Canada, ou Nouvelle France, sous le nom d'Outaouais, Labrador, ou Terre des Esquimaux.
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Foreword

*Dreams of Empire* is the first volume of a new Public Archives collection entitled *Records of Our History*. Intended for the general public, as well as for students, this collection broadly traces the many facets of Canada's development and presents reproductions of the principal archival documents, the guides to the past that researchers consult when writing on the history of the country. The volumes in this collection are both a memorial to and an illustration of Canadian history, and include several unpublished and little-known documents kept at the Public Archives and in other Canadian and foreign institutions. The books are intended to enrich the general reader's vision of the past and to make the student's contact with original sources more vivid.

*Dreams of Empire* presents an overview of the history of Canada from the coming of the first explorers up to 1700. The book opens with a short historical survey, which paints a quick portrait of the period under study. The two hundred and fifty documents reproduced come from fifty-two Canadian, American and European institutions, and include maps, engravings, paintings, seals, medals, manuscripts and printed matter. The material is arranged by theme and subtheme, and each section has a short introduction. A caption accompanies each document. It gives a technical description, situates the document in context, indicates the source or provenance, and sometimes reproduces important extracts.

With this structured thematic framework, the reader will be able to leaf casually through the book and to find close at hand all the necessary information about any particular document. For those reading the book from beginning to end, the documents serve to illustrate, confirm or complement the author's assertions.

Well-known historian, archivist and editor André Vachon, a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, is the author of this book. He drafted the text and made the final choice of documents. However, the publications would not have been possible without the work of Victorin Chabot and André Desrosiers from the French Archives Section of the Public Archives. They were assisted by Françoise Bouvier, Theresa Rowat and Augustine Vachon for the choice of pictures, Normand Saint-Pierre and Lise Perron-Croteau for the printed matter, and Nadia Kazymyra-Dzioba, Edward H. Dahl and Gilles Langelier for the maps and plans. All of them worked on the initial selection of documents and helped find supplementary documents to flesh out certain themes, before the final choice was made. They also prepared the technical description and wrote the historical note for each document. Raymonde Litalien and Mrs. J.M. White located and arranged for the reproduction of several documents housed in foreign institutions.
In addition to ensuring the coordination of the project, Victorin Chabot reviewed the entire text, made useful suggestions to the author and had copies made of the documents from the various institutions. In a word, he followed the project from beginning to end.

For his part, André Desrosiers drafted all the legends and chose the textual extracts from documents that were too long to be reproduced in their entirety.

The editing was done by staff members of Communication Services in the Public Archives. The graphic design was done by Eiko Emori. Translation of the book into English was handled by John F. Flinn, professor of French at the University of Toronto.

Using facsimiles of the same documents that appear in this publication, an exhibition was prepared for display across Canada and abroad.

We wish to express our most sincere gratitude to André Vachon and all those who cooperated in the preparation of this volume, particularly the institutions, which kindly allowed us to reproduce their originals for the book and the exhibition.

Bernard Weilbrenner
Assistant Dominion Archivist
Provenance of documents

Canada
Archives de l'archidiocèse de Québec, Québec
Archives des sœurs de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Montréal
Archives des ursulines de Québec, Québec
Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Québec
Archives du Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, Montréal
Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec
Archives nationales du Québec, Centre régional de Montréal, Montréal
Bibliothèque de la ville de Montréal, Montréal
Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg
Library of Parliament, Ottawa
McGill University, Osler Library, Montréal
Monastère des augustines de l'Hôpital-Général de Québec, Québec
Monastère des augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, Québec
Musée du Séminaire de Québec, Québec
Musée Historial, Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré
National Library of Canada, Ottawa
New Brunswick Museum, Saint John
Paroisse Notre-Dame, Montréal
Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa
Religieuses hospitalières de Saint-Joseph, Montréal

Other countries
Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus, Chantilly, France
Archives départementales de la Charente-Maritime, La Rochelle, France
Archives départementales de la Gironde, Bordeaux, France
Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime, Rouen, France
Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris, France
Archives nationales, Paris, France
Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Italy
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Italy
Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, France
Bibliothèque municipale, Troyes, France
Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France
British Museum, London, England
Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.
Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Manchester, England
Musée du Louvre, Paris, France
Musée national de la Légion d'honneur et des ordres de chevalerie, Paris, France
Museo Naval, Madrid, Spain
National Gallery, London, England
New York Public Library, New York, New York, U.S.A.
Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, New York, U.S.A.
Service historique de la Marine, Vincennes, France
Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavik, Iceland
Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, U.S.A.
Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.

Private Collections
Archives of the Le Moyne de Séigny family, Bordeaux, France
Mr. Xavier de Remy de Courcelles, Amiens, France
Mrs. Walter Raleigh Gilbert, Compton Castle, Devon, England
Sir Cennydd Traherne, Coedarhydyglyn, Nr. Cardiff, Wales
America entered into world history with the first great explorations for a passage to Asia. Hardy navigators braved the dangers of this vast uncharted territory in their quest for silk and other luxuries that Europeans had considered indispensable since the Crusades.

However, rivalries soon developed among the Portuguese, the Spanish, the English and the French, who were all seeking to carve out an empire in the New World. North America became a battleground for the French and the English.

In spite of the conflicts, Cartier’s hopes and Champlain’s plans were followed by Talon’s undertakings, and by the end of the seventeenth century a new country, a new France – Canada – emerged in the St. Lawrence lowlands, spreading its influence in all directions.
Introduction

The discoveries

A great number of hypotheses have been put forward concerning the origin of the populations living in the two Americas at the time of Christopher Columbus's discovery. Several of those hypotheses were based upon rather surprising observations: concordances of vocabulary, for example, between certain Australian languages and some Paragonian (South American) languages. None of the theories, however, have resisted thorough examination, and all of them have come up against insuperable difficulties: how - to confine ourselves to the same example - could Australians have travelled from Australia to South America some thousands of years ago? The fact remains that no explanation has yet been found. This is all the more intriguing since the antiquity of man in those regions - thirty thousand years at most, according to archaeological discoveries - cannot account for differences that would let us suppose a much longer evolution.

The question of origins is not the same for North America. The civilizations that are encountered there - at least on the territory that corresponds at the present time to Canada and the northern part of the United States - have existed for scarcely more than ten thousand years, and physical types there, like ways of life, do not vary essentially, except for the Inuit, whose language has no similarity to that of the Indians. Inuit, Indians of the Algonkian family (Micmacs, Montagnais, Attikamegues, Ottawas, Algonkins, Nipissings, Ojibwas, Sioux, etc., nomads all) and Indians of the Iroquoian family (Hurons, Petuns, Neutrals, Iroquois, all of whom were semi-sedentary) are believed to have reached America by way of Behring Strait at a period when Asia and America were joined there by a strip of land. It seems almost certain that that was the main point of entry, if not the only one, for the native populations of the two Americas. In any case anthropology seems to confirm the relationship of the North American Indians with certain Mongolian-type peoples of Asia.
Many theories have also been proposed concerning the discovery of America by the Phoenicians or Egyptians in ancient times, or by St. Brendan’s Irish monks at the beginning of our era. None of these theories have been retained by a majority of historians or archaeologists. According to current knowledge it was the Vikings who were the first to land in America, coming around the year 1000 from Greenland, where they had established a colony a short time before. It must be said that their voyages in the northern regions were made much easier by the considerable warming of the climate that was happening at the time. Eric the Red and his fellow countrymen made occasional stays at three points on the continent, which they named Helluland (Flagstoneland), Markland (Woodland), and Vinland (Wineland), and which are believed to be Baffin Island, Labrador, and the northeastern tip of Newfoundland respectively. The site of Vinland, the most famous and, it seems, the most frequently visited by the Viking settlers in North America, has given rise to many conjectures and a great deal of research. According to Icelandic sources, that colony enjoyed a temperate climate; wheat and grapes grew there wild. These pieces of information directed the researchers for a long time towards the south: Cape Cod, Chesapeake Bay, even Florida; however, according to recent archaeological discoveries, Vinland should be located at L’Anse aux Meadows, on the Strait of Belle Isle in Newfoundland. If we keep in mind the warming of the climate at that period, the existence of wild grapes in that region is not improbable. In fact, it was the gradual cooling of the climate that put an end, around the middle of the fourteenth century, to the temporary occupation of our coasts by the Vikings.

There is evidence that in the period between the Vikings’ departure and Columbus’s discovery, the banks of Newfoundland were frequented by fishermen. A single document that can support that belief, although it does not furnish proof of it, is an agreement reached in December 1514 between the monks of the abbey of Beauport in Brittany and the inhabitants of the island of Bréhat. It is also possible that after Columbus’s discovery John Cabot was preceded in North America by a sailor from the Azores, Juan Fernandez; at least this is the contention of a Canadian cartographer who studied the problem of the discoveries some years ago.

Whatever the truth about those possible precursors, John Cabot is believed to have been the first person after the 1492 discovery to head in the direction of the North Atlantic in search of the country of the Great Khan (Asia). He made two voyages in England’s name, in 1497 and 1498, and like many others after him, he sailed along the east coast of North America, seeking an opening to the west. However, his exact route is not known; it is not even certain that, having started out farther south, he came as far north as present-day Canada. He was followed by a Portuguese, Gaspar Corte-Real, who probably reached Labrador and the northern part of the island of Newfoundland in 1500 and 1501. Having reached the coast of America, these explorers, like Columbus in 1492, thought that they were on the shores of Asia and within easy reach of the precious spices.

Neither Cabot (1498) nor Corte-Real (1501) returned from their final voyages. Is that why England and Portugal lost interest in North America? For more than twenty years after the arrival of the Bretons, who according to certain sixteenth-century historians had been the first to arrive in North America in 1504, the “New-Found Land” was
visited regularly only by cod fishermen. The cod fishermen probably contributed a great
deal to the knowledge of this part of America, which, Europe learned thanks to
Magellan, was a continent and not an advanced headland of Asia. Thus Francis I sent
Giovanni da Verrazzano in 1524 and 1528 to seek a passageway through the continental
barrier; in 1524–25 Esteban Gómez applied himself to the same task in the name of
Spain. Neither of them found a navigable channel that would have made it possible to
sail into the interior of the continent.

In 1534 Francis I entrusted Jacques Cartier with the task of carrying on the
exploration that had been begun by Verrazzano. Sailing into the gulf beyond the Strait of
Belle Isle, Cartier meticulously went right around the shoreline. On 24 July he erected a
cross at Gaspé, fastened to it the Arms of the King of France, and took official possession
of the territory. However, he returned to France without having sighted the mouth of
the St. Lawrence River. The following year he did reach the great river of Hochelaga (the
St. Lawrence) and sailed as far as Stadacona (Québec City). Then he went to visit
Hochelaga (Montréal) before spending the winter on the Sainte-Croix River (Saint-
Charles). When he returned to France in July 1536, with his men decimated by scurvy,
he had discovered the St. Lawrence, explored the interior of the continent as far as
Montréal, proven that Anticosti was an island and, by sailing back through Cabot
Strait, proven that Newfoundland was also an island. At one go New France had yielded
several of her secrets. When Roberval unsuccessfully attempted to found a colony in
1541–42, he added nothing to the information Cartier had acquired.

After Cartier’s second voyage there was a respite in actual exploration. With the
exception of Roberval’s undertaking, Newfoundland was left to the cod fishermen and
New France to the fur traders who, following in Cartier’s wake, sailed up the St.
Lawrence every year to obtain furs in the interior. By the 1550s and 1560s the fur trade
was well under way. In 1600–01 Chauvin tried to establish a permanent trading post at
Tadoussac, which had already become a meeting place between Indian and white man.
Urged on by rivalries, certain prominent persons were soon seeking a monopoly of the
fur trade in return for the promise to establish settlers in New France. This was the case
with La Roche de Mesgouez, who founded a settlement on Sable Island in 1598, and Du
Gua de Monts, who started a colony in Acadia in 1604. Unfortunately, the Sable Island
settlement came to a wretched end within five years.

A round 1578 an Englishman, Humphrey Gilbert, vainly sought to found a colony on
Newfoundland. During the season the island was visited only by a few fishermen who
set up “stages” for drying cod. Many fishermen landed on the island only to take on
water, preparing and salting the cod on board their ships. These fishermen were of
various nationalities: French, Basque, Spanish, Portuguese and English. England, as we
saw through Gilbert’s attempt, took a particular interest in Newfoundland.

England had also begun to be interested in a northwest passage that would carry ships
towards Asia. Leaving the St. Lawrence route to the French, England headed much
farther north. From 1577 to 1631 no fewer than eleven explorers made voyages there;
they discovered Frobisher Bay, Davis Strait, Hudson Strait, Baffin Bay, Baffinland, and
Hudson Bay (1610). But no trace was found of a passage to the west. If we except the
1620 voyage of Jens Eriksen Munk of Denmark, England had been alone in pursuing
this search in the North. She returned to Hudson Bay in the seventeenth century, but did not resume the search for the famous passage for a long time.

Settlement

Pierre Du Gua de Monts, who was appointed lieutenant general of New France in 1603, and Samuel de Champlain, his principal collaborator, gave great impetus to New France. In March 1603 Champlain left for Canada along with François Gravé Du Pont. Champlain explored the St. Lawrence, stopping at Gaspé, while de Monts, the new holder of the trade monopoly, organized a company in France for trading in Canada. In 1604 de Monts decided, apparently on Champlain's advice, to establish his colony in Acadia; as a temporary site they chose Île Sainte-Croix, where they were shut in for the whole winter. By 1604 Champlain had inspected the coastline of Acadia. In the summer of 1605 he continued his exploration with de Monts; they went as far as Mallebare (Nauset Harbour) to the south. In the meantime the colony had been moved to Port-Royal, where the winters of 1605–06 and 1606–07 were spent under more pleasant circumstances. In 1606 Champlain again explored the coast of New England, this time with Poutrincourt. Upon their return to Port-Royal on 14 November they were greeted with a welcoming performance of the Théâtre de Neptune en Nouvelle France, a play by Marc Lescarbot, which Champlain referred to as "light entertainment". Since de Mont's monopoly had been taken away from him, the colony returned to France in 1607. In 1610 the French came back to Port-Royal; in the meantime Champlain had gone off towards the St. Lawrence.

On 3 July 1608, in fact, Champlain was arriving at the "point of Quebec". There he had an Habitation (habitation) built for himself and the fur-trading clerks. Quebec was founded. Champlain spent the winter in Canada at the habitation, where sixteen of his men died of scurvy. In 1609 Champlain discovered the lake that now bears his name, and at Ticonderoga, in the present-day state of New York, he won his first victory with his Huron and Algonkin allies over the Iroquois. He won another battle in 1610 on the banks of the Richelieu River. In 1613 he went up the Ottawa as far as Allumette Island; in 1615, again following more or less the same route, he went beyond Allumette Island and headed for the Huron Country, where he discovered Lake Attigouantan (Lake Huron). Wounded during an indecisive battle with the Iroquois, Champlain spent the winter among the Hurons. After that, as he was completely taken up by business matters and was constantly being obliged to defend the future of the "colony," Champlain went on no more journeys; nor did he again have to confront the Iroquois, who asked for peace in 1624.

Champlain generally spent the winter in France; he would come back to Québec in the spring for the annual trading. All his life he had to struggle against the merchants, who, despite their commitments, gave little support to his plan for a colony and above all refused to carry settlers to New France. Since 1612, however, Champlain had been lieutenant to prominent people, dukes and princes, who bore in turn the title of viceroy of New France. In addition Champlain had seen his authority increase in 1620, when the king had promoted him, as it were, governor, without the title, of New France. All was to no avail: the program for colonization that he had proposed in 1618 to the king and
the Chambre du commerce of Paris remained unheeded. The merchants barely provided maintenance for the few Recollets who had gone to Québec in 1615 and the Jesuits who had landed there in 1625. Nearly twenty years after being founded Québec in no way resembled a colony; it was a trading post and was entirely dependent upon the mother country.

It was under these circumstances that the Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, called the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, was created in 1627 at Richelieu's instigation. The company was granted New France “in full ownership, justice, and seigneurie,” as well as the monopoly of the fur trade in perpetuity, and of all other trade – codfishing and whaling excepted – for fifteen years. During this period the company would pay no import or export duties; every three years it would propose the commandant (or governor) of the country and the fort commandants, who would be appointed by the king. In return the company was to assume the “expenses of the country,” maintain garrisons and ecclesiastics, and above all transport four thousand people to New France before the end of 1643 and maintain them for three years. This spelt the fulfilment of Champlain's dearest wishes.

In 1628 the Cent-Associés sent a small fleet commanded by Claude Roquemont and consisting of four ships bearing settlers and goods to New France. But the English now had designs on New France: the Kirke brothers seized this fleet, inflicting heavy losses from which the company never completely recovered. Since they received no help, Champlain and Gravé Du Pont had to surrender the following year and return to France with most of the French, the missionaries included. From 1629 to 1632 Québec was occupied by the English, who were also masters of Port-Royal – which Samuel Argall had devastated in 1613.

Champlain returned to Canada in 1633. He hastened to raise the habitation from its ruins and had the church of Notre-Dame-de-Recouvrance built. The following year he had a fort built on a small island halfway between Québec and Trois-Rivières; he also sent people to begin a settlement at Trois-Rivières. Having renewed the alliances with the Indians in the St. Lawrence valley, he sent Jean Nicollet to the Great Lakes region with the mission of winning the Indians over to the French cause. Finally, being aware of the obstacles that would be put in the way of the colony by the English on the one hand and by the Iroquois on the other, he asked Richelieu for help to chase the English from Tadoussac and to exterminate the Iroquois if necessary. On 25 December 1635, shortly after making this request, Champlain died at Québec, happy, certainly, to have been present at the arrival of several families the preceding summer.

The Cent-Associés

In 1636 Charles Huault de Montmagny, governor of New France and Champlain's successor, landed at Québec. One of his first concerns was to assure the security of the settlers, who were threatened by the Iroquois. The latter became all the more formidable because from 1639 on the Dutch supplied them with harquebuses in large quantities. Montmagny converted the Château Saint-Louis into a fortress and had a gun-platform fitted out at Trois-Rivières. In 1642 he had Fort Richelieu built on the Richelieu River. The year before, in fact, the Iroquois, who had been making occasional forays into the
colony since 1634, had taken to the warpath in earnest. Trois-Rivières and then Montréal received the first attacks. In 1641, Montmagny had tried to dissuade the "Montréalistes" from settling on Montréal Island; Chomedey de Maisonneuve had not been willing to change his plan, and on 18 May 1642 Ville-Marie was founded. In 1645, it is true, the Mohawks signed a peace treaty at Trois-Rivières; but it was only a truce, to which only one Iroquois tribe out of five momentarily submitted.

During the Iroquois war Ville-Marie became the colony's "bastion" and "rampart." Its founders, however, were impelled primarily by religious motives; they wanted to work for the conversion of the Indians. In this regard the founding of Montréal in 1642 entered into the same apostolic movement as the founding of the réduction or Indian village at Sillery (1637), and of the Ursuline convent and the Hôtel-Dieu at Québec (1639). In these years all the religious institutions in the colony were intended first of all for the Indians; and in actual fact the colony itself often seems to have been a sort of extension of the mission, so intense were the apostolic concerns and activity.

It must be said that from 1632 on the Jesuits (who had returned to Québec without the Recollets) were the great driving force behind the mission and the colony, both through their activity in Canada and through the publication in France of their annual Relations. The Jesuits were propagandists for New France among the French public, missionaries, interpreters, ambassadors to the Indians, explorers and discoverers, leaders of the religious life among the settlers, owners of seigneuries encouraging agriculture, teachers in their college at Québec, supporters of the Nuns Hospitalers and Ursulines, and advisers to the governors; all the Jesuits played an indispensable role in New France up until the 1660s. Though few in number, they nevertheless carried on their work at Québec, Trois-Rivières, Montréal, Tadoussac, Lake Saint-Jean, on the Saint-Maurice and the Ottawa Rivers - everywhere that the settlers or Indians were to be found. In 1634 some of them had gone to re-open the Huron mission, which had been started before the fall of Québec in 1629. In the 1640s it became the most flourishing mission in New France, but it was completely destroyed by the Iroquois in the period 1647-49. Several Jesuits suffered martyrdom at that time.

Despite the aid of the Compagnie de Beaupré, which owned the seigneuries of Beaupré and Île d'Orléans, and of the Jesuits and seigneurs such as Robert Giffard, who collaborated in the settlement of New France within the framework of the seigneurial régime, the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, which had lost 400,000 livres in 1628, and whose initial momentum was broken by the fall of Québec in 1629, was not the dynamic element that the colony needed. Moreover, by blocking the inland routes for the fur trade and diverting to New Netherland (New York) the furs intended for New France, the Iroquois soon drove the company to the brink of bankruptcy. In 1645 the Cent-Associés, apparently at the insistence of the Jesuits, handed over to the Communauté des Habitants the monopoly on furs, along with financial responsibility for the colony. After a few profitable years, thanks to the precarious peace of 1645, this company, which was made up of prominent people in the colony, in turn ran into difficulties. In 1659, at the height of the Iroquois war, it surrendered its rights to the Compagnie de Rouen. It reclaimed these rights in 1661, but disappeared in 1663 at the same time as the Compagnie des Cent-Associés.

In 1647, after the creation of the Communauté des Habitants, the king installed in
the colony a council that was to keep watch on the fur trade. It was first modified in 1648, then again in 1657 and 1659. The role of this council, which at first was interested only in matters concerning the fur trade, was subsequently broadened; this resulted in a certain diminution of the powers of the governor, who up until 1647 had jurisdiction over everything except the running of the fur trade and the financial administration, strictly speaking, of the colony. The governor even dispensed justice in civil and criminal matters. In 1651 two seneschal's courts were instituted, one at Québec, the other at Trois-Rivières, which were responsible for hearing cases coming from the two regions in the first instance, and perhaps appeals emanating from the seigneurial courts in their jurisdictions. The governor, the council, the seneschal's courts, and finally the seigneurial courts of justice – such were the administrative institutions in the colony of Canada up until 1663, when the Compagnie des Cents-Associés submitted its resignation to the king. If all that was still of little importance, it must not be forgotten that the population scarcely exceeded three thousand in 1663; this figure was much greater than that of Acadia, where since 1632 internal quarrels had divided the colony, making it an easy prey for the English, who imposed their law on it from 1654 to 1667.

Jean Talon's work

As the Compagnie des Cents-Associés had resigned at the beginning of 1663 and handed New France over to the king, Louis XIV appointed a new governor, an intendant of justice, public order and finances, and a Conseil souverain (sovereign council). The governor became the king's personal representative in the colony. The intendant received very vast powers, since everything came under his authority except war and diplomacy, which were in the governor's jurisdiction, and religious matters, which were governed by the vicar apostolic. The Conseil souverain, which was a court of justice, nevertheless played a certain administrative role, which was increased for some years because the first intendant appointed to New France, the Sieur Robert de Portel, never arrived.

Now, these institutions were scarcely in place (in the absence of an intendant) when the king and Jean-Baptiste Colbert changed their minds to a certain extent and created the Compagnie des Indes occidentales (the French West Indies Company), to which they handed over ownership and administration of New France, as they had done earlier with the Compagnie des Cents-Associés. At the same time they granted it a monopoly of trade and shipping for a period of forty years. The company's régime was established in Canada on 16 July 1665, a little less than two months before Intendant Jean Talon landed at Québec. Some weeks later Talon informed Colbert of his opposition to the company: if the king wanted the company to become rich, its rights and privileges had to be guaranteed; but if the king wanted the colony to progress, he could not leave the ownership and administration of New France, and even the management of its trade, in any hands other than his own. During his two stays in New France, from 1665 to 1668 and 1670 to 1672, Talon – imitated by Boutroue and Courcelle – endeavoured to impose the king's authority in the colony, often to the detriment of the company, whose charter was revoked in 1674.
In the same year as Talon there landed at Québec the Carignan-Salières regiment, which the king had sent under the command of Lieutenant General Alexandre de Prouville de Tracy to finally quell the Iroquois, who for so long had been hindering development of the colony. In anticipation of the impending campaign the authorities had three wooden forts built on the Richelieu River in the autumn of 1665. In January 1666 Governor Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle set out with little more than five hundred men. Not having Indian guides, he did not reach the Iroquois country and in the spring returned ingloriously. (The Canadian René-Louis Chartier de Lotbinière left a burlesque poem recounting this expedition.) In September M. de Tracy set off in his turn with some thirteen hundred men, including about a hundred Indians. He had to be content with burning the Mohawk villages, whose inhabitants had fled, and taking possession of them officially in the king's name. Frightened by this show of might, the five Iroquois tribes signed peace treaties, the last one in 1667, the year when the Treaty of Breda gave Acadia back to France.

Talon had not waited for peace to set about his work. In 1665 he turned his attention to increasing the population. First, he himself did the first nominal census of the colony in the winter of 1665-66. Then, despite his prejudices against the company, he reached an agreement with it to bring a large number of settlers to New France – families, single men, and filles du roi (king's daughters), several hundred of whom found husbands in the days or weeks following their arrival. It must be said that the some five hundred officers and men of the Carignan-Salières regiment who settled in Canada at Talon's invitation increased for a time the numerical imbalance that had always existed between the unmarried men and women. Not satisfied just to bring in settlers, the intendant adopted and had the king's council adopt various social measures intended to encourage marriages and large families. Talon's activity in this sphere assured the permanence of the colony; the major part of the French-speaking population of Québec and Canada came from the families that were settled in the country before 1672, in the seigneuries granted in large measure by the intendant.

Every year, in anticipation of the arrival of new settlers, Talon had a certain number of plots of land made ready; to the new arrivals he distributed provisions and tools to enable them to manage on their own as quickly as possible. In addition, the ships brought a number of domestic animals which the intendant distributed among the habitants, who were encouraged in various ways to increase and diversify their production. The intendant encouraged the setting up of several "manufactories" for producing wool, leather, hemp, tar, in order to furnish an outlet for the development of agriculture and forestry. His great idea, which proved to be profitable throughout his two stays in Canada, was to closely link agriculture, industry, and trade. It was with this in mind that he had a brewery built at Québec "at great expense," to use up surplus grains, in particular barley, and to stimulate the growing of hops. Similarly he created "marine workyards" on the Saint-Charles River for building ships. This industry was effective in encouraging the development of forest products, the growing of hemp, cord making, and even the production of tar, at which several attempts were made. The intendant also dreamed of creating forges for making iron fittings, anchors, and guns intended for the ships that were built in Canada. In turn these ships were to serve, and indeed some did, for exporting the colony's products – wheat, all sorts of cereals, wood (planks, boards,
stave wood), beer, salt pork and fish - to Acadia and the West Indies. Talon had in fact conceived the idea of a three-way system of trade between Canada, the West Indies, and France, based in Quebec. Canadian products were to be delivered to the West Indies, products from the West Indies were to be shipped to France, and goods intended for the valley of the St. Lawrence were to be loaded in France.

If he was successful in organizing a vast operation oriented towards the export industry and trade, Talon did not succeed, despite the many searches that he had carried out, in finding mines – other than coal – that could be exploited with the means of the period when the difficulties peculiar to the colony, such as the distances, the absence of roads and means of transport, and the lack of specialized workmen, were taken into account. It is in fact significant that every time that he got into a new sector of economic activity, he had to bring the necessary manpower from Europe: shipwrights, a man to make tar, a skilled miner, etc. Talon was already encountering the difficulty which his successors would constantly come up against: the scarcity of specialized workers, and even of labourers, and consequently their excessively high cost, which would become one of the main causes of the weakness of industry in New France.

Despite the company Talon was successful in 1669 in having free trade accorded the inhabitants of New France. Besides, both to set an example and to get economic activity started, Talon, with Colbert's approval, engaged in trade in the colony himself: the brewery in Quebec belonged to him; he grew hops on his land at Les Ilets; he sold goods that he brought in from France. Otherwise Talon was rather an exponent of a planned economy, issuing or having the Conseil souverain issue ordinances which were aimed at promoting such and such an activity or protecting others. To ensure the progress of his brewery and make the habitants drink beer, for example, he had importation of wine and spirits reduced. The merchants were somewhat distrustful of him, and it was this distrust, it seems, that prevented him from setting up a company to develop inshore fishing; the merchants, according to Frontenac, were afraid "that they would lose the freedom to do it in their own way, wanting to be the sole masters and directors of their business activities."

During his first term of office Talon had scarcely had time to do more than lay the foundations of a diversified agriculture, of an industry that became the driving force behind the Canadian economy, and of a commerce founded on exporting. In the course of his second term of office, while pursuing the work that he had undertaken in 1665, he wanted to concern himself "with relating New France to its natural, geographical, and economic ties" (Lionel Groulx). First of all, in view of the strategic situation of Acadia, certain of whose ports were more easily and quickly reached than the port of Quebec, Talon wanted to establish there the storage areas that Colbert desired. To make communications easier – for economic as well as military purposes – he also wanted to open up a land route from Lévis to Pentagouet. Similarly, to ensure that furs reached the colony he made a very audacious suggestion for harnessing the Ottawa rapids, "which interfere to such an extent with the Indians' travelling by water that sometimes they are discouraged from coming down to us to bring us their pelts." Looking even further and perhaps without knowing it, he took up one of Davaugour's suggestions, which would subsequently be put forward many times again, and recommended to the king that New Netherland be conquered or bought, so as to give the colony a second port of entry
farther south and open all year, to bring the Iroquois under French influence, and to contain the English in New England within their territory. Louis XIV rejected this recommendation, which might perhaps have ensured his heirs of possession of most of North America. Talon also proposed that a fort be built on Lake Ontario to put an end to the "acts of piracy" by the Iroquois, who were seizing French furs with impunity to take them to the Dutch or English.

Since he too was obsessed by the idea of the Mer du Sud (the Pacific Ocean), and since he wanted to form an alliance with the native tribes of the continent, Talon sent explorers off in all directions, thanks to the St. Lawrence, which led off "towards the West," and the rivers that opened "the route to the North and the South." Given the task of surveying the country, discovering new waterways, and going even as far as the Mer du Sud, these "resolute men" were also to take possession, with all the required formalities, of the territories that they would cover. It was with those aims that Cavelier de La Salle, Dollier de Casson and Bréhant de Galinée, Daumont de Saint-Lusson and Nicolas Perrot, Denys de Saint-Simon and Albanel, set out, as did Jolliet and Marquette shortly after the intendant's departure but at his request. From their travels across the country would be born the grandiose vision — which Talon had often conjured up since 1665 — "of a great country of vast and prodigious extent."

This country with the proportions of an empire suffered, according to Talon, from never having "been regarded [by France] as it ought to have been," and "its whole failure" came from the fact that it had never been turned to account "through farming." For five years Talon as intendant worked with admirable imaginativeness and energy at turning it to account; when he left in 1672, however, the king had already warned him that the war with Holland left little money for Canada and that no more settlers would be sent. Furthermore, Talon was not replaced until 1675, and very quickly the impetus that he had given the colony was almost completely lost.

**Church, economy, society**

In 1672, both Jean Talon and Bishop François de Laval sailed for France, the former to remain there for good, the latter to work there at his appointment as titular bishop of Québec. Bishop Laval, who had been vicar apostolic of New France since 1658 with the "foreign" title of bishop of Petraea, had arrived in the colony on 16 June 1659. He first had to have his authority recognized ahead of that of the archbishop of Rouen, who claimed jurisdiction over Canada and from whom a Sulpician, Abbé Queylus, had received letters patent as vicar general. The court even had to intervene in favour of Bishop Laval. At Québec, since they did not know exactly what the status of a vicar apostolic was, the women's religious communities themselves had hesitated between Bishop Laval and the archbishop of Rouen. When his authority had finally been established, Bishop Laval went to France on matters concerning the colony, in particular to have trade in spirits forbidden.

On 26 March 1663, through an ordinance published in Paris, he founded the Séminaire de Québec, an institution that, in keeping with the spirit of the Council of Trent, would bring the secular priests who were responsible for the various ministries together in a community under the leadership of the vicar apostolic (and later the
bishop). As well as being an institution for training clerics (or Grand Séminaire), the Séminaire de Québec was, in its founder's words, "to serve as clergy for this new Church." The priests would pool all their wealth and revenues in it, and the seminary would support them "in sickness and in health, either in the exercise of their functions or in the community when they were recalled to it." To this end the seminary would collect the tithes, which Bishop Laval had also instituted in 1663, and would distribute them equitably to the priests in charge of or serving the parishes. In 1668 the vicar apostolic, who was still concerned about the training of future priests, founded in addition a Petit Séminaire, whose pupils, candidates for the priesthood, studied at the Jesuit college and boarded at the seminary.

On 26 September 1659, Bishop Laval set up an officialty (ecclesiastical court) at Québec; in 1664 he established the parish of Québec canonically; and in 1666 he consecrated its church. He had, in a missionary spirit, asked for and obtained in 1665 the affiliation of his seminary with the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères in Paris. But the quarrel over the trade in spirits, which had died down in 1663, broke out anew in 1668. The firmness of the bishop of Petraea created enemies for him, who cast into doubt the authority that he exercised as vicar apostolic. Remembering that the king had named him to the bishopric of Quebec in 1662, Bishop Laval wanted to obtain confirmation of this appointment from Rome as quickly as possible. Therefore he went to France in 1672. The new governor, Buade de Frontenac, took advantage of his absence to try to subject the clergy to his whims. However, the king's intervention and Bishop Laval's return in 1675 with the title of bishop of Quebec, which he had obtained in 1674, put an end to many more or less futile quarrels. The bishop ratified most of the acts of his preceding administration, established several parish charges, and in 1684 completed the organization of his Church by endowing it with a diocesan chapter.

The first bishop of Québec had returned to the colony in the same year that the king resumed possession and entire administration of it. The preceding year (1674) had seen the revocation of the charter of the Compagnie des Indes occidentales. The Conseil souverain was reorganized and a new intendant, Jacques Duscheneau, came – with a three-year delay! – to replace Jean Talon alongside the irascible Frontenac. Unfortunately, from the moment of their first contact the two top civil authorities in New France – the governor and the intendant – clashed head-on. For a period of seven years there resulted endless quarrels, into which were drawn law officers, merchants, secular clergy and members of religious orders, often against their will. While the clans were fighting one another ferociously, the economic reform undertaken by Talon was reaching the final degree of deterioration, to the point that wheat had to be imported, whereas under "the great intendant" Canada had exported it. As a result of the cupiditly of the governor and his protégés, anarchy invaded the whole fur-trading network, which was soon out of control. Favouritism, illegality, even smuggling went unchecked. In vain the king and the colonial authorities forbade taking to the woods on pain of the most severe punishments, and in desperation they promised amnesty to those coureurs des bois who returned to the colony. Equally vainly they instituted a system of permits (licences to engage in fur trading) to control access to the hunting grounds. Nothing worked, as a large part of the young men had irrevocably chosen a life of freedom in the woods, far from surveillance, constraints, and the tedium of daily work.
Ten years had sufficed to wipe out Talon’s remarkable work. Very quickly furs again became the colony’s sole resource, but because the Indian tribes scarcely brought furs to the colony any more, they had to be sought from farther and farther away, hence the increasing number of coureurs des bois. The Indians were more and more tempted to sell furs at Albany, at New York, at Hudson Bay, where the English were offering much better prices than the French. All along the waterways leading to the English factories, trading posts had to be established to stop the Indians. Between those posts and the colony appeared forts such as Fort Frontenac and those at Michilimackinac and Detroit, which served as relays and supply bases. The king was opposed, however, to the expansion of New France; but how could it be prevented, when it had to be recognized as a vital necessity? Besides, the problem of the colony was not at its outermost points, however far away they were, but at its centre, where settlement was weak, agriculture stagnant, and industry just about non-existent, despite a slight revival under Intendants Jacques de Meulles and Jean Bochart de Champigny. It was the heart of the colony that risked failing.

Society at all levels was feeling the effects of the absence of a structured economy. It was under the influence of the free and somewhat insouciant life style that had been adopted by many young men, and even by the sons of good families who had no other means of subsistence than taking to the woods and engaging in the fur trade. The wars themselves damaged the stability of the habitants, all militiamen since 1669, who had to put up with corvées and distant excursions and neglect their land. According to the testimony of the authorities, poverty reigned in the colony in the 1680s; the nobles were “beggars,” good-for-nothings, too proud to work the land. Many seigneurs, who were however commoners, pretended to live like the country gentry in France. With a few rare exceptions the merchants were “penniless”; too many settlers were abandoning the land to take to the woods. In short, only those people who worked their land seriously lived relatively comfortably, although many of them were ruined by the Iroquois raids at the beginning of the 1690s. This population readily proved independent, even rebellious. Bishop Saint-Vallier detected “abuses” in it, which he endeavoured to correct, although nothing was very serious. Besides, many of the faults for which this newborn nation was reproached were soon to be considered the very qualities that would ensure its survival.

