

French Protestant Families in Canadian Trade

1740-1760

by J. F. BOSHER *

In a dispatch of 3 October 1749 to Versailles, the Intendant at Quebec, François Bigot, defended the Huguenot merchants living in Canada.¹ The Bishop, he explained, was doing his best to have them put out of the colony and had proposed that the Governor and Intendant join him in asking for a royal order to prevent Protestants from going to Canada. The Governor appeared to share the Bishop's opinions, but Bigot disagreed with them and flatly contradicted them in his letter to the Minister in France. These Protestants had never been known to hold religious meetings, he wrote, or to pass out evil books and they probably did not know their religion well enough to teach it to others. He thought the Bishop was wrong in thinking that the Protestants in Quebec were pleased when the fortunes of war turned against New France. "Besides," he wrote, "there are only ten or twelve Protestants throughout the colony, all bachelors and only clerks or factors of the companies which Protestants from France or Catholics have established in this country. They show little interest in matters of state.... They come to spend two or three years here, at the most, until their employers (*leurs bourgeois*) are disgusted by this trade, which happens very often." Nearly all of them are here temporarily and their numbers seem to be declining. How could they multiply when none of them is married and no priest would marry them?

The number of Huguenot merchants at Quebec was, nevertheless, increasing. Eight years earlier, in a dispatch of 18 September 1741, the Governor and Intendant had reported a total of only nine of them representing five French firms and a Quebec firm: Simon Paye and his clerk, Petit (for Raully *père et fils* of Montauban); Jean-Mathieu Mounier (for Jean and Pierre Veyssière of La Rochelle); François Mounier (for Dezauniers of Quebec); the two Thouron brothers (for Boudet of La Rochelle); François Havy and Jean Lefebvre (for Dugard and Company of Rouen); and David Turpin (for Le Vieux and Company of Rouen).² By the end of 1754 the number had risen, according to an official list, to no less than twenty-six representing fourteen firms and there was at least one more *négociant* from a Huguenot family, Henri Morin, brother of Victor

* Department of History, York University, Toronto.

¹ Archives nationales, Paris (hereafter abbreviated as A.N.) Colonies C^{11a} vol. 93.

² A.N. Colonies C^{11a} vol. 75, fol. 27.

Morin of La Rochelle, not on the list.³ In addition, one of these merchants, Jean-Antoine Fraise (or Fresse), had been joined by his wife, Catherine Delon, in 1750 and she had borne him three children in Canada. Still others arrived after 1754, such as Murette, who with François Levêque formed a company which traded with Protestant firms in France. And what of Jean-Pierre and Joseph Senilh, brothers from a Protestant family of Montauban; what of Bernard Courrejolles, from a Protestant family originally of Damazan, near Agen, but linked in trade with a Protestant of La Rochelle, Jean-Elie Dupuy; and what of Dupuy himself who was the son of a Rochefort merchant and who divided his time between La Rochelle and Quebec?⁴ These and others, too, might be added to the list of Protestants trading in Canada.

The authorities then, like the historian now, could not always tell whether a merchant was Protestant or not. This difficulty the French government had created for itself by rigorously insisting that Protestant children be baptized Catholics and so providing every Protestant, whose parents complied, with a Catholic birth certificate. Protestant merchants were usually able to produce the required Catholic birth certificates when applying to an *amirauté* for permission to take passage to Quebec or any other colonial port. We find, for example, that on 20 March 1755, Antoine Malroux, a native and resident of Montauban, whom we know to have been a Huguenot merchant, applied to the *amirauté* of Bordeaux for permission to sail to Quebec as a passenger on *La Vierge de Grace* of St. Valléry (Captain Louis Lambert); and he was described as being of average height, with black hair but wearing a wig, and — *ancien catholique!*⁵ Furthermore, Huguenot merchants could at any time renounce their faith in order to marry Catholics or in order to save themselves from persecution, but those who did so often reverted to their Protestant faith once their object had been accomplished.

The officials of the *amirauté*, the Intendant at Québec and other authorities could certainly have identified Protestants such as Malroux, with or without Catholic birth certificates, had they shared the clergy's enthusiasm for rooting out heresy, but to authorities

³ A.N., Colonies D²C vol. 53 (Public Archives, Ottawa, henceforth abbreviated as P.A.C., microfilm roll F 585), *Liste des Protestants qui sont en Canada* (henceforth abbreviated as *Liste des Protestants*). For Morin, see Archives départementales (henceforth abbreviated as A.D.) for the Charente-Maritime at La Rochelle, the minutes of the La Rochelle notary, des Barres, for 29 April 1756 (all such entries hereafter abbreviated as M^e des Barres (La Rochelle) 29 April 1756). The Morin brothers had a sister, Elisabeth, who married Pierre-Daniel Alaret, a Protestant *négoçant* of Hamburg. (Protestant register of La Rochelle births 26 Feb. 1766.)

⁴ For the Senilh and Courrejolles families, see below p. 196. For Dupuy, who is not to be confused with Jean-Patrice Dupuy of Bordeaux, see A. D. Char. Mar. M^e Laleu (La Rochelle) 8 Feb. 1755, marriage contract.

⁵ A. D. Gironde (Bordeaux), 6 B 52*.

interested in promoting colonial trade, "ce zèle pour la religion," as Bigot wrote, "paraissait un peu outré."⁶ Bigot was not the only one with power over Canadian trade and shipping who showed a practical tolerance of Protestant enterprise. The official Canadian supply-merchant (*munitionnaire*), Joseph Cadet, chose a Protestant *négociant*, Joseph Aliés, to fit out some of his ships and dispatch them from La Rochelle and another, Pierre Desclaux, to do the same at Bordeaux. Desclaux also did such business for Cadet as hiring three butchers in 1757 and two cooks and eight pilots in 1759. At Bayonne, Cadet's shipping agent, *Veuve Courrejolles et fils*, was from a Protestant family of Damazan, near Agen.⁷ To take another example, Pierre-François Goossens, a Paris banker and a shipping agent, sent off three ships for the Crown from Dunkirk to Quebec in 1758 and the three captains had orders to turn their precious cargoes of food over to a Protestant merchant at Quebec, Jean-Mathieu Mounier, who was Goossens' correspondent there.⁸ Again, throughout the Seven Years' War, the naval port of Rochefort, from which most cargoes were sent to Canada for the Ministry of Marine and Colonies, was under the command of Charles-Claude de Ruis-Embitto, who married the daughter of a notable Huguenot family of La Rochelle, Henriette-Esther Bonfils; and we are entitled to suppose that he did not share the Bishop of Quebec's opinion that Protestant merchants should be driven out of Canada. We should not be surprised, then, that in 1755 the minister at Versailles wrote to the Bishop at Quebec that the Protestants in Canada

forment quatorze maisons qui font les trois quarts du commerce du pays et que, si on les en chassait, ce serait faire un grand tort à la colonie, les négociants canadiens n'étant pas en assez grand nombre ni assez riches, pour fournir tout ce qui est nécessaire.⁹

Other evidence, too, suggests that Protestant firms may have been preponderant in Canadian trade at the end of the French regime. In September 1762, a commission of the Châtelet, the criminal court of Paris, had been engaged in investigating the business records of the men arrested and charged with fraudulent practices in Canada. Some fifty officials and others had been arrested on returning from the colony. In order to establish standards of prices for the decade 1749-1759, the commissioners decided to apply to a number of French merchants who had not been involved in the frauds or not suspected of this. Accordingly,

⁶ A.N. Colonies C^{11a} vol. 93, Bigot to the Minister 3 Oct. 1749.

⁷ Public Record Office, London (hereafter abbreviated as P.R.O.) H.C.A. 32/175 *La Chesine*; 32/200 *Le Hardy* and 32/243 *Le Soleil*, all sent by Desclaux; and 223 pt. I *La Magdeleine*, dispatched by Aliés. See also A. D. Gironde M^e Guy (Bordeaux) 16 Mar. 1757; 15 Jan. and 3 Mar. 1759. For Courrejolles, see below, p. 199.

⁸ J. F. Boshier, "Le Ravitaillement de Québec en 1758. Quelques documents," *Histoire sociale / Social History*, vol. V, No. 9 (April 1972), p. 85.

⁹ Minister to Bishop 15 July 1755, quoted in Abbé Auguste GOSSELIN, *L'Église du Canada*, 3^e partie, Québec, 1914, p. 236.

the Châtelet wrote to the *Lieutenant général de la Sénéchaussée* at three cities, La Rochelle, Bordeaux and Montauban, asking them to visit several merchants. The names of five La Rochelle families were mentioned, all of them Protestant, and the *Lieutenant général* visited them all. Five or six Protestant firms of Montauban were mentioned and two of them were ultimately consulted.¹⁰ There was one Catholic firm on the list — but only one — Lamalétie and Latuillière of Bordeaux, which shows that those listed were not chosen for being Protestant. They were clearly selected by Choiseul and Sartine as being the principal firms which had kept stores at Quebec during the 1750s, importing and exporting goods on the open market rather than serving merely as government supply agents. It is significant that seven of these eight companies consulted by the Châtelet were Protestant.

