

FRENCH PORTS AND NORTH AMERICA BEFORE 1627:
THE VIEW FROM LA ROCHELLE¹

INTRODUCTION

Much new detail about the founding of New France has come to light in the century or more since 1892 when Francis Parkman (1823-93) finished his epic study, *France and England in North America*.² In the past decade, a more up-to-date history has become established as standard: this is Marcel Trudel's *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, and the present generation of readers in English have been able to choose from two general studies essentially derived from it.³ These are Professor Trudel's shorter volume in the well-known Canadian Centenary Series of Canadian History, and a more general work by W. J. Eccles, *France in America*, in a revised edition of 1990.⁴ However, Trudel and Eccles have supplanted Parkman and his followers not only by filling out the story with new details: they have also taken a different view of the religious conflicts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Parkman's opinion was that the policy of preventing French Protestants from settling in New France was a mistake as well as being unfair, and that opinion was shared by others, such as François-Xavier Garneau (1809-1866) and G. M. Wrong (1860-1948).⁵

For them, the exclusion of the Huguenots by the authoritarian régime of Church and State was among the reasons for the failure of the colony to develop as rapidly and freely as New England did in the same period. Now Trudel and Eccles tell us that the Huguenots were a divisive, egotistical, untrustworthy element which the crown justifiably kept away from the serious business of colonizing.⁶ They hampered the Jesuit missionaries. They showed no sign of wishing to found colonies in North America, and they were too friendly with the Dutch and English rival powers. "Their obstructive tactics," Eccles wrote, "led Cardinal Richelieu, now [ca 1627] the King's first minister, to exclude them from New France. Future events were to justify this decision."⁷

One may say, with only a little simplification, that this is a view from Québec which is now widely accepted as a replacement of Parkman's view from Boston, Massachusetts. This Trudel-Eccles view, like the colony of New France itself, is essentially Roman Catholic in its orientation. As such, it is by definition a one-sided view for it takes no account of the way things looked to the defeated Huguenots or to the Protestant Dutch and English who settled in North America to the south of New France. It is concordant with such interpretations as that of Abbé Lionel Groulx (1878-1967), who in 1947 founded the *Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, which still publishes the principal historical journal of the province of Québec, *La Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*. With his personal blend of Québec nationalism and catholicism Groulx wrote, in his *Histoire du Canada*,

In the management [of the Company of New France, 1627] the mercantile element was no longer dominant; the company was now assigned disinterested objectives: trade, no doubt, but above all colonization and evangelization. It [the company] fixed the colony's religious character in a definitive manner. The Huguenots were banished. New France was to be populated – as the *Acte of establishment* expressly stipulated – by "naturels François catholiques".⁸

In the books of all of these Canadian historians, making sense of the French colonizing process quickly leads the authors to justifying what was done, and this habit of justification has become part of the generally-accepted account of early Canadian history. New France in its first phase is viewed, as it were, from Québec.

But how does it look when viewed from La Rochelle? The question is pertinent because Church and State crushed La Rochelle in the siege of 1627-28 at the very time they were founding the Company of New France; indeed, Louis XIII and Richelieu signed the founding documents in their camp with the besieging armies out in the little province of Aunis.⁹ La Rochelle was the last bastion in France of the heretical forces that were being overcome. Banishing Huguenots from New France and crushing La Rochelle were two parts of the same missionary process. Furthermore, the French port and the Canadian colony were thenceforward linked in trade until the end of the French régime in Canada in 1763. In view of these connections, one might have expected histories of Canada to give a full account of the Huguenots and the part they played in New France during the early years. For, as David Quinn expressed it, "The activities of both France and England in North America must be seen against the background at home."¹⁰ But here a difficulty arises: in their efforts to make sense of the colonizing process, Trudel and Eccles mention La Rochelle and other French ports only incidentally. Their narratives explain the comings and goings of ships, identify the people who sent ships or travelled in them, lay out the colonial geography and focus on each settlement, but all at the expense of the French history. The Huguenot populations of La Rochelle, Rouen and other ports remain unexplained, and their point of view is never allowed to intrude. They are brought into the picture only briefly like pieces of scenery in the background.

There might be good grounds for including La Rochelle's side of the story merely to explain what disappeared in and after the siege of 1627-28, or even as a chivalrous gesture towards the fallen. Winners who write history as one of their rewards might, in all conscience, spare a page or two for the losers. In the case of the Huguenots in North America, however, there is an even better reason to tell their early story: they lost in the conflict of 1627-28 but they won in 1759-60 and sometimes even in the struggles leading up to that climax. In the Irish war of 1689-91 the commander-in-chief of the army that defeated the French and Irish forces was a Huguenot, Armand-Frédéric, Comte de Schomberg (1619-90).¹¹ Another Huguenot officer who distinguished himself in that war was Henri de Massue, Marquis de Ruvigny, then rewarded with the title of Viscount Galway, who went on serving the English crown in war and diplomacy and as Lord Justice of Ireland until his death in 1720.¹² Five regiments of Huguenot soldiers fought against France at various times during the years 1689-1713; they were the Protestant counterpart of the thousands of Irish Catholic soldiers fighting on the French side.¹³ In the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1713), Jean-Louis Ligonier (1680-1770), another Huguenot refugee, served as a company commander in the English army and advanced rapidly as a commissioned officer.¹⁴

Half a century later, Ligonier was the commander-in-chief of the British army when French forces were defeated at Québec in 1759 and Canada became part of the British Empire. Many other Huguenots fought against France in the rank and file of the British army. From the beginning of these British conquests, Huguenots served as administrators in the defeated French colonies. Paul Mascarene (c.1684-1760) was posted in Acadia when it was occupied in 1710; Hector Theophilus Cramahé (1720-88), Henry Bouquet (1719-65) and François-Louis-Frédéric Haldimand (1718-91) were only three of the several officers with authority in Canada during the 1760s. Furthermore, the British régime in Canada, though tolerant in the best eighteenth-century manner, broke the powers of the French Church and State that had been established there in 1627-28. The Jesuits were exiled. The Catholic clergy lost the great influence they had held in government and society as *le premier État* in the Bourbon kingdom. A free press, beginning with the *Québec Gazette* (1764), was established for the first time. Catholics were not allowed to hold public office lest they use their authority

in the service of a foreign power. Merchants in general had a voice in government such as they had long had in England and the Netherlands but not in Bourbon France. Merchants from the British Isles and their American colonies came crowding into Montreal. Some Huguenot merchants from La Rochelle stayed on in Canada after 1763 to become British subjects.¹⁵ From the Protestant point of view, English forces could be said to have done something to make up for their bungling efforts, under the Duke of Buckingham, to save La Rochelle in 1627.

These details cannot be said to show that the British conquest brought a better régime to New France, for the benefits of the Conquest are matters of opinion.¹⁶ What they do show is that the Conquest inaugurated a régime such as might have developed in the seventeenth century but for the events of 1627-28; that is, the siege of La Rochelle, the creation of the Company of New France and all that went with them. A cosmopolitan society of shipping merchants, a "Protestant international", already existed at the time Québec was founded in 1608, indeed much earlier.¹⁷ Notwithstanding the official monopoly companies, private French merchants were usually able to trade with the New World more or less as they wished until 1627-28.¹⁸ The clergy protested, but Church and State did little to prevent Québec from developing as part of the cosmopolitan Atlantic world wherein people of all the seafaring nations, Protestant and Catholic, fished and traded. Several French companies were of mixed religious composition, and a specialist in the history of Rouen finds that the shareholders in the commercial companies trading with the New World there "in the early seventeenth century were almost exclusively Protestants".¹⁹ As late as 27 November 1620 a Huguenot, Guillaume Decaen, formed a company under the vice-roy, Henri duc de Montmorency, and secured a monopoly of the Canada trade for eleven years.²⁰ His was the last of its kind, but when it was formed French trade with North America was still part of a cosmopolitan system. This is a fact that is not obvious and not widely known. It needs to be shown in detail that Church and State had not yet imposed their jealous monopoly on ports and colonies, and that the posts being established in the new French colonies were linked in trade with the Protestant Dutch and English and with various European cities. Quebec, Montreal and Port-Royal might have developed in the same environment as Boston, Salem and New York.

PROTESTANT MERCHANTS BEFORE THE CONQUEST OF 1627-28

One of the circumstances favorable to cosmopolitan seaborne trade was that Spain was losing its commercial advantages to its northern competitors, especially the United Provinces of the Netherlands. The upward trend of Spanish trans-Atlantic trade reached a plateau between 1593 and 1622 and fell between 1623 and 1650.²¹ Earlier, in the middle sixteenth century, Catholic Antwerp in the Spanish Netherlands had been the financial centre and the entrepot for the thriving traffic linking the ports of the North Sea, the Baltic, and the Atlantic. But Antwerp was ruined after its fall to the Duke of Parma in 1585 and soon lost its dominant position to Protestant Amsterdam. The vast and growing commercial empire built up by Dutch businessmen began to reach out to North America and to take French ports into its orbit.²²

Protestant Dutch merchants were numerous at certain French ports where they engaged in the North America trade. Their activities show how cosmopolitan that trade was. German and Dutch interests in the Canadian fur trade, largely Protestant, were established in the sixteenth century, and although they were to be maintained throughout the age of New France, they were particularly strong before 1627. Here is an aspect of the cosmopolitan trade of the "Protestant international" in that period. We find, for example, that Pierre Dugua de

Mons, a Huguenot from Saintonge with a monopoly of the trade with New France for some years, was doing business in Amsterdam easily and frequently even before his lieutenant, Samuel de Champlain, founded a permanent settlement at Québec.²³ Furs brought to La Rochelle were often sold to merchants of Cologne, Amsterdam and other towns in Germany and Holland. Jean Macain, a Huguenot of La Rochelle, sent beaver to Koenigsberg in 1603.²⁴

Among the biggest fur traders in the early years were members of a Protestant German-Dutch clan, scattered but working closely together. This clan included the Jabach, Hunthum (alias Hontom), Vogels, and Duysterloo families linked by marriage alliances as well as business partnerships; the two went together, as usual in early modern times.²⁵ Their business headquarters were at Cologne, though the all-important Jabach family seems to have come from Antwerp. It was the Duysterloo branch of the family who worked most closely with the French-Canadian fur trade. Henrick Duysterloo (1548-1602) traded at Middelburg from 1593 to 1600 and then at Amsterdam where he died in 1615. He married twice into the families of business partners, first Margareta Jabach, who died in 1613, and then Anne Pelgrom whom he married at the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam on 2 January 1614.