Eventful years

In 1682 the king recalled Frontenac and Duchesneau. In the same year the Compagnie du Nord was founded to conduct the fur trade in the Hudson Bay area. This company was the Canadian response to the Hudson’s Bay Company of London, which through its trading in the region of the bay for the preceding ten years threatened to get possession of the richest furs in the continent, those from the northwest. Le Moyne d’Iberville distinguished himself in fighting for this company, which until 1697 had to carry on trade and war at the same time. Again in 1682 the Iroquois attacked the Illinois, a tribe that was allied with the French. This breach of the peace caused great anxiety in the colony, as did the rumour of other hostile intentions attributed to the Five Nations. At an assembly convoked by the new governor, Le Febvre de La Barre, it was decided that a
punitive expedition was necessary. La Barre played for time; in 1684, after an attack by the Senecas on Fort Saint-Louis-des-Illinois, he finally led an expedition as far as Anse de la Famine (Famine Cove) on Lake Ontario, where the Iroquois imposed a shameful peace upon him.

La Barre was recalled, and his successor, René Brisay de Denonville, was ordered to avenge the honour of the French. In the summer of 1687 the governor burned down the Seneca villages; meanwhile, Bochart de Champigny seized a group of Onondagas, some forty of whom were sent to the galleys in France. The Iroquois’ reprisal took two years to come; it was the massacre of Lachine. Many other localities were attacked by the Iroquois. In 1693 Champigny spoke of the ruins caused by the “enemies” – that is to say, the Iroquois – “above Trois-Rivières,” for example.

During all these years, which were marked by quarrelling between governors and intendants – at least until Champigny’s arrival in 1686 – Bishop Laval for his part had not been content with laying the foundations of the Canadian Church, but had successfully begun building it. In 1688, the year in which his successor arrived in the colony, “Monseigneur l’Ancien,” as he was henceforth called, could have presented the following statistics: the number of parishes had grown from 5 in 1659 to 35; the number of priests, regular and secular, had increased from 5 to 102, and of nuns from 32 to about 97. Of the 33 secular priests in the colony 13 were Canadian, and 50 of the nuns in the diocese had been born in Canada. In addition, religious and secular clergy were carrying on the missionary work; the Gospel was being preached to more and more distant tribes, still with the same zeal. But if the Canadian Church continued to be a missionary church, it was no longer a mission church. Bishop Laval, its first head, had made it, as we should say today, a national church. And if he had had to resist the civil authority more than once, in particular in the matters concerning the trade in spirits and the parishes, he was none the less respected and esteemed by all, having “great influence [on the population] because of his character and his reputation for saintliness,” according to Denonville.

Bishop Saint-Vallier’s episcopate was marked from the beginning by the bishop’s quarrels with the directors of the Séminaire de Québec. Under Bishop Laval the pastoral charges were attached to the seminary; Bishop Saint-Vallier wanted them to be attached to him directly. The dispute was settled by the king in 1692; from then on the seminary would no longer be anything but an institution for training future priests. Monseigneur l’Ancien accepted with great resignation the king’s decision, which altered his dearest work to such a degree as to make it unrecognizable.

Otherwise, Bishop Saint-Vallier showed great pastoral zeal and great charity. In this respect it must be noted that he was the founder of the Hôpital-Général de Québec (1693) and that he contributed to the founding of the Hôpital-Général de Montréal (1694), two institutions that took in the poor, the invalid, the sick or aged of the whole colony. And the poor were more and more numerous in this country “half ruined by the war” which had been raging since 1689. Numerous too were the “habitants crippled by the war,” the “poor widows,” and the children who “had difficulty in getting something to eat.”

Since the massacre of Lachine the Iroquois had resumed their bloody raids into the colony; moreover, the war of the League of Augsburg, which was declared in 1689, gave
the English the opportunity to show up in New France after the raids launched on New England by Frontenac at the beginning of 1690. (The old governor had been sent back to the colony the preceding year). In May 1690 Sir William Phips seized Port-Royal; in October he besieged Québec with thirty-four ships. To his call for surrender, Frontenac made a proud reply; Québec remained in French hands. After that, except in the Hudson Bay region, Acadia, and Newfoundland, where Le Moyne d'Iberville upheld the French cause all by himself and carried the war victoriously, the French and English did not confront each other except during an English attempt against La Prairie in 1692. The New England settlers were content to arm the Iroquois and send them against the colony. For their part the French planned two sea-borne expeditions, one against New York (1689), the other against Boston (1697), which were not carried out; however, they did successfully carry out two offensives into Iroquois territory early in 1693 and in the summer of 1696. The Treaty of Ryswick, signed in 1697, put an end to this terrible war, and in 1701 the “Peace of Montréal,” signed by the Five Nations Confederacy, ensured for the colony a little badly needed peace.

The war of the League of Augsburg made evident the growing difficulty that the inhabitants of Canada were encountering in defending a territory as vast as New France. Did not d'Iberville's extraordinary journeys, from Hudson Bay to Acadia, from Acadia to Newfoundland, then from Newfoundland to Hudson Bay, make clear the extreme mobility that was needed to ward off dangers everywhere they appeared and to strike the enemy before he struck you? To march on Massachusetts or New York or the Mohawk villages in the middle of the winter; or else, to set off for the Mississippi or Lake Superior... Beyond any doubt, despite the courage and endurance of her soldiers, militiamen, and coureurs des bois, this colony was becoming too big and too fragile. And at that moment, to protect a territory that was already too vast – even though it was no longer possible to protect Acadia properly – another colony, Louisiana, had to be founded (in 1700) to contain the English, it was said, and to prevent them from becoming the masters of all America “sooner or later.”
The Origins

At the very beginning of our recorded history we encounter a legend (St. Brendan), a falsification (the Zeno brothers), an unconfirmed hypothesis (Irish monks in Newfoundland in the 10th century), and the still very little known odyssey of the Vikings. If we may be certain of the presence of the Vikings on our coasts around the year 1000, much still has to be discovered to solve the mystery surrounding their comings and goings, in particular in the marvellous region that was Vinland.

It was after Christopher Columbus’s discovery that the existence of a New World – the American continent – was known in Europe. The Vikings had reached it somewhat accidentally in the course of their sailing from one island to another; for his part Columbus had run up against it as an obstacle between Europe and the Indies, which he thought he could reach by going west.

Besides, it took a certain time to realize even approximately just how big this obstacle was, and above all to be convinced of the existence between Asia and Europe of a hitherto unknown continent. Was there not a passage somewhere through this continent that would give access to Asia, the Indies, and Cathay (China) if one kept pushing on to the West?

It was in an attempt to find that passage that the first expeditions pushed off, in the hope that it would provide European merchants with a faster and safer route towards the trading posts of Asia.

In the name of England John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto) made two voyages, in 1497 and 1498, and inspected part of the northeastern coast of America, although we do not know exactly what his itinerary was in one or the other year nor at what points on the shore he landed. In 1500 and 1501 Portugal in its turn sent an explorer, Gaspar Cortereal; again it is very difficult to say where he went, except that he seems to have followed the coast of Labrador and put in on the northern part of the island of Newfoundland.
After 1501 Europe appears to have lost interest in the New-Found Land, abandoning it to the codfishermen who rushed to its waters every year.

Continuing exploration at the latitude of Newfoundland later became almost exclusively France's business. In 1524, on the order of Francis I, Giovanni da Verrazzano explored the American coast from Florida or North Carolina to Newfoundland; in 1528 he undertook a second voyage of exploration, from which he did not return. France had not found, any more than had England or Portugal, the famous passage to Cathay. Spain too had tried its luck at it in 1524–25 with Estevão Gomes (Esteban Gómez), without any greater success.

The search that had been undertaken by Verrazzano was continued by Jacques Cartier from 1534 to 1536. With him the New-Found Land began to deliver up its secrets: in 1534 Cartier sailed around the gulf and took possession of the country at Gaspé in the name of the king of France; in 1535 he discovered the St. Lawrence and sailed up it as far as Stadacona (Québec) and Hochelaga (Montréal), before spending the winter near Stadacona. The explorer brought back from his two voyages an account that was precise and entertaining, despite its apparent dryness.

Thanks to Cartier more than anyone else, and thanks to his first two voyages much more than to Jean-François de La Roque de Roberval's attempt at colonization, the lands of Canada, Hochelaga, the Saguenay — in short New France — came into history.

The possibility of finding a passage to Cathay through the American continent continued to preoccupy many European sailors. This time they looked for it up in the Arctic. Two Englishmen, Martin Frobisher and John Davis made two voyages of exploration there, the first in 1577 and 1578, the other in 1585, 1586, and 1587: Frobisher entered the bay that bears his name, as well as Hudson Strait, and Davis entered the strait to which his name is attached.

In the meantime another Englishman, Humphrey Gilbert, who was fascinated by America, wanted to establish a colony there; to that end he had obtained letters patent in 1578 and was preparing a program for colonization in collaboration with some of the leading Catholics in the kingdom. His project was not realized. At the same time a Frenchman, Troilus de La Roche de Mesgouez, provided with letters patent in 1577 and 1578, was also vainly trying to transport settlers to America. In January 1598 he was named lieutenant general of New France; finally, in that same year, he founded on Sable Island a settlement, which in the course of the winter of 1602–03 was rocked by tragic events (sedition, murders); the eleven survivors were repatriated for good in the spring of 1603.

Pierre Du Gua de Monts was ready to take over from La Roche de Mesgouez. Having been named lieutenant general of New France at the end of 1603, he would attempt to establish a colony in Acadia, first on the Île Sainte-Croix (1604–05), then at Port-Royal (1605–07). When they were forced to give up the latter settlement in 1607, Du Gua and Samuel de Champlain turned towards the St. Lawrence. On 3 July 1608 Champlain founded Québec and undertook to build a habitation there.

After much searching and many setbacks the unbroken history of New France began.
While waiting for Columbus...

During the seven years that their marvellous voyage lasted, according to legend, St. Brendan and his monks went from one wonder to another, not to say from one miracle to another. The iconography of the late Middle Ages has preserved traces of them in which we can see how easily the popular imagination accepted the simultaneous existence of mythological beings, supernatural forces, and saints with extraordinary powers.

If the Irish monks did not reach America, the Vikings for their part did arrive there around the year 1000, coming from Greenland. Documentary proof remains of their short stay on the Atlantic coast: the "Saga of Erik the Red" and the "Saga of the Greenlanders," two accounts relating their American adventures, to which it will perhaps be necessary one day to add the recently discovered map of Vinland (1440), the authenticity of which has not yet been established.

Except for the Vikings no European seems to have landed in America before Christopher Columbus. The voyage attributed to the Zeno brothers, who are supposed to have gone as far as Nova Scotia around 1380 after putting in at several islands, is a pure fabrication; that did not prevent the map that supposedly recorded their discoveries from being accepted as authoritative for nearly a century and a half, despite its non-existent islands with the fanciful names, and even from inspiring the idea, it seems, of looking for a northwest passage.
Saint Brendan (circa 484–577) and his Monks at Sea Encounter a Siren, Meet a Holy Man Floating on the Sea, and Their Ship is Attacked by Sea Monsters; woodcuts; 6.1 x 8.8 cm., 6.1 x 8.9 cm., 6 x 8 cm. (images).


According to a medieval legend, around the year 560, in the course of a long voyage filled with marvellous and prodigious events, Saint Brendan and some Irish monks were supposed to have visited some astonishing countries in the Atlantic. Some people believed that they had discovered America.

In it is told the story of the Vikings who, around the year 1000, under the leadership of Leif Eiriksson, landed on the east coast of North America. They spent the winter at a place where grapevines grew: "Leifr gave the country a name that was suggested by its natural qualities and called it Vinland (Wíneland)."
This is perhaps the oldest cartographic document concerning the New World. Vinland, the region of North America discovered by the Vikings, appears in it in the upper left-hand corner. The authenticity of this document is, however, questioned today by several historians and cartographers.
Published in 1558, this map, which relates to the alleged discoveries of the Zeno brothers, misled geographers and sailors for more than a century. The brothers, Nicolò and Antonio Zeno, from Venice, did not visit Nova Scotia and certain other islands in the North Atlantic around 1380, as a book published in 1588 by a member of the Zeno family let it be believed.

Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection, Ottawa (NMC 10225).
England and Portugal

After the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, John Cabot, an Italian in the service of England, was the first person to explore the northeast coast of the continent. On 5 March 1496 King Henry VII had granted him letters patent authorizing him to take possession in the name of the Crown of the lands that he might discover.

Cabot had drawn up a map of the coast that he had explored. That map is lost, but we have Juan de la Cosa’s, which bears the date of 1500 and which is supposed to have been made in part after Cabot’s. In any event La Cosa’s map is the first known portrayal of the northeast coast of America.

Sebastian Cabot, John’s son, was for his part in charge of an expedition that had the mission of discovering a passage to the northwest in 1508 or 1509. Our information about this voyage is rather poor in actual fact, since it comes from some people who wrote several years later. One of them, Pietro d’Anghiera (alias Peter Martyr), was perhaps a friend and table companion of Sebastian, but he is scarcely more explicit because of that.

Meanwhile, in 1500 and 1501, Gaspar Corte-Real had made two voyages of discovery, the memory of which was preserved for a fairly long time: a map from 1520 represented North America as an island, which was called “Terra de Corte-Real”; and in 1502 another map, Cantino’s, called Newfoundland “Terra del Rey de Portuguall” (“Country of the King of Portugal”).
Letters patent for a voyage to discover new lands granted John Cabot and his three sons by the king of England, Henry VII, at Westminster on 5 March 1496.

The following year the Italian John Cabot set out on a voyage during which he explored part of the east coast of North America.

This map, of which only the part relative to North America is reproduced here, is the first known representation of the northeastern coast of America. The part of this coast that was visited by the explorer John Cabot in 1497 is marked on it by English flags and by the phrase "mar descubierto por ingleses" (sea discovered by the English).
In this passage d'Anghiera mentions the voyage that Sebastian Cabot embarked upon in 1508 or 1509 in the Arctic regions, looking for a passage leading to Asia: "First he sailed sufficiently far to the North that even in the month of July large ice fields could be seen floating on the sea and it was daylight almost continually."
This document, which is attributed to Alberto Cantino, represents under the name "Terra del Rey de portugall" the land discovered in 1500-01 by the Portuguese explorer Gaspar Corte-Real. It is thought to be the island of Newfoundland.
France and Spain

After England and Portugal it was France's turn to take an interest officially in North America. Francis I had recourse to the Florentine Giovanni da Verrazzano, who explored the coast in 1524 from Florida (or perhaps North Carolina) to Newfoundland. Upon his return Verrazzano submitted a report to the king, a good Italian version of which (the Cellere manuscript) has been preserved.

In 1526 Verrazzano was preparing a new voyage: on 11 May in anticipation of his absence he chose his brother Gerolamo and Zanobis de Rousselay as his attorneys. The deed, which is written in French, is signed "Janus Verrazanus" — the Latin form of his name.

Verrazzano was not to leave again for America until 1528. In the preceding year Maggiolo had made a map of the coastline that the Florentine had explored in 1524; the placenames on it are in Italian, and the whole area is named "Francesca."

Spain sent an expedition to the north under the leadership of a Portuguese, Esteban Gómez, who was charged with the mission of discovering a passage across the continent somewhere between Florida and Newfoundland. In 1524–25 Gómez made the same voyage of exploration as Verrazzano. Ribero's magnificent map of 1529 shows a "Tiera de Estavâ Gomez," which corresponds pretty well to present-day New England and Nova Scotia. This map, moreover, constitutes, as it were, a summary of the voyages of exploration previous to Jacques Cartier's.
Letter from Giovanni da Verrazzano to the king of France, Francis I, relating his voyage to North America, 8 July 1524.

Verrazzano had visited the spot where the city of New York is situated today: "Sire, we named this land Angouleme, from the name that you bore formerly when you were in a less fortunate state."

Power of attorney given by Giovanni da Verrazzano to his brother Gerolamo and Zanobis de Rousselay, 11 May 1526.

Verrazzano was the first European to sail along the east coast of North America from Florida to Newfoundland. This voyage was made in 1524 under the official patronage of France.

Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime, Rouen, France: Série E, tabellionage de Rouen, "meuble," fol. 11-12.
Of the map of the world prepared by Gerolamo da Verrazzano, only the east coast of North America is reproduced here. His brother, Giovanni da Verrazzano, sailed along it in 1524 in the hope of discovering a passage to Asia.
The Spanish cosmographer Ribero took into account the explorations previous to Jacques Cartier’s, particularly the expedition led by Esteban Gómez, who sailed along the North American coast from Florida to Cape Race in 1524–25. New England and Nova Scotia are marked on it under the name “Tiera de Estevan Gomez.”
The discovery of the St. Lawrence

In 1534 Francis I entrusted Jacques Cartier with continuing the explorations that had been begun by Verrazzano. The commission granted the sailor from Saint-Malo has not been found, but a payment order discloses the objective of his voyage: "to discover certain islands and lands where it is said that there must be great quantities of gold and of other precious things."

In 1535 Cartier again sailed for the "New Lands." Of his first two voyages we are fortunate to possess the Brief recit, & succinte narration..., published in Paris in 1545. Indeed, on 17 August Cartier very briefly and very succinctly noted down entering the great river of Hochelaga (the St. Lawrence) - which he had just discovered and which would take him far inland.

At Stadacona (Québec) Cartier left behind the Grande Hermine and the Petite Hermine, which were probably very much like the ship with which Descelliers decorated his 1546 map. Going up the river on board the Eméillon, Cartier and some of his men were very well received at Hochelaga (Montréal) by the Iroquois who were living there at that time.

Cartier had discovered the St. Lawrence and had been the first to penetrate deeply into the interior of the continent; it was not he, however, but Jean-François de La Rocque de Roberval who, on 15 January 1541, was commissioned by the king to found a settlement "in the aforementioned countries of Canada and Ochelaga."
Extract from the "original ledgers of the savings accounts" concerning the payment of the sum of 6,000 livres given to Jacques Cartier by the king of France to enable him to "discover certain islands and lands where it is said that there must be great quantities of gold and of other precious things," March 1533.

Cartier explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence the following year and at Gaspé took possession in the name of the king of France of the newly discovered country.

On 17 August 1535 Cartier noted down his entrance into the great river of Hochelaga (the St. Lawrence), the mouth of which he had just discovered: "The aforesaid Indians have assured us that this is the way to and the beginning of the great river of Hochelaga and the route to Canada."
Nous râgeâmes lesdîtes terres du Su depuis ledît iour iusques au mardy que le vent vint Onaïft, & meîmes le cap au Nord pour aller querir lesdîtes hautes terres que voyons, & nost esîas là trouuâmes lesdîtes terres vnyes & basses vers la mer, & les montaignes deuers le Nort par sus lesdîtes hautes terres gisant icelles terres, Eft, & Onaïft vng cart de Sur Onaïft, Et par les sauuaïges que auions, nous a esté dit que c estoit le commencement du Saguenay & terre habitable. Et que de la ve

noit le cuyure rouge qu'ilz appellect caignet-daiz. Il y a entre les terres du Su & celles du Nort, enuiron trente lieues, & plus de deux cens brasses de perfond & nous ont lesdîetz Sauuaïges certifié estre le chemin, & commencement du grât Silenne de Hochelaga & chemin de Canada : lequel alloit toufsours en e-stroissent iusques à Canada, puis qu'il l'on treu-ue l'aue douce qui va si loing que jamais hôme n'auoit esté iusques au bout qu'ilz eus-fent ouy, & que autre passaige n'y auoit que par bateaulx. Et voyant leur dire & qu'ilz affermoient n'y auoir autre passaige, ne voulut led: capptaine passer oultre iusques a auoir veu le rette de ladicte terre & coste deuers le Nort, qu'il auoit obmis veoir depuis la Baye saînet Laurens pour aller veoir la terre du Su pour veoir s'il y auoit aucun passaige.

Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottowa (Negatives nos. C 113344 to C 113346).
[Map of the world], 1546; Pierre Descelliers; copy; 65.2 x 81.8 cm.

In Edme François Jomard, Les monuments de la géographie... Paris: Kaeppelin Q. Vollaire, 1854.

This extract from Descelliers’s map represents a ship which was probably similar to those of the French explorers at the time, particularly to Jacques Cartier’s Grande Hermine.

Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection, Ottawa. The original is in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Manchester, England.
This document shows the warm welcome received by Jacques Cartier and his men at the Iroquois village of Hochelaga (Montreal) at the beginning of October 1535. Cartier named the nearby mountain Mount Royal.
Commission from King Francis I appointing La Rocque de Roberval "lieutenant general, head, leader and captain" of the undertaking intended for Canada, with authority to "make decisions, enjoin, and order in all matters that he will consider to be good, useful, and fitting," Fontainebleau, 15 January 1541.

In 1542 Roberval built a settlement at Charlesbourg-Royal on Cap-Rouge, but his attempt at establishing a colony lasted only a few months.

New France in the middle of the sixteenth century

In the middle of the sixteenth century, thanks in large measure to Verrazzano, Cartier, and Roberval, New France – or if one wishes, North America – was relatively well known. Descelliers’s 1546 map shows fairly accurately the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Gaspé Peninsula, Chaleur Bay, Anticosti Island, and the St. Lawrence River; on it are also mentioned Canada, Hochelaga, the Saguenay. What progress in less than half a century!

America – and South America still more than North America – henceforth had a large place in the economy of Europe. In all the ports one could witness the departure and the return of the ships which regularly crossed the Atlantic, and already these voyages were no longer perceived as much as they had been previously as superhuman odysseys or perilous exploits.

Despite her great youth New France had made her entry straight into history; is it not true that in his Histoire universelle du Monde published in Paris in 1572, the Sieur François de Belleforest devoted a chapter to her entitled: “Des Terres Neuves. De la nouvelle France, contenant Hochelaga, Canada, Saguenai, & la Floride, & des peuples qui y habitent” (“On the New-Found Lands. On New France, including Hochelaga, Canada, Saguenay, and Florida, and on the peoples who live there”)?

In 1563 on a map by Bertelli and in 1566 on one by Zaltieri, Acadia herself appeared under the name of “Larcadia.”
[Map of the world], 1546; Pierre Desceliers; copy; 65.2 x 81.8 cm.

In Édme François Jomard. Les monuments de la géographie.... Paris; Kaeppelein & Vollaire, 1854.

Extract from Descelliers's map showing the progress made in knowledge of the North American continent in the middle of the sixteenth century. It is one of the earliest representations of Canada, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Hochelaga (Montréal), with the details and names (Saguenay, Gaspé, etc.) given by Cartier and Roberval.

Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection, Ottawa. The original is in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Manchester, England.
In the middle of the sixteenth century ships sailed regularly in the direction of America from the European ports on the Atlantic. Some went to Newfoundland to fish for cod. The natural resources and riches of the American continent – chiefly those of South America – were the cause of this sea traffic.
The third chapter of this work deals with "On the New-Found Lands. On New France, including Hochelaga, Canada, Saguenay, & Florida, & on the peoples who live there."
DES TERRES NEUVES.

De la nouvelle France, contenant Heculéage, Canada, Saguenay, la Floride, & des peuples qui y habitent.

Chapitre troisième.

Ort peu d'hommes y a il eu de nostre temps qui ne ayent ouy parler de ce grand Pilotte & expert Capitaine de Mer, Jaques Cartier, qui du temps du grand Jacques Cartier, Roy François, & fuyant la trace de Jean Denys Nor tier excellent mand (qui comme s'ay dit l'an mil cinq cents huit, a Pilote de naufrage volégié le Rég de Canada) commença aussy à rafer le temps.

les filons de la mer pour faire voir à chacun, & la gai-lardise des Français, & leur industrie aussy bien sur l'Océan, qu'à main nier les combats, & les affaires en terre ferme. Ceftuy-cy estant fiè à l'inconsistance des ondes efmeu de fà propre curiosité, & des sollicitations de Charles de Mouy feigneur de la Millenaye, & lieutené de l'Admiral, Charles de en l'an de notre faillat mil cinq cents trente quatre prit la route du Ponant, Mouy feign, jusqu'à tant qu'il vint à Cap de Raz, prenant port à Carpent, & Degrado, de la mine-sur l'occident, pour que la coffe qui regarde le Louant est baife, dange-reuse, & pleine de bancs, & où tout le pays est plein d'îles telles que font celles de fiancée Catherine, de Breifs, des Oyeaux, & celle de Blanc Sablon, où les fouaigez fe tiennent pour y pecher le long de l'efte, mais elles de la terre, l'hyer personne ne l'y arreté à caufe des froideurs, ains fe retirent tous se Français.

en terre ferme, cerchant les pays plus chauls & les moins exposé aux affauts & rigueurs de la terre, ont de la grandeur d'un oye, noirs, & blancs de couleur, & ayant le bec comme vn Corbeau, & fort ayiez à prendre, gras à merueilles, & bons à manger, les autres font appelé Margaux, qui font plus blancs, & plus grands que les premiers, mais difficiles à prendre, à caufe qu'ils fe defendent estrangement du bec, & mordent presque comme en chien lors qu'ils l'approche, & font de la grandeur d'un oye, & on dit le nombr être si grand que toute la terre en est couverte,

que les Ours pafléent des autres îles ayant pour fe venir paître sur cette volaille. Mais laflons ces îles, desflors pour voir les hommes pour lesquels notre histoire est dressée plus que pour la singularité ny des animaux, ny des palétages, laçoit que ie ne vues que du tout afe ceci, comme le voyant aisément noftr aller disçours, & au Lecteur plaisant & prouf Jaques Cartier, & Dieu.

En terre ferme que Cartier est descendi, il voit du peuple qui les tire, en fe pr soucie & connoit; ce que nous auroy dit cy desfus, à l'afoir que tout ce moier relaté

DD d j

Il Desegno del discorso della nova Franza… [Venice], 1566; Bolognino Zal-tieri; map printed from copperplate; 25.8 x 38.5 cm.
Towards the Arctic

For a long time an Englishman, Martin Frobisher, had wanted to find a passage to Cathay in the Northwest. During his initial voyage in 1576 he discovered a large “strait” (Frobisher Bay). In 1577 and 1578 he made two more voyages, entering Hudson Strait by mistake during the second one. Edward Wright’s map (made towards 1600) shows the “Frobushers Straightes” and part of the Arctic territories (“Meta Incognita”), but detaches them from America to join them to Greenland.

The same map bore mention of Davis Strait. After making three voyages, from 1585 to 1587, in search of a northwest passage, John Davis contributed greatly to spreading information about the geography of this part of the world; by publishing *The Worldes Hydrographical Discription* in 1595 he opened up, as it were, the way for Henry Hudson and William Baffin.

From his first voyage Frobisher had brought back a native and had even brought along his kayak, thus succeeding in amazing all of London and part of the kingdom; for his part, Davis devoted to the Eskimos one of the oldest studies that have come down to us. It must be admitted that for Europe in the sixteenth century the Inuit, as we call them today, were indeed objects of astonishment, both because of their physical appearance and costume and their way of life. Above all else perhaps they were the revelation and at the same time the symbol of a “New World.”
Map of the North Pole, including Davis and Frobisher Straits. The bay shown on the far left seems to be Hudson Bay, even if we have no proof that the Europeans knew of its existence before Henry Hudson’s voyages of exploration.

After three voyages in the Arctic in the period 1585–87 looking for a northwest passage to Asia, John Davis published this work, which contributed greatly to spreading knowledge about the geography of that part of the world.
The world's Hydrographical
hour to conceal that matter of Hydrographie
for the better preservation of their fortunate
state. I refer to the excellent judgment of
these men, that painfully labour in the glo-}
rous administration of a well governed Com-
monwealth, so that by them Africa and Asia
are placed in no parle to tope with America
thereby to hinder this passage.

By late experience to prove that America is
an island, and may be fayed round about
contrary to the former objection.

A sia Africa and Europa being prooved
to be contayned and an island, it now re-
feeth to be knowne by what authoritie Ame-
rica is prooved to be like wise an Island, so
that thereby all land impediments are removed,
which might have the head of uncertainty of
this passage. The first Englishman that gave
any attempt upon the coasts of West India
being part of America was Captain John Ham-
kins knight; who there and in that attempt
as in many others since did and hath prooved
himselfe to be a man of excellent capacity, great
government, and perfect resolution. So before
he attempted the same it was a matter dou-
btsful and reported the extreme lyne of danger
to depend upon those coasts. So that it was ge-
nerally in that amonst vs, such is the timnes
of our nation, for the most part of us rather as

Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington,
D.C., U.S.A.
Eskimo Man; John White (known 1585–93); watercolour; 22.7 x 16.4 cm.
These two drawings depict fairly faithfully the physical appearance and the costumes of the Eskimos at the period. John White is believed to have seen these natives while taking part in Sir Martin Frobisher's expedition south of Baffinland in 1577.

Eskimo Woman and Baby; John White (known 1585–93); watercolour; 22.2 x 16.6 cm.
Plans and attempts at colonization

Humphrey Gilbert dreamed of setting up a colony. Having obtained letters patent on 11 June, 1578, he became the promoter of a settlement on the Atlantic coast and interested several Catholics of the realm in his plans. Among them were Sir Thomas Gerrard and Sir George Peckham, to whom he proposed an understanding in June 1582, which among other arrangements provided for the adoption of measures likely to encourage women to go to the New-Found Lands.

Around the same period Troilus de La Roche de Mesgouez received in successive years, 1577 and 1578, two commissions authorizing him on the one hand to take possession of the territories “of which he could make himself master,” and on the other hand to govern the country. Being unable to lead to their destination the two expeditions that he had got ready, then having been prevented by the civil war from carrying out his plan, he received new letters patent on 12 January 1598 and finally founded a settlement on Sable Island.

All attempts at colonization in North America had failed. Now, on 18 December 1603, Henry IV granted Pierre Du Gua de Monts the monopoly of trade with the Indians and the title of lieutenant general of New France, on condition that he set up sixty settlers a year in the country and work at converting the natives.

Under Du Gua’s authority an “Abitasion” (habitation), of which Champlain has left us a drawing done by himself, was built at Port-Royal.
Agreement between Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir George Peckham, and Sir Thomas Gerrard, 5 June 1582.

Gilbert concluded various agreements with Catholic compatriots, among them Peckham and Gerrard, with a view to founding a settlement on the east coast of North America. On 5 August 1583 he took possession officially, in the name of the crown of England, of Newfoundland.
emerge to him by force and as charged by all sever and take possession

and matters here be for and by land

17-

\[ V. 6. 1698 we fore agreed on the
\[ \text{[signature]}
\]

Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa:
Brudenell Collection, MG 18, B 18,
pp. 1, 2, 17.
Letters patent from the king of France, Henry IV, appointing the Marquis de La Roche-Mesgouez "lieutenant general in the aforesaid countries of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, Labrador, the river of the Great Bay of Norumbega, and the lands adjoining the said provinces and rivers," Paris, 12 January 1598.

In that same year La Roche founded a settlement on Sable Island (to the south-east of Nova Scotia) that lasted five years.

DEFENSES DU ROY
PREMIERS ET SECONDES

tous ses sujets, autres que le sieur de Monts & ses associés. De trafiquer de Pelleteryes & autres choses avec les Sausages, de l'estendue du pouvoir par luy donné audit sieur de Monts, ny de s'associer aucques les Etrangers, pour soubs leur nom, ou en quelque autre sorte & maniere que ce soit, troubler en icelle traite ledit sieur de Monts & ses associés. Sur grand-des peynes.

ENRY par la grace de Dieu Roy de France & de Nauarre. A nos amez & feaulx Conseillers, les officiers de nostre Admiraulté, de Normandie, Bretagne, Picardie & Guyenne: Et à chacun d'eux endroit soy:& en l'estendue de leurs ressorts & juridictions, Salut. Nous auons pour beaucoup d'importantes occasions, ordonné, commis & estably le sieur de Monts, gentilhomme ordinaire de nostre chambre, nostre Lieutenant general, pour peupler & habituer les terres, costes, & pays de Lacadie, & autres circonvoisins, en l'estendue du quarantéme degré, iuf-

Monopoly of trade with the Indians granted Pierre Du Gua de Monts by the king of France, Henry IV, Paris, 18 December 1603.

In 1604 de Monts, who had been appointed lieutenant general of New France, tried to establish a colony in Acadia, first on Île Sainte-Croix (1604–05), then at Port-Royal (1605–07).
ques au quarante sixiesme. Et la establir
nolre autorité, & autrement s'y loger &
assurer: en sorte que nos subierts desor-
mais y puissent estre receuz, y hanter, resi-
der & trafiquer auce les Sauvages habitâs
desdits lieux. Comme plus expressément
nous l'auons declaré par nos lettres pa-
tentes, expedies & deliurees pour cest
effect audit sieur de Monts, le 8. iour de
Novembre dernier: & suivant les condi-
tions & articles. Moyennant lesquelles il
s'est chargé de la conduite & execution de
ceste entreprise. Pour faciliter laquelle, &
à ceux qui s'y font joigns avec lui: & leur
donner quelque moyen & commodité,
d'en supporter la despence: Nous auons eu
agreeable de leur permettre, & assurer,
Qu'il ne seroit permis à aucuns autres nos
subierts, qu'à ceux qui entreroyent en asso-
ciation avec lui, pour faire ladite despence
de trafquier de Pelleterie, & autres mar-
chandises, durant dix annees, es terres,
pays, ports, riuieres & aduenues de l'esten-
due de sa charge. Ce que nous voulons
auoir lieu.

Donné à
Paris, le 18. Decembre, l'an de grace mil
six cents trois. Et de nolre regne le quin-
ziesme. Ainsi signé, H E N R Y.
Habitation at Port-Royal; after a drawing by Samuel de Champlain (1567–1635), line and stipple engraving; 10.9 x 15.4 cm. (plate).


As the winter spent at Sainte-Croix in 1604–05 had been very difficult because of the severe cold and scurvy, the French decided to leave the place to go to build a settlement at Port-Royal in 1605. The latter settlement was abandoned in 1607, the year in which the Sieur de Monts's monopoly was revoked by the king. Later Port-Royal became the chief centre in Acadia.

National Library of Canada, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Ottawa.
The founding of Québec

When Port-Royal had to be abandoned in 1607, a search was made in 1608 off towards the St. Lawrence to find a place suitable for founding a permanent colony. Champlain sailed up the river, which he explored in 1603; on 3 July he stopped off the point of Québec, which he chose as the site for a habitation – at once the embryo and the heart of the new colony. As he tells us himself in his Œuvres, Champlain set his men to work without delay.

Québec was founded.

The habitation of Québec served as lodgings, storehouse, and fortress all together; in it were to be found an arms depot, a forge, and even a pigeon-house; on the upper floor the dwelling-quarters were surrounded with galleries that could be useful in case of attack. The habitation was, moreover, surrounded with a stockade and moats; access to it was by a drawbridge; inside it platforms had been prepared for guns.

The habitation stood between the St. Lawrence and the cape, where the Place Royale is today, almost at the foot of the Côte de la Montagne, which links Upper Town and Lower Town. Being situated at the very point where the St. Lawrence suddenly narrows before widening out again, Champlain's fort occupied a strategic position and could theoretically prevent any potential enemy from pushing farther inland.

Champlain gives an account of the founding of Québec, 3 July 1608.
ARRIVEE A QUEBECQ, OV NOUS FISMES NOS
logemens, sa situation. Conspiration contre le seruice du Roy, & ma vie, par
aucuns de nos gens. La punition qui en fut faite, & tout ce qui se passa en
eett affaire.

CHAP. III.

De l'île d'Orleans iusques à Quebecq, y a
evne lieue, & y arriuay le 3. Iuillet où estat,
ie cherchay lieu propre pour nostre habitatio,

mais ie n'en peu trouuer de plus commode, n'y
mieux situe que la pointe de Quebecq, ainsi
appelé des sauvauges, laquelle estoit rempilie
de noyers. Aussitost j'emploia vne partie de
nos ouriers à les abbatre pour y faire nostre
habitation, l'autre à sciier des aix, l'autre fouil-
ler la caue & faire des fossez & l'autre à aller
querir nos commoditez à Tadoussac avec la
barque. La premiere chose que nous fismes fut
le magazin pour mettre nos viures à couuert,
qui fut promptement fait par la diligence d'un
chacun, & le loin que s'en eu.
RETOUR DU PONT-GRAVE EN FRANCE. DE-
scription de notre logement où sejouma Jacques Quartier en l'an 1535.

