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State-of-the-Art French Cartography in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland: The Work of Marc Antoine Sicre de Cinq-Mars

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State-of-the-Art French Cartography in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland: The Work of Marc Antoine Sicre de Cinq-Mars.

GORDON HANDCOCK

ALTHOUGH USUALLY DESIGNED as practical tools, maps often become in time an important component of the historical record. This is especially true of maps containing information about past cultures. The first volume (1987) of the *Historical Atlas of Canada* (HAC) offers numerous examples in which maps were the main source either for the reconstruction of past exploration, settlement and economic activity or interpreting historical relationships. This author, for example, used a map of Trinity Harbour, Newfoundland, drawn by a French engineer in 1762 as a source of information to reconstruct the pattern of settlement for the late 18th century (HAC, pl. 26). A colleague, Dr. John Mannion, used 1728 and 1806 maps of St. John's to show settlement morphology at two stages and to demonstrate change in settlement pattern over time (HAC, pl. 27). The 1806 map further provided the spatial framework for the mapping of socio-economic data from a 1795 census showing the occupation and ethnicity of St. John's landowners and occupants. Maps and charts, like other documents, have merits and weaknesses for historical research. Some are rich in content, others are lean. Some are accurate, others may err or mislead in varying degrees. Most historical maps, however, have some value as documents.

This paper examines the cartographic work of Marc Antoine Sicre de Cinq-Mars (alluded to above), as it related to Trinity. De Cinq-Mars was an engineer with a French force which captured and held key mercantile

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centres in Newfoundland for a few weeks during 1762. During the occupation he collected data which he used to produce the most detailed topographic maps made for Newfoundland during the 18th century. His cartographic work on Trinity is particularly interesting, for it is one of the main historical documents of Newfoundland in the 18th century. It can be used in conjunction with other sources, not only to reconstruct the events of a military occupation, but also to investigate numerous aspects of 18th century life that go beyond the drama of war.

The sequence of events that led to the capture of Newfoundland in 1762 has been detailed in various accounts of the campaigns waged in North America during the Seven Years War (1756-63) (Candow; Salagnac). Following the surrender of Montreal in September, 1760, French influence in North America virtually ended; but the war dragged on in Europe. The French Minister of War, Marine, and Colonies, the Duc de Choiseul, made efforts to harass British shipping in every possible location (Salagnac). Late in 1761, he worked out a plan to intercept British fishing vessels on the Grand Banks and around the coast of Newfoundland. He hoped also to attack Canada in 1763. Charles-Henri-Louis d'Arsac de Ternay was chosen to lead the initial expedition. His immediate objective was to capture St. John's and cause as much trouble to the British as he could. If everything went well, he anticipated advancing as far as Cape Breton Island to assault the British there.

Ternay's expedition was organized in secrecy and only he knew its destination and objective. He left Brest on May 8, 1762, with two battleships, a frigate and two supply ships. The five vessels, carrying 750 soldiers, anchored at Bay Bulls, twenty miles south of St. John's, on June 23. There the infantry under Colonel Joseph-Louis-Bernard de Cléron d'Haussonville landed without opposition and marched on St. John's. Several accounts indicate that some 300 Irish servants at Bay Bulls abandoned their masters and helped widen the path through the woods to St. John's for the French forces.

A weak garrison at Fort William in St. John's surrendered on June 27. Now Ternay and his forces undertook the selective and systematic capture and destruction of property around the island. In this they met little resistance. The French were primarily interested in capturing and occupying the chief merchant centres where they could command stores and food supplies. Consequently Carbonear, Harbour Grace and Trinity were the places selected for occupation. Meanwhile British military installations were taken over and all ships of ocean-going capacity were seized and destroyed. One estimate states that 460 ships were captured or sunk (Salagnac). For the most part, however, the French kept good order among the inhabitants and permitted the small inshore boat crews to carry on fishing, though by the time they had arrived many of the inshore fishermen had become refugees in harbours to the northward.

British reaction to the seizure of Newfoundland was swifter than the French had anticipated. The French believed the British would be unable to attempt to retake Newfoundland before spring. Once the news of the capture was received, however, the British commander-in-chief in North America, Jeffery Amherst, resolved to expel the invaders immediately. Led by his brother, Lieut.-Col. William Amherst, a fleet of seven ships, with 1,500 men from mainland garrisons, left Louisbourg, Cape Breton, on September 7 and joined a naval fleet commanded by Lord Colvill. Commodore Colvill, commander of the North American squadron of the Royal Navy, had been hovering off St. John's since August 25, attempting to blockade the harbour with his four battleships and two frigates. Amherst joined Colvill off the coast on September 11. To meet this challenge, the French withdrew from Trinity, Carbonear and Harbour Grace and tried to make a stand in St. John's. British troops landed north of St. John's at Torbay on the 13th and marched toward St. John's, where they dislodged the French from Signal Hill on the 15th. That night, under cover of darkness and fog, the French fleet under Ternay got past Colvill's ships and escaped. In the process the French soldiers in Fort William were abandoned to their fate. Caught in the hopeless position of having guns firing down upon them from Signal Hill, they surrendered on September 18.

In the case of Trinity, the two-week French occupation (July 16 — August 1), was the most dramatic event of the century. The sequence of events in the days leading up to the arrival of the French, the surrender, and the daily events in the community under French rule were chronicled in the diary of a local merchant, Benjamin Lester. A more general narrative of the Trinity occupation also survives in an account written by one of the French officers. In 1775 the commandant who took Trinity, the Chevalier de la Motte Vauvert, wrote a letter to support his case for a promotion. In it he recounts his part in the 1762 Newfoundland campaign of Captain Ternay and particularly his own role in Trinity.

