerable portion of the military and civilian personnel were the sons and grandsons of French officers and their Acadian spouses. Many soldiers, also, their service completed, chose to settle in Acadia and married girls of the habitant class.

The Acadian family which from the earliest times was most closely associated with the long series of tragic events

in Acadia was that of La Tour. The founder, Charles de Saint-Etienne de La Tour, had accompanied his father to Port Royal as a youth in 1610. At the time of his death in 1666 he was governor of the colony. La Tour had founded a large family, of which two sons entered the official service of the colony. The eldest was Jacques, whose daughter, Jeanne, came to Ile Royale as the young widow of the former surgeon of the Port Royal garrison. She took a house in Louisbourg and in 1716 married a lieutenant of the garrison.¹ There is extant an inventory of the belongings she brought from her previous union which attests to the modest circumstances of the military circle of French Acadia.²

Jeanne's brother, Charles, was born at the turn of the seventeenth century and later entered the service at Ile Royale. It would seem likely that La Tour retired from the service when in 1727 he married into a prosperous Louisbourg fishing family.³

A second son of the first Charles de La Tour, also named Charles, entered the service in Acadia in 1703,

1 "Registres du notariat, Ile Royale", Feb. 18, 1716, AFO, G3 2056 (1716), item lbis.

2 Ibid., Feb. 12, 1716, item 1.

3 Ibid., Sept. 3, 1727, AFO, G3 2058, item 17.

suffered wounds at the siege of Port Royal in 1710,⁴ and came to Ile Royale as a lieutenant in 1714. He was promoted in 1730 to a long-awaited captaincy, and died the following year at approximately sixty-five years of age.⁵ He had also served as the official government interpreter to the Indians on Ile Royale.⁶

The history of the de Gannes de Falaise family in Acadia dates from 1696 when the brothers Louis and François, both natives of Buxeuil, Poitou, served as officers in the Acadia garrison.⁷ They remained until the surrender of 1710, the former as major of the garrison, the latter as a captain. Both were reassigned to Ile Royale in 1714, but Louis died at La Rochelle that same year, and François served only one year before being transferred to Canada.

In 1700, Louis de Gannes had married Marguerite Le Neuf de la Vallière, his third wife. She was of a family which had first settled in New France in 1636. Her elder brother, Michel, served at Plaisance before he came to Ile Royale as a lieutenant in 1714. As a captain he eventually commanded

⁴ Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, Nov. 21, 1727, AN, Cols., C11B 9, fol. 74.

⁵ De Mezy to Maurepas, Aug. 28, 1731, AN, Cols., C11B 12, fol. 53-53v.

⁶ "[G]arrison de l'isle Royale", 1715, AN, Cols., D2C 47, fol. 296v.

⁷ March 1, 1696, AN, Cols., B 19, fol. 66v.

the detachment at Port Toulouse, from 1726.

De Gannes' first son, Michel, was born at Port Royal in 1702. He entered the service in 1717⁸ and served in Canada until his return to Louisbourg in 1725. A daughter, Marguerite, born in 1703, married a Louisbourg officer, the engineer de Couagne, who in 1715 had planned the site for the defensive works at Port Toulouse.⁹

In 1729, Michel de Gannes, then a lieutenant, faced a law suit initiated by the widow of one captain de la Salle. The lady alleged de Gannes "lui a ravit par séduction son honneur sous des promesses de mariage qu'il refuse d'exécuter," and the court record qualified the incident as "pas sa première faute de cette nature."¹⁰ In March 1729 the widow la Salle gave birth to a baby girl whom she named Michelle-Anne, in apparent deference to the child's father.¹¹ The event, however, seems to have occasioned no lasting embarrassment to de Gannes,

⁸ "Garnison de l'isle Royale", (no date), AN, Cols., D2C 47, fol. 338.

⁹ L. Lejeune, Dictionnaire général de biographie, histoire, littérature, agriculture, commerce, industrie et des arts, sciences, moeurs, coutumes, institutions politiques et religieuses du Canada, Ottawa, Université d'Ottawa, 1931, Article "Couagne", vol. I, p. 436.

¹⁰ "Registres des greffes du Conseil Supérieur, Louisbourg," 1729, AFO, G2 180, item 1.

¹¹ "Registres de l'Etat civil, Ile Royale", May 21, 1729, AFO, G1, 406.

who, despite the vivid objections raised by the unfortunate widow, married the daughter of a fellow-officer, de Catalogne, in 1730.¹² He was promoted to a captaincy that same year.¹³ He served in Ile Royale until his death in 1752, and he shares with three other contemporaries the honour of being buried beneath the chapel of the Château Saint-Louis in Louisbourg.

A third family which began service in Acadia and continued in Ile Royale was that of the Duponts, from Saintonge in France. They were three brothers who arrived in Acadia in 1702.¹⁴ The eldest, François Dupont Duvivier, a captain, married in 1705 Marie Mius d'Entremont,¹⁵ the sister-in-law of Governor de Costebelle. Three of his sons, all born in Acadia, served in Ile Royale throughout its brief period, each attaining the rank of captain.

The second brother was Michel Dupont de Renon de Saint-Pierre who served in Ile Royale as a captain after 1713.

¹² "Registres de l'etat civil, Ile Royale", Nov. 21, 1730, AFO, G1 406.

¹³ Lejeune, *op. cit.*, Article "Falaise, Michel de Gannes", Vol. 1, p. 611.

¹⁴ "Commission de capitaine d'une compagnie", Feb. 1, 1702, AN, Cols., B 23, fol. 106v.

¹⁵ "Registres de l'Etat civil, Acadie", Jan. 12, 1705, PANS, Ms. item 26.

He drowned in 1719,¹⁶ and in the period under study, none of his sons became prominent.

The third, Louis Dupont Duchambon, married in 1709 another daughter of the d'Entremont family. She later served for a time, after the death of Charles de la Tour II, as Indian interpreter for Ile Royale. Duchambon came to Ile Royale in 1714, was made a captain in 1720, and in 1744 he became the commanding officer at Louisbourg. After his unsuccessful defense of the fortress in 1745, he retired to his native Saintonge until his death. His many sons were prominent in the Ile Royale service after 1734, notably the ill-fated Duchambon de Vergor who, after serving at Ile Royale, was the commander of Beauséjour at the time of its surrender to the British in 1755. Later he was in command of a detachment at Anse aux Foulons where Wolfe's army swarmed ashore at Quebec in 1759.

In all, ten of the seventeen officers of the Acadia garrison of 1710 were appointed to Ile Royale when that colony was founded. Apart from those already mentioned —the elder La Tour, the two de Gannes, the three Duponts— there were the adjutant major de Pensens, the captain Louis Denys dela Ronde, the ensigns Eurry de la Perelle and Charles-Joseph d'Ailleboust d'Argenteuil, a great-grand-nephew of the third

¹⁶ "Registres du notariat, Ile Royale", Oct. 30, 1719, AFO, G3 2056 (1719), item 31.

governor of New France.¹⁷

Though not in Acadia at the surrender of Port Royal in 1710, Louis Simon le Poupet de la Boullarderie, captain, had served there from 1702 until his retirement from the service in 1709. He returned as early as 1713 to the new world, and founded a fishing company on Ile Royale, where he lived until his death in 1738.¹⁸

Two officers of the small civil establishment of Acadia later served in Ile Royale. One was Mathieu Degoutin who came to Acadia in 1683¹⁹ as the "lieutenant général en la justice de l'Acadie",²⁰ clerk of the Colonial Treasurers and keeper of the King's stores,²¹ Degoutin married Jeanne Thibodeau, an Acadian, and at the surrender of 1710 he returned to France with his family. Shortly after, he came to Ile Royale where he was employed as a scrivener.²² He died

17 Cf. AN, Cols., D2C 47, fol. 285, and fol. 296v.

18 A. Shortt, editor, Documents relatifs à la monnaie, au change et aux finances du Canada sous le régime français, Ottawa, Imprimeur du Roi, 1925, vol. 2, p. 161, note.

19 Lejeune, op. cit., Article "Des Goutins", vol. 1, p. 503.

20 AN, Cols., C11C 16, 2nd series, item 18; "Registres du notariat, Acadie", June 7, 1710, AFO, G3 2040, +25 feet [microfilm].

21 "Registres du notariat, Ile Royale", Nov. 19, 1750, AFO, G3 2047, 40 feet [microfilm].

22 De la Forest to Pontchartrain, Jan. 14, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 235.

on Christmas day, 1714,²³ leaving a widow and twelve children. Three of his daughters married Ile Royale officers. A fourth married the Contrôleur de la Marine, Sabatier, the highest-ranking civil official after the Commissaire-ordonnateur.²⁴

Degoutin's eldest son, François-Marie, was appointed to the Superior Council of Ile Royale and served as the clerk of the Colonial Treasurers. From 1723 he became seriously embroiled in misappropriation of the colony's monies, and was later discharged. He was held responsible for 40,000[#] for which he was unable to account during his administration.²⁵ An inventory of his property and chattels in 1735 indicated circumstances considerably reduced from what might have been expected of a gentleman of his official position.²⁶ This possibly suggests some attempt at redress was made, though there is no further evidence.

Jean-Christostome Loppinot had served in Acadia as notary and crown attorney until 1710. He had married Jeanne

²³ "Registres du notariat, Ile Royale", Sept. 12, 1715, AFO, G3 2056, item 26.

²⁴ Ibid., Nov. 19, 1750, AFO, G3 2047, 40 feet [microfilm].

²⁵ De Mezy to Maurepas, Dec. 24, 1731, AN, Cols., C11B, 12, fol. 98-100v.

²⁶ "Registres du notariat, Ile Royale", Sept. 28, 1735, AFO, G3 2041 continued, 45 feet [microfilm].

Doucet, an Acadian. After the siege of Port Royal in 1710, he returned to France where he was confined for a time to debtors' prison.²⁷ Later, however, he came to Ile Royale where he served a judge of the Admiralty court at Louisbourg. His son, born in Port Royal, entered the service as an ensign sometime before 1733, the year he married into the prominent Louisbourg fishing family of Bottier dit Berichon.

The transfer to Ile Royale was the normal course, and the only attractive one, open to the official establishments of both Acadia and Newfoundland. These members of the lower nobility of France and the colonies owed their station in life to service to the Crown.

The 2500 Acadian habitants, on the other hand, viewed the removal to Ile Royale in an altogether different perspective. Insofar as they were concerned the project fell far short of the expectations of the colonial authorities. Though scores of Acadians came to inspect Ile Royale, a mere trickle of inhabitants settled ultimately.

In all, sixty-six families of habitants have been identified positively as having settled in the colony between 1713 and 1734. The rate of this modest removal was not regular, but rather subject to the various contingencies outlined earlier in this study. These alternately delayed or facilitated

²⁷ Minutes of the Council of the Marine, April 13, 1717, AN, Cols., C11B 2, fol. 8.

the movement. Accordingly, it is possible, for the sake of convenience, to divide the sixty-six immigrant families into six groups, each of which immigrated consecutively and under different circumstances.²⁸

The first group numbered five families who formed part of the first settlement of Ile Royale in 1713. Four were soldiers whose wives were Acadians, while the fifth was the widow of a minor official of the Acadian colony.

The immigrants of the second group were among the large numbers who thronged to inspect conditions in the new colony in 1713 and 1714. They came to the Island on their own, fired by the optimistic ministerial directives which were relayed to them by their missionaries. Though in all several dozen Acadians had come initially, the families of only fourteen settled there permanently.

In September 1714 a third group of habitants accompanied Denys de la Ronde and de Pensens to Ile Royale on their return from their mission to Acadia. Though a total of twenty-four Acadians had shipped to Louisbourg with the French officers, only eight families became permanent settlers.

²⁸ The methods used at arriving at the calculations contained in this chapter involved relating the various censuses (of both Ile Royale, and Acadia to 1714), and those items of the official correspondence of Nova Scotia and Ile Royale which refer both to departures for the latter place, and to the eventual presence there of individual immigrant families.

Nineteen families made up the fourth group of immigrants. These came to Ile Royale between 1715 and 1719. Most of them arrived in 1715 and 1716 by reason of the energy of the Commissaire-ordonnateur Soubras in his attempt to found an agricultural settlement at the Petit Saint-Pierre River.

The arrival of Richard Philipps as the new governor of Nova Scotia was the prelude to the departure of a fifth group of Acadians. In April 1720 Philipps issued a proclamation the terms of which sought to regularize the relationship between the French inhabitants and their British masters. They were to take, finally, the oath of allegiance to King George I within four months, under pain of forced removal from the Province.

The Acadians had hitherto, since the Peace of Utrecht, refused the oath, seeking at all costs "to be excluded from the necessity of declaring themselves or being involved in international war."²⁹ The normal result was the strong doubt on the part of the English authorities as to whether the Acadians were willing to become "good subjects".

In the final instance, Philipps was unable to make the Acadians take the oath, and therefore was forced to withdraw the terms of the proclamation of 1720. Nine families nevertheless left Acadia and settled permanently on Ile

²⁹ J. B. Brebner, New England's Outpost, Acadia before the Conquest of Canada, New York, Columbia University Press, 1927, p. 69.

Royale.³⁰

The final group of immigrants, numbering eleven families, immigrated individually and at random between 1722 and 1734, attracted mainly by reports of prosperity on Ile Royale.

These sixty-six habitant families³¹ formed the nucleus of the Acadian community on Ile Royale which in 1726 totalled nearly 300 persons, clustered mainly about Port Toulouse. In a study of Acadian settlement on Ile Royale, the first concern ought to be to determine why, while nearly five hundred families refused to leave their homeland, sixty-six found it advantageous to settle on Ile Royale.

The French authorities hinged their appeal in the terms of the religious and patriotic sentiments of the French population of Acadia.³² Though the Acadians in 1713 were deeply attached to Catholicism as their spiritual guide and to the French King as their sovereign, the colonial authorities, especially in France, had lost touch with the Acadian reality. From the second quarter of the seventeenth century the development of Acadia had taken on an increasingly local colouring, as a result of the virtual abandonment of the colony on the part of the mother country. The local flavour and the slow pace

³⁰ Saint-Ovide to Council of the Marine, Nov. 28, 1721, AN, Cols., C11B 6, fol. 8.

³¹ Cf. Appendices 1 and 2, for more ample details on all sixty-six families.

³² Q. v. Pontchartrain to Gaulin, March 29, 1713, AN,

of Acadian development had nurtured with time an indifference towards the presence of the normal instruments of colonial law and order. This collective feeling had at least some effect in favouring the expansion after 1670 of the new settlements of Mines, Piziquid, Cobequid and Beaubassin, which tended to "become separate and independant of the older settlement [Port Royal, the seat of government] and [where] they [the Acadians] paid small attention to the government."³³

When Acadia became the possession of Protestant England in 1713, the French authorities suddenly became aware of the importance of the province in the contest for North America. They counted largely on the religious and patriotic feeling of the French and Catholic Acadians to stimulate their removal to Ile Royale, "se jeter parmi les peuples de leur nation."³⁴

It cannot be denied that religion and patriotism remained strong factors in attracting the attention of the Acadians to Ile Royale, even in effecting a considerable movement in that direction. Large numbers came in the early years to inspect conditions.³⁵ Among these, many Acadians effectively

Cols., B 35, fol. 260v.

33 Brebner, op. cit., p. 47.

34 Costebelle to Pontchartrain, July 9, 1713, AN, Cols., C11C 7, fol. 202v.

35 L'Hermitte to Pontchartrain, Aug. 25, 1714, AN,

attempted a settlement or at least lived for a time in the new colony, inspired and drawn by the directives which the Ministry of the Marine sent to their missionaries.³⁶ However, finding few material amenities with which to supplement their attachment to their King and their faith, most of them returned to Acadia.³⁷ They reasoned that were it not for the cattle and grain which they would send to Ile Royale, the French colony would indeed suffer serious and regular shortages. In addition the Acadians felt they were more useful to the French interest where they could refuse to victual the English garrison, and to be hired to repair the fortifications of Annapolis Royal.

Thus, whatever the form and degree patriotism might assume, the question the Acadians invariably had to consider was whether on Ile Royale they could insure for themselves and their families a livelihood which included amenities comparable to those they would be required to sacrifice in Nova Scotia. Accordingly, economic considerations ultimately determined all save sixty-six families to remain stoically on their properties in Acadia.

Cols., C11B 1, fol. 104-105.

³⁶ Pontchartrain to Gaulin, March 29, 1713, AN, Cols., B 35, fol. 259v-261.

³⁷ Caulfield to Lords of Trade, PRO, CO 217 2, fol. 68-68v. Unfortunately, the Acadians themselves seem to have left no testimony, and their reasoning can only be surmised

There was also a geographic factor which, though not necessarily essential, certainly hastened the removal of many families, and reinforced their resolution to live on Ile Royale. The rate of removal was markedly greater in the Annapolis Royal area, which, though it counted only twenty-seven per cent of the population of Acadia, nonetheless accounted for sixty-nine per cent of the fifty-eight immigrant families whose place of residence has been traced.³⁸ Here the Acadians, close to the British garrison, felt more strongly the effects of foreign conquest and occupation, notably the measures taken occasionally to subject them to the new authority.³⁹

The greater the distance from the administrative capital, the more secure the Acadians felt. Even as close as Mines, an area which in 1714 contained thirty-five per cent of the total French population, "all the orders sent to them are scoffed and laughed at as they put themselves upon

through the correspondence of their missionaries especially, and also of the officials of both Nova Scotia and Ile Royale.

³⁸ "Recensements des habitants [de l'Acadie]", Oct. 15, 1714, AFO, G1 466, no. 1, p. 232-245 [PAC transcript]; "Recensement de... Beaubassin", AFO, G1 466, no. 1, p. 246-253 [PAC transcript]. Though the primary sources frequently indicate places of birth, the information compiled by Bona Arsenault, Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens, Québec, Vie Française, 1965, 2 vols., and, especially, Geneviève Massignon, Les parlers français d'Acadie: enquête linguistique, Paris, Klincksieck, (n19625c), 2 vols., has been used to supplement my findings. The latter work is particularly worthy of note in this instance.

³⁹ "Copie des mémoires du sieur De la Fosse", Nov.

the footing of obeying no government,"⁴⁰ Only nine, or fifteen per cent, of the fifty-eight immigrant families whose places of residence have been ascertained were from Mines. Another nine families were from the rest of the province, which comprised thirty-eight per cent of the population.

The economic factors which governed the scheme made immigration especially unattractive to those Acadians whose livelihood was based on agriculture. This of course was traditionally the occupation of the majority of Acadians in all regions of the province, and continued to be after the colony fell to British arms in 1710. Though a number of immigrants had been farmers in Acadia before 1713, virtually all transferred their efforts on Ile Royale to some more lucrative undertaking, more in keeping with the different economic prospects of the new colony.

Most of the immigrants, however, had belonged in Acadia to a minority among the predominantly agricultural Acadians. Their first means of livelihood, as opposed to that of the majority, had been coasting, one of the building trades, even fishing, though all farmed to a certain extent. Of the sixty-six Acadians who, with their families, immigrated to Ile Royale during the period under study, four were

11, 1714, AFO, DFC, Amérique Septentrionale 1, item 30.

⁴⁰ Mascarene, "Description of Nova Scotia", [1720], PRO, CO 217 3, fol. 190v.

fishermen, eleven were coasters and one was a merchant. Eight were engaged in the building trades, four in various other trades, while eleven were described as combining the skills of the former with coasting. There were also two who became farmers, at least for a time, and this strangely enough, only once they settled on Ile Royale.