CHAP. IV.

Après que toutes ces choses furent passées le pont partit de Québec le 18. Septem-
bre pour s'en retourner en France avec les trois prisonniers. Depuis qu'ils furent hors tout le
reste se comporta sagement en son devoir.

Il fît continuer notre logement, qui estoit
de trois corps de logis à deux étages. Chacun
contenoit trois toitures de long & deux &de-
mie de large. Le magazin six & trois de large,
auc une belle caue de six pieds de haut. Tout
autour de nos logemens il fît faire une galerie
par dehors au second étage, qui estoit fort com-
mode, aucu des fossés de 15 pieds de large & fix
de profond: & au dehors des fossés, il fît plu-
ieurs pointes d'esperons qui enfermoient vne
partie du logement, là où nous mêmes nos
pieces de canon: & devant le bastiment y a vne
place de quatre toitures de large, & fix ou sept
de log, qui dono sur le bort de la riuiere Autour
du logement y a des iardins qui sont tres-bons,
& vne place du costé de Septemprion qui a
quelque cent ou fix vingts pas de long, 50. ou

60. de large.

Samuel de Champlain. Les voyages du sieur
de Champlain Xaintongeois, capitaine
ordinaire pour le roy, en la marine. divisez en
dez livres.... Paris: Chez Jean Berjon,
1613, pp. 184–185.

Champlain describes the habitation at
Québec in 1608.

National Library of Canada, Rare Books
and Manuscripts Division, Ottawa.
Habitation at Québec; after a drawing by Samuel de Champlain (1567?–1635); line and stipple engraving; 13.1 x 15.9 cm. (plate).


Upon his arrival at Québec in 1608 Champlain had this habitation built to live in himself, to lodge the workers and craftsmen, and to store arms and provisions in.

National Library of Canada, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Ottawa.
Les chiffres montrent les brasses d'eau.

A Le lieu ou l'habitation est bastie.
B Terre défrichée où l'on semme du blé & autres grains.
C Les jardins.
D Petit ruisseau qui vient de dedans des marécages.
E Riiuier ou hyurnna laques Quartier, qui de son tepe la nomme faict Croix, que l'on a transferé à 14 lieues au dessus de Québec.
F Ruisseau des marais.
G Le lieu ou l'on amassait les herbages pour le bestail que l'on y avait mené.
H Le grand saut de Montmorency qui descend de plus de 35 brasses de haut dans la rivière.
I Buit de l'île d'Orlans.
J Pointe fort estoire du côté de l'orient de Québec.
K Riiuier bruyante qui va aux Etchemains.
L La grade rivière S. Laurens.
M Lac de la rivière bruyante.
N Montaigne qui font dans les terrélabaye que j'y nommé la noquelle Bisquaye.
O Lac du grand saut de Montmorency.

R Ruisseau de lours.
S Ruisseau du Gendre.
T Prairie qui sont inondées des eaux a toutes les marées.
U Mont du Gas fort haut, sur le bord de la rivière.
V Ruisseau courant, propre à faire toutes sortes de moulines.
W Colte de grauvier, où il se trouve quantité de diamants va peu meilleurs que ceux d'Alanson.
X La pointe aux diamants.
Y Lieux où souvent cabannent les sauvages.
Exploration and Occupation of the Continent

Once the post of Québec had been founded, Champlain undertook only three more exploration trips. In 1609, going up the Rivière des Iroquois (the Richelieu), he discovered the lake that bears his name and went as far as Ticonderoga (Crown Point, New York). In 1613, proceeding via the Ottawa River and a series of lakes he reached Allumette Island (on a level with Petawawa, Ontario). Finally in 1615, going beyond Allumette Island and travelling via the Mattawa River, Lake Nipissing, and the French River, he discovered Lake Huron; he went to Lake Simcoe, crossed the eastern end of Lake Ontario, followed the Oneida River for some time; then he spent the winter in the Huron country and visited Tobacco Nation to the south of Nottawasaga Bay and the Cheveux-Relevez (Ottawas) to the south of Georgian Bay. These were his last exploration trip and his last discoveries.

While Champlain was seeking to get to know the interior of the continent, more attention than ever was being paid to a northwest passage, particularly in England. After the voyages of Frobisher and Davis there were those of George Waymouth (1602) and John Knight (1606); but it was Henry Hudson who in 1610 was successful in making his way into Hudson Bay via the strait that bears his name. Would the passage that was so ardently desired be found on the west coast of this bay? Thomas Button's voyage in 1612–13 led him to have strong hopes of that; but in 1614 William Gibbons did not even succeed in entering Hudson Strait, and in 1615 William Baffin discovered no passage, even if he did discover the bay and the land that bear his name. As for William Hawkridge, he discovered nothing in 1625. In 1631 Thomas James and Luke Fox, each one on his own, explored the west coast of Hudson Bay: there was no passage there. Disappointment was so great in England that for nearly two centuries people ceased to be interested in this search.

Enthusiasm for discoveries was cooling in England just at the moment when New France was launching headlong into exploring the continent. In 1634, in a mad dash,
Jean Nicollet plunged deeply into the Great Lakes region. In 1641 the Jesuits Isaac Jogues and Charles Raymbaut discovered Lake Superior. In 1646 Father Gabriel Druillettes followed the Chaudière River to reach the headwaters of the Kennebec, whose whole course he explored as far as the ocean. In 1647, Father Jean de Quen discovered Lake Saint-Jean; in 1651, Father Jacques Buteux and a few Frenchmen went up the Saint-Maurice for a distance of one hundred leagues. In 1655, it would seem, Médard Chouart Des Groseilliers travelled in Wisconsin. In 1661 the Jesuits Gabriel Druillettes and Claude Dablon, who had started out for Hudson Bay, went as far as the watershed at Lac Nicabau. How many others, in the search for souls to be converted or furs to be bartered for, criss-crossed the country, from north to south and east to west, always discovering new routes — rivers, lakes, and portages — to lead them on farther and farther?

These exploration trips had been carried out without any plan or concerted effort, but as circumstances directed. When he arrived, Jean Talon, a man of vision and genius, understood what advantage could be drawn from the discoveries for the future greatness of New France and the honour of France. He undertook to send “resolute men” in all directions, with the mission of exploring and discovering, certainly, but also of taking possession of the territories officially in the king’s name.

To the west he sent Simon-François Daumont de Saint-Lusson; to the south, in the direction of Mexico, Robert Cavelier de La Salle; to the southwest, in search of the Mississippi and the Mer du Sud (the Pacific Ocean), Louis Jolliet; to Hudson Bay, Father Charles Albein and Paul Denys de Saint-Simon, who were the first to arrive there by the overland route. The Sulpicians François Dollier de Casson and René de Bréhant de Galinée for their part explored in minute detail the shores of Lake Ontario, where Talon was already thinking of building a fort to subdue the Iroquois. What is more, Talon was thinking of acquiring New Netherland (New York), which would give New France easy access to the ocean, even in winter, and would permit her to encircle and contain the English in New England, while at the same time bringing the Iroquois under French influence.

The plan to purchase or conquer New Netherland was rejected by the king; but in 1673 Frontenac followed up with the plan for a fort on Lake Ontario. The following year Colbert informed him of Louis XIV’s displeasure at seeing the colony extending farther and farther; they had to concentrate in the valley of the St. Lawrence and stick together to defend themselves better against any possible enemy.

But how was the expansion of the colony to be slowed down without at the same time doing harm to the missionaries’ apostolic works? And how were fur traders to be prevented from setting up trading posts near the missions? Was expansion not necessary to the colony, which still depended almost entirely on the fur trade? And did not this trade have to be protected in the most distant places by installing garrisons there? In short, if exploration was at first a consequence of the missionary ardour, expansion became little by little an economic necessity, then, because of commercial rivalries, a military necessity.

It was in fact for economic and military reasons that the search for the Mer du Sud was continued, that Pierre Le Moyne d’Iberville, Pierre Allemand, Daniel Greysolon Dulhut and so many others “explored” the continent, that posts — or forts — such as Michilimackinac and Detroit were constructed, that Louisiana was founded, while at the same time the scattering of the vital forces of an underpopulated colony was deplored.
Champlain’s voyages of discovery

In 1615 Champlain resumed his voyages of discovery: on 1 July he reached Lake Attigouantan, which was, he said, nearly “four hundred leagues in length” and “fifty leagues wide,” and which he called “the freshwater sea.” It was Lake Huron.

At Lake Attigouantan Champlain and his companions met three hundred Ottawas, whom they called “Cheveux-Relevez” because of the way in which their hair was “arranged” and “combed.” Champlain left four drawings of them, which show “the way in which they arm themselves on going to war” and the way the women dressed in summer and the men in winter.

Champlain spent the winter of 1615–16 in the Huron country. There he studied their manners at his leisure and wrote with obvious interest a description of a deer hunt: there was a beat organized in such a way as to drive the animals towards a big “enclosure,” a sort of triangle open on one side only, where, once inside, they were at the mercy of the hunters.

In 1632, towards the end of his career, Champlain published his last big map, which was a synthesis of all his explorations since 1603 and of the things that he had learned from the Indians. On the map, for example, are the freshwater sea (Lake Huron), Lake Saint-Louis (Lake Ontario), Lake Champlain, and the Ottawa River. The short letter that Champlain sent from Québec on 15 August 1633 to Richelieu was also a synthesis describing an immense and beautiful country that had to be aided whatever the price.
In 1615 Champlain discovered Lake Attigouantan (Lake Huron), of which he gave the following description: "It is very large and is nearly four hundred leagues in length from east to west and fifty leagues wide; and because of its great expanse I have called it the freshwater sea."
Le lendemain nous nous séparâmes, & continuels-
mes nostre chemin le long du rivage de ce lac de l'A-
tigouantâ, où il y a vn grand nombre d'îles, & filmes
environ 45 lieues, costoyant toujours cedît lac. Il est
fort grad, & après de quatre cents lieues de longueur
de l'Orient à l'Ooccident, & de large cinquante lieues;
& à cause de la grande estendue, je l'ay nommé la mer
douce. Il est fort abondant en plusieurs espèces de
tres-bons poissons, tant de ceux que nous auons, que
de ceux que n'auons pas, & principalement des truit-
tes qui sont monstrueusement grandes, en ayant veu
qui auoient iusques à quatre pieds & demy de long,
& les moindres qui se voyent sont de deux pieds &
demy. Comme aussi des brochets au semblable, &
certaine maniere d'esturgeon, poisson fort grand, &
d'vne merueilleuse bonte. Le pays qui borne celac en

partie est aspre du coste du nort, & en partie plat, &
inhabité de Sauuages, quelque peu couvert de bois, &
de chênes. Puis après nous traeverfâmes vne baye,
qui fait vne des extremitez du lac, & filmes environ
sept lieues, iusques à ce que nous arriuâmes en la co-
tre des Antigouantan, à un village appelé Otoua-
cha, qui fut le premier iour d'Aouft, où trouuâmes
vn grand changement de pays, cestuy-cy estant fort
beau, & la plus grande partie deserté, accompagné de
des force collines, & de plusieurs ruisseaux, qui rendent ce
territoir agréable. Le fus visiter leurs bleds d'inde, qui
 estoient lors fort audeance pour la saison.
"Cheveux-Relevez" (Algonkins); after a drawing by Samuel de Champlain (1567[?]-1635); etching; 13.8 x 8.4 cm. (plate).


At Lake Attigouantan (Lake Huron), Champlain and his companions met three hundred Algonkins whom they called "Cheveux-Relevez, because they had [their hair] put up and arranged very carefully, and combed better than our courtiers." A and C show "how they are armed when going off to war." B and D show how the women dressed in summer and the men in winter.

Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottawa (Negative no. C 113067).
At certain hunts the Indians used to organize a beat to drive the animals towards a great "enclosure" where, once inside, they were at the hunters' mercy.

Huron Deer Hunt; after a drawing by Samuel de Champlain (1567–1635); etching; 13.7 x 16.7 cm. (plate).

In Samuel de Champlain. Les voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale, ditte Canada. . . .
This map takes in all that was known at the time of New France, from Acadia to the Great Lake (Lake Superior?), thanks to the explorations of Champlain, Etienne Brulé and Jean Nicollet, and also information supplied by the Indians. On it appear, among other features, the freshwater sea (Lake Huron), Lake Saint-Louis (Lake Ontario), and Lake Champlain.

Also shown are the areas where the various Indian tribes known at the period lived.

Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection, Ottawa (NMC 15661).
Champlain speaks highly of the vastness and beauty of the territory of Canada: “It is more than fifteen hundred leagues in length from east to west and has one of the most beautiful rivers in the world, ... the beauty of these lands cannot be too highly prized or extolled, both for the excellence of the land and the grasslands, the variety of woods, ... and for animal hunting, with game and fish in abundance.”
The northern ice

Henry Hudson had already made three voyages to America when he set off in 1610 to look for a northwest passage. He sailed into Hudson Strait, and then into the bay of the same name. In October he was in James Bay, where he spent the winter.

In the spring of 1611 Hudson's men met some Eskimos for the first time; when they approached them, they were driven off by a shower of arrows. These inhospitable natives only added to the perils of navigation and wintering in the northern ice.

After the unsuccessful expeditions led by Button, Gibbons, and Hawkridge, Thomas James in his turn explored the west coast of Hudson Bay and James Bay in 1631–32. In 1631 Luke Fox also examined the west coast of Hudson Bay; then he steered north, pushed on beyond Fox Channel, and sailed into the basin of the same name. Until then no one had pushed on so far.

The existence of Hudson Bay had long been known in New France; people there were also interested in the Northern Sea – the "Mer du Nord" – "which adjoins that of China" and to which only "the gateway" – that is to say the passage – remained "to be found." Being interested both in evangelization and the geographical question, the Jesuits Claude Dablon and Gabriel Druillettes decided in 1661 to reach Hudson Bay overland.
This map was prepared to illustrate the voyages of exploration by the English in the northern regions of America and principally the discovery of Hudson Bay by Henry Hudson in 1610.

Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection, Ottawa (NMC 19228).
Attacks by the Eskimos and the ice fields were grave dangers for the English explorers who, like Martin Frobisher (1576–78) and Henry Hudson (1610–11), sought a northwest passage to Asia.

A Ship Lifted by Pressure Ice; engraving, hand coloured; 14.1 x 20.3 cm. (image).


In 1612–13 Thomas Button commanded the expedition sent to find out what had become of the explorer Henry Hudson and to complete "the full and perfect discovery of the North-West passage." During this voyage he is believed to have made his way through Hudson Strait and to have crossed Hudson Bay.

Sir Cennydd Traherne, Coedarhydyglyn, Nr. Cardiff, Wales.
De Nekouba, à cent lieues de Tadous-fac, dans les bois, sur le chemin de la Mer du Nord, ce deuxième de Juillet 1661.

MON R. PÈRE, 

TAX CHRISTI:

Transiimus per eremum terribil-lem, & maximam, pouuons-nous bien dire après Moyle: Nous auons passé des forêts capables d’effrayer les voyageurs les plus assuréz, soit pour la vaste étendue de ces grandes solitudes, où l’on ne trouve que Dieu, soit pour l’asper-té des chemins, également rudes & dangereux, puisqu’il n’y faut


These pages tell us of the voyage undertaken by the Jesuits Gabriel Druillettes and Claude Dablon to try to reach the Northern Sea, which, it was believed, "adjoins that of China."
marcher que sur des précipices, &
voguer par des abîmes, où l'on
dispute sa vie sur une froide écorce,
contre des bouillons capables de
perdre de grands Vaisseaux. Enfin,
avec l'aide de Dieu, nous voila
rendus presque à my-chemin, de
la Mer du Nort, en un lieu qui est
comme le centre des deux Mers,
de celle que nous avons quittée,
& de celle que nous cherchons;
puisque en venant de Tadoussac
icyles nous avons toujours monté,
mais si prodigieusement, que nos
Sauvages, nous voulant rendre ra-
ison des excessives chaleurs, dont
ces régions sont brûlées, disoient
que cela provenoit du voisinage
du Soleil, duquel nous avons beau-
coup approché, ayant surmonté
des saults si hauts, & en si grand
nombre. D'un autre costé, nous
n'avons plus désormais qu'à des-
cendre; toutes les rivières sur les-
uelles nous avons à naviguer, s'al-
ant décharger dans la Mer du
Nort, comme toutes celles que
nous avons passées, se vont rendre
à Tadoussac.
“Resolute men”

Since Champlain’s time there had never been any stop in New France in exploring the interior of the continent. Now, scarcely had he arrived than Intendant Jean Talon had “resolute men” start off in order to “press farther ahead than has ever been done,” with the orders to take possession in the name of the king of France of the territories through which they travelled.

The network of rivers in New France permitted relatively easy access to the most distant regions: to the south, where it was believed that Mexico could be reached, Cavelier de La Salle was sent; Daumont de Saint-Lusson was sent to the west, where it was hoped that some way of getting through to the Mer du Sud (the Pacific) would be found; in the meantime the Sulpicians Dollier and Galinée were exploring the region around Lake Ontario.

Saint-Lusson had just returned: the Mer du Sud did not seem to be so far away that it could not soon be reached. While La Salle was continuing his explorations Talon sent the Jesuit Charles Albanel and Paul Denys de Saint-Simon to Hudson Bay, where a great trade in furs was going on to the benefit of the English and where the famous northwest passage was somewhere to be found – two questions that had to be examined more closely.

If the map made by the Jesuit Claude Dablon in 1672 accounts for only part of the discoveries to date, it nevertheless shows how knowledge of the interior was becoming more accurate year by year.
Report on Canada sent to the king of France, Louis XIV, by Intendant Jean Talon, Québec, 10 October 1670.

Talon had “resolute men [start off] who promise to press farther ahead than has ever been done” into the distant regions and who were “to take possession of them, raise the king’s arms, and draw up reports to be used as title-deeds.”

Among the “resolute men” who had gone to explore the interior of the continent Talon mentions the following: La Salle, who had been sent to the south in the hope “of one day finding the passage to Mexico”; Saint-Lusson, who had gone westward “with orders to search diligently...for some communication with the Mer du Sud [the Pacific Ocean], which separates this continent from China”; and finally, the Sulpicians Dollier and Galinée, who “have crossed Lake Ontario and visited unknown nations.”

Report on Canada sent to the king of France by Intendant Talon, Québec, 2 November 1671.

Talon had sent the Jesuit Albanel and the Sieur de Saint-Simon to Hudson Bay; they were "to take possession of it again in His Majesty's name." At Sault Ste. Marie Saint-Lusson had taken possession of the western territories "and raised the king's arms in the presence of seventeen Indian nations."
Il y avoir mois que j'ay, sauf partir avec le Père Albanel,
suivre la voie de Simon, jeune gentilhomme de Canada,
honoré par le Roy depuis peu de temps, je le prouvois
pour qu'il raciandre l'obrere de commercer depoelteries avec
les sauvages et savoir reconnois. Il y avait d'y siare
buire quelques bastimentos pour y faire un correp-
qui puise ur jour fournir des rafrayement aux
Vaisseau qui pourront ot apres diner ouvrir par cette credi-
la communication de deux mers du nord et du sud, depu-
leur depata j'ay recu trois fois de leurs lettres, ces derniers-
apportes de certeines lois par lesquelles ils me marqua-
que des sauvages qu'ils ont trouvé sur leur chemin les
assurant que deux Vaisseau anglais e trois barques europe
huisien dans le voisinage de cette base et y avoir faire grist
amass de casseure, si mes lettres en réponse sont fidellem-

resines aidipere, cet establissement sera bien examiné
et sa Maitre ensera bien informé, comme ces lettre-
sans cet anciennement descouvert, premièry par
les français j'ay donné commission aup de Simon
prendre possession réterre au nom de sa Maitre avec
ordre d'y armer l'escouge de france dont il est chargé,

fais att Juebec deux, Novembre 1611:

Archives nationales, Paris, France: Fonds
des Colonies, série C113, vol. 3, fol. 161v,
162, 162v, 163, 171v.
This map of the Jesuit missions in the Great Lakes region reveals the territorial expansion of New France thanks to the undertakings of the missionaries, explorers, and coureurs des bois.

Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection, Ottawa (NMC 10296).

Lac Superieur et autres lieux ou sont les Missions des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus comprises sous le nom D'Otaouacs. [1673]; [Claude Dablon]; map printed from copperplate; 35.1 x 47.5 cm.

In Claude Dablon. Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux missions des pères de la Compagnie de Jesus, en la Nouvelle France les années 1671 et 1672. A Paris: M. Cramoisy, 1673.
The drive towards the Mer du Sud

In 1672 Talon sent Louis Jolliet to “discover the Mer du Sud, via the country of the Mashoutins [Mascoutens], and to the great river that they call the Michissipi which is believed to flow into the Sea of California.” Jolliet, who had been joined by the Jesuit Jacques Marquette, discovered and explored the Mississippi in 1673, stopping just short of the present-day boundary between Arkansas and Louisiana.

Jolliet had come back convinced that the Mississippi (which had been baptized the Rivière Colbert) flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, as his map, which was dedicated to Governor Louis de Buade de Frontenac, clearly mentions.

It belonged to La Salle to discover the mouths of the Mississippi and to verify the accuracy of Jolliet’s hypothesis on the orientation of that river. On 9 April 1682 La Salle had drawn up an official deed of “the possession taken by him of the country of Louisiana near the three mouths of the River Colbert in the Gulf of Mexico.”

La Salle ended up being murdered by his own companions in 1687. Even if he only completed the discovery begun by Jolliet, he knew how to take care of his reputation, thanks for example to an author such as Hennepin, but also to the magic that those enormous “countries” exercised on people’s imaginations, countries where one encountered such great lakes and rivers in such number – without omitting waterfalls like those at Niagara, with which Hennepin illustrated one of his works.
Account of the discovery of the Mississippi River sent from Québec by the Jesuit Father Claude Dablon, Québec, 1 August 1674.

On 15 June 1673 the Sieur Louis Jolliet and the Jesuit Jacques Marquette "successfully entered this famous river that the Indians call Mississippi."

Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus, Chantilly, France: Fonds Brotier, 155, pièce 11.
This map relating to the discovery of the Mississippi River shows that considerable progress had been made in knowledge of North American geography. In addition to revealing the existence of the Mississippi River (Rivière Colbert) and the Ohio River, it shows that the Mississippi empties into the Gulf of Mexico.
Report on the taking possession of Louisiana by Robert Cavelier de La Salle, 9 April 1682.

La Salle "takes possession in the name of His Majesty and of his successors to the crown of this country of Louisiana...from the mouth of the great Saint-Louis River on the East, otherwise called the Ohio...and following the Colbert or Mississippi River...as far as the point where it enters the sea or gulf of Mexico."

The explorer Robert Cavelier de La Salle had discovered the mouths of the Mississippi River in 1682. On 19 March 1687 he was murdered by members of his expedition near the Rivière aux Canots (Trinity River, Texas).


Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottawa (Negative no. C 99233).
Niagara Falls; etching; 15.4 x 18.6 cm. (page).

In Louis Hennepin. Nouvelle découverte d’un très grand pays situé dans l’Amérique entre le Nouveau Mexique, et la Mer Glaciale....
Utrecht: Chez Guillaume Broedelet, 1697. p. 44.

The Recollet Louis Hennepin accompanied Cavelier de La Salle on his voyages of exploration in 1679-80. He described Niagara Falls as follows: “Between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie there is a great and prodigious drop, whose waterfall is quite surprising. It is unequalled in the whole universe....The waters that fall from this great height foam and seeth in the most frightening manner in the world.”

Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottawa (Negative no. C 113049).
The temptation of the West

Lake Ontario was of great strategic importance for trade as well as for war. In 1673 Frontenac went there in person and had a fort built where the city of Kingston stands today. This fort (if we think of its military role) or trading post (if we think of its economic role), the first to be built in the West, soon served as a relay station, if not a base, for the explorers and traders who were drawn by the immense stretches of the West and South.

But in 1674 Colbert informed Frontenac that it was not the king's intention that there should be expansion of this sort, far beyond the limits of the populated colony, and that on the contrary it was necessary to concentrate in the valley of the St. Lawrence and in the places "closest to the seacoasts and to communications with France."

The king could not, however, oppose the missionaries' work. In 1671 the Relation described "the famous island of Missilimakinac" where during the winter "some foundation work for the Saint-Ignace mission" had been done. It was a place of transit; in less than ten years there was a trading post there, of course, and by 1683 a garrison.

And then, how could one resist the attraction of the Mer du Sud, which explains not only the discovery of America but also, for the French in New France, most of their expeditions into the interior of the continent? The Sieur Dulhut did not hesitate to make use of it in a petition to the minister as an argument on his behalf.
It was during this voyage that he had Fort Frontenac built on the site of the present-day city of Kingston in order to protect the trade in furs with the distant Indian tribes: "The only means was ... to set up a post on the same lake which would prevent the southern tribes from coming into contact with the northern ones and which could oblige the latter not only to continue bringing us all their pelts,

... but even those from whom our neighbours used to profit because of the ease with which they could cross the lake, without any obstacle."

À M. le comte de Frontenac.
a Paris le 17 mai 1674.

Monseigneur

Vous connaissez facilement parce que je viens de vous dire, et encore plus par l'état des affaires de l'Europe que je vous ay expliqué au commencement de cette lettre que l'intention de Sa Majesté n'est pas que vous fassiez de grands voyages en remontant le fleuve de Lauzon, ny même qu'à l'advenir leur...

Letter from the minister Colbert to Governor General Frontenac, Paris, 17 May 1674.

Colbert expressed little favour for expanding beyond the inhabited regions: "His Majesty's intention is not...that in future the inhabitants should expand as much as they have done in the past, on the contrary he wishes that you work...at restraining them and bringing them together and creating towns and villages with them...rather than thinking of distant discoveries."
habitations autant qu'ilz ont fait par le pasté; au contraire il est que vous travailliez incessamment, et pendant tout le temps que vous demeurez en ce pays-là a les reserver, et a les assembler, et en composer des villes et des villages pour la mettre avec autant plus de facilité en estat de se bien descendre, en sorte que quand mesmo l'état des astoires de l'Europe seroit change par une bonne et aduantageuse paix a la gloire et a la satisfaction de sa Majesté, elle enינו bien plus conuenable au bien de son seruice de vous apliquer a bien faire de servir, cher et bien habiter les endroits les plus fertiles, les plus proches des costes de la mer, et de la communica
tion avec la France, que non pas de penuer au loin, des decouvertes aux dedans des terres des pays sicy: loignes qu'elle neust jamais estre habitez ny possedez, par des francois.

C'est cette regle generale peut auoir ses exceptions en deux cas; l'un si les pays dont vous prendrez possession sont necessaires au commerce, et aux traitez des francois, et nil se pouvront estre decouvertes, et pas

sedez par quelque autre nation qui peut troubler le commerce, et les traitez des francois; mais comme il n'y en a point de cette qualite, sa majeste estime toujours, que vous pouuez, et deuez laisser les
Roamages dans leur liberté de vous apporiter leurs
Solutions sans vous mettre en peine de les aller—
chercher si longu.
L'autre cas est que les pays que vous devonririez
vous puyssent approcher de la France par la commu-
nication auqueleque mer qu'il y a plus meridienne,
que l'entrée du fleuve de S. Lauren, comme servit
l'acadié, la raison est que vous connoyez parfaitem.
que ce qu'il y a de plus mauvais dans le Canada est
l'entrée de cette rivière qu'estant fort septentrionale
ne permet pas aux vaisseaux d'y entrer que quatre,
cinq, ou six mois de l'année.

Archives nationales, Paris, France: Fonds
des Colonies, série B, vol. 6, fol. 28, 32, 32v, 33.
During the years 1680–1700 the post of Michilimackinac, at the junction of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, was a very important centre for the western fur trade. A Jesuit mission ministered to the Ottawa and Huron villages. Not far from this mission was built Fort Buade, to which was attached a strong garrison. The military and religious authorities at Michilimackinac saw to it that good relations were maintained with the western tribes so that they would not enter into any alliances with the Iroquois and the English.

Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottawa (Negative no. C 99256).
Request addressed by the explorer Daniel Greysolon Dulhut to the Marquis de Seignelay, the minister of Marine, around 1682.

Dulhut reported that "being in the country of the Sioux, which is more than 700 leagues from Québec, he has had some knowledge of the Mer Vermeille [the Pacific Ocean]... which is at only twenty days' journey by land from the villages of the aforementioned Sioux." He offered to try to find that sea.

Archives nationales, Paris, France: Fonds des Colonies, série C^{11F}, vol. 16, fol. 11.
Expansion in spite of everything

Despite the king’s desire to prevent the colony from spreading out far and wide, the remote posts were increasing and even more so the number of coureurs des bois. On 21 May 1696 the king did away with all licences or permits “to go to trade with the Indians” and forbade anyone from “going to trade in the interior of the lands” on pain of being sent to the galleys.

On 18 October 1700 the acting governor, Louis-Hector de Callière, and Intendant Jean Bochart de Champigny informed the minister of their highly unsuccessful efforts “to make the Frenchmen living in the depths of the forest come back,” all the more so since many of them had gone to take refuge in the direction of the brand-new settlement on the Mississippi.

In fact Pierre Le Moyne d’Iberville had founded the colony of Louisiana in that same year. How could one have resisted the argument in favour of it that he had written the preceding year, showing that unless she took possession of the region of the Gulf of Mexico and contained expansion by the English in that direction, France would sooner or later find herself thrown out of North America?

The necessity of ensuring the colony’s security through outposts and also of reducing English influence on the Indians, suppliers of furs and warriors, was at the origin of the official founding of the fort – and the post – of Detroit in 1701.

In spite of everything the fleurs-de-lis were proliferating.
Declaration by King Louis XIV putting an end to licences and permits to go to trade with the Indians, Versailles, 21 May 1696.

Such a measure was imperative, because France was at that time "overloaded with beaver of every quality, to the point of not being able to find any sale for them," and also because too many Canadians were taking to the woods and were failing to "apply themselves to farming, fishing, and other fitting occupations."
Avec prudence, en priant, en priant, d'abord, tout de suite, en priant.

...
Letter from Governor Callière and Intendant Champigny to the Comte de Pontchartrain, the minister of Marine, Québec, 18 October 1700.

A good many coureurs des bois were refusing to obey orders to come back to the inhabited part of the colony and were going to take refuge in Louisiana: “We have difficulty in making [them] come because of the settlement of the Mississippi, where... the majority have gone.”

Archives nationales, Paris, France: Fonds des Colonies, série C^{11A}, vol. 18, fol. 5v, 6, 21.

D’Iberville believed that the French should settle solidly in Louisiana to prevent the British colonies from spreading west of the Appalachians: “If France does not take possession of this part of America, which is the most beautiful, to have a colony strong enough to resist those of England...in less than 100 years” the English colonies would be powerful enough “to take possession of all of America and drive all the other nations out.”

Letter from Governor Callière and Intendant Champigny to the minister Pontchartrain, Québec, 5 October 1701.

They informed him that Lamothe Cadillac had just established the post of Detroit, where “he has built a fort with four bastions of good oak stakes 15 feet long...that he began by building a storehouse to put all his effects under cover, that he is having the necessary lodgings prepared.”

This magnificent map by Franquelin shows all the territory of North America that was known at the period. It reveals that the French had begun to cut out an immense empire for themselves by establishing forts or posts throughout the continent, to the north, the south, the east and the west. On it is also shown a fine view of the town of Québec, the capital of this empire.
Since 1608 Québec had been simply a trading post – or a trading factory, if one prefers; clerks and a few tradesmen were to be found there, all of them in the merchants’ service, but there were no real settlers, unless Louis Hébert’s family, which had arrived in 1617, is excepted. On a few occasions merchant societies had promised, in return for trading benefits, to bring settlers to Canada and set them up there. None of them really gave any attention to doing so, or at least had any success at it. It was to correct “these disorders” and establish “a powerful colony” in New France that on 29 April 1627 was created the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, whose first obligation was to bring over and settle in New France, in a period of fifteen years, four thousand people of French nationality and of the Catholic faith. Champlain’s plans for settlement seemed destined this time to be realized.

In 1628 the Cent-Associés sent four ships carrying four hundred people and everything that was necessary for settling them. These ships fell into the hands of the English, and the following year, for lack of aid, Champlain had to surrender the post of Québec to the Kirke brothers. It was a very bad start and a very bad economic situation for the large company, which suffered such losses that it seems never to have completely recovered. Under those conditions it is not at all surprising that in 1643 the company was far from having carried to Canada the four thousand persons that it had undertaken to bring. In 1663 the colony counted barely more than three thousand inhabitants.

With the powerful help of the Jesuits, who in their yearly Relations made great efforts to make New France known, gather support for the country, and attract settlers to it, the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, whose trade soon suffered from the Iroquois war, did its best to populate the colony. But it had to rely on the initiative of private individuals and the religious communities. Thus, following the example of Robert Giffard, the Jesuits, and the Compagnie de Beaupré, certain holders of seigneuries did recruiting in France. To cope with the lack of manpower the religious communities and ordinary settlers had
recourse to the system of indentured servants, most often unmarried, who agreed to
come to work for them, generally for a period of three years, in return for having their
crossing paid and an annual salary. Now, sometimes these workmen remained in Canada
once their engagement was ended, just as did soldiers from the garrison.

In the meantime a system of settlement and land distribution had been thought up
and put into operation for New France. Immense tracts of land called seigneuries were
granted to private individuals or religious communities; in return the seigneurs had to
grant pieces of land (generally measuring three arpents by thirty or forty) to settlers. As a
result, to use Rameau de Saint-Père's expression, the seigneur was turned into "a
contractor for settling a given tract of land," and the seigneury, which most often
coincided with the area of the parish, became an organized living unit in which even
justice was sometimes exercised. This system of settlement -- the seigneurial régime --
gave excellent results in the seventeenth century, and by 1700 the banks of the St.
Lawrence and the Richelieu were completely occupied.

The 1660s were the most important years in the history of New France, as far as
settlement of the colony is concerned. The numerous appeals launched in the Relations
and by Bishop Laval and certain inhabitants of Canada -- for example Pierre Boucher --
led Louis XIV to decide to take the colony in hand after the Cent-Associés resigned in
1663 and to send there to subdue the Iroquois the Carignan-Salières regiment, many of
whose officers and soldiers settled down in Canada. During those years a great number of
girls of marriageable age ("filles du roi" or "king's daughters"), unmarried men, and
families were sent to the colony. The king and Intendant Talon applied themselves to
encouraging marriages and large families. The idea was even entertained of frenchifying
the Hurons and Algonkins to eventually make out of them and the French "one
people and one race." The reason for this was that France was on the point of putting an end to
sending settlers and girls of marriageable age; after 1672, the year in which Talon
granted forty-six seigneuries, Canada had to find the way to increase its population by
itself.

And that was what was done, in fact, without assimilating the Indians and in spite of
life in the woods, which was luring more and more young men away from the shores of
the St. Lawrence. Thanks to a high birth-rate, and taking into account also the arrival of
a certain number of immigrants every year, the population of Canada is believed to have
been around 12,000 in 1688 and probably more than 15,000 in 1700. In Acadia,
however, things were quite different: fewer than a thousand French people were living
there in 1686, many people having preferred to settle down in New England, in the
vicinity of Boston. Around the same time Newfoundland counted perhaps about 2,000
English-speaking residents, most of them men, who worked in fishing and trading, so
that one can not yet speak of the existence of a true English colony on the island. And the
French there were even less numerous: upon his arrival at Plaisance in 1670 the local
commandant, La Poippe, counted only 73 people there. In the seventeenth century,
around 1685, the population there seems to have reached a peak, with 640 people being
counted, 474 of them being indentured servants.
Laying the foundations

Champlain was greatly interested in the Indians. He never missed an opportunity to observe them from close up and to describe their external appearance, their customs, and the tools that they used. He also published drawings of them that he did with his own hand to illustrate his texts or embellish his maps – such as that done in 1612, which shows the “figures” of two Montagnais and two “Almouchicois” (Abenakis).

At the rate that things were going, the “colony” risked remaining indefinitely, for lack of settlers, the exclusive territory of the Indian tribes. That was the reason for the creation in 1627 of the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, which undertook to bring to New France before the end of 1643 four thousand people of French nationality and of the Catholic faith.

In 1634, two years after Québec was returned to France, Champlain had a fort built on the Île de Richelieu and the foundations of a post laid at Trois-Rivières. From then on the French had “three habitations on the great St. Lawrence River.”

