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possibly spread by French deserters—of a very strong force at Placentia it was decided that an attack might well meet with disaster. The squadron sailed for England without making any attempt at the reduction of Placentia. Richards, who had asked for permission to return on the grounds of ill health, embarked for the passage home, leaving Lieutenant Thomas LLOYD in command at St John's.

On his return Graydon was faced with the extreme displeasure of the government and, from some quarters, with accusations of actual cowardice. His failure to attack Ducasse's squadron, the angry protests of the merchants of Jamaica (who may have had "interest" at home), and his decision not to attack Placentia may have influenced the government against him. He was not brought to trial by court martial, but the House of Lords deprived him of his pension. He died in retirement, 12 March 1725/26.

A portrait of Graydon by Kneller hangs in the Painted Hall of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich.

MICHAEL GODFREY

PRO, Adm. 6/107; C.O. 194/2, 195/3. Campbell, *Lives of the admirals*, III. PRO, *B.T. Journal*, 1704–1708/9; *CSP, Col.*, 1701, 1702, 1702–3, 1704–5. Charnock, *Biographia navalis*, II. *DNB*. Lounsbury, *British fishery at Nfld.*

"GREAT WORLD." See OHONSIOWANNE

**GREYSOLON DE LA TOURETTE, CLAUDE**, esquire, fur-trader, brother of DANIEL GREYSOLON Dulhut; b. c. 1660, probably at Saint-Germain-Laval; d. after 1716, in France, probably at Lyons.

The date of La Tourette's arrival in New France is uncertain. He may have come with Dulhut in 1675 or perhaps only in 1682, when the latter returned to the colony after having unsuccessfully sought from Seignelay the grant of a seigneurie in the lands he might discover west of Lake Superior. In 1683, holding Governor Le Febvre\* de La Barre's commission, the two brothers set out together for the western Great Lakes with a convoy of 15 canoes.

La Tourette's duties in the west consisted in administering the posts which his brother founded on Lake Nipigon and at Kaministiquia. This involved establishing commercial relations with the Indians living on the lands between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay and making voyages to Montreal to purchase trade goods and to hire indentured employees. There are indications that La Tourette was highly successful in this work. In 1687, during one of his visits to the colony, he

informed Governor Denonville [BRISAY] that over 1,500 Indians had come to his posts to trade. When he returned to the west in 1688 he took with him a party of 200 men, 30 of them being his own employees. By that date, Dulhut's western career had come to an end, but La Tourette continued to operate the two posts until approximately 1693.

He probably returned to France in the mid 1690s; little is known of his life after that. The fur trade had apparently made him wealthy, however, for in 1700 he loaned to the procurators of the city of Lyons, where he had taken up residence, the sum of 10,800 *livres*. In New France, meantime, the shareholders of the former Compagnie de La Ferme du Roi were taking action against him before the Conseil Supérieur for the recovery of a sum of 3,186 *livres* loaned to him by CHARLES AUBERT de La Chesnaye in 1685. This lawsuit, in which La Tourette was represented by a deputy, continued until 1716 when a judgment was rendered ordering him to pay the amount in question. This is the last reference to him in Canadian documents. There is no evidence to support the theory that he returned to America to command a post in the Illinois country in 1728.

YVES F. ZOLTIVANY

[Isolated references to La Tourette can be found in several books and articles, but these are unreliable. The most common errors consist in calling him Charles instead of Claude and in maintaining that he arrived in Canada in 1675, accompanied Dulhut on his expedition to the west in 1678, and returned to command a post in the Illinois country in 1728. No evidence has been found to support any of these three contentions. Y.F.Z.]

AN, Col., C<sup>11A</sup>, 6, 9; F<sup>3</sup>, 7. *Découvertes et établissements des Français* (Margry), VI. *Jug. et délib.*, III, V, VI. P.-G. et A. Roy, *Inv. greffes not.*, I, IV, V, XI, XVIII. É.-Z. Massicotte, "Daniel de Greysolon, sieur du Lhut, Claude de Greysolon, sieur de La Tourette, et Jean Jacques Patron," *BRH*, XXXIII (1927), 139–47.

**GREYSOLON DULHUT** (sometimes written **Du Lhut** or **Du Luth**), DANIEL, esquire, ensign, *gendarme* of the king's household, *coureur de bois*, explorer, founder of western posts, captain in the colonial regular troops; b. c. 1639 at Saint-Germain-Laval; d. in Montreal, 25 Feb. 1710.

The Greysolons came from the region of Saint-Germain-Laval, near Lyons. Genealogical evidence indicates that they were of the middle class but Dulhut enjoyed the title of esquire. At some point in its history, then, the family must have entered the ranks of the lesser nobility.

Little is known of Dulhut's early years. From his correspondence, which contains a few classical

## Greysolon Dulhut

allusions and passages of some literary value, it can be inferred that he was a man of education. His career in France was a military one. In 1657 he is mentioned as an ensign in the Régiment de Lyon and around 1665 he joined the Gendarmes, an élite regiment of the royal household to which only noblemen were admitted. As a member of this regiment he served in the army commanded by Condé in 1674. On 11 August at Seneffe, this force of 100,000 men defeated the Dutch under William of Orange. Dulhut participated in the bloody encounter as the squire of the Marquis de Lassay, one of Condé's aides-de-camp.

In a letter written to the Marquis de Seignelay in 1682, Dulhut stated that he had made two voyages to New France before 1674. Although nothing is known of their nature and purpose it was during those early visits to the colony that he began to think of travelling to the land of the Sioux, the powerful tribe settled near the headwaters of the Mississippi. This is the project to which he devoted himself in earnest after his return to Canada in 1675. He acquired a house in Montreal, mingled with the Indians, and was even given three slaves by a group of Sioux as a sign of their friendship. Two of his relatives already settled in the colony may have been of some assistance to him at this stage of his career. His uncle Jacques Patron, a Montreal merchant, may have been interested in the commercial aspect of the proposed venture and possibly provided funds to finance it. His brother-in-law, Lussigny, an officer in Buade\* de Frontenac's guards, perhaps introduced him to the governor. Frontenac already knew that the Lake Superior area was a virtually untapped source of prime beaver pelts. In 1676, he had sent Hugues Randin\* to Sault Ste Marie to arbitrate a settlement between the Sioux and their neighbours in order to open the area to French commerce. Since then Colbert had, on two occasions, forbidden trading outside the limits of the colony. Perhaps because of these prohibitions Frontenac did not authorize Dulhut to carry out his project.

Dulhut decided therefore to leave Montreal secretly on 1 Sept. 1678 with seven French followers and his three Indian slaves. His purpose was to negotiate a permanent peace between the Sioux, Chippewas, and other tribes dwelling west and north of Lake Superior and link up this pacified area firmly with New France. He also hoped to prevent the Crees and Monsonis from taking their pelts to the English on Hudson Bay. In 1678, these Indians had been plundered by the Ottawas who acted as middlemen between them and New France [see KINONGÉ]; as a result of this unhappy experience they had decided to take their trade to the bay unless they could have dealings

with the French. To prevent these two northern nations from defecting to the English, Dulhut thought that direct trade should be carried out with them, even if it meant bypassing the Ottawa middlemen.

The expedition wintered at Sault Ste Marie and, on 2 July 1679, raised the arms of France in the great village of the Nadouesieux. Similar ceremonies took place in surrounding settlements to serve notice on the English that these lands were now claimed by Louis XIV. All the tribes who were visited were also invited to send representatives to a general assembly to discuss the terms of a peace treaty. This meeting took place on Lake Superior in September and Dulhut had the satisfaction of seeing the many tribes represented agree to a general reconciliation. To cement these frail new bonds of friendship, he arranged for several intertribal marriages and encouraged the Indians to carry out their winter hunt together.

Dulhut had also sent three of his men westward with a Sioux war party. How far they went is not known but they returned in the summer of 1680 with salt and the assurances of their Indian guides that it came from a great lake, 20 days' journey to the west, whose waters were not fit for drinking. Dulhut concluded that the western sea was within reach and he set out from Lake Superior toward the Mississippi. When he reached the river he learned that three of Cavalier\* de La Salle's men, including the Recollet Louis HENNEPIN, had been captured by the Sioux and carried off as slaves. Dulhut pursued the Indians and finally caught up with them somewhere on the upper Mississippi. Although they apologized and readily freed their captives, Dulhut prudently decided to turn back. By committing this act of hostility against the French, with whom they had just concluded a treaty, the Sioux had shown how untrustworthy they were and he was obviously unwilling to proceed with his discovery under such uncertain auspices. After berating the Indians for their conduct he took La Salle's men aboard his canoes and returned to Michilimackinac.

Meantime, in Quebec, Intendant Jacques Duchesneau\* was complaining loudly about Dulhut whom he described as the chief of the renegade coureurs de bois and as Frontenac's partner in the fur trade. In a dispatch to the minister the intendant claimed that shipments of fur were being sent not only to Jacques Patron and to the governor but also to the English and that the entire western fur trade might eventually be diverted to the latter. Learning of the intendant's accusations Dulhut hurried back to the colony to defend himself in March 1681. He arrived three months before the proclamation of Colbert's

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amnesty for all the coureurs de bois, and Duchesneau demanded that he be jailed as a renegade. Frontenac, however, who had now become a protector of the explorer, refused to allow this and sent him to France instead to convince the minister of his innocence.

In France Dulhut presented Seignelay with an account of his voyage to the Mississippi and defended himself against the accusation of having violated the edict of 1676, which forbade going into the woods to trade. Dulhut maintained that his purpose had been to arbitrate a peace treaty between several Indian tribes. He also asked for permission to continue his explorations and for the grant of a seigneurie in the lands he might discover. Had this request been granted he would perhaps have established a commercial empire for himself similar to La Salle's south of the Great Lakes. The court, however, had just instituted the system of the 25 fur-trading licences (*congés*) in yet another effort to restrict the number of persons deserting the colony and was hardly in the mood to encourage voyages of discovery, which, more often than not, were simply trading expeditions in disguise. Furthermore La Salle, who had powerful supporters at the court, was hostile to Dulhut, whom he probably regarded as a potential competitor. These obstacles were too great to overcome. Dulhut succeeded in clearing himself of the accusations made against him, but his requests were turned down.

