The French, English and a Fish:

How They Transformed the Island of Newfoundland, 1696-1713

by

Jacquelyn Irene-Rose George

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Susan Gray, Chair
Victoria Thompson
Kent Wright

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ABSTRACT

Newfoundland is an island on the east coast of Canada that is mostly forgotten to the study of history. This paper looks in depth at the fighting between France and England between 1696 and 1713, which in Europe coincided with the Nine Years' War and the War of the Spanish Succession. In 1696, fighting broke out on Newfoundland between England and France because of the Nine Years' War. Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville, a French officer, commanded the attacks on over twenty English settlements. The attacks lasted less than a year. Attacks would happen again because of the War of the Spanish Succession. France and England would attack each other trying to gain control of the prized commodity of the island, the cod fish. This study looks at how French and English fighting on Newfoundland helped to change the landscape and shaped the way the history of the French and English on the island is portrayed today. Historians tend to look more at the modern history of the island such as: soldiers in World War I and World War II, when Newfoundland became a Canadian province, and the English history of the island. This study argues that, by studying French and English fighting on the island, we can better see the historical significance of Newfoundland.

This paper is dedicated to my Nana and my dad. My Nana always encouraged me to pursue my love of history and museums. My Dad was the one to always encourage me to pursue what I loved no matter what it was. Thanks to both of them for being in my life. RIP Nana

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

Figure Page

Introduction

Fig. 1. Map of Newfoundland. Courtesy of Google maps

Newfoundland seems like an insignificant Canadian island (Fig 1). It is not heavily studied, and the historians who do focus on the island focus more on the recent history of the island. This includes Newfoundland's connection to World War I and World War II and the how Newfoundland became a Canadian province. Many people on the island seem to forget that the island not only has an English history but also a French history. By looking at the French and English history on the island we can start to ask the question; what was the significance of fighting on Newfoundland during the Nine Years' War and the War of the Spanish Succession? By analyzing Newfoundland during these two European wars, we can see how they both changed the landscape of the island and how because of them the history of the island is represented in a certain light. However, before we look at what happened in Newfoundland during the Nine Years' War and the War of the Spanish Succession, we have to look at what was happening in France, England, and Newfoundland that led up to those wars.

In the 1660s, France rose to great power, which can be considered the start of English and French fighting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in

Europe. In 1643, Louis XIV became King of France. He later declared, after the death of French minister Cardinal Mazarin in 1664, which he would rule without a first minister, starting his "personal reign." It was between 1660 and 1670 "when these resources [given as abundant resources] were fully mobilized and the system of absolutism reached its height, strengthening the monarchy at home and abroad, that France quickly became the undoubted dominant European power."[1] Even though France already wielded a great deal of power, Louis XIV wanted still more. In 1665, Philip IV, the king of Spain, died, which left the Spanish holding of Flanders open for the taking, and Louis XIV took the opportunity, starting the War of Devolution.[2] However, because the Dutch were scared of the power that France had, the Dutch allied themselves with England and Sweden.[3] Louis XIV, not ready to confront England, Sweden, and the Dutch, decided to back down. However, Louis would not be happy until he had control of Flanders. He decided to plan a war that would gain him Flanders, and "in a brisk diplomatic offensive he easily demolished their house of cards (the Triple Alliance of Holland, England and Sweden) and in 1672 he invaded the Republic."[4] Louis XIV was able to attack the Dutch; he then retreated in 1674, with peace made between 1678 and 1679. France acquired Franche-Comté, but was not able regain control

[1] Derek McKay and H.M. Scott, *The Rise of the Great Powers, 1648-1815* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1983), 15.
[2] John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV 1667-1714* (London: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1999), 33.
[3] Ibid., 34.
[4] K.G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1974), 303.

of all the Netherlands.[5] War was declared against France in 1683 by Carlos II, King of Spain, called the War of Reunions.[6] Carlos II declared war because he was not pleased that Louis XIV had attacked the fortress of Luxembourg.[7] The war did not last long because Carlos II was not able to gain help from Holy Roman Emperor Leopold, so he declared a truce in 1684. The Truce of Ratisbon declared peace for twenty years "between France and the Empire."[8] However, Louis XIV did not keep peace for long. In 1688, The Nine Years' War started, which created the backdrop of this paper. While Louis XIV and France gained power in Europe, England slowly caught up to them.

England's rise to great power started in the 1680s with Charles II restored as the king of England, which restored the House of Stuart to the throne.[9] This began what would be called the restoration period in English history. Throughout this time, Charles II had to deal with wars with the Dutch, as well as being allies with them when France decided to try and capture Flanders in the War of Devolution. In the beginning of France's rise to power, Charles II was an ally with Louis XIV because they were cousins. Also, because Louis XIV supported the marriage of Charles II and Infanta Catherine of Braganza, "early in his reign

[5] John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV 1667-1714* (London: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1999), 35.
[6] Ibid., 38
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] F.L. Carsten, "Britain after the Restoration." In *New Cambridge Modern History Volume V: The Ascendancy of France, 1648-88*, ed. F.L. Carsten (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 301.

Charles pledged to furthering the designs of his French cousin."[10] However that changed during the second Anglo-Dutch war. Louis XIV had to side with the Dutch because he "happened to be committed by treaty with the United Provinces" and he had to ally himself with them instead of England.[11] The French tried to help the Dutch as little as possible. While Charles seemed to have somewhat understood Louis XIV's position, it still caused tension between the two because they were supposed to be allies. Peace came with the Treaty of Breda in 1667, with England getting New York and New Jersey and the Dutch retaining Pulo-Run, Dutch Guiana, French Acadia, and French Guiana.[12] During the War of Devolution relations between France and England became more strained. In the War of Devolution, England allied themselves with the Dutch against the French. England did this because they were part of the Triple Alliance. The Triple Alliance was "an alliance of England, the United Provinces and Sweden against the aggressions of Louis."[13] Charles II regretted making this alliance and not helping Louis XIV. So in 1670 the French and English decided to make peace secretly in what became known as the Secret Treaty of Dover. The condition was Louis XIV would give money to Charles II which would go towards "restoration of Catholicism in England and a war of annihilation against the Dutch."[14] Charles II and Louis XIV might have made peace, but tension between them would

[10] Ibid., 307.
[11] Ibid., 309.
[12] Ibid., 310.
[13] Ibid., 310.
[14] Ibid.

continue to grow. When the Nine Years' War started in 1688, England and France would be enemies. Their fighting in Europe would play out in Newfoundland. While there were many events happening in Europe before 1696, England, France, and other European countries were starting to settle what would become known as the island of Newfoundland.

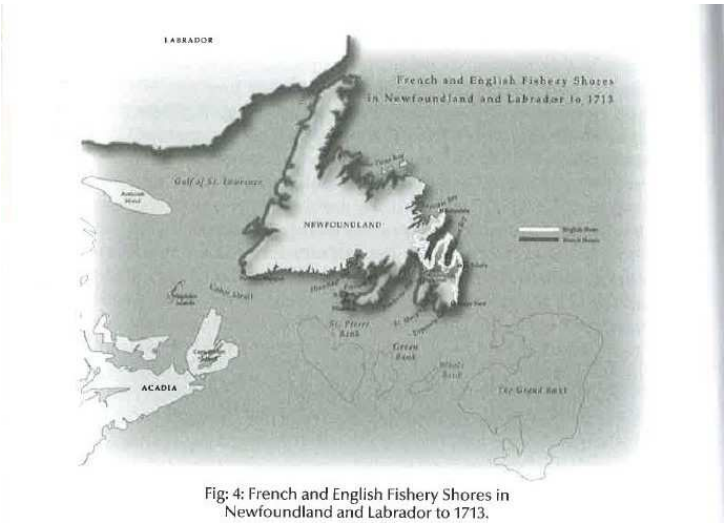

Fig. 2. Map that Shows the Fishing Areas that the French (the Dark Line) and the English (the White Line) Held Prior to 1713. Photo Courtesy of James E. Candow, *The Lookout: A History of Signal Hill*

On the eastern coast of Canada lies an island known as Newfoundland. Newfoundland has many historical events that have shaped the "map" and the history of the island. Newfoundland is home to one of the earliest known settlements by Europeans in North America, L'Anse aux Meadows. The area of L'Anse aux Meadows was settled by the Norse around 1000 A.D. The settlement did not last long because of fighting with the natives of Newfoundland, known as

the Beothuks, as well as problems back in Europe.[15] "Viking expansion was beginning to wane, and contraction began. Their kings were becoming powerful enough to impose travel and trade restrictions at home, and other European countries were unified and strong enough to resist them."[16] Though the Norse settlement can be considered the start of European expansion into North America, it would not be for 400 years that another European attempt was made to settle Newfoundland. In 1497, five years after Christopher Columbus landed in the Caribbean, King Henry VII decided to send his own explorer to North America, a Venetian named John Cabot. Henry VII gave John Cabot permission to explore the west and he set out on his ship the *Matthew*.[17] He landed in North America on June 24, 1497. Though it is not really known where he landed, there is strong evidence to suggest that he landed at Cape Bonavista, located on Bonavista Bay Northwest of St. John's.[18] Wherever John Cabot landed, he claimed the land for England. Soon to follow the English in the settlement of Newfoundland were the Portuguese, the Spanish, and the French. One of the biggest reason behind the Portuguese, the Spanish, the French and the English trying to settle Newfoundland was the abundance of cod fish.

The cod fish was a prized commodity. Though England is the country most associated with Newfoundland, they were not as prominent as their other

[15] Shannon Ryan, *A History of Newfoundland in the North Atlantic to 1818* (St. John's: Flanker Press Limited, 2012), 2.
[16] Ibid., 3
[17] Ibid., 6
[18] Ibid.

European neighbors in the earlier years. "Despite claims to the contrary England was a relatively minor player in the Newfoundland fisheries… most Europeans in Newfoundland were from Spain, Portugal, and above all France, whose fishermen were making regular trips by 1508, maybe as early as 1504."[19] Between the time France and England started to fish in Newfoundland waters and when they started to fight on the island, in 1696, France had a majority control of the fishing on Newfoundland. Figure 2 depicts who controlled what areas of Newfoundland and by consequence, the fishing. The dark colored line around Newfoundland represents the area of French fishing, while the white line represents the area of English fishing. The map shows that before 1713, France had majority control of the island and its fishing. England only controlled a small portion. This figure is the basis for understanding the change that will be discussed. To make sure that France and England had a constant presence in Newfoundland, each established its own capital.

[19] James E. Candow, *The Lookout: A History of Signal Hill* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2011), 9.

Fig. 3. Plans des Forts de Plaisance. Photo Courtesy of the Rooms Provincial Archives

In the 1660s, France, at the height of its power, focused its efforts on the Newfoundland fisheries. This "aggressive policy of French state-sponsored commercial expansion led to acute competition in the [English] West Country's European markets."[20] For these reasons, France decided to establish a permanent settlement in Newfoundland called Plaisance. "En 1665, après quelques attaques anglaises contre des navires de pêche français a Terre-Neuve, Louis XIV décide de fonder une colonie permanente à Plaisance."[21] Though Plaisance was a small settlement, it was the main site of the French holdings in Newfoundland until 1713. It would be the basis for all attacks that the French attempted on English settlements. Nicolas Gargot de La Rochette was sent to Plaisance in 1660 with orders to go to war with any of France's enemies that were there, which at the

[20] R.T. Naylor, *Canada in the European Age, 1453-1919* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 87.
[21] Nicolas Landry, *Plaisance Terre-Neuve 1650-1713: Une colonie française en Amérique,* (Septentrion: Québec, 2008), 16.

time included the Spanish.[22] La Rochette, as governor of Plaisance, had complete control of the French fishing. Over the course of its time as a French capital, Plaisance had a total of thirteen governors, one of whom would serve twice. After the French settled Plaisance, they needed to make sure that it was protected from attack. Under Thalour du Perron, governor of Plaisance from 1662 to 1664, the first fort was built on a northeastern plateau overlooking the settlement and the bay.[23] Figure 3, shows what the fort probably looked like. In total, there were three forts built to protect the settlement. The forts are of no use if there are no soldiers there to protect the people and the settlement. The year before the start of the Nine Year's War, 1688, there were twenty five soldiers in Plaisance and a total of 119 permanent residents.[24] The year before Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville came to Plaisance to take troops to attack English settlements, there were 82-100 soldiers in Plaisance.[25] In 1693, there were total of 108 permanent residents.[26] The French capital would be very successful.