In 1611 Champlain had made a stop at Montréal, seeking “a place there to build.” It fell to the Société Notre-Dame de Montréal, however, to found a settlement there. On 17 May 1642 Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve landed there with a group of settlers to establish a permanent settlement.
This drawing from a map by Champlain represents two Montagnais and two "Almouchicois" (Abenaki) Indians. The Montagnais inhabited an immense territory northeast of the valley of the St. Lawrence, and the "Almouchicois" lived on the Atlantic coast (New England). These Indians were on good terms with the French.

Carte Géographique De La Nouvelle France..., 1612; Samuel de Champlain; map printed from copperplate; 44 x 76.5 cm.

In Samuel de Champlain. Les voyages du sieur de Champlain Xaintongeais, capitaine ordinaire pour le roy, en la marine, divisez en deux livres... Paris: Chez Jean Berjon, 1613.
Act establishing the Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, called the Compagnie des Cent-Assocics, Paris, 29 April 1627.

Canada was sparsely populated at the time: "There is only one settlement there [Quebec]." consisting of "forty or fifty French people." To remedy this situation Richelieu obliged the new company to "send to the aforementioned country of New France...four thousand [persons] of both sexes in the next fifteen years...thus to populate the aforesaid colony with native French Catholics."
C'est à savoir que le bien et le sinistre se suivent dans la vie, que de temps à autre les bonnes actions sont récompensées et que de même les mauvaises actions sont punies. Il est donc nécessaire de vivre de bonne volonté et de faire des efforts pour améliorer le bien et atténuer le mal dans la vie. La justice a pour but de rétablir l'équilibre et de corriger les injustices qui se produisent.

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Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa: Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, MG 18, C 1, pp. 1-4, 11.
Letter from Samuel de Champlain to Cardinal Richelieu, Québec, 18 August 1634.

Champlain informed Cardinal Richelieu that he had had a fort built on the Île de Richelieu and the foundations laid for a post at Trois-Rivières.


Father Le Jeune reported that the French "now have three settlements" in the St. Lawrence valley: Québec, Trois-Rivières and Fort Richelieu.
Il me dit qu'il nous avait montré un petit Sauvage orphelin, nous en faisant présent, pour luy servir de père; si tost qu'on aura moyen de recueillir ces pauvres enfants, on en pourra avoir quelque nombre, qui serviront par après à la conversion de leurs Compatriottes. Il nous dit encore qu'on travailloit fort & ferme au lieu nommé les trois Riuieres, si bien que nos François ont maintenant trois habitations sur le grand fleuue de saint Laurent, vne à Kebec fortifiée de nouveau, l'autre à quinze lieues plus haut dans l'île de sainte Croix, où Monsieur de Champlain a fait bâtir le fort de Richelieu. La troisième demeure se bâtit aux trois Riuieres, quinze autres lieues plus haut, c'est à dire à trente lieues de Kebec. Incontinent après le depart des vaisseaux, le Pere Jacques Buteux & moy irons là demeurer pour assister nos François, les nouvelles habitations étant ordinairement dangereuses, je n'ay pas veu qu'il fut à propos d'y exposer le Pere Charles Lallemant, ny autres, le Pere Buteux vient avec moy
Extracts from the *Histoire du Montréal* written by the Sulpician Dollier de Casson, relating the founding of Montréal in 1642.

"M. de Maisonneuve started out from Pizeaux [near Québec] on 8 May with two boats, a fine pinnace and a sailing barge... M. le Chevalier de Montmagny... embarked on a boat and led all this fleet in person to Montréal, where they cast anchor on 18 May of this year; on the same day, as they arrived early in the day, they celebrated the first mass that had ever been said on this island."
Comme ce serait la meilleure chose, vous
la ramirez grâce à l'insecte—la grande monte qui se
lie—toujours, vous même, avec elle. Ainsi, vous
courez d'autant moins de mal, et vous
vivez, non pour être de Montalou, mais pour
être votre de Montalou, et qui, sans l'anime du jour
de la foy, ne la Répulga que. Sans doute, il faut
que le Dieu est de grand Domina, qui est
si doute de l'anime, et qu'en sait Aucune
dont que son matin ne paraît que grand arbres,
ne sait que pour être Montalou, et que
sa avance d'entre, partant: Comme si, qui est tout
avec la Cité et Comman. Son onnage, que personne
que nous, qui en, qui n'est qu'à
faire, qui est aussi, de, qui est, qu'en, qui est,
ne sont pas de Montalou, que autre. Tous, les
en, qui est grand, mais qui le Montalou,
implantant de jours, tout Assemble de Dieu, si
Aucune Montalou, Nous, prémun, la possession de sa
part, mais offrir, ce sacrifice. Toute cela, fonda
Propaganda and recruiting

In their Relations the Jesuits became the propagandists for the colony with both the people at court and the future settlers. While hiding neither the difficulties nor the very real dangers which awaited them in Canada, they pointed out to the latter the advantages, also very real, that they would find there.

To meet the pressing needs in manpower, recourse was had to the system of indenturing, usually for a period of three years. On 9 April 1643, for example, Olivier Le Tardif, the chief clerk of the Cent-Associés, signed a contract at La Rochelle with Jacques Ragot, who undertook to enter the service of the Sieur Guillaume Couillard.

Furthermore, the company made grants of immense tracts of land to private individuals in return for the obligation to establish settlers on them. On 15 January 1634 Robert Giffard was granted in this way the seigneurie of Beauport on the condition, along with others, that the people whom he would bring to New France would be “credited to the said Company, to reduce the number that it [was] to send out.”

The Société Notre-Dame de Montréal contributed greatly, still under the régime of the Cent-Associés, to establishing settlers at Ville-Marie (Montréal). The “great contingent” in 1653 in particular – which counted more than a hundred men – gained the reputation of having saved that settlement, which was at grips with the Iroquois.
Adioustez, s’il vous plaît, qu’il y a une infinimité d’artisans en France, qui faute d’employ, ou faute de posséder quelque peu de terre, passent leur vie dans une pauvreté, & dans une disette pitoyable. Un très-grand nombre vont mandier leur pain de porte en porte : plusieurs se jettent dedans les vols & dans les brigandages publics ; d’autres dans les larcins & tromperies secrètes, chacun s’efforçant de tirer à soi ce que plusieurs ne sauroient posséder. Or comme la Nouvelle France est de si grande estendue, on y peut enoyer si bon nombre d’habitans, que ceux qui resteront à l’Ancienne auront deuy employer leur industrie honnêtement, sans se jeter dans des vices qui perdent les Républiques.

Paul Le Jeune, Relation de ce qui s’est passé en la Nouvelle France en l’année 1635..., Paris: Chez Sébastien Cramoisy, 1636, p. 54.

In their Relations the Jesuits became propagandists for settlement of the colony: “There are a great number of craftsmen in France who for lack of work or for lack of owning a little land spend their life in pitiful poverty and want.... Now, as New France is of such great size, such a large number of settlers can be sent there that those who remain in Old France will be able to employ their skill honourably.”

Bibliothèque de la ville de Montréal, Salle Gagnon, Montréal.
Contract by which Olivier Le Tardif hired Jacques Ragor, La Rochelle, 9 April 1643.

Ragor contracted "to go to the aforesaid Quebec in New France to serve the aforesaid Sieur Couillard in ploughing land and cutting wood as well as in all other things that he will be ordered to do for the period of three consecutive years."

Several of these indentured employees decided to settle in the colony once their contract was ended.

Archives départementales de la Charente-Maritime, La Rochelle, France: Série E, minutes du notaire Teuleron, registre 1643-1644, fol. 46v.

This company granted vast tracts of land to private individuals in exchange for the obligation to bring in settlers for them. Giffard, who was the first colonizing seigneur in New France, was also the promoter of immigration from the Perche, France, to Canada.
Statements of the amounts paid to the recruits sent to Montréal from France under Maisonneuve’s leadership, 20 June 1653.

This “Great Contingent” of 1653, comprising more than a hundred persons, acquired the reputation of having saved Montréal, which was fighting against the Iroquois.

Archives du Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.
The majority of the settlers in New France in the seventeenth century came from the French provinces of Normandy, Brittany, Poitou, Aunis, and Saintonge.

Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France: Ge DD 627 (I).
Immigration and a plan for frenchification

In 1636 the first large group of immigrants arrived at Québec; two families alone, the Repentignys and the La Poteries, counted forty-five persons.

In reality many more unmarried men – indentured servants, clerks, or soldiers – came to New France than did families. Consequently, thought had to be given to sending girls of marriageable age (filles du roi) to the colony. In the summer of 1666, for example, 90 of them arrived; by mid-November 84 of them were married. Similarly in 1669, 102 of the girls who arrived in the summer had found husbands by mid-November. Men and families were also sent out, which sometimes caused Intendant Talon problems.

Several of the filles du roi married officers and men of the Carignan-Salières regiment, who had decided in large numbers to settle down in Canada, much to the king's satisfaction.

Around the same time the king and Colbert strongly urged the civil and religious authorities in New France to frenchify the Indians, especially the Hurons and Algonkins, "so that in due course of time, having the same laws and the same masters," French and Indians "may become only one people and one race." This project failed, so much so that it was the Indians who won the French over to their way of life.
The arrival of the first large group of immigrants spread joy in the colony: "It was a reason to praise God, to see very dainty young ladies, little children in their tender youth, in these regions."
ce même jour
parut un Vaisseau commandé par Mon-
sieur de Courpon, qui nous rendit le P.
Nicolas Adam, & notre Frère Ambroise Cauet. Ces entreueuès en un
pays si éloigné de notre Patrie, après a-
voir traversé tant de mers, font sensi-
bles par fois aux yeux, aussi bien qu’au
ceur. Notre joie ne se tint pas-là, la
quantité de familles qui venaient gross-
sir notre Colonie, l’accreut notable-
ment; celles entre autres de Monsieur
de Repentigny, & de Monsieur de la
Poterie, braves Gentilshommes, com-
posées de quarante cinq personnes.
C’etoit un sujet où il y awoit à louer

Dieu, de voir en ces contrées, des Da-
moiselles fort delicatès, des petits en-
fans tendrelets sortit d’une prison de
bois, comme le jour sort des tenebres de
la nuit, & ioüir après tout d’une aussi
douce santé, nonobstant toutes les in-
commoditez qu’on reçoit dans ces mai-
sons flotantes, comme si on s’estoit
pourmené au cours dans un carosse.
Voila comme ce jour nous fut double-
ment un jour de feste & de réiouissance.

Letter from Intendant Talon to the minister Colbert, Québec, 27 October 1667.

Talon notified Colbert of the arrival of the girls whom the king had sent to the colony to find husbands: "Eighty-four are being sent to us from Dieppe and twenty-five from La Rochelle...several of them definitely young ladies and rather well brought up."

The majority of these "king's daughters" were married shortly after their arrival in Canada.
List of the soldiers of the Carignan-Salières regiment who became settlers in Canada in 1668.

Hundreds of the soldiers of this regiment decided to settle in the colony. Many married “king’s daughters.”

Monsieur,

Sa Majé est très-aise d'apprendre que la plupart des soldats du régiment de Carignan-Salières, ayant pris le parti de s'habituer dans le païs; et comme vous savez bien qu'il n'y a rien de plus important pour l'usage de sa Majesté que d'employer toute l'autorité que vous avez en main, et toute votre industrie pour augmenter le nombre des habitants, elle m'ordonne de vous dire que vous ne pouvez rien faire qui luy soit plus agréable que d'avoir enjoin très-particulier de tous les habitants qui y sont apparent-habitués, de bien observer qu'ils soient à leur aise, et que la justice leur soit bien rendue sans aucun frais autant qu'il se pourra; et comme vous verrez par les expéditions que M. Talon reporte àudit païs, les graces que Sa Majesté a bien voulu accorder en seur de des mariages, elle desire aussi que vous voulez appliquer à y porter tous les habitants de l'un et l'autre sexe.

Letter from the minister Colbert to Governor General Courcelle, 15 May 1669.

"His Majesty was very pleased to learn that most of the soldiers of the Carignan-Salières regiment have chosen to remain in the country."

Denonville explained that they were having no success in "frenchifying" the Indians as the French authorities wanted: "Instead of accustoming them to our laws, I assure you that they pass on to us to a great degree what is most malicious in them and take themselves only what is bad and vicious in us."

The Indians Settle at La Prairie de la Magdeleine Alongside the French; Father Claude Chauchetière (1645–1709); brown ink; 20 x 15.7 cm., from the manuscript "Narration annuelle de la mission du Sault depuis sa fondation jusques à l’an 1686" (1667–86).

With the aim of familiarizing the Indians with French customs and encouraging their conversion to Christianity, the Jesuits set up a mission in 1667 at Laprairie where Indians (especially Iroquois) and French would live together for a few years.
At Work in the Fields; Father Claude Chauchetière (1645–1709); brown ink; 20 x 15.7 cm.; from the manuscript “Narration annuelle de la mission du Sault depuis sa fondation jusques à l'an 1686” (1667–86).
A mode of settlement

From the beginnings of the colony a mode of settlement was adopted, the seigneurial régime, which was inspired by the French feudal system, but without its abuses, and adapted to Canada. Of the feudal system several principles of jurisprudence were retained, as were part of the vocabulary and a certain ceremonial, such as the rendering of “faith and homage,” through which the seigneur, “being without a sword, bareheaded and one knee on the ground,” declared himself to be the vassal of the king or of another seigneur whom he recognized as his suzerain.

Similarly the seigneur had regularly to present to the intendant (or to the company’s representative) a “recognition of sovereignty and census” (“aveu et dénombrement”) of his seigneury, in which he declared for each of his copyholders his land titles, the cens et rentes to be paid, the number of arpents cleared and cultivated and the number of buildings (house and outbuildings) on his land.

The seigneur could retain his seigneury only if he established settlers on it, to whom he made a “concession” of land, generally through a notarial deed; for their part the settlers were assured ownership of their land only if they cleared and worked it and took up residence on it.

In the seventeenth century the seigneurial régime proved to be very effective. As early as 1641, for example, the Côte de Beaupré (from Montmorency Falls to Cap Tourmente) counted a good number of pieces of land that had been given in concession and of habitants who were living there.
Oath of fealty and act of homage by Bertrand Chenaye, Seigneur de La Garenne, to Charles Aubert de La Chesnaye for his fief of Lothainville, Québec, 3 September 1664.

Every seigneur was required to perform the oath of fealty and act of homage by which, "without a sword, bareheaded and on one knee," he declared himself to be vassal of the king or of another seigneur whom he recognized as his suzerain.

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec: Minutier de Michel Fillion, pièce 47.
Recognition of sovereignty and census by Jean-Baptiste Legardeur de Repentigny for the fief of Courtemanche, Montréal, 15 September 1677.

The seigneur was required to submit to the intendant a recognition of sovereignty and census of his fief with a description of each of the pieces of land granted and the names of the copyholders and number of arpents that were cleared and under cultivation.
Archives nationales du Québec, Centre régional de Montréal, Montréal: Minutier de Bénigne Basset, pièce 1438.
Land grant by Guillaume Couillard and his wife to Raymond Pager, Québec, 3 April 1661.

Paget “binds himself to settle there this year and to take up residence there or have someone else do so in his place.”

Each settler was assured of keeping his land only if he cultivated it and took up residence on it.
C'est pour cette raison que le sujet du don et de l'obligation de l'huissier de la maison de Québec a été examiné en détail. Les phrases suivantes décrivent les modalités de l'obligation et des conditions sous lesquelles elle doit être exécutée.

Le huissier de la maison de Québec a l'obligation de faire enregistrer le don de la maison à son nom ou au nom du bienfaiteur, en présence d'un notaire. Il a également l'obligation de prendre toutes les mesures pour assurer la conservation de la maison et de s'assurer que les conditions stipulées dans le don sont respectées. En cas de non-respect, le huissier est tenu de se faire aidé par le notaire et le procureur du bienfaiteur pour assurer la conformité des actions prises.
Durand Fouillard, pour le troisième jour de avril mil——

Guillemette Marie Le Ber

Marie [signature]

René [signature]

Audouard

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d’archives de la Capitale, Québec: Minutier de Guillaume Audouart, pièce 990.
This map of the region between Québec and Cap Tourmente mentions the names of the settlers on the Côte de Beaupré. It was in the vicinity of Québec that the first seigneuries (Notre-Dame-des-Anges, Beauport, and Côte de Beaupré) began to develop in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Bibliothèque nationale, Département des cartes et plans, Paris, France: Portefeuille 200, pièce 5233.
Incentives and punitive measures

In 1669 the king’s council of State adopted a series of measures: a yearly allocation of three hundred livres to the parents of ten children and four hundred to the parents of twelve; a gift of twenty livres on their wedding day to young men under twenty-one years of age; honours to be paid to the habitants who had the largest number of children; but also fines “against fathers who [did] not marry their children at twenty years of age for the boys and sixteen for the girls.”

Since not all the unmarried men felt like getting married so early, Talon issued an ordinance in 1671 forbidding the recalcitrants "the enjoyment of the right to hunt and fish and trade with the Indians and even to go into the Woods." They either had to get married or starve to death!

But how many obstacles had had to be overcome and would still have to be overcome to populate the colony! The Iroquois war had greatly delayed the creation of the seigneuries; once peace had returned, it was the life in the woods that kept the soundest elements among the young men from getting married and working the land.

And then the king himself, as Colbert declared, did not intend “to depopulate his kingdom...to people Canada.” From 1672 on that became quite clear; all immigration activity suddenly ceased. This was in the same year that Frontenac was writing of the town of Québec that it could not be better situated “when it should one day become the capital of a great empire...”
Among the measures contained in this decree was a yearly allowance to the parents of ten children or more and a gift of twenty livres to those young men who married before they were twenty-one.
qu'il soit réglé quelques honneurs aux principaux habitants qui prennent soin

des affaires de chacuns bourgade et communautés,
soit pour leur rang dans l'église, soit ailleurs,
et que ceux des habitants qui auront plus grand
nombre d'enfants soient toujours préférés aux
autres, si quelque raison puissante ne l'empêche.
Et qu'il soit établi quelque petite pecuniaire

applicable aux hospitiaux des lieux contre
les pêres qui ne marieront point leurs enfants
à l'âge de 20 ans pour les garçons et de 16
pour les filles.

Fait au Contre
d'État du Roy tenu à Paris le troisième,
Avril 1669 Signé Colbert.
Oath of fealty and act of homage by Éléonore de Grandmaison for her fief of Chavigny, 10 December 1667.

She "has been forced, as have all those who were her tenants and who might number twenty, to leave and abandon" her domain "because of the Iroquois raids and frequent attacks." But now "the king has provided protection for the inhabitants of this country against the Iroquois raids," and "she is ready to go back to live on her fief named herein."

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec: Foi et hommage, cahier 1, fol. 181.
Letter from Governor General Denonville to the minister Seignelay, Québec, 13 November 1685.

According to Denonville life in the woods was leading to "the complete ruin of the colony; those who have farms let them lie fallow,...married men desert their wives and children, who are dependent upon the public for their living or get into debt to the merchants."

Letter from the minister Colbert to Intendant Talon, Versailles, 5 April 1666.

The minister explained to Talon, who wanted massive immigration to make Canada into "a great and powerful State," that for the king "it would not be prudent to depopulate his kingdom as would be necessary to do in order to people Canada."

"Partie de l'Amerique Septentrionale ou est compris la Nouvelle France..., 1699"; Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin; col. ms.; 90 x 135 cm.

View of the town of Québec.

Service historique de la Marine, Vincennes, France: Vol. 4040B, no. 12 a–d.
Censuses and population

The censuses taken in New France during the second half of the seventeenth century generally seem to have been incomplete. The one for 1688 for Canada gives 11,249 persons, including more than 1,200 Indians settled there; that for 1686 counted 915 persons for Acadia, including 30 soldiers.

The Canadians had of course qualities and failings: in 1685 Governor Denonville wrote that they were “all big, well built and sturdy, used to living on little in times of need, robust and vigorous, but very headstrong and frivolous, and prone to dissolute living. They are witty and vivacious.” Intendant Jacques de Meulles noted for his part how quickly they multiplied.

De Meulles was less enthusiastic in 1686 when he spoke of Acadia, which was so far removed from Québec that it was almost out of touch with the colony in Canada, so neglected by France that it received no help from her, and so close to the English that many Acadians had gone to settle around Boston.

In October 1685 de Meulles had visited Acadia. He had seen Port-Royal and considered that fortifications should be built for this settlement of slightly fewer than six hundred souls. It was older than Québec in a sense, but was far from having progressed as much as Québec, for which the engineer Robert de Villeneuve had just drawn up a detailed plan with a view to providing it with fortifications worthy of the name.
Canada counted about three thousand souls in 1663, and more than eleven thousand in 1688. The population of the colony had therefore increased notably, thanks to the efforts made by France from 1665 to 1672 to settle it, and thanks also to the high birth rate in the country.

General census of Canada, 1688.

Summary of the census of Acadia in 1686. Fewer than a thousand French people were living in this colony, which was neglected by France.

Letter from the intendant Jacques de Meulles to the minister Seignelay, Québec, 4 November 1683.

De Meulles expressed his astonishment at the number of children that the Canadians had: "They all have ten or twelve ordinarily and fairly often more, and it is surprising to see how much the population is growing here."

Report sent by Intendant de Meulles to King Louis XIV, 1686.

"Acadia is at present of so little importance, since it is supported in no way and receives no help from France, that most of the settlers, because of their frequent contacts with the English and the trade that they carry on continually with them, have abandoned these shores to go to live around Boston."

"Plan De La Ville Et Chastveau De Quebec, Fait En 1685, Mezvree Exactement"; [Robert] de Villeneuve; col. ms.; 70 x 47 cm.

The main buildings existing in the town of Quebec in 1685. One can pick out the Chateau Saint-Louis, the Seminaire de Quebec, the hospital (Hôtel-Dieu), the Ursuline convent, the Jesuit house, the cathedral church, and the intendant's dwelling.

Archives nationales, Paris, France: Section Outre-Mer, Dépôt des fortifications des colonies, Amérique septentrionale, 349B.
The native peoples

While on the subject of population one must not forget the native peoples: Eskimos (Inuit) and Indians. Before 1700 scarcely anyone but the explorers looking for a northwest passage had had any contact with the Inuit, of whom little was yet known and who had their own civilization, which was very different from that of the Indians.

As for the Indians, those in the valley of the St. Lawrence and Acadia all belonged to the Algonkian family. Being basically nomadic, they lived almost exclusively on hunting, fishing, and picking fruit, and travelled in small groups. Their shelters, made of skins or strips of bark stretched over poles, were easy to take down and carry.

The Indians belonging to the Huron-Iroquois family, who lived farther south, were on the contrary semi-sedentary; they cultivated the soil, but without neglecting hunting and fishing. Their "lodges" were of more lasting construction and were grouped inside an enclosure. Each lodge could hold several families.

The Europeans owed much to both the nomads and the sedentary Indians; would they have even survived in New France without them? In the fields of transportation, dwellings, clothing, cooking, medicine, as well as hunting, fishing, and war, the Whites borrowed more from the Indians than is generally believed. And without those indispensable informants and guides, would they have been able to explore the interior of the vast continent so rapidly?
Eskimos; F. Wiebman; line engraving; 19 x 14.3 cm. (page).


The Eskimos' language and culture were very different from the Indians'. They lived in the Arctic regions and on the Labrador coast. Their contacts with the Europeans before 1700 were rare and generally not very friendly. They lived by hunting and fishing and travelled on water with the help of a small sealskin craft, the kayak.
Kayak, Spear and Arrowheads; engraved by I.B. Scotin; etching; 15.6 x 8.5 cm.

In the seventeenth century the Indians of Acadia and the valley of the St. Lawrence as far as the Great Lakes belonged to the Algonkian family, that is to say they spoke dialects that all had a common root: the Algonkian language. This linguistic group included in particular the Abenakis, Micmacs, Algonkins, Montagnais, and Ottawas. These Indians, who were essentially nomadic, lived primarily from hunting, fishing, and berry-picking.

Indians Fishing; Louis Nicolas (1634–after 1678); brown ink and watercolour on parchment; 33.7 x 21.6 cm.

Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, U.S.A.
Algonkian Bark House; Louis Nicolas (1634–after 1678); brown ink on parchment; 10.2 x 9.5 cm. (detail).

Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, U.S.A.
Onondaga – an Iroquois Village; after a drawing by Samuel de Champlain (1567 [? ]– 1635); etching; 16.1 x 14.1 cm. (plate).


Several tribes speaking dialects that all had the same origin, the Iroquoian language, were connected with the Huron-Iroquois family. The two most important groups were the Hurons and the Iroquois. The first lived south of Georgian Bay (Lake Huron) and the others lived mainly south of Lake Ontario and as far as the area around Lake Erie. These Indians were semi-sedentary: they cultivated the soil, without neglecting hunting and fishing.

Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottawa (Negative no. C 5749).
Indian Village in Canada; etching with line engraving; 16 x 9.7 cm. (page).


Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottawa (Negative no. C 99250).
Snowshoes (detail); Louis Nicolas (1634–after 1678); brown ink on parchment; 33.7 x 21.6 cm.

Snowshoes and the canoe represent only a very small part of what the Whites borrowed from the Indians. In the fields of transportation, clothing, medicine, hunting, fishing, and war, the Indians’ contribution was considerable.

Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, U.S.A.
Canoes; Louis Nicolas (1634–after 1678); brown ink and watercolour on parchment; 33.7 x 21.6 cm.

Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, U.S.A.
In 1627 Cardinal Richelieu created the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, to which the king handed over New France "in full ownership, justice, and seigneury." Under the authority of Richelieu, representing the royal power, the Cent-Associés received responsibility for administering New France; Champlain commanded at Québec "in the absence of his Eminence the Cardinal."

In 1636 the king appointed the first titular governor, who was invested with military, civil, and judicial powers; only the financial administration of the colony and control of the fur trade rested with the Cent-Associés' chief clerk. In 1647 the clerk's duties were transferred to a council, which was altered in 1648; the king also entrusted this council with the enforcement of public order, which up till then had rested in great part with the governor. The governor retained his other powers, however, and even held, it seems, a right of veto on the council.

In 1651 Québec and Trois-Rivières shortly afterwards were both provided with a regular tribunal, the seneschal's court; as for Ville-Marie, it had its own seigneurial court. The seneschal's courts heard civil and criminal cases as the court of first instance, and perhaps received appeals from the seigneurial courts that were being set up in their respective districts; appeals from the seneschal's courts and the court in Montréal were brought before the governor general, who was the final judge.

In rapid succession in 1657 and 1659 the king reorganized the council set up in 1648 and conferred a great number of legislative, executive, and judicial powers upon it; in addition, beginning in 1659 appeals from the decisions of the seneschal's courts were to come before the parlement of Paris, except for unimportant or very urgent matters, which would continue to be heard by the governor. Moreover, the governor could no longer suspend or dismiss officers of justice, this right being reserved by the king himself. Consequently the governor, whose powers were virtually non-existent in the realm of justice and were reduced in other fields proportionately as those of the council increased, would henceforth enjoy only limited authority.
The Cent-Associés handed in their resignation in 1663. Louis XIV retook possession of the colony and immediately decided to give it institutions similar to those of the French provinces, providing it with a governor, an intendant, and a parlement, the Conseil souverain. These three great institutions were going to last until the conquest in 1760. But the intendant who was appointed in 1663 did not come to Canada, and Talon did not arrive until 1665; in the intervening period the king had handed New France over to the Compagnie des Indes occidentales. These two circumstances explain the hesitations that marked the years from 1663 to about 1666. Besides, the company was dismissed in 1674; it is from that time on that the administrative structure of the colony must be examined.

As the king’s personal representative and the highest ranking person in Canada, the governor general enjoyed great moral authority, which he had to use to keep New France in allegiance to the king. Military and diplomatic matters depended exclusively on him; as commander-in-chief of the armed forces he also decided on the line of conduct to be followed in dealing with the Indian tribes and the English colonies. That was the reason that he had jurisdiction over the outlying territories, appointing the fort commandants, issuing trading licences, and exercising a certain degree of authority over the missions and the missionaries. In other areas — settlement and colonization, trade and industry, general administration and religion — he had jurisdiction jointly with the intendant.

It was the intendant, however, who through the number, importance, and extent of his powers was the most powerful person in New France. Everything that did not fall under the exclusive authority of the governor and the bishop came under him or at least required his participation. He had jurisdiction over justice, police (that is to say the entire civil administration), and finances. On him depended in great part the economic, demographic, and social progress of the colony.

The governor general, the bishop, and the intendant met on the Conseil souverain, which had been created in 1663; the council, which was a court of justice above all, also included the attorney general, five — and later (in 1674) seven — councillors, and a secretary. In addition to its purely judicial attributions the council registered royal ordinances and put them into force. At first, and thereafter particularly as a result of the absence of an intendant from 1663 to 1665, it played a considerable administrative role, of which it would soon retain only some part in the general enforcement of public order.

In 1666 and 1667 the former seneschal’s courts, which had disappeared with the Cent-Associés, were replaced by the new company; it set up the Provost Court of Québec and the Jurisdiction of Trois-Rivières, which after the dismissal of the Compagnie des Indes occidentales became royal courts. These courts heard civil and criminal cases in the first instance in their respective governments — Canada being divided into three governments: Québec, Trois-Rivières and Montréal — in addition to receiving appeals from the seigneurial courts in their jurisdiction. The case of Montréal, which had a seigneurial court, was different: royal justice was not established there until 1693. Appeals emanating from the courts of Québec, Trois-Rivières, and Montréal came before the Conseil souverain, which was the highest court in the colony.

In principle the governor general, the intendant, and the Conseil souverain had jurisdiction over all the French possessions in North America; in practice, because of the distances, Acadia had its own institutions in the seventeenth century and depended directly on France: it had a governor, but no intendant, and it had a court, but no Conseil souverain. In short, unlike Canada, on which it depended theoretically, it did not obtain the virtual status of a French province.
Administering a trading post

In 1616 the Prince de Condé, viceroy of New France, was arrested. Taking advantage of this opportunity the Société des Marchands de Rouen et de Saint-Malo, which had been formed by Champlain in 1614, wanted to give command of Québec to François Gravé Du Pont. To thwart the partners’ intrigues and obtain recognition of his rights, Champlain had recourse to the king’s council of State, which issued a decree in his favour on 18 July 1619.

Since the king had ordered him to exercise justice in the “colony,” Champlain appointed in 1621 the first court officers in Canada: Gilbert Courseron, lieutenant of the provost court (judge), Louis Hébert, king’s attorney, and a certain Nicolas, court clerk.

Previous to these appointments Champlain did not have to render justice himself, it seems, except in 1608 in the affair concerning Jean Duval, who had fomented a plot to murder him. Constituting about him a sort of jury, Champlain heard the witnesses and received a confession from Duval, who was hanged for his crime.

After being lieutenant to lieutenants general and viceroys, in 1627 Champlain became lieutenant to Cardinal Richelieu himself and continued to exercise in a way the function of governor, without bearing the title. But the following year the Kirke brothers were threatening the post of Québec. In 1629, for lack of aid, Champlain had to surrender. For three years the English were in control of Québec.
Decree by the king’s council of State ordering that “the aforesaid Champlain will be in command in person in the habitation of Québec and the country of New France,” Tours, 18 July 1619.

Samuel de Champlain was the guiding spirit of the colony from 1608 to 1635.

Archives nationales, Paris, France: Fonds anciens, série E, 611'-62A¹, fol. 350–351.
Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France,
contenant l'histoire des Colonies Françaises, & des Découvertes, qui s'y sont faites jusques à présent.

Avec une relation exacte des Expeditions & Voyages entrepris pour la Découverte du Fleuve Mississippi jusques au Golphe de Mexico.

Par ordre du roi.

Sous la conduite du Sieur de la Salle, & de ses diverses avatitures jusques à sa mort.

Ensemble les victoires remportées en Canada sur les Anglois & Iroquois en 1690, par les Armées de Sa Majesté sous le Commandement de Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac Gouverneur & Lieutenant Général de la Nouvelle-France.

Tome premier.

A Paris,
chez Amable Auroy, rue Sainte Jacques, attenant la Fontaine Saint Sulpice, à l'image Saint Jerôme,

MC: LXXXI.

Avec Privilege du Roy.

The names are mentioned here of the first officers of the law appointed in Canada: Gilbert Courseron, provost's lieutenant (judge); Louis Hébert, king's attorney; and a certain Nicolas, court clerk.
Premier établissement de la Foi
Nouvelle France sous la signa-
ture des principaux Habitants,
faînant pour le général, lesquels
pour authentifier davantage
cette délégation, ont prié le
tres Reverend Pere en Dieu
Denis Jamay Commissaire des
Religieux qui sont en ces ter-
res d'apposer son sceau Écle-
siastique ce jour & an qu'ap-
sus. Signé Champlain. F. De-
nis Jamay Commissaire. F. Jo-
seph le Caron. Hebert Pro-
cureur du Roy. Gilbert Cour-
feron Lieutenant du Prevost.
Boullé. Pierre Reye. Le Tar-
dif I. Le Groux. P. des Por-
tes. Nicolas Gréfier de la Ju-
risdiction de Quebec, & Gré-
fier de l'assemblée. Guers Com-
missionné de Monseigneur le
Vice-Roy & présent en cette
élection, & scellé en placard du
Scel dudit R. P. Commissaire
des Recollets.
Après que le Pont & moy, avec le Capitaine du vaisseau, le Chirurgien, maître, contre maître, & autres mariniers eusmes ouy leurs dépositions & confrontations, Nous aduisîmes que se seroit assez de faire mourir ledit du Val, comme le motif de l'entreprise, & aussi pour servir d'exemple à ceux qui restoient, de se comporter sagement à l'advenir en leur devoir, & afin que les Espagnols & Basques qui estoient en quantité au pays n'en fussent trophée: & les trois autres condamnez d'etre pendus, & cependant les rémener en France entre les mains du sieur de Mons, pour leur estre fait plus ample justice, selon qu'il aduiseroit, avec toutes les informations, & la sentence, tant dudit Jean du Val qui fut pendu & estranglé audit Quebec, & la teste mise au bout d'une pique pour estre plantée au lieu le plus éminent de

notre fort & les autres trois renvoyez en France.


Champlain gives an account of the procedure used in 1608 against the locksmith Jean Duval and his accomplices, who had plotted to murder him. Duval was "hanged and strangled at the aforementioned Quebec, and his head stuck on a pike at the highest point of the fort."

National Library of Canada, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Ottawa.
The English capture of Québec; I. van Vianen (circa 1660–after 1726); etching; 17.7 x 13.6 cm. (page).


Imaginary depiction of Québec City.  
In 1629 Sir William Alexander seized Port-Royal in Acadia and David Kirke forced Champlain to surrender at Québec. New France did not remain English long, since Québec and Port-Royal were returned to France by the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1632.

National Library of Canada, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Ottawa.
The régime of the Cent-Associés

The very simple administrative machinery of the post of Québec was largely sufficient for its needs. And when the Compagnie des Cent-Associés was created, it was less to provide the "colony" with a more complex administration than to ensure settlement. That was why the clauses concerning administration in the edict creating the company were few in number and generally vague.

In reality it was the commercial structure that was strengthened between 1632 and 1647. There were no longer even any court officers in the colony. The governor exercised all the powers: military, civil, and judicial. The only thing that escaped him was the purely financial management, which was entrusted to the chief clerk of the Cent-Associés.

A council, the first important administrative structure, was set up in 1647 consisting of the governor, the Jesuit superior, and the governor of Montréal. But this council found its raison d'être much more in the management of commerce and the fur trade than in civil administration in general, since the governor retained his attributions and his paramount role in the other domains.

A court of justice, the seneschal's court, was first set up in 1651. On a plan of Québec drawn up by Jean Bourdon in 1660 can be seen the site of the seneschal's court (Upper Town) and the site of the store where the Conseil de la Nouvelle-France sat in 1647 (Lower Town).
Act creating the Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, called Compagnie des Cent-Associés, Paris, 29 April 1627.

This company received “in full ownership, justice, and seigneury the fort and habitation of Québec, with all the aforesaid country of New France." It could “do generally in the aforesaid places everything that was necessary, either for the security of the said country or for maintaining trade.”

Seal of the Compagnie des Cent-Associés (1627–63). Obverse: against a background semy of fleur-de-lis, a female figure standing on waves holding a lily stalk in her left hand and a Latin cross in her right; 65 mm. (approximate diameter); ME DONAVIT LVDOVICUS DECIMUS TERTIVUS 1627. Reverse: a ship with full sail on waves; 30 mm. (diameter); IN MARI VIAE TVAE; wax.