When he returned to Canada in the autumn of 1682 Frontenac had been recalled and Le Febvre\* de La Barre was assuming office in his place. Dulhut soon won favour with the new governor and became one of his principal lieutenants. Early in 1683, holding a three-year commission from La Barre, he returned to the regions of the western Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi with a convoy of 15 canoes. His mission had a double purpose: to reduce to discipline the tribes of the northwest, an urgent necessity in view of the imminence of war with the Iroquois; and to prevent the northern nations from taking their pelts to the English on Hudson Bay. During the next three years Dulhut exerted himself continuously to achieve these ends. He commandeered the services of licensed traders to help fortify Michilimackinac, reprimanded the Potawatomis for their lukewarm attitude toward the French, and renewed his peace-making efforts among the Foxes, Sioux, and Chippewas. The last of these nations was especially difficult to manage as was demonstrated in 1684 when four of its warriors murdered two French traders. When one of the culprits appeared at the Jesuit mission of Sault Ste Marie the staff of 12 on duty there did not dare

to arrest him, fearing the reprisals of his tribe. Dulhut, as soon as he learned of the incident, hurried to the mission, rounded up the suspects, including the chief Achinaga and his two sons, and put them on trial. Achinaga was acquitted and his younger son pardoned, but the two others who had been found guilty were executed before 400 Indians. By coldly meting out this punishment, Dulhut taught the natives that the French were a people to be respected and feared.

In 1684 and 1685, French positions in the west were strengthened by the building of two trading posts. They were located on Lake Nipigon and at Kaministiquia, at the western extremity of Lake Superior, and were placed under the command of Dulhut's younger brother CLAUDE GREYSOLON de La Tourette. The intendant Jacques de MEULLES promptly denounced these activities. He informed the court that the real purpose of the posts, which were too far from Hudson Bay to prevent the Indians from going there to trade, was to promote Dulhut's private interests and that La Barre's commission was an exclusive charter to the Lake Superior trade. The accusation contains some truth, for Dulhut and La Tourette engaged in commerce on an extensive scale. This is shown by a letter written by Dulhut to his creditor CHARLES AUBERT de La Chesnaye, in 1684, in which he asked for an advance of money and stated that he had more than 800 beaver robes at Michilimackinac with which to make the repayment the following year. But the intendant was wrong in suggesting that these activities were not harming the English for Hudson's Bay Company officials claimed in 1686 that Dulhut had cost them £20,000 in lost trade.

Important military services were added to these economic ones. In 1684, when La Barre undertook his abortive campaign against the Iroquois, Dulhut, MOREL de La Durantaye, and Nicolas PERROT raised 500 warriors among the western nations and marched them to Niagara to lend support to the main contingent. La Barre's successor, BRISAY de Denonville, also recognized Dulhut's ability and his influence over the Indians and frequently called upon his services. In 1685 and 1686, English and Dutch merchants from Albany had appeared at Michilimackinac and carried out a sizable trade with the Indians almost in the shadow of the French post. To prevent further intrusions into New France's trading empire, Denonville decided to build posts at the Toronto portage and at Detroit, two important entry points into the west. Dulhut was given the task of erecting the one at Detroit, which was called Fort Saint-Joseph and garrisoned with 50 men. In 1687, when the governor organized his

## Grimington

great campaign against the Senecas, Dulhut and other French commanders in the west mustered 400 warriors and operated a perfectly timed junction with the main army on Lake Ontario.

Instead of returning to Lake Superior after this last campaign Dulhut came back to Canada. No reason has been given, but it may have been the onset of gout, a disease from which he suffered constantly during his last 20 years and which finally incapacitated him in 1702. At first, however, he was still able to take part in the Iroquois war. In 1689 he defeated a party of 22 of these Indians on the Lac des Deux-Montagnes and, as a reward, was made half-pay captain. Nothing more is heard of him until 1696 when he accompanied the army Frontenac was leading against the Onondagas and Oneidas as far as Fort Frontenac, where he remained in command. The following year he was promoted to the rank of captain.

After the Fort Frontenac command, Dulhut retired into private life. Unmarried and apparently only attended by a servant, La Roche, who ministered to him during his long illness, he lived his last 15 years uneventfully in Montreal. In June 1701 he rented the house he owned jointly with La Tourette to Philippe de RIGAUD de Vaudreuil for 400 *livres* annually and may then have moved to the home of the tanner Charles DELAUNAY, where he was living in 1709. In March of that year he drew up his last will and testament to which he added a codicil the following February. He left 800 *livres* to the Recollets, 100 *livres* to the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, and 300 to his servant. The biggest part of the estate, however, was a sum of some 11,766 *livres* owed to him by Delaunay. Dulhut asked only for the repayment of 4,000 *livres* and deeded the balance to the tanner's wife and children.

He died in Montreal on 25 Feb. 1710, and was buried in the Recollet chapel. He left the reputation of having been an *honnête homme* and a brave and loyal officer.

Dulhut has often been compared to La Salle and in so far as both men opened new territories to French commerce and influence they do have something in common. Unlike that of La Salle, however, Dulhut's career as an explorer was short-lived, and since he wrote little, the geographical knowledge he obtained of the upper Mississippi and its affluents was not widely diffused. The two men also differed in character. La Salle was imaginative and impulsive but without organizational ability; Dulhut, although somewhat lacking in *élan*, was steady-going and reliable, two attributes that no doubt explain why the three governors under whom he served made him one of their chief agents in the west. By virtue

of his numerous activities in that region he appears as one of the principal architects of the alliance between New France and the Lake Superior tribes. But by showing how one could trade directly with those remote nations he irritated the Ottawa middlemen and must be regarded as one of those responsible for their coolness towards the French during some stages of the Iroquois war.

YVES F. ZOLTIVANY

AJM, Greffe d'Antoine Adhémar; Greffe de Michel Lepaillieur. AN, Col., B, 11, 16, 19, 20; C<sup>11A</sup>, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 20; C<sup>11E</sup>, 16; D<sup>2C</sup>, 47; F<sup>3</sup>, 2, 6, 7. "Correspondance de Frontenac," APQ *Rapport*, 1926-27, 1927-28, 1928-29. *Découvertes et établissements des Français* (Margry), II, V, VI. HBR, XXI (Rich). *Jug. et délib.*, V.

C. W. Colby, *Canadian types of the old régime, 1608-1698* (New York, 1908). Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV*. Lionel Groulx, *Notre grande aventure; l'empire français en Amérique du Nord (1535-1760)* (Montréal, [1958]). Kellogg, *French régime*. Lorin, *Le comte de Frontenac*. Antoine d'Eschambault, "La vie aventureuse de Daniel Greysolon, sieur Dulhut," *RHAF*, V (1951-52), 320-39. Gérard Malchelosse, "Un gentilhomme coureur de bois: Daniel Greysolon, sieur Du Lhut," *Cahiers des Dix*, XVI (1951), 195-232.

**GRIMINGTON, MICHAEL**, sometimes written **Gryminton** or **Grymington**, HBC captain; d. 15 June 1710 at Harwich, Essex, England.

Nothing is known about Michael Grimington's origin or his life before he became a seaman in the HBC's new 40-ton frigate *Albemarle* (Capt. Thomas Draper\*) in 1680, but the possibility of his having made earlier voyages to Hudson Bay should not be ruled out. The *Albemarle's* destination was Charlton Island in James Bay, but Draper was ordered to call en route at Severn River and, if he found it suitable for settlement, to remain there and establish a trading post. How far these orders were followed is doubtful, but no settlement was made, so Grimington spent the winter of 1680-81 in James Bay and, the following autumn, returned to London in the *Albemarle*.

Grimington was employed in James Bay during the season 1682-83, going out in the *Lucy* (Capt. Nicholas Reymer) and returning in the *Diligence* (Capt. Nehemiah Walker\*). The committee must have heard exceptionally good reports of Grimington's ability, because it took the unusual course, not long after his arrival in London, of securing his agreement to go back to the bay in 1684 and to serve there for three years. Confirmation of the committee members' good opinion is evident not only in a much more remunerative contract made longer in advance than customary, but also in remarks to Governor

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The Assiniboines had apparently retreated to the area surrounding Lake Winnipeg, and in 1673 they were among the numerous tribes of Indians taking advantage of the opportunity of throwing off the monopoly control of middlemen trading with the French, by resorting to the new posts of the Hudson's Bay Company on James Bay.<sup>18</sup> Trade with the English on Hudson Bay continued, and after the establishment of Fort Nelson in 1682 grew rapidly. In 1683 French traders at Green Bay had met Indians who had traded for hatchets at the mouth of the "Assiniboie" River (Ft. Nelson).<sup>19</sup> In a letter dated Quebec, November 10, 1686, it was pointed out that:

We know comparatively little about the routes which could be followed to the bottom of the Bay by land but we have proved that the route by Temiskaming and Abitibi is a terrible road and of such great difficulty that it would only be possible to carry provisions for going and returning. It is believed that the route from Nemisco by Tadoussac is less difficult but in truth it is also too long and very difficult . . . these Monseigneur are the only two known routes to the bottom of the bay. . . . All the commerce of the Bay in a word is of no value except as it could be carried on by sea since it saves the infinite expense of carrying provisions and merchandise by land. But our merchants are in no position to compete with the English in this way since they have good seagoing boats well armed and well equipped. It is much to be feared that our company could not be successful in saving the best furs of Canada since certainly the greater part of "castor gras" comes from the North and besides the fur there is very much finer.<sup>20</sup>

Competition from Hudson Bay tapped the sources of the best beaver of the French,<sup>21</sup> and the effectiveness of competition was greatly enhanced by the location of the posts at the mouths of the rivers flowing into James Bay. James Bay and the territory north of the tree line were of strategic importance to the fur trade, since from these areas the French had drawn large quantities of the best northern furs, and the length and

<sup>18</sup>Beckles Willson, *The Great Company*, I, 133.

<sup>19</sup>E. H. Blair, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, I, 364.

<sup>20</sup>Can. Arch., C11A, VIII, 258-259; see also petition against the *fermier* of Tadoussac regarding the inability to meet English competition, *ibid.*, VII, 323; also a statement to the effect that the French could compete effectively with tobacco and hatchets, November 5, 1683, *ibid.*, p. 270.

<sup>21</sup>"There are many beavers in this country better than those which come from Canada," Jérémie, *Relation du Détroit et de la baie d'Hudson*, p. 22; *Recueil d'arrests et autres pièces pour l'établissement de la Compagnie d'Occident*, pp. 38-39; see also E. A. Preble, *A Biological Investigation of the Hudson Bay Region*.

difficulty of the rivers of these regions gave the Hudson's Bay Company an advantage.

