CHAPTER – 4

CANADIENS IN THE MAKING (1663- 1713)

By the beginning of the 1660s, the broad contours of a French colony in North America had already emerged, even though this colony, for a series of reasons, most of which owed their origin to the existing environment of instability in both France and Europe as a whole, as well as in Canada was confronted with a decidedly uncertain future. Just as in the case of France, the advent of Louis XIV on the scene heralded the advent of a new era for the emerging colony, and it was during his long and eventful reign that New France came out as the dominant force in the continent. There were certain conditions that made this evolution of the colony from a precarious to an ascendant presence possible. Many of these conditions had their genesis in the changing dynamics of the European power structure. As we have seen in the last chapter, the French state had demonstrated enough commitment to the establishment of a permanent colony in North America, but that commitment could not be translated into reality due, in part, to internal problems facing France. The most vexatious of these, the religious turmoil, which had been brewing in the country for a long time, had more or less died down with the country remaining steadfastly attached to Catholicism. The last blow to the Huguenots would soon be delivered by the state under Louis XIV. More than that, the state of affairs in Europe in general had changed considerably. Whereas the preceding one and a half century in the continent had been dominated by religious strife arising out of Reformation

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1 The most important factor causing uncertainty was the intermittent warfare with the Iroquois who had inflicted heavy damages upon the settlers. Charles Verlinden, *Précedents médiévaux de la colonisation en Amérique*, Mexico, 1954, p. 21.

and Counter-Reformation, by the second half of the seventeenth century, religious wars had run their course in Europe and peace had at last come to prevail. This was an encouraging sign for the colony in the sense that the French state could now pay more attention to it and, through its intervention, ameliorate the situation. The significance of Canada becoming a royal province has thus been described by Benjamin Sulte:

"Having taken over the government of Canada, Louis the Fourteenth proceeded to institute a system of administration adapted to colonial needs. The form which the administration took at the outset in 1663, endured, with but very slight modification, until 1760, that is, roughly speaking, about one hundred years. Under its working Canada gradually developed those forms, political, social and ecclesiastical, which go to make up the old regime, and which constitute the permanent background of the province of Quebec in its modern phase. The King conceived of Canada theoretically as a royal province; but in transplanting the organs of provincial administration across the Atlantic, he allowed their customary functions to be adapted to the needs of their different environment. The difficulty of communication between Quebec and Versailles threw a responsibility of judgment upon the colonial administrators which similar officials at home would hardly ever incur."

At the assumption of royal power by Louis XIV, New France already had some of its distinctive institutions in place. The seigneurial system, the Custom of Paris and the Catholic Church were firmly established. Furthermore, land was actually being cultivated, despite the fact that the Iroquois attacks in the past few years had seriously hampered this work. The fur trade had developed extensive networks in the region, and the voyageurs and engagés were actively involved in the procurement of furs from the interiors of the continent. All this meant that, in its endeavor to create a French empire in North America, the incoming royal administration did not have to start from scratch.

3 A History of Quebec, by Benjamin Sulte, Montreal, 1908. p. 41.
For the past three decades, the Company of New France had been at the helm of affairs in the colony. While it had come out more successfully in its venture than its predecessors, the meager achievements of the company had brought in sharp relief the fact that it was beyond the power of a mere trading company to employ the kind of resources that were required to undertake colonial enterprise on a grand scale. Conversant with what he regarded as the incompetence of mercantile enterprises in North America, the first measure that Louis XIV considered vital for the advancement of the colony was the direct assumption of power by the Crown. This was done in 1663 with the abolition of the Company of New France.

The transition of the Laurentian colony from a mercantile venture to a French province under the munificent care of the monarch spelt significant changes for its future. Since New France was henceforth formally to be a province of France, Louis XIV wished to equip it with an administration analogous to that of the other provinces. With this view, he embarked upon an extensive reorganization of the colonial administration putting New France under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Marine, which was soon to be under the competent guidance of Colbert, the legendary chief minister of Louis XIV4. Hitherto under the control of a Governor appointed by the company, the colony was now put under a Governor – General appointed by the monarch himself. Furthermore, there was to be Sovereign Council consisting of the Governor- General, the Bishop and five other

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4 Ministry of Marine with Colbert at its head was created with the specific aim of consolidating the maritime empire of France. As Jeremy Black has put it: "A growing consciousness of the importance of maritime and colonial interests led in 1669 to the creation of secretary ship of state for the navy, a post occupied by Colbert." Jeremy Black, *From Louis XIV to Napoleon: French Foreign Policy, 1661-1815*, Routledge, 1999, p. 37.
councilors chosen from among the inhabitants of the colony\(^5\). In addition, New France was to have an Intendant on the pattern of other French provinces. While the Governor-General was to be the administrative and military head of the colony, the Intendant, as in the case of other provinces, was conferred with the charge of finance and justice\(^6\).

These developments had been possible due mainly to the emergence of a grand imperial vision propagated by Louis XIV and his deputy, Colbert. In the preceding decades, the English colonies in North America had been developing much faster than New France. Added to this was the fact that the Anglo-French rivalry was by now a force to reckon with in the political affairs of Europe\(^7\). Apart from this, the Dutch threat to the French colonial enterprise had to be liquidated\(^8\). In view of this, the new colonial policy put a lot of emphasis on strengthening the linkages between France and its colonies, especially in the economic realm, so as to make the latter profitable for the mother country and to enable them to withstand any future threat from the rival European powers. What was contemplated, therefore, was a drastic expansion of the Laurentian colony in demographic, military, economic and political terms, for only a colony that was well-developed could be of any use to the new imperial project. Consequently, money and resources were pumped into the colony on an unprecedented scale to achieve realization of this vision. In particular, the colony was groomed to supply France with natural

\(^5\) Édits, ordonnances royaux, déclarations et arrêts du Conseil d'État du Roi concernant le Canada, Quebec 1854-56, 3 vols., I, 'Édit de création d'un Conseil souverain, avril 1663,' pp. 37-38
\(^6\) LAC, Series C11 A, Vol. II, Colbert to Tracy, 15 Nov. 1664.
\(^7\) In commercial terms, England was already on the verge of emerging as the dominant player, though France was still a power to reckon with. According to Anthony Brewer: “London, the third of the great cities of western Europe, was displacing Amsterdam as the world’s entrepot, the centre of shipping and trade. Britain, with greater resources than Netherlands, better ports than France and a social system which encouraged enterprise, was emerging as the new hub of the European economy. France, however, was still the most important military power.” Anthony Brewer, Richard Cantillon: Pioneer of Economic Theory, Routledge, 1992, p. 3.
resources that the latter needed for its emerging manufacturing industries. Thus, colonial trade was set to receive an impetus from this point onwards.

Colbert considered it essential to break the Dutch hold on the transatlantic traffic, if any meaningful intervention was to be made in North America. According to his estimates, which might be exaggerated, the Dutch controlled eighty percent of the total European commercial traffic. With the English controlling another eighteen percent, very little was left for the French. Not that the Dutch, or the English for that matter, produced all the goods carried in their ships. In the case of the Dutch at least, much of the merchandise they carried, in fact, originated in the French possessions on the Atlantic coast and the sugar islands in the Caribbean, but it was diverted to them by the relative weakness of French shipping companies. Thus, it was indispensable for France to assert its control upon the commercial traffic, if it wanted to make any meaningful intervention in the fight for empire. To Colbert’s mind, therefore, the commercial development of the French colonies in North America was essential. That trade was at the heart of the colonial policy

9 See Jeremy Black, *From Louis XIV to Napoleon: French Foreign Policy, 1661-1815*, Routledge, 1999. It is obvious that rivalry with the Dutch played a very important role in determining Colbert’s maritime and colonial policy. As Black comments: “He (Colbert) was motivated by a desire to challenge and emulate, if not replace, the profitable and powerful maritime position of the Dutch. French West India and East India companies were founded in 1664, and the Dutch were driven from Cayenne, (later French Guiana on the northern coast of South America) the same year.” Ibid. p. 37.


11 J.H. Shennan, *Louis XIV*, Routledge, 1995, p.22. According to Shennan, “Possession of a powerful fleet was for Colbert a matter of greatest significance. In the first place, it would help to guarantee the security of king’s realm not only in wartime but also as a constant shield behind which a French mercantile fleet might emerge to challenge the domination of Dutch and English mercantile fleets. Second, it would stimulate the emergence of a home based naval industry which would free France from a dangerous dependence upon the Baltic trade in naval stores, which was in Dutch hands... with Colbert’s enthusiastic backing, therefore, the French royal navy grew from some two dozen craft in 1661 to 140 by 1677.” Ibid.
propagated by Louis XIV and Colbert is explicit from the following statement issued, in 1663, by the Crown:

<<Depuis qu'il a plu à Dieu de donner la paix à notre royaume, nous avons rien en plus fortement à cour que le rétablissement du commerce, comme étant la source & le principe de l'abondance que nous nous efforçons de procurer à nos peuples. C'est ce qui nous a porté à nous informer de l'état ou est le pays de la Nouvelle-France, dont le Roi, notre très-honorable seigneur et père, avait fait don à une Compagnie composée de cent personnes par traite de l'année 1628. Mais, au lieu d'apprendre que ce pays était peuplé comme il devait l'être, vu le long temps de cette possession, nous avons reconnu avec regret que non seulement le nombre des habitants est fort petit, mais même qu'ils sont tous les jours en danger d'en être chassés par les Iroquois. Considérant d'ailleurs que cette Compagnie de cent hommes était presque anéantie par le désistement volontaire du plus grand nombre, & que le peu qui en restait n'était pas assez puissant pour soutenir ce pays et pour y envoyer les forces & les hommes nécessaires, tant pour l'habiter que pour le défendre, nous avons pris la résolution de le retirer des mains de cette Compagnie, qui en a fait démission à notre profit. A ces causes, nous déclarons que tous les droit de propriété, justice, seigneurie, accordé par notre très-honorable seigneur & père, en conséquence du traite du 29 avril 1626, soient et demeurent réunis à notre Couronne, pour être dorénavant exerces en notre nom, par les officiers que nous nommerons à cet effet12. >>

This statement presents an exceedingly lucid account of the processes and events that led to the royal intervention in New France. Similarly, it makes abundantly clear what were the expectations of the new French administration from the Laurentian colony. To the extent that the European enterprises in the newly discovered world were based upon the collaboration between the state and the rising forces of mercantilism, the previous French governments had only followed the policy pursued by other European powers in allowing

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the merchant companies to build and manage the colonies in the name of the Crown. It was, however, evident by now that this policy, unlike in the case of the Dutch and English colonies, had not succeeded well enough in realizing the imperial ambitions of France in America. This was partly because of the relative weakness of the mercantilist forces in France, where the classes with surplus capital invested the bulk of it in land rather than in trade and commerce. The state, therefore, had to step in to fill the vacuum created by the inefficiency of the private enterprise. This is not to suggest that the failure of French mercantile companies to compete with their English and Dutch rivals had anything to do with the supposed absolutism of the French monarchy. The argument extended by some scholars, most vehemently by Francis Parkman, attributing the relative weakness of the French companies to the supposed lack of liberty in France does not hold ground. The plain fact is that the English and Dutch mercantilism received very substantial support from their respective governments, though the nature of this support was usually indirect and, at times, outrightly clandestine. Moreover, Dutch companies were not saddled with the onerous responsibility to populate their commercial comptoirs. The seizure of Quebec in 1629 by the English pirate, Kirke, who was commissioned by the King of England, is a quintessential case of the close collaboration between the state and freelancing mercantilism.

Colbert and Canada:

Colbert's restructuring of New France took many directions. However, before embarking upon his mission, he appointed a commission of enquiry to the colony so as to become conversant with the actual conditions prevailing there. This commission was given to

13 The Old Regime in Canada, Francis Parkman, 1901. See Introduction.
Louis Gaudais who, in 1663, visited Quebec and other settlements to take stock of the agricultural and commercial potentialities of the colony. In particular, he was expected to look into the actual conduct of the outgoing governor d’Avaugour, who was removed on the recommendation of Bishop Laval. As the letter of instruction issued to Gaudais puts it:

<<Voulant être éclairci au vrai de la conduite de M. d'Avaugour, le roi ordonne expressément au sieur Gaudais de s'informer, avec esprit de déshéintéressement de la manière dont ce Gouverneur s'est comporté dans son emploi, pour lui en rendre un compte fidèle quand il sera de retour; surtout il tachera de découvrir les véritables raisons qui ont oblige a se plaindre du sieur d'Avougour, et si c'est avec justice ou non.14>>

Therefore, the Crown followed an essentially cautious policy in the colonial affairs. Whereas it was willing to listen to what appeared to be the genuine grievances of the colonists against individual administrators, the Crown was equally concerned about maintaining a balance within the colonial power structure. Consequently, it was necessary for the King to ascertain whether or not the complaints against the outgoing governor had any basis in truth. This would be essential to keep the colony away from conspiracies, which might otherwise be hatched by the various sections of colonial administrators against each other.

With the meticulous attention to the detail intrinsic to all good administrators, Colbert had also instructed Gaudais to come to grips with the prevailing religious conditions in the colony, with an eye on the role of the Jesuits and of Bishop Laval. For Colbert, colonial project was essentially a secular project, and he did not fancy making New France a mission colony. Consequently, he wanted to keep the church within what he

thought was its proper domain. That he intended to reduce whatever power the clergy may have enjoyed so far comes out clearly from what he is reported to have said during the course of a conversation with Louis XIV:

'If Your Majesty can manage to reduce all his subjects to these four sorts of occupations (agriculture, war, trade, seafaring), one can say that he can be the master of the world, while striving at the same time to diminish quietly and imperceptively the religious of both sexes who produce only useless people in this world, and very often devils in the next world.\textsuperscript{15}

Thus, the minister was clear in his mind that the church had to be subordinated to the state for a meaningful development of the colonial enterprise.

Apart from taking stock of the prevailing situation, Gudais also conveyed to the inhabitants of Quebec and other settlements the salient features of the new colonial policy adopted by the Ministry of Marine, so as to ensure a faster growth for the colony. Apart from the information thus gathered, Colbert also benefited from the report submitted by d’Avaugour, the last governor of Quebec appointed by the company of Hundred Associates. In this report, d’Avougour asserted the centrality of Laurentian colony in the French colonial enterprise in North America as a whole. According to his thesis, only the St. Laurence valley had the sort of natural resources capable of sustaining a self-dependent colony. Coastal areas like Newfoundland and Gaspé might be rich in fisheries, but they did not have the kind of land and other resources to become self–sufficient colonies. The future of the entire French colonial enterprise in North America was, therefore, argued the outgoing Governor, inextricably attached to that of Canada\textsuperscript{16}.