True, various other firms were not consulted either because they had dealt in government supplies and were suspected of involvement with the arrested officials, or because their trade with Canada had fallen off before the Seven Years' War or, again, because their friends were powerful enough to protect them from such an inquiry; but they were Protestant as well as Catholic and one was Jewish. The well-known Jewish family of Gradis at Bordeaux had been the main agents for Bigot and Bréard, the *Intendant* and *Controller* of Canada, by virtue of an agreement of 10 July 1748; and the big Protestant merchants of Bordeaux, Jauge, Desclaux, Imbert & Bethmann, were tarred with the same brush.¹¹ Similarly, the Catholic firm of Jean-Patrice Dupuy *fils* of Bordeaux was not on the list, evidently because of the suspicious business association he had formed on 20 October 1756 with Michel-Jean-Hugues de Pean, an officer in Canada, and Jean-Baptiste Martel, keeper of the royal stores at Montreal.¹² Two big Catholic families of La Rochelle, Pascaud and Goguet, had tended to withdraw from Canadian trade in the 1750s and they held official posts as *Député de Commerce* (Pascaud) and *Trésorier de France* (Goguet) which afforded them some protection. Two Protestant *négociants* from Quebec, Pierre Glemet and Joseph-Abraham Derit, could not be consulted, the first because he had gone off to Madagascar and the second because he had died on the voyage home to France.¹³ Other Protestant *négociants*, such as François Mounier, remained at Quebec after the conquest. The eight firms

¹⁰ A. D. Char. Mar. B 1796 (Présidial de La Rochelle 14 Sept. 1762); A. D. Gironde 3 B 248 (Sénéchaussée-Présidial de Bordeaux) 14 Sept. 1762; Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Paris (henceforth abbreviated as Bib. Ars.) Bastille mss. 12, 144, fol. 162, Choiseul to Sartine 28 June 1762; fols. 148-161; ms. 12, 145 fol. 191 and 329 ff.

¹¹ Jean DE MAUPASSANT, *Un Grand armateur de Bordeaux, Abraham Gradis 1699(?) — 1780*, Bordeaux, 1917, p. 37; and *Les Armateurs bordelais au XVIII^e siècle: les deux expéditions de Pierre Desclaux au Canada, 1759 et 1760* (Bordeaux: 1915), 36 pp.

¹² A. D. Gironde, M^e Faugas (Bordeaux) 30 May 1768 *Cession et Dissolution de Sossité [sic] de Pean et Dupuy*.

¹³ For Glemet and Derit see below p. 189-192.

the Châtelet consulted in September 1762 were not, then, the only big importers and exporters at Quebec in the 1750s, and the Châtelet's choice is not an entirely reliable measure. Yet when all allowances have been made, there is still a strong suggestion that the Minister at Versailles was only telling the truth when he wrote to the Bishop of Quebec that Protestants were preponderant in Canadian trade during the last decade of the French regime.

However that may be, the Protestant merchants at Quebec in the 1750s all represented or served companies of the southwestern cities of La Rochelle, Bordeaux or Montauban — the same cities which appeared on the Châtelet's list — and nearly all the men themselves came from small towns in the same region. The five firms of La Rochelle which the Châtelet consulted were, according to the Lieutenant General's report,

les Sieurs Meynardie frères, Thouron cadet, Havy, Admirault [sic] et Mathieu Mounier, tous négociants demeurants en cette ville, qui ont été indiqués au procureur général de la commission comme ayant eu des maisons de commerce en Canada dans le temps dont il s'agit.... (1749-1759).¹⁴

We might add seven more names from the Intendant's list of Protestants at Quebec in 1754: Grelleau, Glemet, J. Comte Lagrange, François Lévêque; and three more members of the Mounier family. Henry Morin should also be included, and there may have been others.

Who were these *négociants*? Where did they come from? Who were their relations and friends? What were their business and family connections? So scarce is information about them that for the most part we are obliged to search for the answers to these questions in the many archives of south-western France, and this I have done.

The two Meynardie brothers were sons of a merchant of Bergerac (Dordogne), Bernard Meynardie and his wife, Marie Frescarode.¹⁵ They had both been baptized "Pierre" according to a common but confusing custom of the time, one on 12 September 1719 and the other on 22 January 1727, and in the records of business they are not easy to distinguish, even though the elder was sometimes called "Pierre-Claude Meynardie" and the younger, "Pierre Meynardie *le jeune*". The elder brother had sailed to Canada sometime in 1750, for he maintained a Quebec company from 1750 to 1755, when the younger brother, who had sailed to Canada in 1756 on *Les Deux Frères* (Captain Dufy Charest), took it over until it closed down in 1759. Their younger brother, Elie Meynardie, a ship's captain, was also with them in Quebec for some years in the 1750s. We know they were Protestant because of their family connections and business associations. Pierre Meynardie the elder

¹⁴ A. D. Char. Mar. B 1796, 14 Sept. 1762.

¹⁵ Bergerac town hall, the library, parish registers of St. Jacques.

married Marthe René Garesché, and Pierre Meynardie the younger married Marie-Anne Garesché, of the well-known Protestant family living near Marennnes (Saintonge).¹⁶ Letters of 1757 from the ship, *La Petite Suzanne*, captured on the way to Quebec, show that the owner, Antoine Giraudeau, a Protestant merchant of La Rochelle, was a personal friend of the Pierre Meynardie who lived at Quebec. "A Dieu, portez vous bien," Giraudeau signed off in one letter, "et me croyez jusqu'au tombeau mon cher amy votre très affectionné serviteur et amy." Again, among the Meynardie's principal correspondents in Bordeaux were two Huguenots, a maternal cousin, Dominique Frescarode, and Giraudeau's brother-in-law, Thomas Oualle. Another Huguenot relation, Jacques Garesché, was for some years their chief correspondent at La Rochelle and he dispatched ships with cargoes for Meynardie, such as *Le Dauphin* in 1756 and *La Gracieuse* in 1757.¹⁷

When Pierre Meynardie the elder returned to France in 1755, he soon formed a partnership with a Protestant *négociant*, Nicolas Paillet, for whom he had acted as business agent in Quebec in the early 1750s. To seal the partnership he married Paillet's wife's sister.¹⁸ Son of a merchant of Marennnes, Paillet had for several years owned and fitted out two ships for trade with Canada and the West Indies, and the firm of Paillet and Meynardie were to fit out from one to three ships each year until they went bankrupt in 1766, mainly (as they confessed to their creditors) because of "les malheurs qui ont accompagné leur commerce depuis la prise du Canada par les anglais."¹⁹ One of their sea-captains was the third Meynardie brother, Elie. They sent ships each year to Canada where the younger Pierre Meynardie was their agent at Quebec until 1759, and François Chevalier was their agent at Montreal.²⁰

The "Thouron *cadet*" on the Lieutenant General's list was Bernard Thouron who had been in Canada since 1751 and had managed his family's business in Quebec from 30 October 1754 to 2 November 1758.

¹⁶ *Liste des Protestants*; A. D. Char. Mar. M^e Guyon (Nieulle*/Seudre) 11 Feb. 1756 marriage contract; M^e Chameau (La Rochelle) 15 June 1759; Bergerac town hall, library, Protestant registers p. 21: "Pierre-Isaac Garesché," *Revue de Saintonge et d'Aunis, Bulletin de la Société des Archives historiques*, tome XVI (July 1896), pp. 288-289; P.A.C., Baby Collection, transcription of Meynardie to Étienne Augé, Feb. 1756.

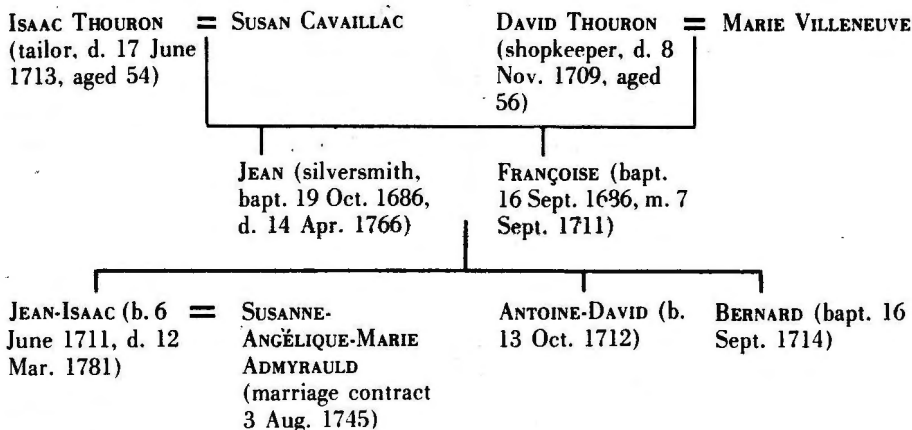
¹⁷ P.R.O., H.C.A. 32/181, 196 pt. II and 234. The Paillet and Garesché families were also linked by at least one marriage.