Lester's diary and de la Motte Vauvert's letter, particularly the former, contain valuable information on the society and economy of Trinity in the mid-18th century in addition to that found in governors' reports, missionary accounts, parish registers and court records. Among the most valuable documents we have for Trinity, however, are the several maps and charts drawn in 1762, especially those produced by De Cinq-Mars.

De Cinq-Mars was born on June 21, 1715, at Colmars-les-Alpes, canton of Basses-Alpes in Haute Provence. He joined the army and saw service in European campaigns in Bavaria (1744-5), Belgium (1746), Holland (1748) and on the Rhine (1759). In 1762 he was on board one of the five ships that took the fort at Trinity. The year after, he was elevated to lieutenant-colonel. He was promoted colonel in 1768, brigadier in 1770, and by the time he retired in 1771 was director of infantry. Among other honours, De Cinq-Mars

received the Cross of St. Louis (1753) and a pension from the Royal Treasury after 1763. He died at Bayonne, Basses-Pyrenees, on December 25, 1775. As his charts and plans attest, De Cinq-Mars was for his time an outstanding cartographer.

De Cinq-Mars was almost certainly one of the cadre of French army engineers whose topographic surveys in Flanders in 1746 were associated with a triangulation survey set up by the famed cartographer Cassini de Thury of the Academie Royale des Sciences in France (Brown 251-6). This topographic-triangulation project, though interrupted by military operations, eventually led to the first national survey of a country and the production of large-scale topographic sheets. The initial maps from the project, known as Carte de Cassini or Carte de l'Academie, were published in 1755 and were highly acclaimed. The value of the maps as military and political assets was immediately recognized, and the methods of their production were improved and refined without delay.

The maps of De Cinq-Mars in Newfoundland bear the unmistakable marks of the sound geodetic surveying, attention to detail, and attractive design that were characteristic of the 18th century French school of cartography. Thus in his surveys and maps De Cinq-Mars brought to Newfoundland the most advanced cartographic techniques that then existed, for in the Carte de Cassini the French had perfected the essential details of geodesy. According to one scholar, the Carte de Cassini "taught the rest of the world what to do and what not to do" (Brown 255).

During the 1762 Newfoundland campaign it was clearly De Cinq-Mars' role to gather intelligence on English military installations. He made observations and measurements, and drew sketches which were turned into finished maps and charts next year in France. His published maps and drawings cover, not only Trinity, but also Carbonear, St. John's, Ferryland and Placentia. The Trinity set includes a topographic map and chart (combined) of Trinity Harbour (Figure.1) and a plan of Fort (Admiral's) Point (Figure 2). The first covers the whole of Trinity Harbour in full topographic detail. The second includes a meticulously detailed survey of the fort, containing a legend of seventeen characteristics of the structure. The latter also contains four relief profiles of the point, which was then known as Admiral's Point but was soon to become Fort Point.

De Cinq-Mars' work in Newfoundland has only come to light on this side of the Atlantic within the last decade, and for most of this time only the Trinity maps were known. The Trinity maps were discovered by Mary M. White in 1969 while conducting research in Paris. Miss White, formerly a French teacher at Bishop Spencer College in St. John's and an assistant professor at Memorial University of Newfoundland, uncovered the Trinity and Fort Point maps at the Library of the Technical Section of Engineering in the Archive du Genie (Vincennes), Paris, while investigating the 1762