While the French established their capital in Newfoundland, England established theirs, St. John's. St. John's, the English capital and the modern day capital of Newfoundland, is located on the eastern side of the Avalon Peninsula. There are many stories about how St. John's received its name, with one plausible theory being that it came from the Portuguese. In 1500, Portuguese explorer

[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid., 297.
[24] Ibid., 253 and 139.
[25] Ibid., 253.
[26] Ibid., 139.

Gaspar Corte-Real made a voyage to Newfoundland, returning with "fifty-seven Beothuck Indians."[27] A map by Pedro Rienel from 1519, which was most likely created based on Corte-Real's voyage, has the name Rio de San Johem.[28] Another theory was made by George Prowse, the son of Judge Daniel Woodley Prowse, who wrote the book The History of Newfoundland in 1895. George Prowse believed that during Cabot's voyage he called where he landed Isle of St. John's. Cabot's landing spot could have been on the eastern shore of Newfoundland where St. John's is located. Prowse "says that the name could only have had a short life but it may have lasted long enough among sailors to cause its transference to the landlocked harbor…"[29]

Trying to figure out how St. John's was settled is complicated. One story about the beginning of St. John's was a patent to establish a colony in Newfoundland requested by Hugh Elliot and Thomas Ashehurst, merchants from Bristol, and approved by Henry VIII in 1502.[30] "There is no further information to be found regarding this venture, but subsequent developments in the colonization of the island indicate the harbor of St. John's as the site of the intended colony."[31] Though it is possible that Elliot and Ashehurst established the colony of St. John's it is known that by 1560 ships from various English ports were regularly making visits to St. John's. While ships were traveling to St. John's to fish, settlement did

[27] Paul O'Neill, *The Oldest City: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland* (Boulder Publications, 2008), 4.
[28] Ibid. 4.
[29] Ibid., 5.
[30] Ibid., 3.
[31] Ibid., 3-4.

not begin until 1625, with migratory fishermen being the main group of people seen in St. John's.[32] "Ships sailed annually to harbours on the east coast of Newfoundland with St. John's (Harbour) serving as the focus and unofficial gathering point of convenience."[33] Fifteen years before the start of King William's War in Newfoundland, a census shows that there were "twenty-seven property holders, including seventeen wives, thirty-two children and two widows. There were 221 servants and forty-nine boats….. The population totaled 299 persons."[34] St. John's would become a focal point for the French to capture, as it was the English capital.

Fig. 4. Map of Avalon Peninsula. Courtesy of Google Maps

[32] James E. Candow, *The Lookout: A History of Signal Hill* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2011), 11.
[33] Shannon Ryan, *A History of Newfoundland in the North Atlantic to 1818* (St. John's: Flanker Press Limited, 2012), 19.
[34] Paul O'Neill, *The Oldest City: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland* (Boulder Publications, 2008), 19.

Newfoundland was an area of economic importance to England and France. As a major provider of cod fish for England and France, Newfoundland was an important island in the Atlantic trade. The problem was that no one country had complete control of the fishing and the island. To understand the map and history of Newfoundland as it is today, looking at how French and English fighting between 1696 and 1713 played out is important. This leads to the main part of my thesis.

The body of my thesis focuses on the period between 1696 to 1713, when France and England were fighting on the island for control of the fishing on Newfoundland. The fighting, which began in 1696, is called the Avalon Peninsula Campaign. The Avalon Peninsula is on the east coast of the island and is the site of most of the fighting on Newfoundland between 1696 and 1713 since the French and English were in close proximity there (Fig. 4). Before looking into the campaign, I look into the background of a major figure in the campaign, Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville. After understanding why d'Iberville went to Newfoundland, I look at how the attacks were planned and who was involved. This leads to exactly what English settlements d'Iberville attacked. Using the journal of Father Jean Baudoin, I look in depth into each English settlement that d'Iberville and his men attacked. I focus on the order he attacked, if he destroyed any of the settlements, and if he killed or took anyone prisoner. After looking in depth into the French attacks on English settlements, I consider at what the English attempted to protect their territory. I do this by looking at English letters and requests sent to the king

during the campaign. I also analyze a little at the Treaty of Ryswick that ended the Nine Years' War and its effect on Newfoundland. This section explores the consequences of the campaign for the map of Newfoundland.

The second section of my thesis focuses on Queen Anne's War, which lasted from 1702 to 1713. After a brief introduction, I look at the early attacks on the English settlements by the French, including one on the English capital St. John's. After seeing the way the French attacked the English I look at the English attempts on the French capital of Plaisance. After seeing how successful or unsuccessful the English were in their attempts to capture the French capital, I look at the English attacks on the northern French settlements, which were called le Petit Nord. Following English attempts on French settlements, the French were able to attempt a second attack on the English capital of St. John's. Throughout all of the attack there were two different groups that the English and French used to gain information about each other, deserters and spies. After understanding the dynamic of the fighting on the island, I look at the Treaty of Utrecht which ended the War of the Spanish Succession, to examine how it affected French and English control on Newfoundland. In my conclusion, I discuss how the two wars led to a change in the landscape of Newfoundland and changed the course of the history of the island.

The Avalon Peninsula Campaign 1696-1697

Introduction

By 1686, Newfoundland's cod fisheries had become an essential commodity to the English and the French. The French, wanting the fisheries to themselves, attempted to drive out the English from their settlements. The driving forces behind what is called the Avalon Peninsula Campaign were Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville and the governor of Plaisance, Jean François de Monbeton de Brouillan. Their plan was to destroy all English settlements to try and force the English out of Newfoundland so the French could have complete control of the fisheries. Beginning in the winter of 1696, d'Iberville and Brouillan embarked on the Avalon Peninsula Campaign, which ended in the beginning of the spring of 1697. By examining the Avalon Peninsula Campaign and its outcome, we can start to see a shift in the importance of Newfoundland to England. This shift is demonstrated by the English return to the peninsula and the rebuilding of their settlements, which had been devastated, pillaged, and abandoned during the campaign.

Pierre Le Moyne D'Iberville

Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville was a major player for France in King William's War and specifically in Newfoundland. D'Iberville was born in 1661 in

Montreal to Charles and Catherine Lemoyne.[35] He was schooled in a seminary, learning "Latin, literature and rhetoric."[36] What made him a great choice to fight for France in Canada, Newfoundland, and the American colonies was that as a young boy he became a fervent support of Louis XIV. In 1673, at the age of 12, he joined two of his older brothers, Charles de Longueuil and Jacques de Sainte-Helène, in addition to Louis de Baude, the Comte de Frontenac, the governor of Canada, on an expedition to modern day Kingston, Ontario. Not much is known about this expedition, but when d'Iberville returned, his father "seized the occasion to obtain from Count Frontenac the position of midshipman in the navy for Pierre."[37] This was the turning point for d'Iberville. He returned from his time at sea a changed man, one who now knew a great deal about ships, the navy, and navigation, which would aid him in his campaign in Newfoundland.

After his return in 1683, the Governor that succeeded Frontenac, Lefebvre de la Barre, gave d'Iberville the mission of taking dispatches back to France for him.[38] However, the mission never came to be. D'Iberville now had nothing going for him. That would change in 1686 when d'Iberville, along with two of his brothers and the Chevalier de Troyes, a captain in the French army, attacked British forts on the Hudson Bay to try and stop English expansion in the Hudson

[35] Nellis M. Crouse, *Lemoyne d'Iberville: Soldier of New France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954), 6-7.
[36] Ibid., 9.
[37] Ibid., 11.
[38] Ibid., 12.

Bay.[39] The first fort captured was Moose Factory, followed by Fort Rupert and Fort Albany. After these attacks, d'Iberville returned to Quebec in 1687 and was then sent to France. In France he was given command of the ship *Soleil d'Afrique* "with orders to take her to Canada."[40] He returned to Canada with the ship as promised and in 1688, he was able to block the English from trying to set up a port on the Albany River, located in Northern Ontario, and captured their ships, their crew and their supplies.[41] Through all of this there was still one English fort left, York Fort and in 1694, d'Iberville set out to capture it. They arrived to the fort on September 24, 1694, and attacked. Three weeks later the fort surrendered.[42] By capturing the fort, the French had control of almost all of the Hudson Bay area, except for Fort Albany which the English had recaptured.[43] In 1696, d'Iberville made his way to Pemaquid, a settlement in Acadia, present day Bristol, Maine.[44] D'Iberville and Jean-Vincent d'Abbadie Baron de Saint-Castin were sent to capture the fort in Pemaquid, Fort William Henry. D'Iberville and Baron de Saint-Castin offered the residents of Fort William Henry the opportunity to surrender peacefully. When the residents decided they would not surrender and would fight for their fort, d'Iberville and Baron de Saint-Castin laid siege, forcing

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[39] Charles B. Reed, *The First Great Canadian: The Story of Pierre Le Moyne Sieur D'Iberville* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 45.
[40] Nellis M. Crouse, *Lemoyne d'Iberville: Soldier of New France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954), 41.
[41] W. J. Eccles, *Canada under Louis XIV 1663-1701* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1964), 161.
[42] Ibid., 197.
[43] Charles B. Reed, *The First Great Canadian: The Story of Pierre Le Moyne Sieur D'Iberville* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 78.
[44] [44] Charles B. Reed, *The First Great Canadian: The Story of Pierre Le Moyne Sieur D'Iberville* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1910), 100.

the residents of the fort to surrender. The fort now under French control, d'Iberville left for what would be considered the most ruthless campaign of his career, the Avalon Peninsula Campaign.

Planning the Attacks

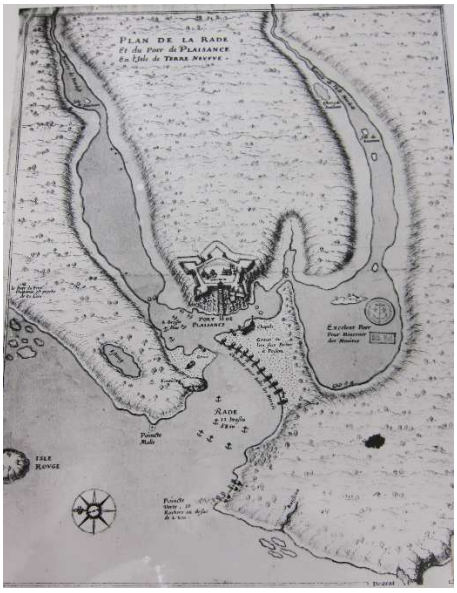

Fig. 5. Plane de La Rade et du Port de Plaisance en Isle de Terre Neuve c. 1692. Photo Courtesy of the Rooms Provincial Archives

On September 12, 1696, Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville, along with Abbé Jean Baudoin and "his fearsome band of 124 men included regular soldiers and handpicked volunteers from New France along with Abenaki and Mi'kmaq warriors, the former led by Chief Nescambiouit" arrived in Plaisance (Fig. 5).[45] Abbé Jean Baudoin had been a musketeer before he became an ordained priest. Baudoin was sent to accompany d'Iberville and his men so he could act as

[45] James E. Candow, *The Lookout: A History of Signal Hill* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2011), 20.

chaplain as well as to be the record keeper of d'Iberville's missions.[46] Once d'Iberville and his men arrived they encountered a setback. According to Abbé Baudoin's journal, when d'Iberville and his men arrived, they were informed that the governor of Plaisance, Jean-François de Monbeton de Brouillan, had already left with men to attack St. John's.[47] D'Iberville was not pleased; he was supposed to be in charge of the attacks on the English settlements in Newfoundland, and Brouillan had acted prematurely in trying to attack the English capital of St. John's. Brouillan did not have the manpower or the resources for a successful attack, however, and returned to Plaisance having failed in capturing St. John's from the English. D'Iberville already upset about Brouillan leaving for St. John's without him, found that Brouillan had also caused d'Iberville to lose access to soldiers. "There were supposed to have been eight more ships crewed by privateers from Saint-Malo" but Brouillan and the privateers had a disagreement and the privateers refused to follow Brouillan, so they returned to France.[48] This meant that d'Iberville lost men, ships and supplies that could aid him and his men on their journey through and around Newfoundland. D'Iberville was able to overcome not having as many soldiers ships and supplies as he had anticipated.

Planning their attack, d'Iberville and Brouillan had a disagreement about where they would start their campaign. Brouillan wanted to go straight to St.

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[46] Patrick O'Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland: A History to 1843* (St. John's: Long Beach Press, 1999), 50.
[47] Jean Baudoin collection. The Rooms Provincial Archives, 29
[48] James E. Candow, *The Lookout: A History of Signal Hill* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2011), 21.

