

# Chateau Bay, Labrador, and William Richardson's 1769 Sketch of York Fort

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## INTRODUCTION

William Richardson is known to researchers of Labrador history for his account of a 1771 voyage along the coast of southern Labrador. In a re-examination of the William Richardson material at the University of Toronto Libraries, an unexpected discovery was a sketch of the British palisaded blockhouse known as York Fort, drawn by Richardson during a voyage to Labrador in 1769. This paper has three objectives, each of which is descriptive in nature rather than analytical: to present and describe Richardson's sketch; to provide historical and archaeological information about York Fort; and to present an overview of the human history of Chateau Bay.

Chateau Bay is located on the southern Labrador coast at the eastern end of the Strait of Belle Isle (Figure 1). Two large islands, Henley Island and Castle Island, protect Chateau Bay from the Labrador Sea. Each is distinguished by 55–65-meter-high straight-sided and flat-topped basaltic columns. These have served as prominent coastal landmarks since the time of the first seafarers along this coast, the Maritime Archaic Indians, and were especially important to the earliest European fishers and explorers whose initial route to the St. Lawrence followed the Strait of Belle Isle. A third sizable island, Whale Island, and several smaller islands and shoals dot the bay's waters. Its mainland coast is indented by two deep harbours known as Temple Bay and Pitts Harbour.



Figure 1. Chateau Bay and the Strait of Belle Isle region. (Base maps adapted from GeoGratis, <http://geogratis.gc.ca/geogratis/search?lang=en>)

## THE RICHARDSON COLLECTION

In the early 1930s, a descendant of William Richardson named Sidney C. Richardson of Melbourne, Australia, donated a small collection of copies of his ancestor's papers to the University of Toronto. These are all in the form of black-and-white photographs and include a handwritten journal, the image of Chateau Bay presented here (Figure 2), and what is thought to be a self-portrait of William Richardson.<sup>1</sup> The location of the originals unfortunately remains unknown. Library and Archives Canada (LAC) holds a typed version of the journal dated 1933, but whether it was received from S.C. Richardson in typed form or copied by someone else for LAC based on the University of Toronto material is also unknown.<sup>2</sup>

The journal describes William Richardson's 1771 voyage to unnamed parts of the southern Labrador coast and ends with a word list of 92 Labrador Inuttitut terms. It also includes an intriguing description of an Inuit snow house that Richardson could not have observed himself and must have acquired from George Cartwright.<sup>3</sup> In 1935, S.C. Richardson published a segment of the journal in the *Canadian Historical Review* (*CHR*) and it is this version that researchers of Labrador history have used ever since.<sup>4</sup> The *CHR* article omits the two images and most of the Inuttitut word list.

Richardson is a minor historical figure in the context of British naval presence in Labrador, but his legacy to the region's history has become more noteworthy with the discovery of the images and the complete word list. The self-portrait and the sketch of York Fort are both rare visual records that relate to late eighteenth-century Labrador. His journal, while brief, is one of only a few personal, non-official accounts of that time, of which George Cartwright's three-volume journal published in 1792 is the best known.<sup>5</sup> In his journal, Richardson in fact refers to a visit to Cartwright's post, Ranger Lodge, in St. Lewis Inlet.

Before making his 1769 sketch, Richardson had already served on British naval vessels in Labrador waters in 1765, 1766, 1767, and 1768. In 1769, he was very likely on the brig *Grenville* with Michael Lane, charged by Governor Hugh Palliser with charting the coast between Shecatica and Chateau Bay.<sup>6</sup> A summary of these voyages — what has been discovered of Richardson through muster rolls, log books, his passing certificate and self-portrait, and presentation of the complete Inuttitut vocabulary — has been published elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

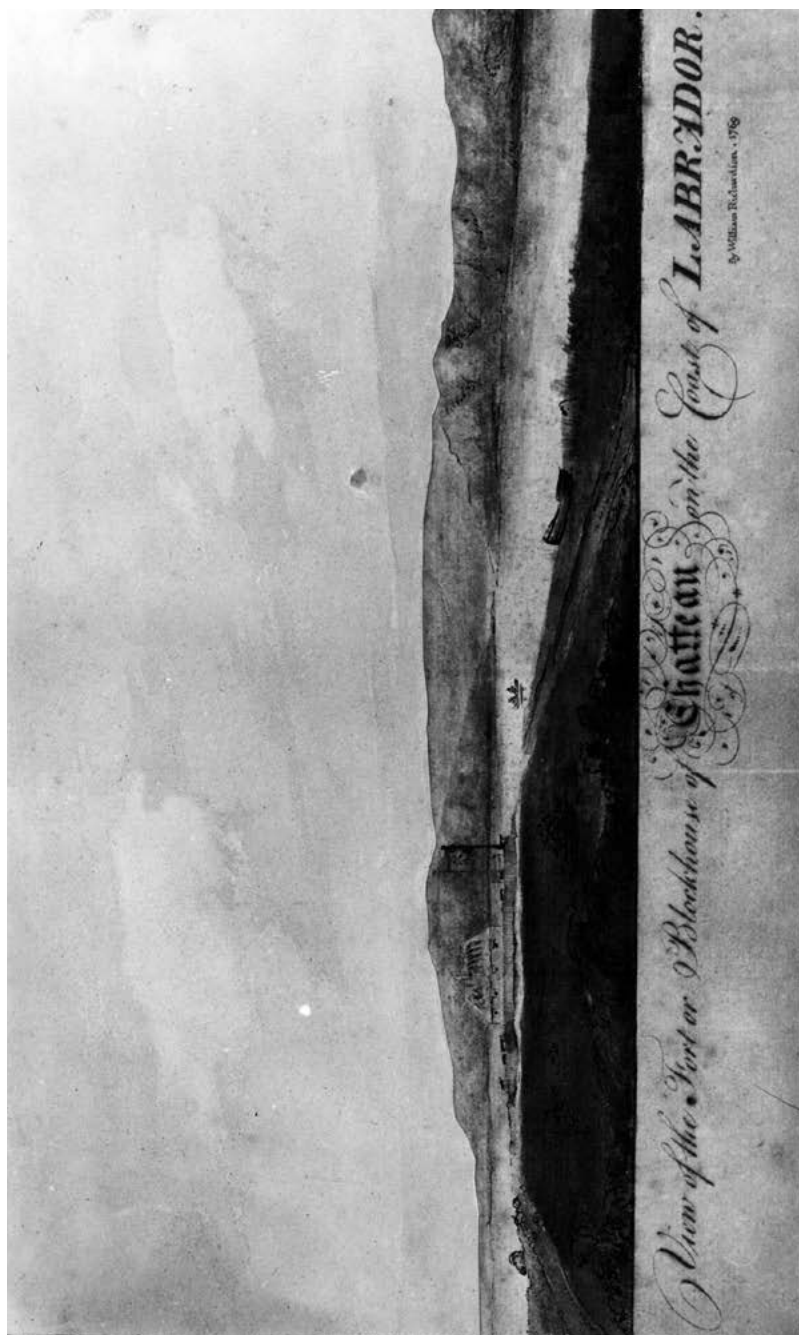


Figure 2. William Richardson's sketch of Chateau Bay, 1769. The location of the original is unknown and the University of Toronto Libraries has this black-and-white photograph in its holdings. (University of Toronto Libraries, S. Richardson papers, General manuscripts, Box 12, folder 22)

## RICHARDSON'S SKETCH OF YORK FORT, CHATEAU BAY

Richardson's 1769 sketch (Figure 2) is the only known non-architectural drawing of York Fort dating to the time of the fort's operation and is a unique historical document of Labrador's British colonial and naval history.

Despite being a photographic copy, the image retains several details of York Fort. When he made his sketch, Richardson was standing behind the fort and facing the water. A wooden palisade built atop a man-made earthen rampart or glacis is visible in the picture. Cannons can be seen mounted on two corner bastions, three cannons at each bastion. The blockhouse rises inside and above the height of the palisade. From other records (see below) we know that this was a two storey structure, and the sketch appears to show the upper storey with four windows, a hipped roof, and a chimney. A flagstaff with flag flying stands to the right of the blockhouse. The log of the *Niger* contains the note that "the colours were hoisted at York Fort for the first time" on 28 September 1766.<sup>8</sup> The flag in Richardson's sketch has a white field, possibly with diagonal striping, but there is too little detail to make an identification. Beyond the flagstaff is a barely discernible outbuilding or perhaps the entry gate. In the distance and beyond the blockhouse is Whale Island. To the island's right is a gap that marks the entrance into Temple Bay, while the entrance to Pitts Harbour is the waterway on the near right. A small boat with two men is out in the harbour and another small vessel is pulled ashore at the base of the slope of the glacis on the right.