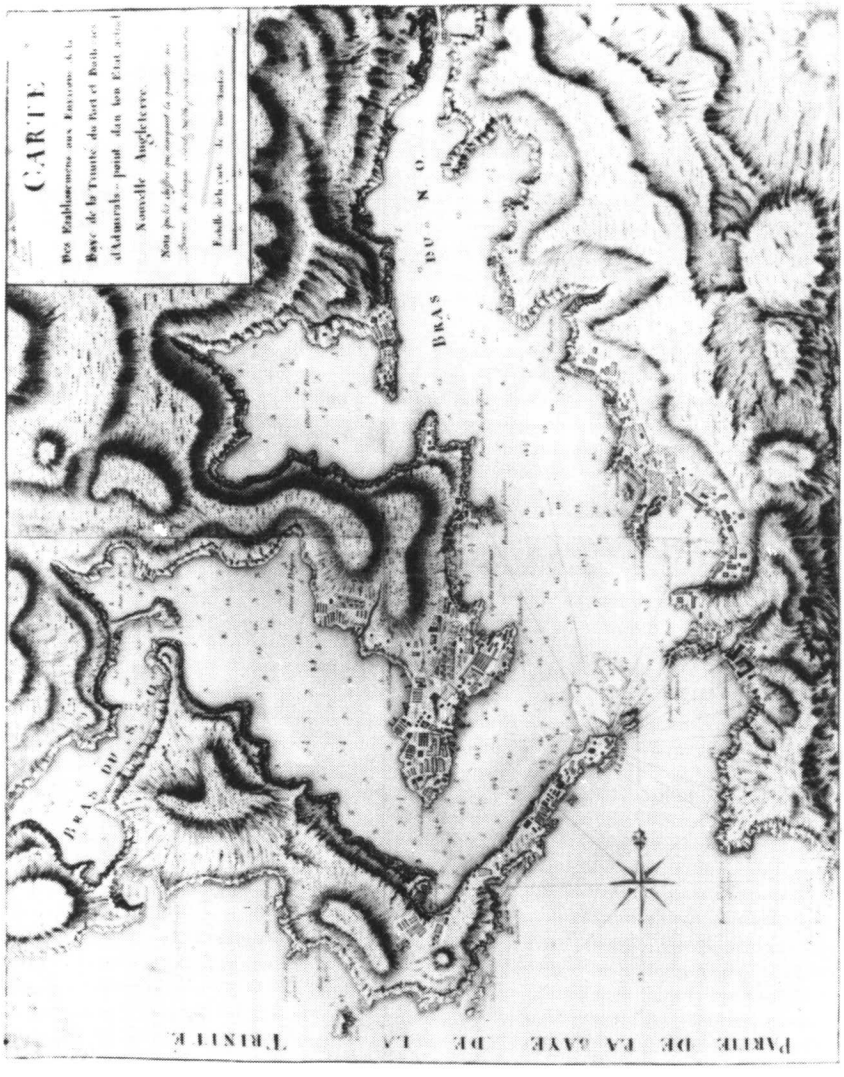

Figure 1: De Cinq-Mars' map of Trinity Harbour

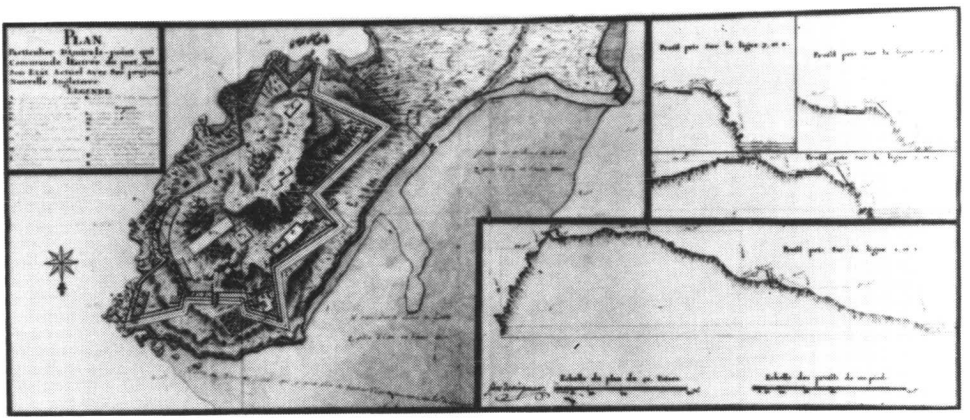

Figure 2
The Fort at Admiral's Point

Legende (with English translation)

A. Platteforme 8 canons (Platform 8 cannons)
B. Platteforme 3 canons (Platform 3 cannons)
C. Platteforme 2 canons (Platform 2 cannons)
D. Platteforme d'un canon (Platform 1 cannon)
E. Canon de 6L de balle pour à placer à volante. (Cannon 6 pounder balls for rapid fire)
F. Magazin à poudre pour d'autres effets (Powder magazine for other things)
G. Barraque pour trois Soldats d'Artillerie (Barracks for three artillery soldiers)
H. Maisons ruinées appartenant au Roy (Ruined houses owned by the King)
I. Maisons ruinées qui appartenant aux habitans (Ruined houses owned by inhabitants)
K. Ligne de Palisaddes mises par les habitans (line of palisades built by inhabitants)
L. Batterie de 6 canons (Battery of 6 cannons)
M. Batterie de 5 canons (Battery of 5 cannons)
N. Batterie de 3 canons (Battery of 3 cannons)
O. No. 1 Cazerne pour 224 soldats (No. 1 Barracks for 224 soldiers); No. 2 Pavillion pour 9 officiers (Pavilion for 9 officers)

P. Retranchement avec des Embrazures aux flancs pour placer le canon de 6L de balle (Retrenchment with flank openings for the 6 pound ball cannon)
Q. Ligne en cramaillére fraisée au sommet par une palissade inclinée (Line of crenelated wall with the top inclined as a palisade)
R. Calle ou place de Debarquement (Debarkation ramp or wharf)

French occupation of Trinity. Realizing their worth, Miss White made arrangements with a photographer to make copies, which she later presented to the Public Archives of Canada (PAC) and the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (PANL). Miss White then began research on De Cinq-Mars himself. Edward Tompkins, formerly PANL map archivist, more recently retrieved other cartographic works produced by De Cinq-Mars. These include prints of St. John's and environs and a plan of Fort William. The others are plans of Carbonear and Carbonear Island, the town of Placentia and fortifications, military installations in the Placentia area, and emplacements on L'Isle des Bois at Ferryland.

The complete set of De Cinq-Mars' maps makes clear that the French had a well-designed plan to record the characteristics of the chief merchant settlements and their defences. The maps and plans related to St. John's, Carbonear and Trinity are easy to account for, since these were the settlements captured and held for several weeks during the summer of 1762. The existence of maps for Ferryland and Placentia, however, raise some interesting questions, since documentary sources on the 1762 campaign show that an attempted landing at Ferryland failed; also, they make no reference to Placentia. Indeed, Placentia was the chief seat of British government in Newfoundland while St. John's was occupied. How and when did De Cinq-Mars gather the necessary data for these maps?

Were the Ferryland and Placentia maps based on French prototypes or on captured English plans and drawings? It is possible that De Cinq-Mars went to Placentia briefly as a prisoner-of-war. According to Prowse (414), he was one of the French officers taken prisoner at St. John's after the garrison surrendered to Amherst on September 18. But if De Cinq-Mars was in Placentia, would he have had the freedom of the town to survey and make drawings? This seems highly improbable. The one hint of his being there is a brief notation on the Placentia map which translates as "my new cottage." More compelling, however, are indications that the Placentia maps were based on prototypes. For example, the Placentia map has a much more distorted coastline than the charts of St. John's, Carbonear and Trinity. From this it seems that De Cinq-Mars drew upon maps made before the French were expelled from Placentia by the Treaty of Paris in 1713. He includes, for instance, an inset "Vie [Vue] du Fort Vieux," a fort first built by the French in 1662 but abandoned by 1685 because it was poorly located. There

is no proof that it was subsequently rebuilt. In addition, the basic configuration of the coastline and the pattern of settlement shown by De Cinq-Mars bear remarkable resemblance to French maps drawn before the 1690s.