¹⁸ Nicolas Paillet was born on 15 August 1721, son of Élisée Paillet, Protestant *bourgeois et marchand*, and Thérèse Faneuil (see parish registers of St. Pierre, Marennnes, at the town hall). He married Jeanne Garesché and was also related to the Protestant Rasteau family. He died on 8 Feb. 1785.

¹⁹ A. D. Char. Mar. M^e Tardy (La Rochelle) 3 and 10 Mar. 1766, *Réunion des créanciers*; and also *Calendrier des armateurs de La Rochelle*, La Rochelle (La Rochelle public library, Per 680) for the 1750s, a tiny volume for each year.

²⁰ La Rochelle public library, ms. 1954, Meynardie letters in ms.

The headquarters of the business in La Rochelle was kept by his elder brother, Jean-Isaac, who had done business in Canada since the early 1730s, assisted by a younger brother, Antoine-David who had gone out in 1741. These three brothers came from a large family of merchants of the little town of St.-Antonin-en-Rouergue on the Aveyron River, and part of the family tree was as follows:



How do we know they were Protestant? One pair of grandparents died without asking for the sacraments; Jean-Isaac, the elder brother, married the daughter of the Protestant Admyrauld family of La Rochelle; there were also connections with the Paillet and Rasteau families, both Protestant; and "Thouron frères" appears in two lists of Protestants at Quebec drawn up by the Intendant.²¹

The firm of *Thouron frères* began in 1752, but before that and for many years, Jean-Isaac had traded with Canada and other colonies in partnership with a Protestant cousin, Pierre Boudet of La Rochelle. In 1748 and 1749, the firm of Boudet and Thouron fitted out two ships, and there is mention of their books for trade in Canada together back even to the early 1730s. Their correspondence was vast and with a wide range of businessmen. When the firm dissolved in 1752, Boudet carried on his own business until he went bankrupt in 1764. He was already in difficulties as early as 1759, so that his name did not appear on the Lieutenant General's list of 1762.²²

²¹ St. Antonin town hall, archives, parish registers; A.D. Char. Mar. M^e Guillemot (La Rochelle) 3 Aug. 1745 marriage contract; *Liste des Protestants...* and A.N. Colonies C^{11a} vol. 75, fol. 27.

²² A. D. Char., Mar. M^e Delavergne (La Rochelle) 8 Feb. 1766. *Inventaire de Pierre Boudet*, with a detailed list of his papers; M^e Tardy (La Rochelle) 31 Dec. 1764 to 16 Jan. 1765; 19 Feb. 1766 and 21 Nov. 1766. Boudet married Marie-Anne Dumas, probably from Montauban.

The third name on the Lieutenant General's list was François Havy. He was born about 1700 in Bolbec in the *pays de Caux*, Normandy, where Protestant hatters had worked with Canadian beaverskin until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) and he had first gone out to Quebec as a young man in 1730 and had settled there in 1732 with a Protestant relative, Jean Lefebvre, as agents for the *Société du Canada* of Rouen, founded by Robert Dugard.²³ The Quebec firm of Havy & Lefebvre appears in business records for nearly a quarter of a century. They began work as agents for Dugard and his partners, but after about 1748 they did business with various French firms, especially a Protestant merchant of La Rochelle, Joseph Aliés, with whom they had a formal contract from 30 May to 3 Nov. 1755, but Aliés' shipments of goods to them in the 1749s suggest that there were probably earlier contracts as well. Havy and Lefebvre also bought a ship, *L'Aimable Rose* (140 tons), which they worked in partnership with Pierre Massac of Rouen, sending fish and lumber to France in exchange for French wine, hardware and textiles.²⁴

In 1755, Havy returned to France leaving Lefebvre in charge of clearing up their business in Québec, but they sent no more shipments to Canada. In 1761, Lefebvre embarked on *The Trident*, one of the British ships ordered to repatriate those subjects of Louis XV who wished to return to France, but he died during the crossing and the papers in his luggage were sent by another passenger, Pierre Meynardie, to a Paris banker, André Huet & Cie. Havy and Lefebvre's heir, Pierre Lefebvre, a *négociant* of Beuzeville in Normandy, recovered these papers in June 1761 and dealt with the succession.²⁵ Meanwhile, Havy had been living in La Rochelle near the firm's agent there, Joseph Aliés, but in 1762 he moved to Bordeaux, leaving Aliés in charge of his business in La Rochelle. It was Aliés who arranged with the Lieutenant General to lend some of Havy's records to the Châtelet Commission. Havy lost a great deal of money in his Canadian business, first because Robert Dugard never paid him for his services in Canada; secondly because the French government suspended payments on Canadians bills and never honoured more than a proportion of their value; and thirdly, because the firm lost heavily at the conquest and there was little to recover after Lefebvre's death. Nevertheless, Havy reckoned his assets at about 50,000 *livres* when he contracted to marry in

²³ Bordeaux city archives, Protestant registers 25 Feb. 1758, Havy's marriage; A.D. Gironde M^e Rauzan (Bordeaux) 18 Mar. 1758, Havy's marriage contract. Havy's parents were François Havy and Suzanne Levêque of Bolbec. See also D. B. MIQUELON, *Robert Dugard and the Société du Canada of Rouen 1729-1770* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1973), p. 64.

²⁴ A.D. Char. Mar. B 1796 (Présidial de La Rochelle) 14 Sept. 1762; P.R.O., H.C.A. 32/142 bills of lading for *Le Philibert* and 32/162 *L'Aimable Rose*.

²⁵ A.D. Char. M^e Tardy (La Rochelle) 9 June 1761.

1757, and he was solvent at his death on 12 December 1766, unlike Dugard who went bankrupt in 1761.²⁶

Havy was evidently a Protestant: he appears on two lists of Protestants in Canada; on 25 February 1758 he married a Protestant, Marie-Judith François, in the Protestant church of Bordeaux where, eight years later, he was buried on 12 December 1766.²⁷ Jean Lefebvre was likewise Protestant, as was their agent at La Rochelle, Joseph Aliés, who had close connections with the Garesché and Thouron families.²⁸ These facts lead us to surmise that Robert Dugard, the guiding spirit of the *Société du Canada*, also came from a Huguenot family. After all, Dugard knew the Havy and Lefebvre families well when he engaged them as his agents at Quebec; Joseph Aliés served Dugard as agent at La Rochelle, and another Protestant, Henry Goudal, was for a time his agent at Bordeaux; still another of Dugard's agents, Feray of Le Havre, was from a Protestant family of Normandy.²⁹ We learn, indeed, that Dugard's father and mother had been Protestants who had abjured in 1685 so that Robert himself was baptized a Catholic in Rouen on 27 October 1704. He married Marie Laurens, sister of one of his partners, David Laurens, who were also Protestants. Even though some of the partners were Catholic, it seems reasonable to describe the *Société du Canada* as being largely a Protestant enterprise.

During the early 1750s, Havy and Lefebvre employed one of Havy's young cousins who had come from Normandy in 1749. This was François Levêque whose father was a brother of Havy's mother and they were from a family of Huguenot weavers of Bolbec. "Mon cher cousin", Havy began a letter to him, and went on to refer to "mon oncle, votre père".³⁰ Son of François Levêque, *père*, and Marie Poulet, the young François Levêque was born at Rouen (?) on 29 June 1732. After a few years at Quebec as a clerk with his cousin's firm, Levêque formed his own partnership with a Protestant friend, Murette, and for a few short years they did a considerable trade with the Protestant firms of Moreau and Mounier (La Rochelle) and Goudal and Massac (Bordeaux). Things went

²⁶ A.N., 62 AQ 31, Dugard to Havy 14 Jan. 1762 on his bankruptcy. A.D. Char. Mar., M^e Fredureaux-Dumas 17 May 1759, Havy's procuration for Murette.

²⁷ Bordeaux city archives, Protestant registers, 25 Feb. 1758, and 12 Dec. 1766. The wife was the daughter of Mathias François, *négociant de Bordeaux*, and Elisabeth Laffon.

²⁸ A relative, Marguerite Aliés, had married a certain David Thouron of St. Antonin (13 Feb. 1741); and a daughter, Françoise-Jeanne Aliés, married Pierre-Isaac Garesché (M^e Fredureaux-Dumas, La Rochelle, 28 July 1761).

²⁹ A.N., 62 AQ 31, Havy to Dugard 19 Apr. 1760; 62 AQ 45 *passim*; Pierre DARDEL, *Commerce, Industrie et Navigation à Rouen et au Havre au XVIII^e siècle* (Rouen: 1966), p. 211; MIQUELON, *Robert Dugard and the Société du Canada of Rouen, 1729-1770*, p. 35.