The lower edge of the sketch paper carries the image title "View of the Fort or Blockhouse of Chatteau on the Coast of Labrador," and the added information "By William Richardson. 1769." The font style is a sampler of different types that include Italianate flourishes mixed with round hand, the word "Chatteau" in Germanic type, and the word "Labrador" in print lettering. Richardson may have created the elaborate title to demonstrate his penmanship and the social information it conveyed (education, class, artistic ability).

The black-and-white photograph of Richardson's sketch nevertheless leaves much to the imagination. It is, for instance, difficult to tell if the image in the photograph was an original or a print, or whether it was drawn or painted. Its original size and colour tones are unknown, and close-up examination is limited by photographic quality. There may have been information written on the back of the sketch, and what appears at first glance to be a frame around the image is in fact a series of carefully drawn borders.

YORK FORT: A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION

York Fort was built in a short span of time, between 10 August and 30 September 1766, and it was manned year-round until 1775. Its location well inside Chateau Bay on the small peninsula known as Barrier Point was chosen by Sir Thomas Adams, commander of the *Niger*, in 1765, because Pitts Harbour was “the only one for His Majesty’s Ships to Lye in.”<sup>9</sup> The location was also chosen because Chateau Bay was a long-established hub of cod, seal, and salmon fisheries. Following the 1763 annexation of the coast by Britain, a number of merchants already operating in the Strait of Belle Isle (henceforth, the Straits) and in northern Newfoundland expanded into Chateau Bay and took over former French stages and storehouses as well as Inuit resource and settlement areas. It was a destination for Inuit who had been trading valuable peltries, seal oil, and baleen there since at least the 1730s, when we have the first record of a French post (but Inuit were likely trading there earlier, in the Basque period). Large groups of Inuit from northern harbours made annual protracted visits to the region to obtain European goods at both Chateau Bay and at French fishing establishments on Newfoundland’s French Shore. These were lucrative trade events for European fishers and merchants, but fraught with altercations, thefts, and destruction of property — the latter continuing after the autumn departure of fishing crews.<sup>10</sup>

The purpose of the fort, as officially related by both Governor Palliser and his successor, Molyneux Shuldham, was to protect both the people of the coast (Inuit and British) and the British fishery. Because of frequent damage to equipment by Inuit and New England crews, the establishment of this small fort was intended to allow a year-round presence of naval personnel to ensure that buildings, wharves, small boats, and equipment were safe. The fort’s presence was also a reminder to the French of their treaty rights. Ships from Newfoundland’s French Shore, which extended from Bonavista to Point Riche, had to keep to their own fishing grounds, and French fishers could not carry out commerce with British on the Labrador shore. Of particular concern were the many vessels coming from New England and other colonial regions with their “far more mischievous plundering Crews.” These vessels came for the cod and whale fisheries in Labrador waters, but also brought cheaper American goods to sell illegally to British fishers, and aggressively took over harbours and ransacked British stations. Of utmost concern to Palliser were their attacks on the Inuit. The fort’s presence also put British fishers and merchants under the lens, who were required to purchase goods from Britain but actively sought cheaper French and American food and materials.<sup>11</sup>

As a defence of British territorial waters, York Fort's effectiveness had always been debatable. Lieutenant Roger Curtis of the sloop *Otter* noted in early 1772 that, "It is sufficient if its being built induced [merchants] to continue on the Coast, and whether it be really necessary or useless is of no consequence."<sup>12</sup> George Cartwright, who in 1770 began a trapping and fisheries operation in nearby St. Lewis Inlet and was the fort's nearest neighbour, considered it an uncomfortable place to stay but was grateful for its resident medic and for the judicial service it provided. On one occasion he brought a sawyer who had committed an unspecified "capital crime" to the fort, where the accused received a dozen lashes and was imprisoned for later trial in St. John's.<sup>13</sup> In another assessment, Curtis remarked that it "was never meant to be a safeguard against a European enemy," that "its want of strength and situation render it utterly useless for that purpose," and that "it is our Happiness that a few Salt fish will never induce a Privateer to visit this Coast at such a Distance from Home."<sup>14</sup>

On 2 June 1775, Lord Dartmouth of the Board of Trade wrote Newfoundland's Governor Duff inquiring whether the detachment of men at York Fort should be withdrawn and replaced with a non-commissioned officer and a few privates. Duff sent a Captain Parker to assess the fort and to determine if "the Adventurers consider it as of little moment to them." It is entirely likely that merchants along the coast were initially ambivalent about the fort's presence since it brought undue scrutiny over their efforts to keep crews in place throughout the winter, in their dealings with French and American vessels, as well as in their trade with the Inuit (who were not supposed to come southward).<sup>15</sup> Duff's eventual response to Dartmouth was that "the blockhouse is not, at the present period, of any moment to the settlers of Labrador," and the fort was closed. Duff's final instructions to Captain Parker were "to procure a person among the winterers to ... take care of the said fort, or to secure the same in such manner as will answer its preservation, till I have obtained directions what shall be done with respect to it."<sup>16</sup> Curtis's doubts concerning the fort's usefulness were probably well founded. The Straits and Newfoundland's waters continued to be effectively monitored by a sizable squadron in 1776 and an even larger one in 1777, proving that even without York Fort there would be naval presence. Only in 1778, when Admiral Montagu failed to send ships to western Newfoundland, was Curtis's prediction proven wrong. In that year the American privateer *Minerva* under Captain John Grimes destroyed all of the fishing establishments in the Straits, including Chateau Bay, as far north as Sandwich Bay, with total losses to merchants in the tens of thousands of pounds. In the years thereafter, naval patrols remained in these waters, and in

1779 and 1780 merchants such as Noble and Pinson, Coghlan, and Cartwright were given armaments that included cannons to protect their Labrador posts.<sup>17</sup>

Ships' logs in the Admiralty records contain many references on the building of York Fort, not all presented here, but their level of detail is notable. The cutter *Wells*, for instance, landed "all the bricks, artificiers, tools and baggage" at Barrier Point on 11 August 1765, a year before construction began; the ship then went back to St. John's to reload, returning with lime, bricks, "guns and gunners stores" in the last week of August.<sup>18</sup> Governor Palliser left a thorough description of the fort, including measurements and an architect's drawing. He considered it "too formidable to be ever attack'd by the Savages of the Country." The blockhouse was a two-storey machicouli structure where the upper storey was designed for defence by being 14 inches wider all round to overhang the ground floor. It had windows and ports for 20 small cannon, swivel pieces, and small guns. The whole was rectangular in shape (34 x 16 feet) built of dove-tailed and tree-nailed timbers with two rooms on each floor. Palliser maintained that there was space enough for 40–60 men, which seems an overestimate, and no more than 20 or 21 men ever stayed there each winter. A stone powder magazine adjoined the blockhouse, and the living area was heated by a fireplace built next to an interior well. The blockhouse was surrounded by a wooden stockade with four bastions, each with mounted cannons. The ditch surrounding the palisade was never completed "on account of the great difficulty in Digging it" (Figure 3).<sup>19</sup>

Remnants of York Fort could still be seen nearly a century after its closure. Charles Hallock, a late nineteenth-century American fly-fishing enthusiast, published a detailed description of the fort in 1861, along with a plan drawing that later appeared in Prowse's *A History of Newfoundland* in 1895.<sup>20</sup> Hallock's description is as follows:

It stands upon a high gravelly bluff, and is a star-shaped enceinte with salient and re-entering angles, the outer defense being an earth-work with a stockade or clievau de frise. Inside of this was another similar barrier; next a fosse: and then a wall of masonry ninety feet square, with bastions on each of the four corners, in which were run-ways for hauling up cannon. Occupying a central position within the inclosure are the stone foundations of a building, at one end of which was a magazine of cemented masonry, whose walls are still standing. There are also beds of earth separated by trenches two feet wide and a foot deep. From the inner square a road, ten feet wide, crosses the ditch by