De Cinq-Mars' maps were clearly related to the more wide-ranging plans of the French. Their immediate object was to disrupt English shipping, but they also intended to hold Newfoundland and use it as a base to reassert a French presence in North America. Control over the merchant centres and their supplies gave them effective control over the English fishery and made their own occupation more tenable. At Trinity and elsewhere, guards were placed on all the storehouses with provisions as soon as the places were taken (Lester, 17-18 July 1762).

De la Motte Vauvert's account of the capture of Trinity is particularly informative on the motives of the French. Captain Ternay had been informed that it was a powerful stronghold and well provided with the supplies he would need if he was to hold St. John's. De la Motte Vauvert makes no mention of the topographic surveys undertaken by De Cinq-Mars, and indeed we do not know whether De Cinq-Mars personally made sketches and took measurements or just supervised others. Lester's diary is mute on this as well, though one item recorded on July 21 may be connected with De Cinq-Mars' survey.

As chief magistrate and principal merchant in Trinity, Lester became the main liaison with the French officers, and was required to report daily to Commandant de la Motte Vauvert. Indeed much of his time during the occupation was taken up fulfilling orders to furnish livestock for food and servants drawn from the local inhabitants. Lester was also required to escort the commandant around the harbour as the latter inspected each property and selected items such as larger boats and ships for destruction. On July 21, Lester wrote that the commandant had issued orders to supply him with the "Acct of the Winter Inhabitants and Summer ones, the Houses in Harbour with Chimneys in them, and everything to pussle [puzzle] me." Is this an oblique reference to data-gathering associated with De Cinq-Mars' work?

In 18th century Newfoundland, district justices of the peace like Lester were normally required to provide the English naval governors with returns on population and the fishery each season. The French commandant made the additional requirement of information on houses, chimneys and "everything to [puzzle] me," chores with which Lester was unfamiliar. These demands seem to fit in with their plan to spend the winter at Trinity, though they possibly also reflect a decision to compensate English settlers who were about to be displaced. But perhaps they simply reflect the French attention to detail.

De Cinq-Mars' maps of St. John's and Carbonear-Mosquitto, like those of Trinity, are the most attractive and most accurately drawn for these settlements up to 1763. They excel in quality, style and detail any maps produced

by the English. In some respects the "Carte" of Trinity is one of the best maps ever published for that settlement, for it presents cultural features in greater clarity and fuller detail than even modern 1:50,000 sheets of the National Topographic Series.

Because of its strategic importance, Trinity Harbour had already received attention from English map makers. An inset of the harbour was included on John Thornton's "A New Chart of the Trading Part of Newfoundland" (1689). In September, 1762, following the French departure, the harbour was again surveyed and mapped by English hydrographers (Figure 3). Although the chart produced is normally attributed to James Cook, it is more likely based on surveys carried out by Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres (Morgan). Similar English charts were made in 1762 for Carbonear and Harbour Grace, St. John's, and "Ferryland and Aquafort with Caplin Bay." These maps, intended primarily for navigation, show accurate coastal profiles and contain numerous water depth soundings. In the past these maps also represented the only indicators of 18th century settlement patterns; none of them, however, bears comparison with those of De Cinq-Mars.

De Cinq-Mars' Trinity "Carte" has over 200 soundings compared to about 100 on the 1762 English chart, and has a much better distribution of observations. There is as well more detailed attention given to both cultural and physical features. De Cinq-Mars colour-coded each class of cultural landscape items such as buildings, wharves, flakes and garden plots, and used shading and hachuring techniques to capture the character of the natural topography. Even though the morphology of the natural landscape is distorted around the margins of the maps, De Cinq-Mars does establish the essential quality of the terrain. Cook totally ignored the physical nature of the settlement and its landward setting, and even managed to place the name Trinity Town on the wrong side of the harbour. Only on the question of nomenclature (the English map contains 35 toponyms, the French "Carte" has 29) does the English map outshine De Cinq-Mars'. Nevertheless De Cinq-Mars' toponyms are all appropriately translated; thus Sam White's Point became "Pointe Blanche de Samuel," Maggoty Cove was rendered "Anse de Vereuse" and Hog's Nose became "Nes de Porc."

De Cinq-Mars' maps are not only remarkable for their attractiveness as works of art, and for accuracy and professional design; they are also decidedly important as historical documents. Cook's map, while also a useful document, pales by comparison. Whereas the English map shows only a few patches of the main settled areas, the French one shows that within Trinity Harbour virtually every cove and suitable shorespace with any utility for conducting the fishery was settled. Sam White's Cove outside the main harbour is depicted by De Cinq-Mars as very intensively utilized, with wharves, flakes and buildings. Other areas of dense settlement include the points of land at the entrance to God's Cove ("Anse de Dieu"), Pease Cove ("Anse de Pois"),