Apart from these, many Acadians were attracted to Ile Royale by the prospect of the free supplies which the Crown promised the immigrants. Five widows came with their families, and it may be assumed that in Acadia they had been sorely burdened and were anxious to insure their economic betterment in this fashion. There were also several widowed officers' wives who on Ile Royale were able to survive thanks to the generosity of the Crown.

There is also frequent reference throughout the official correspondence between Louisbourg and Versailles to the large number of immigrants who "à l'exemple des sauvages, ne restent que pour y trouver une oisive subsistance."⁴¹ They settled in the manner of the flotsam of every frontier:

...de vrais vagabonds et paresseux, depuis pres de deux ans qu'ils sont icy, ils nont sceu remuer ni defricher un pouce de terre pas même de quoy faire un jardin. Cependant ils leur est fourny des vivres du magasin pour leur subsistance. Cette douceur les engagera toujours à ne rien valoir....⁴²

⁴¹ Saint-Ovide and Soubras to Council of the Marine, Nov. 13, 1717, AN, Cols., C11B 2, fol. 128v-129.

⁴² "Recensement des habitants Accadiens", 1717,

Among the immigrants were fifteen whose occupations cannot be traced in any of the records used for this study. These presumably were among those criticized by the Ile Royale authorities. The fact that they remained in the colony, thus achieving some degree of permanence, suggests they eventually found some gainful employ, or else conditioned themselves to the antipathy of the authorities as long as the supplies were meted out.

In the main the immigrants were young. Of the fifty whose ages have been ascertained at the time of their removal to Ile Royale,⁴³ nearly one third were in their twenties, nearly two fifths in their thirties, and nearly one third were over forty. The latter undoubtedly included many who regarded the free rations of the Crown somewhat as social security.

In a study of the Acadian community of Ile Royale after 1713, the critical testimony of the French authorities cannot always be interpreted literally. A careful examination of all the sources — in particular the censuses of Ile Royale from 1724 to 1734 and the accounts paid by the Crown

AFO, G1 467, item 58.

⁴³ Here again I have drawn upon the findings of G. Massignon, *op. cit.*, and B. Arsenault, *op. cit.*, to supplement the occasional references to the immigrants' ages contained in the documentary sources. Though Arsenault's work is frequently in error, I have tried to collate his information with Miss Massignon's and my own.

to enterprising Acadians — reveals that the immigrants were for the most part diligent and skilled beyond the average in Acadia.

The reasons for the unfavourable official appraisal arose from the Crown's disappointment that so few came, and among them virtually no farmers. The sixty-six families who did immigrate, however, turned out to be skilled in various trades which for a time allowed many to earn prosperous livelihoods on Ile Royale.

The literacy rate of the Acadian community, as revealed in the documentary sources, is comparable to that of Annapolis Royal in 1715. Of twenty-two immigrants who had occasion throughout the period to figure in signed documents, twelve affixed crosses, while ten signed their names, for a literacy rate of 45.5%. In a document of 1715,⁴⁴ thirty-six Acadians from Annapolis Royal figured, twenty of whom affixed the characteristic crosses, for a literacy rate of 44.4%.

Before going on to study in detail the occupations and activities of the Acadians, it is necessary to render an account of their physical setting in Ile Royale. The majority of the sixty-six families settled in the vicinity of Port Toulouse. There exists a close relationship between the varying fortunes of this community, and the eventual failure of what little the French were able to salvage of Acadia from the Iles

⁴⁴ Collection de documents inédits sur le Canada et l'Amérique, vol. 1, Québec, Demers, 1888, p. 110.

even what little the French were able to salvage of the great project of Acadian immigration to Ile Royale.

CHAPTER V

THE SETTLEMENT OF PORT TOULOUSE

Despite the widespread opinion that the physical characteristics of Ile Royale had little to recommend themselves to the predominantly agricultural Acadians, sixty-six families did find it advantageous to settle in the new French colony. After multiple peregrinations in search of the most viable habitat, they chose to settle in the area about the Bay of Saint-Pierre, at the south-east corner of Ile Royale. Soubras, the commissaire-ordonnateur, reported as early as 1714 that this was "le seul endroit de l'île pour lequel ils eussent du gout."¹

The entrance to the Bay of Saint-Pierre was a difficult one. A very narrow channel meandered its way between tricky sandbars to the entrance of the harbour of Toulouse, situated on the east side of the Bay. In the 1720's half of the entrance of Port Toulouse was — and is to this day — closed off by a sand-bar, making the channel but a hundred feet in width.² The harbour was lauded as a safe refuge for fishing craft and other vessels up to 150 tonneaux, provided the channel were well mapped.

¹ Soubras to Pontchartrain, Oct. 27, 1714, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 88v.

² "Mémoire sur l'Ile Royale", 1713, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 13. Cf. also Appendix 3.

Prior to the arrival of the first Acadians, the Saint-Pierre area had been a meeting-place for the Indians of the Island. In the spring or summer of 1714 an itinerant Acadian observed "four wigwams of Indians."³ Even after Port Toulouse had been settled, the Indians continued to come to hunt and to receive their annual gifts from the French Crown.⁴

The first settlement of Acadians at Port Toulouse occurred in the autumn of 1714. Concerning this choice of location a good deal was written officially to accelerate the Acadian removal, and bring the Acadians and the Ile Royale authorities closer to the ideal set by the Ministry of the Marine for the colony. Soubras wrote in 1714 of "un fort bel endroit de belles terres, un port parfaitement bien fermé... la pêche y est plus abondante qu'en aucun autre endroit de l'isle".⁵ Another survey praised the area for its abundance of building materials: "Des pierres pour maçonner, de la

³ "A Declaration and Journal of Peter Arsenault", Sept. 24, 1714, PRO, CO 217 2, fol. 12-13. Though this document dates from September, the journey must have been made one or several months earlier, before the first Acadian immigrants arrived to settle at Port Toulouse in the autumn. Otherwise the author would surely have noted the presence of his compatriots, as he did the Indians.

⁴ Saint-Ovide to Council of the Marine, Nov. 26, 1721, AN, Cols., C11B 6, fol. 10v; Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, Nov. 3, 1728, AN, Cols., C11B 10, fol. 69v.

⁵ Soubras to Pontchartrain, Oct. 27, 1714, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 88.

terre pour faire de la brique, de l'ardoise."⁶ L'Hermitte, the colony's first engineer, made an excellent detailed report in 1716. He described, somewhat more objectively, the territory of Port Toulouse as:

Terres... très bonnes tout autour du hâvre,
 ...de la roche mais peu, ...de fort belles herbes,
 ...bois pas beaux, guerre que du bois à brûler,
 ...la pêche trop loin pour des chaloupes.⁷

The first Acadians who settled at Port Toulouse were among the numbers who thronged to inspect conditions in the new colony in the summer of 1714. Though several dozens had come to Ile Royale, only eight families were reported settled at Port Toulouse the following January.⁸ The majority, after a cursory inspection, had hastily returned home. In 1715 many more Acadians came to inspect the colony, but only a mere half dozen or less settled.⁹ Meanwhile there began also about this time a small movement of fishermen — mostly Basques — to Port Toulouse, where the fishery was reported

6 "Remarques sur les avantages des trois postes qui se peuvent fortifier dans l'Ile Royale", 1716, AN, Cols., F3 50, fol. 41v-42.

7 "Mémoire sur l'Ile Royale", Dec. 1716, AFO, DFC, Amérique Septentrionale 1, item 134.

8 De la Forest to Pontchartrain, Jan. 14, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 236v.

9 Costebelle to Council of the Marine, Sept. 9, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 130v-131; Saint-Ovide to Council of the Marine, Sept. 10, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 199.

to be of high yield.¹⁰

The colonial officials remained dismayed. To them, striving since 1713 to encourage the removal of 2500 Acadians to Ile Royale, fourteen or fifteen settled families by September 1715 constituted slight progress and a considerable lack of collective gratitude on the part of the French subjects in Nova Scotia.

The explanation, however, was not exclusively a matter of gratitude. The predominant factor was, of course, the poor agricultural prospects of Ile Royale. Then there was the fishery which, though it had apparently yielded well in 1714, had failed in 1715.¹¹ Furthermore, a number of Acadians experienced difficulties in being paid for services rendered on behalf of the Crown, some of which had been in arrears since the siege of Port Royal in 1710.¹² These difficulties, coupled with those that hindered from the outset the actual removal from Nova Scotia, closely affected the livelihood of the Acadians concerned, which, as indicated in the preceeding chapter, was likely in most cases to outweigh gratitude inspired by patriotism. Moreover, reports of such adversity on

¹⁰ Minutes of the Council of the Marine, Feb. 25, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 244v.

¹¹ Soubras to De Pensens, Aug. 3, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 168c.

¹² "Mémoire concernant les habitants de l'Acadie", 1717, AN, Cols., C11D 8, fol. 41v; Council of the Marine to Soubras, June 26, 1717, AN, Cols., B 39, fol. 285v.

Ile Royale were carried back to every Acadian village, where their implications were undoubtedly exaggerated.

The Acadians who may have been expected to consider immigration to Ile Royale could not but be wary of such adventure. Some of those who had come to Port Toulouse in 1714 had already in the spring of 1715 returned to Acadia. Others were threatening to return, or to try their luck on Ile Saint-Jean (now Prince Edward Island).

In an attempt to stay the tide of discontent, the authorities at Versailles determined that the protection of the Crown should make itself more forcefully felt among the Acadians. They had hoped to convince them in this way that the government was anxious to go to considerable expense and effort to insure their well-being. Accordingly, along with regularizing the distribution of supplies to new immigrants, it was decided, following an appeal by Soubras in October 1714, that fortified works should be built and a detachment of troops posted permanently at Port Toulouse.¹³ This new policy was implemented notably by Soubras who consistently showed rare clear-sightedness in dealing with the Acadian question.¹⁴

¹³ Minutes of the Council of the Marine, Feb. 25, 1715, AN, Cols., Cl1B 1, fol. 241-246v.

¹⁴ Cf. notably Minutes of the Council of the Marine, Nov. 28, 1716, AN, Marine, B1 19, fol. 462v-465.

De Pensens was appointed the commander at Port Toulouse. He arrived at his station on August 9, 1715. The site for the defensive works was cleared, and a storehouse and barracks were built to accomodate a detachment of fifty men.¹⁵ Such buildings as these were wholly unrefined, uncomfortable and unhygienic. Essentially they consisted of vertical timbering planted in the ground, a floor of dirt, and a roof of tree bark.¹⁶ Though intended to be temporary, it would appear, on the whole, that throughout the brief history of Ile Royale such buildings as these remained typical.¹⁷ The inhabitants did not evolve a form of building which would stand the rigours of climate and yet was feasible in cost.

In late September, Soubras wrote excitedly to his superiors at Versailles — somewhat prematurely as it turned out —: "J'ay connu par ce que m'ont dit des habitants le plaisir que leur faisoit l'attention qu'à la cour à ce poste".¹⁸ The following year, July 1716, Pierre Morpain, the captain of the port of Louisbourg,¹⁹ conducted official

¹⁵ Soubras to Council of the Marine, Sept. 21 and Oct. 20, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 174v and 181.

¹⁶ Minutes of the Council of the Marine, 1716, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 204v.

¹⁷ This is best illustrated in AFO, G3, "Greffes du notariat, Ile Royale", containing many descriptions of buildings in documents pertaining to land transactions.

¹⁸ Soubras to Council of the Marine, Sept. 21, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 174v.

¹⁹ Pierre Morpain was a native of south-western

soundings of the harbour, for the convenience especially of the increasing coasting traffic in and out of Port Toulouse.²⁰

The appeal to fidelity to Faith and King in 1714, the promise of rigging, foodstuffs and implements in 1715, the provision of a fort and garrison among them, and soundings of the harbour, did little to deter the Acadians. They remained preoccupied with their more tangible hope: continuing a mode of life to which they had become deeply attached, and which the majority understood could not be had on Ile Royale.

There had been, between 1715 and 1717, the brief agricultural experiment at the Petit Saint-Pierre River. Only when the authorities could guarantee a comparably successful livelihood on Ile Royale would there be the chance of some positive reaction on the part of the Acadians. When this assurance failed, as it did at Petit Saint-Pierre, no other means could induce the Acadians to leave their homeland

France who, during the War of the Spanish Succession, became a filibusterer of some considerable notoriety along the coasts of Acadia. In 1709 he married the daughter of the seigneur of Jemsec (now Jemseg, N. B.), Louis d'Amours de Chauffour [Registres de l'état civil, Port Royal," Aug. 13, 1709, PANS, Ms. item 267]. He later served served as port captain for Ile Royale, a post which he held until the capitulation of Louisbourg in 1745. In the latter years he taught navigation to the youth of the colony [Duquesnel and Bigot to Maurepas, Nov. 4, 1743, AN, Cols., Cl1B 25, fol. 25-267].

20 [Certificate for Morpain], July 26, 1716, AN, Cols., Cl1B 1, fol. 383. This survey was repeated in 1723 by the engineer Boucher, whose valuable chart is reproduced in Appendix 3.

save coercion or expulsion by their masters, the British.

Accordingly, by November 1717, from fourteen or fifteen families in 1715, the number of Acadians at Port Toulouse had risen to only eighteen families.²¹ Three years later there were only fifteen families of Acadians.²²

From 1720 to 1724, however, the total number of Acadians nearly doubled, to thirty-eight families.²³ The reasons for this were twofold: the strong measures attempted by Governor Philipps in Nova Scotia accounted for most of the new immigrants, and at the same time adverse conditions on Ile Saint-Jean drove most of the Acadians settled there away from that island, some of whom came to Port Toulouse.²⁴ The trickle continued beyond 1724, to the peak year of 1726 when there were forty-five Acadian families in the settlement.²⁵

Port Toulouse from 1715 had gradually grown into a fairly well-organized community disposing of the more essential services. In 1715 the Recollect Jean de Capistran, of

21 "Ressensement des habitans ...residans au Port Toulouse," [Nov.] 1717, AFO, G1 467, item 58.

22 "Recensement des habitants à l'Ile Royale," 1720, AFO, G1 467, item 62.

23 "Recensement général des habitants établis à l'isle Royale," Nov. 20, 1724, AFO, G1 467, item 68.

24 De Mezy to Maurepas, Nov. 27, 1724, AN, Cols., C11B 7, fol. 68.

25 "Recensement général des habitants établis à l'isle Royale," 1726, AFO, G1 467, item 68.

the Paris province of the Order, was appointed chaplain to the garrison and curé of the parish.²⁶ He remained at this station until 1731,²⁷ when the Recollects of the province of Brittany assumed responsibilities for all the pastoral charges of Ile Royale.²⁸ The first chapel at Port Toulouse was a house Soubras had built for himself. In 1716 he loaned it to the Recollects until the permanent buildings could be erected on the site reserved for that purpose. In 1723 it was agreed that the Acadians were too poor to be expected to meet the cost of construction of a church at Port Toulouse.²⁹ It would seem, however, that one was built at government expense sometime after 1733, for there is a record of a shipment of pine board having been delivered for the church in that year.³⁰

In 1716 or 1717 a house belonging to one Roger was made available for a hospital to be run by the Brothers of Charity, who administered the Louisbourg institution.³¹ This

26 De la Marche to Council of the Marine, March 2, 1717, AN, Cols., Cl1B 2, fol. 30v.

27 A. A. Johnston, A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, vol. 1, 1611-1827, Antigonish, Saint Francis Xavier University Press, 1960, p. 60.

28 April 1732, AN, Cols., B 56, fol. 33.

29 Saint-Ovide and De Mezy to Council of the Marine, Dec. 29, 1723, AN, Cols., Cl1B 6, fol. 161v.

30 "Recette-dépense, 1733," Oct. 28, 1734, AN, Cols., Cl1C 11, fol. 81.

31 Louis XV to Costebelle and Soubras, June 1717, AN, Cols., B 39, fol. 292v-293.

project did not materialize, for the annual rolls relating to Crown expenditures do not ever mention a hospital at Port Toulouse. Furthermore, the Ile Royale authorities were by this time familiar with the Acadians' aversion to the restrictions of any form of taxation, and so they abandoned any design to levy the traditional quintal of cod per fishing vessel, as had been done formerly at Plaisance, and after 1713 at Louisbourg.³² The garrison, however, maintained a surgeon, one Leroux for the period under study. Some years later, the commissaire-ordonnateur Bigot deplored the quality of the surgeons in the outports, whom he described as ignorant scarcely knowing how to read.³³

It was originally projected, to expedite the keeping of civil order in the colony, to divide Ile Royale into three local regions surrounding Louisbourg, Port Dauphin and Port Toulouse. Each region, or government, was to have the essentials of separate local administrations, rigidly responsible to the commissaire-ordonnateur at Louisbourg. There were to be local courts for minor civil suits, with the right of appeal to the Superior Council of the Colony, and a resident sub-delegate of the commissaire-ordonnateur to oversee the

³² Minutes of the Council of the Marine, March 14, 1716, AN, Colonies, C11B 1, fol. 318v.

³³ Bigot to Maurepas, Oct. 12, 1742, AN, Cols., C11B 24, fol. 140-141v.

administration of justice, maintain general order and manage the Crown's monies and supplies.

The development of Port Toulouse, however, did not fulfill the hopes of the colonial authorities, and in 1718 it was decided that the station did not require a resident civil establishment.³⁴ Thereafter the commissaire-ordonnateur delegated temporarily a scrivener or other minor official from his bureau in Louisbourg to perform such assorted duties as the taking of the census and inspection of general progress, the annual distribution of munitions and supplies to the detachments of troops at Port Dauphin and Port Toulouse, and finally the hearing of petty civil disputes.³⁵

Early surveys of the Port Toulouse area had revealed that building stone, slate and brick clay abounded. There is no further documentary evidence that building stone was quarried or used in the area during the period under study. There are two subsequent references to slate, the first in 1716 when Governor Costebelle wrote that the mine was located two lieues³⁶ east of Port Toulouse (that is, Lardoise, Richmond

³⁴ Saint-Ovide and Soubras to Council of the Marine, Oct. 19, 1718, AN, Cols., Cl1B 3, fol. 102.

³⁵ "Mémoire .../du/ sieur de la Forest," 1723, AN, Cols., Cl1B 6, fol. 354-354v; De Mezy to Maurepas, Nov. 15, 1724, AN, Cols., Cl1B 7, fol. 46-47v; "Recensement général ...Ile Royale," Nov. 20, 1724, AFO, G1 467, item 67; Lenormant to Maurepas, Nov. 5, 1738, AN, Cols., Cl1B 20, fol. 146-152v.

³⁶ Or approximately five and a half miles.

Co.), and that he intended presently to test its quality.³⁷ The following year Soubras wrote that he had hired two mason-roofers to explore the site. He reiterated the opinion that the slate was of good quality.³⁸ There is no further evidence, however, to suggest that it was suitable for building purposes, or, indeed, that native slate was ever used in the colony.

The first mention of a brick kiln was made by Governor Costebelle in 1714. He praised the inexhaustible supply of proper clay abounding a quarter of a lieue west of Port Toulouse (now Brickery Point, near Saint Peter's). To ease the shortage of building stone on Ile Royale, he suggested a kiln be built and the bricks used for the government works, especially at Louisbourg. The authorities concurred and the order was given to hire brick makers from the Rochefort area.³⁹

Two years later, work was just getting underway on the site.⁴⁰ The troops garrisoned at Port Toulouse built the

³⁷ Costebelle to Council of the Marine, Oct. 26, 1716, AN, Cols., Cl1B 1, fol. 409v.

³⁸ Soubras to Council of the Marine, Dec. 1, 1717, AN, Cols., Cl1B 2, fol. 147v-148.

³⁹ Costebelle to Pontchartrain, Oct. 26, 1714, AN, Cols., Cl1C 11, fol. 13.