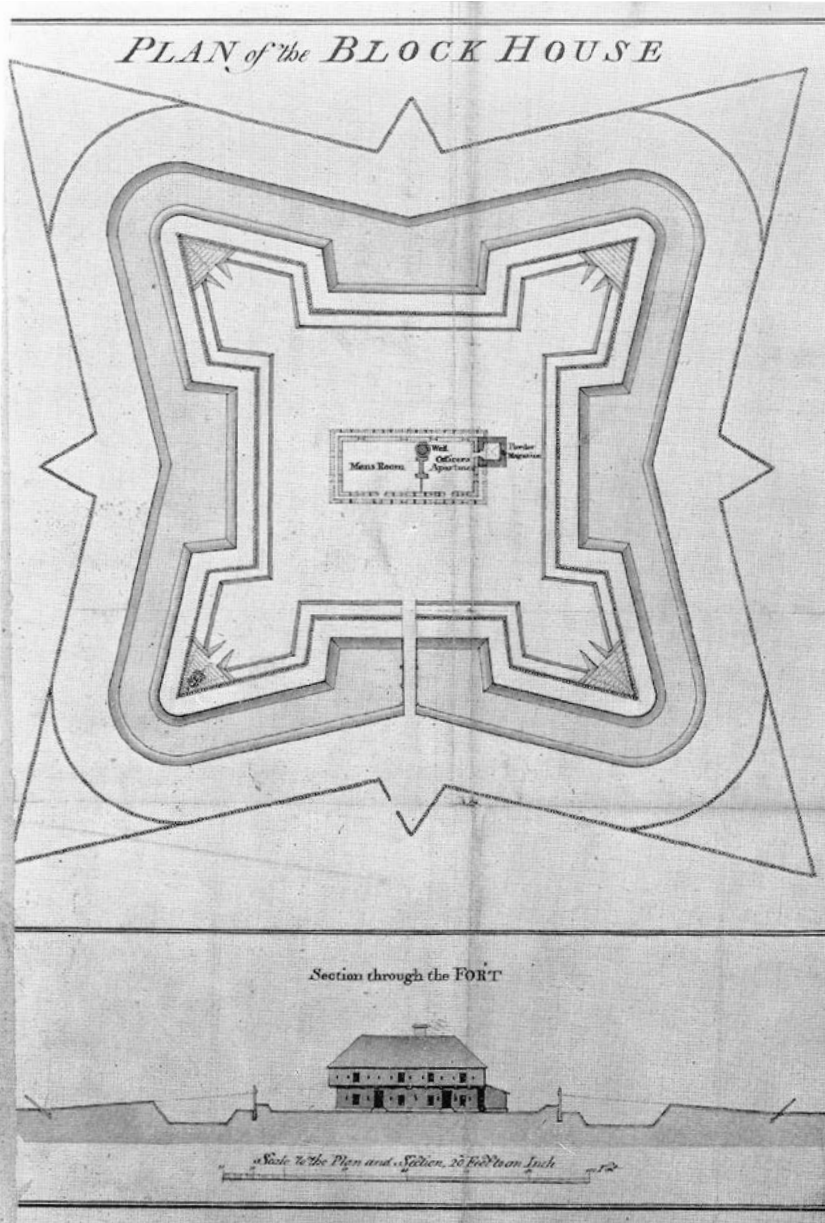


Figure 3. Sir Hugh Palliser's plan of York Fort, ca. 1766. (A.M. Lysaght, Joseph Banks in *Newfoundland and Labrador*, 1766 [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971], Plate 31)



Figure 4. Aerial view of York Fort facing west, taken in 2000. (Author photo)

a stone bridge to a gate on the western side of the outer stockade, and thence descends the bluff to the water's edge, where is a stone pier for vessels. Just inside the gate are the walls of a block-house eighteen feet square. The whole fortification is surrounded by an irregular gravel walk. Some portions of the stockade were standing twenty years since, and the butts of many of the spruce pickets are still visible above the earth-works, but so rotten as to crumble at the touch. The whole place is overgrown with grass, moss, and juniper bushes.<sup>21</sup>

During a brief visit to York Fort by the author in June 2000, it was still possible to discern the crumbled vestiges of the powder magazine, which shared a wall with the back of a brick fireplace. Much of the area was wet and swampy. The outline of the blockhouse is visible, as is the fort's earthen embankment, or glacis (Figure 4). Hallock's reference to beds of earth separated by trenches could be seen to the west of the main entrance, inside the fortification, and these appear to be garden drills. No palisade pickets were evident, although archaeological excavation would very likely find remnants preserved in the wet soil. Measurements taken during the 2000 visit correspond roughly with the original plans: both the fort's east-to-west distance as well as its

north-to-south distance, from the top points of the embankment, were 94 feet (28.7 m). The approximate height of what remains of the northwest corner (flanker), taken from the top to the bottom of the outer ditch, was 6 feet, 3 inches (190 cm), which differs from Palliser's description of "Flanks 16 Feet."<sup>22</sup> A small commemorative plaque by the provincial government is set into the centre of the blockhouse. The brief plaque text describes the fort as a star-shaped ditch and ramparts surrounding a two-storey wooden blockhouse and masonry magazine designed to house a 20-man detachment.

#### CHATEAU BAY: A DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY

Like other harbours in southern Labrador, Chateau Bay has a long history of human occupation dating to the earliest period of human settlement in the Northeast, around 8,000–9,000 years ago. Few harbours, however, share its exceptionally rich history, tied to the span of European exploration of the North Atlantic, to seafaring, centuries of fisheries, and eventual colonization. The discovery of the sketch of York Fort is a fitting venue for an overview of the history of the place where the fort was built, and fills a gap in the historiography of southern Labrador.



Figure 5. Photographer William Notman's 1909 image of "the Devil's Table" on Henley Island, Chateau Bay. (Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1960-102)

The imposing landscape of Chateau Bay has captured the imagination of all visitors. Butte-like basaltic formations on both Castle Island and adjacent Henley Island, the latter also known as “the Devil’s Table,” are conspicuous from a great distance. They resemble hilltop “chateaux” or castles, but the name may also originate as a comparison with the “chateau” of a great ship, being the raised portions of the bow and stern of early European vessels. These formations marked the eastern entry of the Straits (Figure 5). Mariners through the centuries have appreciated the bay’s deep waters and its relatively protected setting. British naturalist Joseph Banks, visiting in 1766, noted that “there is at all times the difference of a Coat” between the outer harbour and its inner bays.<sup>23</sup> Although protected, fog off the Labrador Sea and persistent winds can keep vessels harbour-bound for lengthy periods. The castle-like geological formations, like the icebergs in these waters, stretched the descriptive capabilities of many an early visitor. Amateur naturalist Winfred H. Stearns sailed into Chateau Bay in 1882 and described “stony sentinels” that maintained “their ceaseless vigil, year by year, century by century.”<sup>24</sup> Charles H. Farnham, who voyaged to Chateau Bay around 1885, described the place as the “eastern elbow of the continent, and the elbow is anything but dimpled and rounded.”<sup>25</sup>

#### THE EARLIEST VISITORS TO CHATEAU BAY

The area of Chateau Bay was frequented by the first settlers of Labrador, the Maritime Archaic Indians, and almost continuously thereafter by different Amerindian cultures, also by Palaeo-Eskimo peoples, and then by Inuit beginning sometime in the late fifteenth or sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup> It is very likely that Greenlandic Norse voyagers took advantage of its harbours while exploring the Straits in the eleventh century, during the short span of years that L’Anse aux Meadows was in use, only 50 km due south on the opposite shore of the Straits.

Jacques Cartier is the earliest European on record to mention Chateau Bay. On his first voyage to North America, Cartier recorded the arrival of his two ships at the mouth of the “golfe des Châteaux” on 27 May 1534. The toponym referred broadly to the eastern end of the Straits and signified the status of Chateau Bay as an important landmark and destination for early Atlantic crossings (Cartier’s record does not reveal if he ever entered Chateau Bay). High winds kept the ships at anchor at “Carpunt” (today’s Quirpon, at the tip of the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland) before resuming a westward

voyage through the Strait of Belle Isle in the direction of the Gulf of St. Lawrence on 9 June.<sup>27</sup>

That the Straits were already known to European cod fishers at the time of Cartier's arrival is indicated in his reference to meeting a St. Malo vessel near Brest in today's area of Bradore/Blanc Sablon. By the mid-1400s, Europe's need for new sources of fish sent seafaring countries well beyond former fishing territories. An active English cod fishery was underway in the waters off Iceland and Greenland and Bristol ships were searching for rumoured fishing grounds further to the west. These northern fisheries used routes established during more than 400 years of voyaging by Norse fishers and traders travelling between Iceland, Greenland, the British Isles, and Scandinavia. John Cabot, sailing for the English, may have followed such a historic sea route in 1497, departing from Ireland heading northward and using existing knowledge of prevailing winds and currents to bring him towards Iceland and then southward to Newfoundland waters; but to be clear, there is no record of his having seen Chateau Bay.<sup>28</sup> Sometime between Cabot and Cartier, Breton fishers began to sail past Chateau and fish in the Straits.

