

A Québec Merchant's Trading Circles in France and Canada:

Jean-André Lamaletie before 1763

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The merchants who traded between Canada and France during the French régime are not well known today and even less familiar are their trans-Atlantic associations or groupings. The shipping merchants of Québec, like those of maritime Europe in general — and perhaps of all civilizations — usually worked in association with other merchants scattered among the various ports and cities of the trading region, each man serving as the local agent of others too far away to manage their own businesses. Every merchant was thus part of a cosmopolitan network or circle with mutual interests. The study of such circles is interesting in itself as a branch of social history, but it may also tell us something about the political economy of the French empire by showing where the normal competition of private merchants was tempered by ramifying coalitions of wealth and power. Towards the end of the French régime in Canada, such merchant circles had their place in the flurry of business activity that ended with the British seizure of the colony and the notorious *affaire du Canada* in which the French government prosecuted the Canadian officials for their profiteering.

A merchant's closest and most permanent associates were nearly always members of his own family, and brothers or brothers-in-law were often in partnerships. With the dynastic instincts of the early modern family, even distant cousins, uncles or nephews, usually counted on one another for support, influence or prestige. Marriage was a way of doubling this family system and so marriages in such families were made largely for business reasons, the Church being asked to bless a union that had already been sealed in a business contract signed before a notary by representatives — or even all the members — of both families. Business partnerships often led to marriages and two or more families might go on for generations in a system of marriages and mutual support. Sometimes a merchant married into a family of magistrates, military officers and royal officials who were pleased, as a rule, to give their daughters to wholesale or shipping merchants (*négociants*), though not to shopkeepers (*marchands*), much lower in the social scale.

A formal trading company or partnership (*société*) was often formed between two or more members of the same family by a private agreement *sous seing privé*, not kept in notarial minutes. But unrelated merchants usually formed partnerships with all possible legal formalities, there being

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no family ties to bind them. A marriage partnership was for life, but a business partnership was usually for a period of three to six years and renewable. Ten or fifteen clauses on two or three sheets of paper usually sufficed to set forth the terms of an agreement to trade together either in the same premises as a single firm or between distant ports. A merchant needed not only partners in the main ports to which he sent regular consignments of goods but also agents (*correspondants*) in a number of other centres where he might expect to do business occasionally. A ship's captain kept a list of his employer's agents in all the ports where he might be driven by bad weather or other disasters. Such agents were chosen according to their general reputations, or the recommendations of friends, engaged in exchanges of letters expressing the courtesy, mutual trust and sense of honour on which trading circles depended. Merchants seemed glad to do favours for each other, thus building up funds of good will for themselves and claims on others in time of need.

The business associates of a typical Québec merchant in the eighteenth century might include a score of variously employed friends in France, Canada and perhaps the West Indies; formal business partners in La Rochelle and Bordeaux; and a dozen or more agents in other French and Spanish ports, including Saint Malo, Nantes, Bayonne, Rouen, Saint Anders, Bilbao, Cap Français (Saint Domingue) and one of the Martinique ports. He was part of a large trans-Atlantic circle including perhaps royal officials, minor noblemen and other landowners, military or naval officers, as well as bankers and merchants. How all these people assisted him is not always recorded in archival sources, but the more we study such circles, the more we see them as associations for mutual advancement and profit. How many such circles affected the business and social life of Québec and Montréal is not yet known. Keeping these generalities in mind, however, let us now trace the associations of one Québec merchant, Jean-André Lamaletie, which ramified in a typical way.

LAMALETIE'S TRADING PARTNERS IN FRANCE
AS SHOWN IN A LIST OF SHIPMENTS TO HIM, 1747 TO 1758¹

<i>Ship and year of sailing</i>	<i>Exporter</i>	<i>Merchandise</i>
<i>L'Alexandre</i> (1747)	Pierre Lartigue Louis Pourcin <i>l'ainé</i>	window glass, porcelain red wine
<i>Le Bien Aimé</i> (1748)	Lartigue Pourcin <i>l'ainé</i> Simon Jauge	tobacco, shoes draperies drapery from Montauban

¹ Except for *L'Alexandre*, for which the reference is M^e Barolet (Québec notary) 16 Sept. 1747, the information on these cargoes comes from the British Admiralty prize papers, P.R.O. (London), H.C.A. 32: 99 pt. 2; 111 pt. 1; 157; 195; 239; 246; 236 pt. 1 (*La Providence*); 231; 225 pt. 1; 216 pt. 2; 200; 198; 169; 169 (*Le Berger*); 178 pt. 1; 219; 216 pt. 1. These ships were all captured and their cargoes confiscated, but they represent a random selection of Lamaletie's trade. The ships were all sailing from Bordeaux unless otherwise specified herein.

<i>Ship and year of sailing</i>	<i>Exporter</i>	<i>Merchandise</i>
<i>Le Saint François</i> (1748)	Jean Faure <i> fils</i> Antoine Pascaud <i> fils</i> Jacques Agard's heirs	wine, cloth, handkerchieves mercery, olives, fishing line silks
<i>Le Saint Victor</i> (1748)	Lartigue Pourcin <i> l'ainé</i> Simon Jauge Auger <i> fils</i>	dry goods, tobacco, fishing line silks drapery from Montauban cloth
<i>Le Grand St. Ursin</i> (1756)	of La Rochelle Admyrault <i> fils</i>	knitted goods, mercerie, gloves, alum
<i>La Réussite</i> (1756)	of La Rochelle Amyrault <i> fils</i>	cauldrons of pots
<i>Le Saintonge</i> (1756)	of La Rochelle	oil, liqueur, wine, olives, raisins, capers, soap, prunes, olive oil, lead, iron sheets, cauldrons, cotton thread etc.
<i>La Providence</i> (1757)	Jean Dupuy <i> fils et cie</i> Marc Grassié	oil, brandy, tobacco, medicines cloth
<i>Le St. Pierre</i> (1757)	Dupuy <i> fils et cie</i>	wine, brandy, tobacco
<i>La Nouvelle Constante</i> (1757)	Dupuy <i> fils</i>	very large mixed consignment
<i>La Marquise de Galifet</i> (1757)	Rocaute de Bussac	rope and cord
<i>La Jeannette</i> (1757)	Laffon de Ladebat, acting for Thouron <i> frères</i>	wine, brandy, soap
<i>L'Heuraux Malouin</i> (1757)	Admyrault	a very large consignment of dry goods
<i>Le Beauharnois</i> (1757)	from Rochefort Admyrault	dry goods and hardware
<i>Le Berger</i> (1758)	Lartigue	wine
<i>La Catiche</i> (1758)	Lartigue Latuilière	wine and brandy wine, brandy, hardware and food
<i>La Marie Magdelaine</i> (1758)	Latuilière	wine, brandy, almonds, flour rice, nails, drapery, shoes etc.
<i>La Marguerite</i> (1758)	of La Rochelle Admyrault <i> fils</i>	wine and brandy

Lamaletie first sailed to Québec (from Bordeaux where he was born on 7 Jan. 1718) in the spring of 1741 on *La Nouvelle Galère* (Captain Couperie), when he was only twenty-three years old with "cheveux Chateing, portant perruque," and he remained there, except for short visits home, until Autumn 1758 when he returned permanently to Bordeaux.² Lamaletie's principal associates, the nuclei of his trans-Atlantic circles,

² Parish registres of St. André, Bordeaux; A. D. Gironde 6 B 49*, 25 April 1741.

were members of his family in Bordeaux, a partner in La Rochelle with whom he first signed a *société* in 1744, and three friends he made at Québec, one of whom became his father-in-law in 1747. In each of these three centres there were other friends and relations, not all trading partners but all, we may be sure, ready to be useful if called on. To begin with the Bordeaux circles, eighteen cargoes, including consignments of goods to Lamaletie at Québec, show that a certain Pierre Lartigue was sending goods from Bordeaux as early as 1747, and probably earlier, and as late as 1758.³ Lartigue appears to have been Lamaletie's main agent at Bordeaux, and he was also Lamaletie's brother-in-law, for he married Marie-Anne Lamaletie, a sister, by contract of 30 October 1744.⁴ Only slightly less active in Lamaletie's trade at Bordeaux was another associate, Louis Pourcin *l'ainé*, who sent many consignments of goods over the years and in 1757 fitted out a ship of his own for Québec, *L'Acadie* (160 *tonneaux*), under Captain Alexandre Gardrat, who was to deliver his cargo of pork, flour and other foodstuffs to Lamaletie for distribution to the various intended merchants and then to go on to Saint Domingue for a West Indian cargo to bring back to Bordeaux.⁵ In the main, however, Pourcin and Lartigue were *pacotilleurs* who dispatched consignments of goods on other men's ships, and they do not appear to have been very well known in Atlantic shipping circles. The same could not be said of "Auger *fils*," who came from a successful old family of Bordeaux shipping merchants, deeply engaged in West Indian trade, Catholic and with a *Secrétaire du Roi* in the family, Jean Auger, by the middle of the century.⁶ Three of the others who dispatched consignments of goods to Lamaletie were well known at Bordeaux as members of a cosmopolitan circle of Huguenot shipping merchants: Simon Jauge, Jean-Antoine Faure Lacaussade, and Simon-Pierre Rocaute de Bussac. They were a close-knit group, Jauge having married Rocaute's sister and Faure Lacaussade being, by his own declaration, a friend of Rocaute, and as we shall see, they were a group directly related to one of Lamaletie's partners at La Rochelle.⁷ It should be added that all of these, even Lartigue and Pourcin *l'ainé*, sent merchandise to others at Québec besides Lamaletie.