⁴⁰ Costebelle to Council of the Marine, Oct. 8, 1716, AN, Cols., Cl1B 1, fol. 406.

kiln and the adjacent storehouse, and, once in production, continued to provide the work force for the industry.⁴¹ In 1721 there were fifteen soldiers posted at the kiln.⁴² Brick-making thrived well apparently for eight years with most of the product being employed in the government works at Louisbourg. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the brick was of inferior quality, unable to resist the effects of the salty air of the east coast of Ile Royale. For the Royal Treasury, however, the prospect of native building materials to offset in part the high cost of transporting good quality materials from France was impressive enough to warrant continued support of the industry, notwithstanding the costly annual repairs to the crumbling brick.⁴³

When, early in 1723, the brick-making complex burnt, the engineer Boucher was hastily dispatched to Port Toulouse to rebuild the kilns, despite the impending scarcity of the clay and the inferior quality of the product.⁴⁴ By May the kiln was operating once again, at an expanded rate of

⁴¹ Saint-Ovide and Sotbras to Council of the Marine, Oct. 19, 1718, AN, Cols., C11B 3, fol. 102.

⁴² Minutes of the Council of the Marine, March 24, 1721, AN, Cols., C11C 15, item 177.

⁴³ Cf. Ganet to Maurepas, Nov. 10, 1725, AN, Cols., C11B 7, fol. 342-347.

⁴⁴ Verville to Council of the Marine, 9 May, 1723, AN, Cols., C11B 6, fol. 148.

production and with an increased number of workers.⁴⁵

The brick-making industry was abruptly interrupted in 1725. François Ganet, the new contractor for the government works, bluntly advised the Minister he was no longer using local bricks because they were too small and of very poor quality.⁴⁶ From this moment Ile Royale received its consignments of brick from New England.

The fortified works of Port Toulouse, however simple, were forced to be delayed because of the importance attached to placing Louisbourg on a strong defensive footing. In 1715 it had been agreed that as soon as priorities allowed, modest works should be erected to protect Port Toulouse, particularly the fishery and the coasting trade, from the effects of British pillaging.

By 1717, however, developments remained in the planning stages.⁴⁷ By this time the effort and expense the Crown had been prepared to make in 1715 to win the favour of the Acadians were no longer a part of official policy as a result of their refusal to immigrate in sufficiently impressive numbers. Accordingly, the official presence of the Crown was withdrawn

⁴⁵ Boucher to Council of the Marine, Nov. 1, 1723, AN, Cols., C11B 6, fol. 320-323v.

⁴⁶ Ganet to Maurepas, Nov. 10, 1725, AN, Cols., C11B 7, fol. 342-347.

⁴⁷ Costebelle to Council of the Marine, Oct. 26, 1716, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 409v.

gradually from Port Toulouse, with implications seriously affecting the fortunes of what little could be salvaged from the project of Acadian immigration to Ile Royale.

First the small civil establishment for local affairs was recalled in 1718. Then the detachment of troops was reduced, though some defensive precautions remained necessary.⁴⁸ In 1725 bricks from the Port Toulouse kilns ceased to be used on the Louisbourg fortifications. The decline of the settlement was such that by the late 1720's Port Toulouse was abandoned to the mercy of a circle of covetous military officers whose presence heralded the virtual eclipse of the 1730's.

Though in 1726 the Acadian population of Port Toulouse was at its peak — forty-five families —, in the years following, the population steadily decreased until, in desperation, the remnant⁴⁹ addressed an acrid petition to the

⁴⁸ Saint-Ovide and Soubras to Council of the Marine, Oct. 19, 1718, AN, Cols., Cl1B 3, fol. 102. Some defense was necessary because of the relatively high concentration of population in the area, and because of the proximity to the Nova Scotia coast, particularly the British base at Canso, whence had come the occasional incursions of pillagers. Also, Port Toulouse remained throughout the period a tempting clearing-house for contraband traders from New England.

⁴⁹ "...foible reste de cette paroisse qui tend à sa fin, nous nous jettons avec nos pauvres familles, dont la vie n'est qu'un tissu de misère aux pieds de votre justice" (The Acadians of Port Toulouse to Maurepas, Oct. 1, 1730, AN, Cols., Cl1B 11, fol. 223).

Minister of the Marine. In it the Acadians complained bitterly of the selfish encroachments by the commandant, de la Vallière,⁵⁰ and his subalterns, into the most sacred areas of private enterprise:

Mrs. les officiers embrasse tous le commerce de quelques espèces qu'il soit, affirmed the petition, même jusqu'a gabôter du bois à brusler, qu'ils débittent tous les jours à notre grand préjudice, et avec un profit considérable puisqu'il ne leur coûtent ordinairement de leurs soldats qu'un pot d'eau de vie la corde. Ce sont les batiments de ces Mrs. qui charies la pierre, la chaux, et les autres matériaux nécessaires, pour la construction des forts de Sa Mté., pendant que nous sommes contraints de rendre nos batteaux à vil prix, pour évitter la douller [sic pro "douleur"]⁵¹ de les voir pourrir à la coste faute d'occupation.

The document goes on to complain that the military, not content with monopolizing the carrying trade, even became upset when it learned of Acadians engaging in the meagre Indian trade of the area. Moreover, it was common knowledge that New England merchantmen could always count on unloading entire cargoes — whether permitted goods or contraband — at the government storehouse at Port Toulouse.

⁵⁰ Michel dela Vallière was the son of Michel Le Neuf de la Vallière, first Seigneur of Beaubassin and Governor of Acadia from 1678 to 1684. The former was born in Canada in 1677, and served in the garrison of Plaisance and Ile Royale. As a captain in 1727, he replaced de Pensens as the commandant at Port Toulouse (Cf. Lejeune, Dictionnaire, Article "La Vallière", and De Mezy to Maurepas, Nov. 26, 1727, AN, Cols., C11B 9, fol. 106v).

⁵¹ The Acadians of Port Toulouse to Maurepas, Oct. 1, 1730, AN, Cols., C11B 11, fol. 223.

Though most Acadians in Ile Royale were adept at carpentry, the soldiers did all government building and repair work in the area "pendant que nous demeurons les bras croisés".⁵² In payment the soldiers were awarded credits at the officers' canteen, which, of course, affected those Acadians who earned their livelihood from the sale of spirits. The long list of accusations goes on to record the complaint that the officers prohibited the Acadians even cutting hay for their livestock in the Port Toulouse area.⁵³

It is difficult to assess the exact historical value of the Acadians' petition of 1730. It would appear likely, as Maurepas himself assumed,⁵⁴ that the language of the petitioners⁵⁵ was exaggerated the better to achieve their purpose. It is also likely, on the other hand, that, essentially, the petition was based on real grievances, not to be entirely ascribed to the traditional reluctance of the Acadians to be pressured by the presence in their midst of even the most paternal and docile administration. The least that

⁵² Ibid., fol. 222v.

⁵³ Ibid., fol. 222-222v.

⁵⁴ Maurepas to Saint-Ovide, July 10, 1731, AN, Cols., B 55, fol. 572-573.

⁵⁵ Or, what is more likely, of their missionary, as de Saint-Ovide contended (Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, Nov. 24, 1731, AN, Cols., C11B 12, fol. 27v), and with which contention I concur, given the acceptably logical sequence of ideas and the quality of style.

could be said of the situation in Port Toulouse in 1730 is that "les Acadiens qui y sont n'ont pas confiance en La Vallière alors il faut le remplacer."⁵⁶

By way of further explanation, the financial difficulties under which the French officers laboured in the colonies need only be conjectured. Their salaries were wretchedly low: 1080[#] for a captain, 720[#] for a lieutenant, 480[#] for an ensign. On the other hand, prices for commodities were extremely high in Ile Royale, where the most ordinary requirements were imported, usually from France. In 1729, for instance, bread cost between three and five sols, fresh beef, between eight and ten, butter, between six and fourteen, wine between eighty and 120[#] per barrigue, and firewood, between fifteen and twenty livres per cord.⁵⁷

Compared to the salaries of the military and civil officers, the earnings of diligent coasters on Ile Royale show to what extent the latter might have been the envy of their materially less fortunate social superiors.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Maurepas to Saint-Ovide, July 10, 1731, AN, Cols., B 55, fol. 572-573.

⁵⁷ Levasseur to Maurepas, Nov. 10, 1729, AN, Cols., C11B 10, fol. 256v.

⁵⁸ Cf. "Recette et dépense," 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, AN, Cols., C11C 11, fols. 45-47v, 50v-52v, 68-69v, 78-81v, 86-88v and 102-105v, where the most noteworthy recipient of payment for Crown transport was Joseph Dugas. He earned 7,125[#] in 1730, 8,329[#] in 1731, 7,985[#] in 1732, 8,572[#] in 1733, 8,627[#] in 1734, and 10,165[#] in 1735.

It follows that the official class of the colony should be inclined to invest at least a part of its efforts into areas more lucrative than their official occupations. At Louisbourg, for instance, the Duvivier family, sons of François Dupont Duvivier, achieved some considerable notoriety for their prosperous involvement in the fishing industry.⁵⁹ Similarly, at Port Toulouse, the officers detached there sought to round out their meagre earnings by encroaching upon the occupations of the civilian population.

Notwithstanding the decree of 1718 which prohibited the officers engaging in civilian trade,⁶⁰ the geographic situation of Port Toulouse made such activity particularly lucrative and safe from intrusion by more senior officials from Louisbourg, if indeed the officials there were prepared to intervene at all. Saint-Ovide, for instance, in the case La Vallière, rose to an unequivocal defense of his colleague's integrity:

Selon le temoignage de la plus grande partie des principaux habitants du Port Toulouse ...ils n'auraient pas de plaintes à formuler: au contraire ils ont tous lieu d'en être contents. Les plaintes dont la Cour aurait été saisie proviendraient uniquement du missionnaire qui, étant alors au Port Toulouse, était allé dans leurs maisons pour leur demander des certificats de plaintes.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Habitant-fishermen of Ile Royale to Maurepas, Nov. 26, 1738, AN, Cols., C11B 20, fol. 304-307.

⁶⁰ Council of the Marine to Saint-Ovide and de Mezy, Aug. 10, 1718, AN, Cols., B 40, fol. 568v.

⁶¹ Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, Nov. 24, 1731, AN,

Despite Maurepas' earlier opinion that La Vallière, unable to inspire the confidence of his charges, would have to be recalled, the minister closed the case of the disgruntled Acadians the following year, 1732, by completely exonerating the Port Toulouse commandant:

Je veux croire, he wrote, que les plaintes ...par quelques habitants du Port Toulouse estoient mal fondées, mais je suis bien aise de vous dire que vous ne scauriés estre trop attentif à n'y pas donner occasion.⁶²

Thus, the serious decline in population, which began sometime after 1726, reached its lowest recorded point in 1734. That year there remained only nineteen Acadian families at Port Toulouse,⁶³ a decline of nearly sixty per cent in eight years. A few had been lured by the relative prosperity of Louisbourg, the economic opportunity and the ensuing greater freedom of enterprise in the capital.⁶⁴ Others had immigrated to Ile Saint-Jean.⁶⁵ The great majority,

Cols., C11B 12, fol. 27-27v.

⁶² Maurepas to La Vallière, June 19, 1732, AN, Cols., B 57, fol. 756v.

⁶³ "Recensement de l'isle Royale," Oct. 20, 1734, AFO, G1 467, item 69.

⁶⁴ Cf. Appendix 2.

⁶⁵ "Denombrement des peuples établis à l'Ile Saint-Jean," 1728, AFO, G1 466, item 36; "Recensement de l'Ile Saint-Jean," Sept. 1734, AFO, G1 466, item 40. See also de Pensens to Maurepas, Nov. 20, 1727, AN, Cols., C11B 9, fo. 256v, where the then commandant of Port Toulouse claimed many Acadians would probably follow him to his new posting at Ile Saint-Jean.

however, returned discouraged to Acadia.⁶⁶

The decline of Port Toulouse continued beyond the period under study, notwithstanding the new efforts of the Crown in 1734 to undertake some of the improvements ardently promised during the first years of the colony. Yet these improvements were of a military nature, inspired by considerations which, in the 1730's and beyond, necessitated steps being taken to protect the colony from the threat of British and New England landings on the Island. Measures affecting economic policy and the welfare of the settled population remained in abeyance. It was only in the 1750's when events in Nova Scotia generated a large influx of reluctant immigrants that for a very short period, until the final surrender of Ile Royale to British arms in 1758, the area about Port Toulouse was to enjoy once again a degree of prosperity.

CHAPTER VI

THE ACADIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE AGRICULTURE OF ILE ROYALE

The first object of the French policy to bring the Acadians to Ile Royale in 1713 was to insure for the new colony the fruits of a prosperous agriculture. This was important in order to avoid the continuing dependance on imports of food from France, Canada and even New England, and to counteract the resultant vulnerability of the Island and the fishing industry. The colony, conceived correctly as the base for a large-scale fishing industry, required to be self-providing as well in the production of food staples. By locally supplying the markets of Louisbourg, the fishing outports and the garrison, Ile Royale could endow itself with the balanced economic situation it would otherwise lack.

While the French Newfoundlanders supplied the manpower for the bulk of the fishery, it was hoped the 2500 Acadians would remove to Ile Royale with their cattle and implements, break new ground and insure the ample provision of foodstuffs not only for the colony, but for export as well. At Versailles both proposals were considered to be equally feasible and practical, and certain to produce the desired results. The Minister Pontchartrain wrote in the following optimistic terms: "Je ne doute pas qu'ils ne si portent deux mesmes et qu'ils ne se disposent tous a y aller dabord qu'ils

scauront que les français vont sy établir",¹ and:

Il ne seroit pas naturel qu'ils habitassent sur des terres de la domination angloise pendant qu'ils auront auprès d'eux d'autres terres appartenantes aux gens de leur nation.²

The removal of the Newfoundlanders required little encouragement by the authorities, for the fishery was equally feasible from Ile Royale. The prospect of mass immigration affected the Acadians differently, however. As suggested earlier, there existed certain essential differences between agriculture in Acadia and Ile Royale. The majority of Acadians derived their livelihood essentially from agriculture, and even the minority of fishermen, coasters and builders among them at least worked gardens. Their forefathers, even as pioneers, had seldom been required to break new ground in Acadia. They had simply settled along the tidal rivers of the coast of the Bay of Fundy, and built dykes to reclaim the treeless marshlands over which they sowed their grain and grew hay for their livestock. Soil exhaustion, even annual ploughing, were minor preoccupations for the Acadian farmers. The former was expeditiously offset by opening the dyke gates and letting in the salt waters of Fundy Bay.³

¹ Pontchartrain to Saint-Ovide, March 20, 1713, AN, Cols., B 35, fol. 238v.

² Id. to Gaulin, March 29, 1713, AN, Cols., B 35, fol. 260.

³ J. B. Brebner, New England's Outpost, Acadia before

France, having been compelled to cede Acadia to Great Britain, was to find no such comparable good fortune on Ile Royale. Though the soil there was reasonably workable, as would suggest the small-scale agriculture of the Island since the latter part of the eighteenth century, the essential difference lay in the amount of work involved in farming on Ile Royale. For the Acadians the alternative was to choose between lands which as long as they could remember had always produced easily and bountifully, and "terres brutes et nouvelles, dont il faut arracher le bois qui est debout..."⁴ They had to choose between living among fellow Frenchmen, and continuing under new masters the tranquil and simple, albeit the somewhat uninspiring, way of life to which, nevertheless, they were deeply attached.

For the majority of Acadians there really was no choice. They could not be expected to see the wisdom of abandoning an annual yield of 35,000 bushels of wheat, and coming to heavily-wooded and pastureless Ile Royale seeking fodder for 15,000 head of livestock.⁵ These comfortable farmers did not relish becoming pioneers at this late date.

the Conquest of Canada, New York, Columbia University Press, 1927, p. 18.

⁴ Pain to Costebelle, Sept. 29, 1713, AN, Cols., C11C 7, fol. 226v.

⁵ Caulfield to Lords of Trade, Nov. 1, 1715 o. s., PRO; CO 217 2, fol. 49-53v.

Only sixty-six families immigrated to Ile Royale and of these only fifteen had had agricultural interests in Acadia in 1707, the last year detailed statistics on agriculture were recorded.⁶ Several more of the sixty-six were not old enough in 1707 to have been settled on land of their own, and still more were serving as soldiers in the Port Royal garrison in that year.

Four of the fifteen farmers who emigrated had enjoyed in Acadia some considerable prosperity in agriculture. They possessed holdings in productive acreage and livestock which were well above the average figures for their regions. While at Port Royal the average for 1707 was 30.6 head of livestock per family, François Boudrot⁶ owned seventy-two head, Claude Landry, fifty-six head, and Pierre Richard, forty-two head. They worked fourteen, six and six arpents of land respectively, while the average for the region was only 3.78 arpents per family. At Mines where the average for livestock was 24.2 head per family, Jean Landry raised sixty-four head in 1707. His land yielded twelve bariques while the average for his region was 3.31 bariques per arpent.

None of these prosperous farmers engaged in agriculture when they came to Ile Royale. Boudrot and Jean Landry turned to other activities better suited to conditions on Ile

⁶ "Recensement de l'Acadie," 1707, AFO, G1 466, p. 215-231 /PAC transcript/.

Royale. Pierre Richard died presumably a short time after he removed. There is no further reference to Claude Landry after he arrived in the colony in 1714, until 1724 when he was described as a "vieil habitant".

Of the remaining eleven farmers who settled in Ile Royale, three were of average prosperity in 1707, while eight recorded very small holdings, considerably below the average figures for their regions. In 1724, the first year that Ile Royale censuses include the occupations of the settlers, none of these were engaged in agriculture. It is conceivable, however, that several could have been between 1707 and 1714, before their removal to the new colony, suffered reverses which interrupted or even curtailed their agricultural progress. Of the fifteen, six had turned on Ile Royale to the building and wood-working trades, two to coasting and one to fishing. Four had aged to the point of being inactive, and two, no longer recorded in 1724, had presumably died or returned to Acadia.⁷

In spite of the unattractiveness of Ile Royale to the farmers of Acadia, the Minister Pontchartrain had been as early as 1706 in receipt of a memorial claiming for the Island "la même terre que celle du Canada, c'est à dire bonnes, ...des prairies naturelles dans toutes les baies."⁸ Ten years

⁷ "Recensement général... Ile Royale," Nov. 20, 1724, AFO, Gl 467, item 67.

⁸ "Mémoire sur l'établissement d'une colonie dans

later, after a few Acadians had hesitantly settled about Port Toulouse, a second memorial praised the potential of this area:

La terre de ce canton est propre à la semence des bons grains et merveilleux pour le jardinage. L'Air y⁹ est plus temperé qu'en aucun endroit de l'isle.

L'Hermitte wrote of the Petit Saint-Pierre River of:

Terres ...qui paroissent assez bonnes..., de très belles herbes dans les endroits découverts et facile à défricher.... Ce qu'il y a de bon les terres ne sont pas malaisées à défricher.¹⁰

Of Port Toulouse he wrote:

A l'égard des terres, elles y sont très bonnes tout autour du hâvre. Il y a quelques endroits où il y a de la roche mais peu.... Il y a de fort belles herbes.... Dans toutes les rivières qui sont autour du hâvre, les terres y sont de mesme.¹¹

Thus, in spite of the observations and actions of the Acadians relating to mass removal to Ile Royale, the local authorities wrote optimistically to their superiors at Versailles. Though their memorials were reasonably accurate, they neglected all the while to inform the ministry of the essential facts which limited the merits of the scheme and

l'Ile du Cap Breton," Nov. 30, 1706, AN, Cols., Cl1B 1, fol. 272, 273.