The first Europeans known to have left their mark on the landscape of Chateau Bay were Spanish Basque whalers who referred to Chateo, Xateo, or Chateus in their mid-sixteenth-century notarial records.<sup>29</sup> Chateau Bay was a well-established whaling centre by 1566 and one part of a larger Basque presence that included whaling centres throughout the Straits but also a very considerable cod fishery in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Clusters of red roof tile fragments can still be seen on Henley Island where whale oil was processed at shore-side tryworks. At least two Basque whaling ships, the *Madalena* and the *Maria*, are known to have gone down in the harbour.<sup>30</sup> Chateau Bay is notable as the site of the second-oldest civil document drawn up in what became Canada. This was a bond signed in 1572 by Joanes de Leço for the purchase of four shallops from a Joanes de Landagorrieta.<sup>31</sup>

Basque whalers continued to use Chateau Bay until the mid-seventeenth century. For another half-century it was probably fished by the French and then became part of the vast concession granted in 1702 to the Sieur Augustin le Gardeur de Courtemanche that extended from the Kegaska River to Hamilton Inlet. Courtemanche's business interests were the fisheries and trade with Labrador's Innu from a base in Bradore, Quebec, and there is no evidence that Chateau Bay was ever exploited. The first concession holder on record to establish a post in Chateau Bay was Louis Bazil, who held it from 1735 to 1737 at a cost of four beaver pelts a year. The post's boundaries were a half-league

southwest of Chateau Bay and 3½ leagues to the northeast and all the islands. Its purpose was to trade with Inuit and to carry out a seal fishery. Sealing was an important French resource industry in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and by 1730 had expanded into the Straits. Unable to cover the many expenses of establishing a sealing post, in 1737 Bazil, along with his wife, Charlotte du Roy Bazil, went into partnership with François Havy, Jean Lefebvre, and Louis Fornel. It is most likely that a post was first built somewhere in Chateau Bay after 1737. It was supplied by a vessel owned by Fornel, Havy, and Lefebvre until its closure sometime between 1745 and 1747, when these three men founded a post in Hamilton Inlet. In 1749, the Chateau Bay concession changed hands and was granted to doctor and naturalist Jean-François Gaultier, who held it until his death in 1756. It was run by Gaultier's brothers-in-law and, despite high operational expenses, became relatively lucrative. Gaultier eventually partnered with Charles-François Tardieu de la Naudière (a brother-in-law and son of the famous Madeleine de Verchères), who may have held the post after Gaultier's death. It is unlikely that either man ever visited Chateau Bay as both were members of the government (la Naudière, for instance, was in Acadia in 1756 as the Seven Years' War began), but the post was operated by a third party until the 1763 Treaty of Paris, when Labrador was ceded to the British.<sup>32</sup>

Some evidence suggests that the French called Temple Bay St. Benoit harbour.<sup>33</sup> Sealing, the salmon fishery, and the cod fishery were the chief resource activities carried out by the crews sent to Chateau Bay on behalf of the different grant holders. Trade with the Inuit was a fourth business activity that brought in furs, baleen, and seal oil and was the source of some of the French pottery and other items of French material culture recovered in recent excavations of early Inuit sod houses in southern Labrador.<sup>34</sup> Fornel claimed to have "humanized" Inuit at Chateau Bay following the deaths of two Canadiens at the hands of Inuit in 1743.<sup>35</sup> The first non-Aboriginal people to overwinter in the bay were these Canadian crews, employed by the succession of grant holders who needed workers experienced in northern living, sealing, and fishing and who would, importantly, ensure that an enterprise requiring enormous capital outlay would turn a profit for its absentee, but influential, grant holder.

#### *Early Cartography and Chateau Bay*

Chateau Bay appears on most of the earliest charts of the North Atlantic, signifying its importance to European mariners as a waymark at the eastern end of the Strait of Belle Isle. Thus, "Chasteaux" is correctly positioned in the 1541 Desliens map of North America. "La baye des chasteaulx" is shown in larger

letters than other toponyms on the ca. 1543 Mappemonde Harleyenne (signifying the bay's association with the travel route). "Chasteau" appears in a 1577 plan by Diego Noman, and in 1609 as "G. des Chateaux" in Marc Lescarbot's map of New France, again lending its name to the eastern mouth of the Straits. The 1674 chart of Denis de Rotis bears the toponym "chateio" while Pierre Detcheverry's well-known pilot of ca. 1689 shows "chatea." Mid-eighteenth-century maps also show its location, including Henry Popple's map of 1733 ("C. des Chateaux) and Bellin's 1744 *Carte de l'isle de Terre Neuve* ("Baie des Chateaux"). Chateau Bay was one of a cluster of long-known toponyms associated with the eastern entry of the Straits, all important markers for early European seafarers. Of these, Belle Isle, at nearly 250 metres above sea level, could be seen from a great distance and announced the approach to the Straits. It appears on the 1541 Desliens map as "ilebella" and on other early charts as "Bell' Isle" or "Belisle." Another toponym, "croix blanche," is found on some charts slightly east of Chateau Bay. It appears on a mappemonde of ca. 1598 as "Croix blanck," on Champlain's 1612 and 1632 editions, on the later Detcheverry pilot of 1689, on a 1698 map by Chaviteau and Saccardi ("la Croix"), and others. This toponym may refer to a large cross maintained on the headland of Cape Charles to guide ships past the most southerly of Labrador's great capes, where the coast changes from a north-northeast direction to the westerly direction of the Straits.<sup>36</sup>

Among the earliest detailed charts of Chateau Bay is one held at the National Archives, Kew, presented here in print for the first time (Figure 6).<sup>37</sup> Created in 1760 by David Rogers while on the *Antelope* under Captain James Webb, then Governor of Newfoundland, it may have served as the template for the better-known 1763 chart by James Cook.<sup>38</sup> As early as 1760, the British recognized Chateau Bay as a natural base for an English fishery on the Labrador coast. Webb believed he had discovered "one of the best harbours in the world" during that visit, renaming it York Harbour, and two years later Governor Graves recommended the location for a fortification. As already mentioned, this received some support from a number of merchants in the area with ties to Britain. Among these was Nicholas Darby, who averred that the harbour was among the finest, and "that the establishment of a fort there would prevent French ships from tapping the fur trade of Canada."<sup>39</sup>

Labrador was not officially under British jurisdiction until 1763, but in the latter stages of the Seven Years' War the Admiralty made every effort to have reliable and informative charts of French territories produced by captains of warships.<sup>40</sup> The 1760 plan was part of this initiative, which included changing the name to York Harbour. It shows the coast correctly and in detail, but several

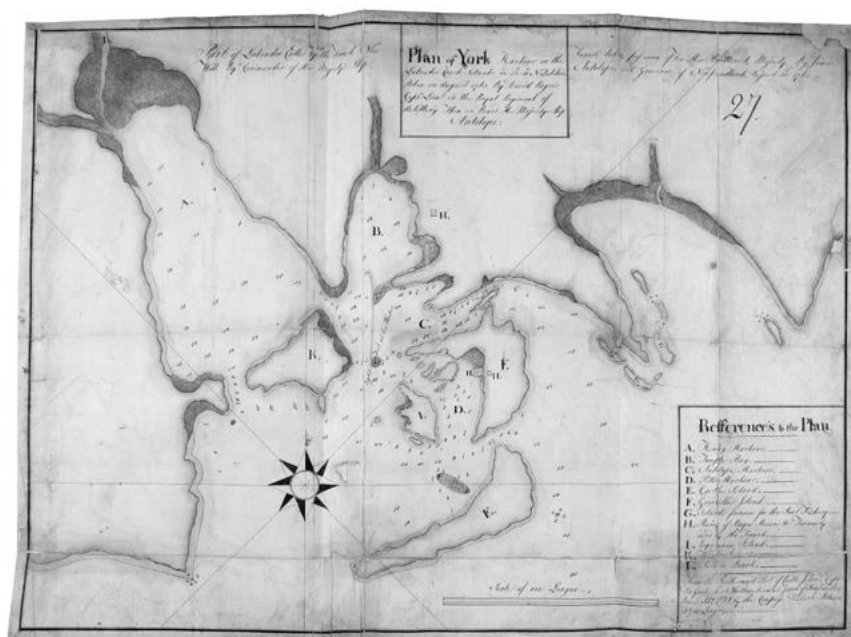


Figure 6. “Plan of York Harbour on the Labrador Coast, situated in d52: m15 N Latitude taken in August 1760. By David Rogers Capt. Lieut. in the Royal Regiment of Artillery. Then on Board His Majesty’s Ship Antelope.” (British Library Add. MS 14036; original 2 feet x 1 foot 6 inches)