His son, Henrick II Duysterloo, born at Middelburg to Margareta Jabach, went to join a cousin in Paris and there became naturalized French in 1615. This cousin, himself naturalized French in 1607, was Mathias (alias Mathijs and Mathieu) Duysterloo, born at Cologne c.1569 perhaps to the above-mentioned Mathias Duysterloo (1548-1602) and Catharina Jabach. At all events, this Mathias Duysterloo had been buying and selling Canadian furs in Paris since 1607, if not earlier, living at various addresses in the parish of Saint-Leu-et-Saint-Gilles. He was the clan's most prominent fur trader, at least from the French and Canadian point of view, and went on in the trade until 1648, perhaps later. He dealt with many agents, some of them relatives and most of them Dutch or German, in nearly every big town in western Europe. His principal partners in the fur trade were, of course, his relatives, *Jean Hontom, Evrard Jabach & Co.*²⁶

Several more Netherlanders were active in the North America trades at Rouen which was not far from the Netherlands or from Germany. One of the first was Corneille de Bellois, a Dutchman who had settled at Rouen and gallicized his name. As early as 1570 he joined a French company formed to fish off Newfoundland, and from 1604 to 1608 he was a member of Pierre Dugua de Mons's fur-trading company, helping to fit out two ships in most years. From 1613 to 1620, he was a member of Samuel Champlain's *Compagnie du Canada*.²⁷ Other examples abound in the records, such as Lodewicz Vermeulen (alias Louis Vermeulles), a "Flamand" who settled at Rouen and took up the Canada trade.²⁸ For five years beginning about 1607, Vermeulen and another merchant at Rouen, Jehan Andries, traded in Canadian furs in partnership with Arnout Vogels of the Jabach clan, then living in Amsterdam.²⁹ Many of the Amsterdam merchants in these overseas ventures were, like some of the above, Protestant refugees from the southern Netherlands conquered by Spanish forces in the 1580s. Prominent among these was a rich Lutheran, Lambert Van Tweenhuysen, born at Zwolle in 1564. He owned a soap factory, dealt in pearls, and traded with Istanbul, Africa, Norway and other parts of Europe as well as with North America.

In 1613, *Van Tweenhuysen & Cie* sent ships to the Hudson River, and they were one of the strongest groups in the founding of the New Netherlands Company in 1614 to exploit the lands between Virginia and New England. Here was a commercial enterprise linking New France and New Netherlands, the future colony of New York. As might be expected, merchants and sailors from the Netherlands, often with strong French connections, explored and traded, occasionally raided, on the coasts of New France. For instance, in 1606 eight Amsterdam merchants sent a Dutch ship, the *Witte Leeuw*, to fish and trade in New France

and she caused a furor by behaving like a privateer, seizing two French ships and otherwise being aggressive.³⁰ The supercargo on that expedition was a certain Nicolas de Bauquemaure, another Netherlander who had settled at Rouen in the large community of foreign Protestant merchants there.³¹ It was he who, on 1 January 1606, had engaged three Amsterdam merchants to send the *Witte Leeuw* to seek furs in Canada.³² Dutch and German merchants who had settled in Paris continued to buy much of the Canadian and Acadian fur landed at French ports. Later, in the middle of the seventeenth century, a certain Evrard Jabach and a German merchant, Jean de Licht, established in Paris, were buying Canadian furs through Le Havre.³³ By then, however, they and their kind had lost any influence they might have had earlier on New France itself.

During the cosmopolitan phase of colonizing, before 1627-28, men from the British Isles also took part in early French expeditions to New France. Conversely, Huguenots were active in British trade. As early as 1570, Miles Quensson, a Bristol merchant, paid for half of the fitting out of *L'Espérance* sailing from La Rochelle to the Newfoundland banks under captain Guillaume Allene of Marseille.³⁴ In 1593 a certain Steven de Bocall, a Basque Huguenot with considerable experience of the gulf of St Lawrence, worked for Peter Hill and Thomas James of Bristol on the two ships they sent to fish for walrus near Newfoundland and the Magdalen Islands.³⁵ In 1594, Bocall piloted a ship from Bristol to Newfoundland and Anticosti Island. He left England after that, but remained in touch with his English friends. In 1609, the captain of one of Gravé du Pont's ships en route for New France was a Scot, William Douglas (alias "Guillaume Duglas"). We learn of another Scot, "Guillaume Stuart parlant et entendant la langue française", who in 1618 borrowed 69 livres and in 1621 some 36 livres, both at 25 per cent interest in Rouen, to trade in Canada from du Pont's ship, *Le Salamandre*.³⁶ David Kirke (later Sir David Kirke) and his brothers grew up in Dieppe, another port with a large Huguenot population, where their father, Gervase Kirke, was in the North America trade.³⁷ Like others, the Kirke family dealt in furs in several countries, even with Mediterranean ports. In January 1624 David Kirke was at La Rochelle settling accounts with a merchant of Saintes nearby with whom he seems to have done much trade.³⁸ In the cosmopolitan world of trans-Atlantic business at that time the Kirke brothers thought nothing of joining a company of London merchants who were planning to seize the French bases in New France. They were the famous Kirke family who captured Québec and other French bases in North America in 1628 and 1629.

La Rochelle was the French port most representative of the Protestant Atlantic in that age. As an official memorandum put it later, in 1698, "That province [of Aunis] was infected with heresy more than any other in the kingdom...the people sucked in the pernicious doctrine of Calvin with their mothers's milk."³⁹ At La Rochelle, two merchants in particular dominated the early fur trade with North America: Jean Macain and his relative, Samuel Georges, both Huguenots. Little is known of them, but Macain probably came to La Rochelle from Saint Martin on the Ile-de-Ré nearby.⁴⁰ He had married a certain Anne Georges on 15 December 1591, and her brother, Samuel Georges, was his partner in trade. Until Macain's death in 1626 or 1627 they shared a house in the centre of La Rochelle on the rue de la Taulpinerie (alias rue Saint-Yon). Typically of merchants in the trans-Atlantic trades, Samuel and Anne Georges were not born at La Rochelle: they may have come from Chinon on the River Loire where a certain Guillaume Georges, *receveur des tailles*, died in 1617 leaving as his heirs Samuel Georges's nephew, David Lomeron, and a certain Charles Georges, *procureur au Parlement de Paris*. This seems all the more likely, because the David Lomeron born at Chinon traded at La Rochelle with Samuel Georges for many years and crossed the Atlantic many times. Meanwhile, Samuel Georges married Marie Erault and they had a son, Samuel II

Georges, who later also traded with New France. These were the principal La Rochelle merchants in this trade during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. But from time to time others, mainly Huguenots, invested in it, such as Étienne Moreau, Daniel Bodier, Jean Prou originally from Marennes, Arnaud Dorliac sieur du Petit-Plomb, and Joseph de Piccissary, probably from Bayonne.⁴¹

Such details as are known—and we have to take into account whatever fragments of information survive—show La Rochelle's trade with North America to have been remarkably independent. Macain and Georges had little or no share in the early colonizing ventures promoted at Norman and Breton ports in 1583 by a Rouen merchant, Étienne Bellenger, and in 1597 and 1598 by Troilus de Mesgouez de la Roche (ca. 1540–ca.1607), nor yet in the fishing, trading, and colonizing expeditions of Pierre Chauvin de Tonnetuit between 1596 and his death on 8 March 1603.⁴² Nor do they seem to have had any part in the early expeditions of François Gravé du Pont (c.1554–after 1629). But in 1599, Jean Macain and Samuel Georges lent 100 *écus* at 27.5 per cent premium to the captain of *La Nostre Dame d'Espérance*, 120 tx., of Ciboure near Saint-Jean-de-Luz, who intended to bring back a cargo of peltries from Gaspé or thereabouts.⁴³ In that same season, Macain also had a one-seventh share in *Le Saint Georges*, 180 tx., dispatched to Canada in quest of peltries.⁴⁴ Yet another vessel, *La Marie* of Saint-Jean-de-Luz, sailed out of La Rochelle in 1599 in search of North American fish and fur.⁴⁵ As early as 1603 Jean Macain was sending Canadian furs to Koenigsberg (Prussia), and Samuel Georges was selling furs in Paris, where he was staying in the rue de la Harpe.⁴⁶ They also traded in Canadian furs in association with Lambert van Tweenhuysen who, for his part, chartered ships on their behalf for Baltic voyages.⁴⁷

The first clear and substantial investment which Macain and Georges made in an official company was 18,000 *livres* which in 1604 they undertook to pay for a one-fifth share in the monopoly company of Pierre Dugua, sieur de Mons. Dugua de Mons was a Huguenot who had been made *Lieutenant général de l'Acadie* by King Henri IV on 8 November 1603.⁴⁸ The other shares were held, one-fifth by de Mons himself, one-fifth by Rouen merchants, and two-fifths by merchants of Saint-Malo. In 1604 the company sent out two ships from Le Havre (Normandy) on 7 April, two from Saint-Malo (Brittany), and one from Saint Jean-de-Luz (Gascony). Macain and Georges signed general agreements with de Mons on 8 January 1603 and 10 February 1604, and on 4 April 1605 Macain signed a charter party for *Le Jonas*, of Honfleur, 150 tx., by which they were to pay part of the cost of sending her to Canada.⁴⁹ Macain advanced 660 *livres* at 27.5 per cent premium, which yielded him a total of 840 *livres* on 17 November 1605. In 1606 they fitted her out at La Rochelle for a voyage to New France on which she carried two passengers, Marc Lescarbot and Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt. On 7 January 1608 Henri IV granted de Mons a one-year monopoly of the trade in North American furs, and on 1 February de Mons engaged Lucas Legendre & Cie., Huguenots of Rouen, to carry it out.⁵⁰