Immediate steps were taken to check competition. Father Albanel was dispatched in 1674 to go to Hudson Bay by way of the Saguenay,<sup>22</sup> and to attempt to win back Groseilliers<sup>23</sup> and Radisson whose co-operation was so important to the English, and he was in part successful. Northwest of Lake Superior, measures were also taken. Crees adjacent to Hudson Bay posts secured commodities, especially guns, and carried on war with the neighbouring Assiniboines. The Assiniboines were consequently located between the Sioux in the south who obtained European goods from the French, and the Crees on the north who obtained goods from the English. An alliance between the Assiniboines and the Crees favoured the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>24</sup> To offset the effects, Duluth in 1679 arranged a peace at the head of Lake Superior between this alliance and the Sioux,<sup>25</sup> which facilitated trade in French goods. Moreover, posts were established north of Lake Superior, and in 1678 a fort was built at the entrance to Lake Nipigon.<sup>26</sup> By 1681 French traders were carrying on trade to the north of Lake Superior at Lake Nipigon, Kaministiquia, and toward the head of the lake.<sup>27</sup> Fort La Toruette at the mouth of the Ombabika on the north of Lake Nipigon was built in 1684,<sup>28</sup> and Fort de Français near the forks of the Kenogami and the Albany in 1685. Finally the French were successful in the capturing of Forts Albany, Moose, and Rupert in 1686. Fort Nelson, however, remained in control of the English, but an attempt was made to dissuade the Assiniboines and the Crees from going to that post by trading through the Kaministiquia route. As early as 1680 traders had apparently crossed the height of land at this point to trade

<sup>22</sup>See John Oldmixon, "The History of Hudson's-Bay" in *Documents relating to the Early History of Hudson Bay*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell, p. 393.

<sup>23</sup>"Mémoire qui presentent . . . les interressez dans la Compagnie de la Baye d'Hudson établi en conséquence des ordres de Sa Majesté, Paris, 6 fevrier, 1685," Can. Arch., C11A, VII, 315; also for a description of the activities of Father Albanel in luring Radisson and "Groselyer" from the Hudson's Bay Company, see Can. Arch., Colonial Office Records; Hudson Bay state papers 1673-96, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>24</sup>P. Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français*, VI, 82.

<sup>25</sup>L. P. Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin*, p. 330.

<sup>26</sup>See A. J. McComber, "Some Early History of Thunder Bay and District," pp. 13 ff.

<sup>27</sup>P. Margry, *Découvertes et établissements*, VI, 5.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

with these Indians.<sup>29</sup> In 1688 Noyon wintered at Rainy Lake,<sup>30</sup> or the Lake of the Crees, and the country to Lake Winnipeg, or the Lake of the Assiniboines, was known. This route had obvious difficulties, and attempts were made as a result to reach Fort Nelson by sea. The "Compagnie du Nord," including several Quebec merchants, was given a charter on May 20, 1682,<sup>31</sup> to carry on trade in Hudson Bay, and its success was furthered through an aggressive military policy. M. de Denonville, in a memoir on the state of Canada dated November 12, 1685, wrote:

If not expelled thence [from Hudson Bay] they will get all the fat beaver from an infinite number of nations at the North which are being discovered every day; they will attract the greatest portion of the peltries that reach us at Montreal through the Outaouacs and Assinibois, and other neighboring tribes, for these will derive a double advantage from going in search of the English at Port Nelson—they will not have so far to go, and will find goods at a much lower rate than with us. That is evident from the fact that our Frenchmen have seen recently at Port Nelson some Indians who were known to have traded several years ago at Montreal.

The posts at the head of the Bay, adjoining the rivers Abitibis and Nimisco can be reached through the woods and seized; our Frenchmen are acquainted with the road. But in regard to the posts occupied by the English in the River Bourbon or Port Nelson, it is impossible to hold any post below them, and convey merchandise thither except by sea. Some pretend that it is feasible to go there overland, but the river to reach that quarter remains yet to be discovered and when discovered, could only admit the conveyance of a few men and not of any merchandise. The best informed on this subject agree herein.<sup>32</sup>

The capture of Fort Nelson in 1697 by the French led to the partial disappearance of the Kaministiquia routes.<sup>33</sup> The history of the latter part of the period in Hudson Bay is one of charges and countercharges<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup>George Bryce, *Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, p. 78.

<sup>30</sup>P. Margry, VI, 496-497.

<sup>31</sup>B. Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-français, 1608-1880*, V, 97-98; also *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, XXIV, 275-276. It is unfortunate that the documents relating to this company are exceedingly rare. See Sloane MSS, 2716, "Mémoire de la Compagnie Française Hudson Bay," 1689; also 2902, "The French in Hudson Bay," and R. Douglas and J. N. Wallace, eds., *Twenty Years of York Factory, 1694-1714: Jérémie's Account of Hudson Strait and Bay*, Introduction. Chesnaye is said to have subscribed 100,000 francs—see *La Presse*, Montreal, November 18, 1899; also P.-G. Roy, *La Famille Aubert de Gaspé*.

<sup>32</sup>"Memoir of M. de Denonville on the State of Canada, November 12, 1685," *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan, IX, 286.

<sup>33</sup>See *Twenty Years of York Factory*, ed. R. Douglas and J. N. Wallace.

<sup>34</sup>See Beckles Willson, *The Great Company*, I, chaps. v ff.

in which, on the whole, the French were most successful. Competition from Hudson Bay was largely eliminated by military aggressions.

The temporary control over the Iroquois permitted an extensive development of the trade. The effectiveness of the Ottawa middlemen organization was enhanced by the assistance of French traders and missionaries who followed the Indians to Chequamegon and to Green Bay, to the head of Lake Superior and to the Mississippi. The French penetrated to the Sioux country and came in contact with the Miamis, the Fox, and neighbouring tribes. Jolliet and Marquette in 1673 explored the Mississippi.<sup>35</sup> La Salle extended his activities along the south shore of Lake Michigan and the headwaters of the tributaries of the Mississippi.<sup>36</sup> Duluth in 1679 and 1680 explored the area west of Lake Superior to the Mississippi and established posts on the north of Lake Superior, at Kaministiquia and on Lake Nipigon.<sup>37</sup>

On the other hand, the scarcity of beaver in the Iroquois country and the ever present demand for European goods necessitated constant hunting on the part of Iroquois bands in the territory north of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, and constant attempts to establish trade with northern and western tribes allied to the French. This problem was recognized by the French; in the narrative of Governor de Courcelles' voyage to Lake Ontario in 1671 it was noted:

It is well known that the Iroquois nations, especially the four upper ones, do not hunt any beaver or Elk. They absolutely exhausted the side of Ontario which they inhabit, that is the South side, a long time ago . . . to get any they are obliged to cross to the North of the same lake, formerly inhabited by the Hurons.<sup>38</sup>

Talon, in a memoir dated November 10, 1670, wrote:

If the observations that I have myself made and caused others to make, be correct, the English of Boston, and the Dutch of Manatte and of Orange, who are subject to them, attract, by means of the Iroquois and other Indian tribes in their neighborhood, over twelve hundred thousand *livres* of Beaver, almost all dry and in the best condition, part of which they use in their trade with the Muscovites, either themselves or through the Dutch.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup>"The Mississippi Voyage of Jolliet and Marquette, 1673," *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, ed. L. P. Kellogg, pp. 226 ff.

<sup>36</sup>See Francis Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*.

<sup>37</sup>"Memoir of Duluth on the Sioux Country, 1678-1682," *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, pp. 329 ff. For a description of exploration activities see L. P. Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin*, chap. x.

<sup>38</sup>*Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IX, 80.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 65.

## Bazire

in charge of the first English post to be settled in Albany River.

During his last summer in James Bay Bayly was visited by Louis JOLLIET who had come overland from Quebec under instructions from Frontenac to report on the English posts and to persuade the Indians to trade with the French. Bayly received the French party in friendship but, at the same time, by a recital of English achievements in the bay since 1674, he indicated that he had nothing to fear from them.

Bayly arrived in London towards the end of 1679 to face certain charges which had been brought against him. The Company's surviving records of the period give but few clues as to the nature of the accusations, but there is no doubt that, besides being concerned with the forbidden practice of private trade, they were also connected with the mismanagement of company property due to lack of attention to detail and to slipshod, but not dishonest, methods. These charges were being prepared when Bayly died on 6 Jan. 1680/81 at the Strand home of William Walker of the HBC, the father of Capt. NEHEMIAH WALKER. Two days later, by torchlight and attended by the officers of the ship *John and Alexander* in which he had returned to London, Bayly was buried at the Company's expense in the church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Later in the year his successor, John NIXON, received an "escutcheon" from the governor and committee with instructions to have it "set up for the observation of the Indians, that they may be made to understand he [Bayly] is dead, and that the Company used him kindly." Bayly was survived by his wife, Hannah, who entered into a lengthy argument with the Company about his salary (£50 per annum until 1678 and £200 per annum afterwards); final agreement was not reached until 1683.

When Bayly first went to Rupert River he had already "come to naught" as far as Friends were concerned, and if he had not already shed all his Quaker beliefs the remaining ones could have suffered further in his close companionship with a limited number of highly individual characters under the harsh living conditions of James Bay. The attempt to punish the "Nodways" was one sign of changing views, and since George Fox considered music to be almost as dangerous as gunpowder the purchase of a "violl & shells & strings" was another. But it is not known if his failure to make public use of the prayer books, Bibles, and books of homilies sent to James Bay by the governor and committee was the result of a growing indifference to religion, or to a remaining objection to, and rejection of, an "established" order of worship.

Although Bayly was recalled to face charges of mismanagement, his career in the HBC was still an honourable one. Clearly he was a man of action who could not be bothered with book-keeping detail, but his loyalty, enthusiasm, and energy in James Bay were of great value to the Company during the first decade of its existence.

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The most informative of Bayly's own writings are: *A true and faithful warning unto the people and inhabitants of Bristol . . . with a brief account of some tryalls and sufferings . . .* (London, 1663); "The third of the Sixth Month, 1661 [i.e., 3 Aug. 1661] From the Common Goal [sic] in Burkdou in France, about thirty leagues from Dover, where I am a sufferer for speaking the word of the Lord to two Priests" in *A narrative of some of the sufferings of J.P. in the city of Rome* (London, 1661), 11-16; and *A seasonable warning and word of advice to all Papists, but most especially to those in the Kingdome of France* (London, 1663).

For references to Bayly and guidance to published and MS source material see: *Documents relating to Hudson Bay* (Tyrrell), 383-97; HBR, V, VIII (Rich); XI (Rich and Johnson); XXI (Rich); PRO, CSP, Venice, 1661-64; W. C. Braithwaite, *The beginnings of Quakerism*, ed. H. J. Cadbury (2d rev. ed., Cambridge, 1961); *The second period of Quakerism* (London, 1919); Nute, *Caesars of the wilderness*, 131ff.

**BAZIRE, CHARLES**, receiver general of duties and of the king's domain, seigneur, merchant, agent of the Compagnie des Indes occidentales; b. 1624, son of Jean Bazire, a native of Saint-Vincent de Rouen, and of Jeanne Le Borgne; d. 1677.

He seems to have had only one sister, Marie, who married PHILIPPE GAULTIER de Comporté. On 11 Jan. 1666, at Quebec, he married Geneviève Macard, the daughter of Nicolas Macard and Marguerite Couillard; Charles, their only child, was born 21 Sept. 1666 and died two weeks later.

