

*The Reluctant Land*



# *The Reluctant Land*

Society, Space, and Environment in Canada  
before Confederation

Cole Harris

With cartography by Eric Leinberger



UBC Press · Vancouver · Toronto

© UBC Press 2008

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without prior written permission of the publisher, or, in Canada, in the case of photocopying or other reprographic copying, a licence from Access Copyright (Canadian Copyright Licensing Agency), [www.accesscopyright.ca](http://www.accesscopyright.ca).

16 15 14 13 12 11 10 09 08 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in Canada on acid-free paper.

**LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION**

Harris, R. Cole

The reluctant land: society, space, and environment in Canada before Confederation / Cole Harris; with cartography by Eric Leinberger.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-7748-1449-2

1. Canada – History – To 1763 (New France)
2. Canada – History – 1763-1867.
3. Canada – Historical geography. I. Title.

FC161.H37 2008 971 C2008-900648-8

**Canada**

UBC Press gratefully acknowledges the financial support for our publishing program of the Government of Canada through the Book Publishing Industry Development Program (BPIDP), and of the Canada Council for the Arts, and the British Columbia Arts Council.

This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, through the Aid to Scholarly Publications Programme, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and with the help of the K.D. Srivastava Fund.

UBC Press  
The University of British Columbia  
2029 West Mall  
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2  
604-822-5959 / Fax: 604-822-6083  
[www.ubcpres.ca](http://www.ubcpres.ca)

In memory of Louise Dechêne



# *Contents*

Maps and Figures / ix

Preface / xv

Acknowledgments / xxi

- 1** Lifeworlds, circa 1500 / 1
- 2** The Northwestern Atlantic, 1497-1632 / 20
- 3** Acadia and Canada / 52
- 4** The Continental Interior, 1632-1750 / 92
- 5** Creating and Bounding British North America / 117
- 6** Newfoundland / 137
- 7** The Maritimes / 162
- 8** Lower Canada / 231
- 9** Upper Canada / 306
- 10** The Northwestern Interior, 1760-1870 / 377
- 11** British Columbia / 416
- 12** Confederation and the Pattern of Canada / 448

Index / 476



# *Maps and Figures*

## **MAPS**

- 1.1 Distribution of population, northern North America, 1500 / 2
- 1.2 Physiographic regions, northern North America / 4
- 1.3 Vegetation regions, northern North America / 4
- 1.4 Economies, northern North America, 1500 / 6
- 1.5 Seasonal round of Algonquian groups north of Lake Huron / 8
- 2.1 Cartographic understandings of North America, early sixteenth century / 22
- 2.2 Eastern North America, Pierre Desceliers, detail of world map, 1550 / 25
- 2.3 Sixteenth-century European place names, Avalon Peninsula / 26
- 2.4 Part of America, Luke Foxe, 1635 / 28
- 2.5 New France, Samuel de Champlain, 1632 / 30
- 2.6 The inshore and banks fisheries / 32
- 2.7 European inshore fisheries, 1500-1600 / 37
- 2.8 Basque whaling stations, Gulf of St. Lawrence / 38
- 2.9 Port of Tadoussac, Samuel de Champlain, 1613 / 39
- 2.10 Peoples, trade routes, and warfare around the St. Lawrence Valley, c. 1600 / 42
  - 3.1 Acadian marshland settlement, 1707 / 58
  - 3.2 Acadian farms near Port Royal, modified from Delabat, 1710 / 59
  - 3.3 Louisbourg Harbour, 1742 / 64
  - 3.4 Distribution of population in Canada, 1667 and 1759 / 66
  - 3.5 Quebec in 1759 / 70
  - 3.6 Farm lots conceded near Quebec by 1709 / 75

- 3.7 Settlement patterns near Montreal, c. 1760 / 77
- 4.1 Jesuit missions around the Great Lakes before 1650 / 94
- 4.2 Settlement around and beyond the Great Lakes, late 1650s / 96
- 4.3 Trade and settlement around and beyond the Great Lakes, 1670 / 99
- 4.4 Settlement around and beyond the Great Lakes, 1685 / 101
- 4.5 Settlement around and beyond the Great Lakes, 1701 / 103
- 4.6 French and British territorial claims after the Treaty of Utrecht / 105
- 4.7 Settlement around and beyond the Great Lakes, 1750 / 107
- 4.8 Distribution of Native groups northwest of the Great Lakes, 1720-60 / 113
- 5.1 France in North America, c. 1750 / 118
- 5.2 Geopolitical claims to North America, 1763-83 / 122
- 5.3 Quebec after the Royal Proclamation, 1763 / 124
- 5.4 Western British North America after the Convention of 20 October 1818 / 130
- 5.5 The bounded space of British North America / 133
- 5.6 Population density of British North America, 1851 / 134
- 6.1 French and English fisheries in Newfoundland, c. 1600 / 138
- 6.2 Inshore fishing ships and winter residents, c. 1675 / 141
- 6.3 Winter population, 1766 and 1784-85 / 144
- 6.4 Trinity, 1801 / 148
- 6.5 Population, 1836 / 152
- 7.1 Land capability in Greater Nova Scotia / 163
- 7.2 Loyalists in the Maritimes, 1785 / 168
- 7.3 Distribution of population in the Maritimes, 1800 / 174
- 7.4 Population of New Brunswick, 1851 / 185
- 7.5 Sawmills and settlement, a hypothetical landscape / 190
- 7.6 Acadian settlements in New Brunswick / 193
- 7.7 Settlement along the lower Miramichi, 1851 / 194
- 7.8 Plan of Lord Selkirk's estate at Point Prim, lots 57 and 58, c. 1803 / 197
- 7.9 Distribution of population, Prince Edward Island, 1833 / 198
- 7.10 David Ross farm, lot 34, 1841 / 199
- 7.11 Origin of the island population, by township, c. 1851-81 / 201
- 7.12 Landholding in Middle River / 204

- 7.13 Hardwood Hill / 213
- 7.14 Shipyards, St. Mary's Bay / 214
- 7.15 Distribution of population, Nova Scotia, 1851 / 216
- 7.16 Exports from Nova Scotia, 1854 / 218
- 7.17 Great roads and bye roads in Nova Scotia, 1851 / 219
- 7.18 Shipbuilding, 1870 / 220
  - 8.1 Soil capability for agriculture, Quebec / 235
  - 8.2 Seigneurial ownership, 1791 / 237
  - 8.3 Rang settlement patterns: a) near Trois-Rivières; b) on a hypothetical seigneurie / 239
  - 8.4 Villages in the seigneurial lowland, 1815 and 1851 / 241
  - 8.5 Locations of case studies / 248
  - 8.6 St. Lawrence transportation system, 1860 / 265
  - 8.7 Origin of Canadian immigrants to Montreal, 1859 / 267
  - 8.8 Value of industrial production, St. Lawrence corridor, 1871 / 273
  - 8.9 Distribution of selected occupations in Montreal, 1861 / 274
- 8.10 Colonizing the fringe of the Canadian Shield / 279
- 8.11 District of St. Francis (detail), Canada East, 1863 / 293
- 8.12 Dams and manufacturies along the Magog River, 1827-67 / 294
- 8.13 Free grants and Crown sales in Winslow Township, 1850-60 / 295
- 8.14 Distribution of population, Quebec, 1871 / 299
  - 9.1 Soil capability for agriculture / 307
  - 9.2 English origins by county, as recorded on gravestones in Peel, Halton, and York Counties / 313
  - 9.3 Township surveys / 317
  - 9.4 Distribution of population, 1825 / 321
  - 9.5 Initial allocation of land in Essa Township, Northern Home District, c. 1821 / 325
  - 9.6 Rural settlement near Peterborough / 326
  - 9.7 Percentage of cultivated land per township, 1851 / 329
  - 9.8 Wood production / 340
  - 9.9 Population distribution, 1851 / 343
  - 9.10 Population density, 1851 and 1871 / 349
  - 9.11 Railways, 1860 / 357
  - 9.12 Population distribution, 1871 / 359
  - 9.13 Manufacturing establishments in Hamilton, 1860 / 361

- 9.14 Colonization roads in the Ottawa-Huron Tract / 368
- 10.1 French and British trade routes in the northwestern interior, 1755 / 380
- 10.2 Trade routes in the northwestern interior, 1774-89 and 1806-21 / 381
- 10.3 Fur posts in 1821 and 1825 / 383
- 10.4 Depletion of beaver in the Petit Nord / 386
- 10.5 Red River settlement, 1816 / 387
- 10.6 Distribution of Native peoples in 1821 and 1860 / 391
- 10.7 The establishment of missions / 396
- 10.8 Red River parishes and population, 1856 / 399
- 10.9 Distribution of population in southern Manitoba, 1870 / 404
- 10.10 Palliser's Triangle and the Fertile Belt / 407
- 10.11 Economic activities at Norway House, 1870 / 411
  - 11.1 Principal European explorations in the Cordillera, 1774-1811 / 417
  - 11.2 Smallpox epidemics, eighteenth century / 419
  - 11.3 North West and Hudson's Bay Company posts in the Cordillera, 1805-46 / 426
  - 11.4 Land surveys near Victoria, 1855 / 430
  - 11.5 Gold rush transportation, 1865 / 436
  - 11.6 Douglas reserves (1864) and reductions (1868) in the lower Fraser Valley / 438
  - 11.7 Population in southern and central British Columbia, 1881 / 441
- 12.1 Making the Dominion of Canada, 1867-73 / 452

#### FIGURES

- 1.1 Late pre-contact Tsimshian village of Kitkatla / 12
- 1.2 The Draper Site, a sixteenth-century Huron village / 13
- 2.1 *Englishmen in a Skirmish with Eskimo* (detail), 1585-93 (artist, John White) / 27
- 2.2 Newfoundland fishing stations, 1772 / 33
- 2.3 Habitation at Port Royal, c. 1606 / 40
- 2.4 Habitation at Quebec, 1608-12 / 41
- 3.1 *Quebec as Seen from the East*, 1688 (artist, J-B-L Franquelin) / 69
- 3.2 The wooden house / 81
- 3.3 "Église Saint-Laurent, Île d'Orléans," c. 1870 / 84
- 6.1 Summer and winter populations, eighteenth century / 143