King Henri IV maintained the circumstances in which all of these Huguenots and foreign Protestants traded freely across the Atlantic out of French ports. He was the Protestant leader, Henri of Navarre, as everyone knows, who joined the Catholic Church in 1695 in order to win the French throne as Henri IV. It is less well known that, until his death in 1610, he maintained friendly relations with most of the Protestant countries of northern Europe. On 10 January 1604 a patent was issued in his name for two English vessels, the *Castor and Pollux* and her pinnace, the *Pollux and Castor*, to explore the North American coast as far north as Cape Breton. Financed mainly in London, they sailed under French captains with mixed Anglo-French crews.⁵¹ A French East India Company, formed in 1604, called upon Dutch mariners and shipping merchants, many recruited in the Netherlands by Peter

Lintgens. King Henri's courteous request to the Estates of Holland in 1607 to assist Dugua de Mons by preventing Dutchmen from trading in the St Lawrence River was addressed to them as his "his very dear and good friends, allies and confederates (tres chers et bons amys, alliez et confederez)."⁵² In 1608, Henri IV was still interested in forming a Franco-Dutch trading company.⁵³ In 1609 he threw open the trade of North America to French merchants in general, and it appears that his government raised little or no objection to the many Huguenot and foreign merchants in French cities who took part in the North America trade.⁵⁴ His life-long association with La Rochelle shows that he held it in high esteem.

LA ROCHELLE, BASTION OF THE "PROTESTANT INTERNATIONAL"

La Rochelle, more than any other, was Henri of Navarre's port. His royal parents, Antoine de Bourbon and Jeanne d'Albret, had taken him there in 1558 at the age of four. Again in 1568 as a boy of fourteen, when Béarn was threatened with Catholic invasion, he had been taken for a time to the safety of La Rochelle by his mother. Their presence made La Rochelle the Huguenot capital.⁵⁵ And Henri went there again and again for long visits until the end of 1588, at the conclusion of a Huguenot assembly he had summoned there, when he turned north and crossed the Loire with his armies, not to return.⁵⁶ During the intervening years La Rochelle had naturally been the centre of much Huguenot activity. Admiral Coligny had stayed there for more than a year after the signing of the Peace of Saint-Germain in August 1570. Two years later, a noble refugee from the Massacres of St. Bartholomew's Day (24 August 1572), Gabriel comte de Montgomery, made his way to England where he and other refugees raised money and a fleet to relieve La Rochelle, then besieged by Catholic forces.⁵⁷ Political rivalries in England prevented this fleet from reaching La Rochelle, but these efforts revived the link with England. At that time, some radicals in La Rochelle were even willing to cede their city to England to protect the Protestant religion. La Rochelle was the port through which Henri of Navarre and Elizabeth of England kept in touch during the 1570s and 1580s.⁵⁸ In response to the military campaigns of the 1680s by the Catholic League massively supported by the Pope and by Philip II of Spain, Henri of Navarre turned to the Dutch, with whom Huguenot forces had had an alliance since 1568, to several German states, and to Queen Elizabeth. The city of London lent La Rochelle money on several occasions; this debt totalled £40,000 by 1582, according to a Swiss observer.⁵⁹ Among other requests, Henri asked Elizabeth in a letter of December 1587 to allow English merchants to sail to La Rochelle, "Parce que la ville de La Rochelle a besoing de certain vivres et munitions de guerre".⁶⁰

La Rochelle was able to play its part in the Huguenot campaigns of the sixteenth century because it had become almost an independent city-state. A remote, fortified, Protestant bastion, it had managed to rid itself of feudal seigneurs, of Roman Catholic clergy and even of royal control. "Thus La Rochelle appeared in the kingdom of France," write Trocmé and Delafosse, "as a separate economic and political being. One hesitates to choose formulæ so oft repeated that they have lost their old precision: shall we say a State within the State, a merchant republic?"⁶¹ Like other Protestant parts of the world, especially the Dutch Republic, the British Isles and Swiss and German city-states such as Geneva, Strassburg, Hamburg and Emden, La Rochelle had come to be ruled by oligarchies in which merchant families held a prominent place. All of these gave merchants, and other laymen more power in government. Here was a political development common to several Protestant countries even if they differed over points of religion. Calvinists seemed anti-monarchical, even republican, to Anglicans and Lutherans as well as to Catholics, but all three Protestant societies shared a common difference from Catholics in giving more authority to the laity, less

to the clergy. The elders and other laymen so prominent in the churches of La Rochelle, Amsterdam, Hamburg, London and other Protestant ports, were often merchants. Merchants were represented more and clergy less in town councils, in the Dutch Estates, and in the English Parliament. As a result, the clergy tended to have less authority in Protestant towns than in Catholic towns.

The religious differences between Catholics and Protestants were therefore matched by political differences. Protestant towns, such as Amsterdam, Geneva, La Rochelle, London — and later Boston and New York — had a strong tendency towards self-government that was not characteristic of Catholic towns. John Calvin and his followers were not opposed to monarchy in general, but it was widely believed in Catholic circles that Protestants had republican tendencies, and even a century later in 1686 the Catholic king of England, James II, told the French ambassador that he regarded all Protestants as republicans.⁶² This was an exaggeration, but there was considerable truth in it. In France, the republican tendency was reflected in a plan of government adopted in December 1573 by a Protestant assembly at Milhau.⁶³ Although it was not put into effect, this plan is revealing of Huguenot political thinking at that time, being based on the representative principle and systematically rejecting the hereditary monarchical form of government that prevailed in France. Republican ideas were not shared by all Huguenots at all periods but did remain a strong latent theme in their political thinking. This is evident, for another example, in a scheme for a Protestant republic attempted on the islands of Réunion and Mauritius in the years 1691-98 by Henri Duquesne in collaboration with the Dutch East India Company.⁶⁴

La Rochelle became part of a cosmopolitan society of Protestant ports. Catholic persecution in the Spanish Netherlands and France drove families of refugees to settle at all the Protestant ports as well as at inland cities, and the merchants among them reinforced those groups of their countrymen who had gone abroad merely to trade. Nearly 100,000 people left the ten southern provinces of the Netherlands (present-day Belgium) between 1530 and 1630, but especially in the years 1567 to 1590.⁶⁵ Merchants from Brussels, Ghent and Antwerp (after 1585) fled to Protestant cities all over Europe. As a result, the Protestant ports were soon linked together by communities of refugees who kept in touch and traded with one another. Similarly, more and more Protestant merchants fled from France, particularly after such devastating events as the several massacres of St. Bartholomew (1572). A good example is the Poulle family of Huguenot refugees from Lille who traded out of Amsterdam in the decades before and after 1600, sending ships *inter alia* to La Rochelle, Brouage and Saint-Martin de Ré.⁶⁶ Thus in the sixteenth century began that international network — religious, social and commercial — which became famous late in the next century when a flood of Huguenot refugees had joined it after 1685. The binding force in this network was a common religion; the usual profit motive among the merchants was now tempered by religious motives. Protestant merchants who fled out of Catholic France, Catholic Spain and the Catholic Netherlands were not moved merely by hopes of profit. Wherever they went they settled in communities that were religious and national as well as commercial; they traded but they also established parish churches. In short, they behaved much like the English Protestants who settled in Boston, Salem and New York.

As a result of La Rochelle's independence and renown, it had attracted merchants from foreign countries, by no means all refugees. In the half century before 1627 merchants at La Rochelle commonly sent their sons to Rouen, Bordeaux, Holland or England for business experience and sometimes as semi-permanent agents abroad.⁶⁷ By reciprocal arrangements, La Rochelle merchants took foreign apprentices, especially from Holland and England. Foreign merchants were numerous in the early seventeenth century, as Thomas Wentworth,

Earl of Strafford, reported during his visit in 1612. "The towne stands chefly upon merchandize", he wrote, "and is well frequented by English, French and Flemans."⁶⁸ The many refugees who went there from the Spanish Netherlands joined an established community of "Flamands" (the common French term for a mixed society of Flemish, Dutch, and even German merchants). When they had first obtained the right to trade at La Rochelle, from Louis XI (1461-83), they had had no particular religious identity, but over the years, they had established a community known as "le canton des Flamands" on the rue Chef-de-Ville near the town centre. Charles IX had established a commercial court, *la juridiction consulaire*, "attendu que laditte ville de la Rochelle est des plus peuplées et où se fait un aussi grand commerce et plus grand qu'en plusieurs des autres villes où nous avons accordés ladite permission, en laquelle afflue grand nombre d'étrangers...."⁶⁹

Shortly after that, in 1568 when La Rochelle rallied to the Protestant cause, authorities there arrested or drove out most of the Catholic merchants. Only a few, more Portuguese than Spanish, were able to remain by taking root as citizens.⁷⁰ More and more, La Rochelle became part of a network of business relationships created by the scattering of refugees, Flemish, Dutch, German and Huguenot, all over Protestant Europe. For example, a Flemish Calvinist refugee, Louis de Geer (1587-1652), famous later for his part in Swedish economic development under Gustavus Adolphus, went to France on 17 August 1608, about the time Québec was founded on the other side of the Atlantic, and spent three years at La Rochelle as a merchant apprentice before settling down at Amsterdam.⁷¹ A different example is Jacques Esprinchar (1573-1604), a young gentleman from a merchant family of La Rochelle, who studied law for the four years 1593 to 1597 at Leiden, where he found members of other merchant families from La Rochelle, such as Bernon and Papin, and he then travelled to other Dutch towns, to England, to Switzerland and around central Europe, sometimes in the company of merchants.⁷² The effect of La Rochelle's Flemish and Dutch connections was to draw the town into the orbit of the huge seaborne empire being built by the Dutch in the years before and after 1600.