toponyms differ from later maps and may have been errors. Henley Harbour, for instance, is the name given to today’s Temple Bay, while today’s Pitts Harbour is named Temple Bay. Of historical interest is that the locations of former French structures on Henley Island are shown; the important salmon river that runs into today’s Temple Bay is noted; and the Seal Islands at the mouth of neighbouring Bad Bay are rightly described as “Islands famous for the Seal Fishery.” Archaeological work on one of these islands uncovered sizable seal bone deposits alongside a late eighteenth-century sod house with both European and Inuit characteristics, part of the remains of shore-based sealing operations that were typical of the Labrador coast at this time.<sup>41</sup>

#### *Chateau Bay from 1763 until the Twentieth Century*

If Chateau Bay’s heyday were determined by the number of “hits” in the historical record, then this would be from 1763 to the 1790s. Admiralty records,



Colonial Office records, Board of Trade and early Moravian documents, and some merchant papers for Labrador all reflect the importance of Chateau Bay as one of Britain's minor but recognized post-Treaty seats in northeastern North America. Its strategic value lay in its excellent anchorage as well as its position at the eastern end of the Straits that allowed monitoring of foreign vessels, especially French and American fishers. These records, too numerous to present or even summarize in this overview, reference everything from Britain's search for a military base in former French territory, to the construction, upkeep, supply, and annual operation of the blockhouse described above. They also describe the naval personnel stationed at the fort, the annual visits of numerous naval vessels, cartographic matters, fisheries reports to the Board of Trade, the affairs of merchants, and the British-Moravian effort to curb Inuit visits to southern Labrador.

Historical records for Chateau Bay also contain many accounts of Inuit in the region — again, too numerous to present fully here. Indeed, this period of Chateau Bay's history cannot be told without reference to the many visits by small and large parties of Inuit, who came to obtain European goods through both trade and pillaging. In these years, Inuit were particularly interested in acquiring small shallops, which they had been using to travel the coast since the sixteenth century, as well as metal tools, scrap metals that they refashioned, ceramic wares, beads, thimbles, clothing, and sails. Archival records and recent archaeological work in St. Michael's Bay show that Inuit were present in the Straits and the Gulf of St. Lawrence by 1500, possibly even a few decades earlier.<sup>42</sup> The earliest Inuit in the region would have been attracted by the walrus and harp seal herds in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Fine salmon rivers were to be found in most bays, and wood was plentiful. I have argued elsewhere that these resources were central to Inuit presence in southern Labrador and that access to growing numbers of European goods in the sixteenth century became another reason for Inuit presence, but not the only reason.<sup>43</sup> By the early 1700s, increasing altercations with Europeans, who had displaced Inuit from southernmost Labrador, were symbolic of lost and contested space. By the 1760s, Inuit movement south of the Cape Charles-Chateau Bay area was no longer possible due to greatly expanded European and American fishing presence and the growth of permanent fishing communities in the Straits.<sup>44</sup> By 1765, as British colonial presence became more consolidated in Labrador, Inuit trading and pillaging in the south were regarded as impediments to both Inuit safety and to the project of colonial/fisheries development. Governor Palliser introduced a series of measures to prevent southward Inuit incursions. These were intended to end

the aggressive pillaging by Inuit at both French and English fishing stations, to end the frequent fighting between these groups as well as the many-faceted setbacks these events created for a young fishery. Palliser was also motivated on humanitarian grounds to protect Inuit from what had become rampant predation and attacks by Europeans.<sup>45</sup> Merchants, Moravians, and the navy were involved in the balancing act that became the prevention of Inuit visits to the south of Labrador. Palliser's efforts culminated in a partnership with the *Unitas Fratrum* (the Moravians) in 1764–65 that endeavoured to learn more about the Inuit, set parameters for fair trade without aggressions on either side, and, ultimately, “encouraged” Inuit to remain north of Hamilton Inlet by establishing the first Moravian mission at Nain backed by an edict that forbade the movement of Inuit into southern Labrador.<sup>46</sup> Captain Morris of the *Otter*, stationed at York Fort in 1772, enlisted the help of George Cartwright in preventing Inuit from venturing beyond “this side of the Camp Islands, or they would be fired at.”<sup>47</sup> Indeed, the containment policy must have had some effect, for altercations and visits declined. Numbers of Inuit continued to appear in southern Labrador and were never stopped altogether (particularly those groups associated with George Cartwright), but two decades passed before sizable assemblies of Inuit once again came southward to trade at Chateau Bay. These groups were in search of better goods than the Moravian missions had to offer.<sup>48</sup>

In 1765, Sir Thomas Adams noted that a “Bacon,” i.e., beacon, built on Grenville Point and another atop Castle Island could be seen far out to sea.<sup>49</sup> The first English merchant to operate in Chateau Bay within the terms of the 1763 Treaty was Jeremiah Coghlan, who began a seal fishery there in 1765. In a letter to Newfoundland Governor Montagu, written at Fogo Island in 1777, Coghlan stated, “I was the first English subject that settled in the Seal Fishery at Chateaux, so long back as the year 65.”<sup>50</sup> Coghlan partnered briefly with George Cartwright and Francis Lucas in 1770–71. Thereafter, he was pushed out of his exclusive use of the bay by the aggressive firm of John Noble of Bristol and Andrew Pinson of Dartmouth, who also managed to take over some of George Cartwright's sealing and salmon fishing locations in 1771–72. Noble and Pinson had been operating in Newfoundland since 1764 and continued to expand and maintain stations throughout southern Labrador until the 1790s. Such was their influence that they successfully petitioned the Board of Trade for exclusive use of a portion of Chateau Bay, namely Temple Bay and Whale Island, on 19 April 1771.<sup>51</sup>

As already noted, construction of York Fort began in the summer of 1766 under the direction of Sir Thomas Adams. Throughout that season, the famed

naturalist and Adams's close friend, Joseph Banks, wandered the coast and hills of the area. Out of this fieldwork came the first natural history collections representing northern British regions. In company with another naturalist, Constantine Phipps, Banks collected floral and faunal specimens that in many cases remain the type specimens for Labrador. The Chateau Bay collection formed the core material used by Thomas Pennant for his *Arctic Zoology* (in addition to a much larger collection of specimens from Hudson's Bay Company posts in Hudson Bay). Some of these natural history specimens survive today in the Natural History Museum, London.<sup>52</sup> The last vessel to leave Chateau Bay following the fort's completion in 1766 was the *Niger*, with Adams, Banks, and Phipps on board; she sailed for St. John's and Lisbon on 3 October, leaving behind Lieutenant Walters and 20 men to overwinter in the newly built fort.<sup>53</sup>

With the fort's construction, Chateau Bay became a hub of activity throughout the sailing season. In summer, naval vessels frequented the place, as on 20 August 1773 when the *Panther* was moored in Pitts Harbour, as were the *Otter*, the *Placentia*, the *Nautilus*, the tender of the *Sandwich*, and the *Aldborough*. Cornthwaite Ommanney, commander of the *Zephyr*, remarked in 1766 that New England whalers and cod fishing vessels from Newfoundland and from England frequented the bay in the spring and summer, and that there were no inhabitants. Fish were caught but not landed for drying because of frequent fog.<sup>54</sup> Each winter around 20 men remained in the blockhouse under the command of a lieutenant. The winter of 1767–68 also found a party of Inuit women and children in residence, captured in the aftermath of fighting between Inuit and Europeans at Cape Charles. Among this group were Mikak and her son, Tutauk. That winter, the fort was under the command of Lieutenant Samuel Davys, with Francis Lucas in charge of the King's vessels. Lucas was instructed to keep an exact journal of wind, weather, and all occurrences. Although his journal has not been found, other records relate the events that brought him in contact with the Inuit, and brought Mikak and Tutauk to England and onto history's stage.<sup>55</sup>