- 6.2 *The Town and Harbour of St. John's*, 1831 (artist, William Eagar) / 153
- 6.3 *Bell Isle Beach, Conception Bay, Newfoundland* (detail), 1857 (artist, William Grey) / 156
- 6.4 *Harbour Breton, Newfoundland* (detail), n.d. (artist unknown) / 157
- 6.5 *Trinity Bay and Hearts Content* (detail), 1865 (artist, J. Becker) / 157
- 7.1 *Perspective View of the Province Building, Halifax* (detail), 1819 (artist, John Elliott Woolford) / 174
- 7.2 "Lumberman's Camp, Nashwaak River, New Brunswick," c. 1870 (photographer, William Notman) / 187
- 7.3 *View of Saint John, N.B., 1851* (detail) (artist, J.W. Hill) / 189
- 7.4 *The Green at Fredericton*, c. 1838 (artist, W.H. Bartlett) / 192
- 7.5 *River St. John from Forks of Madawaska*, 1839 (artist, Philip J. Bainbrigge) / 194
- 7.6 *Sunny Side Stock Farm, Res. of Robt. Fitzsimons, Long River, New London, Lot 20, P.E.I.*, 1880 / 202
- 7.7 *Drying Codfish*, c. 1880 (artist, R. Harris) / 207
- 7.8 *Mining Scenes, Caledonian Mines, Cape Breton County*, c. 1880 / 208
- 7.9 *View from Retreat Farm, Windsor, N.S.* (detail), c. 1839 (artist, William Eagar) / 212
- 7.10 *The Town and Harbour of St. John, New Brunswick* (detail), 1866 / 221
- 8.1 *View from the Citadel of Quebec*, 1838 (artist, W.H. Bartlett) / 236
- 8.2 *View of Château Richer*, 1787 (artist, Thomas Davies) / 238
- 8.3 *The Village of Pointe Lévis, Lower Canada* (detail), 1838 (artist, H.W. Barnard) / 261
- 8.4 *Locks on the Rideau Canal*, 1838 (artist, W.H. Bartlett) / 264
- 8.5 *Timber Depot near Quebec*, 1838 (artist, W.H. Bartlett) / 269
- 8.6 *View of the Port and of the Rue des Commissaires*, 1843 (artist, James Duncan) / 269
- 8.7 Housing in Montreal: a) fourplex and duplex; b) *St. Antoine Hall* / 275
- 8.8 *Canada Marine Works, Augustin Cantin, Montreal, Canada East*, 1857 / 276

- 8.9 *The Habitant Farm*, 1856 (artist, Cornelius Krieghoff) / 286
- 8.10 Mill at Sherbrooke on the Magog River (artist, W.H. Bartlett) / 290
- 8.11 *Stanstead, Lower Canada* (detail), 1842 (artist, W.H. Bartlett) / 297
- 9.1 Emigration from the British Isles, 1815-65 / 310
- 9.2 Land prices in Essex County, 1800-50 / 319
- 9.3 *Road between Kingston and York [Toronto], Upper Canada* (detail), c. 1830 (artist, J.P. Pattison) / 323
- 9.4 *A Clearing, Upper Canada* (detail), 1839 (artist, Philip J. Bainbrigge) / 327
- 9.5 *First Home in Canada*, n.d. (artist, William Armstrong) / 328
- 9.6 *Adolphustown, Upper Canada*, c. 1830 (artist, John Burrows) / 328
- 9.7 *Grist Mill, Saw Mills, Etc. on the Nappanee River, at Nappanee Village* (detail), c. 1830 (artist, John Burrows) / 337
- 9.8 *Cobourg*, 1838 (artist, W.H. Bartlett) / 345
- 9.9 *Toronto, Canada West. From the Top of the Jail* (detail), 1854 (artist, Edwin Whitefield) / 346
- 9.10 Ontario house types (artist, Peter Ennals) / 350
- 9.11 Ontario barns (artist, Peter Ennals) / 351
- 9.12 *Reception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by the Inhabitants of Toronto, Canada West, 27 Oct. 1860* (detail) (artist, G.H. Andrews) / 370
- 10.1 *Indians Completing a Portage, 1873* (detail) (artist, William Armstrong) / 378
- 10.2 *Half Breeds Travelling* (detail), 1848-56 (artist, Paul Kane) / 395
- 10.3 *Manitoba Settler's House and Red River Cart*, c. 1870 (artist, William Hind) / 402
- 10.4 *Blackfoot Indian Encampment, Foothills of the Rocky Mountains*, c. 1870 (artist, William Armstrong) / 408
- 10.5 *Main Street, Winnipeg*, 1871 (artist, E.J. Hutchins) / 409
- 11.1 *View of the Habitations in Nootka Sound* (engraving by Samuel Smith from drawing by John Webber, 1778) / 419
- 11.2 *View from Fort Langley*, c. 1858 (artist, J.M. Alden) / 425
- 11.3 *Fort Yale, British Columbia*, 1864 (artist, Frederick Whympers) / 433
- 11.4 "Gold Mining, Cariboo," n.d. (photographer unknown) / 435

## *Preface*

Sprawled irregularly across a continent, and settled at different times by different peoples, Canada is not an easy country to know. French then British settler colonies were superimposed on Native peoples, and discontinuous patches of European settlement were bounded by rock, frost, and, eventually, the border with the United States. In various ways, Canada has been a reluctant creation. No European country has anything like its past, nor does its neighbour, the United States. The American past has to do with extension and abundance, the Canadian, slowly worked out near or beyond the northern continental limit of agriculture, with discontinuity, paradox, and limitations – with boundaries at almost every turn. There have been no a priori, no master plans, no first principles. There has been an evolving patchwork of settlements, and in each of them an accumulating experience with the land and peoples nearby that eventually would be combined into a country.

Complicating the problem of knowing Canada is the widespread contemporary disinclination to write national histories. They are seen as hegemonic, as favouring the interests of some over others, and, at worst, as imposing a triumphant linear narrative on the intricate variety of the past. If national histories are viewed in this light, the challenge, obviously, is to deconstruct them. Yet, early in the twenty-first century it is far from clear what national history of Canada awaits deconstruction. There is no consistent, broadly accepted narrative of the Canadian past. Most of the country's historians work at a much more local scale, so much so that some of them lament the near demise of Canadian history. The Canadian

public, for its part, is hesitant about the nature of Canadian identity and the meaning of being Canadian. In these circumstances, construction seems at least as important as deconstruction. It too can be sensitive to ambiguity, nuance, and difference. It need not treat a country's past as a stage for a well-programmed play any more than as an amalgam of changing places where lives were lived and events occurred, settlements were created or destroyed, and the land was etched with differently lived lives. Such is the past one wants to explore – not to promote, preach, or create a national vision but to understand and thereby bring into somewhat clearer focus what this country is and what it is not.

And so I return with a good deal of enthusiasm and a certain sense of urgency to an undertaking in which I have engaged before. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, John Warkentin and I wrote a general account of early Canada, *Canada before Confederation: A Historical Geography*. In the late 1970s and through much of the '80s, I edited another general account, the first volume of the *Historical Atlas of Canada*. The former, which was intended as an undergraduate text, served for a considerable time but has been superseded by new research, fresh ways of conceptualizing and theorizing the past, and the changing nature of Canada. The latter, to which many scholars contributed, has proved more resilient, but would be handled differently today. Moreover, its coverage was shaped by its cartographic emphasis, and ended, for the most part, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It seemed clear, therefore, that a new account of early Canada was needed. *Canada before Confederation* was too dated to be revised. A different book was required, but only recently have I had time to review current literatures, think again about this country, and write. *The Reluctant Land* is the result. It is intended for students in history or historical geography and for all others – including scholars and the reading public – who seek a broad account of land and life in early Canada. I would like Canadians to know their country better.

Early Canada was a distinctive and changing human geography, and I have long assumed that my own field, historical geography, was particularly well placed to consider this mixture of people and land. Yet, some historians work with similar ingredients, and in this book I have sought to write an interdisciplinary account, at once historical and geographical, of land and life in early Canada between AD 1500 – when, five hundred years after the Norse, Europeans began to re-encounter a vast and diverse

Native land – and the Confederation years of the late 1860s and early 1870s. Except here and there where the discussion touches on my own research, I have relied on regionally and topically focused secondary literatures, the most relevant parts of which, for my purposes, are identified in the suggested readings that follow each chapter. The grist for a fresh, large account of early Canada lies in the rich body of detailed local research completed over the last thirty years and more; the orientation of such an account is inflected by contemporary Canada itself and, to some extent, by the currently available theoretical literature. It is a matter of absorbing these research findings, and then of musing about them in relation to each other, the country past and present, and the interpretative and theoretical frameworks at hand.

But one needs be cautious. There is no theoretical framework from which Canada can be deduced. Theory tends to abstraction and simplification; used deductively, it is inclined to strip away a country's complexity and individuality. If theory has the invaluable capacity to pose new questions and open new avenues of enquiry, it cannot provide a broad synthetic understanding of the intricate, variegated convergence of people and land out of which early Canada emerged. Marx's imposing analysis of early industrial capitalism, for example, catches some elements of early Canada while missing many others altogether. For the purposes of this book, he is a useful but partial resource. Similarly, though recent literatures in cultural theory and postcolonial studies have generated important enquiries into the interrelationships of culture and power, they have largely ignored other forms of power. Moreover, as many critics have pointed out, they tend to describe a generic colonialism, thus underplaying the variety and complexity of colonial experience, particularly as colonialism worked itself out in settler colonies. And so, though I draw on these and other theoretical literatures in various ways, readers will find, I hope, that *The Reluctant Land* is not dominated by them.

Rather, I have tried to work inductively with both Canada and theory – the former rather more than the latter. I largely agree with Harold Innis, still Canada's most distinguished economic historian, that the conceptualization of Canada must emerge in good part from within Canada itself. The country has been a particular creation. There are, however, patterns in this distinctiveness to which theoretical literatures can be some guide, but even more, I think, a steeping in the country's circumstances.

In a general book on early Canada, that steeping entails an immersion not in the archives, which (at the scale of the whole country) are simply too large and undigested, but rather in the archivally based research literature. The recent focus of most of this literature, whether written by historians, historical geographers, or historical sociologists, has been social or economic; it is this focus, coupled with my own inclinations, that orients much of the analysis in this book. I have taken a good part of the research literature of the last thirty years, my own writing on and experience with this country, and such elements of more general theory as seemed relevant, put them into a pot, and stirred – the recipe for this book. Although full of the changing local arrangements of this sprawled land and of my attempts to account for them, it is also intended as a step towards the clearer conceptualization – in the loosest sense, the incipient theorization – of the background of the country as a whole.

Given its scale and objectives, *The Reluctant Land* omits far more than it treats. These pages contain next to nothing of biography or of political, institutional, or religious history. Many people appear, but few individuals. Stories are few, although perhaps the whole book is a story. Rather, there are accounts of the changing arrangement and interactions of people and land in early Canada and of the humanized spaces of early Canadian life. *The Reluctant Land* looks less at individuals than at these frames within which their lives were situated, and does so because they largely shaped early Canada and remain, I think, the point of departure for thought about this country. A good part of contemporary Canadian life – much of our politics and creative writing, for example – still revolves around them.

I begin with an overview of settlement patterns in northern North America in AD 1500, just as Europeans were beginning to re-establish connections across the North Atlantic. Such a point of departure permits a description of pre-contact Aboriginal lifeworlds without requiring an explanation – unnecessary for the purposes of this book – of their origins. Chapter 2 deals with European explorers and cartography, with fishers and fur traders, and with the possible sixteenth-century introduction of European diseases. From there, Chapter 3 turns to the French settler colonies in Acadia and Canada, following them to the mid-eighteenth century. Chapter 4 treats the continental interior and the turbulent mix of Native peoples, introduced diseases, missionaries, French and English fur traders, and soldiers that emerged there during the seventeenth and first

half of the eighteenth centuries. The fifth chapter is geopolitical; it considers the wars, treaties, and boundary settlements out of which British North America emerged, and in so doing establishes the geographical framework for the rest of the book. From this point, my treatment is regional because in these years British North America was, essentially, a set of separate colonies and regions. Chapter by chapter, I consider Newfoundland, the Maritimes, Lower Canada (Quebec), Upper Canada (Ontario), the northwestern interior, and British Columbia. In each, to put it baldly, I explore the changing interrelations of society, space, and land. In Chapter 12, I summarize the Confederation agreements, and then, more generally and abstractly than elsewhere in this book, consider the patterns of land and life on which they were superimposed. This leads me, finally, to reflect on some of the implications of Confederation and its long North American past for Canada as we know it today.