³⁰ P.R.O., H.C.A. 32/253, letter of 11 May 1757 intercepted on *Le Vainqueur*.

well enough for Levêque that he decided to stay on at Quebec after the British conquest. In August 1769, he married Catherine Trottier-Desauniers-Beaubien at the Church of England where his death, also, was registered many years later on 14 January 1787. He had served in the Legislative Council beginning in 1775 and on the Executive Council from 1784.³¹

The fourth man visited by the Lieutenant General of La Rochelle was Pierre-Gabriel Admyrauld, son and partner of a well-known shipping merchant who had died only three years before.³² Neither the father nor the son appear to have lived in Canada, but they traded extensively at Quebec through the intermediary of agents, Jean-André Lamaletie from 1752 to 1757 and Jean-Baptiste Amiot in 1757 and 1758. In 1754 they opened a business at Montreal directed by an associate, Jean Dupuy, until 30 October 1756; and they also did business at Louisbourg with the firm of Solignac, Dulong and Cabarrus. They sent at least three ships to Quebec in 1757 and one in 1758, but as with all other merchants, the war eventually interrupted Admyrauld's trade in Canada: they sent nothing in 1759. They had always done much trade in the West Indies, and after the Seven Years' War they went into Asian trade, too.³³

None of Admyrauld's Canadian agents was known to be Protestant, and what shows the Protestant religion of the family is strong links with other Huguenot families, notably Rocaute and Giraudeau. On 17 November 1745, Pierre-Gabriel Admyrauld signed a marriage contract with Marie-Marguerite Giraudeau, daughter of Elie Giraudeau, a shipping merchant with whom old Gabriel Admyrauld had been in business for a long time. And Jeanne Admyrauld, Pierre-Gabriel's sister, married David-Pierre Rocaute with whom Pierre-Gabriel had a business partnership (*société*) for some years. The Rocaute family was linked with several other families of Huguenot merchants: Jauge, Garesché, Delacroix, Alaret and Bonfils. But no doubt the best proof is the record of Pierre-Gabriel Admyrauld's burial in the Protestant church of La Rochelle on 18 March 1782, two days after his death.³⁴

³¹ *Liste des Protestants*; P.R.O., H.C.A. 32/Prize Papers, passim; J. J. Lefebvre, "François Levêque (1732-1787) membre des Conseils législatifs et exécutifs," *Bulletin des Recherches historiques*, vol. 59 (1953), pp. 143-145. The wife was the daughter of Etienne Trottier-Desauniers Beaubien, *marchand*, and of Louise Damours de Plaines (1724-1760).

³² A.D. Char. Mar., M^e Chameau (La Rochelle), 31 July 1759, 21 Aug. 1759, 11 Sept. 1759, 10 Sept. 1759; M^e Guillemot (La Rochelle) 17 Nov. 1745 marriage contract etc. Pierre-Gabriel Admyrauld was born on 12 May 1723 to Gabriel Admyrauld and Marie Jacquette Charles who had married on 9 May 1718. The father, a native of Levasseau in Poitou, died in La Rochelle on 31 July 1759 aged 72 years, 2½ months.

³³ A.D. Char. Mar., M^e Chameau 15 June 1756. Émile GARNALT, *Livre d'or de la Chambre de Commerce de La Rochelle de 1719 à 1891* (La Rochelle: 1902), pp. 67-71.

³⁴ Municipal Library of La Rochelle, Protestant registers, 18 March 1782.

Last on the Lieutenant General's list of La Rochelle *négociants* who had traded extensively with Canada came Jean-Mathieu Mounier. He had first gone out to Canada in 1736 and had spent many years there in business associations with various other merchants, particularly three nephews: François Mounier, best known as a member of the Quebec firms of Mounier and Grelleau, then Mounier and Lee;³⁵ and Henri and Jean Mounier, two brothers who had gone out to Canada one in 1750 and the other in 1751. In 1757 these two nephews cut their moorings from their uncle and protector in order to go into business for themselves. They were the Quebec firm of *Mounier frères* briefly heard of in the late 1750s. Jean-Mathieu Mounier also formed a company with Pierre Boudet by an *acte de société* dated 18 May 1750, and with Jean and Pierre Veyssière, prominent businessmen, *trésoriers de France*, originally from Limoges but settled at La Rochelle.³⁶ When he returned to La Rochelle in 1758, Mounier brought with him a considerable fortune of about 300,000 *livres*, and business commissions and agreements which he hoped to develop into a large trade with Canada. These plans were frustrated by the loss of the colony, his fortune was gradually dissipated and he went bankrupt in 1773.

Like nearly every merchant from Canada, he lost a lot in the form of suspended bills of exchange, treasury notes, etc. But the balance sheet he drew up on 28 January 1774 shows that the financial disasters of three relatives also contributed to his fate. A brother in business in Cognac, Michel Mounier, died about 1770 in bankruptcy leaving a large family unprovided for. Another brother in a Limôge firm called *Jean Mounier et Ladouze* also got into difficulties and caused him losses. And a more distant relative, Pierre Glemet, borrowed 30,000 *livres* from him in Canada and died bankrupt in Madagascar a few years later. Probably an even more important cause of Mounier's bankruptcy was a strong desire to live like a gentleman and a *philosophe*. He travelled widely in France and lived for long periods in Paris, no doubt neglecting his trade. He bought a small country property at Lafond near La Rochelle worth altogether about 8000

³⁵ Grelleau is discussed hereafter. Thomas Lee was from a large family of Dubliners settled at Bordeaux, son of Jacques Lee and Ann Quinn who married in Bordeaux by contract of 22 Feb. 1721. (M^e Bernard) He was also related to the Lamaletie and Peyronnet families, and I suppose he was Catholic.

³⁶ See a packet of Mounier family correspondence in the papers captured by a British ship with *Le Vainqueur* in 1757, in P.R.O., H.C.A. 32/253. These letters were still closed with the original wax seals until I opened them in August 1973. See also a manuscript in the Cognac town hall library, Mm 24, listing the large family of Jean-Adam Mounier and Jeanne-Françoise Mounier "demeurant à Cognac, réfugié à Genève et ensuite à Lausanne," including a son, Jean-André, born on 7 April 1726 and "mort à Québec." A. D. Char. Mar., 2 J 8. Garnault's notes on the Veyssière family showing Jean-Baptiste, born about 1683, married first to Marie-Anne Bertrand and then to Louise Leclerc, *veuve Dupas*, on 20 June 1748. He was buried on 30 July 1753. His brother, Pierre, married Marie-Elizabeth Soullard, *veuve Lamude*, on 25 July 1742 and died on 14 June 1764 at Limôges aged 86.

livres and a large house on the Place d'Armes in La Rochelle for 15,000 *livres* which he filled with about 1,500 books, many in several volumes, and scientific equipment worth some thousands of *livres*.³⁷

In his balance sheet, Mounier used the fashionable and un-Catholic term, *l'être suprême*, and all the signs are that he came from a large, ramifying Protestant family of Saintonge, Angoumois and Poitou. He and his three nephews figure on a list of Protestants in Canada. He was almost certainly the Jean-Mathieu Mounier baptized at St. Pierre's church in the town of Jarnac (near Cognac) on 2 October 1715, son of Adam Mounier and of Suzanne Liard, with a royal notary of Jarnac as his godfather.³⁸ Jean-Mathieu's parents — as they probably were — lived there between about 1713 and 1719, perhaps longer. Two pieces of evidence strengthen this account of his origins. First, the Pierre Cimet whom he claimed as a relative was a Protestant baptized in Jarnac on 26 May 1723, son of Pierre Cimet and Jeanne Mounier, of the same family, and the parish registers of Jarnac show various other links between the Mounier and Cimet families. Secondly, in the Quebec census for 1744 Mounier's age was given as 29 years, and some years later when Mounier appeared as a witness in a case before the Presidial court of La Rochelle in 1761, his age was given as "44 ou environ."³⁹ In any event, we know that Jean-Mathieu Mounier was a Protestant because he signed the registers of La Rochelle on 2 August 1771 as godfather to his nephew's sons; and his name is cited again as godfather to another nephew's son baptized in the Protestant church of La Rochelle on 17 November 1772. Again, a nephew wrote from La Rochelle to tell Jean-Mathieu that he had just gone into partnership with a certain Moreau, "qui estait venu ici pour se mettre à couvert de la persecution, que le subdélégué de St. Maixent fait esprouver aux Protestants dudit lieu..." There were hopes in the Mounier family that this nephew would marry Moreau's daughter.⁴⁰ Wherever Jean-Mathieu fits into this large and mobile family, there can be no doubt that they were all Protestant.

The oldest of Mounier's nephews, François Mounier, first went to Canada in 1740 and later formed a partnership with Jean Grelleau. They were joint owners of *Le Rameau* (120 tons) which plied between Quebec and La Rochelle until they sold it in 1756. In 1753 they were joined in

³⁷ A.D. Char. Mar., B 1754 (Présidial de La Rochelle) *Scellé Mounier* 21 October 1773 to 15 Jan. 1774, 43 pp. mss; M^e Fleury (La Rochelle) 14 Jan. 1774, *Inventaire après décès de Jean-Mathieu Mounier*, and attached to it a 33-page catalogue of his books.