Archives des ursulines de Québec, Quebec.
Commission from King Louis XIV extending for three years Charles Huault de Montmagny's term of office as governor and lieutenant general of New France, Paris, 6 June 1645.

Montmagny was the first titular governor of New France. He held that office from 1636 to 1648.

SA MAESTE,

EN SONDIT CONSEIL, La Reyne Regente la Mere presente, Voulant pourvoir auxdits abus, & faire yivre les sujets de la Nouuelle France, en paix, union, bon ordre & police, A faié & ordonne le Reglement qui s'ensuit.

SCAYOIR, Que il sera establi vn Conseil composé du Gouvernour dudit pays, & iusqu'a ce qu'il y ay vn Euyque du Superieur de la Maison des lieux qui sera lors à Quebec, ensemble du Gouvernour particulier de l'isle de Montreal et en l'absence du Gouvernour dudit pays, & du Gouvernour particulier dudit Montreal, de leurs Lieutenans: Lequel Conseil se tiendra en la Maison commune où est abasté le Magasin de Quebec.

Que par ledit Conseil à la pluralité des voix, sera pourvue à la nomination du General de la flotte, des Capitaines & autres Officiers des Vaisselx, des Commissaires & Controleurs de la Traite, tant dans ledit pays qu'en France.

Sera aussi par ledit Conseil nommé un Secretarie qui ne pourra être domestique de aucun de ceux qui composent ledit Conseil, pour garder les Registres, Reçus & Expended les Actes, Commissaires & Règles, des Délibéréz, & les delier a ceux qu'il appartiendra: Lequel Secretarie pourra aussi recevoir tous autres Actes & Contrats qui se passeront entre les particuliers, comme Notaires & personne publique, faisant signer deux soirs moyens aux parties, conformément aux Ordonnances gardées en France.

Seront auctul Conseil, vez, examiniez & arretez tous les Comptes reglez, les gages & appointemens des Officierz & Commissaires, & generallement pourrez à tout ce qui sera nécessaire pour la Traite & le bien dudit pays sans que ledit Officiers & Commissaires puissent prendre aucun profit directement ou indirectement autre que les appointemens qui leur seront accordez par ledit Conseil, ny estre nourris aux dépens du Magasin: Ce que la Maiesté defend tres expressément à l'advenir.

Le General de lad flotte, & les Syndics des habitans de Quebec, des trois riuiers & de Montreal auront entrée & scance audt Conseil, sans voix deliberative, pour y représenter seulement ce qui regarde leurs charges, & l'interet de leurs Communautés.

Serait permis à l'advenir à tous les habitans Francois dudit pays, de traite & faire commerce de peaux & Peltries avec les Sauuages, de leurs friuets provenans dudit pays seulement, & à la charge & non autrement, d'apporter aux magazins communs, toutes les peaux & Peltries qu'ils auront recues avec dudit Sauvages, pour le prix qu'ils en esteray, anoint qu'ils seré reglé par ledit Conseil, a peine de confiscation d'icelles, & d'amende arbitraire.

Les Syndics de Quebec, des trois riuiers & de Montreal feront esleus chacun par les habitans des dits lieux, chacun an par secrutin, & ne pourront estre continus plus des trois ans de fuite.

Fait au Conseil d'Estat du Roy, sa Maiesté y estant, la Reyne Regente la Mere presente, rentré à Paris le vignt septiemse jour de Mars mil six cens quatre sept. Signé DELOMENIE.

Royal regulation making various changes in the administration of Canada, Paris, 27 March 1647.

Creation of council to control commerce and the fur trade: "In the said Council will be seen, examined, and settled all accounts paid, the wages and allowances of the officers and clerks, and generally all that will be necessary for the fur trade and the good of the said country will be provided for."

This map of Québec shows the two sections of the town: Lower Town, the centre of commerce, and Upper Town, the centre of religion and government.

Archives nationales, Paris, France: Section Outre-Mer, Dépôt des fortifications des colonies, Amérique septentrionale, 341 c.
The great institutions

After the resignation of the Cent-Associés in 1663, Louis XIV made the governor his personal representative in the colony. This was a notable increase in prestige and authority, which was nevertheless accompanied by a considerable decrease in his powers, since the governor could no longer act alone except in the areas of war, diplomacy, and external relations.

Several of the governor's previous attributions devolved upon the intendant, who was responsible for the whole civil administration of the colony. The intendant also became the colony's superintendent of finances, so that even the governor was dependent upon him for financing the performance of his own duties.

The governor, the intendant, and the apostolic vicar met on the Conseil souverain, which had been set up in 1663. The council, which was above all a court of justice, was at first entrusted with a great number of administrative responsibilities, which it subsequently shed gradually, to become around 1700 almost nothing but a final court of appeal.

But in 1664 the king and Colbert created the Compagnie des Indes occidentales and granted it New France “in complete seigneury, property, and justice.” The competition which developed between the king's and the company's representatives was one of the factors that led to revocation of the company's charter in 1674.

From 1663 on the governor general, the king’s personal representative in the colony, was entrusted principally with military matters and relations with the Indians and foreign colonies.
Dieu et lumière de la foi et de la R. C. T. 
R. c'en establir l'exercice à l'exclusion de toute autre, défendre lesd. lieux, de tout son pouvoir, maintenir et conduire lesd. peuples en paix repos et tranquillité, et commander tant par mer que par terre, ordonner et faire exécuter tout ce que luy, ou ceux qu'il - commettre jugeront le devoir et pouvoir faire pour l'estendue, et conservation d'el. lieux.
Sous n'êr authority et n'êr obeissance,

Donné à Paris -
le 23. Marie Lundi de grace 1665 et de mon regne, le 22. égnez Louis

Portrait of Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle (1626–98); artist unknown; oil.

Courcelle was governor general of New France from 1665 to 1672.

Mr. Xavier de Rémy de Courcelles, Amiens, France.
Commission from King Louis XIV appointing Jean Talon intendant of New France, Paris, 23 March 1665.

The intendant received very wide powers which allowed him to exercise effective control over finances, industry, commerce, agriculture, population, justice, and police.
Louis de Courcelles gouverneur en la mer d’Amérique, est de la 
Cour d’Espagne de France, juge souverain en royaume de Canada, 
si bien qu’il est de tout ordonner, 
as de dire pour tous de vos 
veux être juste, et à propos.

Voulons aussi que vous ayez l’œil à la 
direction, maniement et distribution de nos 
dépenses, pour qu’ils soient en après 
pour l’entretien des gens de guerre.
Comme aussi des vivres, munitions, 
soutenancements, parties jupinées, emprunts, 
crédits, pour les personnes qui pourront avoir cette 
et être faites pour les dépenses d’elle x.

Donné à Paris le 23ème jour 
de mai de l’an de grâce 1665.

archives nationales, Paris, France: Fonds 

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Edict by King Louis XIV creating a supreme council, the Conseil souverain, at Québec, to "judge without appeal and in the last resort according to the laws and ordinances" of the kingdom of France, Paris, March 1663.
Au nom en outre audité.

Con... Fournier donné est attribué, donnons
et attribuons le pouvoir de connoître de
 toutes causes civilles et criminelles pour
 juger souverainement et en dernier ressort
 selon les loix et ordonnances de n...-
Royaume...

Donné a...-

Paris au mois de Mars l'an de grace
1663 et de n... règne le 20e Signé Louis
Seal of the Conseil souverain; the Royal Arms of France, i.e., a shield charged with three fleur-de-lis and ensignied by the Royal Crown of France; wax; 32 mm. (oval).

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec.
Establishment of the Compagnie des Indes occidentales; artist unknown; medal; struck in copper; restrike circa 1870; 41.8 mm. Obverse: LUDOVICUS XIII. REX CHRISTIANISSIMUS./I. MAVGER. F. Reverse: JUNGENDIS COMMERCIO GENTIBUS. In the exercise: SOCIETATES NEGOTIATORUM/ IN UTRAMQUE INDIAM./ M.DC.LXIV.

Public Archives of Canada, Picture Division, Ottawa (Negatives nos. C 14811 obverse, C 14855 reverse).
Edict by the king revoking the privilege of the Compagnie des Indes occidentales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, December 1674.

This company, which had been formed in 1664, was the last one to be entrusted, in whole or in part, with the administration of New France.

Politics and administration

The rivalries between the governor general and the intendant were not long in appearing; conflict was virtually permanent between these two personages, one receiving much honour and enjoying great moral authority, the other holding the purse strings and possessing nearly all the real powers. The temptation was great for the first to encroach upon the authority of the second, and for the latter to “set himself on a parallel” with the former, to borrow Colbert’s expression.

New France was divided into three governments: Québec, Trois-Rivières, and Montréal. The governor and the intendant, who resided at Québec, appointed people to represent them in the other two governments: local governors, and subdelegates of the intendant (or financial commissaries) respectively. Under the responsibility of the governor or the intendant as the case might be, they worked on their authority in the same fields as their superiors.

In the area of public order (that is to say making rules and regulations in civil matters), the Conseil souverain played an important role: it adopted and promulgated regulations, such as those of 11 May 1676, for example, which were a reworking, in forty-three articles, of the council’s previous decrees and the ordinances of the governors and intendants since Augustin de Saffray de Mézy and Jean Talon. Registered and posted at Québec, Montréal, and Trois-Rivières, these regulations applied to the three governments.
Au S. Duchesneau.

as 4 Germain le 25. ari 1679.

Monsieur.

Vos trois premières dépêches de l'année dernière en date des 15. et 16. ari, 9. may, et 25. juillet ne contiennent que de grands recits de tout ce qu'on a fait avec les Anglais, et en beaucoup d'autres occasions dans lesquelles vous parlez toujours comme si M.de Frontenac avoit toujours tort, et vous estes persuadé qu'il ne doit rien faire dans l'exercice, et dans les fonctions du pouvoir qui le Roy lui a donné, que de concert avec vous, et il paroit que vous vous mettez toujours en parallèle aux Roy, la seule réponse que jay a vous faire sur toutes ces dépêches, est qu'il faut que vous travailliez a vous connoistre, et a vous bien esclaire de la difference qu'il y a entre un gouverneur, et Lieutenant general du pays qui représente la personne du Roy, et un Intendant, et vous debiez savoir qu'en tout ce qui regarde la guerre, le commandement des armes, et le gouvernement des peuples, il peut, et doit agir sans vous, et s'il vous en parle, et vous en communique, ce n'est que par bienveillance sans obligation, et tout autre que vous verrez bien avec lui, et a vray egard c'est tout au contraire.


He blamed him for speaking "as if M. de Frontenac was always wrong," and for "always drawing a parallel" between himself and Frontenac.

Occasions for wrangling were frequent between the governor general and the intendant, whose respective jurisdictions overlapped and often were opposed in practice.
Commission as governor of Trois-Rivières granted Pierre Boucher by Governor General Mézy, Québec, 28 October 1663.

New France was divided into three governments: Québec, Trois-Rivières, and Montréal. The governor general, who resided at Québec, had a representative, the local governor, in each of the governments of Montréal and Trois-Rivières.

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d’archives de la Capitale, Québec: Insinuations du Conseil souverain, vol. 1, fol. 5.
Le Conseil assemblé, au château, s'entendit occupé d'affaires. Il en est arrivé à proposer à la Cour, dont vient d'être annoncé le départ, de faire des ordonnances pour le bien de la ville de Québec, conformément aux ordres donnés par sa Majesté, lieutenant-général de la province et vice-rex, pour le bien de la ville et de la province. À cette fin, il a été décidé que la Cour, après avoir entendu les représentations des habitants et des habitants, ainsi que des ordonnances de la Cour, enjoint à la Cour, après avoir entendu les représentations des habitants et des habitants, ainsi que des ordonnances de la Cour, de faire des ordonnances pour le bien de la ville et de la province.

1. Le Conseil se réunira en ville, en la foire de la ville de Québec, pour y entendre les représentations des habitants et des habitants, ainsi que des ordonnances de la Cour, enjoint à la Cour, après avoir entendu les représentations des habitants et des habitants, ainsi que des ordonnances de la Cour, de faire des ordonnances pour le bien de la ville et de la province.

2. Tous les habitants de la ville de Québec, ainsi que les représentants des habitants et des habitants, ainsi que des ordonnances de la Cour, enjoint à la Cour, après avoir entendu les représentations des habitants et des habitants, ainsi que des ordonnances de la Cour, de faire des ordonnances pour le bien de la ville et de la province.

3. Tous les habitants de la ville de Québec, ainsi que les représentants des habitants et des habitants, ainsi que des ordonnances de la Cour, enjoint à la Cour, après avoir entendu les représentations des habitants et des habitants, ainsi que des ordonnances de la Cour, de faire des ordonnances pour le bien de la ville et de la province.

4. Tous les habitants de la ville de Québec, ainsi que les représentants des habitants et des habitants, ainsi que des ordonnances de la Cour, enjoint à la Cour, après avoir entendu les représentations des habitants et des habitants, ainsi que des ordonnances de la Cour, de faire des ordonnances pour le bien de la ville et de la province.

Justice

Under the régime of the Compagnie des Indes occidentales the judicial system of New France began to take form.

In 1666 and 1667 the company set up two courts of justice, one at Québec (the Provost Court of Québec), the other at Trois-Rivières (the Jurisdiction of Trois-Rivières). Since the seigneurs of Montréal had power of justice, it was not until 1693 that a jurisdiction was established there. The tribunals of the three towns heard civil and criminal cases in the first instance; those of Québec and Trois-Rivières also heard appeals coming from the seigneurial courts in their governments. Soon cases concerning maritime law came under the Provost Court of Québec, and that is the reason that it was eventually called the Provost and Admiralty Court of Québec. Appeals from the three courts came before the Conseil souverain, the highest court of appeal.

After the dismissal of the Compagnie des Indes occidentales the administration of justice was the responsibility of the intendant. Thus it was he who, following recommendations by the seigneurs, named the judges in the seigneuries that possessed a court and presented to the king, who made the appointments, the court officers of the Provost Court of Québec and of the Jurisdictions of Trois-Rivières and Montréal.

Following a tradition that began with Talon, the intendant himself rendered justice “out of charity” when small civil cases were involved.
Commission as lieutenant general for civil and criminal affairs of the Provost Court of Québec granted Louis-Théandre Chartier de Lotbinière, Paris, 1 May 1666.

The Provost Court of Québec and the Jurisdiction of Trois-Rivières were first of all courts of first instance. They also heard appeals from the seigneurial tribunals in their governments.

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec: Insinuations du Conseil souverain, vol. 1, fol. 29.
Commission from Intendant Duchesneau appointing Pierre Duquet judge and bailiff of the Île Saint-Laurent (Île d'Orléans), Québec, 10 November 1676.

"Being very well informed of the competence and ability in matters of justice and police of Maître Pierre Duquet... we have granted him, give and grant hereby the office of bailiff civil and criminal judge for the said county of Saint-Laurent."

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec: Insinuations de la Prévôtre de Québec, vol. 1, fol. 303.
Decision of the Conseil souverain in the lawsuit between Louis Le Vasseur, "appellant against a decision reached by the lieutenant for civil and criminal affairs of this town," and Bertrand Chesnay, guardian of Marie-Madeleine Berson, Québec, 30 July 1668.

The Conseil souverain heard appeals emanating from the lower courts of the colony.

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec: Jugesments et délibérations du Conseil souverain, vol. 1, fol. 93–94v.
Je crois vous devoir rendre compte, Monsieur,
de quelle manière je rends l'justice dans mon parti,
et j'ai rendu au Conseil souverain et ailleurs, dont la pleine autorité me reconnaît, les plaintes des habitants qui viennent se rapporter aux voies volontaires de leurs différends, ou quelques fois, de troubles, de misères, qui dévoyaient adéquates ouvrières, lieux de cette ville et davantage, ceux qui sont dans une si grande nécessité qui ne peuvent avoir aucun argent pour plaider pardoü le lieutenant général en ce cas le leur donner un billet pour faire venir leur partie. Je les entends et souvent par la main je prends leurs pleurs pour les rogner leurs comptes, Espé-

Leurs œuvres arrêtées. Sans aucune autre formalité je le condamne est il qui a tort, il faut donner du temps pour le paupemvent. Il en est besoin dont la partie est toujours contente. Quand il s'agit de l'écriture

Un contrat, ou autre acte, je les remets pardoü le lieutenant général, après que ce soit dans un

temps de vacances, ou bien que l'affaire mérite de

Marchand, ou maître de l'affaire, signe claire

oblige de partir pour franco, n'aurais pas le temps de faire. Toutes les formalités de justice.

As de Meulles explains, on occasion an intendant dispensed justice himself when small civil cases were involved: "I hear the complaints of the habitants who readily come to present their differences to me, or sometimes of poor wretches" who "cannot put up any money to plead their cause before the lieutenant general."

Plan of the brewery that Talon had built at Québec in 1668–70. It began production in 1670 and shut down in 1675. This building, which was sold to the king in 1685, became the intendant’s residence and the seat of the Conseil souverain.

Acadia and Newfoundland

Since 1632 two seigneurs had shared authority in Acadia: quarrels soon broke out over each one's jurisdiction. On 10 February 1638 the king wrote Charles de Menou d'Aulnay to make clear to him “the limits of the places” where he and Charles de Saint-Étienne de La Tour would have “authority to command, one and the other.”

After being in the hands of the English from 1654 to 1667, Acadia got away a little from its internal quarrels upon the arrival of the first real governor in 1670. But fifteen years later the colony had scarcely made any progress. In 1687, in the hope of inspiring it with some enthusiasm, the king gave Acadia a new governor, Louis-Alexandre Des Friches de Meneval, and provided the ordinary court of Acadia with a new judge and a new king's attorney.

In Newfoundland David Kirke was the first English governor, from 1638 to 1651; then the British government sent commissioners who had the mission of putting an end to his mandate. Soon, after John Treworgie's régime, authority passed to the commandant (or "commodore") of the convoy which escorted the fishing ships every year and to the "fishing admirals" – the first ship's captains to reach a port. Administration of the French territory of Newfoundland – Plaisance (Placentia) and the southern part of the island – was carried out better; from 1655 governors succeeded one another there without interruption.
The king was laying down the boundaries of the areas of which d’Aulnay and La Tour would have command respectively in Acadia: "I want you, d’Aulnay, to be my lieutenant general for the coast of the Etchemins from the middle of the Baie Française [Bay of Fundy] and extending in the direction of the Virginias, and governor of Pen-tagouet, and that the responsibility of the Sieur de La Tour, my lieutenant general for the coast of Acadia, extend from the middle of the aforementioned Baie Française to the Strait of Canso."

Archives nationales, Paris, France: Fonds des Colonies, série C11D, vol. 1, fol. 64.
Commission from King Louis XIV appointing Louis-Alexandre Des Friches de Meneval governor of Acadia, Versailles, 1 March 1687.

“We have appointed and established, appoint and establish the aforementioned Sieur de Meneval by these present signed by our hand governor for us of the afore[said] colony of the country and coast of Acadia.”
Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec: Insinuations du Conseil souverain, vol. 2, fol. 72.
Commission from King Louis XIV appointing Mathieu de Goutin "lieutenant general of the ordinary court of Acadia, to hear in the first instance all matters, civil, criminal, and those pertaining to public order, trade, and navigation according to the usages and customs of our kingdom and of the Provost and Viscounty Court of Paris," Versailles, 31 March 1687.
Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec: Insinuations du Conseil souverain, vol. 2, fol. 74–74v.
Portrait of Charles de Menou d'Aulnay (circa 1604-50); artist unknown; sepia drawing; 1642; 16.8 x 13.6 cm.

Lieutenant general in Acadia from 1638 on and governor of that colony from 1647 to 1650, d'Aulnay established several settlers there and supplied them with the means to live by farming, fishing, and engaging in industry.

New Brunswick Museum, St. John.
On 5 August 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert officially took possession of Newfoundland in the name of the queen of England. From 1610 on the English were the first Europeans to have permanent settlements on the island. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the English colony amounted to nearly two thousand souls, spread out in about thirty-five bays or harbours on the east coast. The principal settlements were St. John's, Renews, Ferryland, Bay Bulls and Carbonear.

Mrs. Walter Raleigh Gilbert, Compton Castle, Devon, England.
Probably to ensure their friendship and encourage the fur trade, Champlain had promised the Algonkins and Montagnais to help them in their war against the Iroquois. In 1609 and 1610 the allies won two victories in succession; in 1615, being badly supported by the Indians and having been wounded, Champlain had to give up the fight before winning. Peace was concluded on the Iroquois’ initiative in 1624; in 1627 it was broken.

Another enemy was not long in appearing. As a result of the creation of the Virginia Company of London the question of the “boundaries” of Acadia arose. For the gentlemen of Virginia – a geographical term that designated all New England – Acadia was a threat. In 1613, after seizing two French ships in the port of Pentagouet, Samuel Argall pillaged and razed to the ground the settlements of Saint-Sauveur, Île Sainte-Croix, and Port-Royal.

Fifteen years later, at the moment when Champlain could hope that the colony was finally established, the Kirke brothers, who held letters of marque and reprisal from the authorities in London, captured the Cent-Associés’ ships. After this initial success an Anglo-Scottish company was formed to trade in furs on the St. Lawrence. In 1629 Sir William Alexander seized Port-Royal with the permission of Charles I of England, while at Québec David Kirke was forcing Champlain to surrender.

Thus, even before New France was truly established in North America, the first territorial and economic rivalries, which would finally overcome her, were becoming apparent. At the same time an alliance was being formed that would become traditional: the French were siding with the Algonkins, Montagnais, and Hurons against the Iroquois.

In 1614, moreover, the Dutch in New Netherland (New York) had sealed an alliance, which was more an economic than military one, with the Iroquois tribes; the Iroquois would deliver furs to the Dutch, who would supply them with European products in
exchange. As their territories were poor in furs, the Iroquois devised the scheme of diverting towards New Netherland the pelts belonging to the Hurons, who obtained them from other tribes. Lying in ambush along the rivers at the periods when the heavily-laden canoes were making their way towards the French colony, the Iroquois, attacking without warning, would massacre the canoeists, take over and send their cargo off to the Dutch trading posts.

From 1632 on the Iroquois made a practice of making raids into the colony. After 1639, having been supplied by the Dutch with harquebuses, they became much bolder. A little time before the short peace of 1645 they made ready a very daring plan: wipe out the Hurons and take their place as middlemen in the fur trade. By 1649 Huronia was already destroyed. As this victory had had the unexpected effect of strengthening the bonds between the tribes that supplied the furs and the French, the Iroquois resolved to destroy the whole French trading network. They carried the war to the allied tribes everywhere: in Acadia, at Tadoussac, at Lac Saint-Jean, on the Saint-Maurice, on the Ottawa. And once trade was almost completely paralyzed, they turned against the French themselves, to drive them out of the valley of the St. Lawrence.

They reduced the colony to dire straits. In 1660 many of the French were afraid that they would have to “leave this country.” Desperate appeals to the king were finally heard: in 1665 the Carignan-Salières regiment arrived and the following year it destroyed part of the Iroquois villages. In 1667 peace was made. Now, that same year the Treaty of Breda returned Acadia to France, which had been in English hands since the capture of Port-Royal by Robert Sedgwick on 16 August 1654. New France took advantage of the peace to consolidate its positions.

The next serious action again came from the Iroquois who, being “at peace” with the French, carried the war into the territory of an allied tribe, the Illinois. Governor Antoine Le Fevre de La Barre made the situation worse by his cupidity; finally, in 1684, at Famine Cove on the southeast side of Lake Ontario, he had to accept the peace terms dictated to him by the Iroquois, who were in part won over to the English cause. In the spring of 1687 his successor, Jacques-René de Brissay de Denonville, led an expedition against the Senecas, whose country he ravaged. For a long time there was no response; then the Iroquois struck the colony hard at several points, particularly at Lachine in August 1689.

War had broken out again too with the English, who in 1685 had seized Fort Bourbon on Hudson Bay; the following year the French took three of their forts on James Bay. Then it was the war of the League of Augsburg in 1689. Frontenac, who had come back to Quebec the same year, tried “to keep...the English occupied at home,” to prevent them from joining the Iroquois in their attacks on the colony: in the early months of 1690 he organized raids on Corlaer (New York), Salmon Falls and Casco (Massachusetts). In the autumn, after capturing Port-Royal, Admiral Sir William Phips besieged Quebec in vain with thirty-four ships. Later New England was satisfied – except for an attempt against Laprairie in 1692 – with letting the Iroquois fight. In 1696 Frontenac ravaged the Onondagas’ country; this expedition put an end to the warlike activity of the Five Nations, who signed the “Peace of Montréal” in 1701.

In 1694 Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville had seized the main English post on Hudson Bay, Fort Nelson. In 1696 he captured Fort Pemaquid in Acadia, at the mouth of the Kennebec River. Also in that year, in a mad dash, he captured St. John’s in Newfoundland and all except two of the English settlements on the island. Back on Hudson Bay the following year, he won, with the Pelican, a naval battle against three English ships and forced the commandant of Fort Nelson, which had been taken back from the French in 1696, to surrender. Now, in September 1697 the Treaty of Ryswick, which put an end to hostilities, annulled the conquests on both sides and returned the situation in America to what it had been before the war.
The first clashes

Accompanied by his Indian allies Champlain first won two victories against the Iroquois: in 1609, at the south end of Lake Champlain he frightened the enemy by killing two of their chiefs with one harquebus shot; in 1610, on the Richelieu River, he had an even easier success — the last of that kind — against an enemy who was, however, well entrenched in a small fort made of "strong trees."

During this time the English were landing in New England. On 2 July 1613 Samuel Argall, of the Virginia Company of London, seized two French ships, one of which was the Jonas, at anchor in the port of Pentagouet; several Frenchmen were killed and others were taken prisoner. In the same year, on the order of the council of Virginia, Argall returned to destroy the French settlements in Acadia.

The English soon took the war to the St. Lawrence. In 1628 the Kirke brothers seized Tadoussac, then captured the Cent-Associés' fleet, which was coming to supply Quebec. As they lacked the prime necessities, Champlain and Gravé Du Pont had to surrender the following year, on 19 July. Since Acadia was again in English hands, New France became English.

Having become French again after the peace of 1632, Acadia soon went through a real civil war. In 1643 there was even the spectacle of Charles de La Tour making an attack on Port-Royal at the head of a troop of Frenchmen and some thirty English mercenaries from Boston.
The people who supplied the French with furs (Algonkins, Montagnais, etc.) were enemies of the Iroquois. To retain their friendship Champlain had no choice: he had to take part in their wars against the Iroquois. In 1609 and 1610 he was involved in two skirmishes with the Iroquois, the first one at Lake Champlain, the other at the entry to the Richelieu.


Iroquois Defeat at Lake Champlain (1609); after a drawing by Samuel de Champlain (1567 [?]-1635); etching; 14.9 x 24.4 cm. (plate).
Champlain’s Second Victory on the Richelieu River (1610); after a drawing by Samuel de Champlain (1567 [?]-1635); etching; 16.1 x 24 cm. (plate).

Memoir sent to the Council of England by Samuel Spifame, the French ambassador, 28 December 1613.

“A captain named Samuel Argall commanding a ship of the Virginia Company called the Tresorerie...on 2 July last seized a French ship belonging to Dame Antoinette de Pons, Marquise de Guercheville...the said ship being at anchor in the port of Pentagouet...was taken and plundered by him and his men as was the dwelling that the French had begun to build at the aforementioned place.”

Terms requested of Kirke by Champlain and Gravé Du Pont for the surrender of Québec, Québec, 19 July 1629.

"A vessel will be given us to carry all our companions back to France.... we will be allowed to go out with arms and baggage and all other kinds of personal effects and belongings that each one may have."

Québec and Port-Royal were returned to France by the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1632.
On 6 August La Tour and his men, accompanied by some thirty English mercenaries from Boston, "came to raid this settlement of Port-Royal with four ships and two armed frigates, and wounded seven of Monsieur d'Aulnay's men... killed three others... in addition killed a number of animals, and took a bark loaded with pelts, powder, and other goods."

The rivalry between La Tour and d'Aulnay, the king's two lieutenants in Acadia, showed up on several occasions.

The first Iroquois war

In 1643 war was raging with the Iroquois. The Jesuit Isaac Jogues, who was a prisoner of the Mohawks, thought that he could guess the Iroquois' immediate aim: "to take all the Hurons if possible, put to death the chiefs along with a large part of the tribe, and with the others make one nation and one country."

A certain number of Hurons did in fact give themselves up to the Iroquois and were incorporated into one or another of the Five Nations; but the greater part perished during the invasion of Huronia, to the point that in 1650 the Jesuit Ragueneau announced the ruin of this tribe, that previously had been flourishing and had been feared.

After eliminating or dispersing, to all intents and purposes, the Indians who were allied to the French, the Iroquois attacked the very heart of the colony. During these campaigns people had to live crowded together in "réduits" (small forts). In 1654 the inhabitants at Cap-Rouge formed a "community" to protect themselves better against the Iroquois, everyone taking an engagement before a notary to respect a certain number of rules so as to "present a solid front" to the enemy.

In 1660 an unprecedented disaster took place: sixteen young men from Montréal, with Adam Dollard Des Ormeaux at their head, fought against hundreds of Iroquois at the Long-Sault. Despite the support of forty Hurons and four Algonkins, they all perished with their leader after a desperate struggle that lasted more than a week.
Letter from Isaac Jogues, a Jesuit missionary, to Governor Montmagny, Iroquois Village, 30 June 1643.

According to Father Jogues “The Iroquois plan...is to take all the Hurons if possible, put to death the chiefs along with a large part of the tribe, and with the others to make one nation and one country.”

Competition in the trade in pelts was at the time very intense between the Iroquois, who supplied New Netherland (New York), and the Hurons, who supplied the French.

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Italy: Gallia, 109, fol. 379v.
Paul Ragueneau. *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la mission des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus, aux Hurons, pais de la Nouvelle France, depuis l'Esté de l'an 1649, jusqû'à l'Esté de l'an 1650.* 


The Jesuit Ragueneau announced that the Iroquois had been successful in destroying the Huron nation: "The number of dead exceeds that of those who have survived the destruction of their homeland."
qui partit il y a un an, toute couverte de son sang, opprimée sous la cruauté des Troupois, ennemis du nom de Dieu & de la Foy; a du depuis continué plus que jamais dans ses souffrances: La plus grande part de nos bons Neophytes, & quelques-uns de leurs Pasteurs ont suivi le chemin des premiers, au milieu des feux & des flammes, & maintenant sont dans le Ciel de compagnie. Une famine épouvantable qui a régna partout, y a mis la déseolation. Nous comptions plus de trois mille baptizex cette dernière année: mais le nombre des morts est plus grand que de ceux qui ont survécu à la ruine de leur Patrie. Les choses étant reduites à l'extremité, nous nous sommes veus obligex de quitter enfin une place qui n'estoit plus tenable, pour en sauver au moins les restes. Ce fut le dixiemes jour du mois de Juin dernier, que nous sortimes de ces terres de Promission, qui estoient nostre Paradis, où la mort nous eust esté mille fois plus douce, que ne fera la vie en quelque lieu que nous puissions estre. Mais il faut suivre Dieu, & il faut aimer ses conduites, quelques opposées qu'elles paroissent à nos désirs, à nos plus saintes esperances, & aux plus tendres amours de nostre cœur. En un mot, nous sommes descendus à Kebec, avec...
Formation of a community by the settlers of Cap-Rouge to protect themselves against the Iroquois, 19 April 1654.

“They will all work together to form a body... always at work at the time and place chosen, bringing with them arms, powder, shot... Beginning next summer they will all make their habitual residence in the fort... their lands will be acquired and confiscated on behalf of the aforementioned community.”

Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa: Cap-Rouge, MG 18, H 35.
In it is mentioned the recent battle between the "Iroquois who were eight hundred in number and seventeen Frenchmen from this settlement and four Algonkins and about forty Hurons, at the bottom of the Long-Sault, that thirteen of our aforementioned Frenchmen were killed on the spot and four taken away as prisoners."

These young Montréalers put the Iroquois off from their plan to invade the colony that year.

Paroisse Notre-Dame, Montréal: Registres paroissiaux.
Indian War Methods; etching with line engraving; 16.4 x 11.6 cm. (page).


"The fate of a prisoner [among the Indians] is not always the same; either he is condemned to be burned, or he becomes a slave, or he is adopted." If he was adopted, he replaced a dead son or husband and was considered a full member of the clan and a child of the tribe.

Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottawa (Negative no. C 99243).
From war to peace

The Iroquois war and the French losses had reached such proportions that many people believed that the colony was finished: in all circles people were seriously wondering whether it was not necessary to return to France. At this critical point, immediately after the Long-Sault disaster, the Jesuit Paul Le Jeune launched a moving appeal to Louis XIV.

Father Le Jeune's appeal, the steps taken by Bishop Laval and Pierre Boucher, the report by persons sent specially to the colony, all convinced Louis XIV of the necessity of destroying the Iroquois nations. This task was entrusted to Monsieur de Tracy and the Carignan-Salières regiment, which landed at Québec in 1665.

The Iroquois nations were not destroyed; nevertheless they received a good lesson. The Onondagas, who were better disposed towards the French, signed a peace with them on 13 December 1666. The Mohawks and Oneidas were more reticent but had to follow suit; they in turn signed on 10 July 1667. For more than twenty years, New France would finally enjoy a slight respite.

The year 1667 also saw the conclusion of peace in Europe with the Treaty of Breda. Now, as Acadia was once more occupied by the English (since 1654) the terms X and XI of the treaty returned it to France, which was not able, however, to take possession of it completely and officially until 1669.
Il y a environ un an, que ses enfants vos sujets, habitants de ce nouveau Monde, firent entendre l'extremite du danger ou ils estoient; mais le mal-heur du temps n'ayant pas permis qu'ils fussent secourus, le Ciel & la terre ont marque par leurs prodiges, les cruautez & les feux que ces ennemis de Dieu, & de V. M. leur ont fait souffrir depuis ce temps-la. Ces perfides rauront un fleuron de vostre Couronne, si vostre main puis sante n'agit avec vostre parole. Si vous consultez le Ciel, il


Father Le Jeune made a moving appeal to King Louis XIV, asking him to come to the aid of his Canadian colony, which was being threatened by the Iroquois raids: "These perfidious people will rob your crown of one of its jewels if your powerful hand does not act...your salvation is perhaps wrapped up with the salvation of so many peoples which will be lost if they are not succoured by Your Majesty's attentions."
vous dira que votre salut est peut-être enfermé dans le salut de tant de Peuples, qui seront perdus, s’ils ne sont secourus par les soins de V. M. Si vous considérez le nom François, vous saurez, SIRE, que vous êtes un grand Roy, qui faisant trembler l'Europe, ne doit pas être mesprisé dans l'Amerique.
The Reverend Father Paul Le Jeune of the Society of Jesus (1591–1664); René Lochon (1636–75); line engraving; 1665; 36.8 x 27 cm. (page).

Father Le Jeune, who was superior of the Jesuits of Quebec from 1632 to 1639, was also the author of the first eleven Relations of the Jesuits of New France. These annual reports informed the European reader of what was going on in Canada. They inspired many generous actions (alms) and many undertakings which were beneficial to the colony: the establishment of the Ursulines and Religious Hospitallers, the founding of Montréal, etc.

Public Archives of Canada, Picture Division, Ottawa (Negative no. C 21404).
Nous avons après ces nouvelles depuis quelques jours, & l'on nous assure de plus que toute l’armée est en bonne santé; que Monsieur le Gouverneur conduit l’avant-garde, & Monsieur de Chamblay tient l’arrière garde. Monsieur de Salier est le Colonel du Régiment, & Monsieur de Tracy comme Generalissime commande à tout le corps. Nos nouveaux Chrétiens Sauvages suivent l’armée Françoise avec tous nos jeunes François-Canadois qui sont très-vaillans, & qui courent dans les bois comme des Sauvages. Nous n’aurions avoir de nouvelles du combat de plus de quinze jours: Cependant toute cette nouvelle Église est en prières, & l’on fait l’oraison de quarante heures, qui continue dans les quatre Églises tour à tour, parce que du bon ou du mauvais succès de cette guerre dépend le bien & le mal de tout le pays. Voici la troisième fois que nos Français sont allés en leur pays depuis le mois de Février, au grand étonnement des Anglois & des Hiroquois même, qui ne peuvent comprendre comme ils ont seulement osé entreprendre ce voyage. Monsieur de Tracy n’est parti d’ici avec le gros de l’armée, que le jour de l’Exaltation de sainte Croix, & l’on tient qu’ils sont arrivés là après un mois de chemin. Je vous dirai plus au long des nouvelles de cette expédition après leur retour, ou si-tôt que nous en aurons après par des voies certaines. Pour le présent je vous prie de trouver bon que je finisse pour prendre un peu de repos étant fort fatigué du grand nombre de lettres que j’ai écrites: Il ne m’en reste pas plus de quarante à écrire, que j’espère envoyer par le dernier vaisseau. Ne cessez point de prier pour nous.