Charles Bazire came to New France about 1660 as receiver general of duties and of the king's domain. He immediately became active in business, and went into partnership with Charles Aubert\* de La Chesnaye. In the 1667 census, 14 persons are listed as sharing his house at Quebec; in addition to his wife, his employees lived with him. The notarial documents of the period show Bazire involved in a large number of transactions dealing with real estate and various exchanges. Until 1674 he was the agent of the Compagnie des Indes occidentales, which held the fur-trading monopoly in New France. On 3 September of the same year, the governor-general, BUADE de Frontenac, in order to "make up the number of judges required to judge the charges of impugnement brought by" François-Marie PERROT, governor of

Montreal, against ce Souverain, appointe along with a number

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ASQ, MSS, C, II (16 pp. 95-112, 280-3; gneuries, III, 27; St XXXV, 34-37. BN, Jug. et délib., I, II, II 120-6, P.-G. Roy, 1 127; "La famille Baz

**BEARE, JAMES, FROBISHER** expeditic James Beare, to v maps to show with r approaches to the ( of the 30-ton *Micl* on the second (1577

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Montreal, against certain members of the Conseil Souverain, appointed him a member of this body, along with a number of others.

On 20 July 1672 Intendant TALON granted to him, and simultaneously to Pierre Denys\* de La Ronde and Charles Aubert de La Chesnaye, a seigneurie one league square on the mainland, opposite the Île Percée. Factories for fishing were set up on the Petite Rivière (at the mouth of the brook Barachois, at Saint-Pierre de La Malbaie), and at Percé. Pierre Denys seems to have been the one chiefly responsible for the smooth functioning of this establishment, which specialized in cod-fishing.

With Charles Aubert de La Chesnaye, Bazire likewise obtained a land grant for the purpose of cutting timber on the Rivière-du-Loup and Madawaska seigneuries. Several other land grants were also made to him. In this way he received from Bishop Laval\* on 21 July 1677, jointly with Charles Aubert de La Chesnaye, the arriere-fief of Charlesville, near Montmorency Falls. We also know that he owned, again jointly with Charles Aubert de La Chesnaye, the fief and seigneurie of Lachenaie (arriere-fief of the Beaupré heights).

Charles Bazire thus stands out as one of the first business men in New France. At his death, he left a tidy little fortune and various assets. In his will, drawn up before the notary Romain BECQUET on 14 Dec. 1677, the day preceding his death, he did indeed bequeath 50,000 *livres*, to be divided between the parochial council of Notre-Dame de Québec, where he had been a churchwarden in 1671 and 1673, the Jesuits, the Ursulines, the Hôtel-Dieu, his father, and the Recollets. His wife, with whom he had a joint estate, received half of his possessions. She was married twice more, first to François Provost\*, major of the Château Saint-Louis and then governor of Trois-Rivières, and subsequently to Charles-Henri d'Aloigny\*, Marquis de La Groye.

FERNAND GRENIER

ASQ, MSS, C, II (1674-86) [Livres de comptes, II], pp. 95-112, 280-3; Paroisse de Québec, 145; Seigneuries, III, 27; Séminaire, VI, 16, XXXIII, 11, XXXV, 34-37. BN, MS Clairambault, 1016, f.297. *Jug. et délib.*, I, II, III, V. *Ord. comm.* (P.-G. Roy), I, 120-6, P.-G. Roy, *Inv. concessions*, I, 66, 264; II, 127; "La famille Bazire," *BRH*, XLII (1936), 66-72.

BEARE, JAMES, English mariner with the FROBISHER expeditions, 1577-78; fl. 1577-85.

James Beare, to whom are attributed "the first maps to show with reasonable accuracy the eastern approaches to the Canadian Arctic," was master of the 30-ton *Michaell* (Gilbert Yorke, captain) on the second (1577) Frobisher voyage and master

of the *Anne Francis* (George BEST, captain) on Frobisher's third voyage in 1578.

During July 1577, the *Michaell* broke her "Stéerage" and the topmasts were blown overboard in a great storm. On 28 July, nevertheless, the *Michaell* entered an inlet which was named "Beares Sound," near the most westerly point reached that year in Frobisher Bay (mistaken for the northwest passage).

Beare also took part in the 1578 expedition as master of the *Anne Francis*. Frobisher's fleet left Harwich 31 May 1578, landed and took possession of Greenland for England, and sailed on to "Meta Incognita." Thick fog shrouded the coast and fierce tides swept them south across the entrance of the "mistaken straites" (Hudson Strait). Frobisher consulted with his men, sending "his Pinnesse aboarde to heare each mans opinion, and specially of James Beare, mayster of the *Anne Francis*, who was knowen to be a sufficient and skilful Mariner, and having bin there the yeare before, had well observed the place, and drawne out Cardes of the coast."

The *Anne Francis* ran on a sunken rock 10 August and lay there until the flood-tide lifted her. Two thousand strokes of the pump were needed to clear the water; and the crew built a pinnace as a precaution against shipwreck. There was a smith on board but no tools to make nails and knees. A gun-chamber was pressed into service as an anvil and a pickaxe as a sledge-hammer. The ship was laid aground on 30 August while eight gaping leaks, caused by rocks and ice, were stopped. The same day the crew attended a communion service conducted on shore by Master Wollfall, chaplain of the fleet.

Beare was with Best 11 August, when a stone cross was erected on Hatton's Headland "in token of Christian possession" of this place. Here they found "plentie of blacke Ore and divers pretie stones." Best had already found, on the island named Bestes Blessing, 9 August, masses of black ore of which he wrote, "if the goodnesse myghte aunswere the greate plentye thereof, it was to be thoughte that it might reasonably suffice all the golde gluttons of the worlde." The fleet brought back more than 1,000 tons of this ore; but it proved to be "fool's gold."

Later, James Beare (probably the same man) was master of the *Judith* of London, which was taken by Barbary pirates. In a letter to John Tipton, English consul at Algiers, dated 30 March 1585, William Harborne, ambassador at Constantinople, refers to Beare as a captive in Algiers (Hakluyt, *Principal navigations* (1903-5), V, 281).

Two maps in George Best's *A true discourse* are attributed to Beare: an engraved oval world

## Bochart

Greenland and by a stroke of fortune he landed at his father's estate.

Scholars have disagreed as to what parts of the coast of America Bjarni saw and indeed as to whether there is any factual basis to the narrative. In recent years, however, the historicity of the *Saga* has been increasingly admitted. There are strong arguments for the view that the three lands seen by Bjarni were Newfoundland, Labrador, and Baffin Island.

Bjarni made no attempt to visit or explore the lands he sighted but LEIFR *heppni* Eiriksson, the son of Eric the Red, later bought Bjarni's ship and undertook this task, discovering Vinland, which has been variously located in Newfoundland, the Atlantic Provinces, Massachusetts, and elsewhere. For discussion of the location of Vinland see LEIFR.

T. J. OLESON

Johann S. Hannesson, *The sagas of Icelanders* (Islandica, XXXVIII, 1957). Hennig, *Terrae incognitae* II, 295ff., 311, 324, 342ff.; III, IV, *passim*. Halldór Hermannsson, *The northmen in America* (Islandica, II, 1909). Oleson, *Early voyages*, 19-22; "The Vikings in America: a critical bibliography," *CHR*, XXXVI (1955), 166-73.

**BOCHART, CHARLES DU PLESSIS-**. See DU PLESSIS-BOCHART

**BOISBRIAND, MICHEL-SIDRAC DUGUÉ DE.** See DUGUÉ

**BOISDON, JACQUES**, sometimes wrongly called Jean, first innkeeper and taverner at Quebec in 1648.

Of Boisdon's career nothing is known except that on 19 Sept. 1648 the council of New France permitted him "to the exclusion of all others . . . to keep a pastry shop and hostelry for all comers." At the same time the council drew up what is the oldest legislation dealing with the management of inns and taverns in New France. Boisdon was required to reside on the public square, not far from the church; to prevent any unseemliness, drunkenness, blasphemy, or games of chance in his house; to close his establishment during religious services on Sundays and feast days; in short, he was generally subject to the ordinances and regulations applicable to business. These few basic rules reappear in all subsequent legislation concerning inns and liquor shops. On the other hand, the council guaranteed Boisdon the shipment of "eight barrels gratis" from France to Quebec, and the use of the brewery of the Communauté des Habitants for three years. This monopoly was granted to him for a period of six

years altogether; how long the innkeeper did ply his trade in Quebec cannot however be stated.

ANDRÉ VACHON

ASQ, Documents Faribault, 79. Philéas Gagnon, "Le premier cabaret tenu à Québec," *BRH*, IV (1898), 116f.

**BOISSEAU, JOSIAS**, agent general of the gentlemen with interests in the tax-farm; b. c. 1641; d. at a date unknown.

Boisseau probably arrived in the colony in 1678, accompanied by his wife, Marie Colombier. It was he and Charles Aubert\* de La Chesnaye, one of the tax-farmers, who, in the spring of 1679, sent Louis JOLLIET to explore Hudson Bay. The agent general's relations with Aubert de La Chesnaye and Jolliet were excellent at that moment. But a disagreement which turned them against each other during the winter of 1679-80 rapidly grew more bitter.

During this period the country was rent by party quarrels: Frontenac [see BUADE] and DUCHESNEAU were in open opposition. All the powers, great and small, claimed the backing of either the governor or the intendant; neutrality was a difficult position to maintain, for the most innocent words and gestures were distorted and misconstrued. To repeat Louis XIV's own expression in a letter to Duchesneau, the conduct of individuals invariably received approval or disapproval, to the extent that they were friends or enemies of the adversary.

Boisseau was protected by Frontenac, with whom, according to Duchesneau, he was in league for the smuggling of furs. The vindictive governor took up the agent general's quarrel. La Chesnaye, his brother-in-law Lalande\*, and his niece's husband Jolliet obtained the support of the intendant. What started the conflict is in fact not known, but it was extremely violent. On 10 April 1680, Boisseau put on record a protest against Duchesneau, whose ordinances had, he asserted, always been prejudicial to the company of the tax-farmers, and denounced the "abuses, wrong doings, extortions and malpractices" perpetrated by La Chesnaye and his supporters: the "assassination" (?) of one of his servants, defamatory libels posted on the doors of churches, threats, lawsuits, and so on.

Relentlessly, during the whole of the year 1680, Boisseau pursued his enemies, particularly Aubert de La Chesnaye, whom he attacked through Lalande and Jolliet. In March, he accused the latter two of illegal trafficking with the English in Hudson Bay, calling for a fine of 2,000 *livres* against them, the confiscation of their boat, and

the seizure of the deavoured to parry the action, but he reduced the agent general. In crime had been in Delanglez has provoked vengeance, Boisseau from calumny. Two 15 October, alone or appeared before one Quebec to sign declaration of his adversary Jolliet, and probably looking PHILIPPE GA Le Ber\*, and CHARLI

In 1681, the agent On 9 January, several times," he tore up, the fire two ordinances him by a court officer the same thing to the on him. In March, governor's guards, aged 16 or 17, and street. Insults flared informed of this, der sent his son and Vau his excuses, the y Boisseau. Frontenac youth, struck him cane, and tore his escaped, and managed his father, lest the young man by force armed his servants believed, the young month in the prison Vaultier. Finally, unheard of way, sw and like a lion," E ordinarily" René F. kicked, seizing him to strangle him.