³⁸ Jarnac town hall, parish register, and *Liste des Protestants*.

³⁹ R.A.P.Q., 1939-40, le Recensement de Québec en 1744; A.D. Char. Mar., B 1794 (*Présidial de La Rochelle*) 1761, Mounier called as a witness in a case of Jean Dupuy who had accused a sea-captain, Charles Bartare, of attacking him on sight; for instance, of chasing him around the *bourse* chamber until he had to defend himself with a broom!

⁴⁰ P.R.O., H.C.A. 32/253 *Le Vainqueur* papers, (1) Michel Mounier to Jean-Mathieu Mounier 1 Apr. 1757, (2) G. Carsin to Jean and Henri Mounier 20 Mar. 1757.

Quebec by Grelleau's younger brother, also called Jean. The Grelleau brothers had been born on 5 August 1714 and 5 October 1724 in the village of Corbarrieu, about five miles southeast of Montauban. Their father, Jean Grelleau, and mother, Perrette Bourrilhon, were Protestant *bourgeois* of Montauban who had married on 13 August 1709 in the parish church of St. Abdon et Sennen at Corbarrieu. Of the two sons, Jean Grelleau *l'aîné* went to work in Bordeaux as clerk to a big shipping merchant and financier, Nicolas Beaujon, at 1,000 *livres* a year and in 1746 was hired by a La Rochelle merchant, Jean-Baptiste Soumbrun, to work as his agent in Quebec at 1,500 *livres* a year; and he reached Quebec in 1748.⁴¹ Soumbrun was rather a difficult person to work with, and after some financial difficulties he went bankrupt in 1756; it was probably for one of these reasons that Grelleau went into partnership with François Mounier.

It is certain that the François Mounier of the Quebec firm of Mounier and Grelleau and then of Mounier and Lee was Protestant in origin, and Pierre Glemet also. In Glemet's case, there is supporting evidence in the Protestant registers of Jarnac. His sister, Jeanne Glemet, was married in the Protestant community there on 18 September 1771 and various other members of the Glemet family, probably cousins, also appear in those Protestant registers. Yet because Pierre Glemet had been baptized a Catholic at his birth, he had no difficulty in obtaining a passport from the *amirauté* of Bordeaux in whose registers his name appears on 20 March 1744 as a passenger to Quebec on *La Ville de Rouen*, Captain Porters. The registers describe him as of middle height, aged 21 and *ancien catholique*.⁴² For the next fifteen years, Glemet is mentioned in various records as a *négociant* of Quebec, receiving goods from several merchants of La Rochelle and Bordeaux. Among his friends in Quebec were men of Protestant background like himself: his relatives, the Mouniers; Pierre Meynardie; and a man whom I have not mentioned before, Joseph-Abraham Derit.

Derit was born in Bergerac (Dordogne) on Christmas Eve 1722 and baptized there on 1 February in the parish church of St. Jacques.⁴³ His parents, Jean-Elias Derit and Jeanne Faugeran, probably moved into

⁴¹ A. D. Char. Mar., M^e Tardy (La Rochelle) 1 June 1746; Corbarrieu village hall, parish registers; and *Liste des Protestants*.... Grelleau the elder forsook his faith in a formal ceremony just before marrying Catherine de Chaumejan Sorin (A.D., Char. Mar. parish registers for St. Barthélémy, 18 May 1757; and M^e Tardy (La Rochelle) 26 May 1757 marriage contract.)

⁴² Jarnac town hall, Protestant registers 9 July 1767, 26 Nov. 1770 and 8 Aug. 1789. A. D. Gironde, 6 B 50*.

⁴³ Bergerac town hall, municipal library. He was baptized only Joseph, but adopted his godfather's name, Abraham, as a second name. His brother, Jacques, was born on 3 July 1724, and his godfather, Jacques-Élias Derit, could not sign his own name, which shows humble family origins. There were several other brothers and sisters.

Bergerac from somewhere else, for their names first appeared in the registers at Joseph-Abraham's baptism, but they were still in the town in 1761. The father was described in the parish registers first as a *marchand*, then as a *bourgeois* and finally as "Sieur Jean Derit," which shows that he must have done well in business. This was no doubt partly because two of his sons grew up to be *négociants* and worked as a family firm trading between Bordeaux and Quebec. Joseph-Abraham first went to Quebec in 1751, and he was employed throughout the 1750s in a very busy commercial system with his younger brother, Jacques, who settled in Bordeaux (rue Royale, parish of St. Pierre), and who sent him large shipments of wine, brandy and other goods. On Jacques' recommendation, various other merchants of Bordeaux, especially Huguenots such as Thomas Oualle, Faure Lacaussade and Pierre Texier, began to send Joseph-Abraham consignments of goods, and Pierre Desclaux regarded him as one of his agents in Quebec. La Rochelle merchants such as the Huguenots, Charles Ranson and Antoine Giraudeau also sent him consignments of goods. In 1757 he bought a one-sixth interest in a snow, *Le Chonaguen* (125 tons), in which Theodore de la Croix, Jean-Ezechial Couillandeu, Tresahar Bonfils, and other Protestants also invested and they dispatched her with a cargo from Marseille to Quebec.⁴⁴ At Quebec he associated with other Protestants, especially Meynardie and Glemet, and he was in a fair way to becoming a successful *négociant* when the British captured Quebec and cut short his career. In October 1759, he and Pierre Glemet set out together for France by way of England, but Derit died in England at "Torst Cowrs, Isle of Toighl" on 6 December.⁴⁵ Glemet was with him when he died and brought this news and Derit's few belongings back to France. There was little to inherit because Derit's goods were either in Quebec, in the custody of Meynardie who reported receiving virtually nothing for them, or in the form of bills of exchange and other Canadian paper on which the returns were little and late.

The Huguenot merchants did not confine their business to Quebec: Louisbourg, too, had its Huguenots, such as Daniel Augier and his associate, Elie Allenet. Daniel Augier belonged to a large Protestant family that had been engaged for at least two generations in shipping brandy from Cognac and Tonnay-Charente on the Charente River.⁴⁶ As

⁴⁴ A. D. Gironde, M^e Rauzan (Bordeaux) 6 Feb. 1759; M^e Guy (Bordeaux), 9 Dec. 1760; A. D. Char. Mar. B5747, 28 April 1757.

⁴⁵ A. D. Gironde, M^e Rauzan (Bordeaux) 30 Mar. 60 and 15 Apr. 1761, *Inventaire après décès de Joseph-Abraham Derit*.

⁴⁶ Two cousins later achieved distinction by their activities as Deputies to the revolutionary National Assembly: Étienne-Jean Augier (1735-1826), Deputy for Angoulême, and Philippe Augier de la Sausaye (1758-1802), Deputy for Saintonge, with Isaac Garesché and others. *La Revue de Saintonge et d'Aunis*, vol. XIV, pp. 29-30, and vol. XIX, pp. 261-268. On Daniel Augier and his immediate family, these articles are untrustworthy; and my own information comes from the parish registers of Tonnay-Charente and the notarial papers.

early as 1700 we find Daniel's grandparents, Pierre Augier, brandy merchant, and his wife, Marie Richard, living in a house on the port at Tonny-Charente.⁴⁷ From 1710, if not sooner, the widowed grandmother carried on the business with her sons, including Daniel's father, Etienne Augier, under the name *Veuve Augier et fils*, sending cargoes of brandy to such foreign ports as Amsterdam, Hamburg and London.⁴⁸ Sometime in the 1720s the widow died and her son, Etienne, carried on the business alone and then with his own sons. In 1750, the fourth son, Daniel, (born on 9 January 1727) aged 23, sailed to Louisbourg to set up as the family agent there. In 1752 the father signed a contract with a Tonny-Charente merchant, Elie Allenet, to go to assist Daniel Augier in Louisbourg for 300 *livres* a year plus food and lodging.⁴⁹ During the 1750s they used to send dried cod and fish oil to Augier's father, Etienne Augier, and he sent them cargoes of butter, brandy and other goods. Augier also dealt with Joseph Aliés and Isaac Rasteau, two Huguenot merchants of La Rochelle, and Allenet traded with Dominique Cabarrus of Bordeaux and Jacques Roux of La Rochelle. In 1753 we find Augier holding meetings at his house for fellow creditors of the trans-Atlantic firm of Michel and Antoine Rodrigue, then in difficulties over paying its creditors.⁵⁰ The identity of Augier and Allenet is established in a letter from the naval commissioner in charge of Louisbourg:

Quant à la personne du Sieur Alnet [sic], je ne dois pas vous laisser ignorer que c'est un sujet très équivoque, fort mauvais à tous égards et très dangereux, surtout dans une colonie: il est Saintongeais des environs de St. Jean d'Angely, né Protestant et passé en 1749 ou 1750 à l'Île Royale pour commis du Sieur Augier, aussi Protestant qui y vint s'établir. Il se comporta très mal pendant qu'il fut commis chez ce négociant, et commit des actions sur le fait de la religion suffisants pour lui faire son procès, dans un petit havre nommé Laurenbec et à la Baleine. Il n'échappa à la justice qu'en se jettant dans les bras du grand vicaire de l'évêque nommé Monsieur Maillard et en faisant semblant d'embrasser la religion Catholique. Il fit en effet abjuration quelque temps après pour se marier et tout de suite reprit son ancienne religion.⁵¹

Alletnet was finally sent back to France by a joint decision of the Governor, Druccour, and the writer of the above letter, Prevost.