John's again but d'Iberville wanted to go to Carbonear because "des prisonniers qui arrvient de St, Jean nous apprenons qu'il y a à Carbonniere 8 naviers marchands qui chargent de moures engagent encoure advantage le Sr. d'Iberville à prendre ce party.[49] In the end d'Iberville agreed to Brouillan's plan to head east towards St. John's instead of north to Carbonear. The plan was for Brouillan to take a ship with men and supplies to the settlement of Renews, and d'Iberville and his men would trek across land and meet Brouillan there. From there, d'Iberville and his men would continue on land and Brouillan on water, and they would attack the English costal settlements of the Avalon Peninsula. Brouillan left Plaisance first in the ship *Profond,* followed by d'Iberville and his men on November 1, 1696.

French Attacks on English Settlements

[49] Jean Baudoin collection. The Rooms Provincial Archives, 29. "Some prisoners came from St. John's with word that 8 ships were loading cod at Carbonear, again tempting d'Iberville to go in that direction."

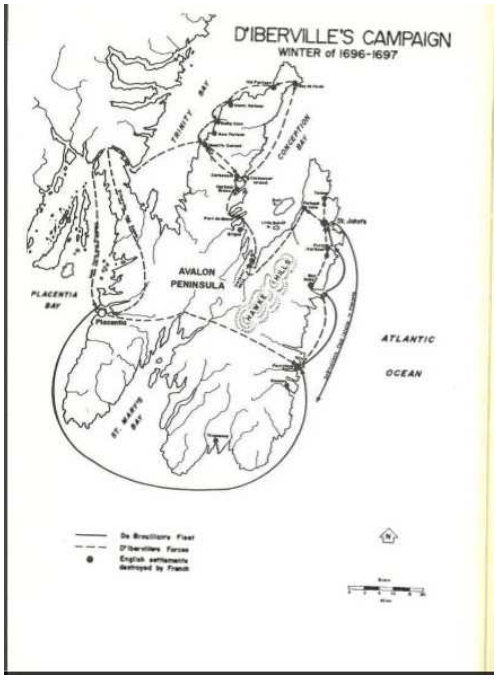

Fig. 6. This Map of D'Iberville's Attacks Show the Locations of Each of the Attacks Mentioned Below. Photo Courtesy of Bernard D. Fardy, *Under Two Flags: The French-English Struggle for Newfoundland 1696-1796*

After a nine day trek, d'Iberville and his men, low on supplies, came across the English settlement of Ferryland (fig 6). Thinking Ferryland would have supplies, d'Iberville and his men were confronted instead with a gutted settlement, the English having fled north to Bay Bulls with their provisions.[50] D'Iberville was able to contact Brouillan and his men, who sent supplies up from Renew. D'Iberville took the opportunity to let his men rest and regroup. While waiting for the supplies from Renew, D'Iberville and his men were able to feed themselves because the settlers had left some horses.[51] After regrouping and receiving their supplies, d'Iberville and some of his men went north to Cape

[50] Bernard D. Fardy, *Under Two Flags: The French-English Struggle for Newfoundland 1696-1796* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1987), 52.
[51] Jean Baudoin collection. The Rooms Provincial Archives, 29

Broyle on November 12, 1696 (fig. 6). They were able to ransack the settlement and take twelve settlers as prisoners.[52] D'Iberville and his men then continued north towards St. John's. On November 23 they arrived at the settlement of Bay Bulls. D'Iberville and his men, along with Brouillan and his ship, were able to capture a roughly 100 ton ship.[53] Continuing to St. John's, d'Iberville and seven of his men scouted ahead of their company to gather intelligence. However, d'Iberville and the men were discovered by thirty English settlers. So, d'Iberville and his men chased after the English settlers all the way to the English settlement of Petty Harbor (fig. 6).[54] As soon as d'Iberville and his men arrived in Petty Harbor they attacked the small village.[55] According to Baudoin, the English lost 36 of their men and the French had taken some of them prisoners in the attack.[56] The settlers who were able to escape the attack on Petty Harbor, fled to St. John's. Despite a snow storm that hit the peninsula not long after the attack on Petty Harbor, d'Iberville and his men continued on to St. John's.[57] At a settlement just south of St. John's, Burnt Wood, modern-day Waterford Valley (fig 6), they were met by 88 Englishmen ready to attack the French.[58] However, the English were not prepared for the number of men d'Iberville had in his company. "The civilians

[52] Patrick O'Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland: A History to 1843* (St. John's: Long Beach Press, 1999), 50.
[53] Jean Baudoin collection. The Rooms Provincial Archives, 29
[54] The date they arrived in Petty Harbor was November 26, 1696.
[55] Jean Baudoin collection. The Rooms Provincial Archives, 31.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

did the best they could, but nearly half of them were killed…"[59] The survivors fled back to the safety of St. John's and the forts with D'Iberville hot on their trail.

St. John's was the most important English settlement for the French to capture because it was the English capital in Newfoundland. If the French were able to capture the capital, they would have control of the English epicenter. When d'Iberville and his men arrived in St. John's they wasted no time and attacked immediately. The focus of d'Iberville's attack was the forts. England had three forts in St. John's: one that was unnamed, Fort Mary, and Fort William or King William's Fort. The settlers inside the unnamed fort and Fort Mary, surrendered and d'Iberville and his men took 33 men and a number of families prisoner.[60] The largest fort, Fort William, had around 200 people inside. If d'Iberville could seize Fort William he would have control of the English capital.[61] Fort William was very well constructed but "it lacked ammunition to withstand a siege."[62] During the French attack on the fort, the English lost 55 of their men and the French lost three men and had two wounded Canadians. Brouillan had a personal loss with his trumpeter being killed. Even though the French were persistent in their attack on the fort, the settlers refused to surrender.

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[59] James E. Candow, *The Lookout: A History of Signal Hill* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2011), 22.
[60] Jean Baudoin collection. The Rooms Provincial Archives, 31
[61] Ibid.
[62] James E. Candow, *The Lookout: A History of Signal Hill* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2011), 22.

On November 29, 1696, it snowed, reminding d'Iberville and his men how hard it was to attack and travel in Newfoundland during the winter months.

Even with the snow, the French continued their attack on Fort William, d'Iberville sending some of his men back down to Bay Bulls for additional mortars and powders. The same evening that d'Iberville sent men to Bay Bulls, Lieutenant Jacques Testard de Montigny and 60 Canadians burned the houses closest to the fort. A settler then left the fort, white flag in hand, to see about terms for surrender. D'Iberville spoke with the man about the terms for surrender, but the leader of the fort, only known as Miners, wanted to wait 24 hours before agreeing or disagreeing to surrender. According to Baudoin, Miners wanted to wait to agree or disagree with surrender because there were two ships of allies not far away, that Miners believed could help the settlers in the fort.[63] The French, however, did not take kindly to having to wait for a surrender. They sent a prisoner by the name of William Drew, whom they had scalped, to the fort along with the message that they "'would serve them all in like manner if they did not surrender.'"[64] Soon after, the English surrendered with conditions. The English wanted two ships, one for those who wanted to go back to England and one for those who wanted to go to Bonavista, an English settlement north-west of St. John's on the tip of Bonavista peninsula, between Bonavista Bay and Trinity Bay. D'Iberville would not attack Bonavista because he would not travel far enough

[63] Jean Baudoin collection. The Rooms Provincial Archives, 32
[64] James E. Candow, *The Lookout: A History of Signal Hill* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2011), 22

north-west. D'Iberville and the English settlers signed the agreement and the settlers of the fort cleared out. The French now had control of St. John's.

A few days after the surrender of St. John's, on December 2, 1696, d'Iberville sent out two parties to take two of the English settlements. The first party went north to Torbay (fig. 6), where the French were able to capture all of the English settlers as well as some fugitives.[65] The second party, led by Lieutenant Jacques Testard de Montigny, went west to Portugal Cove on Conception Bay. Montigny and his men captured the settlers as well as some fugitives headed to Carbonear.[66] The men that stayed back with d'Iberville in St. John's attacked a small outlying community, Quidi Vidi. D'Iberville's men captured the few settlers as well as some fugitives.[67] While all of this was happening, snow continued to fall, making every decision d'Iberville made crucial. To persist in his campaign against the English settlements d'Iberville had to make sure that his men had enough provisions to be fed and clothed so they would not freeze to death. He also had to make a decision about what to do about St. John's.

[65] Jean Baudoin collection. The Rooms Provincial Archives, 33
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.

Fig. 7. Overlooking the Entrance to St. John's Bay. Photo Courtesy of Author

Brouillan came up with an idea of what to do with St. John's. He wanted to keep a strong hold on St. John's in case of English return. The hills overlooking St. John's harbor give a perfect vantage point for seeing incoming ships (fig. 7). Brouillan proposed to leave a man by the name of Sieur de muis behind, who would protect St. John's. D'Iberville agreed to this but he wanted to leave some of his men, specifically from Plaisance, with Siuer de muis. However, de muis did not want d'Iberville's men from Plaisance to stay, he wanted Canadians to stay with him. Father Baudoin does not give a reason as to why Siuer de muis did not want any of d'Iberville's men or why he only wanted Canadian. D'Iberville refused, as he wanted all of the Canadians to stay with him. At a standstill, Brouillan decided not to keep anyone in St. John's, but instead, to burn the settlement. After the decision was made, Brouillan took some men and headed back to Plaisance. By January 2, 1697, d'Iberville and his men had burned 80 sloops and completely destroyed St. John's except for a few buildings they kept

up to house their sick.[68] D'Iberville and his men then headed west towards Conception Bay.

On their way to Conception Bay, d'Iberville and his men had to stay in Portugal Cove (fig. 6) because of heavy snow fall. On January 19, 1697, D'Iberville and his men finally reached the bottom of Conception Bay, specifically the small village of Holyrood where they captured all the settlers. D'Iberville then sent Lieutenant Jacques Testard de Montigny and some men with a sloop to the village of Harbor Main, which was just a little northwest of Holyrood. On January 20, 1697, Montigny and his men captured eleven men, four of them from Carbonear (fig. 6). D'Iberville and the rest of his men met with Montigny in Harbor Main where d'Iberville decided that he and his men would travel by sea because the deep snow was making travel by land so difficult.[69] D'Iberville and his men left Harbor Main in a sloop heading north on the west coast of Conception Bay. As d'Iberville and his men were traveling, they were met with four English sloops, which turned and fled to warn any settlers they could find about the impending French attacks. D'Iberville and his men followed the sloops and ended up at the settlement of Port de Grave.

According to Father Baudoin, the people of Port de Grave (fig. 6) were well prepared to resist the French, with half of the 110 men being armed. Never the less, d'Iberville and his men were able to capture the settlement and confiscate

[68] Jean Baudoin collection. The Rooms Provincial Archives, 34.
[69] Ibid.

the English weapons.[70] While d'Iberville and his men continued north on Conception Bay to Carbonear, he decided to send Montigny and around 90 men to a little place called Mosquito, modern day Bristol's Hope just south of Carbonear. [71] When d'Iberville and his men reached Carbonear, they found that the settlers had retreated to Carbonear Island, just outside of Carbonear Bay. There settlers were ready to fight, and they were successful in protecting themselves and Carbonear Island. D'Iberville then decided to head south to Harbor Grace where on January 28, 1697, he and his men burned the village.[72] Then they returned to Carbonear determined to attack Carbonear Island and capture it. On January 31, 1697, d'Iberville and his men tried and failed to take the island. They made another attempt on February 1, 1697, and again failed. Carbonear Island would be the only English settlement attacked by d'Iberville during the campaign that he was unable to capture because of choppy waters and there not being a place to land the boats that would allow for a surprise attack. Abandoning their attempt, the French continued on to Trinity Bay.

Trinity Bay would be the last area of English settlement that d'Iberville would attack. D'Iberville and his men continued north on Conception Bay headed towards the settlement of Bay de Verde (fig. 6). While on the way there, d'Iberville and his men were able to capture eight Englishmen. The men told d'Iberville that there were sloops in Old Perlican, a town on the northeast coast of

[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Jean Baudoin collection. The Rooms Provincial Archives, 34.

Trinity Bay, which were ready to set sail.[73] Sloops ready to set sail meant supplies, and fish that he could capture. So d'Iberville and his men went to Old Perlican (fig. 6) and on February 4, 1697, they were able to capture 80 men peacefully. Because the men of Old Perlican surrendered peacefully, d'Iberville sent two of those men to Bay de Verde to warn the settlers that if they surrendered peacefully, like those of Old Perlican, they would also be treated leniently. When d'Iberville arrived at Bay de Verde on February 6, 1697, the settlers took his advice and surrendered peacefully. Instead of continuing in their sloop, d'Iberville decided that he and his men would continue on foot back to Trinity Bay. The first settlement that they came to was Hants Harbor, which is south of Old Perlican. However, when they arrived all of the settlers were gone.[74] So the next morning d'Iberville and his men continued their way south, ending up in the village of Scilly Cove (fig. 6), modern day Winterton.