In the early seventeenth century, Protestant Netherlanders continued to come to La Rochelle, and to the provinces of Aunis and Saintonge in general, and this for several purposes. Drainage engineers, business managers and skilled workmen came from the Netherlands to drain the swamps in France as they were doing elsewhere in Europe.⁷³ Humphrey Bradley, an engineer born at Berg-op-Zoom, came to France in 1597 at the request of landowners of inland marshes at Chaumont-en-Vexin in the basin of the Seine below Paris.⁷⁴ Henri IV named him "Dyke master of the kingdom" in an edict of 5 April 1599 and in that year he made his first studies of the swamps of Aunis, Saintonge and Lower Poitou. The business and financial side of these western drainage ventures or "Hollandries" was soon established at La Rochelle. While Bradley worked at drainage schemes in various parts of France until his death in 1639, some of his associates from the Netherlands settled at La Rochelle to manage the draining of swamps in the estuaries of the Sèvre-Niortaise and the Charente. The *Association pour le dessèchement des marais et lacs de France*, founded in 1607, included Jean Hoeufft (1578-1651), Gaspard van Gangelt (died 1684), the Comans brothers, Jérôme, Marc, and Gaspard, all from Brabant, and David De La Croix ("Crucius" in Dutch) from Holland. Others came a generation later from Holland, including Henry Vlamin and De La Croix's nephew, Jean De La Croix (ca. 1627-1669), who settled at La Rochelle as merchants in the trans-Atlantic trades.⁷⁵

It was also in the early seventeenth century that Dutch merchants began to establish themselves in the sugar, wine, brandy, and salt trades of western France. The records tell of immigrants such as Joseph Baertz with a sugar refinery at La Rochelle in 1598-99, and whole

communities of "Flamands" exporting shiploads of the local white wines, usually blended, anonymous and cheap. It was Dutch merchants who first commercialized brandy from Cognac and developed the export trade in it, much as they also developed the trade in Armagnac from the Adour River inland from Bayonne.⁷⁶ Fine Cognacs and Armagnacs did not develop commercially until the eighteenth century, but the grosser product was exported by the Dutch in the first quarter of the seventeenth century along with vinegar and wine. As for the salt trade, it too was a regional business centred on Brouage and the Ile de Ré, where the salt was produced and shipped, and on La Rochelle, where Dutch and French merchants financed and controlled the salt trade.⁷⁷ Then, most exports were made in Dutch-owned vessels. "Each year," write Trocmé and Delafosse, "the Dutch fitted out several great fleets, escorted by warships, which anchored off La Rochelle, coming from Rotterdam, Alkmaar, Enkhuizen, Hoorn, Edam, Amsterdam and Vlissingen, ['Flessingue' or 'Flushing']".⁷⁸ Dutch merchants by no means displaced the French at La Rochelle but did take a considerable share of trade. Most of the larger ships owned by French merchants at La Rochelle in this period had been built and bought at Zaandam, Middelburg, Vlissingen, or Amsterdam.

Most of the goods the Dutch exported from La Rochelle were destined for ports in the Baltic Sea. The Baltic trade was the backbone of Dutch trade in that age, "by common consent the very foundation of Holland's wealth and prosperity", what the Dutch called their "mothertrade" (*moederhandel*).⁷⁹ Not only was it the biggest and most profitable trade, but it supplied the United Provinces with food and ship-building materials: grain, timber, hemp, wax, pitch, copper, iron, potash, furs, leather, linen and linen canvas. In exchange the Dutch took salt and wine in huge quantities, especially from La Rochelle, to the Baltic ports. Dutch sources confirm records of the Danish sound dues in putting salt first on the list of products exported to the Baltic in the early seventeenth century. And for the entire Baltic trade, writes a Polish scholar, "two big information centres were established: one in the [Danish] Sound, the other at La Rochelle".⁸⁰ French merchants acted mainly as commission agents for the Dutch shipping which carried nearly all of this trade.⁸¹ Although most Dutch trade was with Baltic and North Sea ports, in the 1590s merchants from the Netherlands, seldom specialists in any case, began to send ships off in other directions: to the Guinea Coast of Africa for slaves; to the West Indian islands to trade illegally with Spanish colonial ports; to Newfoundland for codfish; to the East Indies, for which the Dutch East India Company was founded by a charter dated 20 March 1602; to the Mediterranean Sea and to Spain. When the French and Spanish crowns signed a peace treaty at Vervin in 1598, Dutch merchants found they could expand their illegal trade with Spain by sailing out of French ports.

Meanwhile, England too had been trading more and more widely, and also drawing La Rochelle, Rouen and other French ports with numerous Huguenot populations into its commercial empire. When Henry of Navarre established his rule in France, Anglo-French trade in general was encouraged by the two monarchs. On 24 February 1606 the governments of London and Paris signed a commercial treaty to promote Anglo-French trade.⁸² But shipping between La Rochelle and the British Isles did not depend on any such encouragement, as strong links of religious aid and sympathy, established in the third quarter of the sixteenth century drew La Rochelle into the rapidly expanding commercial empire based on London and the outports of England and Scotland. In London, indeed, the first French and Dutch Protestant churches, the one in Threadneedle Street, the other in Austin Friars, had been established by letters patent of 24 July 1550. By 1568 more than 6,000 Walloon and Dutch refugees had come, and other churches were authorized. A flood of French refugees arrived after the massacres of St Bartholomew that began in Paris on 24 August 1572, and by 1573 foreign Protestant churches in England had over 10,000

members.⁸³ By the end of the century perhaps 60,000 Dutch, Flemish and Huguenot refugees had fled to England, and wherever they went they established churches and raised funds to aid the continental Protestant forces. After meeting in several colloquies, Dutch, Flemish and French congregations in England held a joint synod in 1604.⁸⁴ In many matters, the merchants among them had come to share in the influence of the business community in London, just as in Amsterdam, Hamburg, and La Rochelle. They had played a part in founding Gresham's Royal Exchange in 1571. As early as 1579 there had been a serious proposal in England for a chartered company to trade with France, and a royal charter was issued to a "French Company" in 1611.⁸⁵ La Rochelle was naturally drawn into the enormous growth of English trade in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, trade that was no match for the Dutch in that period, but great and growing all the same.

English merchants went to La Rochelle to buy salt, wine, brandy, vinegar, Spanish wool, the cloth of Poitou, and fruit. The Rochelais bought much more from English merchants and were continually in debt to them: cloth, stockings, butter, wax and candles, salt fish, coal, tin, lead, copper, sugar and spices.⁸⁶ When Thomas Wentworth visited La Rochelle in 1612, he reported, "The chief commodities that they English bring is lead and cloth".⁸⁷ This was far from being a major branch of London's trade: of the 830 cargoes brought to London in the twelve months from 30 September 1567 (the only year in the sixteenth century for which the London port books afford reliable figures), only seventeen were of salt and wine from La Rochelle, although the two from Saint Martin-de-Ré nearby might be added to make nineteen.⁸⁸ This figure seems less paltry in context: only two French ports sent more cargoes to London in 1567-68: Bordeaux, in eighty-seven ships, and Rouen in fifty-one. Dieppe sent no more than ten cargoes, Nantes eight and Saint-Malo four. By the end of the sixteenth century, when La Rochelle had become renowned as an established Protestant stronghold, English merchants were living there in greater numbers than before. When an Anglo-French trade treaty was signed on 24 February 1606, several English merchants were already established at La Rochelle: men such as William Fleming, John Walter, John Stroud and Michael Henry. When Captain John Smith (1580-1631) arrived there as a captive in October 1615, escaped his captors but stayed there until December, he met several English merchants and mariners.⁸⁹ A certain John Barrington had lived at La Rochelle for many years before he married Marie Pinault there in 1622. Other English merchants came briefly but often to La Rochelle, so many that in 1596 seven hotels in the town were allotted to them.

The "Protestant international" which these details reveal was based to a great extent upon trade and the influence of merchants. To assemble such small facts of English trade with La Rochelle, Rouen and Bordeaux as survive in historical sources is to discern a tendency towards Protestant collaboration. From as far away as Scottish ports, and the East Anglian ports of Yarmouth, King's Lynn, and Norwich, merchants took an assortment of British products to Bordeaux and La Rochelle to exchange for wine, brandy, salt and woad. The records are, of course, fragmentary. Among the 162 ships arriving at Dundee in the years 1580 to 1589, nine were from La Rochelle, eighteen from Bordeaux, two from Dieppe, and ten from Flanders, these being all that came from France, unless the two from "St. Martins" sailed from Saint-Martin-de-Ré near La Rochelle.⁹⁰ No reliable figures can be found for the numbers of ships or quantities of goods moved to and from East Anglian ports, but the name of La Rochelle recurs often enough in the records. In most years of the sixteenth century, east coast vessels sought French products at La Rochelle: in 1583, for example, the *John* of Yarmouth, captain Andrew Thompson, called there twice and Henry Barker of Norwich sent herring and other goods worth nearly £1,300 to La Rochelle and Bordeaux.⁹¹

As might be expected, La Rochelle traded more with the much nearer west-country ports of Southampton, Falmouth, Plymouth, Exeter, and Bristol. Woollens from the British Isles were sold in France at entrepôts in Bordeaux, Dieppe, Caen, and Rouen but La Rochelle had a lively direct trade with the nearest English ports.⁹² In 1598 (a year for which there are figures), Bristol sent nine ships to La Rochelle with weapons, cloth, coal, and food, and received five return cargoes of salt, wine, fruit, resin and honey. In 1601 Bristol sent out ten ships and received thirteen.⁹³ In 1616, eleven ships from La Rochelle took on cargoes at Bristol, more than from any other French port. Only eight ships came from Marseille, and five from Bordeaux.⁹⁴ La Rochelle was a major customer for the west country ports and was high on the list of the French ports which took about 40 per cent of Plymouth's shipping in 1609-1610 and 60 per cent in 1616-17. Some 59 per cent of Dartmouth's shipping went to France in 1614-15, 64 per cent in 1617-18. In 1624 45 of the 94 ships sailing out of Exeter went to France, carrying mostly cloth.⁹⁵ This trade was done largely in English or Scottish ships which came by the dozen, escorted sometimes by warships. Seldom did La Rochelle vessels sail to the British Isles, and those which did went usually to Bristol.