A note about the word “Canada,” which has not always meant what it does today. During the French regime it referred either to the French colony along the lower St. Lawrence River or (frequently interchangeably with “New France”) to the large French position in northeastern North America from the eastern Gulf of St. Lawrence through the Great Lakes. After the conquest, and particularly after the Quebec Act of 1774, the term was replaced by “the Province of Quebec,” then was revived after the Constitutional Act of 1791 in the terms “Lower Canada” (today, southern Quebec) and “Upper Canada” (southern Ontario). There, with the modification in 1841 to “Canada East” and “Canada West,” this toponymy rested until Confederation. The Atlantic colonies were not part of Canada. Nor was the West. Nor, for a good time, were all the inhabitants of Lower Canada Canadians. Long after 1760, Canadians were the French-speaking people whose ancestors had settled along the lower St. Lawrence during the French regime. Others there – Scots, Irish, English, Americans – were newcomers. In this book I use the word “Canada” in three different senses: to refer, anachronistically, to the whole territory of modern Canada, as in the subtitle; to refer to the French colony along the lower St. Lawrence; and to refer to the territories variously called Canada between 1791 and Confederation. I use the term “Canadian” as it was employed during the French regime and long thereafter: to identify the French-speaking inhabitants of Canada. I do not refer to “French Canadians” or “English Canadians” until the 1850s and 1860s, when these identifications became more current.

Finally, a few words about Louise Dechêne, to whom this book is dedicated. She was a committed and exemplary scholar; her best-known book, *Habitants et marchands de Montréal*, published in 1974, remains by far the outstanding work on Canada during the French regime – rivaled only by a manuscript on the state and warfare that she left unfinished at her death and is soon to be published. She poured talent and energy into her writing, her students, and her collaborations (volume 1 of the *Historical Atlas of Canada*, for example). She had a deep, abiding respect for careful, archival scholarship, and, through her own such work, for the ordinary people of early Canada, knowing as she did the difficulty of most of their lives. She was a friend who put her views strongly and would probably have disagreed with parts of the analysis that follows.

## *Acknowledgments*

*The Reluctant Land* grows out of the detailed scholarship on early Canada completed over the last long generation, the impetus given North American historical geography by Andrew H. Clark at the University of Wisconsin, and the book, *Canada before Confederation*, that in the late 1960s he encouraged John Warkentin and me to write. Some years later, the *Historical Atlas of Canada*, the first volume of which I edited, assembled an enormous body of considered information, to which this book is greatly indebted, about the spatial organization of early Canadian society. More recently, Donald Meinig's monumental study, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History*, has encouraged me to persevere with this more modest synthesis.

As chapters were written, I sent them to friends and regional specialists. They, of course, did not always agree with me on important points or find their advice always taken, but their comments invariably improved the manuscript. All of them have my warm thanks: Jean Barman, Ted Binnema, Will Castleton, John Clarke, Daniel Clayton, Serge Courville, Julie Cruikshank, Denis Delâge, Catherine Desbarats, Gerhard Ens, Matthew Evenden, Derek Fraser, Robert Galois, Allan Greer, Naomi Griffiths, Paul Hackett, Gordon Handcock, Douglas Harris, Matthew Hatvany, Conrad Heidenreich, Stephen Hornsby, Keith Johnson, Diane Killou, Anne Knowles, Michel Lavoie, Jack Little, Richard Mackie, Elizabeth Mancke, John Mannion, Larry McCann, Jamie Morton, Carolyn Podruchny, Maurice Saint-Yves, Seamus Smyth, Laurier Turgeon, Peter Ward, John Warkentin, Wendy Wickwire, and Graeme Wynn. Two anonymous reviewers for UBC Press were also exceedingly helpful.

Although I did not ask the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council to support this book, the council's generous assistance for the *Historical Atlas of Canada* and for my two subsequent books on British Columbia has allowed me to develop many of the ideas and understandings on which *The Reluctant Land* is based. Eric Leinberger, the brilliant design cartographer who prepared the maps, has been a great pleasure to work with. The heads of my department while this book was being written, Graeme Wynn and Michael Bovis, offered encouragement and a corner of indispensable office space for a retired professor. At UBC Press, my principal thanks are due to Jean Wilson (for good sense and wisdom throughout), Holly Keller (for the efficient management of flows), Deborah Kerr (for impeccable copy editing), and David Drummond and Irma Rodriguez (for design). Over the years my wife, Muriel, a more rigorous scholar than her husband, has provided the support, criticism, and home that underlie all my scholarly endeavours.

*The Reluctant Land*

## 2

### *The Northwestern Atlantic, 1497-1632*

At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, the human societies in the eastern and western hemispheres began to be re-connected, and, as they were, two theatres of European activity emerged in the western Atlantic. One began in the Caribbean in 1492 and quickly spread into Central and South America. The other began in Newfoundland in 1497 and spread hesitantly westward. Most of the coast between the two was reconnoitered in the 1520s, then largely ignored for much of a century.

The northern theatre touched a deeply indented, rocky, ice-scoured coast dominated by a severe continental climate that froze many harbours for at least a month a year. Yet Europeans soon explored this inhospitable coast, in so doing reporting, renaming, and mapping it in ways that they could understand. As soon as it became evident that a valuable resource – an apparently endless supply of codfish – had been located, European commercial capital arrived. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, fishing ships came annually from Europe. The northeastern edge of a previously invisible continent came into European focus, some of its products entered European economies, and it began to figure in the geopolitical calculations of European courts. Its peoples may have experienced the effects of introduced infectious diseases. In such ways, the separation of the two sides of the Atlantic ended, and the momentum of change along this edge of North America became increasingly European.

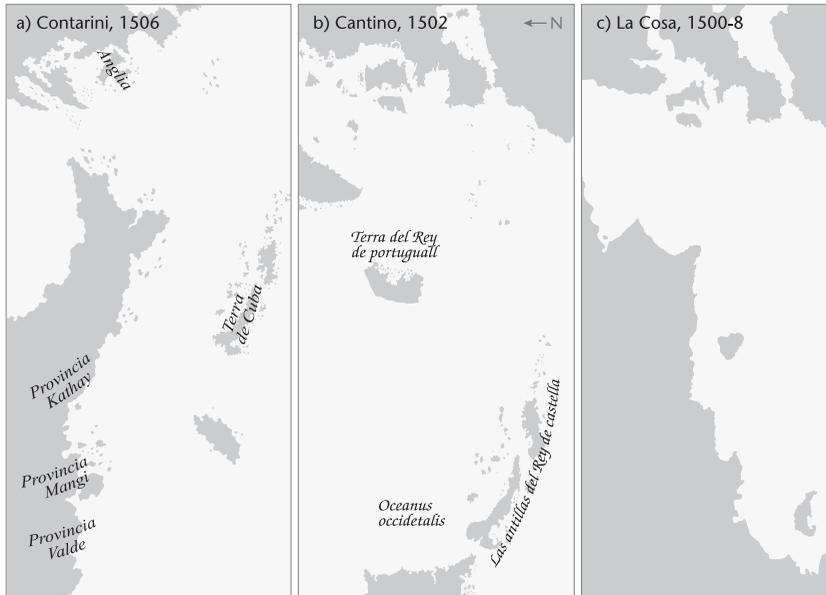
#### IMAGINING AND CLAIMING THE LAND

Before many Europeans could operate along the northeastern fringe of North America, the European imagination had to make some sense of it,

less, perhaps, to establish “what was there” than to arrange and order the land in terms that Europeans could understand. Otherwise, it was bewildering and profoundly disorienting. The process of ordering New World space, and thereby of making it knowable, continues to the present, but for some time after initial contact, explorers’ reports and maps were the principal means of bringing this space into some preliminary focus. Reports, based on fleeting observation and self-serving promotions, were usually tantalizing exaggerations. The maps that explorers and cartographers produced were egregious abstractions that represented endless complexities by a few lines. Yet these words and lines enabled Europeans to know and think in certain ways – ways embedded in systems of power that allowed them to begin to possess spaces they hardly knew.

Explorers’ reports and the maps they and European cartographers produced were means of translation and simplification. They rendered the myriad voices of new lands in an accessible European language. Once translated into this language, the land could be communicated, and then could be argued and strategized over from afar. Moreover, to the extent that this language enabled Europeans to orient themselves in a space about which they knew little, it allowed them to ignore indigenous voices situated in intricate but, from a European perspective, essentially alien systems of knowledge. A few lines on a map served to eviscerate the land of its indigenous knowledge, thus presenting it as empty, untrammelled space available for whatever the European imagination wished to do.

The process of translation and simplification began as soon as Europeans came into regular contact with the northeastern corner of North America. Its modern European discovery began, as far as we know, in July 1497, when the Genoese explorer-merchant John Cabot, sailing with the financial backing of merchants in Bristol and the permission of the English Tudor king Henry VII, reached coastal Newfoundland or Nova Scotia. He found a bleak coast, waters teeming with fish, and some prospect of a sea route to China, for which he received £10 from Henry VII and support from his backers to outfit five ships for a voyage the next year. One of these ships soon returned, storm-damaged, but the other four never did. In 1499 a Portuguese, João Fernandes, reached at least Greenland (which he named *Tiera de Lavrador*, a name that would migrate west); a year later another Portuguese, Gaspar Corte-Real, also authorized by King Manuel of Portugal, sailed as far as Greenland. He was back in 1501 and continued



**MAP 2.1** Cartographic understandings of North America, early sixteenth century | Reproductions of the original maps are in Derek Hayes, *Historical Atlas of Canada: Canada's History Illustrated with Original Maps* (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 2002), 16, 19, and 21.

to Newfoundland, but then was lost at sea, as was his brother Miguel who sailed to look for him. These precarious probes into the northwestern Atlantic had found and reported land, but what land? Cabot and his backers thought he had reached a northeastern peninsula of China, an assumption represented on several early sixteenth-century maps (Map 2.1a). Fernandes and Gaspar Corte-Real thought they had found an island (Map 2.1b). The conceptual discovery of North America apparently had not been made, although a remarkable map by the Spaniard Juan de la Cosa and variously dated from 1500 to 1508 suggests that it might have been (Map 2.1c). La Cosa's map shows a continuous coastline between the Spanish discoveries in the Gulf of Mexico and English discoveries, marked with flags, far to the north. It is the first representation of the east coast of North America. Some hold that La Cosa, who was in the Caribbean in 1499, could have got this information only from John Cabot, who, according to this interpretation, charted the coast and somehow communicated his findings to La Cosa before he and his ships disappeared.

Whatever the case, most European cartographers did not accept anything like the continental outline on the La Cosa map until the late 1520s. By this time the Florentine Giovanni Verrazano, sailing for France, and the Portuguese Estévan Gomez, sailing for Spain, had charted the east coast of North America between Newfoundland and Florida. With a fairly continuous land mass established, the eastern edge of North America was coming into focus, and exploration turned to other questions: how to get around or through this obstruction on the route to China, or whether profit might be derived from it. Verrazano had reported what he took to be open ocean beyond an offshore bar along the coast of the Carolinas. In the north, the Gulf of St. Lawrence was not yet known, nor was Newfoundland again understood as an island.