In a way, the establishment of the Sovereign Council with the Governor – General at Quebec at its head was more of a symbolic than substantial change in the immediate future, as the Company of New France had also created, towards the end of its regime, a council for the governance of the colony. An important change was the removal of a Jesuit representative on the council and the minor role accorded the colonial bishops. However, the advent of a garrison to be permanently posted at Quebec made a crucial difference. Within a few years of the arrival of the French forces in the colony, the Iroquois who had made life difficult for the settlers for the past many years were effectively subdued. In fact, even before the arrival of the garrison, they had started making conciliatory gestures to their ancient enemies. Devastated as they were by the spread of small pox and the counter-offensive undertaken by the Algonquians, Mohicans and the Andastes, all allies of the French, the Iroquois were not, by the summer of 1663, in a position to deter the development of the colony.

The Constitution of Sovereign Council:

There can be no denying that the Sovereign Council was meant to be an instrument of devolution of power to the colony, which it achieved by providing a degree of representation to the habitants. Louis XIV delineated the royal perspective on the functions and duties of the council in a categorical manner:

<<Donnons et attribuons le pouvoir de connaître de toutes causes civiles et criminelles, pour juger souverainement et en dernier ressort selon les lois et ordonnance de notre royaume, et y procéder autant qu’il se pourra en le forme et manière qui se pratique et se garde dans le ressort de notre cour de parlement de Paris, nous réserve néanmoins selon notre pouvoir souverain, de changer, reformer et amplifier les dites lois et ordonnances d’y déroger, de les abolir, d’en faire de
nouvelles ou tels règlements, ou statuts et constitutions que nous verrons être plus utile à notre
service et au bien de nos sujets du dit pays.>>

In practice, the Sovereign Council issued legal ordinances, proclaimed royal edicts which it judged appropriate to the colony (reserving others for royal consideration), and acted as a court of appeal from the royal courts later established in the principal towns—Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivieres. The devolution of power suggested by the edict was thus substantial by any conceivable yardstick. Both the legislative and juridical powers granted to the council testify evidently to the fact that the King was not unaware of the inherent difficulty of governing a remote colony without conceding to it some of the power that he theoretically claimed for himself. It was, of course, perfectly natural for a monarch claiming absolute sovereignty for the person of the king to reserve the right to repeal or modify the judgments and regulations passed by the council. However, the colonial administration also, in practice, enjoyed a good deal of discretion in implementing the policies and directions of the royal administration. Although general orders were sent to the governor and the Intendant from the Ministry of Marine and Colonies, these were always subject to in situ review as to their applicability. Even edicts were sometimes not registered and proclaimed by the Sovereign Council to give them effect in the colony. The Intendant would suggest to the metropolitan authorities the regulations that would be acceptable and appropriate. In other words, the colony did not always implement metropolitan policy.

17 As quoted in *History of Quebec*, Benjamin Sulte, Montreal 1908, p. 43-44.
18 The distribution of power in the colony was always done by Louis XIV in a careful manner. Although the governor was his personal representative and military commander, the Intendant was the president of the Sovereign Council and controlled finances.
Louis XIV: Paternalistic State:

Therefore, the royal prerogative to modify or repeal the regulations and judgments passed by the Sovereign Council was more in the nature of a general assertion of the supremacy of the monarch, as in the absence of such a measure, the colony would be virtually independent, which was incommensurate with the basic tenets of colonial policy followed by all European countries, including France. In practice, the administration provided to the country by Louis XIV was more paternalistic than despotic. For too long have the scholars of a certain hue taken the theory of monarchical absolutism propounded by him at face value, without engaging themselves in the task of looking into the practice as against theory. This 'absolutism' of the French monarchy is then cited as one of the reasons behind what is glibly described as the dependent state of New France.

A man of exceptional intelligence and ability, Louis XIV had perceived, even before assuming the reigns of power in his own hands, that the Crown alone had the power to keep the various sections of the society in a state of balance and to strengthen the power of the state. His experience of bureaucratic corruption and intrigues of the nobility had taught him early in his career not to rely too heavily on anyone other than himself for what he regarded as the welfare of his subjects. By retaining the medieval concept of divine right, Louis XIV was striving to implement his paternalistic vision of monarchy where the king was, in theory at least, ever solicitous about the welfare of all his subjects. A consequence of this approach was that his colonial subjects expected state authorities to protect their interests. There was never any rebellion in Canada against royal authority,
but protests could be directed against the officials for not sufficiently providing for their
welfare, perceived as a royal obligation. Whatever the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of monarchy, as propounded by Louis XIV, may have been, there were obvious limits posed to the power the Crown might have been able to enjoy in the colony. Not only was the Laurentian colony far away from the mother country, but it was also closed half the year due to the freezing of the St. Lawrence. Thus, in the very nature of things, communications between Paris and Canada could not be regular. Moreover, there was also the fact that the colony was situated in such a radically different environment from that of France that no amount of effort could possibly succeed in making it a replica of the latter.

Whereas the Governor-General, the Bishop and the Intendant were appointed directly by the King, and were all members of French aristocracy, both noblesse d'épée and the noblesse de robe, the five additional councilors, later increased to seven and then to twelve, were to be recruited from the ranks of the local populace, though even these were required to be the notables of the colony. In addition, the council exercised extensive rights over the regulation of fur trade in the colony. What is even more remarkable is the fact that Louis XIV conceded almost all-judicial authority to the council, which was, in some sense, a higher court of justice. The ordinance issued by the King puts it quite clearly:

<<Voulons, entendons et nous plait, que dans le dit conseil il soit ordonné de la dépense des deniers publics, et dispose de la traite des pelleteries avec les sauvages, ensemble de tout les trafic que les habitants pourtant faire avec les marchands de ce royaume; même qu'il soit règle de toutes les affaires de police, publiques et particulières de tout le pays, au lieu, jour et heure qui seront

désigné de cet effet; En outre donnons pouvoir au dit conseil de commettre à Québec, à Montréal aux Trois Rivières et en vous autres lieux en temps et en la manière qu’ils jugeront nécessaire, des personnes qui jugent en première instance, sans chicane et longueur de procédures, des différents procès, qui y pourront survenir entre les particulières ; de nommer tels greffiers notaires, et tabellions, sergents, autre officiers de justice, qu’ils jugeront à propos, notre désir étant d’ôter autant qu’il se pourra toute chicane dans le dit pays de la Nouvelle France afin que prompte et brève justice y soit rendue.20 >>

For some years prior to the constitution of Canada as a royal province, relations between the governor d’Avougour and Bishop Laval had been strained due to a variety of reasons. While we shall look into the power and functions of the church during this period later on, suffice it to say here that it was partly at the behest of the Bishop that d’Avougour was recalled from New France. The next governor, Sieur Saffroy de Mésy, was handpicked by Laval himself, and had been one of his close confidantes. Yet, within a short period of the constitution of the new council, the two came to blows on the question of liquor supply to the natives and some other issues that will be discussed later. While things were thus dragging on, Colbert was looking for suitable administrators for the colony, so that he could implement more vigorously the grand imperial policy of Louis XIV. However, capable administrators were few and far between, and none of them were hugely interested in going out into the ‘North American wilderness’, as career within France was much more attractive. The following statement of Colbert illustrates this point well:

"I despair of being able to find an intendant who has the proper qualities for this post, those who would acquit themselves worthily lack the mettle to risk the long voyage, and those who would undertake it lack the intelligence, integrity and ability needed to be of some use there."  

Advent of Jean Talon, the Great Intendant:

Given this, the appointment of Jean Talon as the Intendant of New France in 1665 assumes added significance. True to the faith reposed in him by the Ministry of Marine, Talon proved himself worthy of the post of Intendant, and his appointment is generally considered a turning point in the history of the colony. According to most estimates, he is given the lion’s share of the credit for the all-round development of the colony during the period between 1663 and 1713. The conventional wisdom in this regard has, however, been questioned by Marcel Trudel who presents a much less favorable picture of the 'great Intendant'.

Like so many others of his age, Jean Talon was taught by the Jesuits, though this fact did not weigh too heavily on his work in the colony. Before his appointment as the Intendant of New France, he had served the Crown as the Intendant of the French forces on the Flanders frontier and, more recently, as the Intendant of Hainaut. Talon worked under the guidance of Colbert, who provided him with detailed instructions on what was to be done to develop the colony. However, it cannot be denied that he did have a vision of a French empire in North America, and that he tried as best as he could to realize this vision. The praise he showered upon Canada as an 'unlimited territory, a healthful

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climate, immense forests, a fertile soil, abundant furs, potential mineral wealth 24 was undoubtedly genuine, even though one might fault him for emphasizing only the strengths of the colony, to the utter neglect of the weaknesses that might undermine its foundations. Much of the economic progress made during this period was under the aegis of Talon, who tried to develop various kinds of industries in the colony in order to make it self-sufficient. Whereas most of these efforts achieved only moderate success, this was due to the very limitations of the situation and not to incompetence on the part of the Intendant.

The first decade of the royal administration in Canada was characterized by state-sponsored migration of people from France on a considerable scale. Even so, Colbert was well aware that such a policy could not be continued for long, as the costs involved were too high for the Crown. In order to supplement the population of the colony, he issued a renewed call to the integration of the natives into the colonial society. 25 Whereas Talon supported efforts to teach French ways to the natives, this policy of assimilation could not gain much success, primarily because the latter's resistance.

We have mentioned earlier how Quebec and other settlements were established along the St. Lawrence and not in the conventional circular villages. In order to make the colony more compact, Talon founded three circular villages in the vicinity of Quebec 26. While this turned out to be a successful experiment in this case, in other places settlement continued to be centered along the river. Talon also took some steps to expand cultivable land in the colony, and to make the colony self-sufficient in terms of agricultural

24 Ibid., Talon ag Colbert, 4 Octobre 1665, pp. 32-35.
25 Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1930-31, "Colbert 'a Talon, 5 avril 1667,' p. 72; 'Talon a Colbert, 27 octobre 1667,' p. 84.
26 Ibid., 'Colbert a Talon, 5 janvier 1666,' p. 43; 'Talon 'a Colbert, 13 novembre1666,' p. 56; 'Talon a Colbert, 27 octobre 1667,' p. 79; 'Colbert 'a Talon, 27 février 1668,' p. 93.
production. All these efforts had considerable success, though Talon did not come anywhere close to realizing his grand vision.

Talon’s departure from the colony in 1672 was followed by the appointment of Louis de Baude Frontenac as the Governor of Canada. He had had an illustrious career in the French administration, and his appointment to the colony reflected the importance that the Crown attached to it. He took an active interest in the expansion and regulation of fur trade. In 1673, he established Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario, partly to strengthen the French position against the Iroquois and partly to ensure personal profits from the lucrative fur trade. It was this policy of commercial expansion that brought the colony into conflict with the Iroquois.

The first administration of Frontenac came to an end in 1682. His successor, La Barre, proved to be a failure in countering the Iroquois threat to the colony. Moreover, his efforts at the monopolization of fur trade for his own benefit aroused the hostility of important sections of the colonial society. In fact, it was his permission to the Iroquois to check the French canoes for official licenses for fur trade that provided the immediate cause for the opening of hostilities between the two sides. It was the setback that the governor received at the hands of the Iroquois that resulted in his recall, in 1685, by the Ministry of Marine.

In the wake of the recall of La Barre, Denonville was appointed as the Governor of Canada. He undertook several important measures to improve the conditions in the

27 For more on Frontenac and other Governors – General, see Louis Joseph Lemieux, The Governors-general of Canada, 1608-1931, Lake & Bell Ltd. 1931. Also see Francis Parkman, Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV, Massachusetts, 1990.
29 W. J. Eccles, France in America, Toronto 1972, p. 86.
colony, especially in relation to the Iroquois. During his last year in office, he was assisted by the new Intendant, Champigny, who proved to be a good administrator. The second administration of Frontenac from 1689 onwards witnessed a period of efficient administration. However, differences soon cropped up between himself and Champigny on the question of their respective area of authority in the administration of the colony. That this tussle had assumed serious proportions is evident from the fact that both of them were warned by Louis XIV to mend their ways, failing which they stood to be recalled. The death of Frontenac in 1699 brought Callieres to the office of governor. He had been the Governor of Montreal for some time and his appointment to the office of governor of Canada was made by the Crown over the claims of other contenders like Vaudreuil and Champigny. To some extent, this was the underlying reason behind the subsequent clash between the Governor and the Intendant. It was, however, the regulation of fur trade that provided the immediate ground for tussle between the two.

As mentioned earlier, the vastly increased royal attention to the colony during the reign of Louis XIV was a reflection of his grand imperial vision to establish France as the dominant European power both within Europe and in the colonies. Whereas this policy led to an all-round development of Canada during the last decades of the seventeenth century, it also involved almost perpetual conflict with other European powers. In 1703, France plunged into the War of Spanish Succession that was fought both in Europe and in the colonies. We shall deal with Anglo-French rivalry elsewhere. However, it is important to note here that this period turned to be one of relative stagnation, as far as the development of the colony was concerned. Preoccupied with a powerful coalition of

31 See Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1927-28, 'Le Roi à Frontenac et à Champigny, 7 avril 1692,' pp. 79-80; 'Mémoire du Roi à Frontenac et Champigny, 14 juin 1695,' p. 262.
European powers ranged against it, France was not in a position to do much for the benefit of the colony. Between 1703 and the 1713, when the war came to an end with the signing of the Peace of Utrecht, Canada was pushed into a defensive position vis-à-vis the English colonies on the continent. Acadia was lost to England during the war, and this loss was confirmed by the Peace of Utrecht. This was indeed a serious blow to the French power in North America, and it was a grim reminder of the fact that the colony as a whole was in an increasingly vulnerable position.

Resumption of Conflict with the Iroquois:

In the closing decades of the seventeenth century, Canada made rapid progress in all areas. One of these was the strengthening of the French position vis-à-vis the natives. Whereas, the French colonists, from the time of Champlain, had enjoyed the support of the Hurons, the Algonquins, and some other allied tribes, they had been, as we have seen earlier, periodically at war with the Iroquois confederacy, especially the Mohawks, who were one of the five tribes constituting the confederacy. In fact, the Iroquois attacks on the colony had, towards the opening of the 1660s, become severe enough to pose a grave threat to the very survival of the small community settled there. As the edict issued by Louis XIV mentions, the elimination of the Iroquois threat was one of the chief objectives of the renewed activity in the colony. Whereas in the past there was no professional army in the colony, this critical deficiency, which had naturally emboldened the Iroquois, was to be removed now with the deployment of a strong garrison at Quebec.