De Québec le 16 Octobre 1666.


Marie de l’Incarnation told her son that a third expedition had just been carried out in the year 1666 with the aim of destroying the Iroquois: “This is the third time that our Frenchmen have gone into their country since the month of February.”

Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottawa (Negative no. C 113057).
TROISIESME PAIX
ACCORDÉE PAR L'EMPEREUR
de France, aux Iroquois de la Nation
d'Onnontague.

Le treizième Decembre 1666.

ARTICLES de la Paix demandée par six Ambassadors Iroquois, Garakontie, Ahonnonhéraron, Gatiennonties, Hôtrêti, Haşendaientak, Te Gannontie, de la Nation d'Onnontague, tant au nom de ladite Nation, qu'en celui des deux Superieures, Gôioqen, T'onnontgan : Ensemble par Achinnhasa, de la Nation d'Onneiçt ; les intéréts de laquelle il a stipulé, après s'êstre joint auxdits ambassadors : Et accordez au nom & de la part du Roy Tres-Chréstien, par Messire Alexandre de Prouville, Chevalier, Seigneur de Tracy, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Lieutenant General des Armées de Sa Majesté, & dans les Îles & Terre Ferme de l'Amerique Meridionale & Septentrionale, tant par Mer que par Terre, de ce suffisamment autorisé en vertu du Pouvoir à luy donné par les Lettres Parentes de Sa Majesté, en datte du en la presence & assisté de Messire Daniel de Courcelle, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Lieutenant General des Armées de Sa Majesté, & Gouverneur de l'Acadie, Île de Terre Neuve & de Canada ; & de Messire Jean Talon, aussi Conseiller de Sa Majesté, & Intendant de Justice, Police & Finances de la Nouvelle France.

VII.

Que sur l'assurance donnée au nom des quatre Nations, qu'il ne sera fait aucun acte d'hostilité sur les François Al

"Troisième paix accordée par l'empereur de France aux Iroquois de la nation d'Onnontague, le treizième décembre 1666."

In Traitez de paix conclus entre S.M. le roy de France et les Indiens du Canada..., Paris: Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1667, pp. 6, 10, 11.

Third peace granted by the emperor of France to the Iroquois of the Onondaga nation, 13 December 1666.

"On the assurance given in the name of the four Iroquois nations that no hostile act will be committed against the French, Algonkins and Hurons, the hatchet of the aforementioned French, Algonkins, and Hurons will be hung up with regard respectively to the aforementioned Iroquois nations until the ambassadors return with ratification of the present treaty."
gonquins & Hurons, la Hache desdits François Algonquins & Hurons, demeurerà respectivement suspendue à l'égard desdites Nations Iroquoises, jusqu'au retour des Ambassadeurs avec la Ratification du présent Traité. Bien entendu que comme il y a des Onneisterron nons & Gaigneigronnons en parti de Chasse & de Guerre; Si, qu'à Dieu ne plaise, ils attaquœnt ou par hazard, ou par malice les François Algonquins ou Hurons, il sera permis à ceux-cy de repousser la force par la force, & d'avoir recours aux Armes pour mettre leurs vies en seureté, sans que pour la mort ou défaite desdits partis, on puisse imputer leur juste résistance à infracion de Traité.

IX.

Que pour le présent Traité demeure seure, ferme & inviolable, & qu'il soit accompli en tous les points & articles y contenus, traitez, accordez & stipulez, entre Messire Alexandre de Prouville, en presence & assisté comme dessus, & les six Ambassadeurs cy-dessus nommez, il sera respectivement signé de part & d'autre, pour demeurer authentique & y avoir recours en cas de besoin; Après que lecture en aura été faite en Langue Iroquoîse, & que dans quatre Lunes la Ratification en sera apportée de la part des quatre Nations.

Le cy-devant nommé Seigneur le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, restituera aussi et rendra au cy-dessus nommé Seigneur le Roy Tres Chrétien, ou à ceux qui auront charge et mandement de sa part, scellé en bonne forme du grand Seau de France, le Pays appelé l’Acadie, situé dans l’Amerique Septentrionale, dont le Roy Tres-Chrétien a autrefois joué. Et pour exécuter cette restitution, le susnommé Roy de la Grande Bretagne, incontinent après la ratification de la présente Alliance, fournira au susnommé Roy Tres-Chrétien, tous les actes et mandements expédiez deuûment & en bonne forme, nécessaires à cet effet, ou les fera fournir à ceux de ses Ministres & Officiers, qui seront par luy délégués.

XI.

Si quelques-uns des Habitans du Pays appelé l’Acadie, préfèrent de se soumettre pour l’avenir à la domination du Roy d’Angleterre, ils auront la liberté d’en sortir pendant l’espace d’un an, à compter du jour que la restitution de ce Pays sera faite; & de vendre & aliener leurs fonds, champs & terres, esclaves & en general tous leurs biens, meubles & immeubles, ou en disposer autrement à leur discrétion & volonté; Et ceux qui auront contracté avec eux seront tenus & obligez par l’autorité du Serenissime Roy Tres-Chrétien, d’accomplir & exécuter leurs pactions & conventions. Que si’s ils aiment mieux emporter avec eux leur argent comptant, meubles, ustanciles & emmener leurs esclaves, & généralement tous leurs biens meubles; ils le pourront faire entièrement sans aucun empêchement ou trouble.


By this treaty Acadia, which had been under English occupation since 1654, was returned to France.

A precarious peace

Through experience people knew how precarious peace with the Iroquois was; and more and more they were feeling the threat coming from the English colonies in New England. It is not astonishing, therefore, that in 1669 the king ordered the governor to form militia companies in the colony, all the more so because since the Carignan regiment had been disbanded there was no longer any corps of army troops in the country.

The same anxieties soon drove the authorities to increase the number of forts in the distant regions despite the king’s wishes to the contrary. In 1673 Frontenac carried out one of Talon’s projects and laid the foundations on Lake Ontario of the Fort Katarakouy (or Frontenac), which was intended to contain the Iroquois within their territories to the south.

These forts – or posts – played both a military and an economic role, as is seen with a map by Jaillot in 1685 that bears several entries such as the following: “The Sieur Duluth’s post to prevent the Assiniboins and other Indians from going down to Hudson Bay.”

Economic rivalries were a potential source of conflict; the question of the respective frontiers of New France and the English colonies was another – and not only in Acadia. For example, did the Iroquois country belong to New France or New England? And of what ruler were the Iroquois subjects? One serious question, among many others.
Letter from King Louis XIV to Governor General Courcelle, Paris, 3 April 1669.

The king is asking him to create a Canadian militia: "My intention is that you should divide all my subjects living in the aforesaid country by companies taking into consideration their proximity, ... that you should appoint captains, lieutenants, and ensigns to command them, ... that you should give orders for them to assemble once a month for arms drill."

Le Roy a M. de Courcelles
pour lui ordonner de diviser les habitants du Canada par compagnies
pour leur faire faire l'exercice du maniement des armes.
Je vous écris ces lignes pour vous dire que mon intention est que vous divisez tous mes sujets... habitants aud'jour'pray'e par compagnies ayant esgard à leur proximité, qu'après les avoir ainsi divisez, vous établissiez des Captn. lieutenant, et enseignes pour les commandes, qu'en cas que tous ceux qui composeroient lesd.'Compagnies puissent s'assembler avec facilité et s'en retourner chez eux en un jour, vous donniez les ordres qu'iles s'assemblent une fois chaque mois pour faire l'exercice du maniement des armes, et en cas qu'iles soient trop éloignez, vous subdivisiez les Compagnies par escouades de 40 ou 50 hommes, et que vous leur fassiez faire l'exercice une fois le mois, ainsi qu'il est dit ci-dessus, à l'esgard des Compagnies entier'. Vous les fassiez assembler une fois ou deux l'anée.

Que vous preniez soin qu'iles soient touz bien armez, esqu'ile ayant toujours la poudre, plomb, et mesches necessaires pour pouvoir se servir de leurs armes dans les
Que, vous viviez, souvenez-vous, vos compagnons, et leur faîsiez faire l'exercice en votre présence.

Qu'autant qu'il sera possible, vous faîsiez assembler une fois l'année le plus grand nombre des habitants qu'il se pourra, pour leur faire faire parcelllement l'exercice en corps, en obéissant toutes fois de ne leur pas faire faire de trop grandes marches, laissant à vive prudence d'assembler seulement ceux qui pourront le faire, et s'en retourner en deux jours de temps, afin qu'un plus grand temps ne consomme celui qu'ils doivent employer à leur commerce, et à la Culture de leurs terres.

Écrit à Paris le troisième
d'avril 1669. Signé Louis de plus bas Colbert.
In 1673 Frontenac had this fort built on the north shore of Lake Ontario, on the site of the present-day city of Kingston, with an aim to containing the Iroquois within their territories to the south, keeping an eye on what they were doing, and holding them in check. In founding this fort he also wanted to further the French fur trade, to the detriment of that of the English and Dutch.

Archives nationales, Paris, France: Section Outre-Mer, Dépôt des fortifications des colonies, Amérique septentrionale, 522 c.
This fort was built in 1665 at the mouth of the Richelieu River by the company of the Carignan Regiment commanded by Pierre de Saurel. The Iroquois had to be prevented from going along this river to attack the settlements in the valley of the St. Lawrence.

Archives nationales, Paris, France: Section Outre-Mer, Dépôt des fortifications des colonies, Amérique septentrionale, 492 c.
On this map are mentioned three posts that were designed to prevent the Indians from taking their pelts to the English on Hudson Bay. One of these trading factories, which had been established in the Lake Superior region by the coureur des bois Dulhut, cost the Hudson's Bay Company a great deal of trade.

Partie de la Nouvelle France..., Paris, 1685; Hubert Jaillot; map printed from copperplate, hand col.; 45.3 x 64.8 cm.

Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection, Ottawa (NMC 6349).
Memoir from Callière, governor of Montréal, to the minister Seignelay, concerning the territorial claims of the English, February 1685.

The governor of New York had declared that "the Iroquois country was under his administration." He also asserted "that his government extends to the Rivière de Sainte-Croix" in Acadia. Finally, "the third of the English pretensions is to chase the French from Hudson Bay, of which they claim all the lands must belong to them."

The second Iroquois war

As they were officially at peace with New France, the Iroquois had turned their arms against an allied nation, the Illinois; in addition they were suspected of wanting to reopen hostilities with the French at the instigation of the English. On 10 October 1682, during an assembly called together by the governor, it was decided to conduct a punitive expedition into the Iroquois country.

The reason for the Iroquois' restlessness was still the same: "to know who will be in control of the trade in beaver skins to the south and southwest," wrote Governor Le Febvre de La Barre in 1683. He added: "Whatever treaty is made with them, as the cause will still be there they will not fail to take advantage of the slightest occasions to seize control of the tribes and the posts."

In the summer of 1684 La Barre set out from Montréal with a thousand men and stopped at Famine Cove on Lake Ontario (or Lake Frontenac). There an Iroquois mission and in particular an Onondaga chief with the nickname "Grande Gueule" or "Grangula" ("Big Mouth") met him and forced him to accept humiliating conditions for peace.

In an attempt to heighten French prestige, Denonville led an expedition in 1687 against the Senecas; the Iroquois responded by increasing their raids. In the night of 4 to 5 August 1689, fifteen hundred Iroquois massacred twenty-four habitants of Lachine; of the some fifty prisoners whom they took there, forty-two are believed to have been put to death.
Minutes of a meeting called by Governor La Barre to discuss the Iroquois peril, Québec, 10 October 1682.

Consideration was given to sending "a thousand good men under arms" against the Iroquois, who wish to "destroy all the [allied Indian] nations," after which they will "take all the trade in pelts away [from the French]...attack [them] when they are alone and destroy the colony."
HAbont jugé plus à propos de différer et nous amuser tandis qu'ils attaqueroient ces Nations; Enque'ta cet effet ayant Commande Anaques dernière a attaques Lor Illinois, ils auraient ou vu si grand avantage sur eux qu'outres bors ou quatre Ans morts, Ils leurs auraient prise... Nous avons pris prisonnières, ainsi que cette année marchant avec de Corps de Douze Ans Hommes bien armés de nous Soldats, il n'y avait point adouter qu'ils n'attaqueroient entièrement. Et qu'a leur retour ils n'attaqueroient les Marnis et les Kiakons et par leur défaillance... se rendissent maîtres de Missisimachina et des Sacs Mohic et Huron, et baie des puans, et par les nous privassent de tout le Commerce que l'on tient de ces pays et de destruisant en même temps toutes les missions Christiaennes qui sont établies chez ces Nations, Et qu'ainsi il fallloit faire les derniers efforts pour Empêcher qu'ils ne nuisissent aux Nations comme ils ont fait cy devant les Algonquin, les Anadastel, les Loups, les Abenasquis et autres dont nous avons les restes... nations des Sillery, du Lauvette, du Lac Champlain et autres repandue parmi nous. Que pour parvenir à cet effet il falloit Considérer l'Etat de la Colonie et les moyens de l'en soustraire plus vitement... Contre les Ennemis: que pour la Colonie nous pouvions mettre ensemble mil bons hommes portans les Armes et résister à l'orage des Canots comme les Troquois;
Letter from Governor General La Barre to the minister Seignelay, Québec, 4 November 1683.

“The cause of the quarrel [between the French and the Iroquois] is the question of who will be master of the trade in beaver in the south and southwest.”

On 5 September 1684, at Anse de la Famine (Famine Cove) on Lake Ontario, Governor General de la Barre entered into negotiations with an Iroquois embassy led by an Onondaga chief known as Grande Gueule (or Grangula) — “Big Mouth.” Because his army was short of provisions and decimated by illness, La Barre was not able to impose his will upon the Iroquois and was forced to accept humiliating peace terms.

Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottawa (Negative no. C 113195).
Letter from Governor General Frontenac to the minister Seignelay, Quebec, 15 November 1689.

In the night of 4–5 August, at Lachine, the Iroquois were said to have burned "all the barns and houses...[carried off] more than one hundred and twenty people, men, women, and children, after massacring some...and committed unbelievable and exampled cruelties."

The inter-colonial war

A new European war, called the war of the League of Augsburg, which was declared in 1689, furnished the English in New England with the occasion to attack New France directly. In May 1690 Phips seized Port-Royal, in Acadia; in October he was before Quebec, and had Frontenac summoned to surrender the town to him. The old governor was not of that mind: he would reply to the general, he said, through the mouths of his cannon and with musket fire.

At the moment of the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick, which put an end to the war, New France had under arms 1,376 officers and men, divided into twenty-eight companies; on top of that there were the militiamen — all able-bodied men between the ages of sixteen and sixty — and the allied Indians.

Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, a Canadian by birth, distinguished himself very particularly in this war by conquering, one after the other, part of Acadia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region, where he twice took possession of Fort Nelson, in 1694 and 1697 (the latter time after a hard naval combat).

The Treaty of Ryswick did not settle the question of the Iroquois country. Hector de Callière engaged in negotiations with the Five Nations, which resulted in the “Peace of Montreal” in 1701. The Iroquois sided with the French, although taking the engagement to remain neutral in the event of a conflict between the French and the English. This diplomatic success authorized the greatest hopes in the economic field.
"Account of the most remarkable things that happened in Canada...from November 1689 to the month of November 1690," by Charles de Monseignat.

Monseignat quoted Frontenac’s famous response to the emissary of Admiral Phips, who called upon him to surrender Quebec: "I have no reply to make to your general other than from the mouths of my cannons and muskets."

KEBEC LIBERATA; Jean Mauger (1648–1722); medal; struck in bronze; restrike; 41 mm. Obverse: LUDOVICUS XIII. REX CHRISTIANISS./I. MAVGER. F. Reverse: FRANCIA IN NOVO ORBE VICTRIX. In the exergue: KEBECA LIBERATA/M. DC. XC.

This medal was struck to commemorate the victory over Admiral Sir William Phips’s troops, who laid siege to Quebec in 1690.

Public Archives of Canada, Picture Division, Ottawa (Negatives nos. C 115686 obverse, C 115685 reverse).
General roll of the troops in Canada as of 1 October 1697.

At that time New France had 1,376 officers and men under arms, without counting the Canadian militiamen and the Indian allies who took part in military operations.

On 5 September 1697 the Canadian Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, on board the 
*Pelican*, won a brilliant victory over three 
English ships, the *Hampshire*, *Derby* and 
*Hudson Bay*, which disposed of much 
superior forces. Some days later he 
captured Fort Nelson, which was consid-
ered the best English post on Hudson Bay.

Public Archives of Canada, Library, 
Ottawa (Negative no. C 113194).
Indian chiefs' signatures on the peace treaty concluded with the Iroquois, Montreal, 4 August 1701.

Each one signed by drawing the totemic animal representing his tribe.

Archives nationales, Paris, France: Fonds des Colonies, série C^{11a}, vol. 19, fol. 43–43v.
Officially it was the search for a trade route to Asia that prompted voyages of discovery in America, and particularly in North America; in reality, it is possible that Breton fishermen had frequented the banks of Newfoundland since the middle of the fifteenth century. Whether they were discoverers or fishermen, they were impelled by economic motives.

For a long time cod appeared as the great source of wealth of North America; then on top of that came the furs, trade in which expanded incredibly. The cod fisheries led England to occupy more and more, in actual fact, the island of Newfoundland. The trade in pelts prompted France to settle in the valley of the St. Lawrence and from there to explore and occupy the greater part of the North American continent. Acadia, which was at the meeting-point between the colony of Canada and Newfoundland, had a part in both economies, dividing itself between the fur trade and fishing.

From Champlain to Talon, the colony along the St. Lawrence depended exclusively on the fur trade, the monopoly of which was granted in succession to several companies in return for the promise to establish settlers. Now, the companies saw the settlers as potential competitors, with the result that until 1629 Quebec remained more or less a trading factory. The Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, which was set up in 1627, aroused hopes, but it was almost ruined from the beginning by the loss of Roquemont’s fleet in 1628. And then, at the beginning of the 1640s the Iroquois war put the partners in a desperate situation. The Communauté des Habitants took advantage of the situation to obtain the grant of the monopoly to the fur trade in return for the promise to support the country financially. Under the Cent-Associés the fur trade had been open, except that the habitants had to sell their furs to the company’s stores; from then on it was forbidden.

From 1608 to about 1640 the fur trade had been fairly profitable; it dropped greatly as a result of the Iroquois war and the destruction of Huronia. Except in the occasional year
the Indians could not go down to Québec or Trois-Rivières any longer to deliver the pelts. Consequently, the colony was languishing. In 1663 the Cent-Associés resigned; despite the creation of the Compagnie des Indes occidentales in 1664, the king and his representatives took the situation into hand.

When Jean Talon arrived in 1665, the colony possessed no industry; even agriculture, according to Pierre Boucher, was limited almost entirely to the growing of wheat. The intendant created various "manufactories," which he conceived as an outlet for agriculture on one hand and as an incentive to export on the other. First he brought in large numbers of farm animals; with the wool from the sheep and the hides from the cattle he had clothes and shoes made. He encouraged the growing of hemp, barley, and hops, the production of tar, and the development of the forests. The wood and tar were used for building ships in the shipbuilding yard that he established on the banks of the Saint-Charles, and the hemp served to make the rigging needed for the sails. With the hops and barley he made beer in the "king's brewery" that he had built near the shipbuilding yard; surplus agricultural products, wood (boards, planks, stave wood), and beer were soon exported to the West Indies on ships built at Québec. Talon also exported fish. Nevertheless, if in 1666 he had thought of fixed fisheries, which seemed even more profitable to him than roving fisheries, Talon did not have time to truly give shape to the idea, which would have allowed settling people on the coasts of Canada and Acadia who would have practised fishing in summer and hunting in winter. Despite prospecting for all kinds of mines that he had carried out, he was not successful in discovering any that could be exploited with the means of the time.

Talon left in 1672 at the time that Louis XIV was engaged in a European war and he was not replaced until 1675. During that period the impetus that he had imparted to the colony slowed down and in many cases was completely lost. Once more furs were almost the sole item in the Canadian economy; for lack of outlets agriculture stagnated; the export trade was reduced, other than pelts, to exporting wood; the brewery was quickly shut down and shipbuilding given up almost completely. The very stability that Talon had begun to give the colony was lost, following a major change that took place in fur-trading techniques. Formerly the Indians brought their furs to the colony's stores; from the end of the 1660s the French had to go to get the pelts themselves, obtaining them from ever more distant tribes. This marked the beginning of the life in the woods, with all its drawbacks. It was forbidden on several occasions; a system of congés (licences) distributed by the governor was put into effect, but taking to life in the woods was never brought under control.

And then competition from the English, to the west and the north, became more severe. In 1670 the Hudson's Bay Company was founded; its Canadian counterpart from 1682 on was the Compagnie du Nord. Commercial rivalries on Hudson Bay took on the aspect of a regular war, in which d'Iberville distinguished himself, until the Treaty of Ryswick. One could already feel that, being too dependent on the fur trade and lacking an industrial base, New France would not be able to resist her rivals indefinitely. Acadia was already threatened more directly since it was closer to the New England colonies and was in addition very sparsely populated. A company was formed in 1682 to set up fixed fisheries, but it disappeared in 1710.

In 1700 New France was far from having realized in the economic field the hopes that Champlain and Talon had placed in her.
A source of wealth: cod

Very soon after Columbus had discovered America, and perhaps even before then, European ships went to the Newfoundland banks every year to fish for cod; very soon it became customary to clean the fish and dry it on “stages” on the shore.

Jean Denys from Honfleur, who travelled to the “New-Found Lands” in 1506, was the first French sailor whose name is known to us for having made the voyage; we also know that two years later Thomas Aubert from Dieppe made the same voyage on board a ship called La Pensée, and that he was the first person to bring some Indians back to France.

Except for the sketchy drawings that decorate old maps we have no plans of sixteenth century Newfoundland fishing boats; a single drawing, superimposed on a page of a handwritten treatise on hydrography, gives us a fairly good idea of the ships that travelled to the “New-Found Lands” towards 1550.

In 1610, in view of the fact that subjects of his realm had been frequenting the coasts and the ports of Newfoundland for fifty years and more, the king of England granted a charter to the London and Bristol Company and allowed it to settle the territory that was regularly visited by the English, in order to facilitate the development of the fisheries, along with other resources.
[The Newfoundland coastline and surrounding fishing banks]; Augustine Fitzhughe; col. ms.; 39.5 x 49.5 cm.

This map indicates the places in Newfoundland where the English and the French carried on fishing. The English occupied the east coast of the island, where they dried the cod (dried cod); the French salted the cod (simply salted) in mid-ocean, on the banks located primarily to the south and the southeast of the island.

DI SC CORSO D'VN GRAN CAPITANO
di mare Francese del luoco di Dieppa sopra le navigationi fatte alla terra nuova dell'Indie occidentali, chiamata la nuova Francia, da gradi 40 sino a gradi 47 sotto il polo artico, & sopra la terra del Brazil, Guinea, Isola di San Lorenzo, & quella di Sumatra, sino alle quali hanno navigato le Caravelle & nau Francese.

Di quelli che hanno discoperta la terra nuova.

Dettà terra è stata scoperta da 35 anni in qua, cioè quella parte che corre leuante & ponente li Brettoni & Normandi, per la qual causà è chiamata questa terra il capo delli Brettoni. L'altra parte che corre tramontana & mezzo di, è stata scoperta per li Portoghesi dopo il Capo di Kas sino al Capo di buona vista, il che contiene circa 70 leghe, & il relativo è stato scoperto fin al golfo delli castelli, & più oltra per detti Brettoni & Normandi. & sono circa 33 anni che un nauilio d'Onfleur, del quale era Capitano Giouanni Dionisio, & il Pilotto Gamarto di Roano primamente v'andò, & nell'anno 1508 un nauilio di Dieppa detto la Pensee, il quale era gia di Giouan Anglo padre del Monsignor lo Capitano & Visconte di Dieppa v'andò, fendo maestro ouer patron di detta nau maestro Thomaso Aubert, & fu il primo che conduisse qui le genti del detto paete.

Giovanni Battista Ramvsio. Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi... Venetia: Nella stamperia de Givntti, 1565. leaf 423 rv.

Mention is made of the fact that Jean Denys and Thomas Aubert were among the first French sailors to make fishing voyages to Newfoundland at the beginning of the sixteenth century: "It was about 33 years ago that a ship from Honfleur, whose captain was Jean Denys [from Honfleur] and whose pilot was Gamarto from Rouen, was the first to go there [in 1506], and in 1508 a ship from Dieppe called La Penée went there... Thomas Aubert being the master or captain of the said ship."

Sketch of a merchant ship from Normandy, around 1550.

James I, to the London and Bristol Company for Newfoundland, 2 May 1610.

This company established a colony at Cupids (Cuper's Cove), in Conception Bay, which soon counted more than sixty settlers.
The era of monopolies

It very nearly became customary in France to grant companies the monopoly of the fur trade and of commerce in New France in return for the obligation to set up and maintain settlers there. The Compagnie de Montmorency obtained such a monopoly in 1620; in 1627 it was replaced by the Compagnie des Cent-Associés.

In 1645 the latter company surrendered the monopoly of the fur trade (except at Miscou and in Acadia) to the Communauté des Habitants de la Nouvelle-France, which undertook in return to pay off all the colony’s public expenses, thus acquiring the right to administer it in accordance with a budget that it established itself.

Being in a way an offshoot of the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, the Communauté des Habitants was dissolved in 1663, at the same time as the company. Now, the following year Louis XIV and Colbert founded another company, called the Compagnie des Indes occidentales, to which it once more granted the monopoly of the fur trade and commerce in return for the obligation to run the country.

From the time he was appointed intendant, Talon considered the fact that the colony had been placed under the administrative authority of the Compagnie des Indes occidentales unfavourable to its development; besides, this company, whose charter was revoked in 1674, was the last one to be entrusted, in whole or in part, with the running of New France.
ARTICLES

ACCORDÉZ PAR MONSEIGNEUR
le Duc de Montmorency, Pair & Admiral de France, vice Roy, & Lieutenant général pour sa Majesté aux pays de la nouvelle France appelée Canada, & Gouverneur pour le Roy en Languedoc; stipulez par Mestre Jean Jacques Dolu, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils d'État & Privé, Secrétaire de ses Finances, grand Audienier de France, & Intendant des affaires dudit pays, au nom & comme Procureur de mondit Seigneur le vice Roy, par lequel le dit seigneur Dolu a promis, promet & s'obligé en fournir ratification au seigneur Guillaume de Caëns demeurant à Dieppe, de présent en cette ville de Paris, tant pour lui que le seigneur Ezechiel de Caëns son oncle, Marchand demeurant à Rouen, duquel il s'est fait & porté fort, a promis, promet & s'oblige de fournir lettres de ratification portant obligation solidaire du contenu cy apres, tant pour eux que leurs autres Associés, pour les voyages, commerces, traictes, & traicts audit pays de la nouvelle France.

REM IEREMENT, Mondit Seigneur donne pouvoir audits de Caëns de dresser Compagnie pour vrente années consecutives l'une l'autre, à commencer du premier jour de Janvier de la prochaine année mil six cens vingt & vn, pour le commerce terrestre & navaux qui se pourra faire, tirer, traiter ou trasquer A

Up until 1674 France entrusted the upkeep of New France to trading companies, which in return received a monopoly of trade and commerce in the colony.

"Articles granted by Monseigneur the Duc de Montmorency", viceroy of New France, to Guillaume de Caen and his partners for the creation of the Compagnie de Montmorency, Paris, 8 November 1620.
Lesdits de Caëns ou leurdite Société sera tenuë de nourrir six Peres Recollets à l'ordinaire, & comme les ouvriers, compris deux qui feront souuent aux descouvertures dans le pays parmy les Sauuages.

Lesdits de Caëns ou leurs Associëz pendant ledit temps de vnze années, passeront, nourriront, & entretiendront six familles sur lesdits lieux, chacune desquelles sera composée de trois personnes, & ne seront lesdits de Caën nu lesdits Associëz tenus d'y en mener plus grand nombre pour les nourrir à leurs despens, & en cas du retour ou de mort d'aucunes desdites familles, lesdits de Caën en passeront d'autres en leur lieu & place infuques à pareil nombre pour le tenir remply, & où plus grand nombre se présenteroit pour aller audit pays, & y faire habitation, seront lesdits de Caën & leur Société tenus les passer avec leur équipage, & nourrir pour & à raison de trente six liures pour reste, infuques à huit jours après leur arrivée & debarquement à Québec.

Aucun de quelque qualité qu'il soit, ne pourra traiter directement ou indirectement d'aucunes fortes de pellererie, ny faire aucun traffick ny commerce que pour son usage audit pays, ou pour lesdits de Caën ou leur Société, & par l'ordre d'elle, à peine de confiscation applicable à ladite Société.

Promet mondit Seigneur pendant ledit temps de vnze années, de ne bailler aucun passeport ou permission à autres personnes qu'ausdits de Caën, pour les voyages & commerces & fudhits en tout ou partie desdits lieux cy deflus,

Fait & arrêté double entre nous sousignez esdits noms à Paris, le huitiesime jour de Novembre, mil six cents vingt. Dolu, de Caën, ainsi signez.
Agreement by which the Compagnie des Cent-Associés handed the monopoly of the fur trade over to the Communauté des Habitants de la Nouvelle-France, which in return undertook to pay off the colony's administrative expenses, 14 January 1645.

"The trade in pelts...will henceforth belong solely to the inhabitants of the country," who will be obliged "to maintain in each settlement the number of ecclesiastics needed..., the captains, officers, and soldiers..., will pay the salaries and pay of each of them, and will also carry out all the repairs required in the forts."

In order to set up a colonial empire in America, Richelieu founded the Compagnie des Cent-Associs in 1627 and imposed upon it the obligation to establish four thousand settlers in New France within fifteen years.

Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–83); Claude Lefebvre (1632–75); oil; 1663; 1.38 x 1.13 m.

From 1663 to 1683 the minister Colbert had several measures adopted which were aimed at promoting the development of New France.
In Talon's opinion Canada could not be made into "a very important State" if the king left "in other hands than his own the seigneury and ownership of the lands" and the colony's trade. If the king allowed the Compagnie des Indes occidentales to retain such powers, it would "probably make a great deal of profit by skimming the fat off the country and...it will be a serious obstacle to its settlement."

Letter from Intendant Talon to the minister Colbert, Québec, 4 October 1665.
a faire cette resolution a lad'Compagnie et je dis qu'il a
est d'augmenter ses profits pour lui donner davantage plus de moyens d'assurer ses premières
despenses, augmenter le nombre de ses vaisseaux et faire un grand commerce en son etat sans
pour objet l'étendue des habitations de ce pays et la multiplication de ses colons il est a mon sens plus utile
du Roy de laisser a lad'Comp. cette propriété sans aucune reserve. Mais si elle a regardé ce pays comme
un beau plan dans lequel on peut former un grand Royaume et fondre une monarchie ou du moins un
Etat fort considérable Je ne puis me persuader qu'il réussisse dans son dessein laissant en autres mains
Sennes la seigneurie, la propriété des terres, la nomination aux cuir et j'ajour mesme le commerce qui sait
l'ame de l'établissement qu'elle prétenda leques j'ay vu jusqu'ici depuis mon arrivée m'abien parmi
cque j'auran eus que depuis que les Agents de lad'Comp. ont fait entendre qu'elle ne souffriroit point
liberté de commerce, non seulement aux Français qui auvent coutume de passer en ce pays pour letrans
des marchandises de France Mais meme aux pays
habitants du Canada jusqu'a leur disputer le dr
de faire venir pour leur compte des daurées du Royaume, desquelles ils se feront tant pour leur subsistance que pour faire la traite avec les sauvages qui sente arrêter ce qui y a été un considérable entre les habitants, qui pour y demeurer avec leurs familles ne croient pas assez de charmes et la seule culture de la terre enfin je reconnais qu'il est bien que la Compagnie continuant de pousser son établissement jusques où elle le prend porter, préférerait sans doute beaucoup en dégraissant le peuple. Et non seulement elle lui osera les moyens de se soutenir mais encore elle sera un obstacle essentiel à son établissement et dans dix ans il sera moins peuple qu'il ne l'est aujourd'hui.

Monsieur

a Québec le 4 octobre 1666.

oblixe serviteur (signé)

Another source of wealth: furs

Fishermen had acquired imperceptibly the habit of bringing furs back to France; then companies were created with this trade as their aim. Soon they sought to obtain the monopoly of trade with the Indians, in return for the promise, which was often badly kept, to establish settlers in New France. Furs, particularly beaver and moose, sold well in Europe; they were obtained from the Indians in exchange for knives, axes, cooking pots, glass beads.

For a long time the first settlers were not permitted to trade in furs with the Indians. In 1656 they were given such permission for a year, because they had no other means of subsistence, as furs were the sole resource of the colony.

Under Talon the fur trade became free again, but private individuals could only sell their furs to the company's agent. After the company disappeared, the Conseil du Roi farmed out to a tradesman, Jean Oudiette, the dues (or taxes), including those on beaver and moose hides, that were levied in Canada; consequently he alone was authorized to buy Canadian beaver and to resell it in Europe.

Shortly after 1685 a statement was prepared, year by year, of the "beaver pelts that have come from Canada from 1675 until 1685," that is to say during "all the time that Oudiette held the tax farm."
Beavers Building a Dam; etching with line engraving; 19.9 x 14.6 cm. (plate).


In the seventeenth century furs, especially beaver and moose, were almost the only resource being exploited in New France. They were obtained from the Indians in return for knives, axes, cooking pots, and glass beads. They were then sold in Europe.

Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottawa (Negative no. C 99220).
Caribou; Louis Nicolas (1634–after 1678); brown ink on parchment; 15.2 x 20.9 cm. (detail).

Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, U.S.A.
Decree by the Conseil de la Nouvelle-France allowing the settlers to engage in the fur trade wherever they wished "for a year," Québec, 1 July 1656.

The colony had been receiving few furs since the Iroquois raids had eliminated certain suppliers (the Hurons) and spread panic among the others. For that reason it was decided to allow the settlers to go themselves to look for pelts in distant regions.

Decree by the king's council of State declaring that the Sieur Jean Oudiette would enjoy "the right to the levy called the quarter on beaver and the tenth on moose skins leaving the country of Canada and the Tadoussac trade and the levy of ten per cent on wines, spirits, and tobacco entering the country, as they are raised at present, and the option to be sole buyer of beaver in the aforementioned country and to sell it and transport it from the aforementioned country to the exclusion of all others." Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 24 May 1675.

Statement of the “beaver skins that have come from Canada from 1675 to 1685,” that is to say “during the whole period of Oudiette’s tax farm.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1675</td>
<td>6,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1676</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1677</td>
<td>9,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1678</td>
<td>8,012.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1679</td>
<td>6,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680</td>
<td>6,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1681</td>
<td>8,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1682</td>
<td>9,035.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1683</td>
<td>9,548.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1684</td>
<td>4,904.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1685</td>
<td>2,346.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 81,358.4

Vida a qui purra tue quiqua. Plunon de castors pindens, toto tempore, i.e. durae, durae.

Agriculture and trade

Intendant Talon was struck with the fertility of the soil in Canada, which seemed to him also to be very suitable for raising “country animals”; and after appraising the situation carefully, he thought that he could affirm that “in fifteen years” the colony would have “enough surplus” to supply the West Indies.

Talon did not wait that long; in 1668 he sent to the West Indies a ship that had been built in Canada and was loaded with peas, fish and boards. The intendant was also counting on the brewery that he had installed at Québec and that would consume annually twelve thousand bushels of Canadian grain and export two thousand casks of beer to the West Indies.

But once Talon was gone, agriculture remained a subsistence one, fettered moreover by the departure of men for the woods. Internal trade developed slowly. Perhaps it was under too tight control: the authorities set the number of bakers, butchers, and other shopkeepers; it also set the number of their apprentices and even the price of goods. And then there was not enough currency in the colony; beaver, even wheat, were used as barter. Soon, while awaiting the annual funds intended to meet the public expenditures, the intendant had to have recourse to a “playing-card-money” (playing cards to which a certain value was attached), refundable when the king’s ship arrived.
Letter from Intendant Talon to the minister Colbert, Québec, 4 October 1665.