Until 1627, La Rochelle could respond to Dutch and English initiatives because it still lay outside the control of Church and State. Until 5 September 1625 it even had its own independent fleet of warships, but on that day a French royal naval squadron had defeated it in a battle off the Ile de Ré and within sight of La Rochelle.⁹⁶ Even so, La Rochelle was no more controlled from Paris than was Amsterdam from The Hague, or Hamburg from Vienna, or Danzig from Warsaw or Berlin. Indeed, La Rochelle had a place among the great independent ports of Europe in an age when there were still many proud self-governing towns. Among them were ports on the Mediterranean such as Venice, Genoa, and Dubrovnik (Ragusa); on the North Sea and the Baltic ports such as Hamburg, Emden and Dantzig. Many ports in Protestant countries had a measure of self-government, if only because their merchants had more political influence, and their clergy less, than in the Catholic countries.⁹⁷ Emden is a good example, as the "revolution" brought about there by Protestant merchants has recently been examined in detail.⁹⁸ La Rochelle, too, was a self-governing Protestant port, almost a city state, until 1627-28 when it was at last crushed by a combined assault of Church and State.

THE EFFECTS OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION AND THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

Catholic France in general had a different character and a different history. Merchants continued to rank lower in the social scale, clergy, noblemen and royal officials higher. The French monarchy allowed merchants scarcely any representation. At the meeting of the Estates General in 1614-1615 only two of the 198 identifiable representatives of the Third Estate were merchants, and one of these, Jean Tharay, was a Huguenot from La Rochelle.⁹⁹ During the century that followed, the Bourbon kings Louis XIII (1617-43) and Louis XIV (1661-1715) succeeded in imposing their authority on the towns and the provincial estates, and in crushing the Protestant communities whose merchants were in touch with relatives and trading partners in Protestant towns abroad. The Bourbons accomplished this with the collaboration of the Roman Catholic Church, which had served the monarchy well ever since the Concordat of Bologna (1516) by which Leo X had agreed to let the French king choose bishops and archbishops and put certain monasteries under the management of royal officials and financiers as *abbés commendataires*. During the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation of the seventeenth century the power of the clergy in France was even greater than usual, and the Protestant independence of La Rochelle all the more anomalous.¹⁰⁰ Its political,

commercial and religious independence were quite extraordinary. For Church and State it had become an intolerable intrusion of the "Protestant international" in France.¹⁰¹

By the founding in 1627 of the Company of New France, Québec, like La Rochelle, was seized by the centralizing forces of Church and State, without which it might have developed as independently as Boston, New York, Philadelphia or sixteenth-century La Rochelle. New France, unlike New England, came under the firm authority of the Bourbon monarchy and the Roman Catholic Church, as did La Rochelle, and so developed within the French empire. Thus ended a struggle against the merchants of La Rochelle that had been going on since the reign of Henri IV, perhaps earlier. This struggle is usually incorporated in historical accounts of Samuel Champlain's triumphant efforts, in the service of Pierre Dugua de Mons, to found a colony in North America.¹⁰² It was in Dugua de Mons's company, as is well known, that Samuel Champlain began his career, but he soon emerged as a Roman Catholic leader who turned against Macain, Georges and La Rochelle in general. Relations were cordial at first: in 1611 or 1612 while Champlain was representing the company at Québec, he left Macain and Georges temporarily in charge there while he was absent. Shortly afterwards, on 5 February 1613, Champlain and Mathieu Georges (on behalf of Samuel Georges and other merchants of La Rochelle) signed an agreement for a trading company to include merchants of Rouen.¹⁰³ Their plan was to send out four ships, three from Normandy reckoned to represent a two-thirds interest, and one of 120 *tonneaux* [tx] from La Rochelle representing a one-third interest.

These cordial relations, however, did not last long. Henry de Bourbon, Prince de Condé had recently (13 November 1612) been made Lieutenant général of New France with a monopoly of the colonial trade. The free trade established in summer 1609 thus came to an end. For some reason that is not clear, Champlain and his other colleagues turned against the merchants of La Rochelle and tried to exclude them from the company. Was there an element of religious hostility in these rivalries? Catholic missionaries were certainly petitioning the crown against the Huguenots merchants.¹⁰⁴ There had been much opposition in Brittany and Normandy to the Edict of Nantes (1598) which had guaranteed certain immunities for the Huguenots in fortified towns of which La Rochelle was one. The Parlement of Rouen had refused to ratify the Edict until 1609.¹⁰⁵ Whatever the reason, without consulting the Rochelais, representatives from Rouen and Saint Malo agreed to set aside the document of 5 February 1613 and to form a *Compagnie du Canada* of their own.¹⁰⁶ A new document was signed in Paris on 15 November 1613 by Champlain, Dugua de Mons, his secretary Ralluau, Daniel Boyer representing the Rouen merchants, and Thomas Porée of Saint Malo signing for himself and two other Malouins who were present, Richard Boulain and Guillaume Le Breton.¹⁰⁷ When the Rochelais heard of this they responded by claiming a one-quarter share in this new company, but were refused.¹⁰⁸ They then appealed to the King's *Conseil privé* and after the usual litigious delay were admitted to the company for seven years. However, the legal quarrels between the Rochelais and the rest were destined to drag on until 25 June 1633 by which time this *Compagnie du Canada* had long ceased. In 1626 another company had won the monopoly of trading with New France under the management of Guillaume de Caen at Rouen, and the Rochelais—still protesting—had been excluded from it also.¹⁰⁹

One of the bones of contention was that the Rochelais, independent as usual like the Basques and sometimes in collaboration with Basques, had been determined to send out ships of their own to trade in their own way. Their natural inclination to do this had been encouraged during the years 1609 to 1613 when the Crown had declared trade with New France free and open to all comers. When it became known that a new monopoly company was to be established under the Prince de Condé, the Rochelais had formed a partnership of

their own, on 16 January 1613, for trading in Canadian furs. Their intention may have been to trade only in collaboration with the *Compagnie du Canada* that was being planned, but this seems unlikely. On 1 March, they signed an agreement with Pierre Dugua, Gravé Du Pont and others to send *Le Postillon* to Canada.¹¹⁰ In March 1614, in spite of their exclusion from the Company they sent *Le Soleil*, 150 tx, and a smaller vessel, a barque named *La Madeleine*, to a place called Mentane on the south bank of the Saint Lawrence, at the mouth of the Matane River, not very far below Tadoussac and on the opposite shore, where they had probably been trading in previous years. *Le Soleil* was unfortunately lost in the St Lawrence about fifteen leagues below Tadoussac,¹¹¹ but in 1615 Samuel Georges's cousin, Pierre Georges, again sailed to Mentane and there deposited a certain Gabriel Picaudeau with four other men, supplies, trading goods and a small vessel (*barque*). The next year, Pierre Georges fetched them back to France with their harvest of furs in *Le Jean* of La Rochelle, under Captain Daniel Baignault. Already, on 27 January 1615, Thomas Porée and other merchants of Rouen had begun a legal suit against Macain and his partners for trading at Mentane and so infringing the monopoly of the *Compagnie du Canada*. Champlain, too, was working against the Rochelais, and they subsequently lost an appeal before the Parlement of Rouen.¹¹²

As Trocmé and Delafosse have concluded, "Champlain seems to have counted the Rochelais among the worst adversaries of his work in Canada".¹¹³ Under Louis XIII that work had an official religious side: in a letter of 7 May 1620 the king confirmed Champlain's command under the vice-roy, the Duc de Montmorency, "taking the requisite care of the Catholic religion [et y ayant le soin qui est requis de la religion catholique]".¹¹⁴ This was no perfunctory formula but was followed by statements of serious missionary intent.¹¹⁵ In the years 1625-27 the Duc de Ventadour sold his office of viceroy of Canada on condition that his successor not "suffer or tolerate any other exercise of religion on land or on sea but the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman one in conformity with His Majesty's intentions".¹¹⁶ But the religious conflict was, as usual, mixed with regional and municipal conflicts. The principal trading companies were based in Rouen or Saint Malo, and the Rochelais were sometimes partners but more often interlopers in the trade with New France. In or out of the monopoly companies, the men of La Rochelle evidently continued to send ships to New France. In 1620 and 1624 Champlain learned of ships from La Rochelle come to trade at Bicq, some fifteen leagues below Tadoussac. The one in 1620 was probably *La Brave*, 80 tx, of La Rochelle, sent by Pierre Garat who sailed on her to see to the trade himself. Also in 1620, merchants of La Rochelle made bottomry loans to *Le Saint Louis*, 80 tx, of Les Sables d'Olonne, and *Le Dauphin*, 140 tx, of Dieppe for voyages to New France. In 1621 *Le Jehan*, "aultrement dict le *Saint-Luc*", 60 tx, sailed to Canada for Pierre Garat, Jean Tressard of Ile de Ré, and Paul de Béziers. On 3 February 1624 another merchant of La Rochelle, Élie Papin, and several partners, sent off *Le Désire*, 150 tx, and *Le Fortuné*, 130 tx, for trading and fishing in New France. On 26 June 1626 Champlain found a vessel of 50 tx from La Rochelle trading at Tadoussac, and she sailed off at his approach.