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33 The loss of Acadia was all the more important because during Louis XIV’s long reign the colony had made impressive progress. N. E. S. Griffiths, The Contexts of Acadian History, 1686-1784, McGill, 1992, pp. 1-10.

34 The Hurons were a kindred tribe of the Iroquois, but they had come to develop serious differences with the latter and had subsequently switched over to the French colonists. The Iroquois languages were the basis of the categorization of the five tribes in the confederacy as Iroquois.
and other places. In November 1663, Colbert informed Bishop Laval of the sanction by the King for the posting of a strong garrison at Quebec:

<<L ' affaire d'Italie était heureusement terminée à la satisfaction du roi, Sa Majesté a résolu d'envoyer en Canada un bon régiment d'infanterie, à la fin de cette année ou au mois de février prochain, afin de ruiner entièrement les iroquois; & elle a ordonné à M. de Tracy de s'y transporter, pour conférer avec vous sur les moyens de réussir promptement dans cette guerre35. >>

The permanent establishment of a military garrison in the colony reflected the higher stakes that the French colonists had come to acquire in North America by this time. As long as the colony was small and insignificant, both the Iroquois and the English colonists could afford to take it relatively in their stride. But the expansion of the settlement and the consequent fear that the French presence in the region might turn out to be permanent had pitted the colonists against all other contenders.

Thus, militarisation of the Laurentian colony was an imperative not just to push back the hostile natives from the areas settled by the colonists, but also to render the colony impervious to military threat from the European rivals like England and Holland36. We shall deal with the Anglo-French conflict later. For the moment, let us look into the developments on the Iroquois front.

As mentioned earlier, Colbert was inspired by the vision of creating a well-integrated colonial empire for France in America. Such a vision could materialize only if France was ready to provide an impetus to its military presence in the region. Therefore, as early as 1663, Colbert appointed M. de Tracy the Lieutenant-General of North and South

35 Archives de la Marine, registre des ordres du Roi pour la Compagnie des Indes, fol. 64.
36 Canada under Louis XIV, W. J. Eccles, 1964, pp. 7-8. According to Colbert, some 20,000 ships passed between Europe and America every year. A whopping 16,000 of these were Dutch, while another 3000-4000 were English ships. Ibid.
America, and instructed him to proceed, as early as possible, with a strong naval fleet to bring order to all the French possessions. In 1665, after setting the house in order in Central America, Tracy, at the head of his fleet, reached Quebec, where the troops belonging to Carignan Salieres regiment sent by Colbert specifically for the Laurentian colony had already arrived. The arrival of the French troops was a turning point in the history of the colony for long harassed by the marauding raids of the Iroquois. It gave a new lease of hope to the colony, as is suggested by the following description furnished by La Mère Marie de l'Incarnation:

"M. de Tracy, lieutenant-general pour Sa Majesté dans toute l'Amérique est arrivé avec un grand train. Je crois que c'est un homme choisi de Dieu pour l'établissement solide de ces contrées, pour la liberté de l'église et pour l'ordre de la justice. Il est d'une haute piété; toute sa maison, ses officiers, ses soldats, imitent son exemple. C'est une chose ravissante de voir son exactitude ponctuelle à se rendre le premier à toutes les cérémonies de la religion, jusque-là qu'il est resté plus de six heures dans l'église sans en sortir. Son exemple a tant de force que le monde le suit comme les enfants suivent leur père. Cela nous donne beaucoup de joie et nous ravit."

Whatever may have been the piety displayed by Tracy on his arrival in the colony, it is quite understandable that he should have been described as a 'chosen man' to deliver the colony from its miseries.

In the next few months, the military presence of France in the region was further augmented by the arrival of more troops, until by the end of the year, there were no less

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38 Lettres de la Mère de l'Incarnation, lettres historique 70, 28 juillet 1665, pp. 600-609.

39 The arrival of Tracy along with his troops created great enthusiasm not only among the French colonists but also among their Indian allies. Relations, 1665, pp. 4-5. Also, Jugements et délibérations du Conseil souverain, 1 pp.363-66.
than 1,200 troops at Quebec, Trois Rivières and Montreal put together\textsuperscript{40}. This, indeed, was a sea change from the situation only a few months ago when there was no military presence in the colony.

With the competence of a professional soldier, Tracy promptly realized the importance of laying the groundwork for the forthcoming war with the Iroquois. Since the latter inhabited the area south of St. Lawrence along the Richelieu, he decided to build forts on the latter to support a French offensive in the region\textsuperscript{41}. However, unaware of the hazards of fighting a war with the Mohawks in the midst of winter, Tracy sent his troops to undertake a campaign against them. This expedition failed to achieve anything except killing a few Mohawks in a random encounter. Having lost its way in the snow-clad forests of the Richelieu valley, the expedition suffered serious losses due to the rigors of a winter to which the French soldiers were still unaccustomed. Nevertheless, the expedition did make an impression on the minds of the Iroquois and their English allies regarding the determination of the colony to go on the offensive against their foes. As one English officer wrote:

\textit{<<Jamais il n'y eut d'entreprise plus hardie; cependant, sans avoir essayé de la bonne volonté de la garnison anglaise, a cause du bruit qui court fortement que le roi de France et les États de Hollande se sont unis contre l' Angleterre, M. de Courcelles a jugé convenable de retourner sur ses pas sans avoir rien fait.>>}\textsuperscript{42}

As a result of the French military mobilization, some native tribes, hitherto hostile to the colonists, made conciliatory gestures\textsuperscript{43}, which were not, as is sometimes argued, in the

\textsuperscript{41} Journal des Jesuites, Quebec 1871, pp. 332-34. Régis Roy and Gérard Malchelosse, Le Régiment de Carignan, Montréal 1921.
\textsuperscript{42} Documents de Londres, pp. 50.
\textsuperscript{43} Relations, 1666, pp. 7-8. Journal, pp.346-49.
nature of a total surrender to their enemies. At any rate, side by side with these conciliatory gestures, small skirmishes between the two parties continued unabated, though at long last, even the Mohawks made some conciliatory gestures, albeit of a tentative nature, towards their old enemies.\textsuperscript{44} Subsequently, in August 1666, all the five Iroquois Nations, the Onondagas, the Senecas, the Oneidas, the Cayugas and the Mohawks pledged themselves to maintain peace with the Laurentian colony. This, however, was nothing but a truce between the two belligerents. To blame the Iroquois for reneging on their word and resuming the warfare with the French, as many scholars are prone to do, is to be narrowly legalistic. In a struggle where the natives were fighting to defend their country from all intruders, there could obviously not be a lasting peace, unless one of the two parties was totally subjugated. And the ground for this was gradually being prepared.

The second French offensive against the Iroquois was far more decisive than the first one discussed above. Towards the closing months of 1666, the relations between the colonists and the Mohawks again took a downward plunge, with the latter refusing to come to terms with French claims in the region. This provoked Tracy to decide on a second campaign against them. Though even this second campaign did not involve a pitched battle between the two belligerents, the Mohawks still had to suffer considerable losses because of the destruction of their villages - which they had to desert in anticipation of French attack - along with much of their standing harvest.\textsuperscript{45} Moreover, their country was temporarily occupied by the French forces. Pushed into the corner, the Iroquois had no alternative but to enter into a treaty, which, most importantly, forced them to accept the

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Relation par lettre de l'Amerique septentrionale, 1709-10}, Father de Rochemonteix, ed., Paris 1904, p. 84. Also, \textit{Relations}, 1666, p. 9.
Jesuits in lieu of the maintenance of peace between the two parties.\(^{46}\) This provision for the opening of the Iroquois country for the evangelical enterprise of the zealous missionaries was simply a continuation of the earlier policy according to which the Hurons and other allied tribes were made to admit the Jesuits in their villages in exchange for trade relations with the French settlers. Whether through war or trade, evangelization of the natives in order to bring these ‘savages’ closer to ‘civilization’ continued unabated. The peace with the Mohawks and the Onondagas thus concluded remained in force for more than seventeen years. Given the very nature of things, however, it could not hold forever, until the Iroquois resistance was completely crushed. The expansion of the Laurentian colony in economic and demographic terms was perhaps the most important reason behind the renewal of hostilities on the part of the Iroquois.\(^{47}\) While their previous warfare against the colonists had weakened them to some extent, it had still not put them completely out of the struggle.

The outbreak of what is described as the second Iroquois war was preceded by a series of events provoking the Iroquois into hostilities.\(^{48}\) By the late 1670s, the French alliance with the natives was facing serious problems.\(^{49}\) From the beginning of the century, the colonists had enjoyed friendly relations with the Hurons, the Algonquins the Andastes and some other native tribes, who for some reason or the other were antagonistic to the Iroquois confederacy of Five Nations. This alliance was based primarily on mutually beneficial trade relations between the parties concerned. For the natives, fur trade was essential for obtaining the European goods to which they had grown accustomed; for the

\(^{46}\) *Relations des Jésuites*, 1667, p. 28.


\(^{48}\) Ibid.

French, as for other European settlers, it provided a lucrative source of income without which the exploration and settlement work in America would not be able to sustain itself. What is called the French-native alliance was thus a delicate balancing act liable to be threatened in the event of any significant change in the prevailing conditions. Precisely such a change was taking place with the advent of the Dutch and the English traders and settlers on the scene. By the last quarter of the century, these rivals of the French had developed increasingly important trade relations with some native tribes. While other tribes remained committed to French-native alliance, there was always a choice available to them to switch their loyalties. In 1776, the Algonquins left the French alliance, switching over their trade relations to the English and the Dutch. This caused a serious setback to French support among the natives.

Another reason that led to the renewal of hostilities was, as referred to earlier, the expansion of New France. The increased military and economic muscle available to the colony provided a great impetus to exploration and colonization of more and more territory. Penetration of the colonists into Illinois region once inhabited by the Iroquois, brought them into clash with the Senecas, one of the five tribes constituting the confederacy. By 1683, a broad coalition of all the Iroquois tribes had emerged to wage war against New France.

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119 Marquis de Seignelay, in his memoirs written in 1687, explicitly mentioned the challenge posed by the English attempts to divert the fur trade to themselves with the help of the natives and French renegades. As he put it: “Canada is encompassed by many powerful Colonies of English who labor incessantly to ruin it by exciting all our Indians, and drawing them away with their peltries for which said English give them a great deal more merchandise than the French, because the former pay no duty to the King of England. That profit attracts towards them, also, all our Coureurs de bois and French libertines who carry their peltries to them, deserting our Colony and establishing themselves among the English who take great pains to encourage them. Memoir for the Marquis de Seignelay Regarding the Dangers That Threaten Canada and the Means to Remedy Them, January 1687.
It is customary to underscore the complacency and ineptitude of La Barre, the newly appointed governor of New France, in not countering the Iroquois threat when it was still in the making\textsuperscript{51}, even though he had been fully informed by the Jesuits about the impending danger for the French. However, it is facile to blame the governor personally for the renewal of hostilities with the Iroquois. In the first place, the Iroquois were already turning hostile at the time of his predecessor, Frontenac, who, in his turn, had done everything he could to consolidate the French military presence in the colony. As early as 1682, Father Lamberville, who was living among the Iroquois, had informed Frontenac about their aggressive intentions:

\begin{quote}
"Several times they have insulted the French without being called to account, and this has led them to believe that the French are afraid of them. They gain every year from our losses; they crush our allies and make Iroquois of them; they do not hesitate to say that, after adding to their ranks from those we have abandoned, and strengthened by those who would have been able to aid us in waging war against them, they will descend en masse on Canada and overwhelm it in a single campaign.\textsuperscript{52}"
\end{quote}

Thus, it is obvious that the situation had already come to a point where another conflict between the two contenders was more or less inevitable. The Iroquois still had the ability to take the field against the French, and could hardly be prevailed upon to come to what they regarded as an unequal peace with their enemies. In fact, their military strength, with 2,500 warriors, stood at its peak at this time, as against which New France had only about 1,000 soldiers at its disposal. What is important to recognize is that the English traders and settlers played an important role in pitting the Iroquois against the French and their

\textsuperscript{52} Archives Nationale, C11 A, VI, 47-48, \textit{Père de Lamberville à Frontenac, d'Onnontagué}, 20 sept. 1682.
allies by supplying them with an adequate number of muskets. The English colony of Albany, which was originally settled by the Dutch, had been making huge strides in the past few decades, and the English colonial policy was centered on pitting the Iroquois against the French colony to acquire greater share of the lucrative western fur trade by making Albany, as against Montreal, the center of this trade. The second war was, therefore, related to the larger Anglo-French rivalry, though it would be stretching things too far to argue that without the support provided by the English the Iroquois would necessarily have avoided opening hostilities against New France. The first round of the ensuing warfare resulted in a humiliating treaty for New France, confronted as it was with an Iroquois force far outnumbering its own. The urgent appeals to France for more military supplies made by the governor elicited in getting a small contingent of additional troops, far inadequate than what was required to subdue the Iroquois. La Barre’s campaign against the Onondagas ended in a disastrous defeat for the French forces, which had to unconditionally negotiate peace with the victors. The terms of this peace symbolized a serious setback to the French interest in the western region, in the sense that they were permitted to continue their activities there only to the extent that the Iroquois might be willing to permit them to pursue. Moreover, the Illinois, a French allied nation, were left at the mercy of the Iroquois, La Barre promising not to help them in any future struggle between the two tribes.

That France was at this juncture committed to pursue a grand colonial policy in America is reflected in the reaction that the peace thus entered into by La Barre with the Iroquois

53 N.Y.C.D., III, 341, Sir John Werden to Governor Dongan, St. James, 10 March 1684.
54 Mémoire de La Barre, 1er octobre 1684, pp. 9-22. Also, Nouveaux voyages de M. le baron de Lahontan dans l’Amérique Septentrionale, the Hague, 1703, 3 vols. pp. 46-63.
125 Ibid.
generated in the country. Apart from the prompt dismissal of the governor, it resulted into Louis XIV pumping more forces into the colony\textsuperscript{56}. Within the next three years, 1,600 additional troops were stationed in the Laurentian settlements under the command of the new governor of Canada, Jacques Réné de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville. The seasoned soldier that he was, Dononville at once grasped the fact that the conflict with the Iroquois was inextricably linked to the Anglo-French rivalry\textsuperscript{57}. Given this understanding of the real nature of things, he considered it essential to cut the umbilical chord between the English colonies and the Iroquois. The governor's appeals to Louis XIV on this issue led to the signing, in December 1686, of a treaty of neutrality in America between France and England, with the latter promising not to provide any assistance to the Iroquois\textsuperscript{58}.