Talon spoke highly of the excellent quality of the Canadian soil: “Its fertility for grain is apparent to us because of the abundant crops that the lands that have been cleared and cultivated bear each year.” This colony could have “a sufficient surplus in fifteen years, in wheat, vegetables, meat, and fish, to supply the West Indies.”

Memoir on Canada from Intendant Talon, 1673.

Talon recalled "the opening" of Canadian trade with the West Indies: "It was done by me in 1668 with a vessel built in Canada that fortunately carried to its destination its cargo of all the products of the country...every year this traffic was carried on by two or several vessels.... This trade is made up of the surplus of peas, salmon, salted eel, both salt and dried cod, boards and stave wood."

Decree from the Conseil souverain setting the price of pelts delivered by debtors to their creditors to pay off their debts, Québec, 15 September 1670.

Because there was not enough currency in the colony, beaver and moose hides were used as barter.

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec: Juge­ments et délibérations du Conseil souve­rain, fol. 137v–138.
From 1684 on, when they were short of funds the intendants had to have recourse to playing-card money (a playing card on which a certain amount was inscribed), refundable when the funds from the king arrived. This money benefitted the colony's internal trade, which lacked currency.

Public Archives of Canada, Picture Division, Ottawa (Negative no. C 17059).
Industry

Talon was the first person in New France to take an interest in industry. He created several "manufactories" for making wool products, coarse muslin, leather, and shoes, for example. Six years after his arrival he could write that with what was produced in Canada he had "what is necessary to dress oneself from head to foot."

Talon's activity was very well coordinated. The brewery would permit the growing of hops on a commercial level; the beer would supply the West Indies trade. This trade would be carried on by means of ships built in the colony and the shipbuilding yards would be an excellent outlet for Canadian wood, hemp, and tar, development of which he encouraged. Moreover, all the surpluses, whether of grain, wood, or fish, would themselves be exported to the West Indies.

Mines interested the intendant; coal, copper, lead, iron would all be sources of wealth for the colony. Tackle for the ships, indeed the cannons that were needed, could be made in Canada itself, and the surpluses, of coal for example, would be exported.

For lack of encouragement and manpower, or because of the high costs of development, most of the industries launched by Talon disappeared or stagnated soon after he left. And in 1704 the king announced that the colonies must not compete with industries in the kingdom but rather limit their aims to sending it raw materials.
From 1665 to 1672 Intendant Talon endeavoured to develop New France in all possible fields of activity: territorial expansion, population growth, creation of industry, land utilization, extension of trade, etc.
Memoir on Canada from Intendant Talon, Québec, 2 November 1671.

Talon mentioned some "manufactories" which were beginning to be set up, thanks to his good offices: "This year I have some wool products made..., drugget, coarse camlet, coarse muslin, and serge.... Native hides are being worked, nearly a third of the shoes, and at the present time I have from Canadian products what I need to dress myself from head to toe.... The brewery is finished, ...it can supply two thousand barrels of beer for the West Indies."
S'il on pouvoit consommer autant et en travailler autant
deux mille pour l'usage du Canada ce qui donnera lieu à
la consommation de plus de douze mille minots de grain
par chaque année, les quatre minots saisis les quier
de Paris au bénéfice et soulagement des laboureurs.

Pour accompagner cet ouvrage publié de voir nécessaire
j'ay fait planter et cultiver dans l'ancien des îles six
mille porches de chevalon qui produisent du fruit abondamment et aussi bonne qu'auj qui celui des
hautcommes de Flandre.

fait à Québec ce deux e. Novembre 1671:

Ordinance by Intendant Talon forbidding anyone "to cut or fell woods of oaks, ash, or wild cherry or others suitable for building ships until they have been seen and inspected by the king's carpenters," Québec, 13 January 1671.

These woods could be used in the shipbuilding yards set up by Talon on the Saint-Charles River and in the king's yards in France.

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec: Ordonnances, carton intitulé "Papiers divers."
Talon was "not bold enough to promise success in the search that is being made for mines," since searching in previous years had not yet produced any certain results. Being however "fairly well convinced that there are copper, iron, and lead [mines] in Canada," he informed the minister of searches that appeared promising.
la matière pour qu'il puisse agir s'il revienne l'en ay
saist assebler douze ou quinze cens pippes et au dire,
des mineurs plus qu'il n'en sau pour deux sondages de
trois mois chacun.
Je fis bien partir ces mineurs pour aller auingst leuis d'oy
verifier une mine qui est dite y estre de même matière
plus abondance; peut estre seront ils d'octobre avant le dépar
du dernier vaisseau, je souhaitais que l'aduis que j'ay reçu
soit fidèle.
J'ay remis entre les mains de mon secrétaire un article de
la lettre que j'ay reçue du capitaine Poulle que j'envoyai
l'année dernière au cap Breton pour y charger du charbon de
terre par lequel il marquaye g'ay avoir trouvé saussi bon
que celui d'Angleterre ci deplus une mine de fer au dessus
de celle du charbon qu'il eut mine abondance.

Memoir from King Louis XIV sent to Governor General Vaudreuil and Intendant Beauharnois, Versailles, 14 June 1704.

"Anything that could compete with the manufactories in the kingdom must never be made in the colonies, which on the contrary could not be used too much to supply the materials necessary to the manufactories in the kingdom."

This declaration by the king shows that the French authorities of the period subordinated the economic progress of the colonies to that of France.

New companies

In 1670 the Hudson's Bay Company of London received its official charter. The French in New France quickly realized that there was a risk of the northern tribes turning towards the English in the Hudson Bay region to sell their furs. The threat was very serious, as the colony in the valley of the St. Lawrence was almost exclusively dependent on that resource.

The French merchants' response was the creation in 1682 of the Compagnie du Nord (or Compagnie de la Baie du Nord), to which belonged Des Groseilliers and Radisson, who later went over to the English side again. The company had to wage war in the bay until the Treaty of Ryswick, when it merged with the Compagnie de la Colonie.

The Compagnie de l'Acadie was also founded in 1682 to develop an inshore fishery, like those that Talon had ardently wished to see set up. The king granted a tract to the partners and let them have commercial advantages comparable for example to the twenty-five per cent levy on beaver.

In the meantime the English were continuing with their annual fishing at Newfoundland despite frequent attacks by the French, and without the island really being settled and organized. Interesting statistics have been preserved on the number of ships and size of the catches and on the population for the years from 1698 to 1705.
This fur-trading company set up posts in the regions of James Bay and Hudson Bay. It was in competition continually with the French traders in the valley of the St. Lawrence.
Memoir sent to the minister Seignelay by the members of the Compagnie du Nord, Paris, 6 February 1685.

They explained that their company had been formed "to prevent the English from benefitting from the finest pelts in New France...since they have gone into the best spots in the aforementioned bay" (Hudson Bay).

They therefore wanted to prevent the Hudson's Bay Company from taking over all the fur trade with the northern Indian tribes.
Extrait des Registres du Conseil d’Estat.

E ROY Ayant par son Arrêts du dernier Février 1682. concédé aux Sieurs Bergier, Gaultier, Boucher & autres, leurs huits, successeurs & ayant cause, les Terres qu’ils trouventoient propres le long de la Côte de l’Acadie & de la Rivière de S. Jean, pour y faire l’establishissement d’une Pesche sédentaire dans l’estendue de six lieues aux environs de l’habitation qu’ils feroient, desquelles Terres la Majesté leur fait don, en cas qu’elles n’ayent point été concédées depuis la revocation de la Compagnie d’Occident; & la reunion qu’en a été faite au Domaine de la Majesté par l’Edit du mois de Decembre 1674. & qu’elles ne fissent pas actuellement possibles par des Sujets de la Majesté, même sans titre; à la charge de payer à sa Majesté une redevance d’un marc d’argent par chacun an, & de faire l’establis­sement d’une Pesche sédentaire dans un an, sinon & à sa mach de faire dans ledit an, ledit don demeurerait nul : Moyennant quoy sa Majesté leur permet de negocier aux Isles Françaises de l’Amérique & en la Nouvelle France, du Poisson & Huille de leur Pesche, Bois à bâtir, & autres Marchandises du Pays. Voulant de plus sa Majesté, qu’ils fissent des mêmes Exemptions de Droits de toutes les Marchandises & Vivres qu’ils envoyront à ladite Côte, dont fissent les Negocians Françoys qui trafiquent ausdites Isles, suivant & conformément aux Arrêts du Conseil des quatre Juin & vingt-cinquième Novembre 1671. & autres donner en conséquence, & qu’à cet effet toutes Lettres necessaires soient expeditées. Et depuis ledits Suppliants ayant exposé à sa Majesté qu’en conséquence dudit Arrêt de Concession du dernier Février 1682, ils auraient formé leur Establishment quatre mois après dans un lieu desert & inhabité nommé Chadabucou, à cinq lieues du Cap de Cômeaux côte de l’Acadie, où ils auraient fait des Bastimens & un Fort pour mettre trente hommes à couvert & hors d’insulfe, avec toutes forces d’Armes & munitions, ce qui auraient augmenté considerablement en l’année dernière 1683, comme ils espèrent l’augmenter toutes les années : Mais ils se deroient, aperceus en fa­lant leur Pesche, que cette Concession n’avait pas assez d’estendue.
The English had several establishments (Saint John, Carbonear, Bonavista, etc.) along the east coast of Newfoundland, whilst the French occupied Plaisance on the south shore of the island.

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Statement of English trade (fishing) on Newfoundland for the years 1698 and 1699.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Ships trading to Newfoundland</th>
<th>Number of Men belonging to the Ships</th>
<th>Number of Boats belonging to the Ships</th>
<th>Number of Fishing Ship's Boats</th>
<th>Number of By-Boats</th>
<th>Number of Inhabitants</th>
<th>Number of Inhabitants' Boats</th>
<th>Quantity of Fish made by Ships</th>
<th>Quantity of Fish made by the Inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1698</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>24,318</td>
<td>5,179</td>
<td>3,225</td>
<td>2,920</td>
<td>114,700</td>
<td>26,8252</td>
<td>151,152</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1699</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>372,300</td>
<td>30,997</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

British Library, Department of Manuscripts, London, England: Egerton Mss., 921, fol. 3
"Rade de l'Isle Percée," sent by Intendant de Meulles, 1686; anonymous; col. ms.; approx. 25 x 14 cm.

At Île Percée, near the Gaspé Peninsula, inshore fishing was carried on not only by the ships that came from France, but also by Canadians. In the 1680s Denys de Bonaventure ran a considerable fishing enterprise there, which had been set up by his father, Denys de La Ronde.

Bibliothèque nationale, Département des cartes et plans, Paris, France: Service hydrographique, portefeuille 125-5-1.
Society and \textit{Culture}.

Society in New France took a certain time, as was normal, to acquire its distinctive characteristics. In the period from 1632 to 1665 some two thousand immigrants, of rather different social backgrounds, provinces and professions, had come to Canada. Pioneers, woodcutters, farmers, craftsmen, day labourers, and soldiers made up most of the population, along with a few score more well-to-do persons – at least apparently so: clerks, merchants, and seigneurs, who gave a certain impetus to life in the colony. Little by little these groups got over their differences and learned to live in harmony, so that towards 1665 they formed what can be called a society.

In twenty years this society had endowed itself with rudimentary administrative institutions. It had seen a certain commercial \textit{élite} come into existence around the Communauté des Habitants. At Québec it disposed of a hospital, a boys’ college, and a convent for the girls; at Montréal primary teaching was provided, and the Hôtel-Dieu took care of the sick and wounded. The seigneurial system provided a method of settlement and at the same time a social structure that was propitious to the population’s advancement. To be sure, people still lived a little too much withdrawn into themselves, within a purely subsistence economy where nothing was exported except furs – and even that commerce was above all in the hands of the clerks of the Communauté des Habitants until 1663, and after that of the Compagnie des Indes occidentales. In many places people were still at the stage of clearing land and planting their first crops.

Between 1665 and 1672 Canadian society changed greatly. Thanks to the immigration of a large number of filles du roi, in particular, but also of entire families, the number of households increased. Then hundreds of officers and men of the Carignan-Salières regiment settled in Canada; in the year 1672 alone Intendant Talon made grants of forty-six seigneuries. Marie de l’Incarnation noted at that period the changes happening in the colony where the social customs were less uniform than a short time before, and the population less submissive. It was at this time also that going off to live in the woods began to become widespread, and this developed a spirit of independence in the settlers and brought about disorders that had been unknown up till that time.
Certain permanent traits of character appeared, particularly in the Canadians: pride, often to the point of arrogance; a spirit of independence that went as far as the rejection of authority; a passion for adventure leading to the giving up of living in society. In all that must be recognized the influence — and even the ascendency — of the Indians on a great number of young men, who adopted their free and apparently carefree way of life.

The fur trade, coming on top of the Iroquois war, hindered the progress of agriculture by inciting young men to abandon the soil for life in the woods and distant voyages. Prohibitions, menaces, promises of amnesty were of no avail; the coureurs des bois no longer wanted to return to the colony. On the contrary, they thrust farther and farther to the south, the west, and the north. In the meantime manpower was cruelly lacking in the colony; workmen and day labourers were scarce and cost a great deal. This penury, together with the stagnation of agriculture and the absence of agricultural surpluses, prevented the setting up of "manufactories." The fur trade hardly brought any wealth to the colony, as more than half the profits went off to France. Consequently the tradespeople, with a few exceptions, were poor, as were moreover the owners of seigneuries. Only the habitants who remained faithful to the land succeeded in enjoying a certain well-being, albeit a purely relative one.

The secular clergy, among whom the proportion of Canadian-born priests was slowly increasing, had difficulty subsisting, since the tithes did not bring in enough; every year the king had to pay a gratuity to the "poor parishes." The nobles in the country, who were few in number and whose numbers it was hoped around the 1680s would not increase any more, were poor and idle, according to the declarations of the authorities. The seigneurs, many of whom claimed to belong to the nobility, often lived beyond their means, like country-gentlemen as it were, more interested in hunting and fishing than in exploiting their domains and as a result, poor and in debt. If we leave the fur trade aside, the only resource left these nobles or so-called gentlemen was an officer's commission in the colonial regular troops (after 1683) or else a commission as an officer of the law; but the army and the public service did not pay well, and if they had, the marked propensity on the part of those people to live on a scale above their real station would have left them just as poor as they were.

Over and above their arrogance, their independent spirit, their taste for a carefree life, however, these men — seigneurs (nobles or commoners) and copyholders — were lacking neither in courage, nor in skill, nor in physical strength. They were redoubtable soldiers, experienced in fighting from ambush, capable of astonishing exploits and of suffering all sorts of hardships. In addition they were light-hearted, sociable, and very courteous. We may wonder whether the governors and intendants in the last twenty years of the century did not exaggerate slightly faults that doubtless did exist in the colony by insisting upon them and generalizing a little more than was necessary.

Doubtless, too, men of that stamp and an uncommonly adventurous spirit were needed to live in New France and to build up there an organized society in spite of all the adverse conditions. In this regard all the essential bases were laid in the seventeenth century; by about 1700 the indispensable institutions were in place, the population was living in a setting and a way of life that had become familiar, and already letters, arts, and sciences had made a modest appearance on the banks of the St. Lawrence.
The governing classes

In Canada as in France at the same period people belonged, according to their political and social condition, to one of the following three estates: the clergy, the nobility, or the people. In its turn the French clergy included the upper and lower clergy. If certain ecclesiastics in the colony came from the aristocracy, they nonetheless shared the pioneers’ harsh life of poverty.

The colonial nobility consisted of only a few families, but included a certain number of so-called noblemen. All the same, all those real or alleged noblemen were “poor beggars” and often idlers. Too proud to work the land, they had no other resource but “the woods,” where their sons engaged in the fur trade.

It was among the seigneurs – the great majority of whom were commoners – that were to be found the greatest number of those who aspired to live in the colony as the gentry in France lived on its estates. All that could ensue from that for them was running into debt, poverty, and a disorderly life.

The members of the Conseil souverain and other officers of justice, of whatever social origin, enjoyed unquestionable prestige. Although they were very poorly remunerated and although they were generally not very learned, they were in fact entitled to a certain number of marks of honour. Consequently those posts were very much sought after.
Letter from Intendant Duchesneau to the minister Colbert, Québec, 10 November 1679.

Duchesneau expressed a favourable opinion of the clergy in the colony: “On the subject of all the ecclesiastics in general, I must tell you, Monseigneur, that I find them very submissive...and that they conform without difficulty to all that is practised in France.”

Champigny did not have a high opinion of the Canadian nobility: "Pride and idleness are the main defects in the people who have settled in Canada, and principally of the nobles and those who call themselves thus without being nobles, those people are all in a state of extreme poverty."

"Information report on Canada" by Intendant Champigny, Québec, 10 May 1691.
Duchesneau described the idle and wretched life of certain Canadian gentlemen and seigneurs: "As they were accustomed to what is called in France the life of country gentlemen..., [they] make hunting and fishing their greatest occupation... and since they do not apply themselves entirely to their families and to exploiting their lands, they get mixed up in trade, make debts on all sides, incite their young settlers to become coureurs des bois and send their children into the woods...and with all that they are in great poverty."

La plus grande partie des officiers du con... souvenant de des autres justices intérieures qui par quils doivent s'appliquer principalement à leur métier à s'en instruire en son...

Empochez par leur pauvreté, les gages qui leur accordent sont trop modiques, ce qui fausse leur espoir bien plus qu'autrement à faire valoir leurs habitudes.

Letter from Intendant Duchesneau to the minister Colbert, Québec, 10 November 1679.

According to Duchesneau, the officers of the law (judges) in the colony were too badly paid to be able "to apply themselves principally to their profession and to learn more about it... with the result that they concern themselves much more with trade and with developing their settlements."

The Armorial Bearings of Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil; watercolour on parchment; arms: azure, three roses Or; on a chief coussu Gules, a crescent Argent between two mullers of the same; helmet: silver, affronty; mantling: of the colours; crest: a savage issuant proper holding in his sinister hand an arrow sable; supporters: two savages proper, each vested with a loin-cloth Gules and holding in his sinister hand an arrow sable.

Charles Le Moyne, Robert Giffard, Pierre Boucher and other eminent persons received letters patent of nobility because they had rendered valuable service to the colony.

Archives of the Le Moyne de Sérigny family, Bordeaux, France.
Cross of a Knight of the Royal Military Order of Saint-Louis; obverse; enamel and gold; 4 cm.; LUDOVICUS MAGNUS INSTITUIT 1693.

This cross was awarded to officers whose "valour, merit, and services rendered" had earned them the honour of being named members of the order by the king. This honour was bestowed upon several officers from Canada.
The people

In spite of appearances the merchants in the colony were poor, except for four or five who had "some wealth," according to one intendant's testimony. If many of them lived on a grand scale and dressed opulently - as did their wives and children too - most often they were heavily in debt.

In reality, truly comfortable circumstances were most often found among the ordinary settlers who cultivated their land diligently. Towards the end of the century there were still "poor people" among the habitants, but they were generally those who did not put any effort into working their land but preferred the life of the coureurs des bois.

As for workers, there were too few of them in the colony. People even spoke of "an extreme need for workers and labourers." As well as being scarce, they were very costly, so that a masonry job could cost five times as much at Québec as it did in France.

The Canadian habitants were proud and in no way resembled "peasants." Freedom-loving, they were brave, strong, and hardy; if they excelled in fighting from ambush, they also had all that was needed to succeed as coureurs des bois. Going off to live in the woods was often disastrous for them, however. After a few years many became unfit for any other work, and in particular for working the land.
Ex-voto of Madame Denis Riverin and her Four Children; attributed to Michel Dessaillant dit Richeterre (active circa 1700–23); oil; 1703; 47.6 x 55.2 cm.

The tradesman Riverin's family is richly dressed in this picture. This was not an exception in New France, since many Canadians liked to wear fine clothes, even if few of them had the means to do so. Many pieces of material and articles of clothing were therefore imported from Europe so that people could dress fashionably.

Musée Historial, Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré.
Information report on Canada” by Intendant Champigny, Québec, 10 May 1691.

According to Champigny the Canadians who became coureurs des bois “lived in extraordinary idleness and most often in extraordinary poverty,” whilst “those who have applied themselves to cultivating the land are rich or at least live very comfortably.”

Letter from Intendant de Meulles to the minister Colbert, Québec, 12 November 1682.

De Meulles deplored the lack of manpower in Canada: "We have an extreme shortage of workmen here, and of day labourers, which raises the cost of products so much, that they cost four times more than in France."

Archives nationales, Paris, France: Fonds des Colonies, série C, vol. 6, fol. 81, 84v, 85, 92v.
According to La Potherie the Canadians had "on several occasions given sure tokens of their loyalty" to the king by taking part in military operations against the Iroquois and the English. "Cold, rain, snow, hunger and thirst" were sometimes more difficult obstacles to overcome than were the enemy forces. Commenting upon the success of d'Iberville's military expedition in Hudson Bay in 1697, this French observer wrote: "You had to be a Canadian, or have the heart of a Canadian, to have carried out such an undertaking successfully."

Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottawa (Negative no. C 113193).
Education

The Jesuit college, which had been founded at Québec in 1635, was the only institution of secondary education in New France. It developed rapidly. On 2 July 1666 two Canadians, Louis Jolliet and Pierre Francheville, defended the first “thesis in philosophy” there, in the presence of Bishop Laval, the governor and the intendant. The latter argued well at it, probably in Latin, and the two pupils replied, very well too, on all fields of logic.

The Jesuits also did primary teaching; at Montréal in 1658 Marguerite Bourgeoys welcomed the first children of school age, and also in that year she recruited some of her companions to help her. Little by little she laid the foundations of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, the schools of which multiplied in the colony.

Bishop Laval’s Petit Séminaire, which was founded in 1668, took in pupils who were intending to enter the priesthood; they took their classes at the Jesuit college and boarded at the seminary. Later Bishop Laval founded another institution, which was for teaching arts and crafts.

The Ursulines had been at Québec since 1639. Besides the usual school subjects they taught the young girls to keep house, but also to keep themselves busy, both agreeably and usefully, thanks to needlework, for example, in which they themselves excelled.
The first philosophical debates are being conducted successfully in the congregation. All the powers are present; Monsieur the Intendant, among others, made a strong argument; Monsieur Jolliet and Pierre Francheville replied very well, upon the whole subject of logic.
Declaration by Chomedey de Maisonneuve in favour of Marguerite Bourgeoys,
Paris, 22 November 1670.

Maisonneuve affirmed that she had
"exerted herself with all possible zeal not
only to teaching the young, but in
addition to all the works of charity and
piety that occurred on all sorts of
occasions for the common good."

Little by little Marguerite Bourgeoys
laid the foundations of the Congrégation
de Notre-Dame, a community which
devoted itself mainly to educating young
girls.

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Letter from Governor General Denonville to the minister Seignelay, Québec, 13 November 1685.

Denonville spoke about two schools run by the Séminaire de Québec: "In one are put those in whom is discerned some disposition for the humanities, for whom efforts are made to train them for the Church....In the other house are put those who are only apt to be artisans, and they are taught trades."

Portrait of Mother Marie de l’Incarnation (1599–1672); attributed to Hugues Pommier (circa 1637–86); oil; 1672; 100 x 77 cm.

Marie de l’Incarnation was the first superior of the Ursulines of New France, a religious community that was dedicated to educating young French and Indian girls. Her *Lettres*, published in 1681, teem with information about the events, habits, and customs of the period.
A developing civilization

As harsh as life might be in Canada, when they knew how to read, the settlers sometimes owned some books, most often devotional works. Some who were better educated, such as Jean Nicollet, owned a small and more varied library: literature, geography, history were represented in it. Another man even owned some books in Latin.

The colony also had its painters. The most famous in the seventeenth century was without doubt Brother Luc, a Recollet, who left a fairly large body of works, including portraits of Bishop Laval and Intendant Talon. Perhaps more engaging is the figure of a very talented Canadian, Abbé Jean Guyon, to whom we owe a fine portrait of Mother Juchereau de Saint-Ignace, a nun hospitaller.

Not even music was absent from Canada: in February 1661 the use of an organ in the church of Québec is mentioned – the oldest one known in North America; and in 1667 the Sieur Chartier de Lotbinière gave the first ball to be seen in the colony at Québec.

On the science side, other than teaching mathematics and in the final years of the century, hydrography, everything remained to be done. But a man was getting ready to enter upon the scene who would be the first “scientist” in New France: Michel Sarrazin, a remarkable doctor and naturalist, who began the scientific tradition in Canada.
Minutes of the sale of the belongings of the late Jean Nicoller, Québec, December 1642.

Among the deceased's belongings were the following books: a "life of the saints," *Le Voyage des Indes, L'Histoire Romaine*, and a small book of French literature.

The settlers who could read sometimes owned a few books.

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec: Minutier de Martial Piraube, pièce 44.
This portrait of the superior of the Religious Hospitallers of the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec was done by Abbé Jean Guyon, one of the earliest Canadian painters. This artist also did watercolours of "elements of Laurentian flora."

Monastère des augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, Québec.

Portrait of Mother Juchereau de Saint-Ignace (1650–1725); attributed to Jean Guyon (1659–87); oil; circa 1684; 68.5 x 56.1 cm.
Sister of Charity Tending to Our Lord as a Sick Man; Claude François (Brother Luc) (1614–85); oil; 1670 or 1671; 99.6 x 140.3 cm.

Brother Luc, of the Recollet order, spent fifteen months at Québec in 1670–71. He painted several pictures for churches in New France and some religious communities in the colony. He also did a few portraits, including those of Bishop Laval and Intendant Talon.
Extract from the *Journal des Jésuites*: first mention of an organ in the church at Québec, February 1661.

"The forty hours were celebrated as usual last year: on Sunday... the organ played during the reposition of the Blessed Sacrament and the Benediction."

Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Québec: Journal des Jésuites, MS-48, p. 154.
Extract from the *Journal des Jésuites* mentioning the first ball in Canada, 4 February 1667.

"On the 4th the first ball in Canada was held in the home of the Sieur Chartier." Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Québec: Journal des Jésuites, MS-48, p. 182.
Deliberations of the Conseil souverain concerning the surgeon Michel Sarrazin, Quebec, 14 May 1699.

It is stated that in addition to displaying "great assiduity since his return in serving disinterestedly the needy poor," Sarrazin devoted "a great deal of time to dissecting the rare animals which are found in this country or to seeking out unknown plants."

Michel Sarrazin was the first great Canadian scientist.

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Quebec: Jugements et délibérations du Conseil souverain, vol. 9, pp. 271–272.
The theatre

Under the heading of cultural activities in the colony one must not forget the theatre. The first performance – a play written for the occasion by Marc Lescarbot – was given at Port-Royal on 14 November 1606. It was the Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle-France.

At Québec a tragi-comedy was presented in 1640 to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin. Then in 1651 and 1652 two of Corneille’s plays, Le Cid and Héraclius, were performed. In 1658 a short play written for the occasion, in French and in Indian languages, was presented to celebrate the governor’s arrival: La reception de Mgr le vicomte d’Argenson.

The settlers were also very fond of other entertainments; for a time a bonfire was lit every year on the eve of the feast of St. Joseph, the patron saint of Canada, and every year on the evening of 23 June the traditional bonfires for the feast of St. John were lit at Québec, Trois-Rivières, and probably at Montréal.

While we are on the matter of shows, Governor Frontenac’s plan to stage Molière’s Tartuffe gave rise at the end of the century to what has been called the Tartuffe affair, a series of comical events in which, for example, Bishop Saint-Vallier could be seen handing a hundred pistoles to Frontenac to dissuade him from having the play presented.

"Le théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle-France," a play written for the occasion by Marc Lescarbot, was presented at Port-Royal on 14 November 1606. It was the first theatrical performance in North America.
LE THÉÂTRE
DE NEPTUNE EN LA NOUVELLE-FRANCE

Représenté sur les flots du Port Royal le quatorzième de Novembre mille six cents six, au retour
du Sieur de Pourtrincourt du pays des Armouchiques.

Neptune commence revêtu d'un voile de couleur bleue, & de brodequins, ayant la chevelure & la barbe
longues & chenêves, tenant son Trident en main,
assis sur son chariot paré de ses couleurs : ledit chari-
ott trainé fut les ondes par six Tritons jupiques à
l'abord de la chaloupe où s'estoit mis ledit Sieur de
Pourtrincourt & ses gens sortant de la barque pour
venir à terre. Lors ladite chaloupe accrochée, Ne-
ptune commence ainsi.

NEPTUNE:

ARRÊTE, Sagamos ; arrête toy ici,
Et écoute un Dieu qui a de toy souci.
Si tu ne me connais, Saturne fut mon père, sia Capitaine.
Je suis de Jupiter & de Pluton le frère.

DEVXEME SAUVAGE.

Le deuzième Sauvage tenant son arc & la
flèche en main, donne pour son présent des
peaux de Castors, disant:

Voici la main, l'arc, & la flèche
Qui ont fait la mortelle breche
En l'animal de qui la peau.
Pourra servir d'un bon manteau
(Grand Sagamos) à ta hanteuse.
Recôyt donc de ma petiteffe
Cette offrande qu'à ta grandeur
il offre du meilleur de mon cœur.
Extract from the *Journal des Jésuites* making mention of the performance of Corneille’s tragedy *Héraclius*, 4 December 1651.

“On the 4th Corneille’s tragedy *Héraclius* was performed.” Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Québec: Journal des Jésuites, MS-48.
Extract from the *Journal des Jésuites* mentioning the performance of Corneille's *Le Cid*, 16 April 1652.

“On the 16th Corneille’s tragedy *Le Cid* was performed.”

Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Québec: Journal des Jésuites, MS-48.
Extracts from the *Journal des Jésuites* concerning the bonfires for the feast of St. John, 23 June 1646 and 23 June 1648.

"On the 23rd the bonfire for the feast of St. John was held at half past eight in the evening. ... The governor lit it. ... Five cannon shots were fired, and muskets were fired two or three times."

This bonfire was lit every year on the evening of 23 June.

Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Quebec: Journal des Jésuites, MS-48, pp. 25, 62.
Deliberations of the Conseil souverain on the affair of Molière's Tartuffe, Quebec, 29 November 1694.

The officer Mareuil was complaining of two pastorals from the bishop of Quebec, one of which "forbade him to enter the church or take communion," the other which "condemned all comedies and tragedies as being bad by their nature, and forbade everyone in his diocese to attend Tartuffe, on pain of mortal sin and excommunication."

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec: Juge­ments et délibérations du Conseil souverain, vol. 10, fol. 64–65.
Charitable institutions

According to the authorities of New France, the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec was an absolutely indispensable institution: settlers who were ill, wounded soldiers, and travellers who too often landed at Québec suffering from contagious maladies after two or three months aboard ship were taken care of there.

The Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal rendered settlers and soldiers the same services as did that of Québec. The two institutions, which were often overwhelmed by the number of patients, were among the poorest in the colony; governors and intendants begged the king to come to their aid.

At the end of the century there were many people in need; people could be seen begging all over the place. In 1688 the Conseil souverain created in each of the three towns in the colony an office of the needy which had the task of coming to the aid of those who were truly poor, so as to make idlers get themselves into a position to provide for their own keep.

But an institution was needed that could take in poor people who were suffering from chronic illnesses and old people without support. In 1693 Bishop Saint-Vallier founded the Hôpital-Général de Québec to help them; one year later the bishop also contributed to the founding of a similar institution in Montréal, which was placed under the direction of the Brothers Hospitaliers of the Cross and of St. Joseph (frères hospitaliers de la Croix ou de Saint-Joseph, ou frères Charon).
First page of the "Daily register of the sick who come, leave, and die in the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine beginning in the month of June of the same year."

Marie Morin was the first nun of Canadian origin. In her history she recounts the arrival of the first nuns hospitallers who established themselves in the Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal, a hospital that had been founded by Jeanne Mance.
Decree by the Conseil souverain for setting up offices of the needy in the towns, Québec, 8 April 1688.

“To give the poor in Québec, Trois-Rivières, and Ville-Marie the means to subsist, the council has ordered and orders that an office of the needy will be set up in each of the aforementioned places.”

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d’archives de la Capitale, Québec: Juge­ments et délibérations du Conseil souve­rain, vol. 7, fol. 8.
Portrait of Bishop Jean-Baptiste de La Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier (1653–1727); artist unknown; oil; circa 1699; 80.4 x 64.4 cm.

Bishop Saint-Vallier directed the diocese of Québec from 1688 to 1727.

Monastère des augustines de l'Hôpital-Général de Québec, Québec.
The Indians

The Indians were completely adapted to their natural environment. In the northern regions, which were not suited to agriculture but were rich with game, they had adopted a nomadic existence; farther south, for just the opposite reasons they had adopted a semi-sedentary way of life – thanks especially to the growing of corn. Moreover, there was a regular north-south exchange of products.

Whether they were nomadic or semi-sedentary, the Indians had an organized political life: like the Huron or Iroquois tribes, the Algonkin band had its chiefs and held councils. Wonderful orators were to be heard at these occasions who compelled the admiration of the most cultured white men. The Indians were also excellent diplomats; they treated with the neighbouring tribes and concluded agreements with them that were guaranteed by the exchange of beaded necklaces and belts (wampum). These pieces of beadwork took the place of archives, since through the arrangement and colour of the beads they conveyed a precise meaning.

On the cultural side, the Indians had a particular devotion to the dead: the Hurons for example periodically celebrated the feast of the dead. In other respects they knew how to enjoy themselves; they liked to play and even played certain games, some of which have remained with us. They also like to sing, dance, and feast. They were not sad people at all, and particularly they were not as miserable as the French sometimes thought.
"Turkie Wheate"; woodcut, 29.5 x 21 cm. (page).


The semi-sedentary Indians such as the Hurons and Iroquois grew pumpkins, corn, beans, and some other vegetables. They made a kind of bread with ground corn, or again, they prepared a gruel called "sagamité" to which they added pieces of meat and fish and beans.
Grinding Corn; after a drawing by Samuel de Champlain (1567–1635); etching; 13.8 x 8.4 cm. (plate).

Tribal Chief; Louis Nicolas (1634–after 1678); brown ink on parchment; 33.7 x 21.6 cm.

The Illinois occupied “the valleys of the Mississippi and its tributaries (Illinois River, etc.) on the east bank.” They were among the main suppliers of furs to the French.

Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, U.S.A.
These sticks and strings (wampum) served as jewellery and money among the Indians. They were used regularly to transact business and conclude an agreement. For example, negotiations and treaties with other tribes were regularly conducted with exchanges of wampum. They had then a precise meaning (peace, war, friendship) according to the arrangement and colours of the beads.

Ces présents consistaient en trente mille grains de porcelaine qu'ils avoient reduits à dix-sept colliers qu'ils portoient partie sur eux, & partie dans un petit sac placé tout auprès de deux. Tous étant assemblé chacun ayant pris sa place, le Grand Iroquois (je le nomme ainsi, par que qu'il étoit d'une grande & haute taille) seleva, & regarda premierlement le Soleil, puis ayant jeté les yeux sur toute la compagnie, il prit un collier de Porcelaine en sa main, & commença sa harangue d'une voix forte en ces termes: Onontio, préte l'oreille à mes paroles, je suis la bouche de tout mon pays: Tu entend tous les Iroquois, quand tu m'entend parler. Mon cœur n'a rien de mauvais, je n'ay que de bonnes intentions. Nous avons en notre pays des chansons de guerre en grand nombre, mais nous les avons toutes jetées par terre, & nous n'avons plus aujourd'hui que des chans de rejouissance. Là defils il se mit à chanter, & ses compatriotes lui répondirent. Il se promenait en cette grande place, comme un acteur sur un théâtre en faisant mille gestes. Il regardoit le Ciel, il envisageoit le Soleil, & il se frottait les bras comme s'il en eut voulu faire sortir la vigueur qui les anime dans les combats.

Alors il commença à exprimer ces peines, mais d'une manière si naturelle qu'il n'y a point de Comédien en France qui exprime si naïvement les choses, que ce Sauvage faisoit celles qu'il vouloit dire. Il airoit un bâton à la main qu'il metroit sur sa tête pour représenter comme ce prisonnier portoit son sacquet. Il le portoit en suite d'un bout de la place à l'autre, pour exprimer ce qu'il airoit fait dans les sauts & dans les courans d'eaux où étant arrivé il lui airoit fallu transporter son bagage piecée à pièce. Il airoit & venoit représentant les tours & retours de cet homme. Il seignoit huerter contre une pierre, puis il chanceloit comme dans un chemin boueux & glissant. Comme s'il eut été seul dans un Canot, il ramoi d'un côté, & comme s'il son petit bateau eut voulu tourner il ramoi de l'autre pour le redresser. Prenant un peu de repos il reculloit autant qu'il airoit avancé; il perdoyt courage, puis il reprenoit ses forces. En un mot, il ne se peut rien voir de mieux exprimé que cette action dont les mouvements étoient accompagnés de paroles qui difoient ce qu'il représentoit.