Following the fort's closure in 1775, naval vessels continued to patrol the Straits and moor in Chateau Bay during the fishing season. Noble and Pinson operated there until the late 1790s, holding complete control of the bay throughout that time. Records refer to at least one of their stages, "Pinson's Fish Stage" in Temple Bay in 1781, strategically placed to harvest the lucrative salmon run at Temple Brook.<sup>56</sup>

In 1796, Chateau Bay's historiographical heyday diminished in the wake of French attacks and the protracted conflict between England and France. It

is a mark of the bay's perceived importance that it, along with Bay Bulls and Saint Pierre and Miquelon, were the targets of French naval aggression. After Rear Admiral Joseph de Richery's attack on Bay Bulls and Saint Pierre, he dispatched three ships under Rear Admiral Zacharie Jacques Theodore, Comte Allemand, to Chateau Bay. Allemand reached his destination on 22 September, where the ships *Duquesne*, *Censeur*, and *Fripoone* found the fishing season over and the harbour nearly empty.<sup>57</sup> The only defences were four gun carriage stations set up by Noble and Pinson on the heights of land around the bay to fend off privateers.<sup>58</sup> The French destroyed stages and buildings: the losses for Noble and Pinson were considerable but there is no record of fighting; all stored foods were lost, together with a ship loaded with fish and ready to sail.<sup>59</sup> Noble and Pinson abandoned Chateau Bay thereafter. In 1798, Captain Ambrose Crofton on the sloop *Pluto* took symbolic repossession of the bay for Britain by erecting a flagstaff "in the centre of the Upper Fort on Temple Point," probably the peninsula separating Temple Bay and Pitts Harbour.<sup>60</sup> This may be the same location shown in the 1763 manuscript copy of Cook's chart as "Pitt's Look."<sup>61</sup> A year later, in October 1799, the Reverend Anspach, visiting Chateau Bay, also noted "considerable mischief" done by Richery's fleet.<sup>62</sup>

Following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, southern Labrador waters once again filled with fishing vessels as Newfoundland merchants expanded their cod fishery. Unlike in previous centuries, these fishing vessels brought entire families to the coast. Fifteen hundred to 1,800 schooners came annually from Newfoundland alone, bearing 15,000 to 20,000 men, women, and children for the summer season. Of these, a considerable number settled permanently on the coast, creating the first population boom. Their offspring and intermarriage with a small resident population of Inuit and Euro-Inuit families created a chain of coastal communities that extended from Chateau Bay to Hamilton Inlet.

Chateau Bay became an important and populous summer fishing harbour in the nineteenth century, with John Widdicombe one of its principal merchants. A surrogate court circuit brought government vessels annually and one to two naval vessels patrolled each summer throughout most of the nineteenth century. In 1804–05, several St. John's merchants placed crews in Chateau Bay, including Widdicombe and the firms of Skans & Kersley, Johns & Hawkins, John Poor, and Jno. Bradbury. Others, such as Conception Bay magnate John Munn, came later in the century. As a century earlier, American fishers were still in the habit of illegally installing themselves in harbours of southern Labrador to cure fish and threaten local fishers, Chateau Bay included.<sup>63</sup>

By the 1860s, a year-round community of about 30 summer homes had developed on and around Henley Island with corresponding winter residences at the bottom of Temple Bay and Pitts Harbour.<sup>64</sup> These families came from Newfoundland, many with roots in Conception Bay. This year-round settlement appears to have been relatively short-lived, especially affected by the bank crash of 1894 and its ties to Conception Bay merchants. Fishing continued here, however, and a small population of summer stationer families lived in Chateau Bay until the cod moratorium of 1992. Wooden house ruins, the remains of sod houses, and two old cemeteries are vestiges of fishing at this place. The oldest headstone in the bay dates to 1857, but even earlier graves may be those found in a nearly grown-over cemetery marked only by beach rocks.<sup>65</sup>

Some Inuit families also continued to reside in the area, as evidenced by sod house remains dating to the mid- to late 1800s in Temple Bay and in adjacent Bad Bay.<sup>66</sup> A mica mine operated for a time, situated somewhere high above the coast overlooking Temple Bay but already closed by 1905.<sup>67</sup> Until 1909 there was even a wireless station, dismantled just months before the September visit by Commander Robert E. Peary on the *Roosevelt*, who was en route to Red Bay to send a second series of telegraph messages announcing his having reached the North Pole (the first had been sent from Indian Harbour to Cape Ray for transmission southwards).<sup>68</sup>

#### *Nineteenth-Century Loss of Memory and Tourism to Chateau Bay*

Myth and speculation attached themselves to Chateau Bay over time. Stories of treasure-filled caves, a hidden treasure house of stone, and even dragons are fitting offspring of this visually unique place.<sup>69</sup> Joseph Banks during his 1766 visit observed layers of red roof tiles, decaying baleen, and whalebone on “Esquimaux Island” (alongside Henley Island); knowing nothing of the Basque whaling industry that had taken place there 200 years earlier, he supposed that it had been left by “Danes” from “Groenland South.”<sup>70</sup> Banks’s assessment perhaps ties to eighteenth-century theories of Norse voyages, or, equally plausible, his knowledge of Danish whaling in northern waters.

The mid- to late nineteenth-century fishers of Chateau Bay had little connection to the days of Noble and Pinson and York Fort. With this new resident population came a loss of historical memory. An 1864 tourist, Alpheus Spring Packard, was informed by local residents that York Fort had been built by an early settler named Greville and that it was called “Greville’s Fort,” (this may derive from Grenville’s Point, a narrow point of land immediately south of Barrier Point named after George Grenville, the Prime Minister from 1763 to

1765). Packard claims to have received a human mandible taken from purported Inuit graves in the area that had “double teeth” with the front teeth worn down.<sup>71</sup>

The Rev. P.W. Browne, following his visit to the area, also referred to the former York Fort as “Greville’s Fort,” proposing that it had been built by an “old planter named Greville in about 1725.”<sup>72</sup> The aforementioned Charles Hallock relied on local lore when he wrote that the “ruined fortification ... built on strictly geometric principles” had been built by French Acadians fleeing Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, who had abandoned it in 1753.<sup>73</sup> Hallock also recorded that the blockhouse had been built “to protect the property of Noble O. Pinson and Peter Cartright.”<sup>74</sup>

Some visitor accounts from this period mention a second fort in the bay, situated on a hill “between Temple and Chateau bays.”<sup>75</sup> This may be the gun battery overlooking the entrance to Temple Bay, at the place referred to by Palliser as “Pitts look out”<sup>76</sup> and shown on Cook’s map of 1763. In keeping with the loss of local knowledge of the area, Winfrid A. Stearns in 1882 believed that both locations were related to former battles “which exterminated the Indians and Esquimaux” on the coast.<sup>77</sup> Stearns spent time hunting for grape shot and other artifacts somewhere between Temple Bay and Pitts Harbour. Rev. Browne noted “Fort Pitt” in Pitts Harbour, which was most likely York Fort but could be the gun installation on “Pitts look out.” He believed that its purpose had been to protect the Inuit and other British subjects from “predatory incursions of the French and the Montagnais Indians.”<sup>78</sup> He correctly observed that the fort had been besieged by the American privateer *Minerva* in 1778 and attacked by the French in 1796. Browne, however, managed to counter historical fact in at least three other instances (probably based on information gathered from locals) when he stated that it was the site of a settlement established by Cartier in 1534, that there had been an English settlement there before 1750, and that George Cartwright had founded a settlement there.<sup>79</sup>

## CONCLUSION

William Richardson’s sketch of York Fort at Chateau Bay is a rare pictorial resource related to eighteenth-century Labrador. York Fort was a small and isolated wooden defence that may have given more comfort to the emerging merchant base than actual support. Along with Placentia, it was nonetheless one of only two naval defences maintained by the British outside of St. John’s in the years following the 1763 Treaty. A description and history of the fort

have been followed here by a long overdue history of Chateau Bay to accompany the presentation of the sketch and to fill a historiographical gap. Chateau Bay is a historical landscape of note. It was a key landmark during the earliest European voyages of exploration, and throughout the history of human settlement of Labrador.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the summer of 1986, I had the unique experience of living in Chateau Bay while involved in the archaeological excavation of an Inuit sod house and a survey of the southern Labrador coast. At that time, evenings were taken up with field notes, chopping wood, carrying water, and meals. In my spare time, visiting the fort was less of a priority than visiting the families who still came in summer to fish. Sometime in the early 1990s, I began a file on Chateau Bay and this paper is the long overdue result of what was originally intended as a much more detailed study of late eighteenth-century events. Attempting full disclosure of the many records that refer to Chateau Bay became both impossible but also too micro-historical. Gratefully acknowledged are three anonymous reviewers whose comments were entirely beneficial, as well as this journal's editorial team; also Greg Mitchell, Corner Brook, who attempted to track William Richardson's genealogy and his Australian descendants, and was the impetus behind checking the Richardson collection; consulting archivist Edward Tompkins for his research of ship's logs, etc. and for putting me in touch with archivist Jennifer Toews, University of Toronto Libraries, who assisted with the Richardson material, over and over again.