However, such treaties were completely ineffectual in determining the course of events in a context where different European countries were fighting a long-drawn out war for turf. It was against the very logic of things that the Atlantic colonies of England deriving their sustenance from a fiercely aggressive mercantilism should refrain from encroachment upon the areas claimed by New France. Dongan, the governor of New York, told the Iroquois that he was prohibited by the king of England to furnish supplies to them, but that he could do it privately:

\textit{<<Cependant, comme notre père le roi d'Angleterre le desire il faut mettre bas l'hache, sans néanmoins l'enterrer. Cachez la sous l'herbe, afin de la reprendre s'il en est besoin. Mon roi me défend de fournir des armes et des ammunitions si vous entreprenez la guerre contre les français,}}

the nature of conflict in North America.

Whereas, on the French side, the colony was by this time a state enterprise, which, though autonomous in some ways, was nevertheless expected to adhere to the treaties entered into by the French monarch, the English colonies, though deriving their authority and support from England, were closer to a private enterprise. Any common trader or a sea pirate, for that matter, who might be in a position to fit out a ship or a small fleet, could venture on a mercantilist enterprise, which was inextricably linked to colonialism. In any case, it is quite plausible that the state in England itself wanted to hide behind the privateers and pirates.

The next year, Denonville’s campaign against the Senecas, one of the Iroquois tribes, scored important gains for New France. Though unable to force them to engage in a pitched battle, the governor succeeded in destroying a number of Seneca villages and forcing the people to take refuge in the forests. At the same time, he captured some English traders sent from Albany to encroach upon the territory claimed by the French and their allies. Nevertheless, the French gains against the Iroquois from the last campaign were far from decisive. The tribe had retained its fighting force, while the material loss resulting from the destruction of villages and harvests could be compensated with the passage of time. Moreover, the Iroquois continued with their guerrilla warfare, leading to the loss of life and property for the colony. The guerrilla warfare had been a

59 Documents de Paris, 1ère série, Vol. V. Relations des événements de la guerre, etc. 9 octobre 1688.
60 C11 A, 9, Mémoire, pp.161-98; Denonville à Seignelay, 27 octobre 1687, P. 199.
part of the native martial ethos. That it continued to be practiced after the advent of the European settlers was primarily due to environmental factors and the relatively small number of fighting force available to each side. The rugged nature of the terrain and the ubiquitous presence of the forest provided excellent opportunity for small groups of raiders. However, in this warfare, the Europeans, whether French or English, were no match for the native warriors, and it was only with the latter's assistance that the newcomers could engage in this war of attrition. Even then it could be quite taxing for a regular soldier. Thus Denonville, who was otherwise a capable commander, found it quite difficult to adapt quickly to this kind of warfare. As he wrote:

"On ne saurait donner une plus juste idée de la guerre à faire à l'Iroquois que de représenter l'ennemie comme une grande quantité de loups qui sont dans une vaste forêt, d'ou ils ravagent les peuples qui sont habitues le long de cette forêt. On s'assemble pour aller les tuer; il faut savoir leur retraite qui est errante partout; il faut les attendre à l'affût; il faut attendre longtemps, et souvent ils arrivent après qu'on est parti. On peut aller les chercher avec des chiens de chasse et les suivre. Les sauvages sont les seuls limiers dont on peut se servir pour cela, ... et nous n'en avons aucun; et c'est la vérité, car le peu que nous en avons ne sont pas des gens sur lesquels nous puissions compter beaucoup. Le nombre en étant petit, ils craignent d'approcher l'ennemi et encore plus de l'irriter contre eux. L'expérience nous a bien des fois fait éprouver cette vérité."

In 1687, France and England signed another treaty of neutrality, and with the same results. Denonville, convinced of the necessity of eliminating the English threat from the region before any decisive stand against the Iroquois could be taken, sought assistance from France for attacking New York. His appeal, however, fell on deaf ears, as Louis XIV was at this time faced with an anti-French alliance evolving in Europe. By the end

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62 *Documents de Paris, 2e série*, vol. V.
of 1688, France was fighting a war against a coalition of Spain, Netherlands, Hapsburg Empire, and England.

In the meantime, the old warhorse, Frontenac, who, upon his departure from France in July 1689, had the express instruction to attack New York and Albany, replaced Denonville, whose administration of the colony was seen to be deficient in many ways. Before the new governor could reach the colony, however, the Iroquois, aided and abetted by the English settlers, decided to attack the Laurentian settlements. Early in August that year, they attacked the colony with a force of 1500. Taken unawares by the scale and the sheer impetuosity of the raid, the colonists failed to offer any meaningful resistance to them, resulting in the killing or capturing of more than a hundred people. For the next few months, the Iroquois continued sporadic raids on Montreal and other places.

Canada at War with the English Colonies:

It was obvious to Frontenac that the Iroquois were fighting on the strength of arms and supplies provided by the English settlers. In January 1690, therefore, he planned to take the struggle to the heart of the English colonies. Three contingents were mustered at Quebec, Trois Rivières and Montreal to launch three separate attacks on these colonies. The Montreal party was instructed to launch a raid on Schenectady, which was a small settlement of eighty houses on the outskirts of Albany. Launched as it was in the midst of winter, this attack caught the English settlers completely by surprise. Around hundred people were killed or captured in this attack, while the settlement was completely

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64 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
destroyed\textsuperscript{67}. This was an important French victory against the English colonists. That it succeeded in striking terror in the English colonies is testified by the following account of the raid given by the mayor of Albany:

"To our great grief and sorrow, we must acquaint you with our deplorable condition, there having never the like dreadful massacre and murder been committed in these parts of America, as hath been enacted by ye French and their Indians at Schenectady, twenty miles from Albany, betwixt Saturday and Sunday last, at two o'clock at night. A company of two hundred French and Indians fell upon the said village and murdered sixty men and women most barbarously, burning ye place; and carried twenty-seven along with their prisoners... and above twenty-five persons with their limbs frozen in ye fight. The cruelties committed at said place no pen can write nor tongue express. Ye women big with child, ripped up and ye children alive thrown into ye flames, and their heads dashed in pieces against ye doors and windows."

Close on the heels of the first raid came the second when the group of fifty French and Indian soldiers mustered at Trois Rivières fell upon the village of Salmon Falls near Boston in January 1690\textsuperscript{68}. As a result of this attack, some fifty English settlers were either killed or captured by the allies. The third allied raid in May resulted in the capture of the Fort Loyal held by the English settlers\textsuperscript{69}.

There can be no doubt that the success attending these three consecutive raids boosted the sinking morale of the Laurentian colonies. The English settlers could no longer go on aiding and abetting the Iroquois without the fear of being attacked by the French-Indian parties in retaliation for their aggressive tactics. However, the raids also had the effect of making all the English colonies unite in their attempts to attack and conquer New France, especially Canada. The original plan chalked out by the English colonists

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid. pp. 496-97.
\textsuperscript{69} Ibid. pp. 497-500.
involved a simultaneous attack on Quebec and Montreal, but, in the event, only the Quebec expedition could materialize. This expedition provides sufficient evidence of the settlers' ability to successfully organize an attack on Quebec, arguably the most impregnable fort in the entire region and the symbol of French power in North America.

It was on October 16 that the Boston fleet, under the command of William Phips, reached Quebec to lay a siege of the fort. The ultimatum that the English served on Frontenac makes an interesting reading:

"The wars between the two crowns of England and France doth not only sufficiently warrant, but the destruction made by ye French and Indians (under your command and encouragement) upon the persons and estates of Their Majesties subjects of New England [without provocation on their part] hath put them under the necessity of this expedition for their own security and satisfaction...

I, Sir William Phips, Knight, General and Commander -in -Chief in and over their Majesties forces of New England by sea and land, to Count Frontenac, Lieutenant- General and Governor for the French King in Canada ... in the behalf of their most Excellent Majesties, William and Mary, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, and by order of their said Majesties' government of the Massachusetts colony in New England, demand a present surrender of your forts and castles, undemolished, and the King's and other stores, unembezzled, with a seasonable delivery of all captives; together with a present surrender of all your persons and estates to my dispose; upon the doing whereof, you may expect mercy from me, as a Christian, according to what shall be found in their Majesties' service and the subjects' security. Which if you refuse forthwith to do, I am provided and am resolved, by the help of God, in whom I trust, by force of arms to revenge all wrongs and injuries offered and bring you under subjectio to the Crown of England and, when too late, make you wish you had accepted the favor..."

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tendered. Your answer positive in an hour, returned by your trumpet, with the return of mine, is required, upon the peril that will ensue.\textsuperscript{72}

Apart from the fact that this ultimatum exhibited an unusually abrasive mode of expression, it also indicates the determination of the English settlers in North America to drive the French colonists out of the region. Frontenac, who was understandably outraged by this ultimatum, retorted by saying:

\textless Je ne ferai pas vous attendre si longtemps; dites à votre général que je ne connais ne point le roi Guillaume, et que le prince d'Orange est un usurpateur, qui a violé les droits les plus sacres du sang, en cherchant à détrôner son beau-père; que je ne connais en Angleterre d'autre souverain que le roi Jacques. Votre général n'a pas du être surpris des hostilités qu'il attribue aux français dans la colonie du Massachuset, car il a du s'attendre que le roi mon maître, ayant reçu sous sa protection le roi d'Angleterre, Sa Majesté m'ordonnerait de porter la guerre en ces contrées, chez les peuples qui se seraient révoltés contre leur prince légitime.\textgreater

The ensuing siege of Quebec proved to be a demoralizing experience for the English fleet. It was already late October, and the dreadful Canadian winter was fast approaching. The fleet had a maximum of two to three weeks to capture the town, after which the river would start freezing, thus trapping it in a vulnerable position. Partly because of the fact that the English plan to attack Montreal at the same time had failed to materialize, the French stood to gain from the concentration of all their forces at Quebec in an attempt to defend their position\textsuperscript{74}. Whereas Frontenac had nearly two thousand men, including soldiers and the colonial militia, under his command, the Boston fleet had no more than a force of fifteen hundred soldiers, much of it little more than a motley crowd of ill disciplined sea pirates. The bombardment from both sides and the skirmishes around the

\textsuperscript{72} As quoted in 'The Ordeal of New France' W. J. Eccles, Toronto 1967, pp. 73-74.
\textsuperscript{73} Documents de Paris, Ire série, vol. IV : Lettre de M. de Monseignat.
\textsuperscript{74} Lieut.- Col. G. W. C. Nicholson, 'Marlborough and the War of the Spanish Succession,' Directorate of Military Training, Army Headquarters, Ottawa, 1955.
town continued for a week or so without the English forces making any dent in the
defenses raised by Quebec. On the contrary, the fleet had already incurred serious losses
in men and money, and was in no position to press the issue any further. Demoralized and
repulsed by French forces, the English fleet had no option but to beat a hasty retreat. To
aggravate the situation, small pox had taken a heavy toll on it. All in all, the first English
attack on Quebec ended in a disaster for the English colonies, which had hitherto had no
doubt in their ability to conquer it. Apart from the inherent strength of Quebec, it was the
ill-disciplined nature of the forces gathered by the English colonies that was behind the
failure of the Boston fleet. La Honton’s description of the siege of Quebec emphasizes
this point:

<<Les Anglais se battirent vigoureusement, quoiqu’ils fussent aussi mal disciplinés que des gens
ramassées peuvent l’être... s’ils ne réussirait pas, c’est qu’ils ne connaissaient aucune discipline
militaire... et que de chevalier William Phips manqua tellement de conduite en cette entreprise,
qu’il n’aurait pu mieux faire s’il eut été d’intelligence avec nous pour demeurer les bras
croises.>>

That the expedition was a fiasco was admitted even by the governor of New England:

‘The whole country from Pemaquid to Delaware is extremely hurt by the late ill managed and
fruitless expedition to Canada, which hath contracted 40,000 debt and about 1,000 men lost by
sickness and shipwreck and no blow struck for want of courage and conduct in the Officers, as is
universally said and believed.’

Whereas the English colonies thus lost huge resources in their attempt to capture Quebec,
little damage was done to the French forces and the colony in general. It is obvious from
this that, despite the relatively small population and economic scale in relation to the

75 Nouveaux voyages de M. le baron de Lahontan dans l’Amérique septentrionale, the Hague 1703. 3 vols.,
Vol. I.
76 N.Y.C.D., III, 761, Governor Slaughter to Lord Nottingham, Fort William Henry, May 6, 1691, Quebec,
1895.
Atlantic colonies, Canada was well positioned to defend itself against any threat from its rivals. The argument extended by some scholars that if the English fleet had arrived earlier than it did or if the planned attack on Montreal had taken place, in which case the French forces would have to be divided, results would have been different is purely speculative. On his part, Frontenac demonstrated sufficient boldness and initiative in requesting Louis XIV to permit him to attack and conquer New York, which was the root cause of conflict in the region:

<<Bien des raisons doivent faire regarder de prise de Manathe et de la Nouvelle- York comme le moyen le plus assure de finir cette guerre et de reduire entièremet l’Iroquois … La seule chose que nous pourrions entreprendre d’ici serait l’attaque d’Orange, pour la quelle il faudrait encore avoir du temps et des forces autres que celles que nous avons, a fin de ne point exposer ce pays en la degarrisant tout a fait. Si on formait le dessin d’aller a Manathe, ce ne pourrait etre que par mer, en l’envoyant bombarder, et faisant en même temps débarquer des troupes qui s’en empareraient.77>>

This proposal, bold though it was, failed to win the approval of the Crown, primarily because France was still fighting the European coalition ranked against it and the kind of resources that would have been required to undertake the proposed expedition could simply not be spared.