Following up Augier's activities leads up to wonder how far the Huguenot influence extended in the business world of Louisbourg. When

⁴⁷ A. D. Char. Mar., M^e Cherpentier (Tonny-Charente) 13 May 1700 and M^e Burgaud (Tonny-Charente) 17 Sept. 1704, *testament*.

⁴⁸ A. D. Char. Mar., M^e Burgaud (Tonny-Charente), *passim* from 1710 to 1721; M^e Cherpentier (Tonny-Charente), *passim* from 1700 to 1762; Tonny-Charente town hall, parish registers.

⁴⁹ A. D., Char. Mar., M^e Cherpentier (Tonny-Charente), 9 Apr. 1752 and 15 May 1750.

⁵⁰ P.A.C., M^e Bacquerisse (Louisbourg) 26 Nov. 1753; P.R.O., H.C.A. 32/194 *La Fidelle*, 224 pt. II *Le St. Martin*, and 236 pt. I *La Perle* (de Rochefort).

⁵¹ *Bib. Ars.*, Bastille mss. 12, 145, fol. 358-360, Prevost to Sartine, 4 Sept. 1762.

Augier left that port to return to La Rochelle in 1757 he entrusted some of his business to Antoine Morin *cadet* "qui est mon bon amy, très honnête homme et le plus à même d'en tirer party par la facilité qu'il a de placer au magasin du Roy."⁵² Morin's ability to sell to the royal stores was due to the position of his elder brother, Jean-Baptiste, as *Garde des magasins du Roy à Louisbourg*, and to this brother's close relationship with the Marine Treasurer, Jean Laborde, whose daughter he had married in 1749. Through Morin, if not by some other route, Augier had been admitted into the Laborde circle at Louisbourg and so had Allenet. We find, for example, that in 1757 Allenet dispatched large quantities of fish oil and other goods on a schooner belonging to Laborde's other son-in-law, Michel Daccarrette.⁵³ Evidently, these Protestant merchants figured prominently in the business life of Louisbourg, and there may have been others.

Nearly all the *negociants* mentioned so far were men from La Rochelle, Bordeaux or the small towns near those ports. Among the few exceptions were the Grelleau brothers whose business connections were in La Rochelle and Quebec but who came from a village near Montauban. There were others, too, from Montauban which with its satellite towns formed a third region from which Protestant families sent merchandise and agents to Canada. Of these families we know relatively little, but enough to identify them and some of their connections. In 1741, only one Montauban firm, *Raully père et fils*, had agents at Quebec, who were Simon Paye and his clerk, Petit, both Protestant. The Montauban Raully's were a branch of one of the old Huguenot bourgeois families of the town of Castres with connections all over Europe.⁵⁴ By the 1750s they had intermarried with at least three other local Protestant families whose names appear on bills of lading for cargoes to Canada: Serres, Delon and Dumas.⁵⁵

Other evidence shows the connections of these three families with Canada. A Protestant firm of Serres and Bizet at Bordeaux sent at least two ships to Quebec during the Seven Years' War, *Le Turbot* in 1757 and *Le Galant* in 1758 (both captured by the Royal Navy).⁵⁶ The Dumas family

⁵² P.R.O., H.C.A. 32/223 pt. II, *Le St. Martin*, Daniel Augier to Étienne Augier 1 Nov. 1756. I could establish no connection between this Morin family and Victor Morin of La Rochelle or his brother, Henri, of Quebec, who were Protestant.

⁵³ Archives de Québec, M^e Panet (Québec), 21 Jan. 1749, marriage contract. P.R.O., H.C.A. 32/194, *La Fidelle*, bills of lading. Meanwhile, the two Huguenots were closely associated with Gombert, another merchant of Louisbourg, on whose fishing *dogger* they sent cargoes to France in 1756 (P.R.O., H.C.A. 32/224 pt. II. *Le St. Martin of Dunkirk*.)

⁵⁴ A.N., Colonies C^{1a} vol. 75, fol. 27; Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret, *Les Financiers de Languedoc* (Paris: 1970), pp. 137-138.

⁵⁵ A.D. Tarn et Garonne (Montauban), M^e Dupré (Montauban) 27 Dec. 1756; M^e Hucgla (Montauban), 10 Oct. 1748, 11 Feb. 1751, 27 Apr. 1759; P.R.O., H.C.A., 32/*passim*.

⁵⁶ P.R.O., H.C.A., 32/195 and 32/249 pt. I.

of Negrepelisse, a small town east of Montauban, sent three members to live at Quebec as trading agents: Jean Dumas de St. Martin and Alexandre Dumas in 1751; and Antoine-Libéral Dumas (Alexandre's younger brother) the next year. After the conquest all three remained at Quebec where the two brothers married Catholic women, both apparently renouncing their Protestant faith temporarily for this purpose: Alexandre, who had had a notorious affair with Madame Pierre Revol in 1757, abjured in Autumn 1760 in order to marry Josephite Laroche, widow of Jean Requiem, a sea-captain, on 6 October 1760.⁵⁷ And Antoine-Libéral abjured on 17 July 1761 in order to marry Marguerite Cureux on 27 October 1761.⁵⁸ In 1768 Dumas de St. Martin was made judge in Montreal where he died at the age of 61 on 18 June 1794. After an association with the Forges St. Maurice, Alexandre Dumas became a notary and then, from 1797 to 1800, member for Dorchester in the provincial assembly. The children whom he had by his three wives he baptized variously Catholic and Protestant; he himself was buried in the Protestant cemetery at Quebec, where he had died on 11 July 1822.⁵⁹ In 1755, Alexandre Dumas had been associated with a certain Antoine Fraisse Delon, also *négociant* at Quebec, and also from the Montauban region. Five years before that, a certain Catherine Delon had gone to Canada as the wife of a Montauban Huguenot *négociant*, Jean-Antoine Fraisse (or Fresse), whose younger brother, Pierre Fraisse, was working in Quebec as clerk to the Protestant partnership of Delanne and Gauthier.⁶⁰

Pierre Delannes and Jean-Jacques Gauthier, both from Montauban, had sailed to Quebec separately in 1749 and 1752, and they both returned there after the British conquest. According to the Intendant at Montauban, they were one of the Montauban families which prospered in Canada, trading with three firms of Montauban, Mariette *l'ainé*, Rauly *frères* and Dumas.⁶¹ In 1755 Delannes bought property near Montauban through the agency of his sister, Ester, a Montauban resident.⁶² Jean-

⁵⁷ P.R.O., H.C.A., 32/215: captain of the schooner, *La Mazette*, 120 tons, captured on 20 May 1757 *en route* from Bordeaux to Quebec, Jean Requiem de la Tremblade was listed as aged 33, born on the Ile d'Oleron and established at Quebec for the past seven years. The owners of his ship were Lefebvre & Co. of Longueville and Montreal.

⁵⁸ Marcel TRUDEL, *L'Église canadienne sous le régime militaire 1759-1764*, (Quebec: 1956), vol. I, p. 183.

⁵⁹ Dumas de RAULY, "Extraits d'un livre de raison de la famille Dumas de Negrepelisse, dite de Lacaze," *Bulletin archéologique et historique de la société archéologique de Tarn et Garonne*, Montauban, tome XI (1883), p. 111; P.G. ROY, "Le Faux-Saunier Pierre Revol," *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, vol. 50 (1944), pp. 227-35.

⁶⁰ *Liste des Protestants....; P.A.C., M^e Bacquerisse* (Louisbourg) 2 Aug. 1755 and 2 Apr. 1756.

⁶¹ *Bib. Ars.*, Bastille mss. 12, 145 fol. 191 and fol. 329 (Intendant to Sartine 3 Oct. 1762). Gauthier sailed to Quebec on *L'Astrée* of Bordeaux by *passport* registered on 17 May 1752 (A.D. Gironde 6 B 51).

⁶² A. D. Tarn and Garonne, M^e Hucafol (Montauban) 7 Dec. 1755 and 20 Dec. 1761.