By the 1530s, bullion from the Spanish conquests of the Aztecs in Mexico, the Maya in Guatemala, and the Inca in Peru was flowing to Spain, and the prospect of finding and looting other empires became as enticing as a short route to China. In this climate of speculative imperialism, François I, king of France, commissioned Jacques Cartier, a Breton master-mariner from St-Malo, to enter a reported strait beyond the Baye des Chasteaulx (the Strait of Belle Isle, between Newfoundland and Labrador). Cartier sailed in April 1534, and before his return in early September had explored most of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, taken possession of the land in the name of the French king, and captured two St. Lawrence Iroquoians whom he took to the French court. These achievements earned him a second commission, and he was back the next year with three ships and 112 men. Directed by his two captives, Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence River as far as his larger ships could navigate. From there he explored west to Montreal Island, where he found a large well-palisaded village (Hochelaga) comprising, he reported, some fifty houses, each about fifty paces long and twelve to fifteen wide. Returning to his ships, he spent a harrowing winter of unanticipated cold, scurvy (a quarter of his men died), and increasing Native hostility before capturing ten villagers including the local chief (Donacona) and getting away to France. But he had found, as he reported to the king, “the largest river that is known to have ever been seen,” flowing through well-inhabited “lands of yours” of great fertility and richness. He also brought reports of a kingdom of the Saguenay, one moon’s journey beyond Hochelaga, where he had been told “there are many towns and ... great store of gold and copper.” Such reports, embellished by

Donacona in France, drew an expedition in 1541 of some five hundred men. Headed by a French nobleman, Jean-François de la Roque, sieur de Roberval, this was intended less to find a route to China (which now seemed unlikely via the St. Lawrence) than to establish a colony and exploit the riches of the Kingdom of Saguenay. Almost everything went wrong. Cartier and Roberval were at odds, diamonds and gold sent back to France turned out to be quartz crystals and iron pyrites, the Kingdom of Saguenay was not found, and scurvy and Native attacks decimated the colonists. Roberval and the last of the survivors left in July 1543. The French would not be back on the St. Lawrence for almost forty years.

Cartier's explorations – and particularly the colonization venture with Roberval – had much in common with those of the Spaniards Coronado (with three hundred men) and De Soto (with six hundred), who at approximately the same time were drawn by tales of kingdoms and treasure into lands far north of the Gulf of Mexico. None of them found what they sought while traversing huge territories that Europeans had never seen before. In fact, Cartier had accomplished a great deal, although his politics had antagonized the St. Lawrence Iroquoians, the principal reason, probably, for the French withdrawal from the river. He had brought the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the St. Lawrence Valley into a European field of vision, had taken possession of them in the name of the king of France, and had transformed the cartography of northeastern North America. Cartier's own maps have not survived, but cartographers in Dieppe drew on his discoveries to produce several magnificent maps. Part of one of them, drafted by Pierre Desceliers in 1550, is reproduced in Map 2.2. Newfoundland is shown detached from the mainland, the islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence are approximately in place, and the St. Lawrence River is drawn to and somewhat beyond its confluence with the Ottawa.

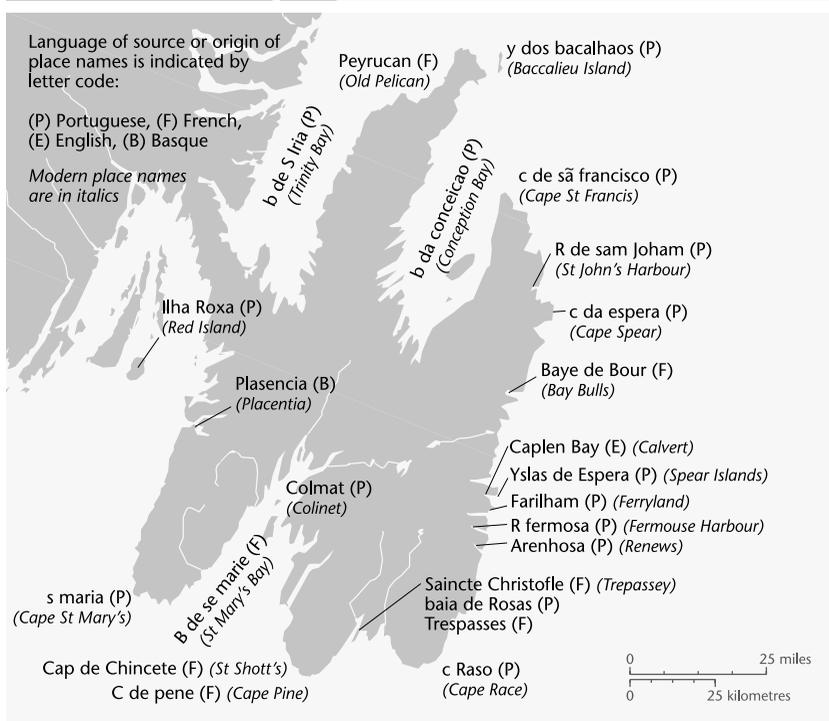
Wherever Europeans had been, the map is strewn with names. Along the Atlantic coast, it includes but a few of the many names associated with the inshore fishery (see below). Map 2.3 shows more of them: the place names on sixteenth-century maps that can be located precisely on modern maps of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula, a small fraction of the names that, undoubtedly, were then current in the largely oral world of the inshore fishery. Even within R de sam Joham (St. John's Harbour), there must have been dozens of place names in several European languages. Further west on Desceliers' map, the place names are either



MAP 2.2 Eastern North America, 1550. The map is oriented with south at the top; the peninsula at upper right is Florida. | Cartographer, Pierre Desceliers. For a large colour reproduction, see Hayes, *Historical Atlas of Canada*, 29.

gallicized renderings of Amerindian words or French names given by Cartier. All these names, superimposed on older namings in languages Europeans did not know and could not pronounce, served to make the land accessible to Europeans. It was acquiring an outline they could visualize and names they could recognize. Place names were a means of erasure: the name “Terre des Bretons,” for example, obscured the Mi’kmaq and other Native peoples who lived there and other European fishers who came there. A few of them suggest a tentative hybridity as some Native words were rendered in European phonologies.

Desceliers’ 1550 map, like other small-scale maps of the day, was not for general distribution. He intended it primarily for Henri II, then the king of France, and not simply for the king’s pleasure. It showed the territory discovered and claimed for France by a French explorer commissioned by the king, and situated this territory in a continental geography, as then understood. Such maps were statements of possession and geopolitical



MAP 2.3 Sixteenth-century European place names, Avalon Peninsula | After S. Barkham, in *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1, *From the Beginning to 1800*, ed. R. Cole Harris, cart. Geoffrey J. Matthews (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), plate 22.

tools. In effect, they were a means to transfer a few bits of information, real or fanciful, about a distant place to what the French sociologist Bruno Latour calls a centre of calculation where this spare information could be put to work. In this case it entered the diplomatic channels of French geopolitics. So recontextualized, bits of information from maps or reports could be transformed into territorial claims that, from the perspective of the peoples inhabiting the territory, seemed to have dropped from the blue. When, in 1569, Gerard Mercator first engraved and printed a map of the world in the projection for which he became famous, he identified the lands on either side of the St. Lawrence River as Nova Francia.

The reports and maps generated by Cartier's voyages and the French claims to the St. Lawrence had the effect of shifting northward the search for a passage to China. Magellan had found a southern passage; surely



**FIGURE 2.1** *Englishmen in a Skirmish with Eskimo* (detail), 1585-93 (artist, John White). A fight on the south shore of Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island. Result: five or six Inuit dead, one of Frobisher's men seriously wounded, and an Inuit woman and her son captured. | British Museum, 00026164001, © The Trustees of the British Museum.

God, in his wisdom, had also created a northern one. Most of the effort to find it was English. Beginning in the 1570s with three expeditions led by Martin Frobisher, continuing in the 1580s with John Davis, and ending in 1616 with William Baffin and Robert Bylot, the search between Greenland and Baffin Island reached the extraordinary latitude of  $77^{\circ}45'N$ . It produced several ceremonial possession takings of land, fighting with the Inuit (Figure 2.1), black gold ore mined in Frobisher Bay (it turned out to be highly metamorphosed igneous rock), and harrowing reports of ice – on which Coleridge probably drew for “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner” – but no passage. South of Baffin Island, Henry Hudson followed a strait into a huge chamber of the sea that became known as Hudson Bay, where he and his men over-wintered in 1610-11. After the ice finally broke up the following June, most of his crew mutinied and abandoned him. Other explorers followed: William Button in 1612-13; the Dane Jens Munk in



MAP 2.4 Part of America, Luke Foxe, 1635 | British Columbia Archives, 1-61569.

1619-20; and in the early 1630s Luke Foxe, backed by London merchants, and Thomas James, backed by a rival group in Bristol. With the technology of the day, the passage they sought did not exist to be found. But these voyages into Hudson Bay as well as those into Davis Strait and Baffin Bay had transformed the cartography of far northeastern North America. Luke Foxe's map, published in 1635 (Map 2.4), shows what had been accomplished. There were still a few holes in the cartographic coastline that might lead to passages, but after so much negative information investors were no longer willing to assume the cost of probing them. Although they had no return to show for investments spread over fifty years, the English had acquired experience with arctic navigation and knowledge of Hudson Bay,

and both would be drawn on when an English fur trade began later in the century.

By this time there had been French settlements on the St. Lawrence for more than two decades, and the fur trade (discussed below) was well in train. In 1632, near the end of his life, Samuel de Champlain, the explorer/trader/cartographer who had established the French on the St. Lawrence, published his final cartographic synthesis of the regions in which he had spent most of his adult years. This remarkable map (Map 2.5) shows the Atlantic coast with fair precision, identifies three of the Great Lakes – Lac St. Louis (Lake Ontario), Mer Douce (Lake Huron), and Grand Lac (Lake Superior or Lake Michigan) – and suggests Lake Erie. Champlain's cartography had reached with some accuracy far into the continental interior, well beyond territory that any European had seen.

The map suggests just how far the venture on the St. Lawrence had drawn the French towards the continental interior and into contact with Native peoples. To a considerable extent, Champlain had reproduced Native geographical knowledge while, like other European cartographers, simplifying and decontextualizing it. He could not reproduce the intricate textures of Native environmental knowledge, and the edges of that understanding that he did reproduce were detached from their cultural context. The pictorial representations of Native settlements on Champlain's map include elements of Native architecture while resembling European peasant villages (Map 2.5). Much of the map simply creates blank space. At the same time, it produced a type of information that, at the scale of northeastern North America, Native knowledge could not match. It had shifted the land into a different category of information, one that Native people did not need, but that Europeans did, for it allowed them to visualize space and, however approximately, to get their bearings. Ironically, the Native information that Champlain incorporated in his map became a means of enabling Europeans to reconceptualize Native space in European terms. Like Desceliers' before it, Champlain's map enabled the French Crown to claim territory, and in so doing to ignore Native possession while asserting its own interests. A rudimentary knowledge of the land, made available in Europe, became a considerable source of European power – a cartographic equation of power and knowledge that would be repeated across the continent.