Scilly cove was just like Hants Harbor; all of the settlers had fled. So d'Iberville and his men continued south, ending up in New Perlican. New Perlican only had two settlers, as the rest had fled to Heart's Content (fig. 6). D'Iberville and his men immediately followed them. When they arrived, they found a fortified house which housed the settlers.[75] D'Iberville asked for a settler to come out so they could talk. An Irishman came out and he told d'Iberville that they would surrender if their lives would be spared, to which d'Iberville agreed. After

[73] Jean Baudoin collection. The Rooms Provincial Archives, 35.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Jean Baudoin collection. The Rooms Provincial Archives, 36.

everything was settled D'Iberville and his men made their way east back to Carbonear. There they learned that men from Carbonear Island had taken a French man and three Irishmen captive. D'Iberville tried to broker a prisoner exchange. On February 18, 1697, the settlers on Carbonear Island agreed that for each Englishman that the French had prisoner, they would return a Frenchman or an Irishman.[76] However, the exchange did not happen. Instead, the English took the opportunity to mock the French and afterwards the settlers returned to the island. Since d'Iberville could not capture Carbonear Island, he settled for burning Carbonear and returning south to Plaisance. He arrived in Plaisance on March 4, 1697. His arrival in Plaisance marked the end of his reign of terror on the English settlements on the Avalon Peninsula.

English Letters to the King

While the English may not have attacked the French, they were not sitting idly by. Throughout the attacks by the French, English merchants with ties and business in Newfoundland and others were sending letters to the king asking for help. A petition, not dated, was sent to the king by the people of Bideford. They did not request help, but used their petition as a way to get information to the king. If the king understood the problems his merchants were having in Newfoundland because of the French, then maybe he would send help. The petition sent by the people of Bideford reads we "humbly beg leave to lay before

[76] Ibid.

yo: [sic] Majesty deplorable condition of Newfound Land [sic] and our losses there sustain'd [sic] by the insults of the French."[77] The people of Bideford then explain how the French had attacked their ships and taken their supplies from them. Appendix A gives a list of the English ships, owned by the Lord of Bideford, destroyed by the French off the coast of Newfoundland. For the merchants and people of Bideford, this was important because this was their livelihood. The French were taking away the means for the people of Bideford to make money from the cod fish. If the king were to understand how the French attacking Newfoundland was not just affecting their business but also the business of the king, he would be more likely to send help. Other approaches to Charles II were not so subtle.

For example, in an undated petition, the Merchants Traders and Seamen of Barnestaple asked the king to grant "that a sufficient Number of Men of War & Land Forces may be sent to Newfoundland, so speedily as to prevent the Loses [sic] of the Next Fishing Season to Regain the Places lately take from Us, & to Resettle Your Loyal Subjects in a Secure Trade there."[78] The reason that the Merchants Traders and Seamen of Barnestaple wanted soldiers sent to Newfoundland was to protect their ships from the French. The French, were attacking their ships and taking the supplies, specifically the cod fish, on board. If the French continued to attack the English ships, they would destroy the English

[77] CO 194/1, 5.
[78] CO 194/1, 8.

fishing season. The English soldiers would help to protect the English fishing area and the ships traveling back to England or the English colonies.

In a petition dated during the time of d'Iberville's campaign, the Merchants and other traders from Exon County requested that England send security to Newfoundland. They wrote:

> We think it unavoidably necessary for eight or ten Saile [sic] of Men of wars to depart from England direct to the Newfoundland in the beginninge [sic] of February or midle [sic] at farthist [sic] and with them to goe [sic] at least one (…) Regiment of foot Soldiers whereby we may not only hope to retake those harbors w^{ch} the French have lately deprived us of but also secure them from future attempts, and defete [sic] them in theirs [sic] fishery by assaltinge [sic] there own plantation of placentia before they may be reinforced.[79]

When the merchant and other traders from Exon County sent their letter, the French had destroyed and captured Ferryland, Cape Broyle, Bay Bulls, Petty Harbor, Burnt Wood, and St. John's. If the king were to send soldiers to Newfoundland as soon as possible, the English could attempt to reclaim the settlements that were already taken by the French. Since the time it took to get word to England and for the king to learn of what the French were doing to his settlements was too long, the king was not able to send soldiers to Newfoundland until after d'Iberville had left.

A letter to William Popple, the Secretary for the Council of Trade, from William Bridgeman, dated February, 24, 1697, mentions that "Since my last Letter I'm Commanded to acquaint you, that the four Ships menconed [sic] in the

[79] CO 194/1, 32

margine [sic] (Monck, Lyon, Portland and Guernsey) part of the Squadron going to Newfound Land…" which is most likely the English fleet commanded by Sir John Norris which arrived in Newfoundland on June 7, 1697.[80] When Norris and his men arrived in Newfoundland all they found was destruction.[81] The French had completely destroyed the English settlements, and the fleet had to pick up the pieces and rebuild again. Seeing the destruction done to the English settlements, the Crown seems to have decided that Newfoundland was an important settlement that needed protection. Norris and his men made sure that the settlement they spent the most time on was St. John's. They started with rebuilding the fortification, Fort William, so that if the French again attacked the English soldiers would be protected. Settlers started to return to Newfoundland, especially after the Treaty of Ryswick was signed. Also after the treaty was signed, a majority of the soldiers returned to England, with some staying in St, John's to protect it and to continue to rebuild Fort William.[82]

Treaty of Ryswick

Although peace talks for the Nine Years' War started as early as 1690, the Treaty of Ryswick was not signed until September 20, 1697. The terms of the treaty affected Europe and its ruling parties, but it "effected no changes of

[80] CO 194/1, 97
[81] Patrick O'Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland: A History to 1843* (St. John's: Long Beach Press, 1999), 54.
[82] Ibid.

European sovereignty in North America."[83] This included Newfoundland. The French had destroyed a majority of the English settlements in Newfoundland, but never took control of them. There being no provisions for the North American colonies in the Treaty of Ryswick, the French and the English maintained their same settlements on Newfoundland, as well as their same areas for fishing. This would cause tension because "the peace having left vital questions of territory and relationships unresolved" the English and the French would continue to fight over who would have control of the Newfoundland cod fisheries. [84]

Conclusion

While the attacks in Newfoundland did not happen as soon as war broke out, the attacks that eventually happened were devastating. The man in charge of the Avalon Peninsula Campaign was Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville. He, along with the governor of Plaisance, Jean-François de Monbeton de Brouillan set out from Plaisance to destroy the English settlement on the Avalon Peninsula. The campaign was brutal; in the end, d'Iberville and his men were able to destroy all but two English settlements, Carbonear Island and Bonavista. Carbonear Island was a settlement whose rugged landscape and the choppy waters, meant that d'Iberville was not able to capture it. Bonavista, which lies on Bonavista Peninsula between Bonavista Bay and Trinity Bay, was farther northwest than

[83] Gerald S. Graham, *Empire of the North Atlantic: The Maritime Struggle for North America* (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 11950), 83.
[84] Linda Frey ad Marsha Frey, eds., *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession: An Historical and Critical Dictionary* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995), 390.

d'Iberville travelled. While d'Iberville was able to destroy over twenty English settlements, he did not hold them. After d'Iberville returned to Plaisance, he was sent to Hudson Bay to fight the English. He was sent to attempt to stop the English from gaining control of the Hudson Bay area. No other French official, such as Brouillan, took the opportunity to settle these areas captured from the English. Instead, the English came back to their settlements, and started to rebuild, especially St. John's. English citizens came back to resettle the areas that the French had destroyed and English soldiers made sure the English fishery and its capital were protected.

The Avalon Peninsula Campaign can be considered a turning point for both the English and the French. After seeing the devastation the French inflicted on the English settlements, the English seemed to have decided that protecting their small portion of the fishery in Newfoundland was important. While help was asked for by merchants who had business in Newfoundland, by the time the king received the information about the attacks and was able to send soldiers to Newfoundland, it was too late. D'Iberville had left. The devastation was a wake-up call for the English. As soon as the English soldiers could, they started to rebuild the capital, including houses, boats, dry dock for the fish, and Fort William. When peace was declared, English subjects started to arrive in Newfoundland and settle the area. The English were now taking seriously the need to protect their investment in the Newfoundland cod fisheries. Because the English were able to resettle their destroyed settlements, the Avalon Peninsula

Campaign was also a turning point for the French losing control of Newfoundland. The French had the opportunity to settle the land they destroyed. They could have protected the settlements from the English, and while the English might have retained Bonavista and Carbonear Island, the French would have had almost complete control of Newfoundland. However, because the French did not settle the destroyed English settlements, the English were able to come back, resettle and were prepared for any attack by the French. There is no clear explanation as to why the French did not settle the land they destroyed. There could be a number of reasons such as, they might have believed the English would not resettle, they just did not see a reason too, or d'Iberville was needed in the Hudson Bay because they saw it as more important than Newfoundland. Either way, the English had their hold back in Newfoundland which the French could have prevented. Since the Treaty of Ryswick did not change any aspect of England and France's hold on Newfoundland and the fisheries, tensions would still be high until 1702. For while peace had been made in 1697, it would be just a short five years later that war would break out again and the English and French would again try to protect what was theirs.

Newfoundland during Queen Anne's War

Introduction

Peace after the Nine Years' War lasted short five years. In 1702, war again was declared in Europe which was called the War of the Spanish Succession. In North America this was known as Queen Anne's War. This war was very similar to that of King William's War in that the same parties were fighting. This would be true in Newfoundland as well. During King William's War, the French attacked the English fishing settlements, but only at the end of the war. However, during Queen Anne's War, the French would waste no time in attacking the English, attacking not long after war was declared in Europe. The French would especially focus on the English capital of St. John's. While the French would often attack the English settlements, the English did not attempt to attack the French capital, Plaisance. Nevertheless, the English would triumph over the French in Newfoundland.

French Early Attacks

When war broke out in Europe, the French in Plaisance, Newfoundland, wasted no time in attacking the English. The summer of 1702 saw the French traveling from Plaisance north to Trinity Bay to the town of Scilly Cove, modern day Winterton. The French were able to kill a couple of people as well as capture a ship that had 1000 quintals of fish on board.[85] The attack was a small one whose

[85] CO 194/2, 268.

purpose was to show their dominance over the English and French willingness to fight. Attacking small English settlements was also a way to cut off the English from their supply of cod fish. The French made another assault on the northwestern English fishing area in 1704, attacking at Conception Bay, Trinity Bay, and Bonavista.[86] At Conception Bay, the French plundered and pillaged the small English fishing settlements, except for Carbonear Island much as d'Iberville and his men had done earlier.[87] The French had not been able to take Carbonear Island under d'Iberville and failed again seven years later. After attacking Conception Bay the French headed west for Trinity Bay. The Trinity Bay attacks were similar to those on Conception Bay. The French plundered and destroyed and supposedly "committed several barbaritys [sic]…" though none are mentioned.[88] After destroying Trinity Bay, the French continued northwest to Bonavista Bay, specifically the town of Bonavista, or as the English called it Buena Vista.[89] Bonavista was the English fishing settlement to which d'Iberville did not travel. This would be the one time the French were able to attack Bonavista. The attack was led by a privateering surgeon named Jean Léger de la Grange. His attacks on Bonavista were said to have "caused great havoc, making off with a 250-ton ship heavily laden with dried cod."[90] The French made sure in

[86] Conception Bay is north-east of Plaisance, Trinity Bay north of Plaisance and Bonavista north-west of Plaisance.
[87] CO 194/3, 346.
[88] Ibid.
[89] The story behind the name is that when John Cabot landed in Newfoundland, he landed on the sight of what it Bonavista. When he say the land he said "Oh Bueno Vista," so the town is called Bonavista.
[90] Patrick O'Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland: A History to 1843* (St. John's: Long Beach Press, 1999), 58.

their attacks that they not only destroyed English settlements, but that they made off with cod fish that the English were sending back to England or their colonies. After the attacks on Conception Bay, Trinity Bay, and Bonavista the French would not attack till a year later, and their attacks were on a similar scale to d'Iberville's attacks.