Near the end of his sojourn at Québec, Lamaletie established a regular — though, as it turned out, a very brief — trading relationship with two maternal cousins, both of whom spent some years at Québec. One of these was Thomas Lee, of the Québec firm of Mounier and Lee, who was related in the following way: Lamaletie's maternal grandmother, *née* Anne Myagh, had several children by her first husband, Thomas Lee, notably

³ See the table of these eighteen cargoes, page 25-26.

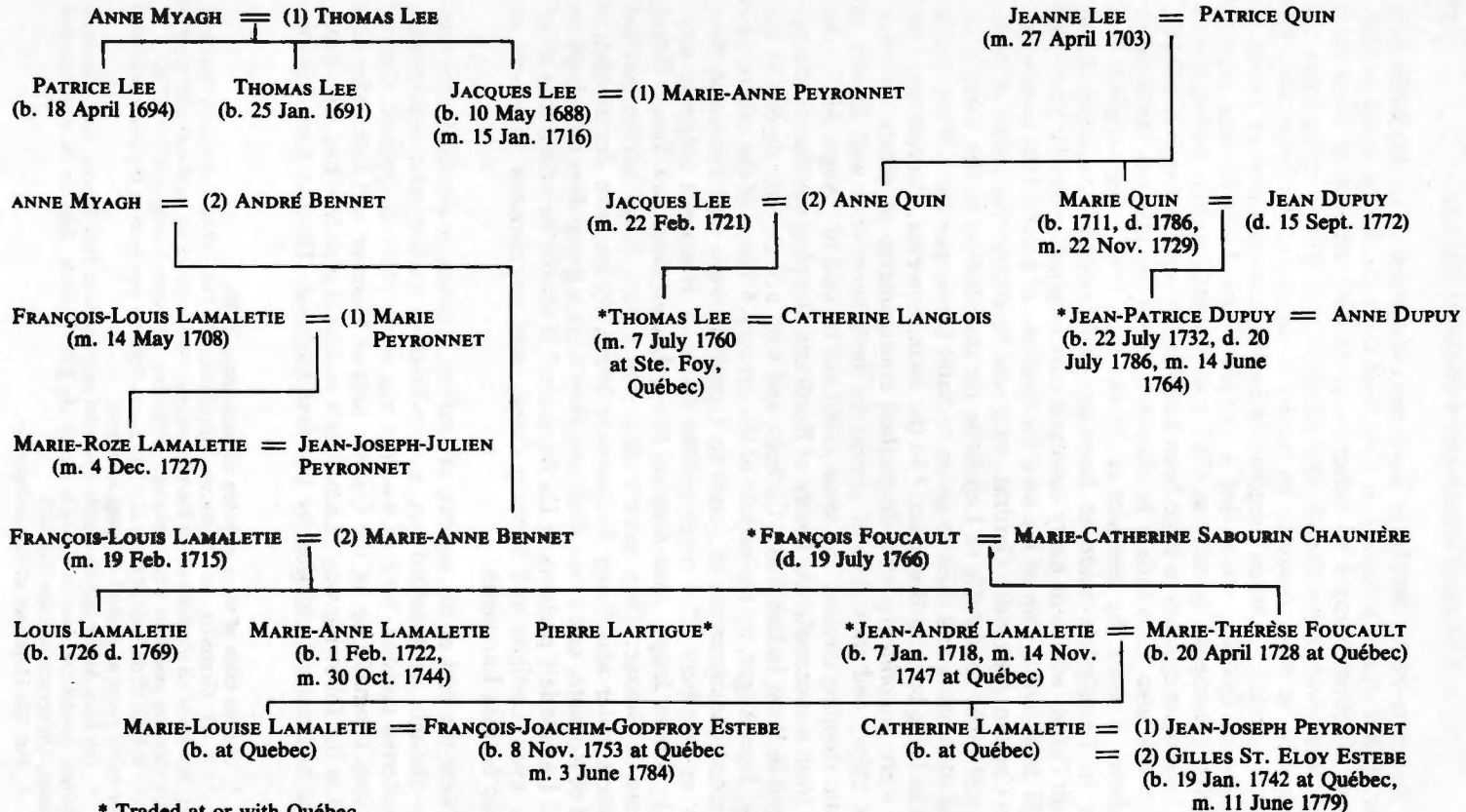
⁴ A. D. GIRONDE, M^c Séjourné (Bordeaux), 30 Oct. 1744, Lartigue's marriage contract. We know all too little about Pierre Lartigue, who is not to be confused with another Bordeaux shipping merchant who sent ships to Québec, François Lartigue (1705-1773).

⁵ P.R.O. (London), H.C.A. 32: 161. Louis Pourcin was born at Bordeaux and lived there for many years as a small shipping merchant.

⁶ On Jean Auger and his family see brief references in Paul BUTEL, *La Croissance commerciale bordelaise dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle*, Service de Reproduction des Thèses, Université de Lille III, 1973.

⁷ For this Huguenot circle see below p.