Meanwhile, the afraid to attack the legal officers of the Branssat, for example by Boisseau for his *coureurs de bois* François-Marie PER and an accomplice writings, violence, favourite weapons willingly brought a majority of the court against the agent g would have had to

the seizure of their goods. Duchesneau endeavoured to parry the blow; finally he had to take action, but he reduced the penalty demanded by the agent general. Incredible as it may seem, the crime had been invented in every detail, as Delanglez has proved. To gratify his desire for vengeance, Boisseau therefore did not shrink from calumny. Twenty times, from 22 March to 15 October, alone or surrounded by witnesses, he appeared before one or other of the notaries of Quebec to sign declarations aimed at the destruction of his adversaries: La Chesnaye, Lalande, Jolliet, and probably Duchesneau, not overlooking PHILIPPE GAULTIER de Comporté, Jacques Le Ber\*, and CHARLES LE MOYNE.

In 1681, the agent general exploded with rage. On 9 January, swearing and cursing "several times," he tore up, stamped on, and threw into the fire two ordinances of Duchesneau handed to him by a court officer, declaring that he would do the same thing to the intendant if he got his hands on him. In March, accompanied by one of the governor's guards, he passed Duchesneau's son, aged 16 or 17, and Vaultier his servant, in the street. Insults flared up on both sides. Frontenac, informed of this, demanded redress; the intendant sent his son and Vaultier to him. Far from offering his excuses, the young Duchesneau provoked Boisseau. Frontenac, in a fury, rushed at the youth, struck him a number of times with his cane, and tore his clothes. Duchesneau finally escaped, and managed to get to the law courts; his father, lest the governor should carry off the young man by force, barricaded the building and armed his servants. If the intendant is to be believed, the young seigneur none the less spent a month in the prisons of the fort, together with Vaultier. Finally, in August, "behaving in an unheard of way, swearing horribly against God and like a lion," Boisseau manhandled "extraordinarily" René Favre, whom he punched and kicked, seizing him by the throat and threatening to strangle him.

Meanwhile, the agent general had not been afraid to attack the Conseil Souverain and the legal officers of the colony. Judge MIGEON de Branssat, for example, was singled out for abuse by Boisseau for having dared to arrest certain *coureurs de bois* who were confederates of François-Marie PERROT, the governor of Montreal and an accomplice of the agent general. Libellous writings, violence, and calumny were Boisseau's favourite weapons. The council would have willingly brought an action against him; but the majority of the councillors, who were proceeding against the agent general on their own account, would have had to disclaim competence, in order

to avoid being both judges and litigants. What the councillors finally did, "in view of the protection given by the Governor to the said Boisseau," was to refer the matter, on 10 Nov. 1681, to the king's justice.

At that date, Boisseau was on the point of sailing for France. His unrestrained behaviour in 1680 had been the subject of numerous reports to the authorities in the homeland; Duchesneau, for one, had written many of them. The king ordered the company to dismiss Boisseau, but reproached the intendant for his partiality towards Aubert de La Chesnaye and the animosity that he had displayed in this matter. The announcement of Boisseau's recall must have reached Quebec shortly before 15 July (1681), the date on which he was styled "former" agent general.

Boisseau departed, but he announced his early return; moreover, he left at Quebec his wife and his two children, who had been born in Canada; they did not return to France until the autumn of 1682. In Paris, Boisseau felt more reluctant to go back to the colony when he learned that his protector Frontenac and Duchesneau would perhaps not be continued in their offices: it was even said, according to DUDOUYT, "that he [did] all he [could] in order not to return." And in fact Duchesneau and Frontenac were recalled. Boisseau endeavoured from then on to attach himself to the new governor, M. LE FEBVRE de La Barre, in the capacity of secretary; but, stated Dudouyt, the matter was not to be arranged, for La Barre "knew the Sieur Boisseau." The former agent general's Canadian adventure was at an end.

This headstrong man, apt at times to act foolishly, had the misfortune to reside in New France during years when the disagreements over authority, and the aggravated state of passions, allowed him to give free rein to his tendency to excess. Closely protected on the one hand by a Frontenac too like himself and just as grasping as he, Boisseau was assured of an almost complete impunity, which, following his master's example, he made use of blithely; on the other hand, the partiality and unrelenting hostility of the opposing party, and of Duchesneau in particular, helped to exasperate him, at the same time as they gave him an apparent justification for his violent actions. In other times and in a more benign climate, Josias Boisseau might perhaps have been a completely different man, whose energy, dynamism, and determination would have caused the uncouth and impetuous element of his character to be overlooked.

ANDRÉ VACHON

AJQ, Greffe de Romain Becquet, 10 avril 1680, etc.; Greffe de Pierre Duquet, 1663-84, *passim*; Greffe de

## Girard de La Place

(commanded by Esbon Sanford, the deputy governor of Port Nelson), were to proceed to the Nelson and Hayes rivers, there to establish Port Nelson.

But the HBC ships had been preceded by two separate parties: that of Zachariah's son Benjamin Gillam\* and that of Radisson and Des Groseilliers. Benjamin, under a licence from the governor of Massachusetts and probably aware of the HBC's intentions from his father, arrived on an interloping voyage from Boston 18 Aug. 1682 in the *Bachelor's Delight* and established a camp up the Nelson River. The French party, financed by Aubert\* de La Chesnaye and sanctioned by the governor of Quebec, LE FEBVRE de La Barre, intended to establish a French claim to trade in the Bay; it arrived a few days later and settled on the Hayes River. Returning from a visit to Gillam, intended to intimidate him, Radisson witnessed the arrival on 7 September of the *Prince Rupert* at the mouth of the Nelson, come to establish Port Nelson.

The HBC men decided to winter on the north shore of the Nelson River, despite the French threat. But they were beset with many mishaps: the *Albemarle* did not reach Port Nelson that fall; her captain, Sanford, had died 6 October; worst of all, on 21 Oct. 1682 the *Prince Rupert* dragged her anchor in a severe storm, drifted out to sea, and was lost with about nine crew members, many of the supplies, and her captain, Gillam. Thus Captain Zachariah ended his varied and stormy career. The next year Radisson captured both posts and sailed to Quebec with the captives, Gillam and Bridgar. There they were released and they made their way to New England.

When the first news of these events reached England, the HBC was naturally disturbed but it hesitated to proceed against Benjamin Gillam for some time as Radisson had claimed the region for France and left a group of his people there to hold it. The company would need to establish the prior arrival of Benjamin to make good its claim to the territory. In April 1683, while ignorant of the deaths of captains Gillam and Sanford, it revoked the latter's command of the *Albemarle*, ordered Zachariah to return to England in ballast, to transfer his cargo to other ships, and to bring Sanford with him. The HBC also secured an order-in-council directed to the governor of Massachusetts to permit the commissioner to arrest the Gillams and Sanford in case they should come to New England.

During his wanderings, Zachariah's home was in Boston where his wife and children remained. By Phoebe he had Martha (b. 1660), Zachariah (b. 1661), and Benjamin (b. 23 March 1662/63),

the interloper. On 14 April 1676 the executors of Zachariah's father set off to him certain land at Fort Hill in Boston and by a deed in 1692 his sister Hannah Sharpe, widow, deeded to Benjamin all her interest in the land at Fort Hill. The family was continued by his descendants.

Zachariah Gillam was evidently a very able and skilful seaman, resolute and resourceful, but at times unscrupulous and not entirely to be trusted. Nevertheless, he appears to have been reasonably loyal to the HBC in his last days.

G. ANDREWS MORIARTY

"Mass. Archives," LXI, 9. Mass. Hist. Soc., Thwing MSS. Boston, Record Commissioners, *Ninth report: births, baptisms, marriages and deaths, 1630-1699*, ed. W. H. Whitmore and W. S. Appleton (Boston, 1883), *passim*.

C. T. Libby and Sybil Noyes, *Genealogical dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire* (Portland, Me., 1928-39), pt. III, 262; pt. IV, 548. HBR, V, VIII, IX (Rich); XI, XX (Rich and Johnson), XXI (Rich). G. A. Moriarty, "Captains Gillam and Sanford of the Hudson's Bay Company," *Genealogists' Mag.*, X (1947-50), 568-71. Nute, *Caesars of the wilderness*. L. Parke, "The Savage family," *N. Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, LXVII (1913), 200-1. C. H. Pope, *The pioneers of Massachusetts, a descriptive list . . . (from town, church and other records)* (Boston, 1900), 187. W. H. Whitmore, "Gleanings," *N. Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, XIX (1865), 254.

**GIRARD DE LA PLACE, SIMON**, priest, Recollet, the first missionary to live among the Malecite Indians of the Saint John River (if we except Father MASSÉ, who spent the summer of 1612 there); b. 1657 in Rouen; d. 1 Jan. 1699 in Acadia.

Simon Girard de La Place joined the Recollets of the province of Aquitaine in 1673. He was appointed a missionary to New France and landed at Quebec in the summer of 1683. He stayed there until the spring of 1685, when he was put in charge of the post on the Saint John River. He took up his abode at Medoctec (now Meductic), the principal Malecite village, and there he received on 18 May 1686 a visit from Bishop Saint-Vallier [La Croix\*], who esteemed him very highly. For ten years he laboured to teach the Indians the truths of the faith with a zeal that earned him the praise of the bishop of Quebec as well as that of JOSEPH ROBINAU de Villebon, governor of Acadia. In the autumn of 1695 he went up to Quebec to present the intendand, Bochart\* Champigny, with the census that he had taken of the Indians of the Saint John River.

Back in Acadia in the spring of 1696, Father

Simon accompanied as a priest who were taking part in d'Iberville's expedition. In August he came back to Pemaquid (the seat of the HBC), the seat of the HBC, to announce the victory capture of Pemaquid by the HBC in the winter of 1696-97, as a chaplain, he took it upon himself to perform religious services on the HBC. His strength soon gave way on account of his zeal, and on 1 Jan. 1699 he died in sanctity. His brother Girard\* de La Place, in a letter to his mother, the governor of Canada, was taken to Quebec to be buried in the church there.

AN, Col., C<sup>11</sup>D, 3, ff.11  
*relatifs à la Nouv.-Fran.*  
*Acadia*, 16-17, 91, 143.