During the same period, Macain and Georges had also invested in the company of Poutrincourt with its trading posts in Acadia. In 1613, indeed, Poutrincourt entrusted them with the management of his business, and on 20 September 1613 they undertook to deliver 300 lbs of gunpowder to him in Acadia.¹¹⁷ After his death in 1615, his son, Biencourt, engaged them to trade at Port-Royal (Acadia) which soon became a normal port of call for ships from La Rochelle and Saint Jean-de-Luz. Breton ships tended to call at the Saint John River on the other side of the Bay of Fundy.¹¹⁸ On 29 May 1617 Biencourt borrowed a sum from Macain and Georges, of which he still owed 10,000 livres in March 1621, and his two creditors remained active in his trade. Another connection was that Biencourt's secretary and

representative in Europe was Macain's and Georges's Huguenot nephew, David Lomeron, who often wintered at La Rochelle and spent summer seasons in Acadia almost every year from 1614 to 1624. Lomeron also fitted out ships.¹¹⁹ But the events of 1627-28 put a stop to all this.

When the soldiers of Louis XIII and Cardinal Richelieu entered La Rochelle on 28 October 1628 they were accompanied by missionary priests from some of the crusading orders of the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation.¹²⁰ Soldiers and priests worked together in La Rochelle, as so often in the history of Bourbon France, and in the history of New France. The governing institutions of the city were handed over immediately to Catholic families who deliberately excluded the Huguenots.¹²¹ More than half of the population, which had been at least 86 per cent Huguenot, had died in the siege; after the siege only Catholics were allowed to move into the city; in a few years the Huguenots there were not more than 45 per cent of the population.¹²² Huguenots being forbidden to settle in New France, they began to take second place in the trans-Atlantic trade to Catholic merchants, many of them immigrants from elsewhere in France such as Émmanuel Le Borgne, Nicolas Denys and Guillaume Feniou. Some of the Huguenots most active in the trans-Atlantic trades began to disappear. For a prominent example, in 1639 David Lomeron emigrated to Dublin where he sought and obtained English papers of naturalization by an official act of 9 December 1639.¹²³ Others were to follow later.

While Huguenots were forbidden to settle in the French parts of North America they were able, sometimes even encouraged, to settle in the Dutch and English parts. Since 1621 a Huguenot émigré living at Leiden, Jesse de Forest, had been recruiting Wallon and French refugees for a settlement in the Hudson River valley, and about thirty families of them sailed there to settle in 1624.¹²⁴ The prominence of their settlement at New Rochelle show how much the memory of La Rochelle counted for them.¹²⁵ So many were there from La Rochelle that The Director General of New Netherlands, Willem Kieft, in charge of the Dutch colonies on the Hudson River from 1633 to 1647, had lived at La Rochelle as a merchant until he had gone bankrupt in 1633. The Dutch West India Company had an agent at La Rochelle in 1646 and following years, a Huguenot named David Delacroix.¹²⁶ Such Huguenot migrations and foreign connections, of which these are only a few examples, were signs of a great turning point in 1627-28 in the history of Canada as well as in the history of France. The defeat of the Huguenots on both sides of the Atlantic, and the exclusion of foreigners from New France, seems to have been recognized in those years. When in 1640 a Jesuit missionary, Jérôme Lalemant, wrote from Canada to congratulate Cardinal Richelieu on his success in crushing "heresy and foreigners" in France and New France, he wrote "The expulsion of the Huguenots who held these lands was formerly requested with such ardour. But for Your Eminence, who has sacrificed his own interests in this matter, the thing would still remain to be done, to the great detriment of this country's welfare."¹²⁷ Until 1759, New France was to be a closed Roman Catholic colony with all that that implied for its development, political, commercial and social.¹²⁸

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16. In Francis Parkman's view from Boston, "A happier calamity never befell a people than the conquest of Canada by the British arms" (*The Old Régime in Canada* (1874) (Toronto, 1899), II, p. 204). W. J. Eccles, viewing the Conquest from Québec, is impressed by the way in which "The French Canadians ... successfully resisted the continual fumbling efforts of the Anglo-Canadians and British officials to assimilate them, to make them over into English-speaking Protestants, or at least to exorcise their divisive language (*France in America*, p. 257)."
17. The term appears in, for instance, Herbert Lüthy, *La banque protestante en France de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à la Révolution*, 2 vols (Paris, 1959-61), preface; Philippe Loupès, "Les conséquences de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à Bordeaux", in Caldicott, *et. al.* eds., *The Huguenots and Ireland*, p. 121.
18. That the French trans-Atlantic trading community was cosmopolitan and relatively tolerant before the 1620s is clear in Robert Le Blant's many articles and in H.P. Biggar, *The Early Trading Companies of New France* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1901; Clifton, N.J., 1972), 308 pp. This is the conclusion, too, of Gayle K. Brunelle in *The New World Merchants of Rouen, 1559-1630* (Kirksville, Missouri, 1991), p. 3.
19. Brunelle, *The New World Merchants*, p. 152; see also John S. Moir, "Canada and the Huguenot Connection, 1577-1627", in Michael Harrison, ed., *Canada's Huguenot Heritage, 1685-1985* (Toronto, 1987), pp. 139-147.
20. Robert Le Blant, "Documents inédits sur Guillaume Decaen," *Congrès des Sociétés savantes de Caen*, 1980, section d'histoire moderne, I, pp. 445-460.
21. John Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969), II, chapter vii.
22. Van Cleef Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations: The Economic Policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623-1639* (Baltimore, 1969); Donna Merwick, *Possessing Albany, 1630-1710: The Dutch and English Experiences* (Cambridge, 1990); John R. Pagan, "Dutch Maritime and Commercial Activity in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Virginia", *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 90 (1982), pp. 485-501; Oliver A. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca, 1986); George L. Smith, *Religion and Trade in New Netherland: Dutch Origins and American Development* (Ithaca, 1973).
23. Robert Le Blant & René Baudry, *Nouveaux documents sur Champlain et son époque* (Ottawa, 1967), vol I (1560-1622), p. 194. The second volume never appeared, but was prepared for publication and remains, unpublished, at the National Archives of Canada.
24. Robert Le Blant and Marcel Delafosse, "Les rochelais dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent (1599-1618)", *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française* [hereafter RHAF], X (1956), pp. 334, 336; Gillian T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland 1577-1660* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 113-114.
25. Information about this clan comes from Simon Hart, *The Pre-History of the New Netherlands Company* (Amsterdam, 1959), p. 41, and Robert Le Blant, "Un commerce

international de pelleteries à Paris au début du 17^e siècle", *Actes du 92^e congrès national des sociétés savantes, section d'histoire moderne*, II, pp. 10-15.

26. On their behalf he lent 1,190 liv. in 1608 to François Gravé du Pont who was sending two ships to trade for furs at Tadoussac and Canso (Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, p. 83). This was a bottomry loan at 25 per cent premium. On 25 February 1609 Duysterloo lent du Pont 1,000 liv. to send *Le François* to trade for furs at Tadoussac, again on behalf of *Jean Honton, Jabach & Cie.*, and on 23 December he bought 100 beaver skins from du Pont for 772 liv., these furs to be brought from Tadoussac to Honfleur by the Scottish captain William Douglas (Le Blant, "Un commerce internationale", p. 11-12). Earlier that year Duysterloo had bought 200 Canadian beaver furs from Jean Sarcel of Saint Malo. In 1620 Duysterloo was a member of the *Compagnie du Canada* and in 1622 of the *Compagnie de Montmorency* (Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, pp. 182, 418-19, 432, 466-68).

27. Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, pp. 82, 133, 214, 418 note; Charles and Paul Bréard, *Documents relatifs à la marine normande et à ses armements aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles pour le Canada, l'Afrique, les Antilles, le Brésil et les Indes* (Rouen, 1889), pp. 50. 102 etc.; Le Blant and Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, pp. 256, 403.

28. Bréard, *Documents*, pp. 50 and 102; Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, pp. 75, 194, 214, and 418 note.

29. Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, pp. 322, 348, 362, 432; Thomas J. Condon, *New York Beginnings: The Commercial origins of New Netherlands* (New York, 1968), p. 8; Hart, *The Pre-History of the New Netherlands Company*, p. 20; Rink, *Holland on the Hudson*, pp. 32-3.

30. Simon Hart, *The Pre-History of the New Netherlands Company* (Amsterdam, 1959), pp. 12-17; Condon, *New York Beginnings*, p. 8.

31. In 1606 and 1608 Bauquemare assisted Pierre Dugua de Mons in expeditions of *Le Lion Blanc* to trade for furs in Canada. At Amsterdam on 1 January 1606 he hired the ship's captain, Hendrick Cornelisz Lonck (alias Henry Corneillessen Long), and two other Dutchmen, Jan Cupper and Bannes Heusen. In 1608 he engaged several "Flamands" and a certain "Mathieu de Coste, nègre" (Condon, *New York Beginnings*, p. 7); Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, p. 194, 196, 212, 226, 388). In 1611-12, the Commissioners of the Amsterdam Admiralty sent out two ships, *Craen* and *Vos*, under captain Jan Cornelisz May to explore the coasts of New France (Condon, *op. cit.*, p. 12). In 1613, an Amsterdam merchant with family connections in Rouen, Arnout Van Liebergen, originally a Protestant refugee from Bois-le-Duc, invested in Dutch expeditions to the Hudson River (Condon, *op. cit.*, p. 14-15).

32. Le Blant & Delafosse, "Le rochelais dans la vallée...", p. 388.

33. Teuleron (LR) liasses 5 May 1651, citing Lesemoulin & Lecat (Paris) 1 April 1651 *contrat et transaction*; Lionel La Berge, *Rouen et le commerce du Canada de 1650 à 1670* (L'Ange-Gardien, Quebec, 1972), p. 11; E.E. Rich, *The Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870* (London, 1958), I, ch. 5.

34. Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, p. 3.

35. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland*, p. 49.
36. Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, p. 200; Condon, *New York Beginnings*, p. 9; Bréard, *Documents*, pp. 130-131.
37. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland*, p. 113; J. Steven Cox, "News from Canada, 1628", in Michael Harrison, ed., *Canada's Huguenot Heritage*, pp. 149-63. "Gervase Kyrke" was christened on 16 April 1568 at Norton, Derbyshire, son of Thurston Kyrke (parish registers at the Derbyshire Record Office).
38. Juppín (La Rochelle) 30 January 1624, several *marchés* settled "en la maison où pend pour enseigne la selle d'armes, rue du Minage", a street with many inns.
39. Georges Musset, ed., "Mémoire sur la Généralité de la Rochelle", *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis* (Saintes), vol. II (1875), p. 38.
40. Le Blant & Delafosse, "Les rochelais dans la vallée ...", p. 342.
41. Robert Le Blant, "Le commerce compliqué des fourrures canadiennes au début du XVIIe siècle", *RHAF*, XXVI (1972), pp. 53-66; Le Blant & Delafosse, "Les rochelais dans la vallée...", p. 344.
42. David B. Quinn, "The Voyage of Étienne Bellenger to the Maritimes in 1583: A New Document", *Canadian Historical Review*, XLIV (1962), pp. 328-343, reprinted in Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500-1625* (London & Ronceverte, 1990), pp. 285-300; Robert Le Blant, "La pêche et le périple des morues du Saint-Laurent en 1602", *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1966, pp. 259-281; Robert Le Blant, "Un Breton vice-roi des terres-neuves: le marquis de la Roche vers 1540 – vers 1607", *Actes du 107^e congrès national des sociétés savantes* (Brest, 1982), Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610, II, "Questions d'histoire de Bretagne" (Paris, 1984), pp. 145-160.
43. Le Blant & Delafosse, "Les rochelais dans la vallée...", p. 336.
44. E. Trocmé & M. Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais de la fin du XV^e siècle au début du XVII^e* (Paris, 1952), pp. 136, 165-166.
45. Le Blant & Delafosse, "Les rochelais dans la vallée...", p. 336.
46. Robert Le Blant, "Le commerce compliqué des fourrures canadiennes au début du XVIIe siècle", *RHAF*, XXVI (1972), p. 53-4.
47. Condon, *New York Beginnings*, pp. 14, 20 and 23; Hart, *The Pre-History*, p. 9.
48. Le Blant, "Le commerce compliqué", pp. 55 ff.; Le Blant, "Henri IV et le Canada", *Revue de Pau et du Béarn*, no. 12 (1984-85), p. 47.
49. Le Blant & Delafosse, "Les rochelais dans la vallée...", pp. 337-340.
50. Le Blant, 'Henri IV...', p. 53.
51. David B. Quinn, "An Anglo-French 'Voyage of Discovery' to North America in 1604-1605, and its Sequel", *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome [Miscellanea Charles Verlinden]*, XLIV (1974), pp. 513-534, reprinted in Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies*, pp. 341-362.

52. Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, p. 74.
53. Gustave Fagniez, *L'économie sociale de la France sous Henri IV (1589-1610)* (Paris, 1897), pp. 279-300; Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, p. 162.
54. H. P. Biggar, *The Early Trading Companies of New France: A Contribution to the History of Commerce and Discovery in North America* (1901) (Clifton, N.J., 1972), chapter v. Trudel faithfully records the establishment of "libre concurrence" in Acadia from 1609 to 1627 and in Canada in 1607 and again in 1609-12, but in his view these conditions had no special significance because organized missions and colonizing efforts were what mattered. The merchants who took advantage of free trade were only businessmen with selfish profits in mind (Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, ii, pp. 183ff, 463-64).
55. Menna Prestwich, ed., *International Calvinism 1541-1715* (Oxford, 1985), p. 90; J. Russell Major, *Representative Government in Early Modern France* (New Haven, Conn., 1980), p. 249; Parker, *La Rochelle and the French Monarchy*, p. 96; "La Rochelle est la capitale des Huguenots", writes Kervyn de Lettenhove (*Les Huguenots et les Gueux: Étude historique sur vingt-cinq années du XVI^e siècle, 1560-1585* (Bruges, 1884), ii, p. 289).
56. Henri of Navarre's letters were dated at La Rochelle in June and July 1576, April 1582, from June 1586 to April 1587, in July 1587, October 1587, March 1588, from May 1588 to the end of that year, and again briefly in February 1589 (Henri IV, *Recueil des lettres missives de Henri IV* (Paris, 18760, i, ii, iii, and ix (supplément), *passim.*); Henri also visited the île de Ré near La Rochelle several times (Bernard Guillonnet, *Les grandes heures de l'île de Ré* (La Rochelle, 1988), pp. 27-32).
57. Robert M. Kingdon, *Myths About the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres 1572-1576* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), pp. 82, 137, ch. 7; Prestwich, ed., *International Calvinism*, p. 5.
58. R. B. Wernham, *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe, 1588-1595* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 90, 111, 148, 480.
59. Prestwich, ed., *International Calvinism*, p. 204.
60. Jean Vanes, ed., *Documents Illustrating the Overseas Trade with Bristol*, Bristol Record Society, xxxi (1979), pp. 109-113.
61. Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, p. 199; Kevin Christophe Robbins, "The Families and Politics of La Rochelle, 1550-1650", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The Johns Hopkins University, 1991, chapters 1 and 3.
62. Ruth Clark, *Sir William Trumbull in Paris, 1685-1686* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 69.
63. Kingdon, *Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres*, pp. 189, 216.
64. H. Kroeskamp, "Du Quesne's poging tot Hugenotenkolonisatie en de reis van Leguat (1689-1697)", *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, lxxv (1952), pp. 272-300.
65. Heinz Schilling, "Innovation Through Migration: the Settlements of Calvinistic Netherlanders in the Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Centuries in Central and Western Europe", *Histoire Sociale* (Ottawa), xvi (1983), pp. 7-33.
66. P. H. J. van der Laan, "The Poulle Brothers of Amsterdam and the North Sea and Baltic Trade, 1590-1620", in W. G. Heeres et al, ed., *From Dunkirk to Danzig: Shipping*

- and Trade in the North Sea and the Baltic, 1350-1850 (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 323 and 328.
67. Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, p. 187.
68. John Lough, *France Observed in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1985), p. 249.
69. By an Edict of November 1565 (Emile Garnault, *La Juridiction consulaire et la bourse de commerce de La Rochelle* (La Rochelle, 1896), pp. 2, 51).
70. Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, p. 159.
71. Ole Peter Grell, "Huguenot and Walloon Contributions to Sweden's Emergence as a European Power, 1560-1648", *HSLP*, xxv, no. 4 (1992), pp. 382-83; J. G. H. Hoffman, "Louis de Geer et la célébration du culte réformée en Suède", *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme français* [hereafter cited as *BSHPF*], lxxxix (1940), p. 132.
72. Léopold Châtenay, *Vie de Jacques Esprinchart, rochelais, et journal de ses voyages au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1957), pp. 38, 83, 86, 106, 123, 141, 143, 159, 171, 193, 195, 204, 236.
73. Salvatore Ciriacone, "Venise et la Hollande, pays de l'eau (XV^e - XVIII^e siècles)", *Revue historique*, cclxxxv (1991), pp. 295-320.
74. Le Comte de Dienne, *Histoire du dessèchement des lacs et marais en France avant 1789* (Paris, 1891), chapters 1 to 3 (much the best study to date); François Julien-Labruyère, *Paysans charentais: histoire des campagnes d'Aunis, Saintonge et Bas-Angoumois* (La Rochelle, 1982), I, pp. 174-176; J. M. H. Mathorez, *Les étrangers en France sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1921), II, pp. 238 ff.; Hugh D. Clout, ed., *Themes in the Historical Geography of France* (London, 1977), pp. 185-213; J. Van Veen, *Dredge, Drain, Reclaim* (The Hague, 1955).
75. Roger Dion, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1959), pp. 427-45; Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, pp. 112-14.
76. Dion, *Histoire de la vigne.*, pp. 446-48.
77. Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, pp. 115-16; Marcel Delafosse & Claude Laveau, *Le commerce du sel de Brouage aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1960), ch. 3.
78. Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, pp. 14 and 151.
79. Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1661* (Oxford, 1982), p. 20; Michael North, "A Small Baltic Port in the Early Modern Period: the Port of Elbing in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *Journal of European Economic History* [hereafter *JEEH*], XIII (1984), pp. 117-27; W. G. Heeres, et. al., eds., *From Dunkirk to Danzig: Shipping and Trade in the North Sea and the Baltic, 1350-1850* (Hilversum, 1988), *passim*.
80. Maria Bogucka, "Amsterdam and the Baltic in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century", *Economic History Review*, XXVI (1973), pp. 435 and 440; Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740* (Oxford, 1989), ch. 3; Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World*, p. 20; J. B. Collins, "The Role of Atlantic France in Baltic Trade: Dutch Traders and Polish Grain at Nantes, 1625-75", *Journal of European*

Economic History, XIII (1984), pp. 239-89; Maria Bogucka, "The Role of Baltic Trade in European Development from the XXVIth to the XVIIIth Centuries", *ibid*, IX (1980), p. 7; Artur Attman, *The Struggle for Baltic Markets: Powers in Conflict, 1558-1618* (Göteborg, 1979), *passim*.

81. Heeres *et. al.*, eds., *From Dunkirk to Danzig*, pp. 60-1, 323, 416-17; Heinz Schilling, "Innovation...", *Histoire sociale*, XVI (1983), p. 15; W.S. Unger, "Trade Through the Sound in the 17th and 18th Centuries", *Economic History Review*, xii (1959), pp. 206-221; A. E. Christensen, *Dutch Trade to the Baltic about 1600: Studies in the Sound Toll Registers and Dutch Shipping Records* (Copenhagen, 1941), p. 188; Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, p. 153; Marie-Louis Pelus finds more French vessels than are usually mentioned, but not enough to make any substantial difference; see, "Navigation française et commerce français en mer baltique aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles (1562-1715)", in Alain Lottin, *et. al.*, eds., *Les hommes et la mer dans l'Europe du Nord-Ouest de l'Antiquité à nos Jours, Actes du Colloque de Boulogne-sur-Mer (15-17 June 1984)*, a special number of *Revue du Nord*, 1986, 520 pp., pp. 323-42; Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 239-43.