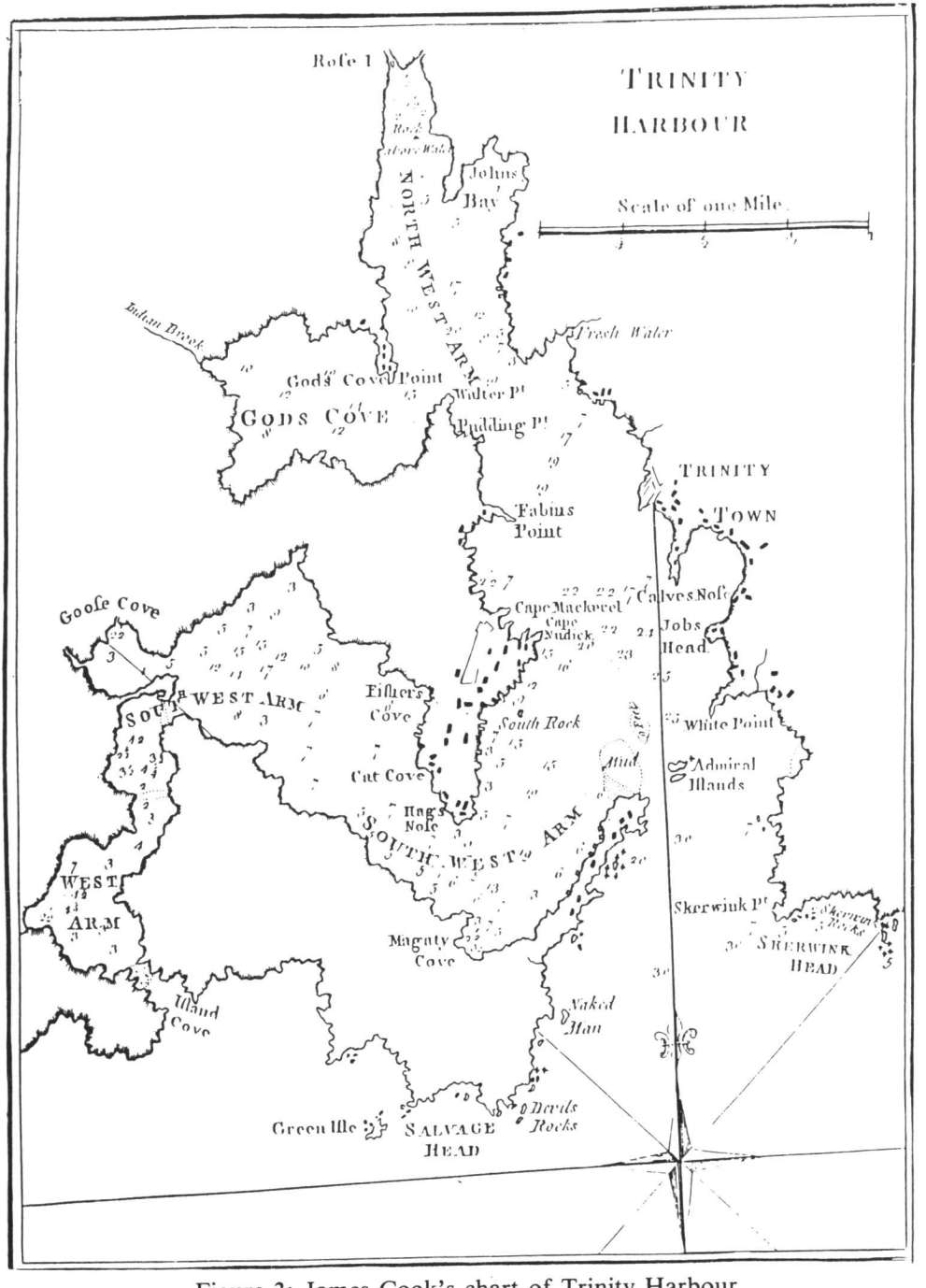

Figure 3: James Cook's chart of Trinity Harbour

the shoreline along Northwest Arm (Bras Du No."), the West Side — the main townsite on the peninsula defined by Northwest Arm and Southwest Arm — and the inner side of Admiral's Point along Southwest Arm. More dispersed shoreline settlement can be detected in Maggotty Cove and at other sites.

In conjunction with contemporary sources such as the Trinity census of 1753, court records, missionary reports, wills and deeds, the diary of Benjamin Lester and the letter of de la Motte Vauvert, one can refer to De Cinq-Mars' "Carte" to identify the specific locations of mercantile firms and many other structures. Lester's diary, the 1753 census and court records indicate that the firm of Devonshire, Reeves and Webb — then one of Trinity's major merchant establishments — was situated on the south side of the harbour. The firm's premises are easily identifiable on De Cinq-Mars' map in the more complex wharf, store and flake combination that typically distinguished a merchant establishment from that of a planter. Other merchant firms whose main premises are referred to in various documents and clearly mapped (though not labelled) by De Cinq-Mars include Benjamin and Isaac Lester, Joseph White, and Samuel White. In the case of the Lester headquarters, the buildings and seashore structures shown on an extant painting are also easily distinguishable on De Cinq-Mars' map. The basic plan of the Lester establishment (located on the west side of the harbour) was little changed, except for the addition of a few buildings and some modest alterations, when, half a century later, it was inherited by the Garland family. Indeed a ground survey of the Garland premises drawn in 1833 shows it to have changed little since it was held by the Lesters in 1762 and surveyed by De Cinq-Mars (Bullock).

The landscape which De Cinq-Mars displayed at Trinity was the product of a system of settlement and trade mainly developed by English merchants from Poole and fishermen and settlers from Dorsetshire and Hampshire (Handcock). By the 1760s Trinity was the major mercantile centre for the whole of Trinity Bay and the northeast coast. Firms in Trinity imported food, clothing and fishing equipment, redistributed them to outharbours, and collected cod for shipment to markets overseas. Thus Trinity was the hub of a mercantile system and exerted a strong economic influence far beyond its own harbour. This was the centrality which the French recognized and sought when they decided to capture the town. The flow lines in Figure 4, based upon shipping references in Benjamin Lester's diary in 1761-70, show the overseas linkages of shipping in and out of Trinity, and also define the sphere of trading territory in Newfoundland over which Trinity merchants exerted a control.