Jacques Gauthier was born in Montauban about 1717, son of a Protestant merchant draper, Antoine Gauthier, and his wife, Marthe Duroy, who owned property at Negrepelisse and elsewhere in the Montauban region. In 1746 he married Claire Dumas, daughter of a Montauban *négociant*, Marc Dumas, and his wife, Marie de Raully. To further cement the family union with the Dumas family, Jean-Jacques' brother, Pierre Gauthier, married Claire's sister, Elizabeth Dumas.⁶³

Four more names must be added to this catalogue of Montauban Protestant merchants in Canada: Rouffio, Lacaze, Malroux and Senilh. The Rouffio brothers, Jean who went to Canada in 1749 and Joseph who sailed out in 1753, were from a large prosperous family of Villenouvelle, the wealthiest suburb of Montauban, sons of Jacques Rouffio and Marie (?) Negre, and, according to the Intendant at Montauban, they did quite well in Canada.⁶⁴ Jean Lacaze, who first went to Quebec in 1754 as clerk to the Rouffio brothers, was the second son of three born to a Montauban merchant, Jean Lacaze, and his wife, Anne Negre, who had married in January 1720. He was almost certainly related to the Rouffio brothers through the two female sides of their families. The paternal grandparents, Bernard Lacaze, *marchand*, and Marthe Gausse, had been Protestants of Flamarens, near Montauban, and the maternal grandparents, Jean Negre, *marchand*, and Marie Gex, were Protestants of Montauban. Jean Lacaze's brother, also called Jean, became "manufacturier de Villenouvelle de Fossart de Montauban" and his younger brother, Jean-Pierre, a *marchand* also of Villenouvelle. The three sons inherited considerable property near Montauban after the father's death in 1750.⁶⁵ Antoine Malroux, who first went to Canada in 1749 as clerk to a *négociant* called Jean-Pascal Taché, was described in the Bordeaux *amirauté* registers on 20 March 1755 as being thirty years of age, a native and resident of Montauban, "taille moyenne, cheveux noir, portant perruque, ancien catholique," and going to Quebec on business.⁶⁶ By then he was doing business on his own with such people as Pierre Baour, a Protestant merchant of Bordeaux. Finally, Joseph Senilh was a Protestant merchant from Caussade-en-Quercy, not far from Montauban, who sailed to Canada from Bordeaux in 1752 on *Le César* (Captain Etienne Dassié), at the age of 23 and was buried there on 13 August 1764, the first Huguenot to be buried in the Quebec Catholic

⁶³ A. D. Tarn and Garonne, M^e Hucafol (Montauban) 25 Mar. and 23 July 1746 Gauthier's marriage contract, and 1 Nov. 1756.

⁶⁴ *Bib. Ars. Bastille* mss 12, 145, fol. 329, (Intendant to Sartine 3 Oct. 1762.) Tanguay, *Dict.* says (VII p. 45) that Joseph married Louise Joseph Caddé (born 1736) at Quebec on 8 April 1755.

⁶⁵ A. D. Tarn et Garonne, M^e Vignarte (Montauban), 12 Jan. 1720; M^e Delmas (Montauban) 4 Aug. 1750, 46 pp.

⁶⁶ A. D. Gironde, 6 B 52* R.A.P.Q. 1949-51, p. 302. Taché was born in 1697 at Garganvillars near Montauban and settled at Quebec in 1730 where he died in 1768.

cemetery. He traded mostly with his brother, Jean-Pierre Senilh, a *négociant* of Montauban, who may also have been at Quebec in 1757, but his family in Montauban was related by marriage to two other Protestant families which traded with Canada, Delon and Mariette.⁶⁷

Other names could no doubt be added to this list of Protestant families trading in Canada by a little labour in French archives, but there is also a different group of Protestant *négociants* to be identified. These were the men who were not trading regularly with Canada in the 1750s and yet dispatched ships to Quebec with food, men and munitions in the crisis of the Seven Years' War. At least four of them were from Protestant families and three of these were themselves known to be Protestant.

The one who fitted out the most ships for Canada — a dozen or more in 1759 — was Pierre Desclaux, who acted as Bordeaux correspondent for the royal *munitionnaire* in Canada, Joseph Cadet. He fitted out ships for Cadet, found cargoes for the ships which Cadet himself sent from Quebec and signed on crews and *engagés* for Canada.⁶⁸ Pierre Desclaux de Latane was born on 10 October 1688 into a substantial Protestant family of Tonneins, near Bordeaux, able to hold head to the Catholic persecution of the time. The *État des nouveaux convertis de Tonneins* complained of Pierre's father (also called Pierre.),

Sieur Pierre Desclaux, avocat, fils de Cornette Desclaux et sa femme, trois sœurs et un frère ne sont point confessés et ne vont jamais à l'église. Il a deux autres frères au service du Prince d'Orange et une sœur hors du royaume. Cette maison est scandaleuse.⁶⁹

This notorious Protestantism did not prevent the son from qualifying as "bourgeois et marchand" of Bordeaux in August 1723 and again in March 1731, and on 28 August 1739 acquiring the royal office of *Secrétaire du Roi* which conferred nobility on him. His own Protestant marriage produced seven children of whom at least four themselves married into Protestant families of merchants: Laffon de Ladebat, Bethmann, Sigal and Desclaux de Lacoste (a cousin). Finally, Desclaux's will was signed by other Protestant friends as witnesses: Marc Chauvin, David Thouron, Pierre Menoire. Simon Jauge and others.⁷⁰

One of these witnesses, Simon Jauge, was himself an exporter to Quebec in the 1740s and 1750s. Most of his goods were sent on other men's ships, such as *La Fleur du Jour* in 1747, *Le St. Victor* and *Le Bien*

⁶⁷ A. D. Gironde, 6 B 51* (14 Apr. 1752); M^e Rauzan (Bordeaux) 28 Aug. 1766; A. D. Tarn et Garonne, M^e Delmas (Montauban) 1752; M^e Dupré (Montauban) 1 June 1758; Marcel TRUDEL, *L'Église canadienne sous le régime militaire*, vol. I, p. 180; P.R.O., HCA 32/223 part I, bill of lading from *La Magdeleine*, one of Cadet's ships.

⁶⁸ See above note 7.

⁶⁹ A. D. Lot et Garonne (Agen), series J, fonds Lagrange-Ferreques II.

⁷⁰ A. D. Gironde, M^e Guy (Bordeaux) 19 May 1760, Desclaux died near the end of December 1759.

Aimé in 1748, but in 1755 he owned a quarter interest in *Le Grand St. Ursin* and fitted it out for a voyage to Quebec and back; and in the Seven Years' War he fitted out at least two ships of his own for Canada: *La Marquise de Gallifet* in 1757 and *La Judith* in 1758. Like Desclaux, he signed on *engagés* to go out and work in Quebec for Cadet, for example, three young journeymen bakers in 1757.⁷¹ He came from one of the old Huguenot families of Sainte-Foy (Dordogne) where he was born on 28 September 1709; and on 24 February 1740 he married Judith Rocaute whose father, Pierre Rocaute, was a Bordeaux merchant and whose mother, Marie Delacroix, was the sister of a prominent La Rochelle merchant, all Protestants. So successful was he that in April 1781 he was able to give his son, Theodore Jauge, 100,000 *livres* to set himself up as partner and son-in-law of a well-known Paris banker, Jean-Louis Cottin, and when Simon Jauge died the following year (and was buried by the Protestant congregation of Bordeaux on 5 April 1782) he left a fortune of more than 480,000 *livres*. He had received letters of nobility from the Crown shortly before his death.⁷²

Jauge's Protestant faith marked even his sailing orders to the Captain of *La Marquise de Gallifet*, bound for Quebec in 1757. Most merchants confined their sailing orders to the business of sailing the ship and disposing of the cargo, but the first two of Jauge's twenty-five clauses reads:

1. Que Monsieur Allegret fera assembler soir et matin son équipage pour faire la prière étant plus agréable à Dieu lorsque plusieurs sont assemblés en son nom, suivant les préceptes que Jésus Christ a laissé.
2. S'il y a quelque Protestant qui voulut faire sa prière en particulier, il ne faut point l'en empêcher, mais prier unanimement ce grand Dieu, de préserver de tout accident et d'accorder sa protection et sa bénédiction sans laquelle nul ne peut subsister. Il ne faut pas souffrir de blasphémateurs et punir sévèrement ceux qui renieront le saint nom de Dieu.⁷³

A third merchant of Bordeaux who helped to supply Canada during the Seven Years' War was Pierre Baour, who sent out goods on various ships and in 1758 fitted out five ships for Quebec himself with a total capacity of 1,400 tons. The principal merchants he dealt with at Quebec were Jean Lacaze, Antoine Malroux and the firm of Lannes (or Delannes) and Gauthier, all originally from the Montauban region and all Huguenots, and the Derit from Bergerac whom I have already identified as Protestant. Baour himself is said to have come from a Huguenot family of

⁷¹ A. D. Gironde, M^e Guy (Bordeaux) 1 Apr. 1757.

⁷² Bordeaux city archives, fonds Delpit, 121; and Arnaud COMMUNAY, *Les Grands négociants bordelais au XVIII^e siècle* (Bordeaux: 1888), pp. 79-80.

⁷³ P.R.O., H.C.A. 32/216 pt. II, sailing orders dated 19 April 1757.