In spite of the fact that New France had demonstrated its ability to hold its own against the Atlantic colonies, things were not all good in the colony. For the past few years, with France at war against the coalition of several European countries, the colony had received only meager supplies from the mother country. Eight out of the eleven ships sent by France were lost on the sea, while the remaining three were able to bring only small

77 Lettre de M. de Frontenac, 20 octobre 1690.
supplies to Quebec, where famine was lurking in the background. In addition, the Iroquois warfare had continued unabated, resulting in the destruction of much of the standing crop, and the colony was thus nearly reduced to starvation. Champigny was alarmed by the conditions in the colony:

'I found the people living above Trois Rivières in a state of great misery and the whole countryside ruined by the enemy, with the exception of the area around Boucherville and the forts, to which all the habitants have been forced to retire. This prevents them working on their distant fields or raising cattle except in very small numbers owing to the limited space within the fort walls. They dare not venture out because of the enemy who appears from time to time. What is even more grievous is the number of habitants crippled in the war and the poor widows who, having lost their husbands in the fighting, have difficulty obtaining bread for their children.'

Thus the Iroquois threat to the colony had continued unabated in the wake of the defeat of the English colonies that were, as earlier, encouraging the natives to attack Canada. That the Iroquois attacks were sponsored by the English colonies is borne out by the following comment of Fletcher, the governor of New York:

'The French-Indians have destroyed some careless people nigh our garrisons... they are wolves, lay so close no man can discover them. A hare sitting is much easier found in England. The parties I send daily out they let pass, lurking close. But if an unarmed man, woman or child pass, they kill them or take them. Our Indians act the same part, and with greater success, on the French plantations.'

For a few years, the colony suffered serious losses due to the marauding raids of the Iroquois. However, things changed sharply after the colonists learnt the techniques of what came to be described as petite guerre or guerrilla warfare. In August 1691, a French-Indian force led by Valrennes and Le Ber defeated a war party of four hundred

78 Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1927-28, 'Frontenac à Seignelay', 12 novembre 1690, p. 43.
79 As quoted in 'Canada under Louis XIV', W.J. Eccles, Toronto 1964, p. 185.
English and Iroquois fighters. In February 1692, a French-Indian force led by Vaudreuil killed a group of Iroquois warriors. Thus the warfare continued, and gradually the French colonists started delivering heavy blows to the Iroquois and their English allies. Previously on the defensive vis-à-vis the Iroquois attacks, the colonial militia, along with the garrison posted at the colony soon started attacking the Iroquois in their own villages in guerrilla mode. By 1696, the Iroquois were already cowed down and were suing for peace, though their strength was still not crushed completely. It was only in 1701, however, that a lasting peace was put in place with the Iroquois.80

80 Origins of Iroquois Neutrality: The Grand Settlement of 1701, Pennsylvania History, XXIV, 1957, 223-235. However, during the war of Spanish succession, the English colonists again tried to incite the Five Nations Confederacy—only four of whose tribes, namely the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas were still on the English side, whereas the Senecas had fallen under the French influence—against Canada. Thus in 1709, Richard Ingoldesby, the Lieutenant-Governor of New York, wrote a long letter to the aforementioned tribes to involve them on the English side in the ongoing conflict with the French. Titled as Propositions to the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, the document reads: “Brethren I have sent for you upon an Extraordinary occasion, to assist in an Expedition for ye Reducing Canada, which you have So much Long'd for. That neighbourhood you know hath been of a long time Very Troublesome to you, & many of her Majesty's good Subjects In these Parts. We will not now Enumerate the many Perfidious and base actions they [the French] have been guilty off. We have whole Volumes full of Complaints which you have made to us of their Treacherous dealings. The French of Canada have killed, Imprisoned, Carried away, and Transported your People, burnt your Castles, and used all means which lay in their Power to Impoverish you, and bring you to a low and miserable Condition. They have not only Seduced your People, and Enticed them away from your Country, but Encouraged even your own Brethren to make war upon you, on purpose to weaken you. They have Set the Far Indians upon you and furnished them with arms and Ammunition in order to Destroy you. The Pains they have taken to accomplish your Ruin hath been Indefatigable. They encroached upon your rights and Liberties by building Forts upon your Land against your wills, Possessing the Principall Passes and hunting Places, whereby all your hunting (your only Support) was rendered not only Precarious, but dangerous. Their treacherously murdering of Montour, one of your Brethren, before your Faces, in your own Country this Summer is an Evident mark of their Insolence and how they Intend to use you. Most of these and other things having been truly Represented to the Great queen of Great Britain [Queen Anne] (who is victorious over the French King in Europe). She hath taken them into her Royal Consideration and has been Graciously Pleased (notwithstanding the vast Expence her Majesty is daily at in Carring on this necessary just war against France in Europe) to Send over at a great charge a Considerable Fleet, with men, Ammunition, Provision, and Artillery and other things necessary for ye Effectual Reducing of Canada, to Redeem you from that Bondage and Slavery the French designed to bring you under. I must therefore Earnestly exhort you to be cheerful and resolute in joining with all your Strength with her Majesty's Forces.... This will be the only and Effectual means to Procure a firm and durable Peace and quiet Possession of our Settlements for us, and for you and your Posterity for ever...” Manuscript Document from Gilder Lehrman Document Collection, Number: GLC03107.02090.
The Church in Canada during the Reign of Louis XIV:

The period between 1663 and 1702 witnessed the evolution of an increasingly complex church organization in Canada, though there is no ground to believe, as is done by some scholars, that it dominated other spheres of the colonial society. As we shall see in the course of this section, the church developed more in the direction of the colonial, as against the missionary, church during this period. Given the fact that that the population of the colony went up from 3,000 to approximately 18,000 by 1713, it was quite natural for the church to devote itself more and more to the needs of the colonists. Whereas the colony had acquired a Bishop as early as 1659, it was during this period that the institution was firmly established in New France. The role of the church in the evolution of the colony, therefore, remains a very important area of enquiry. The most controversial issue regarding the activities of the church is, of course, the oft-repeated claim of New France being some kind of theocracy managed by the overzealous Jesuits. A careful reading of the sources, however, suggests that this was indeed far from being the case.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits had acquired a fair number of converts among the allied Indian tribes, especially among the Hurons. However, the spread of epidemics had vastly reduced the Huron population, and the remaining members of this tribe were anxious to get away from the missionaries, whom they perceived as the purveyor of disease. As mentioned earlier, however, the Jesuits started their evangelical work among the Iroquois, who had to accept the 'black robes' in exchange for peace with the colonists. Whereas they succeeded in converting some of them, the evangelical work could not gather momentum among the Iroquois.
There can be no denying that, in the initial stages of the evolution of the colony, the church had exercised a good deal of influence in the society. However, one has to consider the fact that the colony at that stage was not technically a crown colony. The Company of One Hundred Associates appointed a governor, but there was as yet no elaborate state machinery in Canada. Moreover, the sheer weight of numbers favored the colonial church in the beginning, as the colony had a very small population in which the Jesuits and other churchmen must have had a high level of visibility. It is quite understandable, therefore, that in the period before 1663 the church should have played an important role in the maintenance of the colony. Nevertheless, as we emphasized earlier, this in itself does not make New France a mission colony.

**Bishop Laval as the Head of Canadian Church: State-Church Tensions:**

The advent of Bishop Laval in the colony in 1659 was undoubtedly an important development. In particular, he has been accused of trying to make Canada a virtual theocracy. It is indisputable that Bishop Laval wielded a measure of influence at the court. However, this was quite natural, in as much as the French kings combined in their figure temporal as well as spiritual power. Though the Gallican church worked under the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, the King of France had gradually come to emerge as the head of the church within his domains. Since political and spiritual authorities were thus combined, no prelate could possibly remain completely out of the favorite circle of the king and still retain his position. In any case, almost all the upper echelons of the ecclesiastical organization were dominated by the members of aristocracy who generally maintained a degree of influence at the court. Nevertheless, the monarchy was quite conscious of the necessity to strike a balance between the spiritual and the
temporal authorities, and especially of confining the former to what it regarded was its proper domain. How it sought to do that will be seen in the course of this section.

The years immediately preceding the takeover of the colony by the Crown had witnessed a complex interplay between the newly appointed Bishop and the political authorities, especially the governor. It was partly at the behest of Bishop Laval that Argenson was stripped of his post in 1661. Whereas Avougour, the new incumbent, enjoyed more cordial relations with the Bishop for some time, within two years he lost favor with the prelate, who recommended his dismissal to the King. How far the latter was influenced by the Bishop in this matter is difficult to measure, but the removal of Avougour was widely attributed to the intervention of Bishop Laval. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that, in his bid to oust the governor, the Bishop was greatly assisted by the adverse opinion that the former had created throughout the colony. In complaining against Avougour, the prelate was only echoing the sentiments of the colonists at large. Given its paternalistic, as against despotic, nature, the Crown would naturally be sympathetic to an appeal on behalf of the whole colony. The removal of Avougour should thus be seen more as proof of responsiveness on the part of the state than purely as the result of a conspiracy hatched by a supposedly all-powerful Bishop.

The Sovereign Council appointed by Louis XIV in 1663 accommodated the interests of the clergy to a great extent. Thus the Bishop, along with the Governor, was to be a permanent member of the council, and first members were to be appointed by these two

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in collaboration with each other. These provisions undoubtedly put the church in the colony in a strong position initially, though there is substantial evidence to suggest that the state intended to keep the church subordinated to the political authority. In one of his letters, Colbert thus cautioned the new Intendant Talon:

'It is absolutely necessary to hold in just balance the temporal authority, which resides in the person of the king and in those who represent him, and the spiritual authority, which resides in the persons of the said Bishop and the Jesuits, in such a manner, nevertheless, that the latter be inferior to the former. The first thing that the Sieur Talon will have to observe well, and about which it is good for him to have fixed ideas before leaving France, is to know perfectly the state in which these two powers are at present in the colony, and the state in which they ought to be.'

This statement makes abundantly clear the intentions of the state with respect to the power of the church in New France. The state envisaged the Catholic Church as an instrument of widening its own politico-cultural hegemony in the nascent colony. In other words, it conceptualized the church in terms of the latter’s power and willingness to act as the advance guard of France in the colony, without, however, superceding the political authority. Such a scheme of things as this naturally depended upon a delicate balance of power between the church and the state, and was, therefore, prone to give rise to frequent tensions. However, the state was in no position to completely ignore the authority of the church, primarily because its own capacity to spread the religion and culture that it deemed to be favorable to its expansion was necessarily restricted due to a variety of factors. Thus, what the state attempted was a measured containment of the church, while at the same time harnessing its energies to the cause of its own expansion.

In this sense, then, proselytisation of the natives and the expansion of the colony were

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essentially two faces of the same coin. The state was Catholic but the church was expected to act as a French institution.

To digress a bit from our focus here, it could be mentioned that this nuanced relationship between the church and the state in the context of the French expansion in North America finds parallels elsewhere, especially among the other Semitic religions. Thus the spread of Islam in the medieval period was achieved partly through political expansion based on military conquest and partly through the efforts of the Sufis, who constituted the 'liberal' face of Islam. In a strict sense, neither Islam nor Christianity makes precise distinction between the temporal and the spiritual authority. Instead, both attempt to arrive at some kind of compromise between the two. The genesis of competition and collaboration derives primarily from the fact that religion itself is seen as an organized entity that needs to spread its wings as much as it can. To the extent that the state claims to be the most important organization in history, it is bound to come into clash with the other organization, which it simultaneously tries to control as well as utilize. The oath taken by the clergy in New France is quite illustrative of the interdependence of the church and the state. It says:

> 'You swear and promise before God to labor with all your strength for the maintenance of the Catholic, Apostolic and the Roman Religion, to promote as best as you can through your example and care, by the purity of your doctrine and the proclamation of the Gospel, and to be faithful to the King as required under the authority of the charge with which he has honored you in this province. You promise, in addition, that if a matter comes to your knowledge which is contrary to His Majesty's service, you will advise us thereof, and in case it were not remedied by us, you will inform His Majesty thereof.'

84 Collection de Manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires et autres documents historique relatif à la Nouvelle-France, Québec 1883-85, 4 vols., Volume 1, p. 226.
The initial conflicts between the Bishop and the governor revolved around a few particular themes. Whereas Mésy is generally considered the choice of Bishop Laval, he soon fell into disfavor with the latter. The sale of liquor to the natives, the role of the Bishop in the Sovereign Council, imposition of the tithe, disputes about precedence and reservation of the sacraments by the clergy constituted some of the most important areas of controversy between the governor and the church.

Liquor was an integral part of fur trade in North America. Before coming into contact with the Europeans, the natives were not familiar with the use of alcohol. However, once the European traders started using brandy and rum to acquire furs from the natives, these drinks gained wide currency in the Amerindian society. Some of them came to be so much addicted to alcohol that they could not manage without it. This gave some French merchants the opportunity to exploit the natives by getting the furs cheap in exchange for liquor. Unused to alcohol, the Amerindians would at times drink it too heavily and indulge in disruptive activities under its influence. It was for this reason that Bishop Laval came to regard the sale of brandy to the natives as a sin. His objections in this regard notwithstanding, the sale of liquor was persisting because of the economic advantage that it conferred upon the traders. During the tenure of Avougour, this subject had generated a lot of tension in the colony. Whereas the Bishop had prohibited the sale, the governor was unwilling to take away the advantage from the French traders by applying the prohibition as rigorously as the former would expect him to do. Bishop Laval remained committed to his position in this regard. Consequently, the Sovereign Council, in one of its very first meetings, passed a unanimous resolution to prohibit the sale of liquor to the natives. Violation of the prohibition attracted a fine of 300 livres.

while a second violation could result in flogging or banishment of the person concerned. It needs to be pointed out, however, that this prohibition did not result in a long-term decline in brandy trade, even though it did affect the sales in the beginning. This was only a reflection of the limitations of the power that the church or the Sovereign Council for that matter could exercise in the colony, whose very existence was dependent, to a large extent, upon the fur trade, and this trade was much easier to carry out with the sale of cheap brandy to the natives. Thus it was not in the economic interests of the colony to put an end to the brandy trade, and no amount of prohibition could succeed in effectively controlling it.

The institution of the Sovereign Council, whatever its original orientation, resulted gradually in the weakening of the Jesuit influence in the colony. Now that an elaborate system of government was put in place, the Bishop was not expected by the Crown to meddle too much with political issues. His participation in the council slowly became more ceremonial than real. The appointment of Talon as Intendant further undermined the authority of the church, as the former was expected to provide a counterweight to the authority of the governor as well as to keep a check on the Bishop. Talon, on the instructions of Colbert, was particularly concerned about maintaining the right balance of power in the colony, and not permitting the church to take over a political role. Though Colbert was not successful in completely ousting the Jesuits and the bishop from the political domain, the institutional evolution of the colony enabled him to seriously undermine whatever influence the church may have wielded in the earlier period.