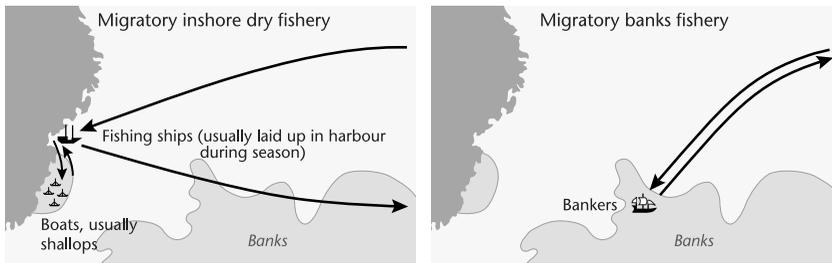
MAP 2.5 New France, Samuel de Champlain, 1632 | Library and Archives Canada, NMC, 51970.

### THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FISHERIES

While this process of discovering, naming, reporting, and claiming was going on, European capital and labour mobilized to exploit a major new world resource. John Cabot had found an abundance of codfish; virtually as soon as this resource was known, portions of European offshore fisheries moved to exploit it. Years ago Harold Innis, Canada's most distinguished economic historian, argued that the early Canadian economy turned around the export of slightly processed primary resources – staple trades, he called them – of which the first was the cod fishery. As far as the sixteenth century is concerned, he was right on both counts.

The transatlantic cod fishery grew out of an international fishery conducted by French, Basque, Portuguese, and English fishers in waters off southern Ireland, one of several offshore European fisheries established long before 1500 in response to declining inshore fish stocks. Ships and fishing technologies, experienced labour, sources of supplies, lines of credit, insurance, and investors were at hand. So were markets, especially among the growing urban population of the relatively well off, for a suitable food for the many fish days – 153 a year in France, Spain, and Portugal – prescribed by the church. Whereas European inshore fisheries were often local extensions of peasant economies, the offshore fisheries were complex commercial systems driven by experienced, profit-seeking commercial capital. When John Cabot and his successors reported new fish stocks, portions of this well-established commercial system swung westward to connect one of the world's largest supplies of edible fish to European markets. The Portuguese were there first, followed quickly by Normans and Bretons, and in the 1520s by French and Spanish Basques.

Although this fishery had reached a rock-bound – and, in winter, ice-bound – coast, one of the least hospitable in the midlatitudes on earth, it relied entirely at first on inshore waters for fish and on-shore installations for processing them. In this inshore fishery, fishing took place from small boats, not from the ship that had crossed the Atlantic. It depended, therefore, on suitable sites ashore that were accessible to the fishing grounds. Captains sought out harbours where their ships could be safely anchored or moored, and where there were beach cobbles (rather than sand) for drying cod, room for landing stages and cabins, wood for construction and repairs, fresh water, and (less certainly) cloudy, windy weather for

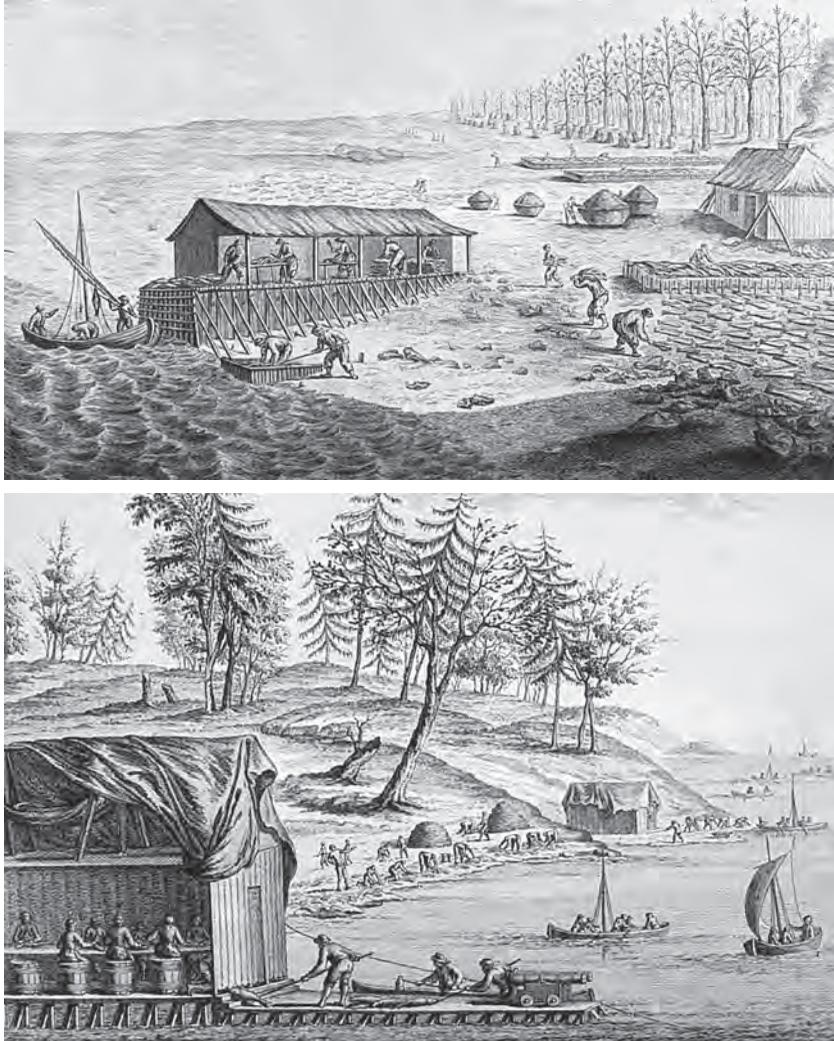


MAP 2.6 The inshore and banks fisheries | After cartograms by G. Head, in Harris and Matthews, *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1, plate 21.

drying. Such harbours were identified, named, and returned to year after year. After midcentury, another fishing strategy appeared as some captains began to make directly for the offshore banks, fish there from aboard ship, and return to Europe without landing in the New World – a strategy provoked, perhaps, by climatic deterioration with the onset of the Little Ice Age and the migration of cod to deeper waters offshore. Thereafter, inshore and banks fisheries (depicted schematically in Map 2.6) would have a long coexistence.

Both fisheries were labour-intensive. On the banks, fishermen used baited hooks and weighted hempen lines, often of fifty metres or longer. The cod they laboriously hauled on board were headed, gutted, and boned at tables on the deck, and the fillets preserved in the ship's hold between layers of salt, a “wet” (or “green”) cure. In the inshore fishery, landing stages and cabins had to be built or repaired, and boats (usually prefabricated in Europe) assembled, work that occupied the better part of a month after the ship arrived. During the fishing period, usually lasting some six weeks, crews of three fished with hook and line in small boats close to shore and, at the end of each fishing day, unloaded their catch at a landing stage. There the cod were dressed as in the offshore fishery, then lightly salted and piled for several days, then washed, then put out to dry (Figure 2.2). In good weather, this dry cure took about ten days, during which the cod were spread out, skin down, at dawn, turned at midday, and piled at night – drying that moved each piece of cod some thirty times. Some three months after it had arrived, when all of this was accomplished, the ship had to be loaded and readied to sail. All work was manual. When fish were abundant, the specialized division of labour on the landing stages was, essentially, an unmechanized assembly line that worked around the

clock. The largely unskilled work of washing and drying began at dawn, about 3:00 a.m., and continued until dark. The fish boats, usually carrying one experienced fisherman (always a man) and two novices, also left at dawn for long days on choppy waters with hempen lines, five-pound



**FIGURE 2.2** Newfoundland fishing stations, 1772. Particular building techniques, even particular methods of piling fish, were associated with fishers from different parts of Europe. The upper illustration depicts a Basque operation. The cannon in the lower picture (probably on the Labrador shore) was intended to ward off the Inuit. | M. Duhamel du Monceau, *Traité générale des pêches* (Paris: Saillant et Nyon, 1772).

weights, and heavy cod. Many workers, relentless toil, little sleep – such was life at a shore installation.

This labour had to come from somewhere, and there were two options: to bring it from Europe or to recruit it overseas. The latter was tried, not always unsuccessfully, but there were basic problems. Along most of the coasts frequented by the transatlantic inshore fishery, the indigenous population was too small and too dispersed to provide more than occasional supplementary labour. Moreover, relations between Europeans and Natives had soon soured. Some Native women were raped, some Native people killed. In much of Newfoundland, the Beothuk avoided the coasts when the Europeans were there, then ransacked their landing stages and cabins for iron when they were not. The Thule Inuit, more formidable warriors, drove inshore cod fishers off the Labrador coast, killing some in the process. From the fishers' perspective, civilization had encountered savagery. Hostility, then, rather than accommodation or interdependence, soon characterized race relations in this fishery. Shore workers rarely saw a Beothuk, and usually tried to shoot the few they did see. Captains at shore installations in northern Newfoundland mounted cannon on their landing stages to fend off the Inuit (Figure 2.2). South of Newfoundland, Mi'kmaq families occasionally assisted with drying, but, overall, the labour force of the sixteenth-century fishery came, year after year, from Europe.

Large numbers of ships, men, and boys were involved. In 1578 an English merchant, Anthony Parkhurst, estimated that 350 to 380 ships and eight to ten thousand men were sent out each year; there is growing evidence that Parkhurst's figures are too low. The historian Laurier Turgeon reports that three French ports – Rouen, La Rochelle, and Bordeaux – sent 156 ships in 1565, and estimates that by 1580 there were 500 ships from France alone, most of them small unspecialized vessels of forty to a hundred tons. Although a less spectacular enterprise than the Spanish sailings to the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico, the Newfoundland cod fisheries involved several times as many ships and far more people. They took back an enormous amount of food, as much as a million hundredweight (some fifty thousand tons) of processed cod in 1615. Green cod went to northern ports, and dried cod, with better preserving qualities, to more southerly ports, many of them in the Mediterranean. The historian D.B.

Quinn suggests that, year in and year out, Newfoundland cod may well have been as valuable as the gold and silver from New Spain.