In promoting Trinity as the focus of their trade in northeastern Newfoundland, a development which occurred mainly between 1713 and the 1760s, the merchants of Poole such as the Whites and Lesters constructed

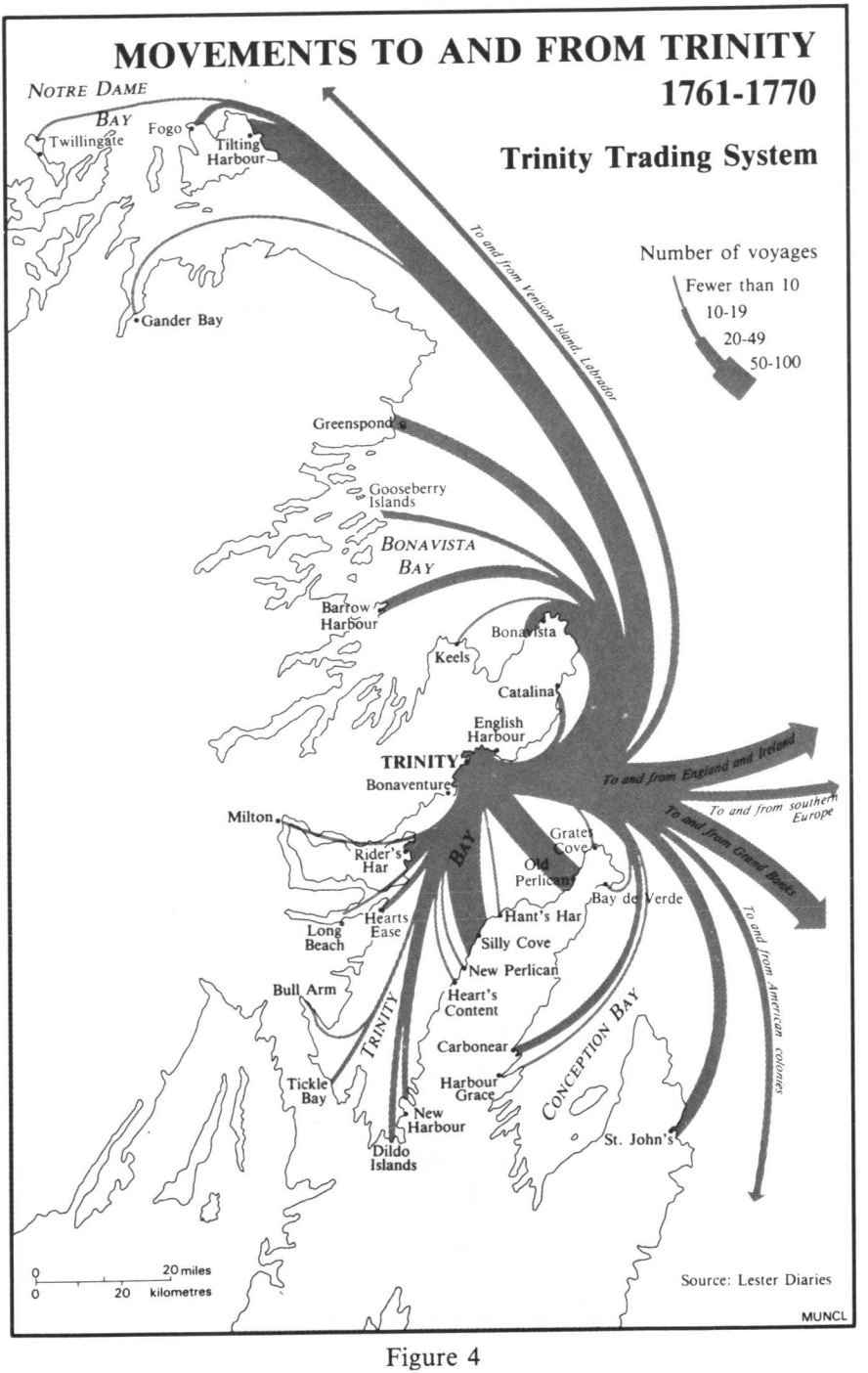
MOVEMENTS TO AND FROM TRINITY
1761-1770
Trinity Trading System
Number of voyages
Fewer than 10
10-19
20-49
50-100
NOTRE DAME BAY
Twillingate
Fogo
Tilting Harbour
Gander Bay
To and from Venison Island, Labrador
Greenspond
Gooseberry Islands
BONAVISTA BAY
Barrow Harbour
Bonavista
Keels
Catalina
English Harbour
TRINITY
Bonaventure
Milton
Rider's Har
BAY
Grates Cove
Old Perlican
Bay de Verde
To and from England and Ireland
To and from southern Europe
To and from Grand Banks
To and from American colonies
Hearts Ease
Long Beach
Hant's Har
Silly Cove
New Perlican
Bull Arm
Heart's Content
TRINITY
Carbonear
CONCEPTION BAY
Tickle Bay
Harbour Grace
New Harbour
Dildo Islands
St. John's
0 20 miles
0 20 kilometres
Source: Lester Diaries
MUNCL

Figure 4

warehouses, stores, shipyards, factories and wharves, most of them on a small peninsula in the centre of Trinity harbour. By the time of the French invasion, these premises were complex establishments for storage, processing and trade, employing agents, clerks, bookkeepers, tradesmen, seamen and fishermen. A church had been constructed at Trinity in 1729 which in summertime sometimes attracted congregations of over 300 people. According to the statistics from the naval governors' returns at this period, Trinity normally hosted 1,500-2,000 migratory fishing servants during the summer, and had 60-70 inhabitant families (planters) who employed 300-400 summer servants. Most of the properties and wharves mapped by De Cinq-Mars were occupied by merchants or English migratory fishing crews.