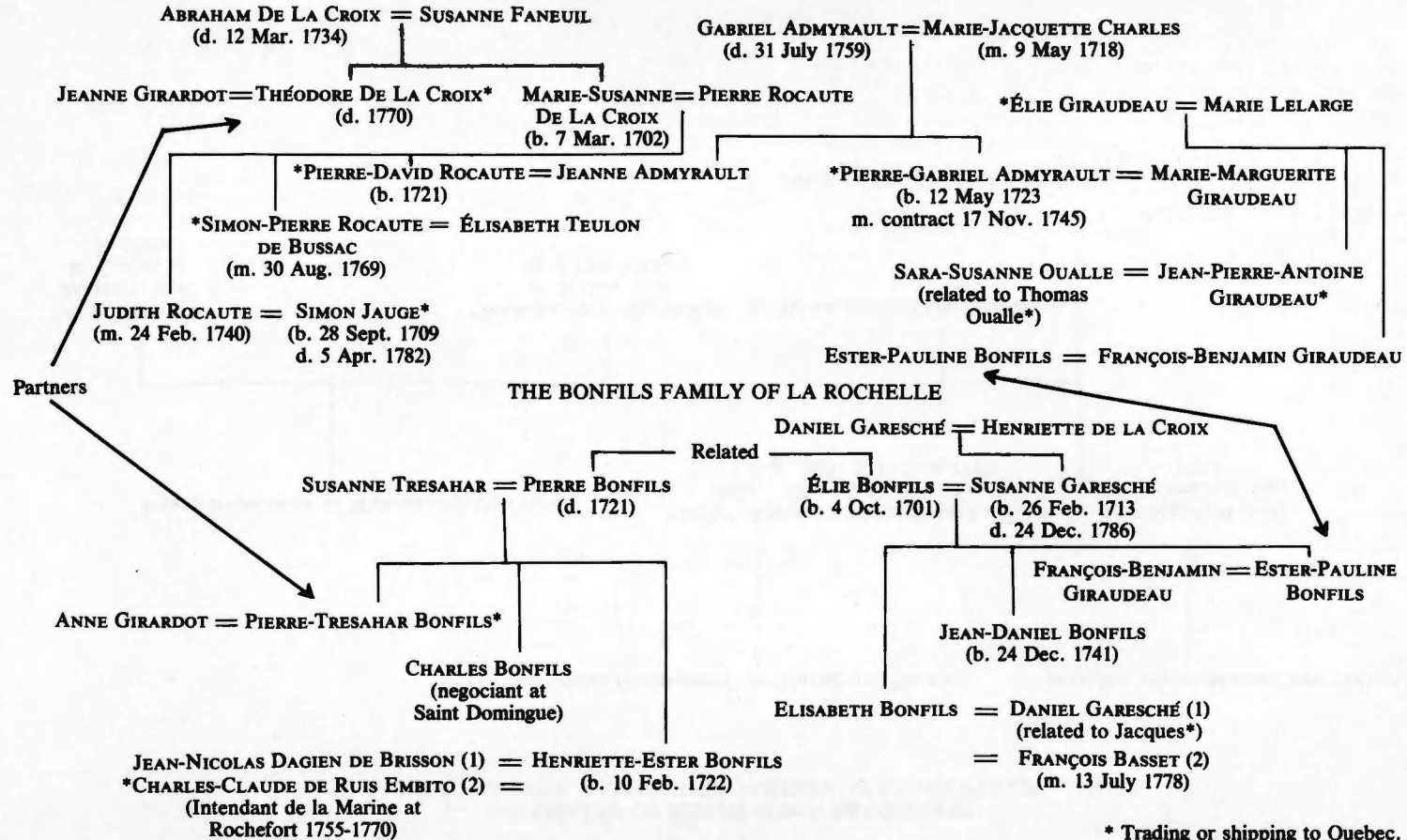
THE LAMATELIE FAMILY OF BORDEAUX AND SOME RELATIONS*



* Traded at or with Québec

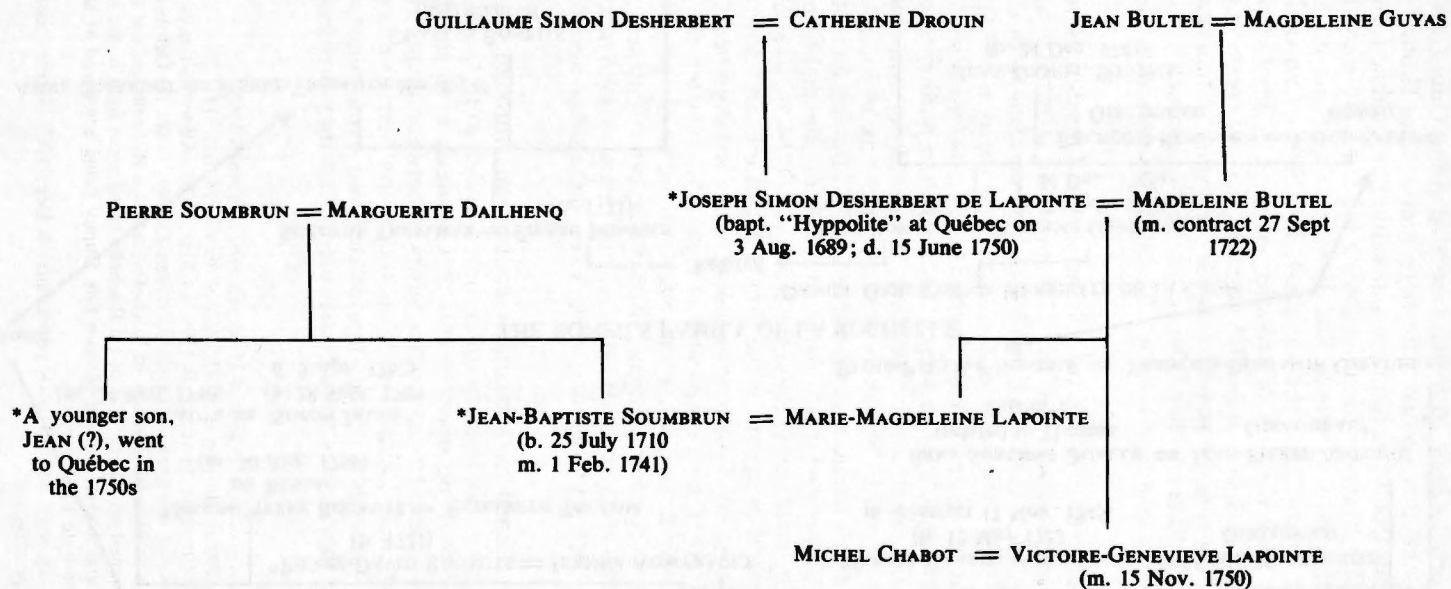
* This sketchy genealogy of the Lamatellie, Lee and Dupuy families has been composed largely from the parish registers of St. Michel (Bordeaux), St. André (Bordeaux), St. Seurin (Bordeaux) for Dupuy's death; St. Genès (Talence) Dupuy's marriage; and various notarial minutes: Me Bernard (Bordeaux) 22 Feb. 1721 Lee marriage contract; Me Roberdeau (Bordeaux) 12 July 1721 Lee marriage contract; Me Faugas (Bordeaux) 23 Jan. 1773 Jean Dupuy *père inventaire*; Me Bernard *père* (Bordeaux) 5 Feb. 1715 Lamatellie marriage contract; Me Lenfumé (Bordeaux) 14 May 1708 Lamatellie marriage contract, and others.

THE HUGUENOT CIRCLES OF PIERRE-GABRIEL ADMYRAULT
LAMALETIE'S PARTNER AT LA ROCHELLE



* Trading or shipping to Quebec.

THE CIRCLES OF JOSEPH SIMON DESHERBERT
DE LAPOINTE, LAMALETIE'S PARTNER AT LA ROCHELLE



*Trading at or with Québec

Jacques Lee (born 10 May 1688) who married Anne Quin (or O'Quin, 22 February 1721) and this second wife bore him a son, Thomas Lee. This Thomas Lee, Lamaletie's second cousin, settled at Québec as a merchant in partnership with François Mounier during the late 1750's and the 1760's. He married Catherine Langlois at Ste. Foy, near Québec, on 7 July 1760 and remained in Canada after the conquest. Just before Lamaletie returned to Bordeaux he took the firm of Mounier and Lee as his Québec partner by a verbal agreement of 1 July 1758 to stand for five years beginning on 1 January 1759.⁹ During the years following the expiry of this agreement on 1 January 1764, we find another Québec merchant, Jacques Perrault *l'ainé*, holding Lamaletie's power of attorney to settle accounts with Mounier and Lee.

More distant still, though no less firm, was Lamaletie's relationship with Jean-Patrice Dupuy (1732-1786) who spent two or three years in Canada before returning to Bordeaux in 1756 to begin trading with Canada and the West Indies under the name of *Dupuy fils et compagnie*.¹⁰ The relationship was that the aforementioned Thomas Lee, Lamaletie's second cousin, was first cousin to Jean-Patrice Dupuy because their mothers were sisters; but through their maternal grandmother, Jeanne Lee, who had married Patrice Quin on 27 April 1703, there was a further link in an earlier generation. Jean-André Lamaletie was therefore doubly, though distantly, related to Jean-Patrice Dupuy and it was natural for them in the eighteenth century to collaborate in their trans-Atlantic trade. In 1754-56, we find Dupuy working in Montréal as agent for the firm of Lamaletie and Admyrault, and then, after retiring to Bordeaux sending large consignments of wine, brandy, oil and other goods to Lamaletie in 1757.¹¹ After the war, their business lives were linked further through, for instance, an agreement of 4 January 1766 to form a company with three other partners for stockpiling and milling wheat near Bordeaux, and there is evidence that they owned a sugar refinery together with Yves de Tanlay about the same time.¹²

Such were Lamaletie's business connections through his family at Bordeaux, but there was in addition an outer circle, so to speak, of family connections that were no doubt useful to Lamaletie even though I could discover no evidence of trade or other business between them. Through his father, François-Louis Lamaletie, Jean-André was heir to a considerable family circle of merchants, minor magistrates and even minor noblemen. His family were themselves truly *bourgeois* in that they possessed official

⁹ M^c Duprat (Bordeaux) 28 and 31 March 1767; 29 April 1765.

¹⁰ Arsenal (Paris), Bastille mss. 12.145, fol. 6; 12.143, fol. 313.

¹¹ In A. D. Charente Maritime B 1796, 14 Sept. 1762, Admyrault says that in 1754 he opened a business in Montréal directed by "Jean Dupuy" until 30 October 1756. This might be a reference to Jean-Élie Dupuy of Rochefort and La Rochelle except that his marriage contract was signed on 8 Feb. 1755 at La Rochelle (M^c Laleu) right in the middle of the period in question, and it says nothing of Jean-Élie Dupuy being employed at Montréal etc. Also cf. references in note 10 above.