In 1663, the legal imposition of tithe in the colony became a bone of contention between Bishop Laval and the political authorities. The rate of tithe in France was one thirteenth of the total produce of land, and the bishop was, therefore, not completely unjustified in thinking the same to be the proper rate in Canada. However, the colony had so far been free from all taxation. This was obviously because of the pioneer nature of the community that required farmers to invest as much as possible in developing their concessions. Accustomed to the absence of any kind of direct taxation by the state, the *habitants* were naturally unhappy with the proposal to impose a onerous tithe in the colony. The rate of tithe was set at only one-twenty sixth of the produce for a twenty-year period, and the bishop had no choice but to accept this reduced rate.

This is another example of how the institutions borrowed from France had to adapt to the colonial milieu, which naturally encouraged freedom on the part of the colonists in the economic, political and religious affairs. The wishes of the *habitants* could not be ignored in any matter of vital importance to them.

That Laval was keen on maintaining his authority vis-à-vis that of the Governor-General is beyond doubt. What is important is to see how far he succeeded in his effort. In September 1664, the Sovereign Council appointed three councilors in the absence of the bishop. Taking exception to this development, Bishop Laval refused to recognize the new councilors. The quarrel that thus started between the bishop and the governor soon reached the streets in the colony, when both the parties tried to enlist the support of...

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88 *Ordonnances*, volume 1, p. 72.
90 Ibid.
inhabitants for their respective positions. On his part, Bishop Laval refused to participate in the proceedings of the council, until the alleged mistake was rectified. The deadlock continued for a few months, and came to an end only after the death of Mesy in May 1665.

It should not be imagined that these quarrels between the bishop and the governor had the effect of paralyzing the colony. While symbolic of the battle for turf between the church and the state, they nevertheless were no more than minor irritants in an otherwise cooperative relationship in which both the parties were equally aware of their responsibility to the colony and to France. Despite all the apparent bitterness generated by the competitive claims to power and precedence, the church and the political authorities stood in a complementary relationship with each other. They shared a common religion, a common culture, and their loyalty to the King. Neither the bishop nor the governor could afford to alienate the other beyond a point. While the Bishop could not possibly establish and maintain a church in the colony without the support of the administration, the governor, as a Christian, could not antagonize the church completely. Whether or not the governors lived a Christian life, they were keen on dying a Christian death, complete with sacraments, which would permit them to attain salvation.

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91 *Journal des Jésuites Quebec 1871*, pp. 328-29. It is interesting to note that Colbert regarded the Jesuits and the Bishop as largely responsible for the conflict in the Sovereign Council here is what he says: The Jesuits accused M. de Mesy of avarice and violence and the Governor accused them of warning to encroach on the authority entrusted to him by the King so that ... since the Sovereign Council was entirely made up of their own creatures, all decisions were made according to their own ideas; this made it necessary for M. de Mesy, who seems to have a good deal of sense, to send the attorney — general of the said Council here to give an account of his conduct." C11 A, 2, Colbert 'à la Tracy, 15 novembre 1664, p. 123.

92 At his death Mesy was reconciled with the Bishop who, in turn, prayed for him. In his will, the governor made a huge donation to the church. Ibid. 330-31.
The making of Quebec into a bishopric in 1674 gave a symbolic boost to the authority of Bishop Laval, who had hitherto been the vicar apostolic of Quebec. For ten years after that, he continued to serve the colony. In 1684, he resigned his post citing failing health as the reason behind it. It is symptomatic of the respect he commanded in the eyes of the King that the latter requested him to select a new bishop for the colony.

Consolidation of the Church under Bishop Saint-Vallier: Conflict and Cooperation:

The appointment of Mgr. De Saint-Vallier as the new Bishop of Quebec proved to be a mixed blessing for the church in the colony. An exceedingly devout and conscientious man, he put himself with remarkable zeal into the task of consolidating the foundations of the colonial church. These measures will be discussed later. We will focus here on his relations with the governor and other political authorities.

It is important to remember that the church in New France was the moral arbiter of the colony. Morality was defined by recourse to the Judeo-Christian tradition, and any violation of it was repugnant to the church. Saint-Valier, therefore, looked upon himself as the moral head of the colony, and it was in his zeal to rigorously apply his notion of morality that brought him into conflict with the governor. In general, the church was opposed to non-religious popular drama, which was seen as vulgar and corrupting for

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93 In 1757, New France was designated as a Vicariate Apostolic by the Pope. However, Laval was appointed as the Bishop in absentia of Petrae in Arabia. It was thus that the Laval came to be called as the Bishop at, though not of Quebec. See, 'The Role of the Church in New France' Cornelius J. Jaenen, Toronto, 1976, pp. 20-21.
the settlers. 96 In the eyes of the church, the only useful function that the theatre might possibly have was the enhancement of the glory of God. 97 In particular, the clergy resented the plays that critiqued the church. Such a one was *Tartuffe*, a play written by Moliere. The Archbishop of Paris had already prohibited the members of his church from watching its performance. 98 Subsequently, when Frontenac authorized the performance of the play in the colony, Saint – Vallier was outraged by his decision. In order to stop the imminent performance of what he regarded as a ‘corrupting and impure’ play, Saint – Valier promptly prohibited it 99. Furthermore, he denied communion to Mareuil, who was the organizer of the play. 100 Eventually, the governor canceled the performance of the play. This, however, did not put an end to the controversy, as Maureil was soon arrested by the Attorney- General who was sympathetic to the bishop. It was the direct intervention of the governor that finally secured the release of the player. 101 That the Crown took seriously the involvement of the bishop in the *Tartuffe* controversy was made clear when Louis XIV ordered the case to be investigated by the *Conseil des Parties*. The council charged the bishop with committing a serious irregularity in publicly

96 The clergy were in favor of using the theater for propagating religious virtues in the society, and there were occasions when they were instrumental in organizing plays meant to do this. As early as 1647, for example, the Jesuits had a play organized by their pupils. *Journal des Jésuites*, pp. 75, 166, 385.
99 *Mandements des Évêques de Québec*, 1, 16 janvier 1694, pp. 300- 04. The Bishop went to the extent of offering 1,000 *livres* to Frontenac to have the performance of the play stopped. The Governor accepted the payment, but did nothing to stop the performance. Ibid.
100 Ibid. *Archives de l’Archevêché de Québec, Eglise du Canada*, Volume, VI, Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 26, 1694, p. 50.
accusing Mareuil of blasphemies and impieties, even though the Crown eventually ordered a recall of the latter from the colony\textsuperscript{102}.

The council, however, did not find fault with the Bishop's general condemnation of what he considered blasphemous and impure literature and art\textsuperscript{103}. The objection was primarily to the personalizing of the attack, and carrying it to the extent of securing the imprisonment of Mareuil. Regarding the controversy over precedence, which had erupted earlier between Saint-Vallier and Callieres, the governor of Montreal, the council again censored the bishop for the allegedly unseemly conduct\textsuperscript{104}.

The controversy served to bring out in sharp relief the royal policy on the powers and privileges of the church in the colony. It was evident that the state wished the bishop to be subordinate to the political authority, though a ceremonious respect was due to his office. Yet, he was not permitted to meddle too much with things that were not strictly related to his proper domain. This gives lie to the belief that New France was a society dominated by the church.

It should not be assumed however, that the court wished to make the governor or the council the unchallenged head of the colony. Thus, Frontenac, too, was reprimanded by the King for his conduct in the Sovereign Council, as well as in the controversy with the Bishop\textsuperscript{105}. Similarly, the Attorney-General and Callieres were chastised for the controversy. The intention of the Crown was, therefore, to strike a balance in the colony,

\textsuperscript{102} Louis XIV was so angry with the Bishop that he initially forbade the latter’s return to Quebec, and even demanded his resignation. Later on, he permitted the bishop to proceed to Quebec, but not without a warning: 'Return to your diocese, but see to it that you establish perfect peace there; for if I hear any further complaints, I shall not hesitate to recall you, and such a recall would be permanent.' Vie de Mgr de Laval, Abbe Auguste Gosselin, op. cit., pp. 460-61.

\textsuperscript{103} Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1928-29, 'Pontchartrain à Frontenac, 4 juin 1695, pp. 251-52. B18, Pontchartrain à Champaigny, 4 juin 1695, fol. 103 – 10.

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{105} Pontchartrain à Frontenac, 4 juin, 1695, pp. 250-260.
so that no one authority could emerge as too strong. The king, it is said, never delegated all his authority to anyone.

Despite the developments noted above, the reign of Louis XIV witnessed a consolidation of the colonial church. As the activities of the church were expanding, it was more and more difficult to finance them. The King was most generous in subsidizing the educational and public welfare activities of the church in the colony. His successor, Louis XV, was even more generous in this regard, so that by 1720, royal subsidies were to the tune of 120,000 livres, the equivalent of one third of the total income of the colonial church\(^{106}\). This support extended by the Crown was only natural, as the church was an institute of the state like others, and, therefore, could not function without the latter’s support. One of the chief achievements of Bishop Laval had been the establishment of a seminary at Quebec for the training of the colonial clergy. The bishop thus explained his plan:

> ‘There shall be educated and trained such young clerics as may appear fit for the service of God, and they shall be taught for this purpose the proper manner of administering the sacraments, the methods of apostolic catechism and preaching, moral theology, the ceremonies of the church, the Gregorian chant, and other things belonging to the duties of a good ecclesiastic; and besides, in order that there may be formed in the said seminary and among its clergy a chapter composed of ecclesiastics belonging thereto and chosen from among us and the bishops of the said country, our successors, when the king shall have been fit to found the seminary, or from those whom the said seminary may be able of itself to furnish to this institution through the blessing of God. We desire it to be a perpetual school of virtue, and a place of training whence we may derive pious and capable recruits, in order to send them on all occasions, and whenever there may be need, into the parishes and other places in the said country, in order to exercise therein priestly and other duties

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\(^{106}\) See the unpublished thesis of Noel Baillaegeon, “*Le séminaire de Québec sous l’épiscopat de Mgr De Laval,*** Université Laval, 1969.
to which they may have been destined, and to withdraw them from the same parishes and duties when it may be judged fitting, reserving to ourselves always, and to the bishops, our successors in the said country, as well as to the said seminary, by our orders and those of the said lords bishops, the power of recalling all the ecclesiastics who may have gone forth as delegates into the parishes and other places, whenever it may be deemed necessary, without their having title or right of particular attachment to a parish, it being our desire on the contrary, that they should be rightfully removable, and subject to dismissal and displacement at the will of the said bishops and of the said seminary, by the orders of the same, in accordance with the sacred practice of the early ages of the Church, which is followed and preserved still at the present day in many dioceses of this kingdom.\textsuperscript{107}

There can be no doubt that Bishop Laval set a difficult task for himself. In essence, what he desired to achieve was a clergy trained under the strict supervision of the Jesuits to make them suitable for the colonial church. Interestingly, the centralized organization of the colonial church visualized by Bishop Laval derived its inspiration from the Council of Trent organized in the last century with a view to revive the sinking fortunes of the Catholic Church\textsuperscript{108}. It was at this council that the Counter-Reformation took shape under the aegis of the Jesuits. Therefore, adoption of this particular form of organization can be taken as an evidence of the deep-seated impact that the Jesuit-led Counter-Reformation had left on Bishop Laval. It allowed the upper echelons of the church hierarchy to keep the lower order of priests under their own intellectual influence, so that they may not astray from what was regarded as the true nature of the church. The seminary established by Bishop Laval was meant to indoctrinate the lower clergy with the ideals of Catholic revivalism.

\textsuperscript{107} Quoted in 'The Makers of Canada: Bishop Laval' A. Leblond de Brumath, Toronto, 1906, pp. 47-48.

\textsuperscript{108} See, The Penguin History of Christianity, Volume 2, Ronald Bainton, 1967, pp. 149-153. The council was convened by the Pope in 1545 and sat intermittently till 1563. It is from this council that the supposed Catholic opposition to liberal and scientific philosophies is frequently traced. Ibid.
It has been mentioned earlier that the Crown desired to maintain a system of checks and balances in the colony, in order to avoid conceding too much power to any one party, including the governor. Partly to counter the influence of the Jesuits and partly to set the historic wrong of pushing out the Récollets from the colony, the King, in 1665, permitted the latter to resume their work at Quebec. Thus, after an absence of more than three decades, this mendicant order reestablished itself in the colony. Whereas the Jesuits and Bishop Laval were unhappy with the proposition, there was nothing they could do about it. In any case, the Jesuits were by this time well entrenched, and the four Récollets who initially came to Quebec could hardly pose a threat to their position.

The paternalistic nature of the state under Louis XIV has been discussed earlier. Contrary to the popular perceptions, the French state was at this time evolving into a welfare state, though the limited resources available to the Crown could not allow this evolution to go very far. For forty years after his takeover of the colony, Louis XIV kept pouring money in the colonial coffers to allow the fledgling community to live in relative comfort. Of course, this was done with a view to eventually transform the colony into a profit-earning venture for the mother country. However, that does not in any way reduce the significance of what the King did for the welfare of the colony.

The Role of the Church in Colonial Education System:

The church in Canada was deeply involved in the welfare activities, most of them funded, directly or indirectly, by the Crown. In fact, it could be said with ample justification that this was the role that the Crown and the Ministry of Marine considered the most appropriate for the colonial church. It has been seen earlier that the Jesuits were the

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109 Relations des Jésuites, 1670, p. 2.
pioneers in the field of education in the colony. As early as 1634, they had established a college at Quebec for boys. With the considerable growth in population during the reign of Louis XIV, the educational activities of the church expanded a great deal, and they came to acquire a degree of sophistication that was hitherto unknown. Thus, in 1665, the college at Quebec added, at the behest of Bishop Laval, the study of philosophy and theology to its curriculum. In due course, the college was able to enlist even the services of a cartographer named Franquelin for teaching navigation. In 1703, Jean Deshayes joined the college for the purpose of teaching navigation. In addition, courses were offered in physics, chemistry, geometry and law.