#### NOTES

- 1 S. Richardson Papers, General manuscripts, Box 12, folder 22, University of Toronto Libraries. There is no substantive information in the library's files about this donation save a note dated 1963 that reads, "Original in possession of Sidney C. Richardson, Melbourne, Australia, in 1935" (J. Toews, archivist, U of T Libraries, e-mail, 30 Sept. 2011).
- 2 William Richardson Journal, MG23 J2, in box MG23 J1-3, Library and Archives Canada (LAC). For a brief description of this holding, see *General Inventory, Manuscripts, Vol. 4, MG22-MG25* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1972), 107.
- 3 M. Stopp, "The Origin of William Richardson's 1771 Description of a Labrador Inuit Snow House. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 37, (1 (2013): 95–102.

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- 4 S.C. Richardson, "Journal of William Richardson Who Visited Labrador in 1771," *Canadian Historical Review* 16, 1 (1935): 54–61.
- 5 G. Cartwright, *A Journal of Transactions and Events during a Residence of Nearly Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador*, Facsimile edition (Canadian Institute for Historic Microreproductions, 1993 [1792]).
- 6 The log book and muster roll for the 1769 voyage of the *Grenville* are, curiously, missing from the National Archives, Kew, and the only proof of Richardson's presence at Chateau Bay is the date on the sketch. He was master's mate under Michael Lane on the *Grenville* in 1768, and again in 1770, and it is likely that this was also his position in 1769.
- 7 M. Stopp, "The Complete Inuttitut Vocabulary Collected by William Richardson ca. 1765–1771," *Regional Language Studies-Newfoundland* 25 (2014): 1–22.
- 8 ADM 51/636, in E. Tompkins, "Review of British Admiralty Records at the National Archives," Public Records Office, Kew and National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England, 2010; Report on file, NunatuKavut Community Council, Goose Bay, NL, 52.
- 9 *Niger*, Book of Remarks, ADM 346/14/21, 1 Oct. 1765; also R.J. Young, *Blockhouses in Canada, 1749–1841: A Comparative Report and Catalogue*, Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History 23 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1980).
- 10 ADM 51/636 & 663, 1765–1773, contains examples of the attention paid to the movement and activities of Inuit on both sides of the Strait of Belle Isle; also A.M. Lysaght, *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1766* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).
- 11 CO 194/27, 262v, Shelburne MSS, vol. 65, 10 Dec. 1766; O.U. Janzen, "Showing the Flag: Hugh Palliser in Western Newfoundland, 1764," *Northern Mariner* H1, 3 (1993): 3–14.
- 12 CO 194/30, f. 173.
- 13 Cartwright, *Journal*, entry of 8 May 1771; 1783 Memorandum to the Earls of Shelburne and Dartmouth, Dartmouth fonds, LAC, 2474.
- 14 Privy Council, *In the Matter of the Boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the Colony of Newfoundland in the Labrador Peninsula*, vol. 3, 1053, at: <[www.heritage.nf.ca/law/lab1/labvol1\\_contents.html](http://www.heritage.nf.ca/law/lab1/labvol1_contents.html)>.
- 15 This observation is included with thanks to an anonymous reviewer.
- 16 CO 194/32, f64, 72, 102; ADM 50/2, 21 Aug. 1775, in Tompkins, "Review of British Admiralty Records."
- 17 W. Whiteley, "Newfoundland, Quebec, and the Administration of the Coast of Labrador, 1774–1783," *Acadiensis* 6, 1 (1976): 92–112; O.U. Janzen, "Newfoundland and British Maritime Strategy during the American Revolution" (Ph.D. thesis, Dept. of History, Queen's University, 1983). I acknowledge the insightful comments of one reviewer on the many factors that may have played into the fort's closure. The two cannon overlooking today's community of Cartwright in Sandwich Bay probably belong to this ordnance distribution.
- 18 ADM 51/4006, HMC *Wells*, Journal #1, in Tompkins, "Review of British Admiralty Records," 64.
- 19 Lysaght, *Joseph Banks*, Plate 31 and 450–3. Lysaght quotes Palliser in full, with all measurements and descriptive details.



- 20 D.W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (St. John's: Boulder Publications, 2002 [1895]), 327.
- 21 C. Hallock, "Three Months in Labrador (Concluded)," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (May 1861): 765. Hallock was founder and owner of *Forest and Stream* magazine (today's *Field and Stream*).
- 22 Provincial Archaeology Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador (PAO), Site Record Form based on M. Stopp field information, 2000; Lysaght, *Joseph Banks*.
- 23 Lysaght, *Joseph Banks*, 142.
- 24 W.A. Stearns, *Labrador: A Sketch of Its People, Its Industries and Its Natural History* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1884), 284.
- 25 C.H. Farnham, "Labrador — Second Paper," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 71, 425 (Oct. 1885): 662.
- 26 R. Auger and M. Stopp, "1986 Archaeological Survey of Southern Labrador: Quebec/Labrador Border to Cape St. Charles," 1986, on file, PAO.
- 27 B. Guégan, ed., *Trois Voyages au Canada* (Paris: Editions du Carrefour, n.d.), Second Voyage, 4.
- 28 A.A. Ruddock, "John Day of Bristol and the English Voyages across the Atlantic before 1497," *Geographical Journal* 132, 2 (1966): 225–33; K.A. Seaver, *The Frozen Echo* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996); P. Pope, "Did the Vikings Reach North America without Discovering It?" in S. Lewis-Simpson, ed., *Vinland Revisited: The Norse World at the Turn of the First Millennium* (St John's: Historic Sites Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2003), 341–52; T.W.N. Haines, "Norse Knowledge of the North Atlantic," in B. Hudson, ed., *Studies in the Medieval Atlantic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 101–19.
- 29 S. Barkham, "The Identification of Labrador Ports in Spanish 16th-Century Documents," *Canadian Cartographer* 14, 1 (1977): 1–9; S. Barkham, "The Spanish Province of Terranova," *Canadian Archivist* 2, 5 (1974): 73–83; S.H. Barkham, "The Basque Whaling Establishments in Labrador 1536–1632 — A Summary," *Arctic* 37, 4 (1984): 515–19.
- 30 S. de L. Barkham, "Building Materials for Canada in 1566," *Association for Preservation Technology* 5, 4 (1973): 93; S. Barkham and M.M. Barkham, "A Note on Five Documented 16th Century Basque Shipwrecks in Harbours of Southern Labrador," *Itas Memoria-Revista de Estudios Maritimos dei Pais Vasco* 5 (2006): 771–76. Archaeological work of Basque deposits is reported in J.A.H. Vera, J.J.B. Calvo, J.N. Marcen, and I.Z. Igartua, "Basque Expedition to Labrador 1985," in J.S. Thomson and C. Thomson, eds., *Archaeology in Newfoundland and Labrador 1985* (St. John's: Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1986), 81–98.
- 31 S. Barkham, "Two Documents Written in Labrador, 1572 and 1577," *Canadian Historical Review* 57, 2 (1976): 235–38. The oldest civil document prepared in Canada is also from the Basque period. It dates to 1563 and was signed in Placentia, Newfoundland. M. Barkham, CBC Interview, at: <[www.cbc.ca/onthegeo/2013/05/24/a-basques-will-from-1563/](http://www.cbc.ca/onthegeo/2013/05/24/a-basques-will-from-1563/)>.
- 32 LAC, MG8-F101, Archives Coloniales, "Concession du poste de la Baie-des-Châteaux"; P.G. Roy, ed., *Inventaire de Pièces sur la côte de Labrador* (Québec: Archives de la Province