¹² A. D. GIRONDE, M^c RAUZAN (Bordeaux) 8 Dec. 1767, Vente; and M^c Duprat (Bordeaux) 4 January 1766.

lettres de bourgeoisie dated 11 October 1659 and 15 June 1720.¹³ François-Louis seems to have inherited much of his own fortune, for he brought only 3000 *livres* (and his wife only 6000 *livres*) to his first marriage in 1708, but only seven years later in 1715, no less than 50,000 *livres* (and his second wife the same sum) to his second marriage, the one to which Jean-André was born.¹⁴ There were substantial connections with other families of Bordeaux *bourgeois*. Prominent among them was the Jeandreau family, particularly Jean Jeandreau, Jean-André's godfather and paternal uncle-by-marriage, and Blaise Jeandreau (1697-1780), director of the Bordeaux mint (1749-61), manager of a coffee *entrepôt* for the *Consuls de la Bourse* (the money market directors), and eventually bearer of the honorary title of *Gentilhomme de la Grande fauconnerie de France*, altogether a considerable personage who served in the Seven Years War as the Bordeaux agent for the great naval financing and supply firm of Beaujon, Goossens and Company.¹⁵ Another family closely linked for at least three generations in the eighteenth century were the Peyronnet, a family of magistrates beginning to enter the ranks of nobility. Then, with its fairly long and respectable history at Bordeaux, the Lamaletie family had naturally spread, so that one relative, Marguerite Lamaletie, had settled at Toulouse with her husband, Jean-André Drulhe, *avocat en la cour*, and Jean-André's uncle Joseph Lamaletie lived as a merchant at Fort Saint Pierre, Martinique, and died at nearby Guadeloupe early in 1762. Jean-André's own brother, Louis, sailed to Martinique at the age of 20 on *La Providence* (Captain Charles Elies) in 1746, served for some years as the royal *commissaire* for the colony of Martinique and died there about 1769.¹⁶ In the eighteenth century such relations might be of the utmost value to a shipping merchant.

Lamaletie also maintained, however, a regular trading partnership (*société*) with a merchant at La Rochelle, and through him a useful acquaintanceship with other business circles there. His first partner was Joseph-Simon Desherbert de Lapointe, a Canadian living at La Rochelle, with whom he signed an agreement on 14 June 1744, and Lamaletie journeyed to La Rochelle for this purpose.¹⁷ Lapointe was an established shipping merchant, some 57 years of age, at a major commercial centre, whereas

¹³ SOCIÉTÉ DES ARCHIVES HISTORIQUES DE LA GIRONDE, *Livre des Bourgeois de Bordeaux (XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles)* (Bordeaux: 1898), pp. 144 and 157.

¹⁴ M^e Lenfumé (Bordeaux) 14 May 1708; M^e Bernard, *père* (Bordeaux), 5 Feb. 1715. On 23 March 1775, François-Louis Lamaletie bought an office of *secrétaire du Roi* for 65,000 *livres*, (M^e Faugas (Bordeaux) 26 Jan 1770 and M^e Brignet (Bordeaux) 23 March 1775.

¹⁵ A. D. GIRONDE, 3 E 24.395; B E 24.437 (*testament*); 2 B 214 (*correspondance*); M^e Faugas (Bordeaux) 1 April 1765, 15 Nov. 1759, and 28 May 1759.

¹⁶ A. D. GIRONDE, 6 B 47*, 22 Jan. 1733; 6 B 50* 15 Feb. 1746; M^e Faugas (Bordeaux) 22 May 1762; M^e Duprat (Bordeaux), 31 Oct. 1765, 20 Sept. 1766, 25 May 1767, and 8 March 1769. The first marriage of Jean-André's father, in 1708, had been to Marie Peyronnet, daughter of Jean Peyronnet, *bourgeois et consul de la Bourse de Bordeaux* and niece of Antoine-Guillaume Peyronnet, *écuyer, secrétaire du Roy en la Cour des Aides de Guienne*. Another link with this family was forged on 4 December 1727 with the marriage of Marie-Roze Lamaletie. Jean-André's sister, to Jean-Joseph-Julien Peyronnet, Chevalier, *Trésorier de France*, one of Antoine-Guillaume's sons.

¹⁷ Québec Archives, M^e Barolet (Québec), 4 Nov. 1751, *Dépôt d'un acte de Société*.

Lamaletie was a young man of 26 with only about three years' experience at a minor colonial trading port, and the agreement between them reflected this difference in that Lapointe was to take charge of shipping arrangements and insurance, to take three-quarters of the firm's profits, to put up the entire working capital of 60,000 *livres* [art. 1], even to increase this if he saw fit [art. 3] and to bear all capital losses. [art. 6]. Lamaletie, for his part, was to contribute only his "travail, industrie et application" at Québec, where he was to go that very summer, free of charge, on one of Lapointe's ships,¹⁸ *L'Andromède* [art. 2], and if the ship were seized by the enemy (the War of Austrian Succession was in progress) Lapointe was to put up three-quarters of the ransom money [art. 12]. At Québec and Montréal, Lamaletie was to make all necessary arrangements for storehouses, transport etc. at the firm's expense [art. 4], to keep proper account books and to send annual reports over to Lapointe [art. 5], to credit Lapointe with half of the profits from any business he did with third parties [art. 7] and to abide by a system of arbitration in case the two parties quarrelled over anything [art. 11]. Two additional clauses provided that the parties would each pay twelve *livres* a year to the hospital in his city, and — more interesting — that a certain Delort, a merchant at Louisbourg, would invest 8,000 *livres* in the firm, mainly it seemed, in goods sent to Québec, and that instead of a share in the profits from that part of the firm's trade, Lamaletie would be content with a fixed sum of 200 *livres* a year.

Although it was an *acte de société* as between equals and not an *engagement*, this agreement in effect signed Lamaletie on as Lapointe's man in what was evidently very much Lapointe's firm, and it was to last for three years ending on 31 December 1746, the length of time for which most *engagés* signed on. But Lamaletie must have been successful and otherwise satisfactory, perhaps even forceful, because less than two years later, on 13 March 1746, this agreement was renewed for another six years (to end on 31 December 1752) but with an amendment providing for an equal sharing of profits and freeing Lamaletie from the obligation to account to Lapointe *de clerc à maître*, as the phrase went. Lapointe died on 15 June 1750 and so brought the agreement to a sudden end two years early, but for most of the six years during which they traded Lamaletie was more or less an equal partner.¹⁹

Partnership with Lapointe brought Lamaletie the benefits of a considerable trans-Atlantic trading circle. Lapointe himself had been born at Québec about 1687, son of Guillaume-Simon Desherbert and Catherine

¹⁸ *L'Andromède* (285 tonneaux, Cap't Bionneau) set sail for Québec by admiralty *soumission* at La Rochelle dated 28 May 1744 and it returned with a cargo of fish oil on 4 Jan. 1745.

¹⁹ A. D. CHARENTE MARITIME, M^c FLEURY (La Rochelle) 27 Sept. 1722, marriage contract, M^c Chameau (La Rochelle) 1 June 1750, will; and 5 Aug. 1750, *inventaire après décès*; St. Jean du Perrot parish registers (La Rochelle) 15 June 1750.

Drouin.²⁰ When in 1722 Lapointe married Madeleine Bultel, daughter of a La Rochelle family of merchants and seacaptains, among the most prominent witnesses and friends present were Antoine Pascaud and other members of the Pascaud family, so active in Canadian trade during the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1748 (and no doubt also in other years), Pascaud sent Lamaletie a consignment of mercery, olives, fishing lines and other goods for sale. When Madame Lapointe went bankrupt in 1764, fourteen years after her husband's death, Joseph Pascaud *député de commerce* in Paris, was still one of her creditors. One of their daughters, married a La Rochelle merchant, Michel Chabot, whose links with Canada were tenuous, but in 1741 the other daughter Marie-Madeleine, had married Jean-Baptiste Soumbrun, who had been trading to Canada since the 1730s.²¹ Soon after this marriage, which was in the year Lamaletie first went to Canada, Soumbrun increased his trade with Québec, often sending as many as three or four ships a year on the usual triangular run to Québec and the West Indies. For a few years in the late 1740s and 1750, Soumbrun and Lapointe together were one of the major shipping families dealing with Québec.

Soumbrun acted as agent for other merchants, too. As early as 1745, indeed, we find Saubat-Michel Detcheverry "of Québec" dispatching *Le Pérou* (80 tonneaux), a brigantine built at Québec, to La Rochelle with a passport dated 30 October 1745 and under a Canadian captain, Marc Guérard, with orders to deliver a packet of letters and a cargo of furs, fish oil, beaver's kidneys etc. to "mon amy le Sieur Soumbrun" who was to arrange for a return cargo for Québec.²² The cargo was not all for Soumbrun, of course, but included consignments for the Pascaud brothers, Veysière and La Veuve Charly of La Rochelle. The first officer on that voyage was Jean-Baptiste Amiot (1717-1769) who acted as Soumbrun's principal agent at Québec from 1747. By the early 1750s Soumbrun was also shipping goods out to a younger brother at Québec who was to earn a commission of 5% on everything he sold but who did not do very well in this trade. This brother was a passenger in charge of a large consignment of wine and mercery on Soumbrun's ship, *Le Grand St. Ursin* (250 tonneaux, Captain Nicolas Brossard) which left La Rochelle in April 1756 and was

²⁰ The marriage contract gives these names and the death registration gives his age as sixty-three. The researches of Monsieur André Côté, at Québec, (for which I am very grateful) suggest, however, that Lapointe may in fact have been baptized there on 3 August 1689 as "Hyppolite," son of Guillaume Simon and Catherine Drouin, who had married on 17 November 1688; and the name "Joseph" may have been that of his godfather, Joseph Lesot. It was a common custom to adopt a godfather's name. In any event, until more information is found this is the most plausible explanation of Lapointe's family background.