Undoubtedly, this was as best an education as one could hope to get anywhere in France or in other parts of Europe, for that matter. The Jesuits were able to maintain such high standards of education in the colony primarily because of their own intellectual capabilities. While the college benefited from the services of laymen, the Jesuits themselves ran most of the courses. However, despite these high achievements, the college received a mixed response from the visitors from France. It is interesting to note the testimony of Charlevoix in this regard:

> 'Many are of the opinion that they (Canadians) are unfit for the sciences, which require any great depth of application, and a continued study. I am not able to say whether this prejudice is well-founded, for as yet we have seen no Canadian who has endeavored to remove it, which is perhaps owing to the dissipation in which they are brought up. But nobody can deny them an excellent genius for mechanics; they have hardly any occasion for the assistance of a master in order to excel in this science; and some are every day to be met with who have succeeded in all trades, without ever having served an apprenticeship.'

While the Jesuits were the leaders in the field of education, others played an important role in expanding it. Thus, Abbé Gabriel Souart, superior of the Sulpicians at Montreal, started a boys' school in the settlement. The Récollets also opened schools at various places in the colony, such as Montreal, Trois Rivières and Isle Royale. Then, the Brothers Hospitallers opened a school for the education of the orphans in the colony.

We had noted in the last chapter the arrival of the Ursulines and their opening of a 'seminary' for the education of girls in the colony, where they provided practical education to the native girls and a more elite education to the daughters of the colonists. Whereas their work among the native girls was not very successful on account of the latter's indifference to the French mode of education, among the French girls it achieved considerably more success. Towards the end of the century, the Ursulines extended their educational work among French girls to Trois-Rivières. In addition, there were Sisters of the Congregation who provided primary education to girls in the rural areas.

Thus, one can say that almost the entire education system in the colony was in the hands of the church. This was not really different from France, where education was still primarily controlled by the church. There is some controversy on the issue of literacy in the colony. According to most accounts, the rate of literacy was rather high—some put it as high as 55 percent—in the beginning, but it declined during the period under

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111 E. Z. Massicote, *Fondation d'une communauté de frères instituteurs à Montréal en 1686,* Bulletin de Recherches historiques, Volume XXVIII, 1922, PP. 37-42. The Sulpicians took a special interest in the education of the native children at La Montagne and Ile aux Tourtes. Ibid.

112 Free education of girls was regarded as one of the main responsibilities of the Ursulines. As du Croix puts it: The special task of the Ursulines is the training of Young girls and to their schools of religion, which are a kind of public school, little girls are sent from all the communities of the country. The Ursulines also receive some pupils as boarders, who occupy a separate part of the convent, to be trained in religion and good manners. F. du Croix, *The History of Canada or New France,* the Champlain Society, Toronto, 1951, Vol. 1. p. 268.
consideration\textsuperscript{113}. The initial high literacy rate was due perhaps to the small size of the population, which included disproportionately high number of priests, sailors, administrators and traders all of whom were more or less educated. With the augmentation of the population, this artificially high literacy rate was likely to come down, as the catchment area for the colonists would have to widen to include more and more common people who were largely illiterate. In any case, it needs to be pointed out that mass education is a post-industrial phenomenon, and that hardly any societies in the seventeenth century had literacy rates of more than 25 percent.

The Rise of Charitable Institutions in Canada:

Apart from education, the church in New France was responsible for charitable work like medical care and assistance for the poor. As early as 1639, a group of Hospital Nuns from France had opened a hospital at Quebec. Later on, they extended their services to Montreal as well. Towards the closing decades of the century, a General Hospital on the lines of the one in mother country was established at Quebec. Related to the opening of the hospitals was the opening of hospices for the poor and the orphans. In most cases, hospitals mentioned above combined treatment with the care of the sick and the orphans. While not many people were probably healed in these hospitals, they did provide institutionalized care for the vulnerable sections of the society. Especially, the General Hospital played a leading role in taking care of the sick and the paupers. It had a well-oiled machinery at its disposal. The Hospital maintained its position throughout the French regime in Canada. The description of the General Hospital by Peter Kalm written towards the end of the French regime presents it in a favorable light. He says:

\textsuperscript{113} According to Marcel Trudel, only 44.3 percent population of marriageable age was illiterate in the colony, as compared to around 80 percent in France at that time. See, \textit{The Beginnings of New France}, Marcel Trudel, Toronto 1973, p. 265.
‘A hospital for poor old people, cripples, etc. makes up part of the cloister and is divided up into two halls, one for men, the other for women. The nuns attend both sexes, with this difference, however, that they only prepare the meal for the men and bring it to them, give them medicine, clear the table when they have eaten, leaving the rest for male servants. But in the hall where the women are they do all the work that is to be done... Most of the nuns here are of noble families and one was the daughter of a governor. She had a grand air. Many of them are old, but there are likewise some very young ones among them, who looked very well. They all seemed to be more polite than those in the other nunnery. Their rooms are the same as in the last place except for some additional furniture in their cells. The beds are hung with blue curtains; there are a couple of small bureaux, a table between them, and some pictures on the walls. There are however no stoves in any cell. But those halls and rooms in which they are assembled together, and in which the sick ones lay, are supplied with an iron stove....

The evolution of various educational and charitable institutions, under the benevolent care of the state, is of tremendous significance in the history of New France, in that these reflect the paternalistic nature of the French regime, especially under Louis XIV. While the Jesuits and others who organized these institutions had some resources generated within the colony, a very high proportion of their expenses continued to be met by the royal treasury. Of course, it could be argued that even the income raised in the colony itself was due to vast tracts of land granted by the state directly or indirectly to the church to support its activities. Thus the intention of the state was to nurture the fledgling colony so that it may gradually find its feet. The emergence of diverse institutions in the colony was instrumental in strengthening its sense of being an organized community, which, though it looked up to France for support and guidance, still had its own identity within the North American colonial milieu. The Catholic Church in the colony, though an

extension of the Gallican church in France, was nevertheless instrumental in shaping the distinctive patterns of life in New France.

In our analysis here, we have dealt with the church as a unified entity. This, however, should not give the impression of its being a monolithic organization. There were significant differences among the various sections of the church. So far, the influence of the Jesuits within the church hierarchy had remained more or less intact, despite attempts by a secular-minded Colbert to undermine it. Bishop Laval was not himself a Jesuit, but he was educated by them, and had dutifully imbibed the ideals preached by his spiritual mentors. The Sulpicians had a strong anti-Jesuit streak, even though tensions between the two rarely acquired serious dimensions. We have mentioned the return of the Récollets earlier and the motives behind it. The strengthening of orders of nuns also had a diversifying influence on the nature and character of the colonial church. Whereas the male orders, especially the Jesuits, had early on felt the necessity to keep a tab of the activities of the female religious, they did not always have success in their efforts.

Immigration from France and the Demographic Growth of Canada:

We noted at the beginning of this chapter that the colonial policy propounded by Louis XIV had the ultimate objective of founding a French empire in North America. In order to achieve this ambitious goal, the Ministry of Marine, under the leadership of Colbert between 1663 and 1686, and later under other able ministers, attempted a policy of vigorously sponsoring New France and supporting its expansion and consolidation. By 1663, the population of the colony had gradually reached 3,000. In comparison with the English and the Dutch colonies on the continent, it was a miniscule population. The expansion of the colony could not be envisaged in the absence of rapid population
growth, which alone could make it a force to reckon with. Colbert had no doubt that it was only a well-peopled colony that could support France in its imperial venture. Consequently, recourse was taken to a range of strategies to augment the population of Canada.

One of the most important factors that contributed to the demographic growth of Canada during this period was the arrival of a military force in the colony\textsuperscript{115}. Whereas the size of this force kept varying over the fifty years between 1663 and 1713, the total number of soldiers who eventually joined the ranks of colonists stood at about a thousand men in all\textsuperscript{116}. Under the French regime, these soldiers were allowed, even encouraged, to permanently settle down in the colony. In any case, many of them were permanently stationed in various parts of Canada to defend it against the Iroquois and the English colonies. Perhaps a majority of the soldiers who came from France married in the colony and adopted the life of the habitants. This development was possible largely because the acquisition of vast tracts of land, sometimes as much as 200 acres, in the colony constituted one of the biggest enticements for the generally low-paid soldier.

Whatever the reasons behind the eventual settlement of the soldiers, their presence led to the development of the colony along increasingly militaristic lines. Though not a very large force in themselves, these soldiers constituted a high proportion of the population of the colony. It is important to note that even though the Atlantic colonies had a much larger population, they, surprisingly enough, did not possess a military force larger than that of Canada. Of course, there were some occasions when the English merchants in

\textsuperscript{115} Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1930-40, 'Champaigny à Pontchartrain, 26 octobre 1699,' p. 350; 'Le Roi à Vaudreuil et Raudot, 30 juin 1701,' p. 365.

these colonies cobbled together a large force with the help of pirates and freelancers, which, however, is different from maintaining a regular military force. It was only towards the end of the French regime in North America that the military forces at the disposal of the English colonies heavily outnumbered their counterparts in Canada.

The shortage of women had characterized the colony from the very beginning. Population could grow rapidly only if the young soldiers and colonists had a chance to get married and raise family in Canada. In order to facilitate this development, Colbert fell upon the device of sending the *filles du roi*, the orphans raised by the state, to the colony\(^{117}\). Their arrival contributed a good deal to the rapid population growth in the colony during the reign of Louis XIV. In fact, so great was the response to their arrival that within three months most of them were already married.

Apart from soldiers and unmarried women, Canada also received close to two thousand other migrants of a general nature from France. This was a heterogeneous group drawn from different strata of the French society. An important section of it was constituted by the *engagés*, or the indentured labor. These were sent to the colony on the basis of an agreement to work for a master for a period of three to five years, at the end of which they were entitled to their own land to settle down\(^{118}\). The party for whom the *engagé* worked was responsible for his passage and also for his wages, which were prearranged.

The genesis of indentured labor, of course, lay in the perennial shortage of manpower facing the colony. It is important to see this system beyond the categories of exploitation and bondage. Whereas the *engagés* were obliged to work for many years as more or less

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\(^{118}\) W.J. Eccles, *France in America*, Toronto 1973, p. 76. Even in the case of indentured workers, Colbert avoided the temptation to recruit prisoners arguing 'that it is important in the establishment of a country to plant there good seed'. Ibid.
bonded labor, the acquisition of land at the end of their tenure acted as a powerful inducement for them. At another level, assured employment also afforded them a certain degree of protection in an otherwise alien environment, and helped them pick up skills necessary for survival therein\textsuperscript{119}.

It needs to be pointed out that the bulk of this migration took place in the period between 1663 and 1673\textsuperscript{120}. With four thousand new settlers, the population of Canada touched, partly due to natural growth, the figure of ten thousand, though there is some dispute about it. By the death of Louis XIV in 1715, this population had swelled to a high of 18,000, which shows a relatively rapid growth. While fifty percent of the new migrants originated in the provinces of Normandy, Poitou, the Ile de France, Aunis and Saintonge, there were some Dutch, Portuguese and German migrants as well.\textsuperscript{121}

Despite the impetus thus provided to migration by the Ministry of Marine, the bulk of the total population growth in New France was due to high fertility levels, which characterized the colony throughout the French regime and even beyond, and not because of immigration from France\textsuperscript{122}. Unlike in the case of England, conditions required for a mass exodus of people did not exist in a relatively prosperous agrarian economy like France. Natural growth was, therefore, the most important factor leading to the

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\textsuperscript{119}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{120}C II A, 6, De Meulles à Colbert, 12 novembre 1699, fol. 399.
\textsuperscript{122}Whereas it cannot be denied that the strictly limited number of immigrants put Canada at a disadvantage vis a vis English and Dutch colonies, it had its positive effects, too. It was partly responsible for the consolidation of a Canadien identity. As pointed out by Bumsted: “Unlike the British colonies to the south, New France gained little from immigration. During its entire existence under the French, for example, Canada received only ten thousand immigrants, most of them before 1672. By the mid-eighteenth century, therefore, the culture of Canada had enjoyed nearly a century free of significant influence from European immigration. Such a hiatus to allow cultural consolidation was unusual in North America: it meant that Canadians were secure in their culture when they were forcibly added to the British Empire in 1763.” Article by J.M. Bumsted in Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire, ed., Bernard Bailyn, Philip D Morgan, University of North Carolina Press, 1991, p. 370.
demographic expansion of the colony. In order to achieve high rates of natural growth, the state actively encouraged early marriage on the part of the colonists, and even provided financial incentives to the tune of 20 livres for this purpose. Interestingly, boys were supposed to get married by the age of twenty, while the corresponding age for girls was sixteen\(^\text{123}\). There is nothing to show, however, that this regulation had any impact on the actual age of marriage in the colony. Even in France, the average age of marriage was much higher, and there was no way the colonial authorities could impose a radically lower age of marriage in Canada. Thus the behavioral patterns of the French society were often preserved in the new surroundings, though scarcity of women was partly responsible in reinforcing the preference for late marriage. Another device used by the colonial authorities, ever since the time of Colbert, to increase the population was the encouragement given to large families. Thus, families with ten or more children were supposed to be given maintenance allowances by the state to augment their income, even though this remained a dead letter, as hardly any families were large enough to qualify for this tantalizing provision\(^\text{124}\).

Economic Development (1663–1713):

The years between 1663 and 1713 witnessed unprecedented economic development in the colony, though most of it was concentrated in the early part of this period. Whereas a large number of seigneuries had already been granted, many more were granted during this period, even as the old concessions were developed. Thus, Talon granted forty-five seigneuries in the area between Ile Perrot and Kamouraska. By 1712, one hundred twenty new seigneuries were created in New France. However, as in the earlier period, and for

\(^{123}\) Archives Nationales de France, C11A, II, pp. 29,

\(^{124}\) W.J. Eccles, France in America, Toronto 1973, p. 77.
the same reasons, only some of these were actually cleared and settled by the beneficiaries. In fact, the situation was serious enough to push the Crown into declaring, in 1711, that all land grants not settled within a period of one year from the date of their inception would revert to it. Of the land that was settled, the bulk was located in Quebec and Montreal, with Trois Rivières lagging behind the two. As in the earlier period, the church continued to remain at the head of land settlement in the colony, with most of the lands granted to it cleared and settled. Considering the fact that it held about a quarter of the total land granted, the revenues accruing to the church from these lands must have been quite significant, though they were obviously not sufficient to finance all its activities in the colony.