9 "Remarques sur les avantages des trois postes," 1716, AN, Cols., F3 50, fol. 4lv.

10 "Mémoire de l'Ile Royale," Dec. 1716, AFO, DFC, Amérique Septentrionale 1, item 134.

11 Ibid.

precluded a favourable response by the Acadians. Moreover, the Ministry could not be expected, in 1713 and 1714, to be entirely aware of these facts: France had generations earlier lost touch with the Acadian reality and the altogether unique development the colony had known throughout the seventeenth century.

The effect of this erroneous intelligence was that the formal invitation to the Acadians to immigrate to Ile Royale was tendered by the ministry of the Marine in language steeped in banalities and patriotic platitudes which failed to take into account the local situation. Thus Pontchartrain issued the standard instructions in 1714 as follows:

Vous pouvez placer [Les Acadiens] qui viendront dans le havre Ste Anne que le Roy a nommé Port Dauphin et comme les terres y sont excellentes ils s'adonneront à leurs cultures n'étant point accoutumés à la pesche.¹²

The only particularity, by way of facilitating their removal, was the news that the Acadian farmers would be exempted from all duties on cod and fish oil for ten years.¹³ In 1715, at the insistence of the local authorities, it was decided that immigrants should be given supplies until their first crops were harvested.¹⁴

¹² Pontchartrain to L'Hermitte, Feb. 28, 1714, AN, Cols., B 36, fol. 425v.

¹³ Id. to Id., March 23, 1714, AN, Cols., B 36, fol. 446.

¹⁴ Pontchartrain to Desmaretz, Jan. 4, 1715, AN, Cols., B 37, fol. 2.

The Acadians had developed since the early years after the founding of their homeland a strong tendency to be hesitant and sceptical when they became involved in the politics of Europe. Despite this, in 1713, many hearkened to the call of their nation, and agreed to consider the appeal of their King to settle under the flag of their Sovereign and among their own people. Emissaries came to Ile Royale and inspected agricultural conditions in the colony on behalf of their compatriots. To them the prospects were disappointing. Through their missionaries we learn of their reaction to leaving Acadia:

Ce seroit nous exposer manifestement à mourir de faim chargés comme nous sommes de grosses familles, de quitter des habitations qui sont en valeur, et desquelles nous tirons toute notre subsistance ordinaire, pour prendre des terres brutes et nouvelles, dont il faut arracher le bois debout... Il y a parmi nous le quart du monde qui sont des personnes âgées, hors d'état de défricher de nouvelles terres,,, nous savons de plus par la visite exacte que nous en avons fait qu'il n'y a point de terres dans toute l'isle du Cap Breton qui puissent convenir à l'entretien de nos familles, puisqu'il n'y a point de prés suffisantes pour nourrir nos bestiaux dont nous tirons notre principale subsistance.¹⁵

Though Ile Royale was unable to absorb the agricultural resources of Acadia, nor ever hope to effect a comparable yield, there was nevertheless some farming on the

¹⁵ Pain to Costebelle, Sept. 23, 1713, AN, Cols., C11C 7, fol. 226v-227."

island, or more correctly, subsistence gardening. Each settler had been granted small concessions with four arpents of frontage. Title to the land was held directly from the King, with no intermediate seigneurs, thus continuing on Ile Royale the policy of Acadia. It was well-known that the Acadians harboured a special dislike for the seigneurial system and for paying rents of any kind.¹⁶

There are only incidental traces of agriculture in the records, and the evidence, though frequently optimistic, seems to point to the overall adverse conditions under which the Acadians farmed on Ile Royale. In his memorial of 1716, L'Hermitte wrote admiringly of seeing wheat, oats, flax the likes of which he had never seen in France even, beans, corn, asparagus dating from Nicolas Denys' time, pumpkins, melons and cucumbers.¹⁷

When he became the commandant at Port Toulouse in 1715 following his apparently successful mission to Acadia, Denys de la Ronde¹⁸ conducted experiments which he felt might

¹⁶ Pontchartrain to Gaulin, March 23, 1714, AN, Cols., B 36, fol. 446.

¹⁷ "Mémoire de l'Ile Royale," Dec. 1716, AFO, DFC, Amérique Septentrionale 1, item 134.

¹⁸ Louis Denys de la Ronde was the grandson of Simon Denys who in 1650 had attempted a settlement at Saint-Anne on Cape Breton. He was born in Canada in 1675, and entered the service in France before coming to Port Royal as a lieutenant in 1705. He became a captain in 1707, and from 1713 served on Ile Royale before being transferred to Canada in

be of some encouragement to other settlers. The results were enthusiastically recorded by L'Hermitte: "M. de la Ronde y a semé du froment, del'orge de deux espèces, de l'avoine et du lin. Le tout est venu en perfection et en maturité."¹⁹

The following year Saint-Ovide visited Port Toulouse and confirmed his colleague's observation:

Le froment y vient bien, le bled noir, l'avoine et toute sorte de légumes. M. de la Ronde en fait l'expérience cette année. Je ne puis m'empêcher de faire connaître son activité et de lui rendre justice. C'est un digne sujet très convenable à un nouvel établissement. Il a fait dans celui-ci beaucoup de dépenses pour y défricher des terres qu'il va faire cultiver....²⁰

In December 1716, though de la Ronde apparently remained at Port Toulouse, de Beaucours arrived as the new commandant. He also undertook some planting, but his efforts were disappointing.²¹ Apart from the officers de la Ronde and de Beaucours, and the habitant Jean Pitre, who led the attempted agricultural settlement at the Petit Saint-Pierre

1719. Governor Costebelle described him as a good and energetic officer, but looked forward to the day when age (he was forty in 1715) would mellow his temperament and free him from the influence of frequently doubtful relations (Costebelle to Pontchartrain, Nov. 28, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 154).

19 "Mémoire de l'Ile Royale," Dec. 1716, AFO, DFC, Amérique Septentrionale 1, item 134.

20 Saint-Ovide to Council of the Marine, Nov. 30, 1717, AN, Cols., C11B 2, fol. 238v.

21 Beaucours to Council of the Marine, Nov. 19, 1717, AN, Cols., C11B 2, fol. 246.

River in 1715 and 1716, only four other individuals appear to have been involved in farming as their principal occupation between 1724 and 1734.²² Judging from the fact that three of the four were widows with families, and the fourth, Louis Marchand dit Poitiers, qualified in 1717 as a "vrai vagabond et paresseux,"²³ it would appear that the jardinage referred to here was of little consequence.

In 1726 Governor Saint-Ovide gave permission to several inhabitants from Port Toulouse to clear land for themselves on Ile Madame, across from Saint Peter's Bay.²⁴ It seemed ~~some~~ were actually preparing to settle there in 1727.²⁵ Though there is no way of ascertaining the number, it would seem likely that many of the Acadian settlers maintained small gardens, thus procuring for themselves at least some of the essential dietary amenities.

Besides these inconclusive references to farming, it is certain that the settlers who came to Ile Royale in 1714 took some livestock with them.²⁶ During the winter of 1715-16,

22 Cf. Censuses of Ile Royale for 1724, 1726 and 1734, AFO, G1 467, items 64, 68 and 69.

23 "Recensement des habitants Accadiens...", [Nov. 7] 1717, AFO, G1 467, item 58.

24 Maurepas to Saint-Ovide, June 10, 1727, AN, Cols., B 50, fol. 584.

25 Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, Nov. 10, 1727, AN, Cols., C11B 9, fol. 54.

26 Cf. Aug. 18, 1714 o. s., PRO, CO 217 1, fol. 201.

however, what little there was was greatly reduced because of the lack of fodder.²⁷ The constant complaint of the Acadians, in effect, was the lack of pasture land available to them in the colony,²⁸ and the equal lack of hay for winter fodder.

One of the allegations of the discontented Acadians who remained on Ile Royale in 1730 was that at Port Toulouse the commandant, Michel de la Vallière interfered with their cutting hay for their own use, and even sought to confiscate "celuy que nous avons amassée avec beaucoup de peine et de dépense dans des endroits bien éloigné."²⁹

Thus, instead of strengthening the economy of Ile Royale, agriculture as it existed had no effect beyond the family tables of those who made the effort to keep gardens. The authorities at Louisbourg as well as at Versailles were embittered for having so poorly succeeded in removing the entire agricultural assets of Acadia to Ile Royale.

The first trace of official impatience is found in a letter from Governor de Costebelle in 1715 in which he complained of the Acadians' procrastination.³⁰ The following

27 De la Forest to Pontchartrain, Jan. 28, 1716, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 475.

28 Cf. Pain to Costebelle, Sept. 23, 1713, AN, Cols., C11C 7, fol. 227; "Mémoire du sieur Bourdon," [1714], AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 112v.

29 Acadians of Port Toulouse to Maurepas, Oct. 1, 1730, AN, Cols., C11B 11, fol. 222v-223.

30 Costebelle to Council of the Marine, Sept. 9,

year he wrote more severely albeit accurately of "ces peuples naturellement fainéants, guère disposés à entreprendre [des travaux considérables]."³¹ It was not without some considerable effort that agriculture was possible on Ile Royale, and for the settlers who immigrated from Acadia, effort in agriculture was very much akin to hardship. For them the pursuit of agriculture had been such that hard work was not essential to a comfortable existence. It follows that they should shy away from Ile Royale and the manifold declarations of praise of the colony's potential, and cling to the more tangible amenities of life in Acadia.

The authorities came reluctantly to the conclusion that to press for Acadian mass removal was unrealistic. In 1727 the new engineer for Ile Royale, Louis Verville, suggested the Acadians might be more useful if they stayed put in Acadia than if they all removed to Ile Royale, where it was found feeding even the troops of the garrison strained the available resources.³² This observation was summarily disposed of by the Council of the Marine.³³ The Regency

1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 130v.

³¹ Minutes of the Council of the Marine, Feb. 26, 1717, AN, Cols., C11B 2, fol. 26.

³² Ibid., March 30, 1718, AN, Cols., C11B 2, fol. 128v.

³³ Ibid., cf. the marginal comment initialed by the Count of Toulouse, "Chef du Conseil de la Marine", and the Maréchal d'Estrées, "Président du Conseil de la Marine".

Council, however, overruled the confused and leisurely peers of the Council of the Marine, and in July issued the following instructions to Governor Saint-Ovide:

...Sa Mt. regarde toujours comme ses sujets les habitants français qui sont à l'accadie quoy qu'ils soient restés sur une terre étrangère et elle recommande au sr. de Saint-Ovide de les entretenir dans la fidélité qu'ils doivent avoir toujours pour Sa Mté.... Ces peuples peuvent être très utile à la colonie en restant fidels à Sa Mté....³⁴

The most lucid appraisal of the whole situation of the Acadian immigration was tendered to the Chairman of the Council of the Marine, the Count of Toulouse, in a memorial written in 1717, probably by Dominique de la Marche.³⁵ He defined the situation as follows:

³⁴ Instructions for Saint-Ovide, July 18, 1718, AN, Cols., B 40, fol. 542.

³⁵ Father Dominique, a Recollect of the Province of Saint-Denis, came to Ile Royale in 1713 and was frequently associated thereafter with the Crown's efforts to encourage the Acadian removal from Nova Scotia. In the summer of 1716, notably, he undertook a journey to Acadia, returned to Louisbourg, and then left for France in November. Soubras, in a letter addressed to the Council of the Marine, referred to the account of the Acadian situation the Recollect was to render to the Council (Cf. Minutes of Council of the Marine, March 2, 1717, AN, Cols., C11B 2, fol. 31v; Soubras to Council of the Marine, Nov. 28, 1716, AN, Marine, B1 19, fol. 462v).

L'Acadie estant un pays gras et fertile et les habitants . . . y vivant depuis plusieurs années dans le repos et la tranquillité . . . il ne seroit point extraordinaire que ces peuples, pénétrés du repos et de l'abondance dont ils jouissent, et d'ailleurs peu instruits des [resorts?] politiques d'une puissance qui sous les apparences trompeuses d'une facile douceur, ne cherche qu'à les familiariser à son joug et se les assurer, se déterminassent à préférer le bien réel dont ils jouissent aux avantages qu'on les a flattés jusqu'icy qu'ils pourroient trouver à l'Ile Royale et dont incontestablement il n'ont eu jusqu'icy aucun avant-goût.³⁶

Hence the entire question of emigration from Nova Scotia was determined by the Acadians themselves. The majority preferred the tangible well-being they already knew to the vague and misleading references to the eventual prosperity of Ile Royale. By staying put, furthermore, the farmers — those from Cobequid and Beaubassin particularly — added considerably to their traditional prosperity thanks to the carrying trade in grain and beef which developed after 1713 between Baie Verte, Port Toulouse and Louisbourg.

The Acadians who did feel Ile Royale would be more attractive, economically, than their homeland were generally those who did not depend for their livelihood first and foremost upon the quality of the soil. Though very few Acadians sought their livelihood in the fishery, the majority of the immigrants found a lucrative outlet in the coasting trade. Many more were proficient in the building trades, and in the

³⁶ "Mémoire concernant les habitants de l'Acadie," 1717, AN, Cols., C11D 8, fol. 40-40v.

early years the services they rendered were important to the colony. On top of these, who were generally diligent, an impressive number of immigrants came to Ile Royale avowing no occupation at all, and drawing their subsistence from the free supplies distributed by the Crown.

CHAPTER VII

THE ACADIANS' SHARE IN THE FISHING AND COASTING TRADE OF ILE ROYALE

Compared with agriculture, fishing and coasting were in Acadia occupations of lesser importance, providing a means of livelihood to but a minority of Acadians. Nevertheless, when France reacted in 1713 to the losses she suffered in the North Atlantic by founding a new colony on Cape Breton Island, it was the cod fishery, and not agriculture, which became the economic base for the new venture. While Acadian farmers — the major part of the population of the former colony — remained on their farms despite pressures from the authorities anxious to provide agricultural support for the new colony, several Acadians ventured to seek on Ile Royale the opportunity to gain their livelihood from the sea, some as fishermen, others as coastal navigators.

After 1713, the circumstances of the new colony provided the Acadians with a higher degree of sustained economic opportunity than they had known hitherto. The founding of Louisbourg as the bustling capital of Ile Royale, and the increasing demand for skilled coastal navigators and their vessels to transport men, materials, munitions, foodstuffs and firewood for the government, augured well for Acadian navigators in particular. Some Acadian fishermen were attracted by the prospect of sharing in the advantages available to

them in a new colony whose economic basis was the cod-fishery. Even the Acadian farmers who virtually all remained behind profited from Ile Royale by supplying the new colony in grain and livestock, which was transported either in their own vessels, or those of their Ile Royale compatriots.¹

Though fishing was not a major undertaking of the Acadians, many nevertheless had gained a living in a number of small settlements along the south coast of Acadia, and in the Port Royal region. On Ile Royale, it would seem, a total of seven immigrants engaged in the fishery for at least part of the period under study.² At other times all save two were engaged in either coasting or carpentry. Also, though there is no way of ascertaining, it is conceivable that many Acadians listed in the censuses as navigators may have served as crew on larger fishing vessels.

The apparent low incidence of interest shown by the Acadians in the Ile Royale fishery can be ascribed partly to

1 Armstrong to Lords of Trade, Feb. 28, 1715/16 o. s., PRO, CO 217 1, fol. 141. See also J. B. Brebner, New England's Outpost, Acadia before the Conquest of Canada, New York, Columbia University Press, 1927, p. 68-69.

2 Cf. Appendix 2. The findings of this study therefore contradict G. Massignon, Les parlers français d'Acadie: Enquête linguistique, Paris, Klincksieck, 1962, 2 vols. In vol. I, p. 22 the author claims most of the Ile Royale Acadians were fishermen, on the basis of the censuses which reveal many vessels belonging to Acadians (Cf. AFO, G1 466, items 67, 68 and 69). However, these censuses clearly distinguish which vessels — the greater number — were employed in coasting, and which in the fishery.

the attitude of the French authorities. In their desire to have the agricultural resources of Acadia provide essential support to the economy of the new colony, they, unfortunately, did not expect the Acadians could also be attracted to the fishery. On the other hand, Samuel Vetch, who was Governor at Port Royal following the surrender of 1710, and who inspired the first formal policy pronouncement by the British on the Acadians in 1715, claimed that:

...their skill in the fishery as well as the cultivating the soil must inevitably make that island by such an accession of people at once the most powerful colony the French have in America and of the greatest danger and damage to all the British colonys....³

The French authorities' concept of the Acadians, however, was an exclusively agricultural one: "Ils s'adonneront à leurs cultures n'étant point acoutumés à faire la pesche."⁴ Presently, however, the correspondence recorded, almost as an official afterthought, the possibility of drawing more of them to Ile Royale as fishermen: "À Port Dauphin⁷ ils trouveront de bonnes terres, les plus beaux bois du monde et même un peu de peche."⁵

³ Vetch to Lords of Trade, Nov. 24, 1714, PRO, CO 217 1, fol. 97v.

⁴ Pontchartrain to L'Hermitte, Feb. 28, 1714, AN, Cols., B 36, fol. 425v.

⁵ Id. to Durand, March 23, 1714, AN, Cols., B 36, fol. 447v.

By the late summer of 1714, as the Acadians' first impressions became more and more unfavourable to an agricultural settlement, the local authorities actively began bringing their attention to the fishery. Memorials described the Port Toulouse area, where, very early, the immigrants tended to settle, as abounding in fish,⁶ its shores covered with flat-stone for drying, and immediately behind, the plentiful fir for building shanties and staging.⁷

Throughout 1714, a total of thirty Acadians were granted permission to take up lots and pursue the fishery out of Port Toulouse. However, Jacques L'Hermitte reported that only four vessels had actually begun fishing by August.⁸ Nor did the Port Toulouse fishery prosper in the years following. Notwithstanding 1714 and 1717, which were described as abundant years,⁹ the reports on the industry for the following years are negligible insofar as Port Toulouse was

6 L'Hermitte to Pontchartrain, Aug. 25, 1714, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 58.

7 "Mémoire sur l'Ile Royale," [Autumn of 1714], AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 13v.

8 L'Hermitte, "Mémoire des habitants del'Acadie qui sont venus voir les terres de l'Ile Royale," Aug. 25, 1714, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 104v-105.

9 "Coppie des Mémoires du sieur de la Fosse," Nov. 11, 1714, AFO, DFC, Amérique Septentrionale 1, item 30; Soubras to Pontchartrain, Oct. 27, 1714, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 88; Minutes of Council of the Marine, April 1, 1718, AN, Cols., C11B 3, fol. 23.

concerned. In 1719 there appeared to be no cod-fishing out of Port Toulouse.¹⁰ In 1723 one goelette was noted, while the Island as a whole engaged 210 chaloupes and thirty-four goelettes,¹¹ the gross product of which was more than 3.2 million livres for the year.¹²

In 1727, 280 chaloupes and 20 goelettes fished out of Ile Royale, to a value totalling nearly 2.4 million livres. Of these two goelettes were from Port Toulouse.¹³ In the summer season of 1729 the total for the colony was twenty-six bateaux and goelettes and 327 chaloupes, of which, again, two of the former were from Port Toulouse. The autumn season counted a further 262 chaloupes, none of which fished from Port Toulouse.¹⁴

In the 1730's the value of the cod-fishery continued to increase in Ile Royale, averaging 3.5 million livres in 1730, 1731 and 1733. At Port Toulouse, however, still only

10 Saint-Ovide and Soubras to Council of the Marine, Jan. 9, 1719, AN, Cols., C11B 4, fol. 22.

11 The goelette was a larger vessel used for off-shore fishing on the Grand Banks, while the chaloupe was better suited to the in-shore or coastal fishery.