**GLORIA, JEAN**, procurator of the C. royal notary, and n. 1630 at Saint-Jacques. d. 15 Oct. 1665 at Quebec.

Son of Pierre Gloria of the town of Dieppe he was already at Quebec as a servant of the Jesuits. He rapidly became a procurator, perhaps as a result of an alliance with Bourdon on 9 Jan. 1652. The alliance brought him titles and the support of his uncle by marriage, Saint-Sauveur, and on 27 March 1652 on the HBC stores in this colony until 1661 or later: to as "procurator of the Habitants. Although a Communité, he was in business, and after the death of Bourdon continued to operate of Quebec.

In the year 1662 he was made chaplain of Quebec, and became a member of the Conseil Souverain royal notary in New France. His notary's duties were interrupted by that the illness which a year later obliged him to leave life after that date.

the stronger, since normally he had had long experience with administration and had protectors at court. This tangle of powers and this sharing as it were of functions presupposed a good measure of self-denial and a great spirit of conciliation in the two men. These were certainly not the predominant qualities of Frontenac, or of Duchesneau.

With these two stubborn men, discussions ended in quarrels that were often dramatic. According to Chapais, "M. Duchesneau's administration was nothing but one long conflict between him and the governor." There was the squabble over titles; there were many others. The quarrel over the trade in spirits was very serious. Dismayed by the ravages that alcohol caused among the Indians, Bishop Laval\* used all his authority to have trade in it forbidden. The intendant, who was known for his piety, concurred in his opinion. Yet in the clergy's eyes Duchesneau remained too hesitant still. "He did considerable harm to himself and to all matters because of the excessive respect that he had for M. de Frontenac and several others." Frontenac was thinking of business and saw clearly that if the French traders did not have brandy to offer to conclude their transactions successfully, the Indians would go to deal with the English, who had no scruples about supplying them with rum. After violent discussions, it was decided to propose a compromise, which the king accepted. Henceforth it would be forbidden to sell spirits to the Indians except in French establishments. This decision satisfied neither party, and the *coureurs de bois* continued their traffic. These traders, moreover, were already a source of discord between the governor and the intendant. Duchesneau accused Frontenac of favouring these adventurers and of profiting himself from their clandestine trade. In a letter to Seignelay dated 13 Nov. 1681 he complained that "the King's orders are not carried out . . . and the guilty remain unpunished." He cited the example, among others, of the bad conduct of CAVELIER de La Salle and Greysolon\* de Dulhut; pelts were still being taken to the English, who paid more for them than did the French and who sold merchandise of better quality and more cheaply. But Frontenac knew his adversary's tactics: "M. Duchesneau always begins as a general rule by accusing others of what he is doing or intends to do." He did indeed protect Charles Aubert\* de La Chesnaye, Jacques Le Ber\*, CHARLES LE MOYNE, LOUIS JOLLIET, and Jacques de Lalonde\*, who trafficked in pelts publicly and with impunity. The governor asked the minister to institute an inquiry to clear up this question. If he were found

guilty, he agreed to suffer just punishment for his faults. Meanwhile, he would send Dulhut to the court to exculpate himself. For his part, the minister tried to keep the disagreement from becoming worse. On 15 May 1678 he wrote to Duchesneau that he was going beyond his duties, that he was seeking a quarrel with Frontenac in all his acts, that he must behave differently, under pain of being recalled the following year. On 2 June 1680 there was a new admonition from the minister warning the intendant that he would be confined to Tours, in France, if he did not strictly respect the king's orders. Again, on 2 May 1681, the minister, acting in the king's name, called upon him to change his ways, on pain of being recalled. On 30 April 1681 the king sent word to Frontenac that everything he wrote "against the said intendant concerning his participation in trade and the interest he takes in the *coureurs de bois* appears to be put forward in a spirit of recrimination rather than with any real foundation."

Nevertheless they both continued to misuse their powers. In turn each of them had the *coureurs de bois* who were connected with the other side arrested and those in his own camp freed. There is even the case of a member of the Conseil Souverain, MATHIEU DAMOURS DE CHAUFFOURS, who had obtained through the intendant a trading licence that was valid for the region of Matane. Frontenac had him arrested and brought before the council. Duchesneau defended the accused and once again stirred up the governor's anger. Two other events contributed to the deterioration of the situation. The attorney-general of the council, Ruelle d'Auteuil, had to retire because of age, but he would have liked to be replaced by his son, François-Madeleine-Fortuné de Ruelle\* d'Auteuil de Monceaux. The father had been on the intendant's side at the time of the famous quarrel over the governor's rights, and Frontenac had too good a memory to have forgotten the father's insulting attitude. Moreover, the son was not of the required age for sitting on the council. Duchesneau sowed the wind in nevertheless proposing François d'Auteuil's appointment to the position of attorney-general. He reaped the whirlwind, which, once more, died down at the foot of the throne in Versailles, where the bold young man had to go to plead his case and have the age requirement waived.

Another event savours of melodrama. In the spring of 1681 some of Frontenac's people, while walking in the streets of Quebec, saw in the distance the intendant's son, who was 16 or 17 years old; accompanied by his servant, he was

## Du Quesnoy

married on 25 Oct. 1668 at Quebec. Dupuy left no descendants.

ROLAND-J. AUGER

AJM, Documents judiciaires, 10 oct. 1662; 27 janv. 1667; 14 janv. 1669: Greffe de Bénigne Basset, 12 nov. 1673. AJQ, Greffe de Pierre Duquet, 22 oct. 1668. AN, F, 178, pp. 308-41 (PAC copy). Recensement de 1667.

JR (Thwaites), *passim*. "Le procès de l'abbé de Fénelon devant le Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France en 1674," APQ Rapport, 1921-22, 138.

BRH, XXI (1915), 309-10; XXXIII (1927), 237. Cahiers des Dix, VII (1942), 84-87; VIII (1943), 239; X (1945), 228. Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française*, II, 517, 524-27. Parkman, *The old régime* (25th ed.), 20-39. J.-E. Roy, *Histoire de la seigneurie de Lauzon*, I, 159.

DU QUESNOY, JEAN TALON. See TALON

**DUQUET DE LA CHESNAYE, PIERRE**, explorer, royal notary, attorney-general, seigneurial judge, seigneur; b. 14 Jan. 1643 in Quebec; d. 13 Oct. 1687 in Quebec.

Son of Denis Duquet and Catherine Gauthier, Pierre was one of the first pupils of the Jesuit college of Quebec. The *Journal des Jésuites* stresses on different occasions the role that he played in the musical portion of the religious ceremonies.

Shortly after leaving the college, Duquet, at the age of 20, bought the registry of the notary Guillaume AUDOUART, whom he succeeded as royal notary. His commission, dated 31 Oct. 1663, made him the first Canadian-born notary.

At this time Duquet had only just returned from an expedition, directed by Guillaume Couture\*, which had taken him during the summer a little beyond Lake Nemiskau, about a hundred miles from Rupert River. This was the second attempt by the French to reach Hudson Bay by land.

Like most of the notaries of his period, Duquet had a well-filled career: he was often given power of attorney by litigants, and in addition he was commissioned to carry out several inquiries into irregularities in the liquor traffic. In the autumn of 1666 he went with the Carignan-Salières regiment into Iroquois territory and signed on 17 October the *Procès verbal de la prise de possession des forts d'Agnié*. Deputy attorney-general (1675-1681), attorney-general (1681-1686), seigneurial judge of Notre-Dame-des-Anges, of the Île d'Orléans and of Orsainville, he was moreover the owner of several properties at Quebec and Lévis and of two seigneuries granted to him in 1672 and 1675. His multifarious occupations prevented him however from giving the

desired attention to his notarial acts, in which are to be found many errors and omissions. His registry, which is nevertheless very interesting, is preserved in the Judicial Archives of Quebec.

On 25 August 1666 Duquet had married at Quebec Anne Lamarre, who came originally from the parish of Saint-Sulpice in Paris.

ANDRÉ VACHON

AJQ, Greffe de Pierre Duquet, 1663-84; Ins. Prév. Québec, I, 303. AN, Col., C<sup>11A</sup>, 10, ff.96s. APQ, Ins. Cons. souv., I, 6. JR (Thwaites), *passim*. JJ (Laverdière et Casgrain), *passim*. Jug. et délib., *passim*. Ord. comm. (P.-G. Roy), I, 21. Ordre de M. d'Avaugour au Sr. Couture pour aller au Nord, BRH, VII (1901), 41. Papier terrier de la Cie des I.O. (P.-G. Roy), 250-52. "Procès verbal de la prise de possession des forts d'Agnié (17 oct. 1666)," dans Sulte, *Mélanges historiques* (Malchelosse), VIII, 57f. Delanglez, *Jolliet*, 248, 255, 260. P.-G. Roy, *Inv. concessions, passim*.

"Les notaires au Canada," APQ Rapport, 1921-22, 22. J.-E. Roy, *Histoire du notariat*, I: 76f., 89-91. P.-G. Roy, *Fils de Québec* (4v., Lévis, 1933), I, 10-12. André Vachon, *Histoire du notariat canadien, 1621-1960* (Québec, 1962), *passim*.

DURANTAL. See ATIRONTA (fl. 1615)

**DURET DE CHEVRY DE LA BOULAYE, CHARLES**, lieutenant for the king in Acadia, 1685-90; b. c. 1645; d. 1691?

He was a first cousin of Charles-François Duret de Chevry, marquis de Villeneuve, called the marquis de Chevry (d. 16 Nov. 1712), under whose sponsorship La Compagnie des Pêches sédentaires de l'Acadie was organized [see BERGIER]. La Boulaye distinguished himself as an officer in Flanders in 1677 and by 1685 he was lieutenant for the king in Acadia, replacing Bergier. He was at Chedabouctou, which was the base of operations of the fishing company, about 7 or 8 leagues from Canseau, when Jacques Demeulle\*, the intendant of New France, arrived there on 5 June 1686. At Canso, while on the way to Chedabouctou, Demeulle found the fishing company's ship *Saint-Louis* which had arrived 8 or 10 days earlier to fish for cod. The establishment of the company at Chedabouctou then consisted of Fort Saint Louis and several roughly built huts. La Boulaye had 15 or 20 hired men with him there and 3 leagues from the fort three or four inhabitants had cleared and manured 3 acres of land. La Boulaye accompanied Demeulle on his visit to Cape Breton in 1686. So as not to fall into the hands of buccaneers, La Boulaye escaped to Quebec in 1688. In 1689, not having received his pay, he applied for a grant of mines and for a leave of absence to return to France.

Although it is said that Southack\* captured Boulaye was taken where he died, Duret at that time commanded Bochart\* Champi Boulaye had returned

There is much material on Duret in Frer AN, Col., B, 13, f. 150-70, 195-98; C<sup>1</sup> Chedabouctou, 16: the marquis's heir; history of the company 226. BN, MS, N 21395 (Arnoul), f.2 Coll. de manuscrit. (see Laboulaye).

*Acadiensia Nova borough sketches* 1950). La Morandi *morue*, I, 356-62. Webster, *Acadia*, 2

DU TARTRE, V

DUTCH BASTARD

DU THET, GI  
1575 at Chantell  
the Collège at  
3 July 1613 at  
Maine).