In the winter of 1705, the French set their sights on the eastern English settlements along the Atlantic Ocean. The governor of Plaisance, Daniel d'Auger de Subercase, along with Jacques Testard de Montigny, who had been part of Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville's campaign, set their sights for the English capital, St. John's. They recruited "around 100 Canadians and Indians" and other men for a "total force of about 450."[91] Before attacking St. John's, Subercase and his men traveled to southern English settlements, where they took Bay Bulls and Petty Harbor.[92] They then traveled to St. John's. On the morning of their arrival, they easily took the harbor area, but not Fort William. The fort, under the command of Lieutenant Moody, had forty soldiers to protect it.[93] Moody and his men were able to hold off Subercase and his men for four weeks, after which Subercase decided to withdraw from St. John's.[94] However, the Canadians and Indians who were part of Subercase's force did not return to Plaisance instead they continued north to other English settlements, "as far as Bonavista – makeing [sic] the like

[91] Patrick O'Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland: A History to 1843* (St. John's: Long Beach Press, 1999), 58.
[92] CO 194/2, 203.
[93] CO 194/2, 203.
[94] Ibid.

destruction and devastation as they went scalping & murdering a great number of our inhabitants."[95] So while Subercase and his men failed to take St. John's, they were nonetheless able to destroy other English settlements.

Attempts on Plaisance

While the French were mostly successful in their attacks on the English settlements, the English were not as successful in their attempts on the French settlements. The English made multiple attempts to attack Plaisance, all of which ended either in failure or with the English backing out and retreating. In 1702, a squadron led by Captain John Leake was successful in capturing and destroying fifty-one French vessels but did not go on to the French capital. A year later, the Royal Navy under the command of Vice-Admiral John Graydon actually attempted to capture Plaisance.[96] Vice-Admiral Graydon arrived from the Caribbean with three ships, anchoring off the coast of Plaisance. There they waited for the perfect time to attack the fortified settlement. However, a couple days after their arrival, two French war ships appeared. Graydon retreated.[97] A last attempt was made on Plaisance in 1711 by Admiral Hovenden Walker. He had been sent to take Quebec, but failing, traveled to Newfoundland to try and take that French capital. After arriving on the coast of Plaisance, the Admiral held a war council. The council decided that they would not attempt to attack

[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.

Plaisance.[98] Then, over a ten-year-period, the English had one chance for an attempt on Plaisance and did not take it, and on two other occasions their ships showed up off the coast of Plaisance but did not attack. Despite their failure, however, were successful in attacking some small French fishing settlements.

Attempts on Northern French Territory

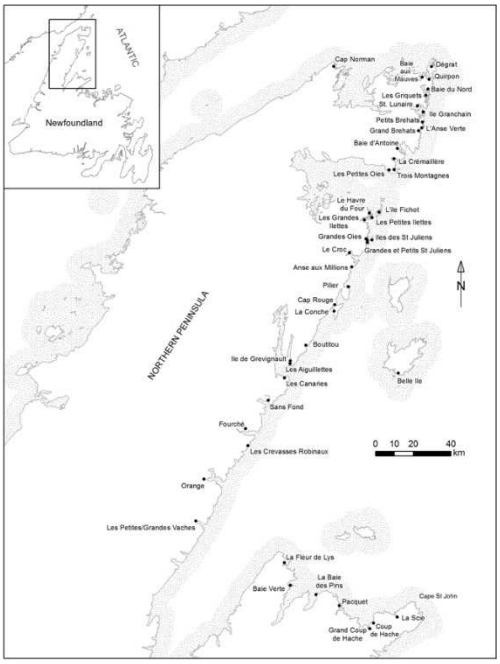

Fig. 8 Modern Day Map of the Northern Peninsula or Le Petit Nord. Photo Courtesy of Newfoundland's Petit Nord: An Historic Maritime Cultural Landscape

The French had a majority control of the fishing on Newfoundland so the English decided that they would attack French fishing settlements, but not the capital and not anywhere close to the capital. The English set their sights on French settlements northwest of the Avalon Peninsula where both the French and English capitals were. The English targets were the settlements on the northern

[98] Shannon Ryan, *History of Newfoundland in the North Atlantic to 1818* (St. John's: Flanker Press Limited, 2012), 92.

point of Newfoundland or, as the French called it le Petit Nord (fig. 8) On July 26, 1707, Captain John Underwood and Major Lloyd, with two ships and twenty men on each, left St. John's for le Petit Nord.[99] On August 2, 1707, their first stop was Fleur de Lys Harbor, where they decided to send Major Lloyd and some men to see if there were any men fishing drying and salting their catch on land.[100] The next morning while Underwood and his men were waiting for Lloyd and the others to return to the ship, they spotted a ship flying a French flag. They immediately attacked the French ship and were able to capture it. The 300-tun ship was called *Le Duc d'Orléans*, and carried 100 men and 30 guns. The ship also contained 7000 quintals of fish, all of which Underwood's men destroyed.[101] While it made sense to take the ship and the fish, Underwood and Lloyd had to continue their attack on the French settlements, to make sure the French did not get their prized commodity. The English therefore decided to destroy *Le Duc d'Orléans*. After attacking the ship, Underwood and Lloyd moved on to Eguliette, or Englee as it is known today. There they met another French ship called *La Pire*. Underwood and Lloyd's plan was to attack the ship in the same manner that they attacked the *Duc d'Orléans*, but the French ship was in shallow, rocky water, into which the English ships could not sail.[102] So, "Captain Underwood ordered Captain Hughes, in the smaller French vessel to move in while he and Major

[99] CO 194/4, 101.
[100] Ibid.
[101] CO 194/4, 105.
[102] CO 194/4, 101.

Lloyd took a large landing force and rowed to the island."[103] The land force was able to shoot at the French ship, keeping the men from the cannons. Attacked from both land and sea, the captain of the French ship surrendered. The French ship, *La Pire*, had 70 men, 30 guns, and was 120 tuns. After the ship surrendered the English decided to destroy the 4000 quintals of fish just as they had the cargo of the *Duc d'Orléans*.[104] Underwood and Lloyd continued their campaign attacking Conch, St. Julien, Petit Matre, and Carouse. At each village, the English attacked at least one ship headed back to France with fish. Appendix B gives a list of the places they attacked, ships, dates, name of the ships, who the captain were, the size of the ships and how big a cargo they were carrying. Underwood and Lloyd were very successful in attacking the French ships carrying cod and destroying them.

Second Attack on St. John's

While the English were successful in attacking the northern French settlements, they would not be as successful as the French were in attacking the English settlements, especially the English capital. Two years after the English attacks on the northern French settlement the French made another attempt on St. John's. The attack was led by Lieutenant Joseph de Monbeton de Brouillan, also known as Saint-Ovide. He was the nephew of the late governor of Plaisance, Jean-François de Monbeton de Brouillan, who also took part in Pierre le Moyne

[103] Bernard D. Fardy, *Under Two Flags: The French-English Struggle for Newfoundland 1696-1796* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1987), 87.
[104] CO 194/4, 105.

d'Iberville's attacks. Saint-Ovide was accompanied by "the privateer frigate *Venus*, commanded by Louis Denys de La Ronde…" as well as around 170 men, "including settlers, sailors, soldiers, fishermen and privateers."[105] Saint-Ovide and his men arrived at St. John's very early in morning on January 1, 1709, surprising the English, and easily taking Fort William.[106] The fort had been built in 1698 on the site of an unnamed English fort destroyed by Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville and his men in 1697. The English had also built a second fort called Fort George. After taking Fort William, Saint-Ovide set his sights on Fort George. Fort George had a subterranean passage leading to Fort William.[107] It housed a number of settlers when Saint-Ovide attacked. Saint-Ovide also took "the Castle on the south side of the Entrance of the Harbor & was blown up and demolished…"[108] In the end, Saint-Ovide held around 800 people prisoner. As before, when the French took Fort William, they had complete control of St. John's. Saint-Ovide had control of St. John's for three months, after which he was called in March back to Plaisance by Governor Philippe Pastour de Costebelle. To make life difficult for the English settlers Saint-Ovide decided to destroy St. John's before he left. Burning the settlement would also be a satisfying end to Saint-Ovide's campaign. "All the Buildings that were in the Old Fort with the Gates and Drawbridges were

[105] James E. Candow, *The Lookout: A History of Signal Hill* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2011), 31.
[106] In CO 194 the date given is December 21, 1708. This date is when England used the old calendar and the date given is from using the new calendar.
[107] Bernard D. Fardy, *Under Two Flags: The French-English Struggle for Newfoundland, 1696-1796* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1987), 92.
[108] CO 194/4, 410.

burnt down, the Platforms pulled up and destroyed and (…) thing that (…) all the Inhabitants built houses in the Former new Fort burnt…"[109] Saint Ovide than returned to Plaisance a hero. His would be the last major attack the French would execute on an English settlement.

Deserters

Through all these attacks, there were two groups of people that the French and English relied on for information, deserters and spies. Two of the first deserters to St. John's from Plaisance were named Laville and Belrose. After arriving in St. John's, they had to give a deposition to the English official. Laville and Belorse's deposition, taken September 26, 1703, gave information on what was happening in Plaisance. They mention a great deal about the French ships in the harbor of Plaisance. Laville and Belrose specifically mention men of war who were brought in "to attack St. John's by sea" and that there were 500 men who would travel across land to attack St. John's. [110] The information that Laville and Belrose gave to the men at St. John's could have been used to help the English prepare for an attack by the French.

Much of the information given to the English by the French deserters had to do with ships. A month later, on October 21, 1703, two more deserters from Plaisance came to St. John's. Their names were Grimma and Guilliam Lassuse, and they had information pertaining to French war ships. "The said ships have one

[109] CO 194/4, 410.
[110] CO 194/3, 4.

of y:m fifty guns: and the other fifty six - And that they were fitted out by the Lady's of the Court."[111] They also mention that there was a report that talked about how there were four ships that were taken by an English squadron. While the information was very minimal, it would still have been helpful to the English because it signaled the possibility of imminent attack.

An important deserter for the English was a French sergeant by the name of Moine who left Plaisance on September 23, 1704. The information that he gave was important to the English. Moine told them how many soldiers were in the garrison, and why soldiers like him left the French military and the French capital. "There is in ye Garrison about 150 soldiers in three companys [sic], but in great discontent for want of there [sic] pay…" because of "hard usage & severe treatment yt they has from ye Goverour [sic] who harassed them from their pay."[112] The governor of Plaisance was not treating the soldiers right, which would upset anyone who was away from home and who needed money to help sustain their livelihood in a foreign place. It makes sense that the French soldiers would have believed that their only option would be to desert their posts and go to the English side. They could not return to France unless they were sent back. The soldiers could not complain about not being paid because the governor was the one withholding their pay. They could most likely not get a letter to anyone

[111] CO 194/3, 12.
[112] CO 194/3, 93.

higher up to get the governor to pay them. At the time, it seemed the only option for the French soldiers was to desert.

There were at least five more French deserters to the English side. In the beginning of October 1704, four French privates and a sergeant corporal arrived in St. John's, deserting the French in Plaisance. After arriving, they made sure to mention that there would be other soldiers following their lead to St. John's. The deposition that the French soldiers gave stated that the reason they wanted to leave was because of how they were being treated by the governor and how he was not paying them. It was similar to Sergeant Moine's reasons for deserting. They were able to give the English useful information about the French forts in Plaisance, stating "that the wall of the upper fort was about 16 foot high & 8 foot broad in wch they generally kept but 10 soldiers and an officer…"[113] The lower fort was a different matter. "That the lower fort towards the land are done with Pallisades, wch has within, about 35 guns, but that they design shortly to builds a wall with lime and stone."[114] The information on the forts would have been useful for the English. They would not only need to know how many soldiers and guns were in the fort but what it was made out of and the size. By knowing that information, they could better understand how they could go about attacking the forts if they did. The deserters ended up being sent back on an English ship, though the deposition does not mention their destination.

[113] CO 194/22, 47.
[114] Ibid.

While some French were deserting to the English side, there were English deserting to the French side as well. There is not a great deal of information about English deserters in the English documents. Colonial Office volume three page 107, gives a list of inhabitants that deserted to the French. On October 4, 1701, there were eight people who deserted. On October 9, 1702, nine people deserted. On October 16, 1702, three people deserted. On July 15, 1704, one person deserted. On October 28, 1704, one person deserted. In total at least twenty-two people deserted the English settlement from October 1701 to October 1704. The documents do not list the reason why the men had left. The English most likely did not want to give too much information on deserters because they did not want to look bad. If documents about deserters were to get into the hands of people higher up in the government, it could show how bad of a job the English in charge in Newfoundland were doing. The English in charge in Newfoundland would want to make sure that it seemed like they were doing a good job.