12 "Pêche et commerce", 1723, Nov. 24, 1723, AN, Cols., C11B 6, fol. 245-245v.

13 "Pêche de morue et commerce", 1727, AN, Cols., C11B 9, fol. 259.

14 "Liste général ...la pesche en 1729," Dec. 16, 1729, AN, Cols., C11B 10, fol. 211.

two goelettes fished in 1730, one in 1731 and 1732, and none in 1733.¹⁵

The principal reason for the meagre interest shown in the cod-fishery by the Acadians of Port Toulouse was its distance from the nearest fishing grounds. At Port Toulouse these were accessible only to the larger bateaux and goelettes,¹⁶ while the ordinary vehicle of the habitant fishermen, the small chaloupes, were not practical for the fishery.¹⁷ Chaloupes for the in-shore fishery were used, however, at Ile Madame and Canceau (modern Canso) to the south, and along the coast of Ile Royale to the eastward of Louisbourg.¹⁸

Although it lay in Nova Scotia, Canceau harboured in 1717 six Frenchmen who fished among the English. Their acknowledged leader was one Claude Petitpas, an Acadian, whose

15 "Pêche de morue et commerce", 1730, 1731, 1733, AN, Cols., C11B 11, fol. 69; C11B 12, fol. 64; C11B 14, fol. 232; "Liste des battiments qui ont fait la pesche d'été...", Dec. 27, 1732, AN, Cols., C11B 13, fol. 242.

16 In 1724, three Acadians from Port Toulouse — two having come as children with their parents, and the third, François Coste — operated four "batteaux ou goelettes" for the fishery ("Recensement général...Ile Royale", Nov. 20, 1724, AFO, G1 467, item 67). In 1726 two Acadians — Bernard Lasonde and Jean Fougère — owned three "batteaux ou goelettes" (Recensement général...Ile Royale", 1726, AFO, G1 467, item 68).

17 L'Hermitte, "Mémoire sur l'Ile Royale", Dec. 1716, AFO, DFC, Amérique Septentrionale 1, item 134.

18 Note in the censuses for 1724, 1726 and 1734, AFO, G1 467, items 67, 68 and 69, the higher incidence of chaloupes along the coast east of Louisbourg.

doubtful allegiance was a source of embarrassment not only for the French, but for the English and the Indians as well.¹⁹

Besides Petitpas, his son and son-in-law Lasonde, two other Acadians fished at Canso about 1718. They operated a total of nineteen chaloupes.²⁰ In 1718 they were all driven away by captain Smart, and in later years only Lasonde continued to pursue the fishery at Port Toulouse.

Two more Acadian fishermen settled at Petit de Grat on Ile Madame. One was Nicolas Petitpas, a nephew to Claude. He seems to have come there about 1718, and engaged in both fishing and carpentry until sometime between 1726 and 1734

19 The exciting episodes which colour the lives of Claude Petitpas and his sons during the period suggests a flourish which is not generally associated with the Acadians. Throughout his life Petitpas was intimately associated with the Indians, speaking their language, marrying an Indian girl, and serving as official government interpreter among them for a brief period before his death in 1732 at the age of 69. The Louisbourg authorities described him as "un français sans aveu". Difficulties which arose between the British and the French at Canso were alleged to have been inspired by him and his eldest son, Barthélemy. Two younger halfbreed sons grew up in similar circumstances. Barthélemy spent three years in Boston preparing to become the agent for the British among the Indians of Nova Scotia. He was apprehended by the French and exiled for several years in France. He later returned to Ile Royale, however, and eventually succeeded his father as French interpreter to the Indians until the siege of Louisbourg in 1745, after which he was taken to Boston and imprisoned. He died in prison in Boston, ironically, two years later at the age of sixty (Cf. PRO, CO 217 3, fol. 176v; AN, Cols., B 59, fol. 516; C11B 5, fol. 43; C11B 10, fol. 67v-68; F2C 3, fol. 556; AFO, G3 2041, 25 feet [microfilm]).

20 "Liste des habitants faisant la pêche...", [1718], AN, Cols., C11B 3, fol. 206.

when, according to the census of the latter year, he removed to Louisbourg. He was later chosen by Governor Duquesnel as captain of one of the two companies of the civilian militia of Louisbourg.²¹ The other fisherman was Pierre Simon dit Boucher.

Two Acadian immigrants actually prospered in the Ile Royale cod-fishery. One was Jean Rodrigue²² of Louisbourg, who in 1721 claimed to be the first Acadian to settle in Ile Royale. The other was Joseph Mirande²³ of L'Indienne. As their name might suggest, they were both of Portuguese extraction.

21 Duquesnel to Maurepas, Oct. 19, 1741, AN, Cols., C11B 23, fol. 46-48.

22 Rodrigue was born apparently in Viana do Castelo, Portugal, and came to Acadia sometime before he married into a prominent merchant family of the colony, the Le Borgnes, in 1707. He had served as the King's pilot at Port Royal, and after 1710, he received a similar commission at Dunkerque. He later came to Quebec, and then, in 1714, to Ile Royale. In Louisbourg he prospered in fishing and trade. At his death in 1733 or 1734 he had become one of the principal merchants of the colony (Cf. AN, Cols., C11B 5, fol. 71-71v; and fol. 403v; AFO G1 467, Censuses of Ile Royale; G3 2040, 25 feet microfilm, and 2046, 20 feet microfilm; PANS, Ms. item 26, March 16, 1707).

23 Joseph Mirande was a native of Beaubassin, the son of a Portuguese fisherman who had immigrated to Acadia before 1680. Though in 1707 he did some farming at Beaubassin, he turned to the cod-fishery when he immigrated to Ile Royale with his family in 1713. The censuses of 1724 and 1726 attest to his standing in the cod-fishery. He died sometime between 1726 and 1734, for the census of the latter year records Mirande's widow as having abandoned the habitation at L'Indienne to a caretaker, and carried on her late husband's fishery from Petit Lorembecq (Cf. AFO, G1 466-1, p. 138, 163, 224, and 252 PAC transcript, and G1 467, items 67, 68 and 69).

However disappointing on the whole Acadian involvement in the Ile Royale cod-fishing industry turned out to be, the majority of the immigrants nevertheless did earn their living from the sea. Attracted by the novelty of cash payments and the strong demand for coasting in the colony, most of the sixty-six immigrants from Acadia became coasters, sometimes on a full-time basis, but mostly in conjunction with some other activity or trade.

Just as in Canada, all the traffic in merchandise and manpower essential to the life and comfort of the colony was dependant upon water transport. This was even more important in Ile Royale than in Canada, or in British North America, where the colonies were capable of easing the burden of their respective mother countries by producing many of their requirements. Ile Royale, however, had to import all varieties of foodstuffs from France, Quebec, New England, the West Indies and Nova Scotia.²⁴

Coasting was never on Ile Royale the exclusive area of the Acadian immigrants. The entire civilian population of

²⁴ Before continuing the study of the Acadian involvement in the Ile Royale coasting trade, it is well to indicate the limitations of such a study. The only records are those involving payments by the government. The accounts of merchants engaged in the coasting trade on their own behalf, or of navigators who carried merchandise for other private individuals are not extant or have not been uncovered. Private records such as these are essential to a fully-comprehensive picture of the coasting trade of Ile Royale.

the colony was associated, directly or indirectly, with the sea, as dictated by both geography and economics. The essential requirement for coasting was, of course, a vessel of but moderate draught. Thus a very high proportion of the population of Ile Royale — officers as well as civilians — were experienced and able, theoretically at least, to either fit out a vessel or serve as crew, and thus compete for the profits of both the coasting trade and the fishery.

The real situation, however, was otherwise, as suggested by an observation of the engineer Pierre Boucher. He claimed the habitant class was at a disadvantage insofar as coasting was concerned.²⁵ Their limited means made it difficult for the members of this class to compete with the wealthy ~~and~~ experienced merchants of Louisbourg. These, by their proximity to the seat of government and the port to which all legitimate ocean traffic to Ile Royale came initially, were in a position to be favoured with the more lucrative contracts, especially for the carrying of building materials, and the annual supplies of foodstuffs. Jean Rodrigue might be mentioned as a case in point.

Geography, however, favoured Port Toulouse, which became the most considerable trading and transport area after Louisbourg. This was due chiefly to the proximity to Acadia,

²⁵ Boucher to Council of the Marine, Nov. 13, 1723, AN, Cols., C11B 6, fol. 319.

whence came regular shipments of foodstuffs. Also, Port Toulouse afforded adequate shelter for contraband traffic from New England.

In proportion to their population, the Acadians in the 1720's were the most active coasters in terms of vessels employed. In 1724 they formed 19% of the population of Ile Royale.²⁶ Of a total of thirty-one vessels employed in the coasting trade that year, as reported for the first time in a census, ten, or 32%, were owned by Acadians.²⁷ Two years later, though only twenty-nine vessels were recorded, thirteen, or nearly 45%, belonged to Acadians, twelve of whom were from Port Toulouse.²⁸

With the decline of general conditions in Port Toulouse after 1726, many Acadians left the community, a few settling at Louisbourg, but most returning to Acadia. By 1734 there were only seven Acadian vessels engaged in coasting and trade, and only five at Port Toulouse.²⁹

The major coasting activity of the Ile Royale Acadians was the grain and livestock traffic between Nova Scotia

²⁶ "Recensement général...Ile Royale," Nov. 20, 1724, AFO, G1 467, item 67.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ "Recensement général...Ile Royale," 1726, AFO, G1 467, item 68.

²⁹ "Recensement général...Ile Royale, 1734," Oct. 20, 1734, AFO, G1 467, item 69.

and Ile Royale, which they shared with the coasters of Acadia. The founding of a French colony on Ile Royale had introduced for the farmers of Nova Scotia an era of increased prosperity. The requirements of Louisbourg and the outports were handily met by the Acadian farming settlement of Mines, Piziquid, Cobequid and Beaubassin. The grain and livestock of Acadia were taken overland to Chignecto, whence Acadian coasters carried them along the north shore of Nova Scotia, through the Strait of Canso and on to Louisbourg especially, and to the outports as well. This local coasting trade was perfectly suited to the modest resources and small vessels of the Acadian navigators, especially those from Port Toulouse. These, located as they were between Louisbourg and Baie Verte, retained the closest ties with Acadia.

Supplying the colony with foodstuffs was, of course, the most important feature of all traffic to Ile Royale. There existed as well innumerable services and amenities upon which depended the development of the colony and which in turn were invariably dependant upon the local coasting trade. Not only was Louisbourg obliged to import virtually all foodstuffs, save for the meagre produce of a handful of private gardens, but the materials for the fortifications and, in very few years from the first settlement, the firewood for heating all of the King's buildings.³⁰ Judging from the available crown

30 The determining factor in choosing Louisbourg as

accounts, firewood was cut in the Port Toulouse area and transported to Louisbourg, usually by Acadian coasters.³¹

Though the building materials available on Ile Royale were by all standards of inferior quality, for several years the authorities determined nevertheless to exploit these local resources to the best advantage in order to offset the high cost of importing their needs from France. Thus, freestone was quarried at L'Indienne and frequently Acadian coasters participated in transporting brick from the kilns at Port Toulouse to the works at Louisbourg until 1725, the year the industry was discontinued.³²

Though not directly involved in the legitimate ocean trade with France, Quebec, New England or the West Indies, Acadian coasters nevertheless participated. The harbour at Louisbourg having no docking facilities, lighters were used

the capital of Ile Royale had been its fine harbour and its location near the fishing banks, which favoured the exploitation of the cod-fishery by a permanent civilian population. The logistics of erecting and maintaining a naval fortress to protect the interests of France in North America were made subject to the requirements of a strong economic base for the colony.

31 "Recette et dépense," 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, AN, Cols., C11C 11, fol. 44-48v; fol. 49-53v; fol. 67-72; fol. 77-83v; fol. 84-90. In 1757, the engineer Grillot de Poilly reported that the inhabitants of Port Toulouse traded with Louisbourg in firewood, timber, poultry, garden produce and livestock.

32 "Recette et dépense, 1720," Nov. 12, 1720, AN, Cols., C11B 6, fol. 190v.

to discharge the cargoes from the large vessels which lay at anchor in the roadstead. On occasion an Acadian coaster at Louisbourg was called upon to assist in this function,³³ or in moving ordnance from the King's stores to the fortifications.

Local vessels were also employed annually in distributing supplies and munitions to the detachments in the outports, food rations to new immigrants and presents to cement the allegiance of the Indians who gathered for this purpose at Port Toulouse.³⁴

Each year there was some considerable movement of officials and troops throughout the colony. For purposes of morale, the companies detached outside of Louisbourg were brought back to the capital regularly, while other detachments were transported by vessel to replace them.³⁵ The Governor, the Commissaire-ordonnateur or their delegates hired Acadians navigators to convey them on periodic tours of inspection throughout the colony.³⁶

³³ "Dépenses, 1724," Nov. 24, 1725, AN, Cols., C11C 7, fol. 258.

³⁴ "Recette et dépense, 1732," Oct. 14, 1733, AN, Cols., C11C 11, fol. 69v.

³⁵ "Dépenses, 1724," Nov. 24, 1725, AN, Cols., C11C 7, fol. 259v.

³⁶ Ibid.; "Payments faits, 1719," AN, Cols., C11B 4, fol. 217; "Recette et dépense, 1733," Oct. 28, 1734, AN, Cols., C11C 11, fol. 80v.

The area which presumably reaped the highest benefits for Acadian coasters from Port Toulouse was the traffic in contraband merchandise from New England. However, there are no documentary traces of a specific nature. One encounters references to the notoriety of Port Toulouse as well as Petit de Grat as the ports where contraband was unloaded. Bourgeois merchants from Louisbourg, and the officers of the Port Toulouse detachment, as well as Acadian navigators, would meet the New England vessels and distribute their cargoes to Louisbourg and the other markets along the coast of Ile Royale.³⁷

Though official concern from Versailles regularly suggested that Ile Royale enjoyed far greater amenities emanating from New England than were authorized,³⁸ the local authorities, as in all the colonies, tolerated the unauthorized traffic, and frequently concurred in it.

Occasionally, there was opportunity on Ile Royale for singular recognition in the case of individuals endowed with the sciences of navigation. In 1715, Louis Denys de la Ronde, the commandant at Port Toulouse, had recommended Joseph Dugas for a commission as pilot to assist in the difficult access to the harbour. Though he did not receive the post, Dugas,

³⁷ Maurepas to Saint-Ovide and Lenormant, May 19, 1733, AN, Cols., B 59, fol. 523v-524.

³⁸ De Mezy, "Mémoire pour servir à MM. les officiers de l'Amirauté....," May 16, 1726, AN, Cols., C11B 8, fol. 201.

who had immigrated from Mines in 1714, became a prominent coaster. He figured frequently in the annual coasting accounts of the Crown.

Another impressive navigator was François Coste, a Provençal mariner who had immigrated to Acadia towards 1692 when he was barely twenty years old. He settled just outside Port Royal where in 1707 he raised twenty-four head of livestock. He was one of the first Acadians to leave his adopted homeland and immigrate to Ile Royale. He settled at Port Toulouse in 1714.

In 1717 Coste achieved some notoriety when the port captain of the colony, Pierre Morpain, refused to risk piloting a transport vessel through a violent autumn gale into the unfamiliar Bay of Saint-Pierre to Port Toulouse. Taking over from the celebrated freebooter and adventurer, Coste manoeuvred the vessel along the channel, through the Bay, and into the harbour at Toulouse, to the general admiration of all on board.³⁹

The following year, on the recommendation of the Louisbourg authorities, Coste was awarded a commission to assist those vessels requiring a pilot at Port Toulouse.⁴⁰ To supplement his meagre stipend, Coste engaged prominently in coasting throughout the period. There is reference in the Crown

³⁹ De la Boularderie to Council of the Marine, [Nov.] 1717, AN, Cols., C11B 2, fol. 284.

⁴⁰ "Brevet de pilotte cottier...", Aug. 1, 1718, AN, Cols., B 40, fol. 560-560v.

accounts for 1719 to his having served "en qualité de maître sur la goelette du Roy."⁴¹

Though the Acadians who settled at Port Toulouse were not attracted generally to the cod fishery, the sea was nevertheless a major factor of the prosperity of the community. Port Toulouse did prosper, for a time, thanks in part to the fortunate concurrence of geography and the aptitudes of the Acadian immigrants for coastal navigation and boatbuilding. Situated as they were between Acadia and Louisbourg, the Acadians of Port Toulouse were in the most favourable position on Ile Royale to profit from the opportunities afforded by the carrying trade of the colony. Port Toulouse with its sheltered harbour, a full day's journey from the capital, offered the desired security for the lucrative New England contraband trade.

Unfortunately, the late 1720's and the early 1730's were characterized by the interference of the officers of the Port Toulouse detachment of troops, who used the influence of their positions to compete with and exclude the habitants. This occasioned for the latter the serious material disadvantages which heralded the decline of the community. Nevertheless, thanks to the development of the coasting trade, Port Toulouse had known prosperous years which

⁴¹ "Etat des payments..., 1719," AN, Cols., C11B 4, fol. 217.

had rendered it the most thriving settlement after Louisbourg.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ACADIANS' SHARE IN CARPENTRY AND THE TRADES

In appealing to the Acadians to immigrate to Ile Royale, the first aim of France was to render the new colony self-sufficient in the production of food staples. However desirable the concept was in order to insure the balanced economic situation required for the colony, the implementation of this policy was a failure. Nevertheless, even before the authorities fully realized the extent of this failure, they were aware of the Acadians' versatility in other occupations of value to the fledgling colony. Chapter VII explained how the authorities, almost as an afterthought, attempted to attract them to the fishery, and to the developing coasting industry.

Equally essential to the prosperity of the colony was the need for numerous tradesmen. The Acadians were well-accustomed to the various trades and, eventually, it was as tradesmen — carpenters and builders mainly — that their diligence and skill attracted the attention of the officials in the colony:

Ces peuples sont naturellement adroits et industrieux, stated an anonymous memorial of 1717.... Ils réussissent en tout ce qu'ils entreprennent. Ils ne doivent qu'à la nature la constance qu'ils ont de plusieurs arts. Ils naissent forgerons, menuisiers, tonneliers, charpentiers, constructeurs. Ils font par eux-mêmes les toilles et étoffes dont ils s'habillent. Ainsy outre le défrichement des terres de l'Ile Royale, ils luy fourniroient un

nombre considérable de bons ouvriers qui contribueroient à l'avancement et la perfection de son établissement, plus sans comparaison que ne peut faire des personnes qui ne sont faits ny au climat ny aux usages du pays.¹

There existed an acute shortage of manpower for building in Ile Royale, and this shortage was overcome in part through the immigration of numerous Acadian tradesmen. Apart from the majority of carpenters and builders, whose services were invaluable especially in the early years, there were at least five tradesmen of a more specialized category who came.² Three were natives of France and served for a time in the garrison of the colony, while the other two were civilian tradesmen and natives, one of Quebec, the other of Acadia.

Thomas Jacob (or Jacau), a native of Saintes, Saintonge³, had served as gunner (maître canonnier) in Acadia before coming to Ile Royale with the garrison in 1713.⁴ In 1705, he had married Anne Melanson, an Acadian.⁵ Later, in Ile Royale, a daughter married a son of Jean Rodrigue, which

1 "Mémoire concernant les habitants de l'Acadie," 1717, AN, Cols., C11D 8, fol. 40v.

2 The censuses identify twelve Acadians as tradesmen, while eleven more divided their efforts between coasting and a trade.

3 "Registres de l'Etat civil, Acadie," Oct. 15, 1705, PANS, ms. item 26, fol. 14.