Castres (Tarn) and married into the Balguerie family, well-known Protestant merchants at Bordeaux.⁷⁴

Fourthly, the firm of *Veuve Courrejolles*, consisting of the widow and some of her sons whom I believe to have belonged to a Protestant family, acted as Cadet's agent at the port of Bayonne and dispatched ships of their own to Canada during the Seven Years' War. They sent more ships from Bayonne to Quebec during the crisis years than anyone else. In 1758, they fitted out *L'Orignal* and *La Julie*, and in February 1759 they sent off three ships for Cadet, *L'Aimable Marthe*, *Le Soleil Royal* and *L'Espérance*.⁷⁵ Like most other merchants, *Veuve Courrejolles* was mainly interested in West Indian trade, and the flurry of shipping to Canada in the war years was probably in response to the appeals of the Crown and of Bernard Courrejolles who was working for Cadet in Quebec. This member of the family, who sailed to Quebec in 1753 on *Le César* at the age of twenty-four with a younger brother, Gabriel, would be difficult to identify, for the family ramified in a baffling way with branches in Bayonne, Bordeaux, Damazan (Lot-et-Garonne) and other places in southwestern France.⁷⁶ Let us here set forth only the evidence for calling the family Protestant.

The *Veuve Courrejolles* of the firm was a certain Jeanne Dinarre, born at "Saint Pé de la Diocèse de Mousant", who in 1724 had married a master hatter of Bayonne called Gabriel Courrejolles.⁷⁷ He died on 18 December 1740 leaving her with at least five children of her own and one of his first wife's, and with them she carried on the business which by then seems to have grown from making hats to trading in them, in the raw materials for them and in general trans-Atlantic shipping. At his death, Gabriel Courrejolles was 52 years old, for he had been born on 1 February 1688 in the little town of Damazan on a canal not very far from Agen, son of Pierre Courrejolles, master hatter, and his wife, Jeanne Durand. Now these parents' names appeared in a list of Protestants who abjured in Damazan in September 1685 under the terrible threats unleashed by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.⁷⁸ But there is good reason to believe

⁷⁴ Édouard FERET, *Statistique générale... du Département de la Gironde*, vol. III, Biographie (Bordeaux: 1889); Bordeaux city archives, Protestant registers of Bordeaux, 5 Feb. 1778, 20 Apr. 1789; A. D. Gironde, M^e Rauzan (Bordeaux) 3 Feb. 1759.

⁷⁵ Bayonne Chamber of Commerce, archives, B 40, fol. 257.

⁷⁶ F. JAUPART, "L'Activité commerciale et maritime de Bayonne au XVIII^e siècle." *Société des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Bayonne*, 1968, No. 119, p. 921; A. D. Pyrénées Atlantiques (Pau), Bayonne parish registers 8 Mar. 1807 (death of Martin Courrejolles, aged 77, merchant, son of Gabriel and Marie Diharce (or Dinarre); and M^e Lesseps père (Bayonne) 8 Jan. 1761, 29 Dec. 1759, 11 Sept. 1761 and 23 Oct. 1770.

⁷⁷ Bayonne city archives, marriage registers 7 Feb. 1724.

⁷⁸ Bayonne city archives, death registers 18 Dec. 1740; A. D. Lot et Garonne (Agen), E suppl. 2572-2573, Damazan parish registers, 5 Feb. 1688; P. DUBOURC, *Histoire de Damazan depuis le XI^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours* (Villeneuve sur Lot: 1911), p. 164.

that this conversion was merely for safety and convenience and far from permanent. When, in 1714, Jeanne Courrejolles of Damazan married a man from Tonneins, one of the witnesses was "Pierre Desclaux, amy de l'Époux..." whom we know to have been Protestant.⁷⁹ Furthermore, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the births, marriages and deaths of the Bordeaux branch of the family, who were also merchants, appear in the Protestant registers of Bordeaux.⁸⁰ The Huguenot tradition was not lightly thrown aside in these merchant families. Whatever the religious convictions of the *Veuve* Courrejolles and her son most active in the firm, Jacques-Paul Courrejolles, their family had been Protestant a generation earlier and was probably still so in great measure.

To sum up, the Protestant *négociants* at Quebec grew in numbers after the War of Austrian Succession, which ended in 1748, and may have been preponderant in Franco-Canadian trade by the time Quebec fell in September 1759. They came to Quebec as agents, usually sons or brothers also, of Huguenot family firms established at La Rochelle, Bordeaux or Montauban. Seven of the eight firms Choiseul and Sartine thought worth consulting in 1762 were Protestant and all were from those three cities. The Rouen Huguenot firms of Le Vieux and Dugard had agents at Quebec in 1741, but none at all by the time the Seven Years' War broke out in 1756. By then, all the Huguenot merchants, even Havy, Lefebvre and Levêque who came from Normandy, were associated with the trading companies of the three southwestern French cities or of towns near them. Most of the families who sent members to Quebec came from small towns in the southwest and gravitated to one of the three cities for business reasons, though Augier the brandy merchant remained at Tonnay-Charente on the Charente River, just above Rochefort, where he could best receive brandy from Cognac, Angoulême and other towns further up the river. They seem to have sent their sons to the colony in an effort to establish their businesses and, indeed, Huguenot families which kept no one at Quebec were glad to employ the Quebec agents to receive and send ships and shipments. Such were Garesché, Giraudeau, Ranson, Rasteau, Perdriau, Aliés and Veysière at La Rochelle; Desclaux, Jauge, Baour, Garrisson, Goudal, Pecholier, Oualle, Faure Lacaussade and Liquart at Bordeaux; and Mariette, Raully and Delon at Montauban. These firms shipped goods to Canada, some regularly, some only occasionally, using the agency of the Protestant merchants there instead of themselves sending agents.

As with Catholic merchants, some of the Huguenots stayed for long periods in Quebec as we have shown, but others came only for brief visits

⁷⁹ A. D. Lot et Garonne, Damazan parish registers 26 June 1714.

⁸⁰ Bordeaux city archives, Protestant registers 12 July 1750, 9 Aug. 1758, 17 Aug. 1759, 14 Feb. 1774 etc.

of a season or two. The Quebec census for 1744 lists at least two "marchand — forain Huguenot" of whom I found no other trace at Quebec: a certain Pierre de Jarnac, then aged 28, who died at La Rochelle in June 1752 leaving a widow, Marguerite-Magdeleine Rabotteau; and Jean-Adam Mounier, then aged 22, listed as living with Jean-Mathieu Mounier, whom I have already discussed in these pages. Although not identified as Protestant, "le Sieur Jean Licquart, negotiant," then living at Quebec in the rue Saint-Pierre, was perhaps from a Huguenot family of Bordeaux. The impression to be gained from a reflection on all the sources of information is that Protestant merchants, like others, might make frequent trips back and forth across the Atlantic.⁸¹

The Huguenots traded with anyone, Protestant or Catholic; Catholics sent cargoes on Protestant ships and *vice versa*. But when it came to forming companies and inter-marrying, the two religious groups remained largely separate and exclusive. There were, it is true, a few exceptions. Pierre-Gabriel Admyrauld of La Rochelle was in business with Catholic agents at Quebec; and Wilhelm-Christian Emmerth, another Protestant *négociant* of La Rochelle (originally from Hamburg and with an English wife), was closely associated with the Quebec banking and trading firm of the Martins, (Barthelemy and Jean-Baptiste-Tropez), who appear to have been Catholics from Marseille, where they returned after the British conquest of Canada.⁸² At least three Huguenot *négociants* who spent years at Quebec abjured to marry Catholic women: Jean Grelleau the elder, and the two Dumas brothers. Other examples could be found, but they, too, would be exceptional. It is not too much to say that there was a considerable network of Protestant enterprise carrying on trade with Canada, especially during the last decade of the French regime.

⁸¹ "Le Recensement de Québec en 1744," *Rapport des Archives du Québec*, 1939-40, pp. 3-154; and A. D. Char. Mar. M^e Solleau (La Rochelle) 14 June 1752, *inventaire après le décès de Pierre de Jarnac*.

⁸² Jean-Baptiste-Tropez was son of Charles-Bruno Martin, *bourgeois de Marseille* and of Anne Praxede Caussemille. On 18 Jan. 1771 in Paris, he contracted to marry Barbe-Magdeleine D'Hillaire de la Rochette, daughter of Charles-Robert D'Hillaire, *écuyer*, and Elizabeth Martin. Among the witnesses were her brother, Alexandre-Robert D'Hillaire de la Rochette, *écuyer, agent des colonies* etc. and his wife, Marie-Anne Le Vasseur. But on 24 Aug. 1752, in Quebec, Barthelemy Martin had contracted to marry Marie-Françoise-Renée Levasseur. Another of the witnesses to J.B.T. Martin's marriage contract was Pierre-Gabriel Admyrauld (A.N. *minutier central des notaires*, étude IV, 18 January 1771).