Spies

The English were very proactive in learning as much about Plaisance and the French as they could, although they did not seem to act on the information. The English decided to send spies to gather information on Plaisance. The first time spies were sent to Plaisance was in 1703. According to a letter written by Major Lloyd to the Lords of Trade, dated November 14, 1703, Lloyd mentions

that the English "sent three men towards Placentia…"[115] The problem with sending spies was that they needed to be paid. Lloyd came up with an idea, he asked that the inhabitants of St. John's provide a small amount of money to help maintain sending spies to Plaisance.[116] The inhabitants of St. John's agreed to Lloyd's idea and Lloyd sent a letter to the Lords of Trade saying that the inhabitants agreed to give funds for spies to be sent to Plaisance.[117] Appendix C gives a list of inhabitants and what they were willing to pay to support spies. Appendix D shows receipts of money that the inhabitants gave to send spies to Plaisance. After finding a way to fund spies, the English could now send spies to Plaisance to garner information about the French forts, including buildings, supplies, the number of inhabitants, especially the number of soldiers, as well as ships that were coming and going in the harbor.

The year 1703 can be seen as the beginning of the English sending spies. John Jordan, John Knight and Phillip Morris were three spies who were sent to Plaisance, leaving St. John's on October 29, and arriving in Plaisance on November 8. Their deposition, given to the Officer of the Fort on November 19, states that they saw "two little watch houses about one hundred yards from each other."[118] The watch houses would be where soldiers were stationed to watch out for enemies. Jordan, Knight, and Morris also give a rough estimate of the size of

[115] CO 194/3, 8.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid., 18.
[118] CO 194/3, 109.

the fort. They believed that the fort was sixteen feet high and eight feet wide, and that they believed that the fort was made of lime and stone.[119] Jordan, Knight, and Morris saw what they believed to be merchant ships in the harbor. Their deposition also makes it seems that they followed some French men from Plaisance to Ferryland. They explain how they watched as the French attacked Ferryland and some settlements close by.[120] The spies believed that they saw some Englishmen chase after the French. The information Jordan, Knight, and Morris, provided would have been useful if the English had attacked. The English would have known the estimated dimensions of the fort and the material so they could have known the easiest way to destroy the fort. Most information the English got from sending spies to Plaisance was about ships in the harbor.

On October 2, 1703, Jervais Smith was sent to spy on the French in Plaisance. His deposition, to an Officer of the Fort in St. John's on March 23 1704, had what could have been useful information for the English.[121] Smith mentions that when he arrived in Plaisance, he saw two war ships in the harbor with "one of 40 & y other about 50 gunns [sic]."[122] The information would have been important to the English because knowing if there were any French war ships, their size and the number of guns would have given them the advantage if

[119] CO 194/3, 109
[120] CO 194/3, 109.
[121]CO 194/3, 111.
[122] Co 194/3, 111.

they had attacked Plaisance. The English could have known many men to bring, and what they were facing if they had attacked the French.

John Jordan, Edward Roe, and Phillip Morris were sent to Plaisance, with Jordan and Morris having already traveled once before to spy on the French. They were meant to leave on October 10, 1703, but severe weather delayed their mission. They finally arrived in Plaisance on January 10, 1704, and were not as successful in gathering information as they had been before.[123] The only event they witnessed was noted as "French carry seaven [sic] barrowes [sic] wth cask from ye lower to ye upper fort…"[124] The English continued on their fact finding missions.

John Knight and Stephen Dethick gave a deposition on April 17, 1704, about their mission of March 27. At the beginning of the mission, Knight was with Jervais Smith. However, two days into their mission, Smith drowned while they were attempting to cross a pond "some four miles from Heart's Content."[125] After arriving in Heart's Content, Knight consulted with Stephen Dethick. After they had talked, Dethick agreed to accompany Knight on his mission. On April 9, 1704, they arrived in Plaisance, at what was the beginning of the French fishing season. Besides French fishing ships in the harbor, Knight and Dethick also saw three Merchants ships that were "about 150 Tunns [sic], one about 100 Tunnes

[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Co 194/3, 113.

[sic] and the other about 60 Tunnes [sic]."[126] Information, such as this, would have been useful for the English because they could have sent ships and men to take the French merchants ships. By taking the ships the English would have gained access to goods the French would have used as well as gained their shipment of cod fish. While they were able to gather useful information on the French capital of Plaisance, the English found that it was not as helpful as they had thought because the information showed how prepared and protected Plaisance was if the English were to attack. However, the English were able to gain control of Newfoundland after peace was declared in 1713.

Treaty of Utrecht

While France might have been doing well in Newfoundland, they were not doing so well in Europe. The French had multiple failures throughout the war that cost them a substantial amount of money. It was not until 1708 which "brought a further collapse in the Spanish Netherlands" as well as France losing one of its most important cities, Lille, that Louis XIV was ready for peace."[127] A few years later, the treaty was signed. There seems to be no real explanation as to why Louis XIV gave England Newfoundland. However, an argument can be made that because Louis XIV "surrendered no significant French territory on the Continent" but instead "gained the valley of Barcelonnette and legitimized his seizure of

[126] Ibid., 114.
[127] John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV 1667-1714* (London: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1999), 303.

Orange on the Rhône" that he was alright with giving England control of Newfoundland. The treaty changed the course of Newfoundland history.

In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht was signed ending the War of the Spanish succession, or Queen Anne's War. If we are to consider winners and losers in this war, the winner would be England and the loser France. This is definitely true with regard to Newfoundland. Although there had been earlier English claims to the island, such as John Cabot's voyage in 1497, no country had total control of Newfoundland. French, English, Portuguese, and Spanish fished around the island in relative peace with the French and English gaining majority control of the fishing by 1697. The Nine Years' War and the War of the Spanish succession changed that, especially the Treaty of Utrecht. The treaty included many concessions regarding North America and the land the French had colonized. Newfoundland was affected and ended up being drastically changed. This treaty would bring about a major change in the map of Newfoundland and in the future history of the island.

> In section XVIII of the treaty it states that:
>
> The Island called *Newfoundland,* with the adjacent Islands, shall from this time forward belong of Right wholly to *Britain*; and to that end the Town and Fortress of *Placentia*, and whatever other Places in the said Island are in the Possession of the *French*, shall be yielded and given up, within Seven Months from the Exchange of the Ratifications of this Treaty, or sooner, if possible by the most Christian King to those who have a Commission from the Queen of *Great Britain* for that purpose. Nor shall the most Christian King, His Heirs and Successors or any of their Subjects, at any time hereafter lay claim to any Right to the said Island and Islands, or to any part of it, or them. Moreover it shall not be Lawful for the Subjects of *France*, to Fortifie [sic] any place in the said Island of

> *Newfoundland*, or to Erect any Buildings there, besides Stages made of Boards, and Huts necessary and usual for Drying of Fish; or to Resort to the said Island, beyond the time necessary for Fishing and Frying of Fish. But it shall be allowed to the Subjects of *France*, to catch Fish, and to Dry them on Land, in that part only, and in no other besides that, of the said Island of *Newfoundland*, which stretches from the place called *Cape Bonavista* to the Northern Point of the said Island, and from thence running down by the Western-side, reaches as far as the place called *Point Riche*.[128]

In figure 2, the maps show that before the Treaty of Utrecht, before the fighting between the French and English, the French had majority control of the fishing around the island. The treaty meant that the English had gained control of the majority of fishing in Newfoundland. The English also made sure that they would not have the problem of French attacks on the island. They did this by making the demand that the French were no longer allowed to build fortifications on the island. The French were only allowed to have buildings that related to fishing which included: drying racks, stages, and huts. This was an advantage for the English because if there was a possibility that the French could protect their settlements, than they could decide to attack and have the ability to protect what was theirs. The English also made sure to push the French from the best fishing area. In an undated letter, it was written that the French possessed "the Greatest of that Island, The Great fishing grounds: where the fish come sooner then where the English fish making their voyages Quicker and can Render their ship to markets,

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[128] "Treaty of Peace and Friendship Between The most Serene and most Potent Princess ANNE, by the Grace of God, Queen of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland,* and the most Serene and most Potent Prince LEWIS the XIVth, the most Christian King, Concluded at *Utrecht* the 31/11 Day of March/April 1713. LONDON, Printed by *John Baskett*, Printer to the Queen most Excellent Majesty and by the Assigns of *Thomas Newcomb*, and *Henry Hills*, deceas'd 1713." Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

(at least 6 weeks sooner) then we can possibly do…"[129] By the English moving the French fishing grounds, the English gained access to what they believed was the best fishing spot. The French were officially pushed from the area in figure 2 to the new area in figure 10 The Treaty of Utrecht can be considered the beginning of the end for the French in Newfoundland.

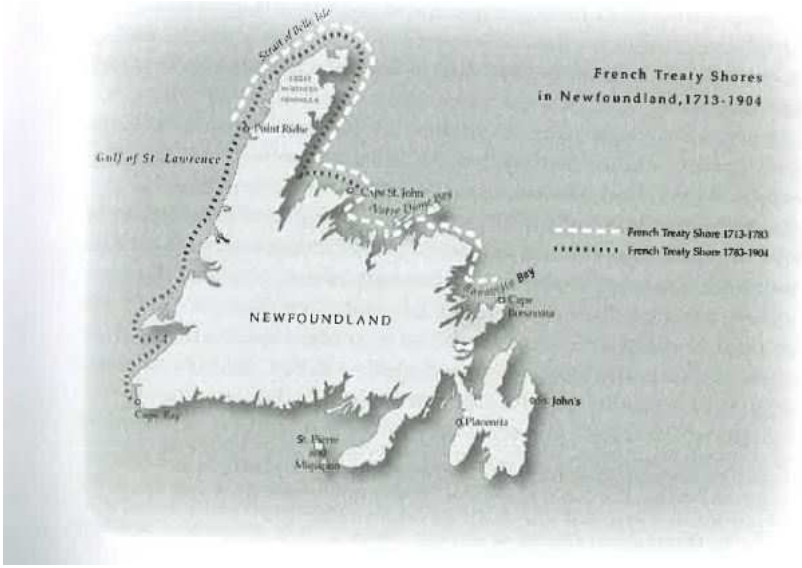

Fig. 9 The French's New Fishing Ground after the Treaty of Utrecht was Signed. Photo Courtesy of James E. Candow, *The Lookout: A History of Signal Hill*

Conclusion

While Queen Anne's War may have lasted longer on Newfoundland than the Avalon Peninsula Campaign, it was a similar pattern of fighting that ended with a very different outcome. The French and English were again fighting over the island and who had control of the fishing. While there was no real discussion

[129] CO 194/3, 39.

of who had control of the fishing, the French had majority control. The French were able to attack English fishing settlements, easily making the English fishing decline. While the English were able to affect the French fishing a little bit, they were not as effective as the French. This war was easier on the French than the English. They were able to attack English settlements with ease, while the English tried and failed even to attempt an attack on the French capital. There were numerous attacks over the eleven year time period, with the French gaining the upper hand in almost all of them. Once the war was over and peace was reached, however, everything changed. The French seemed to have had control of the island, or at least had the English on the island in fear of what it is the French could do to them. The Treaty of Utrecht changed everything for Newfoundland.

Before the treaty, the island was mostly French controlled fishing with the English having control over certain areas. The French would attack those areas however to try and diminish their control and diminish their fish supply, When the treaty was signed, the English took advantage of it and were able to gain majority holding of Newfoundland. They were able to make sure that the French would not be able to attack them and that they were limited to a certain area. They were not allowed to protect their area with fortresses, only being allowed to build anything that was necessary for them to be able to send back fish to their country or wherever France wanted it sent. Queen Anne's War and the Treaty of Utrecht were the reason that the map of the island started to change. Newfoundland's map changing meant that the history of the island changed as well.

Conclusion

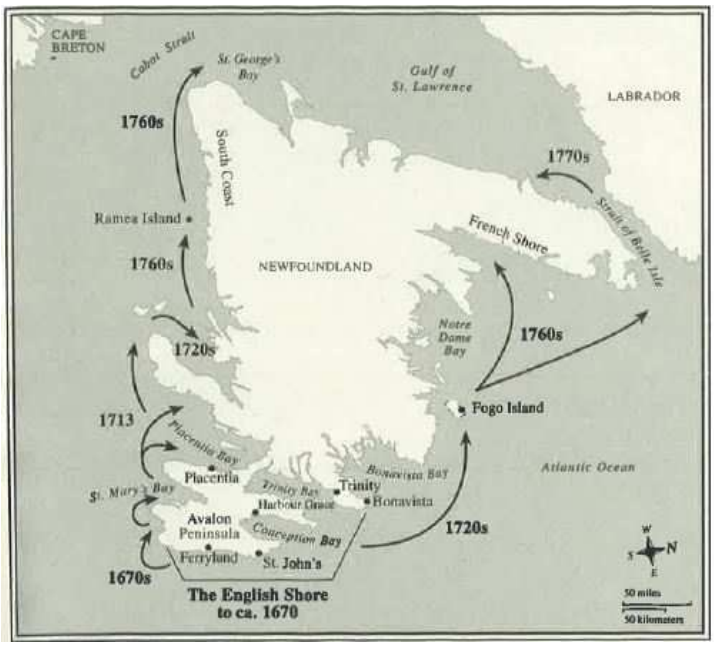

Fig. 10. Map that Shows England's Expansion in Newfoundland. Photo Courtesy of Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Space of Power in Early Modern British America*

The French left the English settlements in smoking ruins, while French settlements were still standing. The Treaty of Utrecht gave England control of the island however. Louis XIV deemed other areas in Europe and North America more important than Newfoundland, so he gave it up. Giving up Newfoundland let the English really start to settle the island and to spread starting on the Avalon Peninsula and continuing west. The French made the stipulations that they could still fish around the island, but not have any defenses to their meager settlements. This allowed the English to push the French farther and farther northwest. The English pushing France and having complete control of Newfoundland is what changed the landscape. The control that England had allowed Newfoundland to be remembered as an English outpost, as an important spot for Atlantic trade, and a

reason that people from Newfoundland remember their history through an English lens. Looking at these elements helps to understand how the period of 1696 to 1713 is crucial to Newfoundland history.