He lived several years before he made a trip to It living in the province. Around November 1612 Marquise de G. Pierre BIARD and ship which they COURT de Poutri (now Annapolis outlay of 3,000 l. who was gullied appropriate 1,200 December 1611 1612. He notified administration agent, and suggested the son of Poutri that the intendant himself. Imbert attributing to the regicide of Henri Biencourt made there was no ca

## Duchesneau de La Doussinière

**DU BOURG, MORILLON.** See MORILLON

**DU BREUIL, NICOLAS LE CREUX.** See LE CREUX

**DU BUISSON.** See GUYON

**DU CHESNE, ADRIEN,** surgeon, interpreter, from Dieppe (Normandy); brother of Judith Du Chesne, the mother of CHARLES LE MOYNE; known to have been in Canada during the period 1631-48; d. some time after 1656.

It is not known whether he was married, or at what exact date he arrived in New France. Benjamin Sulte, and following him Maude E. Abbott (the latter and John J. Heagerty call Du Chesne a Huguenot), are of the opinion that he came to Quebec as early as 1618. Basing himself on Faillon, Heagerty writes that he arrived with the KIRKE brothers in 1629. Be that as it may, there is no evidence of his presence at Quebec until 9 Feb. 1631, when his name appeared on the certificate of baptism of a daughter of GUILLAUME COUILLARD. In the colony he acted as a surgeon, and as an interpreter in the service of the Jesuits. In the 1634 *Relation* he is given the title of "Chirurgien de l'habitation." The same *Relation* and that of 1636 recount that he accompanied the Jesuits on their visits to the Indians' lodges, and that with Fathers PAUL LE JEUNE and Jacques BUTEUX he had occasion to serve as godfather to several Indian children and a number of adults, who were being baptized after it had been noted that they were in danger of death.

On 9 July 1637 Du Chesne acquired a grant of land on the outskirts of Quebec; on 5 April 1639 this grant was to be confirmed by a title-deed issued by the Compagnie des Cent-Associés. In 1641 he was at Dieppe. He reappeared in Canada in August 1645 with PIERRE LEGARDEUR de Repentigny's fleet. In the same year he turned over to ABRAHAM MARTIN the land that had been given to him at Quebec, on what are now the Plains of Abraham. In the autumn of that year, the *Journal des Jésuites* reported that Du Chesne "was sent to 3 rivers as soldier and Interpreter." We have news of him again in 1648, at Quebec.

There is one last document that does seem to refer to Adrien Du Chesne. This is a notary's deed from Dieppe, dated 17 Jan. 1656. In it mention is made of "Maistre Adrien Du Chesne, a surgeon at present living on the island of Guadeloupe." Might it be on this island that he ended his career?

ANTONIO DROLET

AJQ, Greffe de Jean Guitet, 17 oct. 1637. ASM, Tabellionage dieppois, 17 janv. 1656. ASQ, Documents Faribault, 14, 19, 157; Séminaire, LVII, 16. JR (Thwaites), VI, 126-28, 132; VIII, 258, 312; XXVII, 90. JJ (Laverdière et Casgrain). P.-G. Roy, *Inv. concessions*, I, 36.

Maude E. Abbott, *History of medicine in the Province of Quebec* (Toronto, 1931; McGill University pub., VIII, no. 63, 1932), 16. Ahern, *Notes pour l'histoire de la médecine*, 186-89. "Biographies canadiennes: Adrien Duchesne," BRH, XXVII (1921), 279. Boissonnault, *Histoire de la faculté de médecine de Laval*, 30-2. Archange Godbout, "Les origines de la famille Lemoyne," RHAF, I (1947-48), 533-40. J. J. Heagerty, *Four centuries of medical history in Canada, and a sketch of the medical history of Newfoundland* (2v., Toronto, 1928), I, 223-24. Joseph Le Ber, "Adrien Duchesne," SGCF *Mémoires*, IV (1950), 62; "Les origines de la famille LeMoine," RHAF, I (1947-48), 101-7, 257-70. Sulte, *Hist. des Can. fr.*, II, 37. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire* I, 207, 379.

**DUCHESNEAU DE LA DOUSSINIÈRE ET D'AMBAULT, JACQUES,** intendant of New France (1675-82), chevalier, councillor to His Majesty, a treasurer of France, commissary for the generality of Tours c. 1664 and general of the king's finances in Touraine, son of Guillaume Chesneau, chevalier, seigneur, cup-bearer to the king, and of Anne de Lalande; d. 1696 at Ambrant, near Issoudun (Berry).

His titles of squire and chevalier are said to go back to the year 1511, to his great-great-grandfather. His ancestors were seigneurs of Breux, Montargis, and La Doussinière, and his paternal grandfather was chamberlain to Charles VII. Jacques Duchesneau belonged to a junior branch of the family and was the only one of his name. He had powerful protectors at court; he was even held in high esteem there by Colbert and the king, who, in appointing him to the office of intendant, stressed the wise conduct that his devoted subject had displayed in his office as a treasurer of France at Tours and in the various commissions that had been given him. His Majesty had also noticed the zeal and the loyalty that he had displayed in his service.

Duchesneau arrived at Quebec in the month of August 1675, bearing the edict of the preceding 5 June which reorganized the Conseil Souverain. He was provided with a salary of 12,000 livres a year and 3,000 livres for travelling expenses. The colony had been without an intendant since Jean TALON's departure in 1672. In the three-year interval BUADE de Frontenac had fulfilled the double function of governor and administrator. It was perhaps as a result of Frontenac's quarrel with Fénelon [see SALIGNAC], the Sulpician, and PERROT, governor of Montreal, that the king had

## Juchereau de La Ferté

Jemseg including much of the present Camp Gagetown. Title to this grant, and to the three that had been granted Joybert, was to lapse due to non-fulfilment of conditions. Mme Joybert herself died in Paris in 1732.

GEORGE MACBEATH

AN, Col., C<sup>11A</sup>, 3. *Collection de manuscrits relatifs à la Nouv.-France*, I. Correspondance de Frontenac (1672-82), APQ Rapport, 1926-27, 17, 73, 74, 88, 90, 96, 111. Correspondance de Talon, APQ Rapport, 1930-31, 156, 157, 176, 179. *Jug. et délib. Mémoires des commissaires*, I, 151; II, 323-26, 566-70, 573-75; IV, 37, 288-89; and *Memorials of the English and French commissaries*, I, 25, 206, 413, 611-13, 744, 746, 748. P.-G. Roy, *Inv. concessions*, II, III, IV.

Claude de Bonnault, "Branche canadienne des Joybert," *BRH*, XLII (1936), 110-16. Ganong, "Historic sites in New Brunswick," 274-75, 277, 309-12, 314. Beamish Murdoch, *History of Nova-Scotia*. Rameau de Saint-Père, *Une colonie féodale*. W. O. Raymond, *The River St. John, its physical features, legends and history from 1604 to 1784*, ed. J. C. Webster (Sackville, 1943). P.-G. Roy, *La ville de Québec*, I, 362. Régis Roy, "La famille de Joybert," *BRH*, XV (1909), 223; ——— et Malchelosse, *Le régiment de Carignan. Sulte, Mélanges historiques* (Malchelosse), VIII.

**JUCHEREAU DE LA FERTÉ, JEAN**, merchant, member of the Conseil Souverain; b. c. 1620 at La Ferté-Vidame (Eure-et-Loir, France), son of JEAN JUCHEREAU DE MAUR and of Marie Langlois; d. 16 Nov. 1685 at Quebec.

Juchereau de La Ferté was the eldest son of the family; he arrived in Canada with his parents in 1634 and married Marie Giffard on 21 Nov. 1645 at Quebec. He played a distinguished part in the trade, magistrature, and society of the new-born colony. On 7 Sept. 1661 he received a grant of land on the Île d'Orléans from CHARLES DE LAUSON. On 18 Sept. 1663 he was appointed a member of the newly instituted Conseil Souverain. The following year, with the majority of the members of the council, he opposed the appointment of a syndic for the settlers. Consequently on 19 Sept. 1664 Governor SAFFRAY de Mézy relieved him of his duties, together with three other members of that body. PROUVILLE de Tracy, on 31 May 1666, annulled this action as *ultra vires*, and Juchereau was once again to be found witnessing, as "former" councillor, the registration of the letters patent of RÉMY de Courcelle, TALON, and Le Barroys. Tracy, having taken the time to inquire into the 1664 quarrel, did not deem it expedient to reinstate La Ferté, who was replaced in the council by de Gorribon.

In 1672 Jean Juchereau inherited the de Maur

seigneurie, at Saint-Augustin near Quebec. He died at the Hôtel-Dieu in Quebec and was buried in the paupers' cemetery. His wife, Marie Giffard, born about 1628 in France, had died on 11 Aug. 1665, also at Quebec, and had been buried the next day. The Juchereaus belonged to the bourgeoisie, and at that time had not yet been ennobled.

Jean Juchereau and Marie Giffard had seven children: three sons and four daughters. None of the sons was to leave any descendants. The eldest, Noël, born 3 July 1647 at Quebec, was the first Jesuit and the first religious born in Canada. He entered the noviciate at Nancy as a lay brother on 30 Jan. 1665, and was sent to Lyon to study pharmacy for two years, from 1667 to 1669. In this latter year he returned to Quebec, where he was drowned on 3 Nov. 1672 while on his way to minister to the sick. The second son, Paul-Augustin Juchereau dit de Saint-Denis, was born 3 June 1658; he inherited his father's seigneurie and devoted himself to trade. He went as a delegate to France in 1700, with the sieur Pascaud\*, to ask for freedom of trade on behalf of the Canadians; there he negotiated the formation of the Compagnie de la Colonie, for which he acted as receiver of moneys until his sudden death in 1714 in a shipwreck near the Île de Sable. The youngest, Denis-Joseph Juchereau de La Ferté, born 20 June 1661, chose the army as his career. He was with Greysolon\* de Dulhut at the Sainte-Marie falls (Sault Ste. Marie) in 1684, with Le Moyne\* d'Iberville at Hudson Bay in 1689, and with JOLLIET in Labrador in 1694, and it was he whom the king sent to warn Frontenac [see BUADE] of an imminent English attack in 1697. He died 9 Aug. 1709 at Quebec.

Of the four daughters only one, Marie-Louise, born 9 Sept. 1652, got married; she became the wife of Charles Aubert\* de La Chesnaye at Beauport, on 10 Jan. 1668. She had six children, the only posterity of Jean Juchereau de La Ferté, and died on 7 March 1678 at La Rochelle. The other three girls became nuns. Jeanne-Françoise joined the Hospitallers of Quebec and became the celebrated Mother Juchereau\* de Saint-Ignace. Charlotte became an Hospitaller at La Rochelle, where she was superior. Marie became as it were the eldest Hospitaller at Quebec, where she took her vows on 25 Jan. 1678. She was called Marie Juchereau de Saint-Thérèse, was of ailing health, and died in piety on 25 March 1697.