²¹ A. D. CHARENTE MARITIME, M^c Tardy (La Rochelle) 9 March 1764, *Abandon de biens* (very full, showing all creditors); St. Jean du Perrot parish registers (La Rochelle) 1 Feb. 1741, marriage; M^c Chameau (La Rochelle) 15 Nov. 1750, marriage contract; A. D. Landes (Mont de Marsan), parish registers for Misson, near Dax, in which we find that Pierre Soumbrun and Marguerite Dailhenq baptised at least three sons "Jean" on 18 May 1702, 1 Sept. 1704 and 20 June 1716. One of the first two of these is almost certainly the La Rochelle merchant, who later took the name "Jean-Baptiste", a common practice at the time, but I cannot yet tell which one.

²² P.R.O. (London) H.C.A. 32: 147 pt. 1, *Le Pérou* seized on 12 Dec. 1745.

captured by the British on 26 April. *Le Grand St. Ursin* and *Le Solide* (200 tonneaux, Captain Vincelotte) were the last ships he sent to Québec because in 1756 Soumbrun went bankrupt owing, he explained to his creditors, to the enemy's seizure of his ships and to an unexpected bill for high insurance premiums.²³

Soumbrun's was a terrible financial crash which affected a long list of creditors but touched Lamaletie very little if at all. This was because when old Simon Lapointe died in 1750, Lamaletie signed his next agreement not with the son-in-law, Soumbrun, but with a Huguenot merchant by the name of Pierre-Gabriel Admyrault.²⁴ Lamaletie sailed to La Rochelle to sign this agreement in 1751-52 and as a result of it he did business with Admyrault until 1757, the year before he left Québec never to return. This partnership brought Lamaletie into another wide circle of trading associates. In the early years of it, Admyrault was himself in partnership at La Rochelle with his brother-in-law, another Huguenot merchant named Pierre-David Rocaute, and Rocaute was a link with the Huguenot group at Bordeaux which traded with Lamaletie. The Bordeaux merchant, Rocaute de Bussac, Faure Lacaussade's friend, was a brother, and Simon Jauge was therefore a brother-in-law. Admyrault himself had in 1745 married Marie-Marguerite Girardeau, the daughter of another Huguenot merchant, Elie Girardeau, who sent ships to Canada and the West Indies until his death in 1750 when his son, Jean-Pierre-Antoine, carried on trading with Québec until his little ship, *La petite Suzanne* (80 tonneaux) was captured in 1757.²⁵ Girardeau's agent at Québec was not Lamaletie but Pierre Meynardie, and yet as the brother-in-law of Lamaletie's partner, Girardeau would normally be well-disposed towards Lamaletie. Then, in 1754, Admyrault opened a business in Montréal directed there until 30 October 1756 by Jean-Patrice Dupuy, no doubt on Lamaletie's recommendation and when in 1757 Lamaletie withdrew from his partnership with Admyrault, he was authorized by Admyrault to sign an *acte de société* making Jean-Baptiste Amiot the new partner at Québec.²⁶ All these relationships show how the Lamaletie-Admyrault partnership was part of a larger trading circle.

Turning now to the Canadian circle, the ramifications of Lamaletie's trade during the seventeen years he spent here are a large subject in them-

²³ P.R.O. (London) H.C.A. 32: 195; A. D. Charente Maritime, M^e des Barres (La Rochelle) 11 March 1754; M^e Fredureaux-Dumas (La Rochelle) 8 Feb. 1759 *Traité avec créanciers*; and *Le Calendrier des armateurs de La Rochelle, passim*.

²⁴ A. D. CHARENTE MARITIME, St. Barthelemy parish registers (La Rochelle); Admyrault was born on 12 May 1723; M^e Guillemot (La Rochelle) 17 Nov. 1745, marriage; A. D. Gironde, 3 B 248 Sénéchaussée-Présidial, *transport* 14 Sept. 1762, Lamaletie's summary statement of his business in Canada; A. D. Charente Maritime, B 1796, 14 Sept. 1762, Admyrault's summary statement.

²⁵ For the Huguenot circle see A. D. Gironde, M^e Bolle (Bordeaux) 21 Jan. 1740, Jauge's marriage contract; M^e Rauzan (Bordeaux) 28 Aug. 1769, marriage contract for Rocaute de Bussac; A. D. Charente Maritime, M^e Guillemot (La Rochelle) 1 April 1749; P.R.O. (London), H.C.A. 32: 166, *L'Aimable Thérèse*, a letter from Faure Lacaussade to Derit 20 March 1758 in which Faure refers to "mon amy, Monsieur Rocaute de Bussac..."

²⁶ A. D. CHARENTE Maritime, M^e Tardy (La Rochelle), 28 Feb. 1757, *procuration*.

selves that cannot be treated in this paper, but our attention is drawn in particular to three friends he made who were vital in his career. These were Guillaume Estèbe, François Foucault and Jean Latuilière, all from the Pyrennees region of France, all engaged in trans-Atlantic trade and all to become permanently related to Lamaletie through various marriages.²⁷ When Lamaletie arrived at Québec in 1741, Foucault was a prominent and respected figure in the colony, having spent a quarter of a century engaged in both private trading and the public functions of a government store-keeper and an *écrivain de la Marine*, a combination so characteristic of eighteenth-century France. He also had a seat in the *Conseil supérieur* at Québec. During the next few years he married two of his daughters to *assesseurs* in the *Conseil supérieur* who were destined to rise in the colonial magistracy: a merchant named Guillaume Guillaumin (1713-1771) and a son of the director of the *Domaine d'Occident* taxing agency who himself took over that post at his father's death, Joseph-Étienne Nouchet (1724-58). Lamaletie married a third daughter, Marie-Thérèse Foucault, by contract of 11 November 1747 and so entered a large circle of friends and relations at Québec including officials and military officers as well as merchants.²⁸ The marriage contract was signed by the Governor, the Bishop and the Intendant and witnessed by a number of relations: Foucault, Guillaumin and Nouchet, of course, but also Daniel-Hycinthe Liénard de Beaujeu, a military officer married to the bride's half-sister, Elizabeth Foucault; and François-Étienne Cugnet, related through his wife to the Liénard de Beaujeu family. The bride was also related to two distinguished Marine officials who were absent on this occasion: Jean-Victor Varin de la Mare, related by marriage to the Liénard de Beaujeu family,²⁹ and Denis-Nicolas Foucault (1723-1807), the bride's brother, then serving as *écrivain de la Marine* at Rochefort and later to be made *Contrôleur de la Marine* at Louisiana (1763), acting *ordonnateur* there (1769), *ordonnateur* at Pondicherry (1772) and Ile de France (1776). With this marriage, Lamaletie entered the governing circles of the colony, which could do his trade no harm, and we should not be surprised to learn that a few months later he was named to the post of *greffier de la Maréchaussée de Québec* which did not interrupt his trade and was not intended to. In a letter to Versailles proposing Lamaletie for this post, the Governor and Intendant remarked that he was a "jeune négociant de bonne famille, sage et suffisamment versé dans la procédure pour bien s'acquitter de cette charge. Il est sur le point de s'établir avec une des filles du Sieur Foucault..."³⁰

²⁷ D. J. HORTON, "François Foucault," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* II, pp. 225-7; P. G. ROY, *La Famille Foucault*, Lévis, 1915; P. G. ROY, "Le Sieur Guillaume Estèbe", *Bulletin des Recherches historiques* (Québec), vol. 52, no. 7 (July 1946): 195-207. Foucault was born near Bayonne, about 1690, Estèbe at Gourbit near Rabat, *pays de Foix*, about 1706 and Latuilière at Salies-de-Béarn. At Salies the parish registers have been partly destroyed and I could not find Latuilière's birth in them. I have not yet been to Gourbit.

²⁸ Québec Archives, M^c Barolet (Québec), 11 Nov. 1747 Lamaletie's marriage contract; Guillaumin married Marie-Claude-Geneviève on 4 May 1744, and Nouchet married Louise-Catherine on 8 Feb. 1747.

²⁹ Cameron NISH, *Les Bourgeois-Gentilhommes de la Nouvelle France* (Montréal: 1968), p. 132

³⁰ A. N. (Paris), Colonies C11A 120, 23 Oct. 1747.