After the Treaty of Utrecht, the landscape of Newfoundland continued to change. The Treaty of Utrecht ended France's control of Newfoundland and gave control of the island to England. Figure 10 shows how over a roughly sixty year period the English gained control of the island. The Treaty Shore, the area that the French were allowed fish, changed once more after the Treaty of Utrecht. As mentioned before, in 1713 the French were officially moved to Cape Bonavista to Point Riche (fig. 9). The French boundaries continued to be renewed by treaties over the years, and in 1763, England ceded the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off the coast of Newfoundland, to France.[130] The boundaries changed in 1783, when the Treaty of Versailles was signed. France's new fishing ground started in Cape St. John's and ended in Cape Ray (fig. 9). The French continued to fish on Newfoundland, with the area agreed upon with every new treaty until 1904, when the boundaries completely changed.

The Anglo-French convention, or the Entente Cordiale of 1904 ended the problem with France and England fishing in Newfoundland. Problems brewed between Newfoundlander and French fishermen when in the 1850s, the fishing market of St. Pierre was booming, and the French were using bait from them and

[130] James K. Hiller, "The 1904 Anglo-French Newfoundland Fisheries Convention: Another Look," *Acadiensis*, 1 (Autumn/Automne 1995), 83.

fishing in Newfoundland waters.[131] "The Newfoundland government disliked this trade because it both encouraged smuggling and assisted the French fisheries, whose product was, by the 1880s, competing successfully with Newfoundland fish in glutted European markets."[132] The competition with the French made Newfoundlanders want the French out of Newfoundland. The challenge was to try and find a way to please both the French and the people of Newfoundland. In the end, France agreed to renounce "its privileges under the Treaty of Utrecht, retaining a right to a seasonal fishery on the Treaty Shore on a footing of equality with British subjects," ending annually on October 20.[133] While the people of Newfoundland wanted France to be completely removed from fishing on Newfoundland, they agreed to the terms of the convention.[134] England gained control of the island early on and continued till 1904, but during the time of England's rise to power in Newfoundland, Newfoundland ended up being an important area for British Atlantic trade.

[131] Ibid., 84.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid., 89.
[134] Ibid., 90.

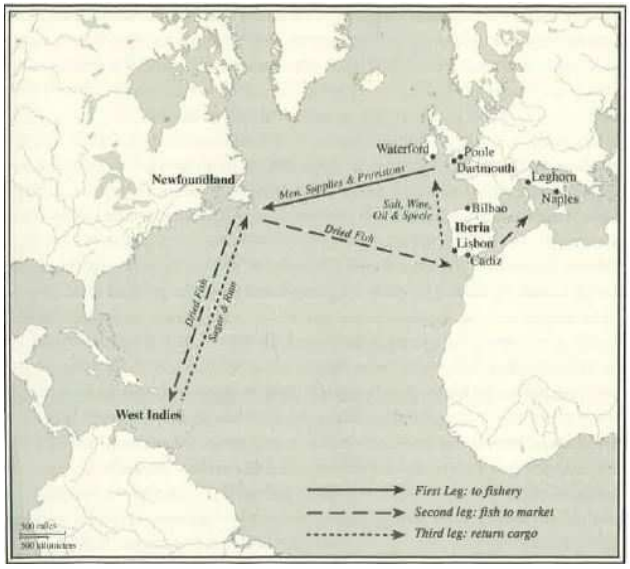

Fig. 11. Map that Shows British Trade in the Seventeenth Century. Photo Courtesy of Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Space of Power in Early Modern British America*

After the attacks by d'Iberville in 1697, the English took a more active role in protecting their fishing settlements. Figure 11 shows how Newfoundland played a role in the British Atlantic trade. When studying the British Atlantic trade, historians seem to skip over Newfoundland. Areas, when talking about the Atlantic trade, which are discussed are Africa, the West Indies, costal European countries, and the Atlantic United States colonies. Historians make sure to make the connection to what is called the Triangular Trade. The Triangular Trade looks at trade between Africa, Europe and the New World, i.e. the Americas. "The pattern of trade across the Atlantic that prevailed since shortly after the time of discoveries down to as late as the outbreak of the American Civil War came to be known as the "triangular trade" since it involved the export of slaves from Africa to the New World where they produced sugar, cotton and other commodities exported to Western Europe to be consumed or embodied in manufactures, which

were in turn partly exported to Africa to pay for slaves."[135] While studying the slave trade is important, to get a better understanding of the whole Atlantic trade, we need to look at what else European countries were trading. One of those commodities that European countries were trading with was cod fish.

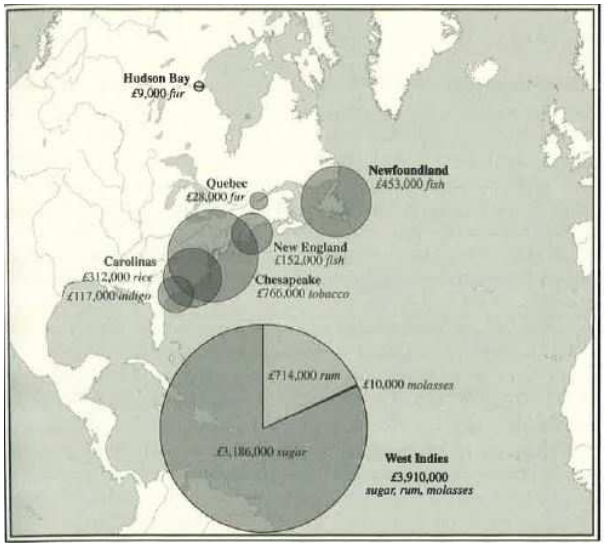

Fig. 12. The Money that England Made from Trade in the New World. Photo Courtesy of Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Space of Power in Early Modern British America*

Cod fish was used as a trading commodity, and was very important to the British Atlantic trade. Figure 12 shows how much money was made from the different commodities that the English made in the New World. While cod fish may not have been as big a commodity as sugar, molasses or tobacco, it still made England a significant amount of money. It was also important to the trade of sugar and molasses in the West Indies. "Apart from Iberian and Mediterranean markets,

[135] Ronald Findlay, "The "Triangular Trade" and the Atlantic Economy of the Eighteenth Century: A Simple General Equilibrium Model ," *Essays in International Finance*, 117 (March 1990): accessed March 4, 2016, doi: http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~walker/wp/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Findlay1990.pdf

small quantities of refuse fish were shipped south to the West Indies as cheap food for slaves on the sugar plantations."[136] By England gaining control of majority of the fishing in Newfoundland, they now had an easy and cheap food source that they could send down to the West Indies for the slaves. Cod fish was also important to the trade with the Mediterranean and Iberian countries. Figure 11 shows how dried and salted cod fish, was sent to the Iberian Peninsula and Mediterranean area, and which Iberian and Mediterranean areas sent salt, wine, oil and spice to England. While Newfoundland became an important area for the British Atlantic trade, the way the wars played out and the subsequent English control, and the history of the island has shaped the way that people today remember French involvement on the island.

There are many ways to see how people remember the French history on Newfoundland. First, looking at how people on the island see themselves is important. According to the 2006 Canadian Census, a majority of the population claim to be descendant from British Isles ancestors,[137] whether Cornish, English, Irish, Manx, Scottish, or Welsh. Of the 347,230 who claimed a single ethnic origin, 145,735 claimed a British Isles origin. Only 3,765 claimed French

[136] Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2005), 31-32.
[137] "Ethnic Origin (247), Single and Multiple Ethnic Origin Responses (3) and Sex (3) for the Population of Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2006, Census – 20% Sample Data," last modified July 17, 2014, http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/tbt/Rp-eng.cfm?TABID=2&LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=92333&PRID=0&PTYPE=88971,97154&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2006&THEME=80&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=

origins.[138] This shows that a majority of the residents on the island claim to be of British descent. Most people want to study their own origins and learn what they can about their history. Which means the residents want to learn about English or British history on the island. The island is also known as being the last province to join Canada; before that it was a British colony. To see how French history is represented, or in this case underrepresented, just look at a museum in the capital, St. John's.

The Rooms is a museum, archive and art gallery in St. John's that has not taken the initiative to explain the importance of French and British fighting on the island. Despite the many current and past exhibits, virtual exhibits, upcoming exhibits and permanent exhibits there is no real look at the history of the French on the island. There is one exhibit called "Here, We Made a Home," the introduction to which states "Those who settled the eastern edge of our continent – people primarily of English, Irish, French or Scottish origin – developed a rich mix of dialects, customs, food traditions, narrative and song. This gallery offers insight into the unique culture of Newfoundland and Labrador."[139] While the exhibit does mention France, it glosses over the time period of 1696 to 1713, which is important when studying the French on Newfoundland. There is also no single exhibit that discusses just the French origins. There is one that does discuss the Irish origins on the island. The exhibit "Talamh An Éisc: The Fishing

[138] Ibid.
[139] "Here, We Made a Home," https://www.therooms.ca/exhibits/always/here-we-made-a-home

Ground" looks at "the Irish who have been there since the late 1600s. It examines the communities they built and the contributions they made. Find out why so many people describe themselves as Irish Newfoundlanders…"[140] What this museum seems to show is that, because the French were violent to the English we do not put an emphasis on them. However, this paper can show that looking at the fighting is worth close study because of its importance to the history of Newfoundland and to Newfoundland's importance to the history of trade.

Newfoundland from 1696 to 1713 is important to study because of its importance to world history and to understanding how the history of the island is portrayed today. The French were in majority control on Newfoundland at the start of the French attacks on English settlements. After the attacks, England took a more active role in protecting their settlements in Newfoundland, because of the commodity that Newfoundland produced, cod fish. Queen Anne's War saw the French and English attacking each other, with the French having the upper hand. However, because France was losing in Europe, and subsequently lost the war, England was able to gain majority control of Newfoundland. England now had access to the better fishing spots that the French originally had, and could ship more cod fish to the West Indies, for the slaves, and to the Iberian and Mediterranean region in exchange for sending salt, oil, spices and wine. Newfoundland was important to the Triangular Trade of the British Atlantic

[140] "Talamh An Éisc," https://www.therooms.ca/exhibits/always/talamh-an-eisc-the-fishing-ground

Trade. The fighting on Newfoundland between England and France not only played an important role in the Atlantic trade, it is also important to understanding how the history of the island is portrayed today. People on the island are majority of English descent, because of England's control after the fighting. People want to learn more about their own history. The museum in St. John's, the Rooms, mentions the French presence on the island, but fails to talk about the importance that the fighting had in shaping the landscape of the island. The museum focuses more on the natives, the animals, and the more English side of the island's history. Studying French and English fighting on Newfoundland is important to understand how the island landscape was shaped and the way the history of the island is portrayed today.

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Série C11C. Correspondance générale; Amérique du Nord. Fonds des Colonies. Library and Archive Canada.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF THE ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ENGLISH SHIPS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH. FROM CO 194/1, 55.