82. Vanes, ed., *Documents*, p. 113; T. K. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575-1630* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 150-51; Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, p. 148; Gustave Fagniez,..... *Revue historique*, XVI, pp. 12-13; Kingdon, *Myths About the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres*, pp. 20-26, ch. 7.

83. Peter Clark & Paul Slack, *English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 1976), p. 93; Schilling, "Innovations...", p. 13-14; Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London, 1985), pp. 30-33; Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 78, 182, 210.

84. Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Harmondsworth, 1979), pp. 118 ff., 148; Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, p. 49.

85. Refugee communities also settled at Southampton, Rye, Winchelsea, Sandwich and Colchester. See Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 77-78, 182; Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*, pp. 68, 93-96; R. G. Lang, "Social Origins and Social Aspirations of Jacobean London Merchants", *Economic History Review*, xxxvii (1974), pp. 28-47; Robert Ashton, *The City and the Court, 1603-1643* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 34-36 and Conclusion.

86. Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, pp. 148-50.

87. John Lough, *France Observed in the Seventeenth Century by British Travellers* (Stocksfield, 1985), p. 249.

88. Brian Dietz, ed., *The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London: Documents* (London Record Society, 1972), *passim*.

89. Philip L. Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith* (London, 1964), pp. 321-24. He also met Englishmen at Bordeaux on his visits there in the same period.

90. W. A. McNeill, ed., "Papers of a Dundee Shipping Dispute, 1600 - 1604", *Scottish History Society, Miscellany X*, 4th series, (Edinburgh, 1965), ii, p. 61 note 2. Some fifty-three vessels came from Norway, twenty-two from Danzig and twenty from "the Isles".
91. N. J. Williams, *The Maritime Trade of the East Anglian Ports, 1550-1590* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 112, 118-19, 188, 245.
92. Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, p. 149; Fagniez, *L'économie sociale de la France*, p. 270.
93. Vanes, ed., *Documents*, p. 169.
94. Patrick McGrath, *Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth-Century Bristol* (Bristol Record Society, 1955), p. 279.
95. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland*, p. 101, ch. 7.
96. Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628* (London, 1981), p. 290.
97. F. C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973); J. Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg 1529-1819* (Cambridge, 1985); F. W. Carter, "The Commerce of the Dubrovnik Republic, 1500-1700", *EcHR*, xxiv (1971), pp. 370-394; C. Friedrichs, "The Swiss and German City-States", in R. Griffeth & C. Thomas, ed., *The City-State in Five Cultures* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1981); P. Clark, ed., *The European Crisis of the 1590s* (London, 1984); Richard Mackenney, *The City-State 1500-1700: Republican Liberty in an Age of Princely Power* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1989), (summary).
98. Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, pp. 222-24.
99. J. Michael Hayden, *France and the Estates General of 1614* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 85, 96, 266-83.
100. Robin Briggs, *Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tensions in Early Modern France* (Oxford, 1991), ch. 5, "Church and state from Henri IV to Louis XIV".
101. Judith Pugh Meyer, "La Rochelle and the Failure of the French Reformation", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, xv (1984), pp. 175-77; J. F. Boshier, "Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, Vol. LII, No. 1, (January 1995), pp. 77-102.
102. Jacques Mathieu, *La Nouvelle-France: les Français en Amérique du Nord* (Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2001), p. 47; *Encyclopedia of the North American Colonies* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1993), vol. I, p. 136. For scholarly affirmation of Dugua's primacy in founding New France, see Jean Liebel, *Pierre Dugua sieur de Mons, fondateur de Québec* (Niort, Le Croît vif, 1999), 367 pp. and Guy Binot, *Pierre Dugua de Mons: Gentilhomme Royannais, Premier Colonisateur du Canada, Lieutenant Général de la Nouvelle-France de 1603 à 1612* (Royan, Editions Bonne Anse, 2004), 267 pp.
103. Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, p. 256.
104. Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq., collection Margry vol. 9269, fo 45-46: Archives de Versailles, *Requête adressée au Roi par les religieux Recollets, 1620-21*. This printed

petition expresses much praise of Champlain, fear of the English, Dutch and Flemish "sans mettre en ligne de compte les menées et entreprises de ceux de La Rochelle qui tous les ans apportent armes et munitions aux sauvages, les animent à couper la gorge aux Francoys et ruyner leur habitations, ce qui n'est pas peu considerable." Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, LK¹² 773, *Au Roy sur la Nouvelle France* (1626).

105. Parker, *La Rochelle*, pp. 220-21; Howell A. Lloyd, *The Rouen Campaign, 1590-1592: Politics, Warfare and the Early Modern State* (Oxford, 1973); Philip Benedict, "Rouen's Trade During the Era of Religious Wars, 1560-1600", *JEEH*, xiii (1984), pp. 29-74.

106. Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, pp. 310-21.

107. Le Blant & Delafosse, "Les rochelais dans la vallée...", p. 345.

108. Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, p. 167.

109. Robert Le Blant, "Documents inédits sur Guillaume Decaen, Protestant Normand au Canada sous le Grand Cardinal", *105^e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes* (Caen, 1980), "Histoire moderne", pp. 445-60; Le Blant & Delafosse, "Les rochelais dans la vallée ...", pp. 345-58.

110. Robert Le Blant, "Les arrêts du parlement de Rouen du 25 juin et les premières compagnies du Canada", *Revue des sociétés savantes de Haute Normandie*, iii (1956), p. 50.

111. Le Blant, "Les arrêts...", p. 49; Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, p. 167.

112. Le Blant & Delafosse, "Les rochelais dans la vallée...", p. 350-53; Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveau documents*, pp. 340, 377.

113. Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce de La Rochelle*, pp. 136, 170, 171 documents pp. 213-14, note p. 336, note p. 344.

114. Archives des Colonies, F³ vol. 3, fo 105, *Lettre du roy à Champlain*, 7 May 1620.

115. Some of these have been collected and filed in typescript transcription by Père Margry and Pierre Le Blant in what they evidently intended as a second volume of their *Nouveaux documents sur Champlain et son époque* (carton 2), kept under its name at the National Archives of Canada.

116. Archives nationales, Minutier central des notaires, étude VI, 431 (notaries Perlin & Leroy), 29 April 1625, *procuration*; étude VI, 433 (notaries Perlin & Leroy), 10 March 1626, *procuration*; étude LI, 86, (notaries Grandrye & Herbin), *vente par le duc de Ventadour à Jean de Lauson de la charge de vice-roi au Canada*.

117. Le Blant & Baudry, *Nouveaux documents*, p. 292.

118. Trocmé & Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, p. 168.

119. On 5 March 1620 he sent off *Le Plaisir*, 80 tx., with nineteen men, of whom twelve were to fish and seven to trade; she returned in September with fish and fur. In 1621 he fitted out *Le Jean*, 60 tx., of Mortagne, and *L'Élie*, 80 tx., of Marennes, on which he sailed himself. On 21 March 1623 he sailed from La Rochelle in *Le Don de Dieu* of Marennes, 80 tx., and spent the summer trading and fishing with Biencourt before returning to La Rochelle in September. In 1624 he planned to send *Le Désir*, 150 tx., over to Biencourt, but this connection ended then because Biencourt died that year. (Trocmé and

Delafosse, *Le commerce rochelais*, p. 169; Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, ii, p. 479).

120. François Moisy, "Le rétablissement des structures catholiques après le siège de La Rochelle (1628-1648)", *Revue du Bas-Poitou et des Provinces de l'Ouest* (Fontenay-le-Comte), (1973), pp. 1-85, also published separately).

121. Kevin Christophe Robbins, "The Families and Politics of La Rochelle, 1550-1650", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The Johns Hopkins University, 1991, chapter 4; Katherine Louis Faust, "A Beleagured Society: Protestant Families in La Rochelle, 1628-1685", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, 1980, *passim*.

122. Père Louis Pérouas, "Sur la démographie rochelaise", *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, xvi (1961), pp. 1131-40; Philip Benedict, "The Huguenot Population of France, 1600-1685: the Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, lxxxi, part 5 (1991), pp. 3, 51, 55.

123. ADCM 3 E 258, Chesneau (LR) reg. 26 April 1639, fo 69, *obligation*; W. A. Shaw, ed., *Denizations & Naturalizations of Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603-1700* (London, 1911), p. 336 (dated 9 December 1639).

124. Van Cleef Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations: The Economic Policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623-1639* (Baltimore, 1969), p. 75-6; Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, vol. II, pp. 410-411.

125. Paula Wheeler Carlo, *Huguenot Refugees in Colonial New York: Becoming American in the Hudson Valley* (Brighton, Sussex Academic Press, 2005), p. 28: "Virtually all of the founders of New Rochelle came from the Atlantic provinces of Poitou, Saintonge and Aunis, where the Huguenot stronghold and port of La Rochelle was situated, and from the Isle de Ré. Indeed, most Huguenots who came to America (New Palz excepted) were from these areas."

126. Oliver A. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson: A Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca, 1986), pp. 85-113; George L. Smith, *Religion and Trade in New Netherlands* (Ithaca, 1973), p. 154; Violet Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the 17th Century* (Baltimore, 1950), pp. 49-50; Jan Kupp, "Dutch Documents", vol. XVI, C 628.

127. Lucien Campeau, ed., *Monumenta novæ franciæ: IV, Les grandes épreuves (1638-1640)* (Rome, 1989), p. 466, Jérôme Lalemant to Richelieu, 28 March 1640. "On demandoit autrefois avec tant d'ardeur l'expulsion des huguenots qui tenoient le milieu de ces terres. Sans Vostre Eminence, qui a pour ce sujet sacrifié ses propres intérêts, la chose seroit encore à faire, au grand préjudice du bien de ce pays."

128. For a sequel to this study, J. F. Boshier, "The Political and Religious Origins of La Rochelle's Primacy in Trade with New France, 1627-1685", *French History*, vol 7 (1993), pp. 286-312.