In 1740, Lamaletie's future father-in-law, François Faucault (1690-1766), had given up his post as government storekeeper to a friend, Guillaume Estèbe, already well established at Québec as a merchant with a wife from the Thibièrge family, a seat in the *Conseil supérieur* since 1736 and a wide acquaintanceship among the notables of the colony. On the occasion of Lamaletie's marriage it was Guillaume Estèbe who acted legally for Lamaletie's parents by a power of attorney made out to him before a Bordeaux notary, although that document was probably sent out blank for Lamaletie to fill out as he wished.³¹ The circle that Lamaletie entered by that marriage (and no doubt earlier) was based upon business as well as social relationships. During the 1740s Estèbe had been involved in naval construction, government supply and other government business along with the Foucault, Guillaumin, Nouchet and Beaujeu families. In 1739, he and Daniel de Beaujeu had formed a company for exploiting a concession on the coast of Labrador. Throughout most of the 1740s Estèbe and Cugnet had been associated as joint lessors of the Tadoussac fishing post and in the management of the Forges Saint-Maurice.³² Lamaletie, too, was involved in business with these families. During the 1750s we find him in informal business relations with Estèbe and another friend, Jean Latuilière, and the latter returned to Bordeaux in 1757 and the following year sent off two ships to Québec with instructions to the captains to turn their cargoes over either to Lamaletie or to Estèbe, it did not matter which. The cargoes were, as usual, mixed and addressed to many different merchants, but a very large consignment of wine, brandy, hardware and foodstuffs was similarly directed either to Lamaletie or to Estèbe who were obviously working in close relationship.³³

Lamaletie and Estèbe decided about October 1757 to return to Bordeaux and did so a year later. On arriving in Bordeaux, Lamaletie immediately formed a partnership with Jean Latuilière which, under the name *Lamaletie, Latuilière et compagnie* was active in maritime trading until about 1770 when it gave way to a successor entitled *Latuilière, St. Eloy Estèbe et compagnie* formed by Latuilière and one of Estèbe's sons. These three families were soon linked by marriages when, on 11 June 1778, the aforementioned Gilles St. Eloy Estèbe married Lamaletie's daughter, Catherine, widow of Jean-Joseph Peyronnet; a few weeks later, on 7 July 1778, Estèbe's daughter, Marie-Antoinette, married Jean Margès, *négo-ciant*, son of Jacques Margès and Anne Latuilière; and on 3 June 1784, one of Estèbe's sons, François-Joachim Godefroy Estèbe, married one of Lamaletie's daughters, Marie-Louise. On these occasions Lamaletie, Latuilière and Estèbe, old friends since their years in Canada, gathered to celebrate marriage links of their families and on the first two occasions, the ceremonies were held at the private chapel in Estèbe's house in the

³¹ A. D. GIRONDE, M^c Séjourné and M^c Lagenie (Bordeaux), 6 Feb. 1747, *procuration*, Québec Archives, M^c Barolet (Québec), 11 Nov. 1747, marriage contract.

³² CAMERON NISH, *Les Bourgeois-Gentilhommes*, see index for "Estèbe"; J. S. PRITCHARD, "Pommereau, Jean-Baptiste", D.C.B. III, pp. 524-5, and ROBERT LAHAISE, "Claverie, Pierre", D.C.B. III, pp. 124-5.

³³ P.R.O. (London), H.C.A. 32: 178 pt. 1, *La Catiche* and 196 pt. 1, *La Godichone*.

village of Pompignac. All three had established themselves in or near Bordeaux and had risen in the world.³⁴

This brief analysis, though inevitably incomplete, is sufficient to identify Lamaletie's trading partners and other friends and relations in Bordeaux, La Rochelle and Québec. As these circles ramified widely in many directions it is hard to establish precise limits to them, but it is certain that there were limits. Not all merchants were connected, and the names of many engaged in Franco-Canadian trade seldom if ever crop up in association with Lamaletie's circles: Cardenau, Charly, Courrejolles, Glemet, Derit, Havy, or Leclerc at Québec; Baour, Desclaux, Gradis, or Pierre Lavaud at Bordeaux; and Aliés, Besse de la Barthe, Boudet, Gazan, Paillet, Ranjard or Veyssière at La Rochelle, to mention only a few. This being so, we may sensibly ask whether Lamaletie's circles were touched by the *affaire du Canada* in the Seven Years' War.

The *affaire du Canada* was one of those mighty scandals that shake the French governing classes from time to time, leaving unsolved problems and mysteries in their wake for historians to clear up as best they can. The simple facts are that in 1761 the French government arrested the Intendant from Québec, François Bigot, and nearly all the other officials from Canada, imprisoned them in the Bastille and, after long investigation and many interrogations, put them on trial for profiteering, fraud, embezzlement and other such crimes. By the judgment which the *Châtelet* criminal court published on 10 December 1763, the Intendant was condemned to death, but the sentence commuted to banishment, and heavy fines were imposed on most of the other prisoners. This mass trial resembled the post-war trials of profiteers by *Chambres de Justice*, *ad hoc* courts appointed by the Crown from time to time but not since 1716-17.³⁵ The Crown was probably using the affair as a deliberate political device for shifting the blame for the loss of Canada onto the colonial officials, but at the same time there can be no doubt that these officials were guilty of profiteering and defrauding the Crown and the public on a vast scale. In studying Lamaletie's trading circles, it is natural to wonder whether he or any of his associates were implicated in the affair.

³⁴ A. D. GIRONDE, M^e Faugas (Bordeaux), 4 June 1770, 3 Aug. 1781 and 3 May 1782; for the first two marriages, parish registers of St. Martin de Pompignac at the village hall and also E suppl. 1299, G. G. 5 under dates; for the third marriage, parish registers of Carignan (near Bordeaux), 3 June 1784. Estèbe purchased a house in Bordeaux on 20 Aug. 1757 for 42,000 *livres*, then an office of *Secrétaire du Roy* on 24 March 1759 for 60,000 *livres*, [M^e Guy (Bordeaux) 20 Aug. 1757, *acquisition*, end 3 Sept. 1761, *acquisition* and A. D. GIRONDE 3 E 12.693]. Latuilière became a *jurat* (a municipal official) and *bourgeois* of Bordeaux. Lamaletie became prosperous and successful; in 1780 a member of his family, Benoît-Pierre Lamaletie, who had married a grand-daughter of the great Montesquieu, became a nobleman when he acquired the office of *avocat général à la Cour des Aides de Bordeaux*. [L. DE BAILLEUX, *Généalogique sur la famille de Marbotin du Parlement de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux: 1960), p. 53.]

³⁵ See J. F. BOSHER, "The Chambres de Justice in the French Monarchy" in Boshier ed., *French Government and Society 1500-1850*, Essays in memory of Alfred Cobban, London 1973.

Readers acquainted with the affair will have recognized Estèbe as one of those arrested, and the answer to the above question, very simply, is that through Estèbe, and also through Jean-Patrice Dupuy, Lamaletie must have been somehow implicated in the affair, but we cannot tell how deeply because, like most other merchants, he was not arrested and detailed records of this trade have not survived. The circumstantial evidence is nevertheless worth recording. Estèbe and Dupuy, with whom Lamaletie had close business relations during the Seven Years' War, were each separately but deeply engaged in the Québec trading system that was stigmatized after the war as the *Grande société*. Estèbe was arrested and imprisoned in the Bastille by an order of 17 May 1762 and released on 20 January 1764 after paying a fine of 30,000 livres for profiting by illegal sales of goods his firm had supplied to the royal stores and by illegal exemptions from the *Domaine* duties that were supposed to be collected on his goods.³⁶

Estèbe's profitable combination of private trading and government storekeeping went back far beyond the 1750s, however, to about the same time that Lamaletie first came to Canada. The Estèbe case has, indeed, some strange sides to it. In 1741, shortly after his appointment to the post of government storekeeper at Québec, the Intendant, Hocquart, wrote to Maurepas at Versailles:

C'est une bonne acquisition pour le service que le Sieur Estèbe auquel vous avez bien voulu procurer la place de garde magasin. Je luy en ay remis le brevet en luy expliquant de votre part que c'était à condition qu'il ne feroit aucun commerce; il s'est aussitôt défit des marchandises qu'il pouvait avoir, et il m'a promis qu'il se conformeroit exactement à vos intentions.³⁷

Estèbe did not keep this promise for long, however, Bills of lading in the British Admiralty prize papers, from French ships captured during the mid-century wars, show that consignments of goods, some of them fairly large, were sent off to him from France on no less than six ships seized during the years 1744 to 1748 and ten seized during the years 1756 to 1758. The captains of three of these ships from Bordeaux, *La Légère* (1746; owned by Armand Nadau), *Le Saint François* (1748) and *Le Saint Victor* (1748; both owned by François Doumerc and Rozier) were directed by their owners to deal with Estèbe as their shipping agent who would dispose of the cargoes at Québec and find other cargoes for the return to France or for the West Indies. In 1758 and probably earlier, Estèbe was part-owner of *Le Sauvage* (180 *tonneaux*) which brought a cargo from La Rochelle to Québec in 1758 and was captured with a cargo and twelve passengers on the return journey on 11 December 1758.³⁸ If this many consignments and ships on the captured list were addressed to Estèbe, we may well wonder how many others escaped capture and reached him at Québec. The number

³⁶ Arsenal (Paris), Bastille mss. 12.142 fol. 102; P. G. Roy, "Le Sieur Guillaume Estèbe", *Bull. des Rech. hist.* (Québec), vol. 52, no. 7 (July 1946): 195-207.