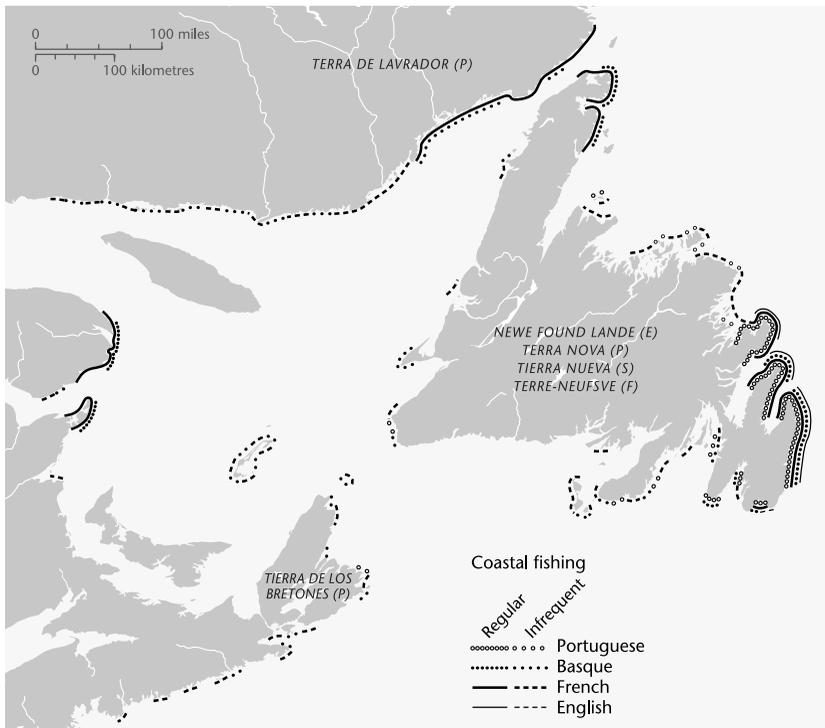
The installations created by the inshore fishery were seasonal work camps, the oldest type of European settlement in Canada, and a type that survives to the present. They were starkly utilitarian places organized around the processing of a resource for shipment. A landing stage, an oil vat, a washing cage, perhaps low platforms (flakes) for drying cod, rough cabins (often roofed with sails) for officers and crew: these were the constructions at a fish camp. Its inhabitants were a detached segment of European society with, in the sixteenth century, no option but to return to Europe. The land around was forbidding; there was no alternative employment. In these circumstances, European wage rates held, just as they did in the offshore fishery, which did not touch the New World. The social structure of the camp, dominated by the captain, reflected the hierarchy of work, which in turn reflected something of the social structure of the ports of embarkation. The officers were of higher social standing at home than the fishermen and shore workers, most of whom came from the landless, mobile poor in the hinterlands of the ports. For such people the fishery, hard as it was, offered relatively attractive employment, far less killing, for example, than a voyage to the Caribbean. Insurers assumed that no more than 3 to 4 percent of the fishing ships would be lost in any given year, and there was less disease than on more southerly voyages. A fish camp also reproduced something of the cultural localness of sixteenth-century Europe. Its people had come from the same local region and shared elements of a local culture: accent, clothing, food preferences, building technologies, perhaps even ways of baiting hooks and drying fish. Essentially, the camps were thin seasonal offshoots – expressing sharply defined but truncated social hierarchies and selected elements of distant local cultures – of the complex social hierarchies and regional cultures from which they had sprung and to which they remained attached. The families of these fishermen were on the other side of the Atlantic.

Because it generated wealth and particularly because it provided a nursery for seamen for royal navies, the transatlantic cod fishery was watched from the courts of Western Europe and figured in geopolitical and military calculations, particularly when English fishermen began to frequent Newfoundland waters in the 1570s. The English arrived partly

because the Danes had pushed them out of Icelandic waters but also, as historical geographer Stephen Hornsby has shown, because English merchants who had begun trading in the Iberian Peninsula and throughout the Mediterranean for local goods and other goods from the Levant and the Indies, turned to the Newfoundland fisheries to find additional means to pay for their Mediterranean purchases. A triangular trade soon linked English ports in the West Country, the Newfoundland fisheries, and Mediterranean markets. This English presence in the fishery developed shortly before warfare broke out between England and Spain for the control of the Atlantic. For both powers, their fisheries provided seamen for navies, but when the Spanish Armada of 1588 was harried by the English navy and wrecked by gales, when two subsequent armadas also failed, and when English privateers raided with increasing success around the peripheries of the Spanish Atlantic – including driving both the Spanish and Portuguese off the east coast of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula – the balance of sea power turned to the English. Behind English sea power lay the offshore fisheries, dominated increasingly by Newfoundland.

At some point in the sixteenth century, most European ports from Bristol to Lisbon had participated in this fishery. By 1600 the Spanish and Portuguese fisheries were in sharp decline, a result of royal exactions of capital and men to finance and man the armadas, rising outfitting costs (as bullion from New Spain drove up Iberian prices and made it difficult for Spanish and Portuguese fishermen to compete with the French and English), and English privateering. Map 2.7 shows the coasts frequented by fishermen of various nationalities throughout the sixteenth century. By the end of the century the picture had simplified: English fisheries dominated in eastern Newfoundland between Cape Race and Bonavista, and French fisheries almost everywhere else.

Basque whaling operations along the south coast of Labrador closely followed the beginnings of the cod fishery. An experienced whaling fleet had long operated out of the Basque ports in northern Spain, and with reports of bowhead whales along the Labrador coast a portion of it crossed the Atlantic to exploit them. The first Basque whaling stations on the Labrador coast of the Strait of Belle Isle appeared in the 1530s; by the 1570s at least twenty to thirty large whalers, many of them of four to six hundred tons' burden and carrying at least a hundred men, arrived each year. The whaling stations were another form of sixteenth-century work



MAP 2.7 European inshore fisheries, 1500-1600 | After J. Mannion, in Harris and Matthews, *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1, plate 21.

camp focused, in this case, on rendering blubber into train oil. Again, seasonal European labour comprised the principal workforce, although much more Native labour was used than in the cod fishery – Laurier Turgeon reports an English navigator, Richard Whitbourne, who said that Natives assisted the Basques “with great diligence and patience to kill, cut up and boil the whales to make train oil.” In the 1570s, whales were becoming scarce along the Strait of Belle Isle, perhaps because of over-hunting but quite possibly because of climate change. By the early 1580s some of the Basque whalers shifted westward towards the mouth of the Saguenay River (Map 2.8), where several recently excavated whaling stations reveal that they also employed Native labour and traded for furs. Like the Basque cod fishery and for many of the same reasons (plus, perhaps, the depletion of bowhead whales), Basque whaling in the Gulf of St. Lawrence declined precipitously in the late 1580s and ceased in the 1630s.



MAP 2.8 Basque whaling stations, Gulf of St. Lawrence | After L. Turgeon, “French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 55, 4 (1998): 592.

### THE EARLY FUR TRADE

As early as the 1530s, a few fishermen also traded for furs, but by the 1550s and 1560s some Norman vessels and others from La Rochelle were outfitted exclusively for the fur trade. Most of them made for the coasts of Cape Breton Island, peninsular Nova Scotia, and the Gulf of Maine. This trade virtually stopped in the 1570s, a consequence, apparently, of religious wars in Europe, but resumed in the 1580s and focused increasingly on the gulf and estuary of the St. Lawrence. Many of the Basque ships in the Gulf of St. Lawrence engaged in both trading and whaling; a few may have come only to trade. Laurier Turgeon has found notarial records in Bordeaux of twenty Basque ships outfitted for fur trading between 1580 and 1600. At the same time, Breton merchants from St-Malo became interested in the fur trade. A small trading ship from St-Malo reached the St. Lawrence in 1581, and several more over the next few years. The impetus to trade came from the growing demand in Europe for broad-brimmed beaver felt hats and, fortuitously, from the disruption of Russian fur supplies after Swedes captured the Baltic port of Narva in 1581. Basques and Bretons competed in this trade, sometimes violently, offering copper kettles, iron axes and knives, beads, cloth, and clothing for beaver pelts, and also for marten and otter. Trade goods from the 1580s appear in archaeological sites around the eastern Great Lakes (earlier trade goods, entering from the Gulf of Maine in the 1550s and 1560s, appear in Iroquoian sites south of Lake Ontario). The trade slackened in the 1590s, partly because access to Russian



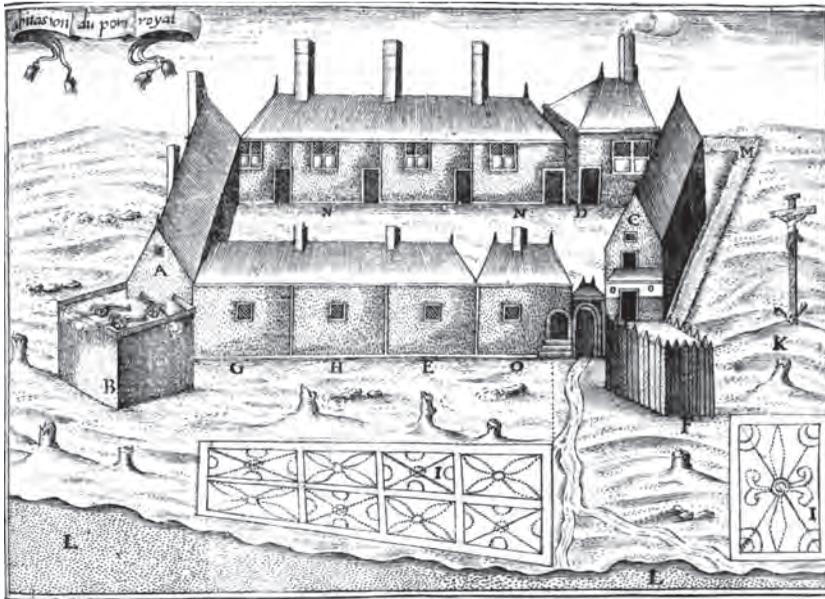
*Les chiffres montrent les brasses d'eau.*

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <p>A Une montagne ronde sur le bord de la riviere du Saguenay.</p> <p>H Le port de Tadoussac.</p> <p>C Petit ruisseau d'eau douce.</p> <p>D Le lieu ou cabanent les sauvages quand ils viennent pour la traite.</p> <p>F Maniere d'isle qui clost une partie du port de la ri-</p> | <p>viere du Saguenay.</p> <p>F La pointe de tous les Diables</p> <p>G La riviere du Saguenay.</p> <p>H La pointe aux alouettes.</p> <p>I Montaignes fort mauvaises, remplies de sapins &amp; bouleaux.</p> <p>L Le moulin Bode.</p> <p>M La rade ou les vaisseaux</p> | <p>mouillent l'ancre attendant le vent &amp; la maree.</p> <p>N Petit estag proche du port.</p> <p>O Petit ruisseau sortant de l'estag, qui descarga dans le Saguenay.</p> <p>P Place sur la pointe sans arbres, ou il y a quantité d'herbages.</p> |
|--|---|---|

MAP 2.9 Port of Tadoussac | Samuel de Champlain, *Les Voyages du sieur de Champlain* (Paris: Jean Berjon, 1613), 172.

supplies had been re-established through the arctic port of Archangel, then resumed at the end of the century.