Despite these pitfalls, however, cultivable land available to the colony increased manifold in this period. Thus, by 1713, it stood at 55,000 arpents, as against 11, 448 arpents in 1667. However, given the high rate of population growth in the colony, increased settlement did not necessarily mean an increase in land ratio, which continued to hover around three arpents per person. Nevertheless, expansion of cultivable land witnessed in the period provided a strong impetus to agricultural growth leading it to self-sufficiency in terms of grain output. Thus, in 1713, the colony was producing approximately 251,000 bushels of wheat, 93,000 bushels of peas, oats and small grain and 31,000 pounds of flax.

With the increase in population increased the production of wood in the colony. The surplus wood thus produced was sought to be utilized in ambitious projects of

\[125\text{Recensements du Canada, IV, pp. 7 and 23. G1, 461, Recensement générale du gouvernement du Canada, année 1688.}\]

\[126\text{Ibid. The colony also had 3,007 horses, 15456 cattle, 5,852 sheep and 11,940 pigs. Recensements de la Colonie du Canada, année 1713.}\]
shipbuilding initiated by Intendant Talon\textsuperscript{127}. Whereas several ships were thus constructed in the colony from time to time, this industry could not realize its potential, partly because skilled labor required to construct large number of ships was simply not available at a competitive price. Moreover, the production of iron in the colony remained elementary, so that almost all the iron required for shipbuilding had to be imported, at a huge cost, from France. The only advantage that Canada had in shipbuilding was the virtually unlimited supply of lumber, and that was not sufficient for the industry to flourish. However, the enterprise thus undertaken proved its utility when the production of ship masts and planks was firmly established in the colony.

Throughout the period, the \textit{habitants} kept producing some of the fabric required to furnish them with clothes. This development was encouraged by the production of hemp in the colony, though weaving as such was not encouraged by the Crown for the fear that it would harm the industry in the mother country. The situation was reversed during the War of Spanish Succession, when the supplies of essential commodities from France were severally affected, and the colony had to fall upon its own devices.

Some other industries like tanning and manufacture of tar made their appearance in Canada in the last decades of the seventeenth century. The first tannery in Canada was founded in 1668, and was followed by several others in quick succession, so that by the end of our period the colony was producing one third of its total leather requirements. As far as manufacturing of tar is concerned, it had started on a high note under the leadership

\textsuperscript{127} \textit{Jesuit Relations}, 1636(Thwaites ed.) p.170. Talon had three ships constructed at Quebec, and even planned to export wooden houses to the sugar islands. \textit{Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1930-31}, 'Mémoire du Roi à Talon, 27 mars 1665,'p. 10; 'Colbert à Talon, 5 avril 1665,'p. 44; 'Mémoire de Talon, 18 mai 1669,'p. 112; 'Talon à Colbert, 10 novembre 1670,'p. 130.
of Talon, but was suspended after some time to be resumed only in 1706. Because of limited supply of both labor and capital, production remained small.

Modest though these gains made by the colony were, they still represented a remarkable shift from a position of almost total reliance on France for supplies to one of relative self-sufficiency. Thus the colony was already exporting wheat, fish, dairy products and wood to the West Indian possessions of France128.

Growth in Fur Trade:

Fur trade had, of course, continued to be the mainstay of the entire colonial enterprise. From the very beginning of the establishment of the French presence in North America, it had occupied a dominant position in the economic life of the people. Since European colonial enterprise in America was inextricably linked to mercantilism, the only way it could ensure self-perpetuation was by creating profitable trade opportunities. Beaver furs had been used by the Indians ever since their advent to protect themselves against the harsh winter of Arctic and sub-Arctic zones of North America. The northern parts of the continent were rich in beaver and some other animals whose furs were used by the natives. The contact with Europeans had brought European goods like knives, guns, ammunitions, iron tools, clothing, etc. to the natives. In return for these goods, the natives, being primarily hunters and gatherers, with some of them practicing subsistence agriculture, offered furs to the new-comers. These furs had come into vogue in Europe from the sixteenth century onwards for making felt cap, and had thus acquired commercial value. This was the origin of the famous fur trade that dominated the commercial landscape of Canada until the end of the eighteenth century.

128 C11G,A, Raudot à Pontchartrain, ler novembre 1709, fol. 22. ff.
The French colonists were quite successful in developing the fur trade between North America and Europe for a variety of reasons. The Laurentian region was much colder than the more southerly parts of the continent, and, therefore, the quality of fur produced in this region was much better than elsewhere. The St. Lawrence also provided the most convenient waterway into the interiors of the continent, which was crucial for the development of the trade. In addition, the French alliance with the natives went a long way in permitting them to secure the richest supplies of furs for intercontinental trade. The economic logic favored fur trade, as it was the most productive activity with the least requirements of capital and labor. Of course, the companies transporting furs to European markets were large-scale mercantilist enterprises, and required significant amounts of capital to carry out their trade. However, the *coureur de bois*, and the local traders who often employed them, had a relatively simple job of collecting the furs from the natives through barter and, pass them to the agents of the company or the wholesale merchants. Therefore, the capital required was relatively small. All that was required was a class of people with the ability to secure furs from the natives.

We have discussed earlier how the disappearance of the Huron and other middlemen encouraged the colonists to assume their mantle. Thus, by the middle of the century, *coureur de bois* had started going into the interiors of the continent to secure furs from the natives. This development had been possible because of a significant increase in the population of the colony.

The first impetus to fur trade during the period was provided by the peace concluded with the Iroquois in 1666, which permitted the colonists to penetrate the western regions without the fear of being attacked by these war-like tribes. In the short span of a year,
the volume of trade went up from furs worth 100,000 livres to those worth 500,000. In fact, the trade grew so fast in the next few years that the Compagnie de l' Occident was forced to cut prices in order to bring down the supplies.

Whereas the fur trade thus prospered the colony, it also created some problems. To a certain extent, it had the effect of diverting labor from agriculture, causing, in the process, damage to the holistic development of the colony. Since fur trade assured much easier profits than agriculture, it was natural for many people to turn to it. Yet, this cannot be overemphasized, for at no point did the trade have the effect of diverting very large sections of labor in the colony. Had there been no fur trade, some additional land might have been cleared and settled, but there is nothing to show that the difference would have been really significant. The very fact that the colony had become largely self sufficient in food grains would indicate that agriculture was relatively efficient, which, of course, would not have been possible in the face of an acute labor shortage. Taking into account population and other important resources, agriculture was as good as it might reasonably be expected. It goes without saying, of course, that a much larger population would have been able to settle more land.

The fur trade played an important role in opening the west to the colonists. As larger and larger supplies of fur were needed by a seemingly unlimited market, the coureur de bois, and later also the voyageurs, traveled farther and farther west to secure furs from the...
Indian tribes. This had the ancillary effect of creating a useful pool of geographical knowledge about the regions hitherto unknown to the colony.

As discussed in the preceding chapter, the coureur de bois came under the native influence in a variety of ways. Apart from money, the chief source of attraction for them was the seemingly unlimited opportunity for physical gratification, created by the permissive notions of pre-marital sexual morality prevalent among the natives. Jean Baptiste Patoulet, Commissaire de Marine at Rochefort, thus commented on the coureur de bois:

'These headstrong men are vagabonds who do not marry, who never work at clearing the land which should be the main task of a good colonist, and who commit an infinity of disorders by their licentious and libertine way of life. These men, living continually like Indians, go twelve to fifteen hundred miles above Quebec to trade for furs that the Indians would themselves bring to our settlements. Their eagerness for gains that profit them not at all, owing to their dissoluteness, leads to indignities and vileness which ruins the good opinion that the Indian peoples should have of our nation, moreover, the corruption of their morals is a grave obstacle to the inconceivable pains that the missionaries take to instruct the pagans in the knowledge of our Gospel.'

It is important not to overemphasize the idea of self-sufficiency in the context of New France. On the whole, all European colonies in this period were in some way or the other dependent upon the mother country. By the very nature of things, colonies were not supposed to become completely self-reliant, for that would be an indication of the
superfluity of the contact with the mother country. Yet if self-sufficiency could mean a well-diversified production by the colony enabling it to meet some of its most basic requirements, this was achieved in New France by 1713.

More than anything else perhaps, the increases in population, and the stability of social and economic life achieved by this period were all instrumental in further consolidating a sense of cohesiveness and a common identity in the colony. It was no longer a community reeling under the fear of having to flee back to France under the pressure of events. There was no doubt in any quarter whatsoever that the habitants were there to stay. Furthermore, by this time, a majority of the colonists were already Canadian-born, and even though France continued to lurk in the background, there was no doubt that a new society, similar, and yet at the same time different, from that of France, was in the offing.

Formation and Growth of Social Structures:

During the period discussed in this chapter, Canada had come to develop a social structure comparable to that of France. Thus, there were three estates in the colony: the clergy, the aristocracy and the common people. All said, there were no more than 150 secular and religious priests, which would be a relatively small number compared to the total population of the colony. The second estate of aristocracy had little resemblance to its French counterpart. While almost all the seigneurial land outside the hands of the clergy was owned by them, they could not hope to raise significant revenues from their possessions. Rents permitted by the Crown were quite modest, and only a very small portion of the total seigneurial land was actually settled by the farmers. The rest was nothing more than a forbidding forest that could not easily be cleared in the absence of
large supplies of manpower. While the trappings of aristocracy may have been maintained, seigneurs were only a shadow of their former selves. Around eighty percent of the total population of the colony consisted of the third estate, which included both the local bourgeoisie and the large mass of habitants. While merchants and local officials stood at the top of this class of people, their condition was not very different from that of the ordinary farmer. The life of the habitants was considerably different from that of their counterparts in France, in the sense that they possessed a level of economic prosperity and a spirit of independence that could not be achieved in the mother country. We shall deal elsewhere with the social life of the colony in some detail.

In order to augment the defenses of the colony, Louis XIV had ordered the establishment of a colonial militia in 1669. All males between sixteen and sixty were part of the militia. Significantly enough, the captains of the militia were selected from amongst the habitants and not the seigneurs, which would have been the case in France. Whereas theirs was an honorary post, it did confer an elevated social status upon the holder in the local parish, the captain of the militia was second in precedence to the seigneur. Thus the Crown was anxious to develop the colony in a way that different groups could counterbalance each other.

The constitution of this militia undoubtedly conferred a great advantage on the colony, as it vastly increased the supply of military force at its disposal. It was this increased force that enabled Canada to face the English colonies whose population vastly outnumbered their own. Probably, it also affected some of the behavior patterns in the colony. Some of the spirit of independence demonstrated by the habitants can be attributed to this increased militarisation of the colonial society. Men who fought almost continually to
defend themselves and their country could hardly be expected to remain completely docile. This gave a boost to the generally higher level of egalitarianism in the colony as against the mother country. Egalitarian values were also encouraged by the fact that it was a small community in which no class could afford to remain isolated from the rest of the society. Even for the purpose of self-defense, cooperation of the entire population was required. All these factors went into the making of what gradually came to be seen as a distinct Canadian identity.

It is evident that by the time Louis XIV departed from the scene, Canada had made considerable progress. As we have shown here, the King was informed by the idea of transforming what was hitherto little more than a precarious community living in the three settlements of the Laurentian valley into a well-developed French province. Contrary to popular perceptions, this goal was sought to be achieved in harmony with the peculiarities of the colonial environment. Since it was obvious by now that, unlike in the case of English colonies, New France would not be able to develop itself without the direct intervention of the state, Louis XIV did what he might have been expected to do in this situation. During his long reign, the colony was given far more attention by the Crown than ever before. France pumped considerable resources into the colony to develop it in accordance with the grand imperial vision of the King. It is no doubt true that Canada could not prove to be as profitable to France as the Atlantic colonies were to England. But that is primarily a reflection of the difference in the colonial vision of the true countries. For France under Louis XIV, Canada was not primarily a commercial venture, but an application of his ideals of paternalism in the colonial context. The state was seen as the instrument of bringing about peace and happiness for the colony by
assisting it to achieve all-round development. Thus, Louis did not agree to send criminals
and other undesirable elements to the colony.

Whereas social and economic patterns were adopted from France, enough latitude was
provided to suit them to the local conditions. This was especially true of the seigneurial
system, for instance, which, as implemented in Canada, was far from being an
exploitative mode of production and was in fact an instrument of socio-economic
stability and well being. As we have discussed time and over again, the Crown constantly
emphasized a judicious balance of power in the colony, and was fully aware of the
dangers of an all-powerful aristocracy in the far-away colony. Significantly enough,
the habitant was kept free from the usual taxation prevalent in France. This was done by
the Crown with a view to avoid putting an additional burden on the nascent colony. There
was no salt tax, no *taille*, and even the tithe was allowed at half the usual rate. Naturally,
the state had to bear the burden of the colony in the absence of rigorous taxation.

However, France did require the colonists to participate in the defense of the colony by
making military service under the colonial militia compulsory for all. Thus it was a
cooperative form of colonial development that was emphasized. Perhaps, this was partly
because of the fact that the French presence in North America was thinly extended over a
large area, and could not be maintained in any other way than by ensuring the
participation of all the colonists.

Whereas the English colonies were meant to provide immediate gains to England, this
was not the intention of the state in the case of Canada. There can be no doubt that France
under Louis XIV expected the colony to finally prove to be economically beneficial for
the mother country, but there was an explicit recognition that this possibility was still in
the realm of future. The approach of the state was, therefore, to nurse the infant colony into adulthood, and only then to expect to gain from it. State intervention was thus crucial to the economic development of the colony. It was the subsidies provided by France that ensured the all-round development of the colony during this period. While there can be no denying that mercantilism was not as strong a force in the evolution of Canada as it was in the case of the English colonies, it did play an important role in the overall scheme of things. We need only to point to the importance of fur trade in the economic life of the colony. It was the state intervention that made the fur trade a force of stability and economic development, as only the state was in a position to regulate the affairs of the trade so as to ensure a guaranteed market for the furs.

Contrary to appearances, the church in Canada played only a subsidiary role during this period. As we have seen, the Crown and the Ministry of Marine were always careful in maintaining a proper balance between the church and the colonial administration. Owing to the peculiar nature of land settlement and the large size of parishes, the church could exercise very limited supervision over the inhabitants. There was a perpetual shortage of priests at the local level, which only strengthened this broad trend. In any case, the *habitants* were not given to accepting the authority of the church beyond what they considered were the proper limits of that authority. Thus, the church was forced to accept the lower rate of tithe at the insistence of the *habitants*.

Despite the setbacks during the War of Spanish Succession, Canada in 1713 was in a much better shape than in 1663. By this time, the colony had already completed hundred years of its existence, and was fast evolving into a stable society, which, though deriving its sustenance from France, was increasingly Canadian.