4 Saint-Ovide and Lenormant to Maurepas, Oct. 26, 1737, AN, Cols., C11B 19, fol. 28-30v.

5 "Registres de l'Etat civil, Acadie," loc. cit.

alliance served to maintain the Acadian connections of both families.⁶

The other soldier-tradesmen were Pierre Part dit Laforest, a blacksmith, and Nicolas Pugnant dit Destouches, a baker. Laforest, after serving in Acadia, where in 1707 he married an Acadian,⁷ came to Ile Royale in 1713.⁸ Following his discharge he set up a smithy at Louisbourg, for which he was awarded a grant of land in 1721.⁹ Some time before May 1723 he removed to L'Indienne (modern Lingan)¹⁰ where he resided briefly before settling at Niganiche (modern Ingonish).¹¹

Destouches, born in Paris around 1665, also married an Acadian, at Port Royal in January 1710. She was a native of La Rochelle.¹² Destouches also came to Ile Royale in 1713.¹³

6 "Registres du notariat, Ile Royale," Jan. 18, 1758, AFO, G3 2041 continued, 45 feet microfilm.

7 "Registres de l'Etat civil, Acadie," Feb. 3, 1707, PANS, ms. item 26, fol. 19.

8 "Liste des personnes venues de l'Acadie," 1713, AFO, G1 467-3A, p. 297 PAC transcript.

9 Oct. 22, 1721, AFO, G1 466-2, p. 21 PAC transcript.

10 Louis XV, May 31, 1723, AN, Cols., C11C 16, +15 feet microfilm.

11 "Recensement général des habitants établis à l'isle Royale," Nov. 20, 1724, AFO, G1 467, item 68.

12 "Registres de l'Etat civil, Acadie," Jan. 8, 1710, PANS, ms. 26, fol. 33.

13 "Liste des personnes venues de l'Acadie," 1713, AFO, G1 467-3A, p. 297 PAC transcript.

He took up property at Louisbourg in a choice location along the Quay, where later, in 1716, he carried on his trade as a civilian. He also was awarded a grant of the property in 1721.¹⁴ In 1723, he was reported, like so many Louisbourgers, supplementing his income through the sale of spirits at his home.¹⁵ As late as 1734 he still resided at the same property and engaged in his trade.¹⁶

The civilian higher tradesmen were Jean Corporon and "Bourisse". The former is mentioned in the 1730's as being a caulker,¹⁷ born in Acadia in 1676. Before removing to Ile Royale he had resided at Mines. Bourisse was a woodworker (menuisier), a native of Quebec who had settled in Port Royal prior to coming to Ile Royale. In 1727 he was awarded a grant of land outside Louisbourg, near the Dauphin Gate.¹⁸

Apart from these individuals, the artisan class of Ile Royale mostly comprised Acadians who, like in all pioneering groups, had been forced to become skilled not only in farming,

¹⁴ "Etat des terrains concédés dans Louisbourg," Oct. 24, 1734, AN, Cols., C11B 15, fol. 26-50.

¹⁵ "Estat des emplacements concédés à Louisbourg," 1723, AN, Cols., C11B 39, item 111.

¹⁶ "Etat des terrains...", Oct. 24, 1734, AN, Cols., C11B 15, fol. 26-50.

¹⁷ Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Charente Inférieure, Série B, Régistre 268.

¹⁸ [Land grants], Aug. 4, 1727, AFO, G1 466-2, p. 141-142 [PAC transcript].

but in construction, carpentry and woodworking as well. "Le travail le plus ordinaire des Acadiens est la charpente," wrote Saint-Ovide in 1717.¹⁹ Acadian settlers had always built and finished their own houses, outbuildings and boats. They had always made their own wooden implements and household furnishings, and the diligence of their wives had always kept their families supplied in homespun. This was especially necessary in Acadia where the small population and the particularly insular circumstances of the colony failed to attract any considerable trade from abroad.

In the first years of the Ile Royale colony — 1713, 1714 and 1715 notably — the primary preoccupation was to provide shelter for the officials, the civilian population from Newfoundland, and new immigrants from France.²⁰ Governor Costebelle, before leaving Plaisance for Ile Royale, expressed the hope that the Acadians would rise to the task and come to Ile Royale in anticipation of the large quantity of contracts for building which awaited them in the new colony.²¹

Though it is not possible to ascertain all the work

¹⁹ Saint-Ovide to Council of the Marine, Nov. 12, 1717, AN, Cols., Cl1B 2, fol. 130.

²⁰ In 1713 approximately 160 persons came to Ile Royale (AFO, Gl 467-3A, p. 297 [FAC transcript]), while in 1716 the census recorded the population of the colony as 1470 ("Recensement des habitants...1716," AFO, Gl 467-3B, p. 595-603 [FAC transcript]).

²¹ Costebelle to Pontchartrain, July 9, 1713, AN, Cols., Cl1C 7, fol. 202v.

performed by individual craftsmen, the scattered references available do suggest that the work of Acadian carpenters and builders enjoyed a high reputation.

In the summer of 1714, for instance, a group of itinerant Acadians sailed along the Ile Royale coast to Louisbourg, probably to verify reports that the new colony offered prosperity to diligent enterprisers. While at Louisbourg, they built a house with adjoining store for Jean Rodrigue.²² Later, in the 1720's and 1730's, when Rodrigue became one of the colony's leading merchants, it was from these same buildings that the destinies of the family enterprises were guided for many years.

It was Acadians who supplied part of the lumber required by de Mezy, the recently-arrived successor to Soubras as Commissaire-ordonnateur, when he set about in 1721 to build a complex of stone buildings. Situated upon the Quay on a lot next to that of Rodrigue, these buildings housed the Intendance until the final capture of Louisbourg in 1758.²³

Many Acadians were involved in work for the Crown in the early years of the establishment. In connection with this work there occurred frequent inconsistencies between official

22 "A Declaration of Denis Godet and Bernard Godet, Brothers, inhabitants at the top of the River of Annapolis Royal," Sept. 13, 1714 n. s., PRO, CO 217 2, fol. 10-11.

23 De Mezy to Council of the Marine, Nov. 24, 1721, AN, Cols., C11C 15, fol. 206.

policy and its implementation. For instance, the Crown had allowed itself to fall in arrears in paying the Acadians for work done in the colony. This had contributed not inconsiderably to turn the minds of the Acadians from the merits of immigrating to Ile Royale.²⁴ It was not until 1717 finally that a note to Soubras from the Council of the Marine suggested action was to be taken to effect redress.²⁵

Though the garrison included tradesmen, the authorities preferred Acadians for government contracts, for soldiers had the reputation of being extraordinarily slow.²⁶ Thus, Acadian carpenters were hired for the works undertaken by the Crown at Port Toulouse in the summer of 1715.²⁷ Later, in 1725, the church and rectory at the Indian mission of Mirliguech, complete save for the masonry and some woodwork, was ascribed to Acadians.²⁸

All in all, however, the economy of Ile Royale never developed to the degree anticipated earlier by Governor Costebelle in 1713. Builders and carpenters more often than not

24 "Mémoire concernant les habitants de l'Acadie," 1717, AN, Cols., C11D 8, fol. 40v; "Conseil, sur les français établis à l'Acadie," June 5, 1717, AN, Cols., C11B 2, fol. 112.

25 Council of the Marine to Soubras, June 26, 1718 [sic pro "1717"], AN, Cols., B 39, fol. 285v.

26 V. g. Soubras to Morpain, July 7, 1716, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 382-382v.

27 Id. to Council of the Marine, Dec. 4, 1716, AN, Cols., C11B I, fol. 431.

28 Saint-Ovide to Maurepas, Dec. 10, 1725, AN, Cols.,

were unable to secure a livelihood in their trades. Soubras, probably the most enlightened official as far as the Acadian situation was concerned, reported of Port Toulouse late in 1716, "L'habitation ...est remplie d'Acadiens qui ne demandent que des entreprises et qui sont tous bons charpentiers."²⁹

In spite of the high regard that craftsmen rated in dispatches, memorials and reports, very little effective favour was awarded to individual enterprisers. A case in point was Jean Pitre's agricultural settlement at Petit Saint-Pierre River between 1715 and 1717. Despite Soubras' initial subsidization of the experiment, that scheme failed abruptly because the colonial authorities refused the long-range support required.

Another instance of an individual enterprise was the sawmill on the Petit Saint Pierre River.³⁰ At the urging of Soubras, François Boudrot of Port Toulouse. proposed to erect "un petit moulin à deux scies."³¹ The Council of the Marine concurred as early as April 1716,³² but it was the following

Cl1B 7, fol. 191-193v.

²⁹ Soubras to Council of the Marine, Dec. 4, 1716, AN, Cols., Cl1B 1, fol. 431.

³⁰ Id. to Id., Oct. 31, 1715, AN, Cols., Cl1B 1, fol. 184v.

³¹ Id. to Id., Jan. 8, 1717, AN, Cols., Cl1C 15, item 95.

³² Council of the Marine to Soubras, April 22, 1716, AN, Cols., B 38, fol. 257.

spring before all arrangements were made. Undoubtedly, however, the enterprise failed, for the last recorded mention of the scheme refers to the grant of land along the River in the autumn of 1717.³³

Actually, though official policy appeared to be sound enough in theory, the interests of the local colonial authorities, the military officials especially, always seemed to overcome the aspirations of the humbler classes of the population. The officers of the Ile Royale garrison, and in particular those of the outports, as studied in Chapter V, were able to impose the status of their official positions upon the small enterprisers, like François Boudrot, or the Acadian coasters of Port Toulouse who had petitioned the Minister in 1730.³⁴ The situation so aptly described by the engineer Boucher seven years earlier³⁵ in relation to the problems encountered on Ile Royale by Acadian coasters applied as well to Acadian tradesmen.

The more modest classes of Ile Royale were thus at a disadvantage. There nevertheless was one area where the Acadians might have excelled and enjoyed some prosperity both in

³³ Saint-Ovide and Soubras to Council of the Marine, Nov. 13, 1717, AN, Cols., C11B 2, fol. 128.

³⁴ Petition of the Acadians to Maurepas, Oct. 1, 1730, AN, Cols., C11B 11, fol. 222-223v.

³⁵ Boucher to Council of the Marine, Nov. 13, 1723, AN, Cols., C11B 6, fol. 319.

the colony and possibly along the entire North American seaboard. This was the boat-building industry. The trade of the shipwright could not easily be taken up by the military officer, the civil official or the settler at large, as could farming, fishing, coasting and the innumerable other means of livelihood of the pioneer. The art of boat-building is a more specialized one, demanding the sort of precision, training and experience which is not readily improvised.

The economics and geography of Acadia had rendered many of its inhabitants, as L'Hermitte described the Acadians in his 1716 memorial, "fort entendus et construisent des bateaux eux-mêmes."³⁶ In 1724 de Mezy enthusiastically classified the immigrants from Acadia into two groups:

...charpentiers constructeurs attirés par le quay
 [sic pro "gair"] qu'ils ont fait, à bâtir des goe-
 lettes, ou cabaretiers qui ne pouvaient plus subsis-
 ter à l'Acadie....³⁷

The boat-building trade ought, then, to have been one area which the immigrant Acadians could count on as a permanent economic outlet: of all colonial units in North America in the eighteenth century Ile Royale was most dependant upon water transport to insure its lifelines. The entire period was one of constant trade in vessels — building and

36 "Mémoire de l'Ile Royale," Dec. 1716, AFO, DFC, Amérique Septentrionale 1, item 134.

37 De Mezy to Maurepas, Nov. 15, 1724, AN, Cols., C11B 7, fol. 40v.

trading, buying and selling. Despite this demand, however, the shipwrights of Ile Royale were at as much a disadvantage as were the Acadians generally. The authorities of the Ministry of the Marine did not support a local boat-building industry. In Ile Royale itself, furthermore, overall considerations of the local economy precluded protecting the colony's shipwrights from the competition of New England vessels, which were both cheaper and of better quality.

There was, nevertheless, some boat-building from the very start on Ile Royale. Pontchartrain learned in 1715 that the first handful of immigrants at Port Toulouse had built a small vessel under the supervision and encouragement of Denys de la Ronde, the enthusiastic if somewhat idealistic commander of the detachment there.³⁸ He later reported that the settlers fished in summer and "l'hiver ils construisent des bâtimens."³⁹ In 1716, Governor Costebelle wrote of three vessels built in the colony, two of which were being used to run supplies from Louisbourg to Port Toulouse for the benefit of the Acadian immigrants.⁴⁰

In the autumn of 1717, both Saint-Ovide and la Ronde

³⁸ Pontchartrain to Soubras, June 4, 1715, AN, Cols., B 37, fol. 219v.

³⁹ La Ronde Denys to Council of the Marine, Dec. 3, 1715, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 232v.

⁴⁰ Costebelle to Council of the Marine, Oct. 26, 1716, AN, Cols., C11B 1, fol. 409.

conceived separate plans whereby the valuable resources of the Acadian shipwrights might more profitably be employed. The extract of Saint-Ovide's letter to the Council reads:

Comme le travail le plus ordinaire des Acadiens est la charpente il a fait écrire à plusieurs jeunes habitants qu'il leur donneroit les moyens de s'occuper, étant dans le dessein de faire construire au Port Toulouse à ses dépens un petit bâtiment de 100 tonneaux, mais comme il se trouve dans l'impossibilité de pouvoir faire l'achat des agrés et apparaux, il supplie le Conseil de les luy faire accorder par le Roi. Il est persuadé que les constructions sont les plus surs moyens d'attirer les Acadiens de manière à n'être presque point à charge du Roi.⁴¹

To this suggestion was appended the following cold, forbidding and final observation: "Il peut faire construire son bastimen, mais le Roy n'est pas en estat de luy accorder les agrés et apparaux. [initialed]: LAB, Lmd."⁴²

La Ronde's plan was similar: he wanted to have the Acadians build vessels for the requirements of the Crown in the colony. He described his project as "d'autant plus avantageux au Port Toulouse qu'on attireroit par là un nombre de jeunes Acadiens propre à ce travail."⁴³ To this the authorities reacted with characteristic finality:

⁴¹ Saint-Ovide to Council of the Marine (extract), Nov. 12, 1717, AN, Cols., Cl1B 2, fol. 130.

⁴² Ibid.; "LAB" was Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, Count of Toulouse, and "Lmd" was Victor-Marie d'Estrées, Maréchal, respectively "Chef du Conseil de la Marine" and "Président du Conseil de la Marine."

⁴³ Saint-Ovide and Soubras to Council of the Marine (extract), Nov. 13, 1717, AN, Cols., Cl1B 3, fol. 28.

Le Roy ne veut point faire construire de vaisseaux en ce pays-là mais si les marchands y en veulent bastir aux memes conditions, le Roy y entretiendra un constructeurs à ses dépens.⁴⁴

In spite of this indifference on the part of the authorities, the importance of boat-building in Ile Royale was comparable to that of the Saint Lawrence valley, where the Crown offered bonuses based on tonnage to shipwrights. The papers of the notaries of Louisbourg contain regular entries attesting to the sale by Acadians of vessels which in all probability were built in Port Toulouse. They ranged from twenty to fifty and sixty tonneaux. Upon completion, they were sailed to Louisbourg where they were purchased by local merchants or merchants from the French Atlantic ports for prices ranging from 2000[#] for the smaller goelettes to 4500[#] for the larger batteaux.⁴⁵

In 1731, the Commissaire-ordonnateur, de Mezy, in order to encourage the industry, restricted the importation of New England vessels. While in 1730 ten vessels had been purchased from New England, the following year de Mezy authorized the purchase of no more than five. The result was encouraging, as de Mezy himself explained:

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Cf. AFO, G3 2057 (1720), item 20; 2058 (1724), item 15; 2058 (1725), item 4; 2058 (1726), item 5 and item 35; 2037 (1729), 20 feet [microfilm]; 2037 (1730), 56 feet [microfilm].

Mon opposition avoit tellement donné de la confiance à nos charpentiers et habitants que l'hiver de 1730 à 1731 ils ont construit quatorze batiments, ce qui a causé un grand bien et fait subsister nombre d'ouvriers.⁴⁶

Unfortunately, however, the venture was not an economical one in the long run, for in 1732 only six vessels were built in Ile Royale. At least thirteen, and possibly eighteen, were bought from New Englanders in 1732.⁴⁷

In short, the prospects of a prosperous ship-building industry failed to materialize throughout the period. Just as for every area of enterprise, the Ile Royale building trade was fatally linked to broader considerations which invariably limited the opportunities of the small group of Acadians. Essentially, the economy of the colony was based on fish and trade, and this involved primarily the interests of the bourgeois-merchant class. Also, the interests of an indigent military class were involved, and in the outports such as Port Toulouse, the latter could encroach with a free hand upon the enterprises of the Acadians. Shrouded by the remoteness of the outports, further, these officials neither compromised the frequently questionable integrity of

⁴⁶ De Mezy to Maurepas, Feb. 3, 1732, AN, Cols., Cl1B 13, fol. 7-7v.

⁴⁷ 1732, AN, Cols., Cl1B 13, fol. 110-110v; Dec. 22, 1732, Ibid., fol. 244. In Canada, bonuses were offered in 1732, 1733 and 1734. For those years shipwrights turned out about ten vessels of forty to 100 tonneaux (1732), about ten of less tonnage (1733), and one of 200 tonneaux, one of 150 and six batteaux of between twenty and forty-five tonneaux. Cf. J. N. Fauteux, Essai sur l'industrie au Canada

the administration of the colony, nor taxed the patience of the strong commercial class of Louisbourg, averse as it was to competition from the military.⁴⁸

sous le régime français, Quebec, Proulx, 1927, vol. I, p. 246.

⁴⁸ Cf. the Habitant-fishermen of Ile Royale to Maurepas, Nov. 26, 1738, AN, Col., C11B 20, fol. 304-305v.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The scheme for the settlement of the Acadian population on Ile Royale arose from the circumstances whereby France was forced in 1713 to forfeit Acadia and Newfoundland to Great Britain. French interests lay in restoring both the lucrative North Atlantic fishing industry and the fortunes of her North American empire. The project of removal of the largely-agricultural Acadians to Ile Royale, conceived as a necessary complement to the consolidation of the fishery, did not long survive the first years of the colony.

Founded as the scheme was on the certainty that the Acadians longed to continue living under the authority of the French King and the comfort of the Catholic faith, the French authorities failed to recognize the importance of the material preoccupations of the Acadian population.

Even when, after the refusal of the Acadian farmers to remove to Ile Royale, it appeared that fishermen, coasters and carpenters might be induced to immigrate, the authorities yet were unable to attract but a small number, and many of these eventually returned to Nova Scotia.

Though the comparatively small settlement of Newfoundland — 246 permanent settlers and 352 seasonal fishermen in 1711 — had removed almost entirely to Ile Royale, the circumstances of Acadia were different. The former colony hitherto had depended essentially upon strong economic bonds

with France, failing which, as it did at the Peace of 1713, the lucrative fishery could not survive. On the other hand there had never existed any essential bonds of an economic nature between France and Acadia. Thus, when Newfoundland became a British possession in 1713, Newfoundlanders, in order to continue in their circumstances of former years, were bound to retain their connections with France. Accordingly, they removed to Ile Royale. The Acadians, however, could continue much in the same circumstances under British rule as they had known previously. Failing to find in Ile Royale advantages comparable to those they already enjoyed, all but the officials of the former French colony and sixty-six habitant families remained stoically on their lands in Nova Scotia.