In 1599 the French king, Henri IV, awarded a Huguenot, Pierre de Chauvin de Tonnetuit, a trading monopoly and required him to “inhabit the country and build a lodging there” (*habiteroient le pays, et y feroient une demeure*). Chauvin built a fort well up the St. Lawrence at Tadoussac at the mouth of the Saguenay River – a minuscule palisaded European space in Native territory – and maintained it through the winter of 1600-1, the first European trading post in Canada (Map 2.9). He died in France early in 1603. Later that year his successor, Aymar de Chaste, sent three ships to the St. Lawrence, on one of which was Samuel de Champlain,



- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| <p>A Logemens des artisans.<br/>         B Plate forme où estoit le canon.<br/>         C Le magasin.<br/>         D Logemēt du sieur de Pont-graüé &amp; Champlain.<br/>         E La forge.</p> | <p>F Palissade de pieux.<br/>         G Le four.<br/>         H La cuisine.<br/>         O Petite maisonnette où l'on retiroit les vians des nos barques; que de puis le sieur de Poitracourt fit</p> | <p>rebastir, &amp; y logea le sieur Boulay quand le sieur du Pont s'en reuint en France.<br/>         P La porte de l'abitation.<br/>         Q Le cemetiere.<br/>         R La riuere.</p> |
|---|---|---|

N ij

FIGURE 2.3 Habitation at Port Royal, c. 1606. Champlain's base for exploration and trade in what is now the Bay of Fundy. | Samuel de Champlain, *Les Voyages du sieur de Champlain* (Paris: Jean Berjon, 1613), 99.

apparently as an observer. Champlain, then in his midthirties, was an experienced cartographer and navigator; as historical geographer Conrad Heidenreich has pointed out, he learned more about the river and its tributaries that summer than had all those who preceded him. He was the first systematically to gather information about the interior from Native informants, the first to recognize the potential of the birchbark canoe as a vehicle for exploration. He also participated in the ceremonial ratification of an alliance between a large group of Innu (Montagnais) and Algonquin assembled near Tadoussac and François Gravé Du Pont, commander of the expedition and representative of Henri IV. In return for a military alliance, the Innu and Algonquin allowed the French to settle in the St. Lawrence Valley – an understanding Henri IV had made the year before

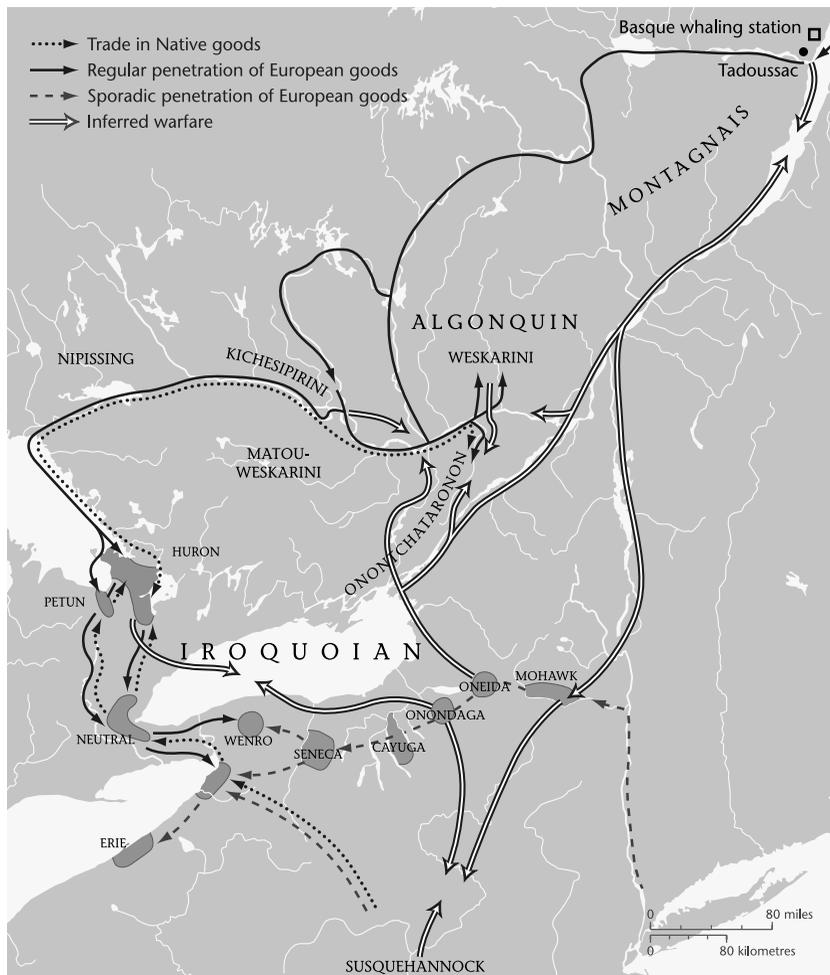


FIGURE 2.4 Habitation at Quebec (1608-12). The beginning of permanent French settlement along the lower St. Lawrence. | Champlain, *Les Voyages*, 187.

with two Innu whom Chauvin had taken to France. In 1604 Champlain was in the employ of Pierre du Gua, sieur de Monts, who had acquired Chauvin's monopoly. De Monts opted for a settlement south of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the Bay of Fundy (Figure 2.3) where, again, Champlain sought out Native informants and conducted the first detailed survey of the Atlantic coast southward to Cape Cod. Back on the St. Lawrence to stay in 1608, Champlain established a fort at Quebec (Figure 2.4), near where Cartier had over-wintered in the 1530s, a shrewd selection of a commanding site on the principal Atlantic entry to the continental interior.

He intended it as a base for inland exploration and as a focus of potential colonization, but immediately as a fur trade post in a promising area where competition could be controlled.

The fort at Quebec placed Pierre de Gua's trading venture deep in the continental interior and amid the complex array of Native peoples shown in Map 2.10. Champlain understood that further exploration and successful trade depended on Native good will, on alliances with particular Native groups, and on Native technologies of travel and survival. He sent a



**MAP 2.10** Peoples, trade routes, and warfare around the St. Lawrence Valley, c. 1600 | After B.G. Trigger, in Harris and Matthews, *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1, plate 33.

French boy (Etienne Brûlé) to live with the Huron, and accepted in return a Huron lad (Savignon), that each might learn the other's language. He expanded the alliance of 1603 to include the Huron, and was well aware that in so doing he had entered a military alliance against the Iroquois League. To solidify the alliance, in 1609 he ascended the Richelieu River with a party of Huron and Algonquin and raided a Mohawk village, members of the most easterly tribe in the Iroquois League (Map 2.10). In 1613 he travelled some 250 kilometres up the Ottawa River until stopped by the Kichespirini, an Algonquian-speaking people. Two years later he got through to the Huron settlements at the foot of Georgian Bay and participated in a Huron raid into Iroquois territory south of Lake Ontario before returning to Huronia for the winter. Champlain had solidified the Huron-Algonquin-Innu alliance, brought the Huron directly into the fur trade, and acquired much information about the lands and peoples around the eastern Great Lakes.

With Huron participation in the fur trade, the well-established Huron trading networks shown in Map 2.10 became the framework within which furs were collected and French trade goods distributed throughout the eastern Great Lakes. Increasingly, the Huron obtained furs from more inland peoples and traded them to the French along the lower St. Lawrence for durable, useful goods such as axes, knives, kettles, and cloth (but rarely for firearms, which the French were reluctant to trade), in so doing displacing the Algonquian-speaking traders in the Ottawa Valley. As the Huron consolidated their position as middlemen, they prevented French traders from operating west of Montreal Island, and also traders from more inland peoples such as the Nipissing, Petun, and Ottawa from reaching the French. By the late 1620s, a competing alliance of Mohawk and Dutch emerged along the Hudson. As it did, the Mohawk resumed their northward raids. Although French fur traders were hemmed into the St. Lawrence Valley, their trade produced twelve to fifteen thousand beaver pelts a year by the mid-1620s.

In these years Quebec was a fur trade post. Barely twenty people might be called settlers. In 1627 Cardinal Richelieu, the French minister responsible for commerce and colonies, awarded a trading monopoly to the Company of One Hundred Associates, a broadly based, well-financed group that, in return for its monopoly privileges, assumed a charter obligation to found a colony. The next year the company sent four hundred colonists

in four ships, which were captured in the gulf by an Anglo-Scottish force also bent on trade and colonization in the St. Lawrence Valley. At Quebec, Champlain was starved into submission. However, England had no prior claim to the region, and France regained it by the terms of the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye in 1632. Father Le Jeune, the Jesuit priest who accompanied the French back to Quebec, reported that only one French farming family had survived the Anglo-Scottish years.

Although by this date an autonomous fur trade was little more than fifty years old, some of its enduring qualities were already apparent. It was entirely dependent on Native labour to gather and prepare furs, and on Native traders to barter them for European goods. The most common focus of interaction between European and Native traders was the fur trade post, a palisaded and otherwise fortified site where European traders in Native territory felt relatively secure. The fur post was linked on the one hand to Native sources of fur, on the other to European suppliers and markets. Extended lines of transportation provided these connections: on the European side, a transatlantic voyage, and on the Native side, canoe trips of many hundreds of kilometres. Considered in its most abstract geometry, the fur trade was emerging as a system of nodes (forts) and circuits (routes of transportation and communication) that connected European and Native worlds.

The speed with which the French fur trade on the St. Lawrence bypassed the Kichesipirini and other groups in the Ottawa Valley, and then with which the Huron drew on trading connections around much of the northern Great Lakes, is an early indication of its capacity for territorial expansion. The resource itself was widely distributed, and the incentive to exploit it was driven by the Native demand for European goods and by European traders' interest in profit. There is no clear evidence at this early date that resource depletion was driving expansion. As historical geographer Arthur Ray has suggested, it is more likely in these years that traders sought to bypass middlemen so as to get at cheaper furs and the people who wore them. Coat beaver – beaver pelts worn as coats to wear off the long guard hairs – were particularly sought. As one coat comprised five to eight beaver pelts, and as two or three years of winter wear were required to remove the guard hairs from these pelts, a substantial trade in coat beaver required access to a good many people. Ray suggests that the early

trade expanded towards people (coat wearers) as much as towards beaver populations.

As the fur trade moved into Native territory and away from Europe, it began to merge, somewhat, Native and European cultures. Early portents of this hybridity can be seen in Champlain's geopolitical dealings with Native peoples, his winter in Huronia, his maps, his appreciation of the birchbark canoe, and in the speech-making and present-giving that accompanied trade at Quebec.

### THE EUROPEAN IMPACT

By the early 1630s, some 130 years after Cabot's landfall, the northeastern corner of North America was considerably changed. European explorers had reconnoitered its difficult coastline, and their maps and reports had made it well known in Europe. Along the axis of the St. Lawrence River and northern Great Lakes, French geographical knowledge extended deep into the continental interior. Both France and England laid claim to this territory: the English along the east coast of Newfoundland and in the north, the French everywhere else. European commercial capital pursued a transatlantic cod fishery that was now more than a century old, and was rapidly establishing a viable fur trade operating out of the St. Lawrence. Native lives were altered by European introductions.

Although the cod fishery and the fur trade both drew European capital to New World resources and depended on transatlantic connections to European markets, the nature and location of the resources they exploited and the means they used to do so created radically different spatial economies. The one was tied to the Atlantic coast, the other moved quickly inland. The one drew almost all its labour from Europe, the other depended largely on Native labour and required very few Europeans. The cod fishery tended, therefore, to brush Native people aside, whereas the fur trade depended on them. The pattern of one was somewhat radial (its hub a rocky New World coast and adjacent fishing grounds, its rim a long European coast punctuated by fishing ports, and its many spokes the voyages between), and the other strikingly linear, tied to the river. A somewhat radial system favoured an international trade that was competitive rather than monopolistic (there was no point at which the whole system could be controlled), whereas linearity encouraged monopoly. Eventually, the

fur trade would expand across the continent, in so doing altering the lives of all Native peoples with whom it came in contact. The cod fishery would remain fixed along the seacoast, to which for almost three hundred years it would transport most of its labour across the Atlantic.