³⁷ A. N. (Paris), Colonies C¹¹A 120, fol. 274, 3 Oct. 1741.

³⁸ See table of Estèbe's trade below p. 40. For the four ships mentioned above see P.R.O. (London), H.C.A. 32: 127 pt. 1; 111 pt. 1 and 157 and 246. These cargoes also included other consignments for other merchants not listed here.

must have been large, especially during the 1740s when fewer ships were lost to the British than during the 1750s. But for most of the decade of the 1740s, the Intendant at Québec was Gilles Hocquart, not replaced by the ill-fated François Bigot until 1748, and for those early years at least there can be no question of Bigot's *grande société*. As government storekeeper, Estèbe was cheating on a vast scale even under the supposedly-honest Hocquart.

GUILLAUME ESTÈBE'S TRADE
AS SHOWN IN A LIST OF SHIPMENTS TO HIM FROM FRANCE, 1744 TO 1758³⁹

<i>Ship and year of sailing</i>	<i>Exporter</i>	<i>Merchandise</i>
<i>L'Aimable Gracieuse</i> (1744)	Jean Jung	olives, oil, sugar, spices, wine, brandy
<i>La Gracieuse</i> (1745)	Touges	steel barrels and lead
<i>La Légère</i> (1746)	Jean Jung Tourat <i> fils</i>	wine, thread wine
<i>Le Fortuné</i> (1747)	Jean Jung (also owner of the ship) Touges	wine, cloth, handkerchiefs etc. steel, lead, draperies, wine, brandy
<i>Le Saint Victor</i> (1748)	Chambrot Jean Jung	wine, rope and cord wine
<i>Le Saint François</i> (1748)	Jean Jung Baudouin Audouin <i> père et fils</i> Chambrot Garrisson	<i> vin de Grave</i> <i> vin noir</i> wine 22 half-barrels of brandy drapery, rope and cord
<i>L'Aimable Marie</i> (1754)	Jean Delpech	large consignment of mixed goods
<i>Le Grand St. Ursin</i> (1756)	Denis Goguet	dry goods, oil etc.
<i>La Catiche</i> (1757)	Latuilière	wine, brandy, nails, ham, etc.
<i>La Marquise de Galifet</i> (1757)	Simon Jauge	cloth
<i>Le St. Pierre</i> (1757)	J. Vincent Batanchon Latuilière	salt tobacco
<i>La Providence</i> (1757)	Latuilière Simon Jauge	tobacco, flour, pork, crockery cloth
<i>La Renommé</i> (1757)	J. Alexandre <i> fils</i>	soap
<i>Le Superbe</i> (1757)	J. Alexandre <i> fils</i>	tobacco
<i>Le Sauvage</i> (1758) half owned by Denis Goguet and Estèbe; brought a cargo from La Rochelle to Québec in 1758		
<i>Les Deux Amies</i> (1758) from La Rochelle	Denis Goguet	flour
<i>Le Marie Magdeleine</i> (1758)	Latuilière	wine and brandy

³⁹ P.R.O. (London), H.C.A. 32: 96 pt. 1, 113 pt. 1, 127 pt. 1, 112 pt. 2, 111 pt. 1, 157 (*Le St. Victor*), A. D. GIRONDE, M^c Guy (Bordeaux) 6 March 1761, H.C.A. 32: 195 (*Le Grand St. Ursin*), 178 pt. 1, 216 pt. 2, 231, 236 pt. 1, 238 pt. 2, 246 (*Le Superbe*), 246, 185, and 219. Besides these shipments to Estèbe there were many other consignments of goods in each of these cargoes.

Soon after Bigot arrived at Québec, he wrote a few lines to his minister at Versailles which inadvertently reveal that government store-keepers generally engaged in trade for themselves.

Les Sieurs Estèbe et Martel, le premier garde-magasin à Québec et conseiller au Conseil supérieur et le dernier garde magasin à Montréal souhaiteroient fort avoir un brevet d'écrivain principal sans appointements, s'en tenant à ceux qu'ils ont. J'ai vu avec plaisir qu'ils ont envie de s'attacher au service; ce qui est assez rare, un chacun préférant ici la profession de négociant à celle de servir Sa Majesté, la dernière ne donnant de quoi vivre; et je sais que ces messieurs avoient eu envie de laisser leurs emplois pour s'adonner entièrement au commerce.⁴⁰

The final phrase in this passage more than hints that Estèbe and Martel were already trading on their own account as, indeed, we know they were. If Estèbe did not quit his government post, this was because he had found a way of making it profitable. Can his friend, Lamaletie, have remained innocent of any involvement in his business? Perhaps; but the trading connections in 1757 and the mere friendship are enough to throw suspicion on Lamaletie.

Lamaletie had a similar connection with his distant cousin, Jean-Patrice Dupuy, but it does not go so far back. Dupuy first became involved in the *grande société* when he formed a company on 20 October 1756 with Michel-Jean-Hughes Péan, the notorious military officer at Québec, and Jean-Baptiste Martel, who kept the royal stores at Montréal as Estèbe kept them at Québec.⁴¹ It was a trans-Atlantic trading company founded for seven years beginning on 1 January 1757 under the name of *Dupuy fils et compagnie* and Dupuy directed it and had a one-third interest in it representing 133,333 *livres* of the total capital fund of 400,000 *livres*, whereas Péan had a one-quarter interest, or 100,000 *livres* investment. It seems Martel was to put up five-twelfths of the capital fund and hold the largest interest, but in any event the company dissolved on 14 May 1760 and reformed without Martel on the basis of an equal share of profits and losses. This new partnership was to continue without term until either Péan or Dupuy decided to withdraw, and when at last they wound up their affairs on 30 May 1768, Dupuy in effect bought out Pean with payments totalling just over 51,000 *livres* and a promise to take over all the company's debts as well as its assets.

Long before this, in 1759, even before the Crown had begun to prosecute the Canadian officials and others of the *grand société*, Dupuy had begun to serve as a business agent for two of those officials who were later arrested, prosecuted and sentenced to heavy fines. For one of them, the aforementioned Martel, Dupuy purchased a furnished house "with six statues in the garden, each on its pedestal, a little mutilated and blackened by time," in the expensive Chartrons district of Bordeaux for 100,000 *livres*, this in his own name to conceal the identity of Martel for whom he

⁴⁰ A. N. (Paris), Colonies C11A 120 fol. 289, Bigot to Maurepas 30 Sept. 1749.

⁴¹ A. D. GIRONDE, M^c Faugas (Bordeaux), 30 May 1768, *Cession et dissolution de Sossité* [sic] Péan et Dupuy, 7½ pp.

acted as *prête-nom*.⁴² And three years later, after Martel's arrest, Dupuy rented the house for him to another Bordeaux merchant for seven years at a rent of "3800 *livres* while the present war lasts and 4500 *livres* in peacetime," every six months. Meanwhile, by a formal agreement of 9 February 1760, Martel paid another 100,000 *livres* for a one-third interest in Dupuy's share in the *Régie ou ferme générale des droits réunis*, a tax-collecting agency founded in September 1759 by the Controller General of Finance to help in meeting the financial crisis of the time. Already, on 20 October 1759, Dupuy had sold another third interest, also for 100,000 *livres*, to Jean-Victor Varin de la Mare, the notorious former *commissaire de la Marine* at Montréal. A royal commission set up to deal with the property of Bigot, Varin and the other major criminals of the *affaire du Canada* traced this transaction in 1764 and soon recovered from Dupuy what he still held of Varin's 100,000 *livres*, but I have no evidence that they knew of Martel's share.⁴³

As if this were not enough, on 31 December 1760 Dupuy went to one of the business agents (*prête-nom*) of Péan and Bigot, and others from Canada, a certain Nicolas-Felix Vaudive, who was an *avocat au Parlement et greffier de l'audience du grand conseil du Roy*, and the son of a merchant jeweller and goldsmith of Paris and borrowed 50,000 *livres* to invest in the tax farm of the *Devoirs de Bretagne*. The Crown confiscated this sum in 1764 as being part of Bigot's estate and Dupuy handed it over.⁴⁴ Another of Dupuy's unsavoury business arrangements which shows how widely he cast his net in the field of maritime and colonial business was made in 1762 with a well-known royal accountant and financier, the *régisseur des économats*, Louis-Pierre-Sebastien Marchal de Saincy. De Saincy took a one-quarter interest in a project of Dupuy's for buying large quantities of the sort of merchandise that would sell in the colonies and two ships, *Le Casque* and *Le Cheval Marin*,

le tout que les sieurs intéressés se proposoient de revendre en France aux premières nouvelles d'une paix déjà annoncée, où il était naturel de croire que ces effets augmenteroient considérablement de valeur. Mais des évènements imprévus ayant fait évanouir des espérances qui paroissent si bien fondée, ils se virent eux-même dans la nécessité d'armer ces navires qui firent plusieurs voyages en Amérique. Enfin, les circonstances qui concouroient alors n'ayant pas rendu les entreprises heureuses, il fut résolu de concert de les cesser et en conséquence décidé de faire la vente des navires et ce fut cette vente principalement qui fit connoître combien les entreprises avoient perdu par la grande diminution sur la valeur et le prix desdits navires.⁴⁵

⁴² A. D. GIRONDE, M^e Guy (Bordeaux), 16 Feb. 1759, *déclaration*; 17 Feb. 1759, *acquisition*; 17 Feb. 1759, *quittance*; 8 Oct. 1762, *bail-à-loyer*, all these concerning Martel's house in Bordeaux.