For the officials, of course, there was no alternative but to follow the Crown to Ile Royale. They owed their station in life, and whatever meagre resources their positions afforded them, to service to the Crown. The others, the sixty-six habitant families, generally did not settle in Ile Royale for religious or patriotic reasons alone. Rather, preoccupations of an economic nature constituted the most important determinant. Since most Acadians depended upon farming for their livelihood, and since Ile Royale was found to be barren by comparison with Acadia, farmers generally declined to immigrate. Others, however, — fishermen, coastal navigators, tradesmen, even a number of widows and inhabitants of no

avowed occupation -- removed to Ile Royale in the hope of finding economic amenities surpassing those available to them in Acadia.

They concentrated their settlement at Port Toulouse, in south-east Ile Royale. The community, however, failed to prosper, and the population experienced difficulties which increased as time went on. After 1726, most of the Acadians who had immigrated began to return to Nova Scotia, to the extent that in 1734 there remained at Port Toulouse only nineteen Acadian families.

Though the total number who removed to Ile Royale during the period included fifteen families who had had an agricultural background in Acadia, none of the immigrants became farmers in the new colony. Conditions for farming were far inferior to those of Acadia, and apart from some inconsequential gardening, the Acadians sought their livelihoods mostly in coasting and carpentry, while a few fished or practiced a trade, and not an inconsiderable number depended upon the rations distributed by the Crown.

One reason why so few Acadians fished was that from Port Toulouse the lucrative fishing grounds were accessible only to the larger vessels which the Acadians usually could not afford. On the other hand, a large number used their smaller chaloupes to better advantage in the carrying trade. Port Toulouse, furthermore, was well-suited to coasting, to the extent that the sea was probably the major factor of any

prosperity the Acadians enjoyed on Ile Royale.

Apart from the sea, the particular circumstances of the newly-founded colony rendered necessary large numbers of carpenters, builders and other tradesmen. The Acadians were frequently adept at carpentry and building. However, following the early years when, it would appear, they seldom were idle, carpenters and builders suffered most from the general decline which affected Port Toulouse after 1726.

In assessing the failure of the project for removal of the Acadians to Ile Royale, it is difficult to allow that the French Crown could easily have acted differently than it did in its relations with the immigrants. Essentially, it was the Acadians themselves who were responsible for the failure of the Acadian removal. The majority of Acadians decided of their own volition that to sacrifice their lands in Nova Scotia in favour of removal to Ile Royale was not to their economic advantage. Of the minority which did remove, all did so because they themselves had decided that, because they were not farmers -- or if they were, because they were at the same time fishermen, navigators, carpenters or merely indigent and in quest of some greater measure of security -- Ile Royale offered them greater economic opportunity than did Nova Scotia.

Thus, notwithstanding certain elements of policy which reflect on the part of the French Crown an uncertain grasp of the Acadian situation, it would seem the scheme for

the removal of Acadians to Ile Royale failed because they themselves, excepting a small group, did not want to remove. Later, after 1726, the greater part of even this small group decided to return to their former homes. Here again it was circumstances indigenous to distant colonies as a whole, those of France in North America at any rate, rather than the immediate failure of the Crown, which drove the Acadians from Ile Royale. The state of communications left much of the implementation of policies of order, opportunity and good government to the discretion of the local authorities. In the case of Ile Royale, Governor and Commissaire-ordonnateur were helpless in the face of socio-economic peculiarities which allowed military officers and the leading merchants to use position, wealth and influence to frustrate — consciously or unconsciously — the ventures of the more modest elements of the population.

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Series C11C, Amérique du nord, vol. 7, 11, 15 and 16.

A miscellaneous series, volumes 7, 15 and 16 could find a more logical place in series C11B. Volume 11 records the annual accounts of the Crown relative to services rendered, notably by Acadian coasters and navigators.

Series C11D, Correspondance générale, Acadie, vol. 8 and 10.

Same as C11B in nature. The volumes studied record the termination of the formal interests of France in Acadia after 1710. Noteworthy is a memorial of 1717 on the Acadians.

Series D2C, Troupes coloniales, vol. 47.

Contains the rolls of the Acadia garrison, 1710, and those of Ile Royale for 1715, 1720 and 1726. These have been useful in establishing the dossiers of officers who served in both Acadia before 1710, and Ile Royale from 1713.

Series E, Dossiers personnels,

This series is classified alphabetically, with a file for most military and civilian officials, as well as for a number of prominent Acadians who had some degree of involvement with the Crown.

Series F1A, Fonds des colonies, 1670-1766, vol. 22.

Annual accounts, with some gaps, of monies voted for expenditures in the colonies. There is a single document relating to food supplies distributed to the Acadians.

Series F2C, Décisions de la Marine, carton 3.

Documents on food supplies for the Acadians, and two important letters from the Council of the Marine relative to a colourful personality, Petitpas.

Series F3, Collection Moreau Saint-Méry, vol. 50 and 51.

Contains documents which were either copied or pilfered from the several official series dealing with Ile Royale. Several items do not appear to be extant elsewhere.

Archives Nationales (France), Marine Section:

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Includes several inventories of private effects, as well as court cases involving Acadians. A valuable source for a more intensive social study of Ile Royale.

Series G3, Grefte du notariat, vol. 2037 to 2042, 2044, 2046 to 2047, 2055 to 2058.

Property transactions, mostly within Louisbourg. There are several inventories, work contracts, all of which are essential social documents.

Series Dépôt des fortifications des colonies, 1690-1780, Amérique septentrionale, vol. 1.

A technical series dealing with fortifications. There are two documents of importance: an Acadian petition to the French King, 1714, and a description of Ile Royale, 1716.

Public Record Office:

Colonial Office 217, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, Original Correspondence, vol. 1 to 4.

Correspondence of the governors of Nova Scotia. Essential for the study of the implementation of British policy with respect to the Acadians and Ile Royale.

Colonial Office 218, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, Entry Books, 1710-1867, vol. 1 and 2.

Correspondence of the Lords of Trade to the officials of Nova Scotia. Contains the formulation of British policy relative to the Acadians and Ile Royale.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia:

PANS, Ms. item 26, Registres des baptêmes, mariages et sépultures de la paroisse Saint-Jean-Baptiste du Fort Royal.

Original manuscript containing details on the antecedents of Acadians who removed to Ile Royale after 1713.

B. Published Sources:

Primary Sources:

Akins, Thomas B., editor, Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Annard, 1869, 755 p.

Though a useful collection, it must be used in conjunction with the original, notably PRO, CO 217 and CO 218. Much of the value of this work is compromised because of the arbitrariness and evident partiality of the editor's selections.

Denys, Nicolas, Description géographique et historique des costes de l'Amérique septentrionale, avec l'histoire naturelle du pais, Paris, (no publisher), 1672, 486 p.

Despite the author's aim to attract attention to the possibilities of the Saint Lawrence Gulf region, there is a valuable description of the area about Port Toulouse.

La Roque (sieur de), "Journal et recensement de l'Ile Royale sous la direction de M. le comte de Raymond en l'année 1752," in Rapport concernant les archives canadiennes pour 1905, vol. 2, Ottawa, Imprimeur du Roi, 1906, p. 3-172.

Though of a period later than that under study, this survey contains valuable details relative to the geography and agriculture of the colony.

Little, Otis, The State of Trade in the Northern Colonies considered, with an account of their Produce, and a particular description of Nova Scotia, London. (no publisher), 1748, 43 p.

Among the suggestions for improving the commercial situation of the Northern colonies, there is a contemporary description of relations between Nova Scotia's Acadians and the French on Ile Royale.

Pichon, Thomas, Lettres et mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle, civile et politique du Cap-Breton, depuis son établissement jusqu'à la reprise de cette isle par les anglais en 1758, La Haye, Gosse, 1760, xviii, 329 p.

Pichon accompanied La Roque on his journey, and their respective accounts are complementary insofar, at least, as the area about Port Toulouse is concerned.

Shortt, Adam, editor, Documents relatifs à la monnaie, au change et aux finances du Canada sous le régime français, Ottawa, Imprimeur du Roi, 1925, vol. 2, viii, 577-1127 p.

Among the numerous biographical footnotes relative to personages figuring in these documents, several shed light on Acadia-Ile Royale figures discussed in this study.

Collection de documents inédits sur le Canada et l'Amérique publiés par le Canada-Français, vol. 1, Quebec, Demers, 1888, 211 p.

Conceived as a reaction in the opposite extreme to Akins, Selections, this collection contains several documents with signatures of Acadians, which helped to compare literacy rates among Acadians in Nova Scotia and Ile Royale.

Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Charente Inférieure, Série B, (no place), (no publisher), (no date), (no pagination).

This calendar contains selected documents which provide details on several Acadians.

Relations des Jésuites contenant ce qui s'est passé de remarquable dans les missions des pères de la compagnie de Jésus dans la Nouvelle-France, vol. 1, Quebec, Cote, 1858, (no pagination).

The relation for 1634-35 describes the short-lived station at Sainte-Anne (later Port Dauphin), the surrounding area and the Indians of Cape Breton.

Secondary Works:

Arsenault, Bona, Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens, Quebec, Vie Française, 1965, 2 vols.

The work of an enthusiastic amateur historian, containing a wealth of genealogical information. There are nevertheless many factual errors, and in evident lack of serious historical criticism.

Bernard, Antoine, Le drame Acadien depuis 1604, Montreal, Clercs de Saint-Viateur, 1936, 461 p.

This work is a valuable first contribution to Acadian historiography, and despite the patriotic bias of the author is still considered the standard reference of Acadians to this day.

Brebner, J. Bartlett, New England's Outpost, Acadia before the Conquest of Canada, New York, Columbia University Press, 1927, 291 p.

A description of the British attempt to govern Nova Scotia after 1710. The foremost history of the Acadians caught between the crossfire of the French and English in their fight for empire in North America.

Brown, George, editor, Dictionnaire biographique du Canada, vol. I, de l'an 1000 à 1700, Quebec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1966, xxv, 774 p.

Though this volume precedes the period under study, it nevertheless provided the summary information required to place the seventeenth-century background of Cape Breton in relation to the present study.

Brown, Richard, A History of the Island of Cape Breton with some Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Canada, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, London, Low and Marston, 1869, xiv, 464 p.

The removal is dealt with at some length, and in a light favourable to the astuteness of the Acadians in generally refusing to be lured from their homes in Nova Scotia.

Casgrain, Henri-Raymond, Un pèlerinage au pays d'Évangéline, Paris, Cerf, 1889, 404 p.

A history of Acadia from 1713, and, especially, of its rebirth since 1755, written in the tradition of the French-language patriot-historians of the late-nineteenth century.

Creighton, Donald, Dominion of the North, A History of Canada, Toronto, Macmillan, 1957, 619 p.

One page of this single-volume survey studies the Acadian removal. A fresh look inspired nonetheless by Brebner's classic.

Fauteux, J.-Noël, Essai sur l'industrie au Canada sous le régime français, Quebec, Proulx, 1927, 2 vol.

Somewhat outdated in the light of the strides that have been made in the field of economic history. Used in order to make a comparison between boat-building activity in Canada and Ile Royale in the eighteenth century.

Garneau, François-Xavier, Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours, vol. 2, Montreal, Beauchemin et Valois, 1882, 4th edition, 467 p.

The pioneer historian frequently gives way to the patriot. The subject is viewed in terms of English obstruction of the Acadians' willingness to remove to Ile Royale.

Haliburton, Thomas C., An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia, Halifax, (no publisher), 1829, vol. 1, viii, 340, viii p.

This work is the most valuable English history of Nova Scotia of the period, in spite of the inaccuracies which are attributable to age and the influences of environment.

Harvey, Daniel C., The French Regime in Prince Edward Island, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1926, xiii, 265 p.

This work remains the most complete and best documented history of Ile Saint-Jean. The Acadian settlement of Ile Royale is dealt with at some length.

Johnston, Angus A., A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, vol. 1, (1611-1827), Antigonish, Saint Francis Xavier University Press, 1960, viii, 568 p.

This work is a record of the activity of Catholic missionaries in the area under study. Based on a wide variety of original sources, notably from the Archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec.

La Morandière, Charles de, Histoire de la pêche de la morue dans l'Amérique septentrionale (des origines à 1789), Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1962, 2 vols.

The cod fishery is seen as a very important French industry, and not merely as a colonial venture. A valuable contribution to Canadian historiography.

Lanctôt, Gustave, Histoire du Canada, vol. 3, du traité d'Utrecht au traité de Paris, 1713-1763, Montreal, Beauchemin, 1964, 405 p.

For so recent a work, a disappointing repetition of the classical French-language interpretation of French eighteenth-century colonial involvement in America.

Lauvrière, Emile, La tragédie d'un peuple, Histoire du peuple Acadien de ses origines à nos jours, vol. 1, Paris, Goulet, 1924, 507 p.

Possibly the most irritating and partial of a long list of apologist-historians. Only French sources are used in describing the Acadian settlement in Ile Royale.

LeBlant, Robert, Un colonial sous Louis XIV, Philippe de Pastour de Costebelle, gouverneur de Terre-Neuve, puis de l'Ile Royale, (1661-1717), Dax, Pradeu, 1935, 259 p.

This biography of the first governor of Ile Royale is a guide to the establishment of the new colony, despite the fact that the subject himself was allowed little time to achieve much in dealing with the Acadian situation.

Le Jeune, Louis-M., Dictionnaire de biographie, histoire, littérature, agriculture, commerce, industrie et des arts, sciences, moeurs, coutumes, institutions politiques et religieuses du Canada, Ottawa, Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1931, 2 vol.

An indispensable tool because of the wealth of quick-reference material. Nevertheless, because there are many errors of detail, the work warrants some caution.

Louis-Jaray, Gabriel, L'empire français d'Amérique (1534-1803), Paris, Colin, 1938, 376 p.

Despite some factual errors, this work constitutes a valid synthesis of the French presence in the Americas.

MacNutt, W. S., The Atlantic Provinces, the Emergence of Colonial Society, 1712-1857, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 305 p. (The Canadian Centenary Series).

In a work concerned primarily with the British fact in the Atlantic region, the author acknowledges briefly the importance to France of the Acadians remaining in Nova Scotia.

Malchelosse, Gérard, Deux tournants de l'histoire d'Acadie, 1713 et 1755, in Cahier des Dix, no. 5, 1940, p. 107-140.

The author offers an unfounded explanation of French motives for the Acadian removal to Ile Royale (Cf. p. 27, note).

Massignon, Geneviève, Les parlers français d'Acadie, enquête linguistique, Paris, Klincksieck, 1962, 2 vol.

Valuable scientific contribution to Acadian historiography. Despite the well-documented historical background to

the work, there are some errors of interpretation attributable to haste. Excellent bibliography containing 406 items.

McLennan, John S., Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall, 1713-1758, London, Macmillan, 1918, 454 p.

The standard work on Ile Royale, despite the cursory study of the colony outside of Louisbourg. His interpretation of the Acadian presence is frequently at variance with the findings of this study.

Monkhouse, F. J., A Regional Geography of Western Europe, London, Longmans, 1959, xx, 720 p.

This work was consulted with the aim of a better understanding of the process of reclaiming marshlands, as practiced in the West of France and in Acadia, during the seventeenth century.

Murdoch, Beamish, A History of Nova Scotia or Acadie, vol. 1, Halifax, Barnes, 1865, 543 p.

A chronological account, based mostly on English sources from the Nova Scotia Archives. Many extensive and important documents are reproduced following the chapters.

Oleson, Tryggvi, Early Voyages and Northern Approaches, 1000-1632, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1963, xii, 211 p. (The Canadian Centenary Series).

A fresh interpretation of the Viking presence in North America, based on both written and archaeological evidence.

Parkman, Francis, A Half-Century of Conflict, France and England in North America, vol. 1, Boston, Little, Brown, 1922, xiii, 368 p.

Describes the three wars for empire, 1700 to 1763. The Acadian involvement is analysed at great length in the tradition of scholarship which has since continued to inspire the writing of French North American history in both languages.

Rameau de Saint-Père, Edme, Une colonie féodale en Amérique, l'Acadie (1604-1881), Montreal, Granger, 1889, vol. 2, 425 p.

Work based on the authority of a limited number of sources available to the author. His overall view is considerably out of date.

Richard, Edouard, Acadie, Réconstitution d'un chapitre perdu de l'histoire d'Amérique, Henri d'Arles, éditeur, vol. 1, Quebec, Laflamme, 1916, xxxii, 418 p.

One of several works seriously wanting in objectivity and method. The single theme is to pinpoint British responsibility for the expulsion of 1755.

Rumilly, Robert, Histoire des Acadiens, Montreal, (no publisher), 1955, vol. 1, 548 p.

Though recognized as an improvement over previous French-language Acadian histories, the author avoids the delays involved in submitting the narrative to the rigours of extensive historical explanation and criticism.

Shortt, Adam, and Arthur Doughty, editors, Canada and its Provinces, A History of the Canadian People and their Institutions by One Hundred Associates, vol. 13, The Atlantic Provinces, Toronto, Glasgow, Brook, 1914, xii, 375 p.

Characterized by the importance attached to economic factors, as compared with the histories of the preceding era. The Acadian problem is referred to only briefly.

Sulte, Benjamin, L'Acadie française, in Mélanges Historiques, vol. 16, annotated and published by Gérard Malche-losse, 1930, 96 p.

Violent vituperation of British obstruction of the Acadians' fondest hope: to leave British Nova Scotia and re-join their compatriots on Ile Royale.

APPENDIX 1

THE ACADIAN SETTLERS OF ILE ROYALE IN ACADIA

Symbols

(BA) from B. Arsenault, Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens, Quebec, Vie Française, 1969, 2 vol.

(GM) from G. Massignon, Les parlers français d'Acadie, enquête linguistique, Paris, Klincksieck, 1962, 2 vol.

(sig) signature extant. (ill) proof of illiteracy extant.

BC bêtes à corne (cattle). BL bêtes à laine (sheep).

CO cochons (pigs). AR Arpents en valeur (acres under cultivation).

m. married. m. 2 second marriage to.

+ died.