A List of Ships Lately Lost att Newfoundland, belonging to ye Port of Bideford, wth a true Estimate of there vallue when Taken

24 I

Ships names	Port	Mastrs names	Burthn	men	Guns	Vallue when taken by ye french
Seahorse	Bideford	Wm. Wilky	280	56	26	5400
Betty	Ditto	Umph. Bryant	90	26	—	1800
Orrange	Do	Jan. Berryman	130	40	14	2100
Tallent	Do	Gilbt. Berry	120	40	10	2000
Terra Nova	Do	Wm. Bennet	120	36	12	1700
Milford Mrcht	Do	Jno. Strange	200	46	18	3000
Speedwell	Do	Jno. Stockady	70	20	—	800
Joshua	Do	James Osborne	130	40	14	1600
Gift	Do	Jno. Rowe	120	40	6	1300
Fidellity	Do	Peter Sennet	70	20	—	800
Ollive Free	Do	Chr. Browning	80	20	—	900
Ollive	Do	Sam. Cade	80	20	—	800
Providence	Do	Wm. Balle	120	36	12	1800
Torrington Mrcht	Do	Aarn. Browning	70	12	—	700
					£	24700

Ships Escaping ye Enemy but left Goods in ye Land, Oyle & fish worth there beside Loss of freight

Ships names	Port	Mastrs names	Burthn	men	Guns	Barls of Oyle	Quintlls fish	value
Nightengall	Bideford	Wm. Hacker	120	34	10	10	400 Quintls	400 £
Lark	Do	Jno. Hooper	100	36	12	40	300	500
Fellowship	Do	Thos. Pugh	150	50	16	50	700	650
Forrester	Do	Wm. Browning	70	18	—	20	200	240
Mary	Do	Geo: Cornish	80	18	—	10	150	100
Experiment	Do	Robt. Hacker	60	15	—	8	200	150
Barum Mrcht	Do	Richd. Wilky	140	50	20	45	500	500
Lamb	Do	Ph: Prance	100	40	14	32	100	200
Exchange	Do	Ph: Cade	120	60	16	32	600	450
Francis	Do	Jno. Darver	90	15	2	—	300	220
Fisher	Do	Wm. Brooks	100	15	8	—	400	300
								3710
								24700

Totall Lost is £28410

APPENDIX B

LIST OF DAMAGES ON THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN LE PETIT NORD BY THE ENGLISH. FROM CO 194/4, 105.

An Account of ye Damages done to ye Enemy in their Northern Fishery in Newfoundland in our late Expedition there.

Harbours Names	Time	Ships Names	Comanders Names	No. Men	No. Guns	Tuns	No. Fishing boats burnt	Stages burnt	Flakes burnt	Quantity of Fish destroy'd Quintals	Quantity of Train destroy'd Hhds	To what Place belonging	To what Markett bound	Taken or Burnt	Made their Escape
Grand Canary	Aug.st 3	Duke of Orleans	Jos: Potier	110	30	360	22	2	2	7000	140	St Malo	Marseils	Taken	
Equilett	Aug.st 3	La Pine	Jean Le Galle	71	20	120	12	1	1	4000	80	St Malo	Marseils	Taken & burnt	
La Conch	Aug.st 4	Marina	Petr: Hubar	120	32	340	22	4	4	13500	287	St Malo	Marseils	Burnt	
Do	Aug.st 4	Margarett	Petr: Hubar	100	26	200	18					St Malo	Marseils	Do	
Grand St Julian	Aug.st 5	De Rouge	Mons.r D'Val	110	30	300	22	2	2	7500	150	St Malo	Marseils		Cut & got away
Little St Julian	Aug.st 5	Victory	Mons.r Foquett	100	20	150	19	4	4	12300	248	St Malo	Marseils		Do
Do	Aug.st 5	Palm prize	Cap. Parissee	100	20	150	18					Granvil	Marseils		Do
Grand Sway	Aug.st 6	Palm	Jn Grand	100	20	150	18	2	2	6150	125	Granvil	Marseils	Taken	
Petit Matre	Aug.st 7	Mary & Franc.	Jacq Fiskett	45	12	110	8	1	1	2960	60	Benik	Benik		Do
Grand Carouse	Aug.st 7	Malbrough	Petr Le Matre	120	33	400	24	2	2	7870	155	Brest	Marseils		Do
Do	Do	Julie	Jacq Fiskett	50	10	100	12	1	1	4000	79	Benik	Benik		Do
Do	Do	Roberts	Lebert Demett	36	10	100	6	1	1	1900	84	Brest	Brest		Do
Do	Do	Nourpan	Jn Perry	150	36	380	28	3	3	10200	200	Morleigh	Marseils		Do
				1212	304	2860	228	23	23	77280	1568				

105

Besides ye these was burnt & destroy'd Spare boats & Walloways not employ'd in ye fishery this Season } .. 470

The above mention'd Estimate is ye nearest Computation we could make
Given under our hands this 18th day of Aug.st 1707 in St John's harbour Newfoundland

Jo: Underdown

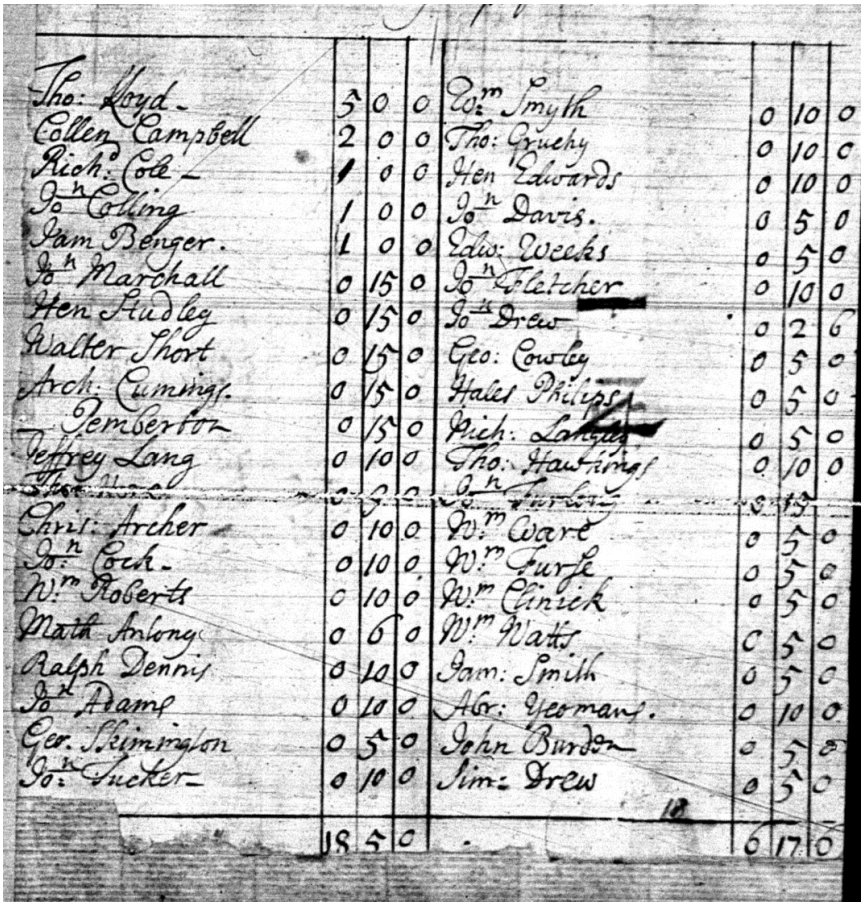
Tho: Lloyd

[illegible]

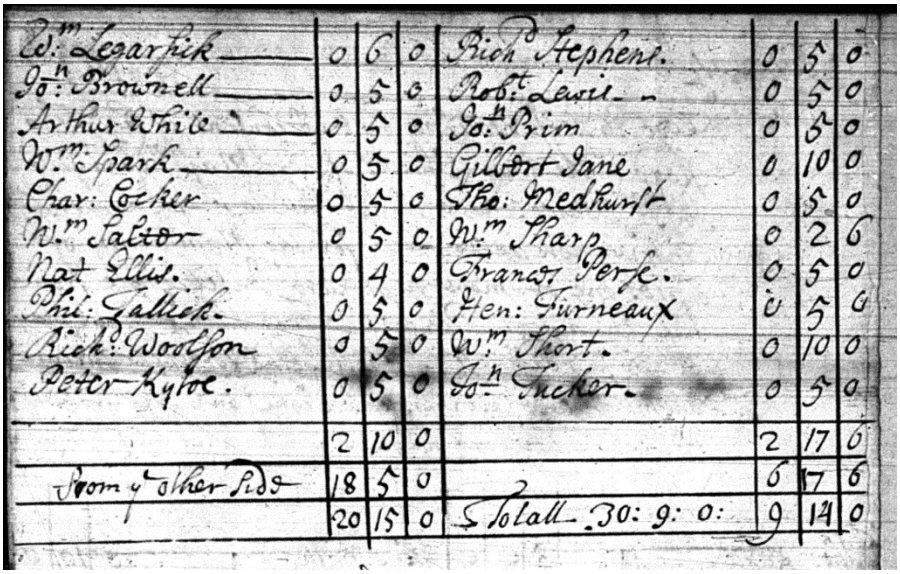
(9)61

APPENDIX C

A LIST OF INHABITANTS WHO DONATED MONEY AND HOW MUCH THEY DONATED TO SUPPORT SENDING SPIES TO PLAISANCE. FROM CO 194/3, 18.



Tho: Lloyd	3	0	0	Wm Smyth	0	10	0
Collen Campbell	2	0	0	Tho: Gruchy	0	10	0
Rich: Cole	1	0	0	Hen Edwards	0	10	0
Jon Colling	1	0	0	Jon Davis.	0	5	0
Jam Benger.	1	0	0	Edw: Weeks	0	5	0
Jo: Marshall	0	15	0	Jon Fletcher	0	10	0
Hen Rudley	0	15	0	Jo: Drew	0	2	6
Walter Short	0	15	0	Geo: Cowley	0	5	0
Arch: Cumings.	0	15	0	Hales Phillips	0	5	0
Pemberton	0	15	0	Rich: Langley	0	5	0
Jeffrey Lang	0	10	0	Tho: Hawkings	0	10	0
Thos [illegible]	0	2	0	Jon Burden	0	15	0
Chri: Archer	0	10	0	Wm Ware	0	5	0
Jon Cock	0	10	0	Wm Furse	0	5	0
Wm Roberts	0	10	0	Wm Clinick	0	5	0
Math Antony	0	6	0	Wm Watts	0	5	0
Ralph Dennis	0	10	0	Sam: Smith	0	5	0
Jo: Adams	0	10	0	Abr: Yeomans.	0	10	0
Geo. Skinnington	0	5	0	John Burden	0	5	0
Jo: Tucker	0	10	0	Sim: Drew	0	5	0
	18	5	0		6	17	0



Wm Legarpick	0	6	0	Rich Stephens.	0	5	0
Jon: Brownell	0	5	0	Robt Lewis	0	5	0
Arthur White	0	5	0	Jo: Brim	0	5	0
Wm Spark	0	5	0	Gilbert Jane	0	10	0
Char: Cocker	0	5	0	Tho: Medhurst	0	5	0
Wm Salter	0	5	0	Wm Sharp	0	2	6
Nat Ellis.	0	4	0	Francis Perse.	0	5	0
Phil: Gallick.	0	5	0	Hen: Furneaux	0	5	0
Rich: Woolson	0	5	0	Wm Short.	0	10	0
Peter Kyloe.	0	5	0	Jon Tucker.	0	5	0
	2	10	0		2	17	6
From y other Side	18	5	0		6	17	6
	20	15	0	Totall 30: 9: 0:	9	14	0

APPENIDX D

RECEIPTS OF MONEY THAT WAS GIVEN TO SEND SPIES TO PLAISANCE. FROM CO 194/3, 152.

152

39 (xiii)

Received from Captain Tho: Lloyd the full Sum of Five Pounds Sterling for going to Platientia to get Intelligence from the Enemys Proceedings there, as Wittness my hand this Sixth day of September. 1704

The VS Marke of Edwd Raw
Wittness Jno: Moody

Received from Captain Tho: Lloyd the full Sum of Eight Pounds Sterling for goeing to Platientia to gett Intelligence from the Enemies Proceedings there As Wittness my hand this Seventh of September. 1704.

Jno: Jordan

Received from Captain Tho: Lloyd the full sum of Thirteene Pounds Sterling for going to Platientia to gett Intelligence from the Enemies Proceedings there as Wittness my hand this Eighth Day of September 1704

The X Mark of John Knight

Received

Examined N: E.

Received from Captain Tho: Lloyd the full
Sum of Eight pounds Sterling for going to Pla-
centia to gett Intelligence from the Enemies Pro-
ceedings there. As Witness my hand this Eleventh Day
of September 1704

The P Mark of Phill: Morris

I Do hereby certifie that the men whose
Names are in the other side incerted, did acknow-
ledg before me to have received from Captain Tho:
Lloyd Commander of the Independent Company of Foot
at her Majesty's Fort William at St Johns New-
found Land the full Sume of thirty four Pounds Sterling
being by him Paid to them; for their Service in going to
Placentia to gaine Intelligence of the Enemies
Proceedings there; Dated on board her Majestys ship
Looe in St Johns Harbour Newfoundland this 12th
Day of September 1704

J. Bridge