While most planters and migratory fishermen were engaged in a near shore fishery in Trinity Bay, Trinity had also become by the 1760s a main centre for a large-scale offshore bank fishery. The importance and intensity of the fishery are expressed on the "Carte" both by the large number of fish flakes and the impressive area of the foreshore covered by them. The English chart of 1762 fails to note basic distinctions between houses, flakes and other structures. De Cinq-Mars actually distinguishes between the two types of flakes — the strip flake and the broadflake or platform flake. The former consisted of long, narrow structures built waist high, with walking space between them. This was the older type of flake and in the 1760s was used by inshore fishing crews who would normally land their catches daily and handle relatively small amounts of fish at a given time in various stages of the curing process. Offshore bankers, however, usually landed large quantities of fish following a 10-14 day sojourn on the Grand Banks. For these, merchants and shipowners constructed the larger broadflakes, shown on the "Carte" by square (or nearly square) and rectangular symbols. These flakes were large, solid platforms raised high off the ground. Shore crews were able to stand on these, move about, and handle large quantities of fish. In his colour-coding, De Cinq-Mars used a pale brown or pinkish tone for broadflakes and a lighter shade for the strip flakes.

The construction of two broadflakes in Trinity is narrated in other sources. Both were owned by the Poole Quaker, Samuel White. In a court case in 1754 White was charged with having built a huge flake which extended out over the water and prevented vessels of another merchant from loading at a nearby wharf (Trinity Court Records). In the second instance, White's agent, his nephew Samuel Vallis, was accused by the missionary, James Balfour of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, of building a large flake over part of the garden on which Balfour had a cottage. The flake was so high and so close to the dwelling that Balfour contended "it obstructed his light and caused smoke to accumulate to the family's discomfort inside" (Balfour). De Cinq-Mars' "Carte" thus illustrates the type of intense pres-

sure on land use in the mid-18th century that would have led to such disputes in settlements like Trinity.

Black and white prints of De Cinq-Mars' charts and plans have the general appearance of aerial photographs, and there are problems of interpreting some features of the cultural landscape. The originals, however, are in colour, and thus De Cinq-Mars saw no reason for a legend, though he does use very detailed legends for plans of the forts.

In addition to helping to interpret items already mentioned, colouring also allows us to distinguish dwellings from fishstores and other outbuildings such as cookhouses that were used to house and victual migratory fishing servants. Though of similar shape, one can separate garden plots from fish flakes. In Trinity the farm operated at Pease Cove by an Irishman, Andrew Malone, for Benjamin Lester is also easily identified. More importantly, De Cinq-Mars' "Carte" is an independent source indicating that there was a considerable effort to raise livestock and produce vegetables at Trinity in the 1760s. He shows also the garden plots of the military establishments at Trinity and St. John's. The fort at Trinity, for example, had four garden plots inside the walls and thirteen outside. Fort William in St. John's had several times this number, all on the outside.

While there is much to laud in the art and detail of De Cinq-Mars' cartography, there are flaws. One might overlook some distortion of physical features on the margins of Trinity and St. John's, since these areas were not central to the purpose of the map and were drawn from a distant visual impression. It must be realized that every map or chart is, to some degree, a model or an idealized version of reality; at the same time, one can also overidealize and grossly misrepresent that reality. De Cinq-Mars mapped all significant features of the cultural landscape at Trinity, St. John's and Carbonear as they existed in 1762. Contrary to descriptions from other quarters, however, De Cinq-Mars represents Trinity as an orderly, well-planned settlement. Strip flakes are evenly arranged in parallel lines, much like the barracks of a modern military base; garden plots are uniformly sized, neatly arranged, systematically cultivated, and bordered by footpaths. This was not quite the real Trinity of the 1760s, the Trinity that had developed under individualistic and spontaneous conditions, mainly in response to demands of the fishery controlled by British-based entrepreneurs and without any effective central local authority. The disorderly Trinity of the 1760s described by contemporaries is difficult to equate with the ordered landscape of De Cinq-Mars' "Carte."

As historical documents, De Cinq-Mars' maps best serve to supplement and pinpoint data that have been given locational references in other documents such as censuses, diaries, court records, letters and wills. One can readily appreciate, for example, why a nominal household census taken in 1753 was divided into three divisions: West Side (the main town), North Side (now

Trinity East) (Figure 5) and South Side (settlement inside Fort Point). The latter two divisions were essentially separate settlements much like other outports in Trinity Bay. One can understand also why there were court-appointed constables for the different parts of the harbour. With De Cinq-Mars' map at hand, one can follow the text of Benjamin Lester's diary as he alludes to activities in different sites such as God's Cove or Maggotty Cove. As shown in Figure 5, Lester's own farm at Pease Cove, operated by Andrew Malone, is clearly outlined by De Cinq-Mars. Also, planters' rooms mentioned in wills and court records are all mapped, and while it is not always possible to determine which wharf or dwelling belonged to a specific family, one can still gather a good sense of the setting for each individual and his property. Similarly, when documents refer to leasing and purchasing of property or to special events (fires, drownings, etc.), one can frequently relate these to the general setting from the map. In this respect the maps of De Cinq-Mars help to establish an atmosphere and a background for a better appreciation of 18th century Newfoundland. These maps provide the spatial framework within which much of 18th century activity in Trinity was focussed and the stage and setting in which life unfolded.