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- 33 Privy Council, vol. VII, Part XIX, Number 1417: 3688–89; Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, 327.
- 34 M. Stopp, in progress and ongoing research, St. Michael's Bay, at: <[www.labradorcura.com/arch/](http://www.labradorcura.com/arch/)>; L. Rankin, "Indian Harbour, Labrador," *Provincial Archaeology Office 2011 Archaeology Review* 10 (2012): 126–29.
- 35 Letter of A.M. de Brouage to Versaille, 7 Feb, 1743, *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1922–1923* (Québec: L.-A. Proulx, 1923), 405; Miquelon, "Fornel," *DCB*.
- 36 H. HARRISSE, *The Discovery of North America* (London: H. Stevens, 1892); Guégan, *Trois Voyages*; S. Barkham, ed., *Itsasoa 3, Los vascosen el marco Atlántico Norte, siglos XVI y XVII* (San Sebastian: Etor, 1988), 57, 166, 195; Bellin 1744 can be viewed at <[digitalarchive.mcmaster.ca/islandora/object/macrepo:26958](http://digitalarchive.mcmaster.ca/islandora/object/macrepo:26958)>; some early charts can be viewed at <[gallica.bnf.fr](http://gallica.bnf.fr)>.
- 37 British Library, Add MS 14036. The only reference I have found to this quite unknown plan is in Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, 690.
- 38 Cook's map has fewer toponyms; Lysaght, *Joseph Banks*, Plate 30.
- 39 See W. Whiteley, "James Cook and British Policy in the Newfoundland Fisheries 1763–7," *Canadian Historical Review* 54 (1973): 245–72, for a detailed study of Cook in Newfoundland.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 246.
- 41 R. Auger, *Labrador Inuit and Europeans in the Strait of Belle Isle: From the Written Sources to the Archaeological Evidence*, Collection Nordicana 55 (1991). For information on southern Labrador sealing, see M. Stopp, *The New Labrador Papers of Captain George Cartwright* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 46–53;
- 42 Stopp, in progress and ongoing research, St. Michael's Bay.
- 43 M.P. Stopp, "Reconsidering Inuit Presence in Southern Labrador," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 26, 2 (2002): 71–106.
- 44 P. Thornton, "The Transition from the Migratory to the Resident Fishery in the Strait of Belle Isle," *Acadiensis* 19, 2 (1990): 92–120; H. Rollmann, "Hopedale: Inuit Gateway to the South and Moravian Settlement," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 28, 2 (2013): 153–92.
- 45 Aggressions against Inuit were a great cause for concern for Palliser, e.g., CO 194/27/178, "Captain Palliser concerning the murder that has been committed on the Indians of the coast of Labrador."
- 46 CO 194/16/225; Lysaght, *Joseph Banks*, 193–213, for excerpts of Moravian diaries; H. Rollmann, "Moravians," at <[www.mun.ca/rels/hrollmann/morav/](http://www.mun.ca/rels/hrollmann/morav/)>. The 1765 discussions between Inuit, British, and Moravians have been re-interpreted as a treaty in G. Mitchell, "The Palliser Friendship Treaty: The Esquimeaux-British Treaty of Southern Labrador," *Newfoundland Quarterly* 98, 1 (2005): 48–51. Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, 324, may be the source of this line of interpretation. Prowse writes that "Sir Hugh made a treaty with the Labrador Indians."

- 47 Cartwright, *Journal*, entry for 16 July 1772.
- 48 M. Stopp, "Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England," *Arctic* 62, 1 (2009): 45–64; Rollmann, "Hopedale"; H. Rollmann, "'So fond of the pleasure to shoot': The Sale of Firearms to Inuit on Labrador's North Coast in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 26, 1 (2011): 5–24.
- 49 ADM 346/14/18, *Niger* Book of Remarks; ADM 52/1382 *Niger*, 20 Sept. 1765, in Tompkins, "Review of British Admiralty Records," 70.
- 50 *Privy Council*, vol. 7, no. 392, 52.
- 51 CO 194/18, f86.
- 52 Lysaght, *Joseph Banks*, 291; C.S. Houston, T. Ball, and M. Houston, *Eighteenth-Century Naturalists of Hudson Bay* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003); T. Pennant, *Arctic Zoology*, 2 vols. (London: H. Hughes, 1785).
- 53 Lysaght, *Joseph Banks*, 47; CO 194/27, f.262.
- 54 ADM 346/14/37, *Otter* Book of Remarks; ADM346/14/45, *Zephyr* Book of Remarks.
- 55 For details of Mikak's history, see Stopp, "Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit" and related references. The names of some of the crew at York Fort that winter are known and include Thomas Dodd (surgeon's mate), Robert Baldock, William Tinnion, Samuel Foster, Thomas Butler, and Josh. Tracey, *Privy Council*, vol. 3 (1927), 1005–06. From Cartwright we also learn that a Mr. Ged relieved "Lieutenant Davyes the following winter, Cartwright, *Journal*, vol. 1, entry for 27 Feb. 1771. For recent research of events surrounding the capture of Inuit, see Rollmann, "Hopedale."
- 56 ADM 51/223, sloop *Cygnets*, Tompkins, "Review of British Admiralty Records," 49.
- 57 D. Marley, *Wars of the Americas: A Chronology of Armed Conflict in the New World, 1492 to the Present* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-Clío, 1998), 360.
- 58 W.H. Whiteley, "Newfoundland, Quebec, and the Labrador Merchants, 1783–1809," *Newfoundland Quarterly* 73, 4 (1977): 17–26; W.G. Gosling, *Labrador: Its Discovery, Exploration, and Development* (London: A. Rivers, 1910), 194.
- 59 ADM L/P 144, in Tompkins, "Review of British Admiralty Records," 90.
- 60 CO 194/40, f17,10 Jan. 1798, letter from Crofton to Vice-Admiral Waldegrave. Crofton's record in ADM 51/1213 for 22 Aug. 1797 reads, "Hoisted on the upper Flag Staff on Temple Point the Union Flag and fired 2 guns as a token of taking possession of Temple Bay which was destroyed by the French last September." In Tompkins, "Review of British Admiralty Records," 56.
- 61 Lysaght, *Joseph Banks*, Plate 30.
- 62 Rev. L.A. Anspach, *A History of the Island of Newfoundland* (London: printed for author, 1819), 328.
- 63 ADM 1/475, f278, Sept. 1804, Report of Lieutenant Morrison on the British fishery, in Tompkins, "Review of British Admiralty Records," 26, 27.
- 64 A.S. Packard, *The Labrador Coast — A Journal of Two Summer Cruises to that Region* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1891), 221. In 1860, American visitor Louis Noble, who was travelling with artist Frederick Church, described it as a "town,"

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- in L. Noble, *After Icebergs with a Painter: A Summer Voyage to Labrador and around Newfoundland* (New York: Appleton and Co., 1861), 267.
- 65 Auger and Stopp, "1986 Archaeological Survey."
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Stearns, *Labrador*, 285; Sir W. MacGregor, *Report of an Official Visit to the Coast of Labrador* (St. John's: J.W. Withers, 1906?), 5.
- 68 *New York Times*, 6 Sept. 1909. Peary was in Chateau Bay in 1906 as well: *New York Times*, 16 Nov. 1906. A new wireless station was set up at nearby Battle Harbour at this time. Already by the 1890s, Battle Harbour had eclipsed Chateau Bay in importance as a centre of the fishery.
- 69 See, e.g., Stearns, *Labrador*, 285.
- 70 Lysaght, *Joseph Banks*, 131. A year earlier, in 1765, Moravian missionaries on a visit to Chateau Bay also noted roof tiles and remains of a European house, and, "after removing the Rubbish," found decayed whalebone. CO 194/16/225-245.
- 71 Packard, *The Labrador Coast*, 220–21. Packard also claimed that it resembled Inuit skeletal material plundered in an earlier visit to Hopedale.
- 72 Rev. P.W. Browne, *Where the Fishers Go* (New York: Cochrane Publishing Co., 1909), 230.
- 73 Hallock, "Three Months in Labrador (Concluded)," 764.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Stearns, *Labrador*, 284.
- 76 Lysaght, *Joseph Banks*, Plate 31.
- 77 Stearns, *Labrador*, 284.
- 78 Browne, *Where the Fishers Go*, 229. Browne's account of Chateau Bay should be used with caution.
- 79 Ibid., 51, 233.