The early effects of the fur trade and cod fisheries on Native livelihoods and cultures are now exceedingly difficult to discern. The Beothuk people of Newfoundland undoubtedly coveted European goods, particularly iron, which they usually obtained by pillaging shore installations after the fishermen had left for the season. Well-made iron arrowheads turn up in archaeological sites. Such introductions made Native life easier. On the other hand, as fishermen took over the coasts, Native bands often were forced away, and livelihoods that had depended on both the interior (in winter) and the coast (in summer) were undermined. This seems to have been the fate of the Beothuk, who, increasingly cut off from the coast, would eventually starve in the interior. On much of the Labrador coast the Thule (Inuit) drove off Europeans, although interactions between the Innu (Montagnais) and Basque whalers along the south coast of Labrador west of the Strait of Belle Isle were common and peaceful. As European goods entered Native economies, and as Native groups vied with each other to acquire them, there is reason to suppose (but no evidence) that the intensity of intergroup warfare increased and that groups well placed to obtain these goods would either dominate those that were not or would be displaced by more powerful groups. The fur trade also encouraged Native economic specialization, as the early emergence of middlemen, first in the Ottawa Valley and then among the Huron, suggests.

But the most important question about the changing character of Native life, and one that still cannot be conclusively answered, is whether European infectious diseases had diffused among the Native peoples of northeastern North America at this time. The coming of Europeans had broken millennia of biological isolation during which highly infectious diseases such as smallpox and measles had emerged in agricultural populations living in close association with domestic animals. These diseases had become endemic in Europe and Africa, where, over the centuries, populations developed some genetic immunity. When Europeans and Africans began to cross the Atlantic, their diseases accompanied them and diffused among people who had no genetic resistance to or cultural experience with them. The effects were catastrophic. Mortality rates from

virgin-soil epidemics of smallpox (that is, among populations with no previous exposure to the disease) were characteristically in the order of 50 to 75 percent, sometimes higher. Growing evidence from around the western hemisphere suggests that a hundred years after the first epidemics reached a given area, it seldom had more than 10 percent of its pre-epidemic population. In the long run there was no escaping these inadvertent introductions. They would diffuse everywhere. But had they diffused into northeastern North America during the first long century of European activity there?

The strongest evidence that they had is a statement from the Jesuit father Biard in 1611. Writing about the Mi'kmaq, Biard said: "They are astonished and often complain that since the French mingle with and carry on trade with them they are dying fast and the population is thinning out. They assert that ... all their countries were very populous, and they tell how one by one different coasts, according as they have begun to traffic with us, have been more reduced by disease." There is also the puzzling disappearance of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians, the people whom Jacques Cartier encountered in the 1530s in several villages near Quebec and at Hochelaga on Montreal Island. When the French returned to the St. Lawrence in the 1580s, these people were gone. The lower St. Lawrence Valley was sparsely inhabited by Innu in the east and Algonquin in the west; the tribes of the Iroquois League, the Iroquois tribes living south of the St. Lawrence and of Lake Ontario, considered the St. Lawrence Valley as well as the land immediately north of Lake Ontario to be their hunting territory. For want of other evidence, the current tendency is to discount Biard and to assume that the St. Lawrence Iroquoians were dispersed by warfare instigated either by the Huron or by members of the Iroquois League (most likely the Mohawk). The motive for such attacks, many have argued, may have been access to the European goods that were beginning to enter the St. Lawrence Valley. Possibly so, but given the number of men crossing the Atlantic each year, the shortness of the voyage under favourable conditions (well under a month to eastern Newfoundland), and the long incubation period of smallpox (seven to eighteen days) during which the disease is neither apparent nor infective, it is clear that a disease such as smallpox could readily have crossed the Atlantic. It reached York Factory on Hudson Bay in 1720 after a sea voyage of two months. Basque voyages into the Gulf of St. Lawrence were much shorter than this, and at some whaling

stations Basques and Native people worked side by side. There is evidence that St. Lawrence Iroquoians traded with Europeans as far east as the Strait of Belle Isle. Quite possibly Father Biard should be taken at his word; quite possibly the St. Lawrence Iroquoians were dispersed by warfare after being decimated by disease. Elsewhere on the continent, epidemics commonly upset balances of power and led to heightened warfare. The fact of the matter, however, is that until more evidence appears, no firm statement can be made about sixteenth-century disease in northeastern North America.

Environmental impacts are also difficult to assess, although, as environmental historian Richard Hoffmann has pointed out, the general pattern is clear enough. Europeans were externalizing their own demands in distant ecologies, an “ecological footprint” that only a handful of them would ever see. The products of these activities – in the fishery, dried or salted pieces of cod – were standardized and decontextualized wares, substitutes in the European market for many species of increasingly scarce local fish. Environmental effects were displaced and were either invisible or, because so distant, inconsequential.

There is no doubt about the impact of the inshore fishery on the coasts behind it. Shore installations required a great deal of wood, and as early as 1622 an observer noted that “the woods along the coasts are so spoyled by the fishermen that it is a great pity to behold them, and without redress undoubtedly will be the ruine of this good land. For they wastefully bark, fell and leave more wood behind them to rot than they use about their stages although they employ a world of wood upon them.” Forest fires may have been even more damaging and have ranged farther inland. The extent to which fish stocks were affected is unclear. These were hook, line, and bait fisheries, the production of which, large as it was, pales by twentieth-century standards. Yet, there is medieval evidence that similar technologies depleted cod stocks in European waters. In addition, historical geographer Grant Head has found the following in a 1683 Colonial Office document regarding the somewhat later inshore Newfoundland fishery:

Though there be Harbours and conveniences on shoare for the making of Fish there is not fishing ground or can constantly be fish enough for so many Boates as they have kept, as is evident, for they seldom make

good Voyages above once in three Years, whereas were there but half so many Boates fish there, they could not make so great a Destruction One Year as to prejudice the next yeares fishery.

Although the evidence is equivocal, sixteenth-century whaling may have depleted the population of bowhead whales along the coast of Labrador.

The fur trade also externalized demand for a denatured product, in this case dried and cured beaver pelts, but no reliable information about its environmental impact exists at this time. There is no evidence that the members of the Iroquois League had begun to raid northward because beaver were depleted in their territories. In the longer run, the spatial organization of the fur trade itself – its permanent settlements, regional economic specialization, routes of long-distance transportation, and capacity to distribute provisions – would make it an ecological system that differed radically from the older Native systems on which it was superimposed.

In sum, European influences acquired a considerable momentum in northeastern North America in the sixteenth century. The coastline and the principal Atlantic entry to the midcontinental interior were explored, mapped, and claimed. The cod fishery and the fur trade drew European capital far ahead of European agricultural settlers, perched European men in tiny camps – a fishing installation, a fur post – surrounded by alien land, and created systems for negotiating New World space and exploiting New World ecologies. Around the fishery, Native people recoiled somewhat. The fur trade, however, drew Europeans into the continent and towards Native people, in so doing locating patches of land that would prove suitable for agricultural settlement.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

For a summary of sixteenth-century exploration, see Richard Ruggles, “Exploring the Atlantic Coast,” in *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1, *From the Beginning to 1800*, ed. R. Cole Harris, cart. Geoffrey J. Matthews (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), plate 19. For a short discussion of the early voyages, consult John L. Allen, “From Cabot to Cartier: The Early Exploration of Eastern North America, 1497-1543,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82, 3 (1992): 500-21; and for a more extended discussion, refer to Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). For a

survey of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century cartography that includes fine reproductions of the principal maps, see Derek Hayes, *Historical Atlas of Canada: Canada's History Illustrated with Original Maps* (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 2002), 7-56. For the principal documents relating to explorations before 1612, consult D.B. Quinn, *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612* (New York: Arno Press, 1979). For Champlain's exploration and cartography, see Conrad Heidenreich, "The Beginning of French Exploration out of the St. Lawrence Valley: Motives, Methods, and Changing Attitudes towards Native People," in Germaine Warkentin and Carolyn Podruchny, eds., *Decentering the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 236-51; Heidenreich, with Edward H. Dahl, "La cartographie de Champlain (1603-1632)," in Raymonde Litalien and Denis Vaugeois, eds., *Champlain: La naissance de l'Amérique française* (Sillery: Nouveau Monde and Septentrion, 2004), 312-32; and Heidenreich, "Early French Exploration in the North American Interior," in J.L. Allen, ed., *North American Exploration*, vol. 2, *A Continent Defined* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 65-148. On maps and power, consult Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), chap. 6; and J.B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 277-312.

A good general understanding of the sixteenth-century fishery can be obtained from the following: the essay "The Atlantic Realm" and plates 21 and 22 in Harris and Matthews, *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1; Laurier Turgeon, "French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians during the Sixteenth Century: History and Archeology," *William and Mary Quarterly* 55, 4 (1998): 585-610 (for a fine summary of recent evidence and understandings); and Richard C. Hoffmann, "Frontier Foods for Late Medieval Consumers: Culture, Economy, Ecology," *Environment and History* 7 (2001): 131-67 (for an analysis of ecological strategies embedded in the fishery). The European importance of the cod fishery is assessed in D.B. Quinn, "Newfoundland in the Consciousness of Europe in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," in G.M. Story, ed., *Early European Settlement and Exploitation in Atlantic Canada* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982), 9-30.

For those wishing to go farther, the magisterial work on the early French fishery is Charles de La Morandière, *Histoire de la pêche française de la morue dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, 3 vols. (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1962-66). The equivalent on the early English fishery is Gillian T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland, 1577-1660* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969). The early English fishery is more generally situated in the economy and geopolitics of the North Atlantic world in Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early*

*Modern British America* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2004). The eighteenth-century fishery in Newfoundland is explored in Grant Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland: A Geographer's Perspective*, Carleton Library No. 99 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976).

On the beginnings of the fur trade along the St. Lawrence, see Harris and Matthews, *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1, plate 33; Laurier Turgeon, "Les français en Nouvelle-Angleterre avant Champlain," in Litalien and Vaugeois, *Champlain*, 98-114; Bruce G. Trigger, *Children of the Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1600* (Montreal, Kingston, and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), chaps. 5 and 6; Conrad E. Heidenreich, "History of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes Area to A.D. 1650," in Chris Ellis and Neal Ferris, eds., *The Archaeology of Southern Ontario to A.D. 1650*, Occasional Publication of the London Chapter, Ontario Archaeological Society No. 5 (London: Ontario Archaeological Society, 1990), 475-95; and José Antônio Brandão, "Your Fyre Shall Burn No More": *Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), chap. 5. Although written years ago, Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930; repr. with an introduction by Arthur. J. Ray, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999) remains impressive. Chaps. 1-3 are relevant here.

For excellent summaries of the vast literature on the introduction and effects of epidemic diseases, refer to Robert T. Boyd, *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence: Introduced Infectious Diseases and Population Decline among Northwest Coast Indians, 1774-1874* (Vancouver/Seattle: UBC Press/University of Washington Press, 1999), chap. 1; Paul Hackett, *A Very Remarkable Sickness: Epidemics in the Petit Nord, 1670 to 1846* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002), Introduction and chap. 1; and William Denevan, "Native American Populations in 1492: Recent Research and Revised Hemispheric Estimate," in William Denevan, ed., *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), xvii-xxix. For an assessment of the evidence of disease in Atlantic Canada in the sixteenth century, see Ralph Pastore, "Native History in the Atlantic Region during the Colonial Period," *Acadiensis* 20, 1 (1990): 200-25.