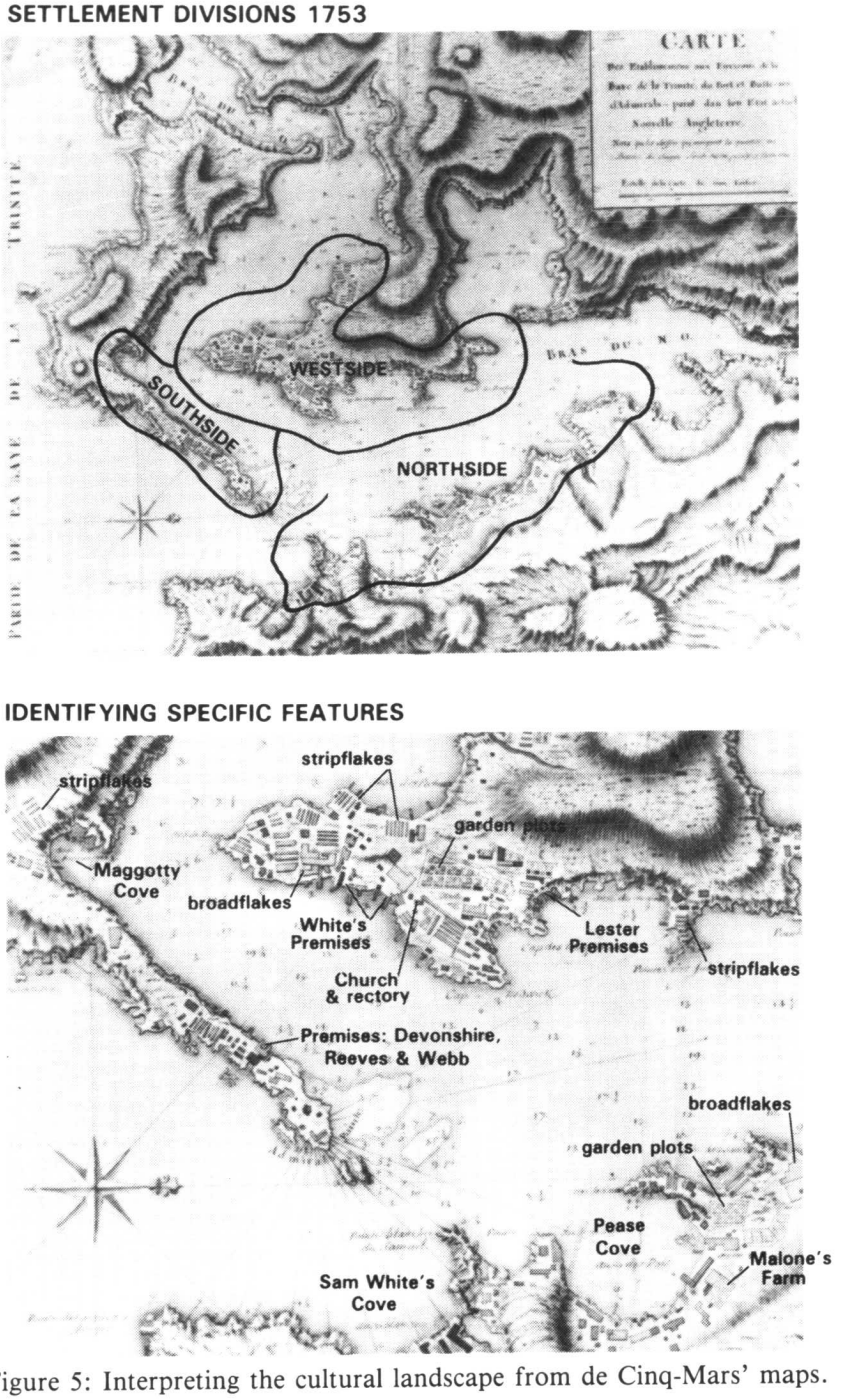

Figure 5: Interpreting the cultural landscape from de Cinq-Mars' maps.

Note: The author gratefully acknowledges the help of Miss M. M. White who provided him with copies of the Trinity maps and her research notes on De Cinq-Mars.

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1. Carte Des Etablissemens aux environs du port de la baye de St. Jean de son fort et de ses Batteries dans son Etát actuel Nouvelle Angleterre. Scale 12.7 cm = 300 toises.
2. Plan Particulier du fort St. Jean et de partie de la Baye relatif a la Carte, dans Son Etát actuel Nouvelle Angleterre. Scale 9.4 cm = 60 toises.
3. Carte des etablissemens aux environs de Plaissance du Port, des Forts et Batteries dans leurs etát actuel nouvelle Angleterre. Scale 12 cm = 600 toises.
4. Plan Particulier du chateau gaillard dans Son Etát Actuel avec Ses Projets. Nouvelle Angleterre. Scale 11.3 cm = 30 toises.
5. Plan Particulier du fort Frederick dans Son Etát Actuel avec Ses Projets. Nouvelle Angleterre. Scale 11.5 cm = 30 toises.
6. Plan Particulier du fort Neuf dans Son Etát Actuel avec Ses Projets. Nouvelle Angleterre. Scale 11.5 cm = 30 toises.
7. Plan Particulier de l'isle des Bois Relatif à la Carte de cette partie avec Ses projets et Batteries pour la defense des ports de Ferryland et de Keplin dans Son Etát actuel. Nouvelle Angleterre. Scale 12.8 cm = 80 toises.
8. Plan Particulier D'Admirals - point qui Commande l'Entree du port dans son Etát Actuel Avec Ses Projets. Nouvelle Angleterre. Scale 12.7 cm = 40 toises.
9. Plan Particulier de lisle de la Carboniére En Amérique Relatif a la Carte de Cette partie avec les projets pour Sa defense et celle des ports de la Carboniére et Mosquitto dans la baye de la Conception Nouvelle Angleterre. Scale 15 cm = 1000 toises.
10. Carte des Environs du Ports de Carboniere de Mosquitto et de l'isle Carboniere avec les Batteries pour la defence des dits Ports dans leurs Etáts actuels. Nouvelle Angleterre. Scale 12.3 cm = 600 toises.
11. Carte Des Etablissemens aux Environs de la Baye de la Trinité du Port et Batteries d'Admirals-point dans son Etát Actuel. Nouvelle Angleterre.

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