LUCIEN CAMPEAU

Alphonse Gauthier, "Noël Juchereau de La Ferté: premier jésuite et religieux canadien," *Lettres du Bas-Canada*, XIII (1959), 211-19. P.-G. Roy, *La famille Juchereau Duchesnay* (Lévis, 1903), 18-56.

**JUCHEREAU DE** member of the fur-trade, warden, brother of Noël; b. c. 1584 at La Ferté (France); d. 7 Feb. 1634

It was in 1634 that Jean Juchereau and his four children came to Quebec with a friend and colleague with whom he probably was of considerable importance in the grants from Le Perche.

Furthermore, as early as 1634 the Associés granted him a share between the Cap aux Pins and Cap-Rouge. A little later, in 1635, de Montmagny consigned to him a strip of land around Quebec a strip of land in the region for which de Montmagny's company, Juchereau de La Ferté, was of equal size with the company of JEAN DE LAUSON, so that the Cent-Associés, took over the company of Juchereau on 19 March 1634.

In 1647 Juchereau de La Ferté was succeeded: on 21 March 1647 he was named a notary at La Rochelle. The Chatelets purchased the seigneurie of Saint-Michel, owned by him, on 18 September 1647, and Noël Juchereau de La Ferté, Saint-Augustin. This was the company on 21 March 1647, having in mind that he had recently died, and the seigneurie on 9 April 1647.

Juchereau took an active part in colonization and in colonization active in the affair of the Habitants. A document of 1647, "formerly assessor to the council," "country [Conseil Souverain] council established in the country of the commerce and industry of the country. . . ."

By the time he took over the company Juchereau had obviously become a person in the colony. He carried the canopy of the company's concessions; on New Year's Day the small group of presents from the Jesuits was a warden of the company. Juchereau was a fur-trade and one of the leaders of the communauté des Habitants, many accused of m

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The governor concerned himself with internal administration, and had a list of land grants prepared which he sent to the minister by the courier of 1682. He supported the clergy in its attempts to remain independent of the civil authority, and in 1684 increased the salaries of the parish priests. This last measure was censured in a letter from the minister. In the same year, La Barre set up the *Compagnie du Nord*, which entered into competition with the English posts in Hudson Bay.

Notwithstanding his apparent determination to wage war on the Iroquois, the governor's main activity was to organize his own trade with them. He pretended to believe in the trustworthiness of the Iroquois, who had promised, at CHARLES LE MOYNE de Longueuil's request, to send delegates to Montreal. But in the month of May 1683 the Iroquois began attacking the allies of the French. La Barre tried naively to negotiate an understanding with the governor of New York, Col. Thomas Dongan, who was trading with the Indians and selling them goods cheaper than those of the French. The king of England had instructed Dongan to come to an agreement with La Barre, but the New York governor continued to support the Iroquois and arouse them against the French. Le Moyne managed, however, to take 13 Senecas to La Barre in Montreal on 20 July 1683. This embassy was a prelude to the one on 14 Aug. 1683 composed of 43 Iroquois chiefs, who according to La Barre demanded the expulsion of CAVELIER de La Salle from the Fort Saint-Louis, and promised to forward the governor's requests to their nations. The governor wanted, in particular, to see the Iroquois make peace with the Hurons, Algonkins, and Ottawas. The delegates left Montreal satisfied, promising to send their braves the following spring to ratify the agreement. However, though the Senecas replied frankly enough to the proposals that were made to them, the rest of the Indians, according to La Barre, desired only to play for time. He knew, he said, that they had increased their fighting strength by 150 men, and that they were continually weakening the Miami and Illinois Indians. His conclusion was that the Senecas did not want to embark on a war lightly, but that they were quite resolved to fight.

In the spring of 1683, Governor La Barre instructed two officers, Olivier Morel\* de La Durantaye and Henri de Baugy\*, to go to the region around the Great Lakes and to the Illinois country, in order to check the abusive practices of the *coureurs de bois*; the latter were trafficking in furs without licences. In the course of their inquiries into La Salle's activities in these parts,

the officers were also to invite the Indians to come and trade their furs at Montreal and meet the new governor. Fort Frontenac (Cataracoui), which belonged to La Salle, was detrimental to the business of the Montreal merchants, for it intercepted the fur trade with the Indians. La Barre made an economic alliance with the merchants Aubert\* de La Chesnaye and Le Ber\*, an agreement directed mainly against La Salle. In his letters to the minister, Intendant Demeulle accused the governor of selling a great number of fur-trading licences and even of having commercial dealings with the English and the Dutch. La Barre wrote in his own defence: "I should be a very wretched man, if I were capable of doing things such as I am accused of."

Frontenac's successor wanted above all to get rid of La Salle, and he devoted all his efforts to making the latter's position untenable and driving him out of all the posts that he had founded. The governor undertook a veritable smear campaign against the discoverer, writing to the minister that his explorations were mere fabrications. La Salle seems to have been still unaware, in the spring of 1683, of the governor's machinations, for he wrote two letters to him, on 2 April and 4 June, to ask for his protection. Nevertheless, at this period, La Barre sent Aubert and Le Ber to take possession of Fort Frontenac and all La Salle's merchandise. The pretext for this seizure was that La Salle had not complied with the conditions in return for which he had received the ownership of the fort.

At the end of the summer, the Chevalier de Baugy, on La Barre's orders, took possession of the Fort Saint-Louis on the Illinois River, where Henri de Tonty\* was in command in the name of La Salle, who had constructed this fur-trading post. On 21 March 1684, the Iroquois attacked Fort Saint-Louis, where they were repulsed by Tonty and Baugy.

The Iroquois' assault against Fort Saint-Louis was perhaps, as certain historians have asserted, what induced M. de La Barre to go and attack them in their own territory. But the governor's real motive, according to his contemporaries, was rather to save the trade in beaver pelts carried on by five or six merchants, as Intendant Demeulle wrote to the minister on 8 July 1684. For Demeulle stated openly that the war against the Iroquois in 1684 had been decided upon by Governor La Barre and six of the most important businessmen in the colony, with the hope that they would oblige the Indians to trade with them and no longer with the English. The intendant claimed that the fur-trader Aubert de La Chesnaye was the closest adviser of the governor, who had not

even consulted the minister. It was this expedition was that La Barre would frightened the Iroquois: such was the letters to Versailles.

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even consulted the military. Everyone said that this expedition was only a business affair, and that La Barre would conclude peace after having frightened the Iroquois, in order to trade with them: such was the tenor of the intendant's letters to Versailles.

The department of the Marine, under whose jurisdiction Canada came, first approved M. de La Barre's action against the Iroquois, for on 30 July 1684 the king wrote to the governor that he endorsed "his decision to attack the Iroquois because of their action against the Fort Saint-Louis"—which did not prevent the king from blaming La Barre a year later. The latter had moreover a very personal grievance against these Indians. Out of hatred for La Salle, whom he wanted to ruin completely, and with the aim of sparing La Chesnaye any commercial competition, the governor had been unwise enough to authorize the Iroquois to attack and pillage any canoe the owner of which could not show a fur-trading licence signed by him. Now the Iroquois, fortified by this official permission, set about attacking all canoes indiscriminately, even those carrying goods belonging to M. de La Barre. This, according to Abbé Vachon\* de Belmont, sent him into a towering rage.

The Jesuits recommended a policy of prudence. The Fathers, who had missions in the region around the Great Lakes, knew from experience how to deal with Indians. Fathers DABLON and FRÉMIN had already given advice to Intendant DUCHESNEAU. Father Thierry Beschefer\* had drafted a lengthy report on the subject. The Jesuits, and especially Father Jean de Lamber-ville, who maintained a regular correspondence with La Barre from July to October 1684, said that it was essential not to provoke the Iroquois, or to meddle in their war with the Illinois. Their advice was to call the chiefs together in a conference, but not to scare them by too great a display of military strength, which would offer a pretext for war. For their part, according to Rochemonteix, the notables and ecclesiastics of Quebec who had been present at the assembly of 10 Oct. 1682 "were not opposed to the war, but they did not want to undertake it before having secured fresh troops from France and exhausted all the resources of diplomacy in the effort to maintain peace."

M. de La Barre disregarded these opinions. He had only militiamen and a few companies of regular troops at his disposal. Brimming over with presumptuousness, he thought he was certain to succeed. In a letter to the minister, the governor declared: "I shall go into the Iroquois country with 1,200 settlers and spend the winter

there, in order to entice all the Indians to come and attack us in the spring of 1684 when they will be destroyed. They number 2,000 braves, but our young men are hardened and accustomed to the woods, beside the fact that we shall make war better than they, and that a few cannon will give us a great advantage." This confidence was to be belied by the events. The governor set out from Montreal on 30 July 1684, with a small army of 700 Canadians, 150 regulars, and 400 Indian allies, and went as far as Fort Frontenac. He began parleys with the Iroquois, and made contact with them on 29 August northeast of Oswego, on Lake Ontario, in a place that bore the ill-starred name of Anse de la Famine (Famine cove). La Barre had established himself in a very bad spot, marshy and difficult to defend. Fever ravaged his troops; provisions ran out. The Onondagas, Oneidas, and Cayugas, under the leadership of OTREOUTI (Grande Gueule) and GARAKONTIÉ, had agreed to enter into negotiations, with Le Moyné de Longueuil acting as intermediary, but the Mohawks and the Senecas, through fear of Dongan, refrained from sending an ambassador, and they were represented only by Téganissorens\*, a prisoner of La Barre. At a conference on 5 Sept. 1684, the Onondaga chiefs maintained a tone of lofty pride. They gave the governor to understand that it was for them, not for him, to dictate the peace. While contending, among other things, that the pillage of which the Senecas were guilty did not constitute a sufficient reason for war, the Indians none the less promised that the French should receive compensation. They also asked La Barre, in particular, to return to Quebec with his army, and to agree to the substitution of the Anse de la Famine for Montreal or Cataracoui as the place for subsequent deliberations. The Five Nations were willing to make peace and not to attack the Miamis again, but they refused to cease hostilities against the Illinois. La Barre was forced to bow to the will of the Iroquois, and, what was very serious, he left the Illinois, the allies of France, in their hands. He returned in sorry state to Montreal, with his troops decimated by illness.

His expedition had in no way intimidated the Indians. Intendant Demeulle wrote treacherously to the minister on 10 October: "The general [the governor] goes at the head of a small army corps to make war on the Iroquois, and far from doing that, he grants them all they ask." This treaty highly displeased not only the court, but also the whole colony. The Indian tribes of the West who were allies of the French accused La Barre of treason, and the French reproached the governor, among other things, for dragging them from their