Voila ce qui se paffa en cette assemblée, ou l'on n'a peu recueillir que quelques pieces detachées de la harangue de l'Iroquois, par la bouche de l'interprete qui n'avoit que par des intervalles la liberté de parler; mais tous conviennoient que ce Sauvage étoit fort eloquent, & tres bon acteur pour un homme qui n'a d'autre étude que ce que la nature lui a apris sans regles & sans preceptes. La conclusion fut que les Iroquois, les Algonquins, les Montagnes, les Hurons, & les François dansoient tous ensemble, & qu'ils passeroient la journée dans l'allegresse.


Marie de l’Incarnation spoke highly of the eloquence of the Iroquois chief Kiotseaton: “He was walking about this great place, making a thousand gestures like an actor on a stage…. Then he began to express his griefs, but in such a natural manner that there is no actor in France who expresses things so naïvely…everyone agrees that this Indian is very eloquent, and a very good actor.”

The Indians knew how to amuse themselves: they liked to sing, dance, feast, practice certain sports, and gamble.

Ball Players; engraved by Theodor de Bry (1528–98) after Le Moyne; engraving; 15.2 x 21.2 cm. (plate).

In Theodor de Bry. [America. pt. 2. German]. Der ander Theyl der neulich erfundenen Landtschafft Americae. … Francoforti ad Moenum: Typis I Wecheli, Sumptibus verso Theodori de Bry, 1591. Plate XXXVI.

Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottawa (Negative no. C 114192).
For the first time since Cartier, Catholic priests practised their ministry in New France at Port-Royal in 1604. The first one to play a missionary role there was Abbé Jessé Fléché, who baptized twenty-one Micmacs at Port-Royal on 24 June 1610. He was followed in 1611 by the Jesuits Pierre Biard and Enemon Massé, whose mission came to an end with Argall's attack. Later on some Recollets from Aquitaine made two short stays in Acadia.

In 1615 four Recollets from Paris arrived at Québec. While ministering to the French and keeping up a "seminary" to teach the Indians, the Recollets devoted themselves to missionary work. In 1615–16 the Huron mission was founded; in 1618–19 the mission at Tadoussac was inaugurated. In 1623 Father Joseph Le Caron again lived with the Montagnais; the following year he went up to the Huron country with two fellow religious. In the course of their apostolic work the Recollets had made a dictionary of the Huron language and two Montagnais and Algonkin dictionaries.

In 1625 three Jesuit fathers and two lay brothers came to join the Recollets at Québec. One of them, Father Jean de Brébeuf, displayed great activity. In 1625–26 he followed a group of Montagnais during the winter; in 1626 he left for the Huron country with Father Anne de Nouë. They were called back urgently in 1629, at the time of the surrender of Québec; the Recollets and Jesuits all returned to France.

After the treaty of 1632, Jesuits and Capuchins shared the mission of New France: the Capuchins carried on their work in Acadia, and the Jesuits spread out from their base in Québec – to which place the Recollets did not return until 1670 – to the whole of the continent. The Capuchins devoted themselves particularly to ministering to the French; while serving the settlers at the same time, the Jesuits displayed an intense zeal for converting the Indians. For about thirty years the mission absorbed, as it were, the colony, which received various institutions whose primary objectives were of a missionary nature.
It was Father Paul Le Jeune, the superior of the Jesuits (1632–39), who really launched missionary work in New France. To learn their language he first went with the Indians on their winter hunt. This experience suggested to him various means of carrying on the apostolate: have the nomads adopt a sedentary existence (hence the village at Sillery which was founded in 1637); care for and keep sick or elderly Indians (hence the founding of the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec in 1639); teach young Indians (hence the founding of the Ursuline “seminary” in 1639 and to some extent the founding of the Jesuit college in 1635). Through his annual Relations Father Le Jeune, helped by a few confères from France, was also in a way responsible for the missionary enterprise of Ville-Marie and of the foundations (Hôtel-Dieu and Congrégation de Notre-Dame) to which it gave rise.

The missions themselves were rapidly organized. Soon there were Jesuits everywhere that there were nomads living: Algonkins, Montagnais, Attikamegues, Ottawas, etc. And in 1634 Father Brébeuf had re-opened the Huron mission. The missionaries suffered from the living conditions, the climate, the Indians’ hostility. Conversions were slow in coming, particularly among the Hurons. Finally they were converted in large numbers, a few years before the destruction of their country, which was marked by the martyrdom of several Jesuits. Nevertheless, taking advantage of peaceful periods or periods of calm, missionaries went shortly afterwards to establish themselves in the heart of the Iroquois country.

At that time the Jesuit superior was still the top ecclesiastical authority in Canada, and the colony’s parishes, which were still in an embryonic state, were served by Jesuits. In 1659 Bishop François Laval, the vicar apostolic in New France, arrived. The Canadian Church was finally going to be able to get itself organized from more regular bases. Secular priests, French or Canadian, gradually took over responsibility for the parishes. In 1663 during a voyage to Paris Bishop Laval set up the Séminaire de Québec, which was both a theological seminary and a community of secular priests who constituted the “clergy of this new Church.” In 1668 Bishop Laval founded a petit séminaire to train future priests. In 1663 he had also instituted tithing, for the clergy’s upkeep. However, Bishop Laval, a simple vicar apostolic, felt that his authority was contested; therefore he wanted to be named titular bishop of Québec, which title he obtained in 1674. From that time on the Canadian Church was no longer solely a mission church: now it was incorporated into the colony rather than embracing it, in a way, as formerly.

The bishop of Québec set up several parishes canonically and provided them with priests, most often from the secular clergy; for the parish services he sometimes used the Recollets, who had returned to Québec in 1670; he entrusted the Jesuits with looking after the missions and the Sulpicians with carrying on the ministry on Montréal Island. The missions made headway, but they were generally located near the forts and trading posts: the missionaries were less isolated and their flocks were in more direct contact with the traders, which the Jesuits deplored. All the same, in the colony, which in 1688 counted thirty-five parishes, there was not much reason to complain about the settlers, who were faithful to their religious duties even though “abuses,” such as those denounced by Bishop Saint-Vallier, Bishop Laval’s successor after his resignation in 1684, tended to become more numerous as the population increased. Nevertheless, thanks to its institutions and the force of character of its first bishop, the Canadian Church enjoyed, just before the end of the seventeenth century, an enviable situation. Internal difficulties emerged, however, under Bishop Saint-Vallier, particularly over the Séminaire de Québec.
The first missionaries

If he was not the first priest to land in New France, Abbé Jessé Fléché was the first who can be called a missionary. On 24 June 1610 he baptized the old Micmac chief Membertou and twenty members of his family at Port-Royal. In 1611 the Jesuits Pierre Biard and Énemond Massé succeeded Abbé Fléché, who had returned to France, at Port-Royal.

Québec was behind Port-Royal in this respect and did not receive its first missionaries, some Recollets from Paris, until 1615. We are well acquainted with their work, thanks especially to one of them, Gabriel Sagard, who put it down in two works, his *Histoire du Canada* and *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons*, which were published in 1632 and 1636 respectively.

In 1625 three Jesuit fathers and two lay brothers arrived to assist the Recollets of Québec. Father Charles Lalemant, who was the superior of the group, published a letter to his brother in 1627 in which he describes the morals of the Indians, of whom he did not yet see much other than the negative aspects.

The white men's first reaction was to consider the Indians as people without any religion and without morals, which, as was discovered later, was not absolutely correct. Father Jean de Brébeuf, for example, described in 1636 the feast of the dead, which was celebrated among the Hurons every twelve years. In it he saw correctly "a fairly clear sign of hope [on the part of these Indians] of a future life."

Lescarbot mentions in this text the first baptisms that had been solemnly held in New France: "Membertou [a Micmac chief] is today, by the grace of God, a Christian, with all his family, having been baptized and twenty others after him, last St. John's day, 24 June" at Port-Royal.
roger son démon (qu'il appelle Aoutem) afin d'auoir nouvelle de quelque chose future, ou absente : car chaque village, ou compagnie de Sauvages, ayant un Aoutmoïn, c'est à dire Devin, qui fait cet office, Membertou est celui qui de grande ancienneté à pratiqué cela entre ceux parmi lesquels il a converti. Si bien qu'il est en crédit pardefus tous les autres Sagamos du pays, aië des la jeunesse est été grand Capitaine, & parmi cela exercé l'office de Devin & de Médecin, qui sont les trois choses plus efficaces à obliger les hommes, & à le rendre nécessaire en cette vie humaine. Or ce Membertou aujourd'hui par la grace de Dieu est Chrétien avec toute la famille, aïaïn esté baptisé, & vingt autres après lui, le jour sainct Iehan dernier 24. Juin, l'en ay lettres dudit Sieur de Poutrincourt en date du vnzième jour de Juillet ensuivant. L'edt Membertou a esté nommé du nom de notre feu bon Roy Henry III. & son fils ainé du nom de Monseigneur le Dauphin aujourd'hui notre Roy Louis XIII. que Dieu benie. Et ainsi consequemment la femme de Membertou a
In his works Brother Sagard brought out the apostolic activity of the Recollets, who in the course of the years 1615–29 set up missions in Huronia (1615–16) and among the Montagnais at Tadoussac (1618–19), while ministering at the same time to the French.

The Jesuits arrived in Canada in 1625. Their superior, Father Lalemant, could scarcely see anything but the negative aspects of the Indians' customs: "They have no concern other than to fill their stomachs... the vices of the flesh are very frequent among them... they are very dirty in their eating and in their lodges..."
frêve Reuerêce me fera plaire de consulter quelqu’vn de nos Peres pour en fçauoir la résolution & me l’efcrire.

Quant aux façons de faire des Sauuages, c’est affez de dire qu’elles sont tout à fait sauvages. Depuis le matin iufques au soir, ils n’ont autre foucy que de remplir leur ventre. Ils ne viennent point nous voir fi ce n’est pour demander à manger, & fi vous ne leur en donnez ils tefmoignent du mefcontentement. Ils font de vrais gueux fi'il en fut jamais, & neantmoins superbes au possible. Ils effiment que les François n’ont point d’esprit au prix d’eux; les vices de la chair font fort fréquents chez eux; tel qui y épouftra plusieurs femmes qu’il quittera quand bon lui semblera & en prendra d’autres. Il y en a icy vn qui a époufè fa propre fille, mais tous les autres Sauuages s’en font trouuez indignez; de netteté chez eux il ne s’en parle point, ils font fort sales en leur manger & dans leurs cabanes, ont force vermine qu’ils mangent quand ils l’ont prêfe. La coutume de cette Nation est de tuer leurs peres & meres lors qu’ils font fi vieux qu’ils ne peuuet plus marcher, penfans en cela leur rendre de bons féruiices; car autrement ils feroient contraints de mourir de faim, ne pouuans plus fuivre les autres lors qu’ils changent de lieuy; & comme ie fis dire vn iour à vn qu’en luy en feroit autant lors qu’il feroit deuenu vieil; il me resondit qu’il s’y attendoit bien. La façon de faire la guerre avec leurs ennemis c’est pour l’ordinaire par trahison, les allans efpièr lors qu’ils font à l’efcart; & s’ils ne font assez forts pour emmener prifonniers ceux ou celuy qu’ils rencontrent, ils tirent des fleches deffus, puis leur coupèt la tèfte, qu’ils emportent pour monftrer à leurs gens, que s’ils les peuuent emmener prifonniers iuques en leurs cabanes ils leur font endurer des cruelitez nompareilles, les faifiant mourir à petit feu: & chose eftrange! pendant tous ces tourmens, le patient chante toufiours, refuands à defhonneur f’ils crient & s’ils se plaignent Après que le patiêt est mort, ils le mangent, & ny a fi petit qui n’en ait fa part, ils font des fettins auquels ils se conuent les vns les autres, & mefme ils conuent quelques François de leur cognofance, & en ces fettins ils donnent à chacun fa part dans des plats ou efquelles d’efcorce & lors que ce font fettins à tout manger, il ne faut rien laiffer, autrement vous eftes obligez à payer quelque chose, & perdriez la reputation de bra-
Huron Burial Ceremony; after a drawing by Samuel de Champlain (1567 [?]-1635); etching; 13.8 x 8.2 cm. (plate).


Champlain described the feast of the dead, which was celebrated every twelve years among the Hurons: they exhumed "all the bones of the dead, ...feasted and danced continually during the ten days that the festival lasted, ...they contracted a new bond of friendship among themselves, saying that the bones of their relatives and friends are there to be put all together, ...they dig a big pit measuring sixty square feet in which they put the said bones with necklaces and chains of beads, hatchets, cooking pots, sword blades, knives, and other small things."

Public Archives of Canada, Library, Ottawa (Negative no. C 113747).
The era of the martyrs

After they had returned to Québec in 1632, the Jesuits launched headlong into the missionary adventure. Now, the bands that frequently visited the region of Québec were nomadic. Father Paul Le Jeune decided to go with them on their winter hunts. For him the winter of 1633–34 was a constant martyrdom.

Their apostolic zeal rapidly impelled the missionaries towards the western tribes: the Hurons, the Neutrals, the Ottawas, etc. The beginnings were very arduous and progress was very slow; then there was a breakthrough, with all the tribes showing themselves to be favourably disposed towards Christianity, as Marie de l'Incarnation testified in 1641.

Nowhere had the successes been greater than in Huronia, the most splendid of the Indian churches in New France. Father François-Joseph Bressani, who had been horribly mutilated after being taken prisoner by the Iroquois, was assigned to that church for eight years. The map that he made in 1657 is a sort of résumé of the history of that mission, which ended in fire and blood, with the martyrdom of several Jesuits and the killing of numerous Hurons, who were massacred by the Iroquois.

Of the Jesuits, Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant were particularly cruelly tortured. A witness has described in an especially moving letter their sufferings and their superhuman courage.
Relation de la Nouvelle France

Estdns arriuez au lieu où nous de- 
uions camper, les femmes alloient cou- 
per les perches pour dresler la cabane; 
les hommes vuidoient la neige, comme 
le l'ai plus amplement déduit au Cha- 
pitre precedent: or il falloit travailler 
à ce batiment, ou bien trembler de 
froid trois grosses heures sur la neige en 
attendant qu'il fut fait, je mettois par 
fois la main à l'œuvre pour m'échauffer, 
mais estois pour l'ordinaire tellement 
glacé que le feu seul me pouvoit dége- 
lcer; les Sauvages en estoient estoit 
car ils fusoient soubs le travail, leur ré- 
moignant quelquefois que j'avois grâd 
froid, ils me disoient, donne tes mains 
que nous voyons si tu dis vray, & les 
trouuans toutes glacees, touchez de 
compaßion ils me donnaoient leurs mi- 
taines échauffées, & prenoient les miens 
toutes froides: iusque là que m'ho- 
iste après avoir experimenté cecy plu- 
sieurs fois, me dit Nicuas n'huyerne 
plus avec les Sauvages, car ils te tue- 
ront; il vouloit dire, comme je pense, 
que je roberois malade & que ne pou- 
uant estre trañé avec le bagage, qu'on 
me seroit mourir, ie me mis à rire, & luy 
repartu qu'il me vouloit épouuenter. 
La cabane estant faıte, ou sur la nuit, 
ou vn peu devant, on parloit de disnner 
& de louper tout ensemble: car sorant 
le matin après avoir mangé vn petit 
morceau, il falloit avoir patience qu'on 
foit arrivé & que l'hostellerie fussit faıte 
pour y loger, & pour y manger, mais le 
pis estoit que ce iour là nos gens n'aians 
point ordinairement à la chaffe, c'estoi 
pour nous vn iour de ieufne autu bien 
qu'vn iour de travail.

Paul Le Jeune. Relation de ce qui s'est passé en 
la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1634. Paris: 
Chez Sébastien Cramoisy, 1635, 

Father Le Jeune, who accompanied a 
group of Montagnais during their winter 
hunt (1633–34), revealed just how pain-
ful their nomadic life was for him: "I was 
ordinarily so chilled that only the fire 
could thaw me out...."
Letter from Marie de l’Incarnation to the Reverend Mother Catherine-Agnès de Saint-Paul, abbess of Port-Royal, Québec, 4 September 1641.

Marie de l’Incarnation testified to the favourable dispositions of many Indians towards Christianity. "You will learn of it from the account which will tell you wonderful things about the great dispositions which exist in all the surrounding tribes who all want to embrace our holy faith."

Bibliothèque municipale, Troyes, France: Manuscrit 2196, fol. 113.
This map, which is attributed to the Jesuit François-Joseph Bressani, depicts the Huron missions on Lake Huron and the martyrdom endured by certain missionaries who had fallen into the hands of the Iroquois. This missionary witnessed the destruction by the Iroquois of the Huron missions.
Account of the martyrdom of the Jesuits Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant at the hands of the Iroquois in 1649, written by Brother Christophe Regnault, around 1678.

Despite his sufferings Father Brébeuf "did not cease speaking of God and encouraging all the new Christians, who were captives as he was, to endure their sufferings, in order to die well so that they might go with him to paradise."
et d'encourager tous les nouveaux Chrétiens qui seront captifs comme lui, de bien souffrir afin de bien mourir pour aller de compagnie avec lui dans le Paradis. Pendant que ce bon Père encouragerait ainsi ces bonnes gens, un miserable huron renégat qui demeurait captif avec les Iroquois, que le père de Brebeuf avait autrefois instruit et baptisé, l'intendait parler du Paradis et du Baptême fut vivant et lui dit, Echon, C'est le Nom du Père de Brebeuf en huron. Tu dis que le Baptême et les souffrances de cette vie meinent droit en Paradis, tu iras bientôt Car je te vais baptiser et te bien faire souffrir afin d'aller au plus tôt dans ton Paradis. Le barbare ayant dit cela, prit un chaudron pleins de toute bouillante et le renversa sur son corps par trois diverses fois en diéson du Baptême et à chaque fois qu'il le baptisait de la sorte le barbare lui dit par raillerie pecquant en va au Ciel car de voila bien baptisé. Aprè
Religious foundations

Having noticed that the nomadic Indians put to death those among them who because of age, illness, or wounds, could no longer follow the band, Father Le Jeune wished that a hospital might be founded where those Indians would be cared for, kept, and converted. Responding to his appeal, three nuns hospitalers came across the ocean to Québec in 1639 to found a Hôtel-Dieu there.

In the same year, three Ursulines also landed at Québec. They came on the invitation of Father Le Jeune to set up a seminary or boarding school to teach young Indian girls along with young French girls.

At the same time when the Hospitalers and Ursulines were settling in at Québec, another great missionary project was being elaborated among a group of French people whose only aim was to convert the Indians. This project began to be achieved with the founding of Ville-Marie in 1642. Without delay Jeanne Mance opened a hospital there; in 1658 Marguerite Bourgeoys began teaching there, while laying the groundwork for the Congrégation de Notre-Dame. In 1657 the Sulpicians and in 1659 the Hospitalers of Saint-Joseph came to take charge respectively of the parish and the Hôtel-Dieu at Ville-Marie.

These foundations had been preceded at Sillery in 1637 by the founding of a village for the Indians: it was thought that their conversion would be easier and perseverance in their faith would be ensured if they became sedentary and engaged in farming like the French.
"Short history of the creation of the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec," recounted by Mother Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau de La Ferré, called Mother Saint-Ignace, and Mother Marie-Andrée Regnard Duplessis, called Mother Sainte-Hélène, 1716–22.

It was the Duchesse d'Aiguillon who assured the founding of this hospital through the numerous steps that she took and through her financial aid.

On 2 February 1639 the Augustines of the Hôtel-Dieu de Dieppe chose "Reverend Mother Marie Guenet de Saint-Ignace to be the superior, Mother Anne Le Cointre de Saint-Bernard, and Mother Marie Forestier de Saint-Bonaventure-de-
Monastère des augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, Québec.
Account of the arrival of the Ursulines at Québec prepared by Governor Montmagny, Québec, 28 September 1639.

"The reverend mothers of the Ursuline order, that is to say Mother Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation, Mother Marie de Savoînières de Saint-Joseph, from the convent in the city of Tours, and Mother Cécile de Sainte-Croix... arrived here in Québec on the first day of August of the present year 1639, to create a house and convent here... and to educate the girls, both the French ones and the native Indians."

Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Québec: Documents Faribault, no 25.
Marguerite Bourgeoys founded the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in Canada, a religious community dedicated to educating young girls.

Archives des Soeurs de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Montréal.
Father Le Jeune announced the founding of the Indian village at Sillery, which was intended to lead the Indians to become sedentary so that it would be easier to convert them. "One of the most powerful means that we can have to bring them to Jesus Christ is to bring them to live in a sort of large village, in a word to help them to clear and cultivate the ground and to build homes for themselves."
De quelques Sauvages errants devenus sédentaires.

Ce Chapitre donnera de la consolation à V. R. & à toutes les personnes qui prennent plaisir de voir régner Iesvs-Christ dans nos grands bois ; Car il nous met dans une grande espérance de la conversion des Sauvages, tant est qu'on les puisse secourir à la façon que je le vay deduire.

L'vn des plus puissans moyens que nous puissions avoir pour les amener à Iesvs-Christ,

C'est de les reduire dans vne espece de Bourgade,

en vn mot de les aider à defricher & cultuier la terre, & à se bastir. Comme nous cherchions tousjours quelque secours pour faire cette entreprise, arrîte qu'une personne de vertu de votre France bien connu au Ciel & en la terre, & dont le nom ne peut sortir de ma plume sans luy deplaire, me deonna aduis d'un dessein qu'il auroit de servir Nôtre Seigneur en ces contrées. Il gage à cet effet quelques artisans & quelques hommes de travail pour commencer vn bâti-

ment, & pour defricher quelques terres, m'assurant dans les lettres qu'il n'avoit point d'autre but en ce travail que la plus grande gloire de Dieu : Nous mêmes les ouvriers dans vn bel endroit nommé à present la resi tendence S. Ioseph, vne bonne lieue au defus de Kebeck sur le grand fleuve. Monseur Gand auroit pris ce lieu pour soi, mais il le consacra volontiers à vn si bon dessein. Les affaires étant en cette disposition, nous mandâmes à ce bon Seigneur, qu'il feroit vn grand sacrifice à Dieu s'il vouloit appliquer le travail de ses hommes à secourir les Sauvages. Il falloit attendre vne année pour avoir responda.

Cependant il arriva que demandans à vn Sauva-

ge les enfants pour les mettre au Seminaire, il nous respondit ; c'est trop peu de vous donner mes enfants, prenez le pere & la mere & toute la famille, & logez-nous auprès de votre demeure, afin que nous puissions entendre votre doctrine, & croire en celuy qui a tout fait.
Organizing the Church

In 1657 circumstances seemed favourable for setting up a bishopric in Canada. For various reasons, however, the candidate chosen to occupy the see of Québec, François de Laval, was named vicar apostolic of New France, with the title of bishop of Petraea, rather than titular bishop of Québec. His bulls were signed at Rome on 3 June 1658.

On 26 March 1663, while in Paris, Bishop Laval made a start at organizing the Canadian Church by creating the Séminaire de Québec, an institution that, if it was to play the role of a theological seminary for training future priests, was also “to act as a clergy for this new Church” by bringing together and supporting the secular priests responsible for the various diocesan ministries.

In organizing his Church Bishop Laval, who had become bishop of Québec in 1674, did not fail to found religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods, such as the Confrérie de Sainte-Anne, for which he drew up the regulations himself in 1678.

In 1699 Intendant Jean Bochart de Champigny remarked upon the “particular inclination” that Bishop Saint-Vallier, Bishop Laval’s successor, had “for creating new Communities.” He had, in fact, founded the Hôpital-Général de Québec in 1693 and an Ursuline convent at Trois-Rivières in 1697. The foundresses of these two institutions were drawn from the Hôtel-Dieu and the Ursuline convent in Québec respectively.
Portrait of Bishop François de Laval (1623–1708); attributed to Claude François (Brother Luc) (1614–85); oil; circa 1672; 86.4 x 71.1 cm.

Bishop Laval was the first bishop of New France; he directed the diocese of Québec from 1659 to 1684.

Musée du Séminaire de Québec, Québec.
Bull from Pope Alexander VII appointing François de Laval apostolic vicar in Canada, Rome, 3 June 1658.

This bull would allow Bishop Laval to exercise the functions of bishop until his appointment as titular bishop of Québec in 1674.

Archives de l'archidiocèse de Québec, Québec. Photo: musée du Québec.
Pastoral letter from Bishop Laval creating the Séminaire de Québec, Paris, 26 March 1663.

This seminary would train "young clerics who will appear suited for the service of God and who will be taught to this end how to administer the sacraments properly, how to catechize and to preach apostolically, moral theology, the ceremonies, Gregorian plain song, and other things that form part of the duties of a good ecclesiastic."

Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Québec: Polygraphie 9, n°1.
"Rule and statutes of the Confrérie de Sainte-Anne created in the parish of Québec," Québec, 8 October 1678.

"This brotherhood has been instituted to honour St. Anne the mother of the Virgin Mary and the grandmother of Jesus. ... It will be composed of the master carpenters and other persons of honour and of good moral character."

Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Québec: Polygraphie 29, n° 4.
Champigny mentioned that Bishop Saint-Vallier "has a particular inclination for creating new communities, he created one of Ursulines at Trois-Rivières two years ago, he is beginning one of Religious Hospitallers in the Hôpital-Général at the gate of Quebec."

This bishop founded the Hôpital-Général de Québec and contributed to the founding of a similar institution in Montréal intended for poor people who were chronically ill and old people without means of support.

Church and State

In the seventeenth century it was normal to entrust responsibilities within State bodies to high-ranking ecclesiastics. Thus, in creating the Conseil souverain in 1663 the king appointed Bishop Laval to it.

If the respective jurisdictions of the Church and the State were in general well defined, questions involving both of them, such as selling spirits to the Indians, were sources of conflict between the civil and religious authorities. Despite the opposition of the representatives of the civil authority, and for considerations of morality, Bishop Laval conducted a bitter fight against the traffickers in spirits.

The king helped the Canadian Church as best he could, but often according to his own ideas or by trying to bring into the colony ways of doing things that were current in France. In 1679, for example, he set regulations for the payment of tithes in Canada and in so doing upset the practice that had been followed up till then.

The king wanted the bishop to create as many parishes as possible whose incumbents would be irremovable; Bishop Laval considered that in view of the slender amounts that the tithes brought in and the small number of heads of families, very few parishes could provide a living for a parish priest and that consequently the system of officiating priests was the only one that suited the state of the colony.
Minutes of the first sitting of the Conseil souverain, Québec, 18 September 1663.

The signature of Bishop Laval, who was a member of the Conseil, appears here.

Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de la Capitale, Québec: Juge­ments et délibérations du Conseil souve­rain, vol. 1, fol. 1.
Pastoral letter from Bishop Laval, which expressly prohibits and forbids under pain of excommunication incurred ipso facto, giving in payment to the Indians, selling, trading, or giving for nothing and through gratitude either wine or spirits in any manner whatever, and under any pretext whatsoever,” Québec, 5 May 1660.

Archives de l’archidiocèse de Québec, Québec.
The religious authorities in the colony were opposed to the sale of spirits to the Indians. Intoxicating beverages caused various disorders among the Indians and were a major obstacle to establishing and maintaining the Christian faith among them. On the other hand the civil authorities generally tended to tolerate this traffic, which seemed to favour the fur trade, the main source of wealth in the colony.

Archives départementales de la Gironde, Bordeaux, France.
Letters patent from King Louis XIV in the form of an edict concerning tithes in Canada, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, May 1679.

Having learned that many Canadians "wanted to have regular parish priests to administer the sacraments to them, instead of movable priests and parish priests whom they had had before," the king decided that henceforth tithes "will belong entirely to each of the parish priests throughout the parish where he is, and where he will be fixed in perpetuity, instead of the movable priest who served them before."

In this way, the king imposed upon the bishop the obligation to create fixed parish charges.

Present state of parish charges and missions in Canada, 1683.

In view of the slenderness of the tithes and the small number of heads of families, very few parishes could supply a living for a parish priest. Certain priests had therefore to serve more than one parish.
In the first half of the seventeenth century a current of mysticism went across France, which also had an effect upon the colony, through the agency of several persons, monks and nuns, priests and laymen, who lived in it. Among them Mother Catherine de Saint-Augustin, of the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, has an important place.

At that period the settlers themselves, with a few exceptions, led an orderly life and in general displayed great piety. Several devotions were in honour in the colony, such as the devotion to Sainte Anne, of which the church Sainte-Anne-du-Petit-Cap (Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré) was already the centre. Important personnages and ordinary people went there on pilgrimage and left ex-votos, often as the result of a promise made in a moment of danger.

Just as did the Indians at Lorette those at La Montagne in Montréal came in for praise from the authorities for their religious behaviour. The Iroquois at La Montagne profited not only from the zeal of the Sulpicians, who were in charge of the mission, but also from the devotion of Marguerite Bourgeoys's nuns, who were beginning moreover, to spread about everywhere in the colony.

Nonetheless there were “abuses” in the country, and they became more and more numerous, it seems, as the years went by. Bishop Saint-Vallier made it his duty to denounce them.
7. Avant que nous parlions du détail de la Vie de cette vertueuse Religieuse, en voicy comme un abrégé dans une lettre que Monseigneur l'Evêque de Pettrée écrivit à la Reverende Mere Marie de S. Augustin, Fondatrice & Superieure des Religieuses Hospitalieres de Bayeux, apres la mort de celle dont la Vie est icy décrite.

Ma chere Mere, il y a grand sujet de benir Dieu de la conduite qu'il a tenu sur notre Sœur Catherine de saint Augustin : c'étoit une ame qu'il s'étoit choiße pour lui communiquer des graces tres-grandes & tres-particulieres : la sainteté sera mieux connue dans le Ciel qu'en cette vie; car asseurement elle est extraordinaire. Elle a beaucoup fait, & beaucoup souffert avec une fideïté inviolable, & un courage qui étoit audeslus du commun. Sa cha-

rité pour le prochain étoit capable de tout embrasser pour difficile qu'il füt. Je n'ay pas besoin des choses extraordinaires qui se sont passées en elle pour être convaincu de la sainteté ; les veritables vertus me la font parfaitement connoître. L'on envoye au R. Pere Ragueneau les remarques que l'on a faites de ce que l'on a pu connaître des graces & des vertus qui ont paru davantage en elle. Vous aurez sans doute bien de la consolation de voir ce que l'on en a recueilly. Dieu a fait une faveur bien particuliére à nos Hospitalieres de Quebec, & même à tout le Canada, lors qu'il y a envoyé cette Ame qui luy étoit si chere. A Quebec, le 10. Octobre 1669.

Ma chere Mere,

V'ètre tres-humble & tres-obeissant
Serviteur FRANCOIS,
Evêque de Pettrée.
In 1658 a chapel in honour of St. Anne was built at Côte de Beaupré. Seven years later Marie de l’Incarnation wrote her son that miracles were taking place there: “You can see paralytics walk there, the blind receive sight, and people sick with any sort of malady recover their health.” Common people and even important persons such as d’Iberville would go there on pilgrimage and leave ex-votos as a mark of gratitude.

Musée Historial, Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré.

Ex-voto of Pierre Le Moyne d’Iberville (1661–1706); artist unknown; oil; 1698–1700; 76.2 x 56.5 cm.
Letter from Intendant de Meulles to the minister Seignelay, Québec, 4 November 1683.

The Sulpicians' mission at La Montagne (Montréal) seemed to be very successful: the little Indians were learning "their faith" there, as well as learning to "sing in Latin at church, to read, to write, and to speak French."

The same was true for the schools of the sisters of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame: "They are teaching all the young girls from all sides with utter perfection."
3. Nous dijendons tres - expressément aux filles & aux veuves , d’avoir la gorge, les epaules, ou la tête découvertes lors qu’elles se présentent au Sacrement de Mariage : enjoignons aux Curiez & autres Prêtres de notre Diocèze de ne les y point recevoir en cet état, & de s’en tenir aussitôt exactement la main à et que nous leur avons déjà cy-devant ordonné de ne point admettre les filles & les femmes aux Sacrements de l’Sentience & d’Eucharistie, ou à l’offrande, & aux festes qui se font dans les Eglises, si elles oisent s’y préférer avec une pareille indecence, & immodestie ; comme étant une chose indigne de la profession du christianisme, & encore plus de la faineté de nos Temples & condamnée pour cette effet dans la sainte Ecriture par le saint Esprit, dans les Ecrits des Saints Peres & Docteurs, & dans les Constitutions de l’Eglise.

5. Nous avons esté sensiblement touchés dans les visites que Nous avons faites dans les Paroisses de la campagne, d’apprendre l’abus qui s’est glissé parmi plusieurs de sortir du Prône & de l’exhortation qui se fait aux jours de Fêtes & Dimanches à la Messe Paroissiale, sans nécessité, & pour aller causer dans les maises pendant le Sermon; cette coutume qui s’est introduite en divers endroits de ce Diocèze est une marque évidente d’indevotion & d’irreligion qui tourne au mépris de la parole de Dieu.

7. Et parce que nous avons esté informez qu’il se fait en divers lieux des assemblées de danses & autres divertissemens aux jours de Fêtes & Dimanches, & quelquefois même pendant le Service divin, ce qui est defendu par les Ordonnances du Roy & par les Loix de la Police seculière, Nous exhortons & conjurons pour l’amour de Notre-Seigneur, & pour l’honneur de la Religion tous les fidèles de notre Diocèze, de s’abstenir à l’avenir de ces sortes de choses dans lesdits jours, & pour ce qui est des danses & autres recreations dangeureuses qui se pratiquent entre personnes de différent sexe, comme l’expérience fait voir qu’elles font à la plupart des occasions prochaines d’un grand nombre de pêchés considérables, Nous exhortons les Curiez, Conseillers, & autres qui ont loin des Ames de les en détourner par toutes les voyes les plus efficaces qu’ils pourront trouver.

8. Nous avons aussi après bien de la douleur qu’un grand nombre de personnes sur tout de jeunes hommes & de garçons se donnent la liberté de proférer en toutes rencontres des paroles déshonnestes, où a double entente, ce qui cauflant dans les moeurs une corruption qu’on ne peut aler deploiner, nous voulons que les Pasteurs & Conseillers usent de tous les moyens qu’ils jugeront propres pour déracher cette licence empechée ; qu’ils se comportent à l’endroit des personnes habituées à ces infames diffasures, comme envers les impudiques d’habitude & même scandaleux, & qu’ils ne leur accordent l’abolution, qu’après qu’ils auront des peuyves sufiéantes de leur contradiction par le retranchement de ces paroles impures pendant un temps raisonnable.

9. Ayant remarqué que nonobstant l’exacitude que nous avions apporté à faire connoître aux peuples l’obligation qu’ils ont de payer des dîmes, plusieurs personnes neanmoins s’en defparent ; ce qui peut provenir de la facilité que les Curiez ont de les aboudre, sous pretexte de la crainte qu’ils ont de paroître interessés. Nous voulons remedier à ce mal, déclarons que le payement des dîmes étant d’une étroite obligation par les Loix naturelles, divines, Ecclesiastiques, & civiles ; les peuples ne peuvent manquer à ce devoir sans se rendre coupables de larcin, ou de retention du bien d’autrui, qui tient même du facrilege, comme étant un bien sacré & Ecclesiastique, & qu’ainsi les Curiez & autres Conseillers de ce Diocèze ne peuvent en conscience admettre aux Sacrements lesdites personnes, c’est pourquoi nous leurs enjoignons de ne les y point recevoir, lour par leur faute, ils n’auront pas payé les dîmes, ou qui ne les ont point payez fidèlement, soit en retenant une partie de ce qui est de bon, soit en donnant ce qui est de plus mauvai.


Among the abuses denounced by the bishop, let us mention the immodest dress of certain women when at church, the "impure words" that several persons "take the liberty of uttering on every occasion," and "the dances and other dangerous forms of recreation which are practised between persons of different sex."
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Canada, ou Nouvelle France sous le nom d'Outaouais, Labrador, ou Terre des Esquimaux, Contrie de la Louisiane, Florida, Sainte-Anne, Grace de Mexique, Golfe de Saint-Malo, Carte de Groenland.
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