Name of settler.	Place of origin, Date of immigration to Acadia.	Date of birth or age in year "x".	Residence in Acadia.	Marital details.	Agricultural involvement, 1707				Size of family, date nearest to removal:			
					BC	BL	CO	AR.	Male	Female	Year	
I JACAU, Thomas	Saintes (HA)	1677 (BA)	P. Royal	m. Anne Melanson, '05								
LAFORST, Pierre Part dit	Tulle (BA)	ca. 1685 (HA)	P. Royal	m. Jeanne Dugas, '07.								
LACHAUME, Louis	Poitiers (BA)	ca. 1680 (BA)	P. Royal	m. Mad'ne Triel, '02.					nil		1714	
DESTOUCHES, Nicolas Pugnant dit (sig)	Paris	ca. 1688 (BA)	P. Royal	m. Marie Brunet, '11								
CAHOJET, veuve	Perigieuse (BA)		P. Royal	widow of Christophe					3 children		1713	
II RODRIGUE, Jean (sig)	Viana do Castelo (Portugal) Bordeaux	ca. 1686 (HA)	P. Royal	m. Anne Leborgne, '07.								
LASONDE, Bernard Mars dit (sig)			Houssanedo boMt	m. () Petitpar.					2 children		1717	
CORFORON, Jean (ill)	Acadia (HA)	1676 (BA)	Pinac; P. Royal, '14	m. Marie Ploet, '10.					3 children		1714	
COSTE, Francois	Marseille, ca. 1692 (BA)	1671 (BA) 36 in 1701	P. Royal	m. Mag'ne Martin.	4	10	10	14 1/2	4	2	1714	

Name of settler.	Place of origin, Date of immigration to Acadia.	Date of birth or age in year "x".	Residence in Acadia.	Marital details.	Agricultural involvement, 1707				Size of family, date nearest to removal:		
					BC	BL	CO	AR.	Male	Female	Year
TILLARD, François	France ca. 1700 (A)	ca. 1685 (BA)	I. Royal	m. Marie Leprince					1	2	1714
LETIFAS, Nicolas (ill)	Acadia		P. Royal	m. 2 Marie Simon, '14					nil		1714
COLEAU, Jean	Acadia (30)	ca. 1680 (BA) 16 in 1700	Acadia						nil		1714
HITRE, Jean	Acadia (31)	30 in 1701	P. Royal	m. Anne Coleau.					5	5	1717
GAUDET, Guillaume	Acadia	1683 (BA)	P. Royal	m. Marie Boudrot, '09					nil		1717
GAUDET, Denis	Acadia (31)	1686 (BA) 14 in 1700	P. Royal						nil		
LIRANDE, Joseph (ill)	Acadia	1680									
LANDRY, Jean	Acadia	20 in 1700	Commissaire d'Indes	m. Marie Godet	8	5	3	6	5	1	1714
BOUDROT, Charles (sig)	Acadia (31)	14 in 1701	P. Royal	m. Marie-L. Landry, '07.	26	12	26	12	3	3	1714
LEBLANC, Claude	Acadia		Indes		5	3	4	1½	1	3	1714
									1	2	1724
III RICHARD, Pierre (ill)	Acadia	1662 (BA) 40 in 1714	P. Royal		15	11	16	6	5	2	1714
PARIS, François Testard dit (ill)	Acadia	ca. 1653 (BA)	P. Royal	m. Marie Dolron, '07					2	2	1714
BOUAPETIT, Eléise de Broussas	Viret	ca. 1600 (BA)	P. Royal	m. Anne Fra ctieux, '10.							
BOUDROT, François (sig)	Acadia	ca. 1666 (BA) 34 in 1701	P. Royal	m. Marie Bel'ean.	24	35	13	14	6	2	1714
LANDRY, Claude (sig)	Acadia	1663 (BA) 38 in 1701	P. Royal		21	15	20	6	3	1	1714
DUCAS, Joseph (sig)	Acadia	1680 (BA) 18 in 1698	Indes	m. Marie Richard					2		1714
RICHARD, Jean (sig)	Acadia		Indes	m. Marie- Eanson.							
DUCAS, Abraham (sig)	Acadia	1663 (BA)	P. Royal	m. 2 Marie Landry, '09.	8	16	10	1	3 children		1714
IV BELLIVANT, Jean (ill)	Acadia	1652 (BA) 48 in 1700	P. Royal	m. Cecile Belancor	4	6		6	2	4	1714
BOUJASSE (sig)	Quebec		P. Royal	m. Jeanne Martin.	2			2	1 child		1717
BOUDROT, Michel (ill)	Acadia	1680 (BA) 12 in 1701	P. Royal	m. Anne Landry.							
COCHER, Pierre	St-Jean-de- Dieppe (Canada)		Indes	m. Gene Robert.							

Name of settler.	Place of origin, Date of immigration to Acadia.	Date of birth or age in year "x".	Residence in Acadia.	Marital details.	Agricultural involvement, 1707				Size of family, date nearest to removal:		
					BC	BL	CO	AR.	Male	Female	Year
PINET, Antoine	Acadia	1682 (BA)	Mines (BA)	m. M'ite Bellemère					1	1	1717
MARTIN, Pierre (ill)	Acadia (GM)	1682 (BA) 37 in 1701	P. Royal	m. Anne Godin ca'89	6	13	19	4	8	3	1714
MARTIN, Jean	Acadia	1671 (BA) ca. 60 in 1732	Pigiguit	m. Mag'ne Babin ca'95		1	3		2	7	1714
LAROSE,			P. Royal							1	1717
AUBOIS, Julien	Nantes (BA) ca. 1672 (BA)	ca. 1641 (BA)	Cap Sable	m. 2 Jeanne Aimée (BA)							
HENRY, Robert	Rouen (BA) ca. 1671 (BA)	ca. 1643 43 in 1686 (GM)	Cobequid	m. Mag'ne Godin	2	4	2	2	4		1717
PINET, veuve	Acadia								3		1717
GROFLEE, veuve											
POTIER, Louis Marchand dit	Poitiers	ca. 1682 (BA)	P. Royal	m. Marie Godin, '05.					2	2	1717
GENTIL, Elie	Saintonge	ca. 1680 (BA)	P. Royal	m. Cecile Martin, '02							
JASMIN, Jean			Mines						1	1	1714
SIMON, Pierre dit Boucher	Acadia	1689 (BA)	P. Royal	m. Marie Pinette.					2	3	1714
PETITPAS, Claude	Acadia	1663 (BA)	P. Royal	m. Marie- Thérèse.					4		1717
PETITPAS, Barthé- lemy	Acadia	1687 (BA)	P. Royal (BA)	m. Mag'ne Coste.						1	1717
BOUDART, François	Brussels	ca. 1686 (BA)	Pigiguit	m. Marie Babin ca'68						2	1714
V BOUDROT, François dit Lemare (ill)	Acadia	1692 (BA)	P. Royal	m. Jeanne Landry, '17							
BOURG, Michel	Acadia	1692 (BA)	B'assin	m. Marie Cormier							
BROSSARD, Pierre (ill)	Acadia	1684	P. Royal	m. M'ite Bourg, '09					2	1	1714
VIGNAU, Maurice	Canada ca. 1700 (BA)	ca. 1680 (BA)	P. Royal	m. M'ite Commeaux	2			2	3		1707
FOUGÈRE, Jean	Orleans	ca. 1685 (BA)	P. Royal	m. Marie Bourg, '13					3	children	1724
AUBOIS, Pierre	Acadia (BA)	ca. 1691 (BA)	Cap Sable	m. E'beth Dugas '17							
LANGLOIS, François (sig)	Paris "des son enfance"	1680 (BA)	P. Royal	m. Mag'ne Comeau, '04					5	children	1716
SANSON, Gabriel (ill)	Fointe de Levis	ca. 1683	P. Royal	m. Jeanne Martin, '04	4		5	1/2	10	children	1722
LAVIGNE, Nicolas	Saint-Denis (France)	ca. 1692	P. Royal	m. Mag'ne Doucet '15					4	children	1724

Name of settler.	Place of origin, date of immigration to Acadia	Date of birth or age in year "x".	Residence in Acadia.	Marital details.	Agricultural involvement, 1707				Size of family, date nearest to removal:		
					BC	BL	CO	AR.	Male	Female	Year
VI DOUCET, Charles (ill)	Acadia	1688 (BA) 14 in 1701							3	1	1724
NICHEL, Joseph	Acadia	ca. 1703 (BA)	P. Royal	m.M-Anne Boudrot							
LATREILLE, Louis	Acadia								2	1	1724
PINET, Noël	Acadia	ca. 1683 (BA)	Mines	m.Rose Henri, '10					2	3	1724
SAVOIE, Marie veuve Triel	Acadia	1657 (BA) 43 in 1700	P. Royal	wid, Jacq's Triel							
PREJEAN, François	Acadia	1693 (BA) 8 in 1701	P. Royal	m.M-Mag'ne Vrig_____						1	1726
PINET, veuve, la jeune	Acadia								1		1726
DOUCET l'Irlandois	Acadia										
LAPIERRE, Jean- Baptiste	Acadia		P. Royal	m.F'çcise					4	3	1726
PREJEAN, Nicolas	Acadia (BA)	1704 (BA)		m.M'ite Brossard.					4		1734
BOISSEAU, Pierre	Acadia	1702		m.M'ite Terriau.							

APPENDIX 2

THE ACADIAN IMMIGRANTS IN ILE ROYALE (1717-34)

Symbols

Names of Places:	Occupations and Conditions:
IN L'Indienne.	blan. <u>Blanchisseuse</u> .
ISJ Ile Saint-Jean.	bu <u>Bon et utile</u> .
L Louisbourg.	ch. <u>Charpentier</u> .
NE Nerichac.	co. <u>Constructeur</u> .
NI Niganiche.	dis. Discharged soldier.
PG Petit de Grat.	hab. <u>Habitant</u> .
PI Pisiqid.	in. inter. Indian interpreter.
PL Petit Lorembecq.	jar. <u>Jardinier</u> or <u>jardinière</u> .
PR Port Royal.	march. <u>Marchand</u> .
PSP Petit Saint-Pierre.	mat. <u>Matelot</u> .
PT Port Toulouse.	men. <u>Mennisier</u> .
	na. <u>Navigateur</u> .
	pê. <u>Pêcheur</u> .
	sold. Soldier.
	vh <u>Vieil habitant</u> .
	vp <u>Vagabond et paresseux</u> .
	wid. Widow.
	x Received rations of foodstuffs.

Name of Settler.	Rations 1717	Census 1717	Census 1720	Census 1724 Occup.	Census 1726 Occup.	Census 1734 Occup.
I JACAU, Thomas	. . .	. . .	(Master	gunner)	. . .	. . .
LAFORST, Pierre Part dit	. . .	. . .	(Blacksmith)		. . .	. . .
LACHAUME, Louis	. . .	. . .	(Sergent, later discharged)		. . .	. . .
DESTOUCHES, Nicolas Pugnant dit	. . .	. . .	(Baker)	. . .	. . .	. . .
CAHOUE, veuve						
II RODRIGUE, Jean		L, p ^ê	L, p ^ê	L, p ^ê	Wid, L	Wid, L
LASONDE, Bernard Mars dit	x			PT, na	PT, p ^ê	Wid, PT
CORPORON, Jean	x	PT, vp	PT			L, na +1741
COSTE, François	x	PT		PT, ch- na, x	PT, ch- na	PT, na
TILLARD, François	(Returned to Acadia following brief settlement)					
PETITPAS, Nicolas			PG, p ^ê	PG, ch	PG, ch	L, ch
COMEAU, Jean	x					
PITRE, Jean	x					
GAUDET, Guillaume				PT, na	PT, na	
GAUDET, Denis	x					
MIRANDE, Joseph		IN, hab		IN, p ^ê	IN, p ^ê	Wid, PL p ^ê
LANDRY, Jean				PT, ch- na	PT, ch- na	
BOUDROT, Charles	x	PT, bu	PT		L	PR in 1730
LEBLANC, Claude				PT, ch- na	PT, ch	
III RICHARD, Pierre						
PARIS, François Testard dit				PT, ch- na	PT, na	
BONAPETIT, Blaise de Brousas d.						
BOUDROT, François	x, PSP	PT, bu	PT	PT, co	PT, co	+PR, 1733

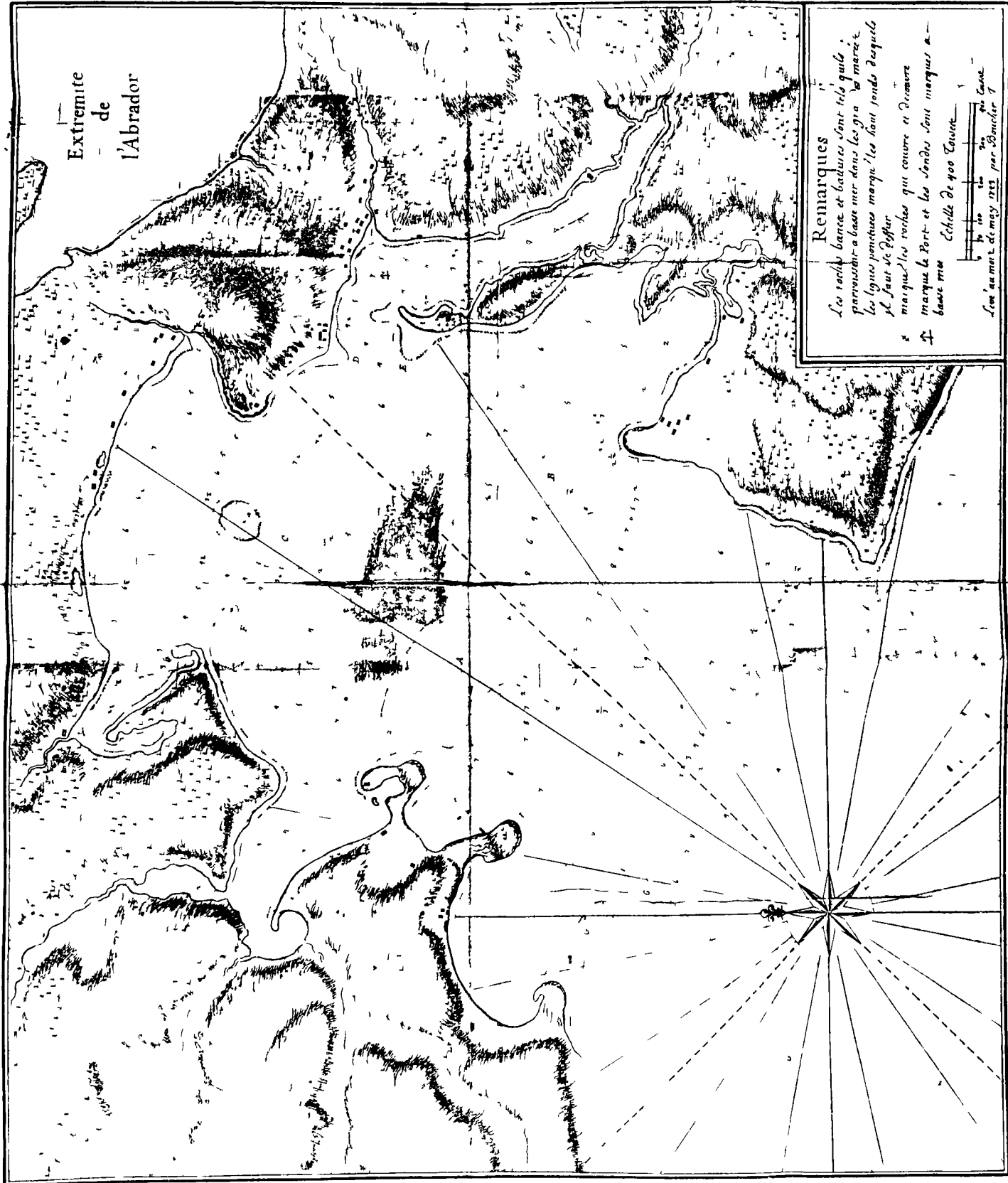
Name of Settler.	Rations 1717	Census 1717	Census 1720	Census 1724 Occup.	Census 1726 Occup.	Census 1734 Occup.
LANDRY, Claude				PT, vh	PT, vh	+PR, 1740
DUGAS, Joseph	x	PT, bu	PT	PT, co- na	PT, co- na	+1733 Wid, L
RICHARD, Jean						L, <u>maçon</u>
DUGAS, Abraham	x		+PR			
IV BELLIVEAU, Jean				PT, vh	ISJ, 1728	
BOURISSE	x	PT, bu men				
BOUDROT, Michel	x	PT, bu	PT	PT, co- na	PT, co- na	PR, 1730
BOUCHE, Pierre	x	PT, vp	PT			+ante 1731
PINET, Antoine	x		PT	PG, ch x	L, ch	L, +1738
MARTIN, Pierre	x	PT, vp				Miré, hab-ch
MARTIN, Jean	x	PT, vp	PT	PT, vh	PT, vh	+1732
LAROSE	x, sold.	PT, vp dis.	PT, dis.			
AUBOIS, Julien	x	PT, vp				
HENRY, Robert	x	PT, vp	PT			
PINET, veuve	x	PT, vp	PT	PT, jar.	PT, jar.	
GIROFLEE, veuve	x					
POTHIER, Louis Marchand dit	x	PT, vp				PT, jar
GENTIL, Elie	x					
JASMIN, Jean	x	PT, bu	PT	Wid, NE	Wid, NE blan	Wid, NE hab
SIMON, Pierre dit Boucher	x			PG, pê	PG, pê	L in 1730
PETITPAS, Claude	x			PT, hab- march	PT, march	
PETITPAS, Bar- thélemy		PT, bu	PT	PT, na x	PT, na	PT, in- inter
BOUDART, François		PT, vp	PT		PT, na	PT, na

Name of Settler.	Rations 1717	Census 1717	Census 1720	Census 1724 Occup.	Census 1726 Occup.	Census 1734 Occup.
V BOUDROT, François dit Lemare			PT 1722	PT, co- na	PT, co- na	ISJ 1727
BOURG, Michel			PT 1722	PT, na	PT, na	
BROSSARD, Pierre			PT 1722	PT, na	PT, na	
VIGNAU, Maurice			PT 1722	PT, co	PT, co	
FOUGERE, Jean			PT 1722	PT, na	PT, na- pê	
AUBOIS, Pierre			PT 1722			
LANGLOIS, François			PT 1722	PT, na	PT, na	PT, na
SANSON, Gabriel			PT 1722	PT, co- na	PT, co- na	PT, ch
LAVIGNE, Nicolas			PT 1722	PT, na	PT, na	
VI DOUCET, Charles				PT, ch- na, x	PT, ch- na	
MICHEL, Joseph				PT, co- na	PT, ch- na	
LATREILLE, Louis				PT, na	PT, na	
PINET, Noël				NE, ch, x	NE, ch- mat	+1741
SAVOIE, Marie veuve Triel				L		
PREJEAN, François					NI, ch	
PINET, veuve, la jeune					PT, jar	
DOUCET l'Irlandois					PT, na	
LAPIERRE, Jean- Baptiste					PT, na	Wid, PT, jar
PREJEAN, Nicolas						PT, ch- na
BOISSEAU, Pierre						L

L. 17. 11. 18. 19. 20. 21.

PLAN DU PORT TOULOUSE [Isle Royale]

[Cronique, 1840]



APPENDIX 4

ABSTRACT OF

Acadian Settlement on Ile Royale, 1713-1734¹

The question of Acadian immigration to Ile Royale came about as a result of France being forced to reorganize her North American empire after the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. Having lost Acadia and Newfoundland to Britain, France set about immediately to develop a new colony on Cap Breton which she renamed Ile Royale.

For France, Newfoundland had been a valuable colony because of the lucrative fishery close to its shores, even more valuable than Acadia, rich in agriculture and with a much larger population than Newfoundland. The North Atlantic fishery was much more an industry of metropolitan France, than a colonial venture. It was the first object of the Ile Royale colony to restore the fortunes of the fishery. When in 1713 France sought to attract the Acadians to the new colony, it was to create an agricultural base to the fishing industry, something she had never attempted in Newfoundland.

This thesis studies French policy toward the Acadians after 1713, and Britain's reaction to it. It attempts to estimate the number of families who left Acadia for Ile Royale

¹ Bernard A. Pothier, masters thesis presented to the Department of History of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, September 1967, 150 p.

before 1734, the last year in which statistically it is possible to make a satisfactory analysis. It also attempts to discover why so few — sixty-six families — seriously considered leaving Acadia. The answer is that the predominantly-agricultural Acadians generally refused to sacrifice the resources of Nova Scotia in favour of the comparatively barren circumstances of Ile Royale. Thirdly, the thesis seeks to define just what attractions Ile Royale did offer to the Acadians who immigrated: they sought to take advantage on Ile Royale of economic opportunities in areas other than agriculture — such as fishing, coastal transport, carpentry and other trades — which opportunities they felt existed in Nova Scotia to a lesser degree. Fourthly, the most difficult problem was to establish the reasons which convinced many Acadians to return to Acadia from 1726 onward. It would seem that, in the face of competition from well-established merchants and the military, the modest resources of the Acadian habitants failed in the long run to guarantee livelihoods even comparable to the uncomplicated well-being they and their predecessors had enjoyed in Acadia from 1650. It is clear then that the French policy to attract Acadians to Ile Royale was in the end a complete failure.