⁴³ A. N. (Paris), *minutier central des notaires de Paris* (or M. C. henceforth), M^e Prignot Beaugard, *étude XXX*, *société* 9 Feb. 1760, and *société* 20 Oct. 1759 with attached notes and V⁷³⁵³ entry of 3 April 1764.

⁴⁴ A. N. (Paris), MC, M^e Charlier (Paris), *étude LVII*, 8 May 1760, 31 Dec. 1760, and 20 Feb. 1761, *transport et délégation*.

⁴⁵ A. N. (Paris), MC, M^e Cordier, 18 March 1771, *procuration* of which a copy in A. D. GIRONDE, M^e Faugas (Bordeaux), 6 April 1771, *transaction*.

This link with Marchal de Sainscy, who had his fingers in many shady corners of the time, took Dupuy beyond the *affaire du Canada* and began to involve him in that twilight world of government financiers in Paris using government funds for private profit. These financiers were not generally prosecuted as a group until the French revolution, but the Canadian officials were. During their trial Dupuy, though never arrested, was anonymously denounced to the Châtelet for his association with Péan, Martel and Varin.

L'homme le plus important à arrêter dans l'affaire du Canada est un nommé Dupuy, négociant, demeurant à Bordeaux sur le Chartron, cy-devant commis au Canada. Il est l'homme de confiance et l'agent secret de Messieurs Bigot, Péan, Varin et Martel. C'est lui qui a réalisé pour eux en France et icy les lettres de change du Trésor qu'ils luy confioient.

Il repassait en France presque tous les ans avec les papiers de ces Messieurs. Il touchait les sommes chez le Trésorier général et avec cet argent il a acheté une prodigieuse quantité de billets de la loterie royale. Il a acheté pour treize millions d'actions de mille livres des fermiers généraux au feu Monsieur du Vergier, caissier de Monsieur de Montmartel. Il a acheté tout le bon papier au porteur. Il a acheté des terres pour ces Messieurs. Il a acheté la maison de Martel à Bordeaux qui est louée sous son nom. Enfin cet homme est au fait de tout l'argent qu'ils ont placé. La Commission en sçaura plus de cet homme seul en huit jours qu'elle n'en pourra apprendre en six mois par bien des recherches.⁴⁶

Whether or not the Commission acted on this unsigned note, they did force Dupuy to hand over large sums of money that he held for his criminal friends.

It is hard to believe that Dupuy's cousin Lamaletie was not somehow implicated in the *affaire du Canada*. He, too, was obliged to pay large sums of money that he was holding for the condemned men.⁴⁷ Furthermore, he and Admyrault employed Dupuy in Montréal in 1754-56 and received large consignments of goods at Québec from Dupuy in Bordeaux during 1757, while Lamaletie was associated with Estèbe. Again, in 1759 *Lamaletie, Latuilière et compagnie* sent large consignments of goods to officials in Canada, for example, sixteen barrels of wine and sixteen half-barrels of brandy sent on *Le Saint Augustin de Bilbao* through Mounier and Lee at Québec to the royal naval Treasurer at Montréal, Philippe-Antoine Cuny d'Hauterive, and an army officer, Laurent-François Lenoir de Rouvray, who intended to sell them at a profit.⁴⁸ In 1759 *Lamaletie, Latuilière et compagnie* sent off no less than six ships to Québec, either to Mounier and Lee who were their formal partners in trade at that time, or to officials supposed to receive cargoes for the Crown. And by a contract with the Crown of 25 February 1760, they sent three ships to Canada that year:

⁴⁶ Arsenal (Paris), Bastille mss. 12.145, fol. 6; 12.143, fol. 313.

⁴⁷ A. N. V7353 *Arrêtés du Bureau concernant la discussion des biens des nommés Bigot, Varin et autres employés dans le Canada*, entries for 3 April 1764, 2 and 8 May 1764. V7362 and 365 *passim*.

⁴⁸ A. N. (Paris), MC, M^c Semillard, étude XIII, 21 April 1763, *comparution de Latuilière, Le Noir et Dautrive*, and 11 Feb. 1765, *compte, quittance*, [etc.], explaining this case fully.

Le Bienfaisant (350 tonneaux), *L'Aurore* (400 tonneaux) and *Le Marquis de Malauze*, all addressed to Hilaire de la Rochette, Marine Treasurer at Québec.⁴⁹ Royal contracts were not incompatible with private trade, however, and we know that such Bordeaux merchants as Gradis, Desclaux, Jauge and Baour (not to mention Dupuy) were all trading in Canada with men later arrested and sentenced. Was Lamaletie similarly implicated?

The circumstantial evidence that we have just passed in review suggests that he may have been, but we cannot be sure. There is, furthermore, another curious fact to be taken into account in assessing Lamaletie's guilt or innocence in the eyes of the Châtelet criminal court busy with the trial of the arrested men from Canada: they consulted Lamaletie in their efforts to establish a standard scale of Canadian prices for the decade 1749-1759. The Lieutenant General of Police in Paris signed an order on 6 September 1762 to have his deputy in Bordeaux pay Lamaletie a visit for the purpose of borrowing his account books, "les livres journaux du commerce qu'il a fait dans sa maison en Canada depuis et comprise 1749 jusque et comprise 1759."⁵⁰ He gave them what little he had brought from Canada but claimed that most of his account books had been left in Québec with his partners, Mounier and Lee. The curious thing about all this is that Lamaletie was the only Bordeaux merchant so consulted, and the only Catholic on the list of eight visited for the Châtelet. Considering that Bordeaux was the main shipping centre for Canada during the Seven Years' War, it seems strange that seven of the eight merchants consulted were at La Rochelle or Montauban. We are obliged to conclude, I think, that this fact is significant of the Châtelet's discovery that Lamaletie, unlike Gradis, Desclaux, Dupuy and the rest at Bordeaux, had no incriminating connection with the men arrested in the *affaire du Canada* and appeared relatively innocent as compared with other regular, large-scale trans-Atlantic traders. We may suspect, however, that his innocence was relative and not total, because he like the other Bordeaux merchants had made a profit at Québec during the Seven Years' War and at least two of his associates, Estèbe and Dupuy, had been even more deeply implicated. What will the trading circles of other Québec merchants when analysed, reveal about the activities of businessmen in the *affaire du Canada*?

⁴⁹ In 1759, *Le Bienfaisant* (350 tonneaux, Cap't François Courval), *L'Angélique* (150 tonneaux, Cap't Jean Gramon), *Le Maréchal de Senneterre* (550 tonneaux, Cap't Joseph Goret), *L'Américain* (400 tonneaux, Cap't François Delouche), *La Toison d'Or* (300 tonneaux, Cap't Joseph Marchand), and *Le St. Augustin de Bilbao*. [A. N. (Paris), Colonies B 110 fol. 131, B 112 fol. 67; P.R.O. (London), H.C.A. 32: 165 pt. 1, *L'Aurore*; Jean DE MAUPASSANT, "Les Deux expéditions de Pierre Desclaux au Canada, 1759 et 1760," *Revue historique de Bordeaux et du Département de la Gironde*, vol. VIII (1915): 233-5.]

⁵⁰ A. D. GIRONDE, 3 B 248, *Sénéchaussée-Présidial*, "procès-verbaux transport" dated 14 Sept. 1762, 5 pp. mss. Lamaletie was visited on 14 Sept. and 8 Oct. 1762 and on the second occasion he gave the Commission two rough record books, one of 32 pp. and the other 383 pp., of his trade with Simon Lapointe from 1749 to 1751. See my article, "French Protestant Families in Canadian Trade 1740-1760," *Histoire sociale-Social History* (Ottawa), vol. VII, no. 14 (Nov. 1974): 182 ff.