Chapter III

The Beginning of commerce and missionary work as an effective method of colonisation

New France was established during a period of Catholic religious fervour in metropolitan France. Missionary work designed to convert the First Nation was supported by the State. Jacques Cartier started the first Protestant settlement. Jean-Francois LaRocque a Lutheran noble man followed this from southern France. Protestants were excluded from permanent settlement from 1627 onwards. At Pondichéry the authorities were careful not to impose Catholicism, although missionary work was permitted, and they granted full freedom to practice the dominant religion Hinduism. However, during the time of Governor Dupleix the Jesuits became more active in their mission of converting the Indians of Pondichéry. The Charter of 1664 of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales had a clause that promotion of Catholic faith was an important factor apart from trade relationship this clause was applicable in the New France context also.

New France began as a commercial comptoir in an uninhabited northern region open to any newcomer whereas French Pondichéry began its history as a commercial comptoir in an inhabited and civilised tropical region. From the town of Québec, settlements were started on the island of Montreal (1642) and Trois-Rivières (1634), upstream towards the hinterland. At Pondichéry, the French by 1708 had acquired land from the Nawab of Carnatic in the vicinity to form their coastal colony. By 1750, French Pondichéry incorporated over hundred villages inhabited by Indians. The French acquired in the neighbouring areas around Pondichéry from the Nawab of Carnatic and the Mughal Emperor. The French settled down in these areas and had trading posts, which later became large settlement areas, like in Karaikal where there were eighty-one main revenue-generating villages. Mahe that is in the present day a Union Territory had large villages with fertile agricultural fields. From Yanam (constituted of few villages but had a flourishing trade), and Chandranagore (epicentre of trade for France) in Bengal the raw materials in the form of fine cotton were brought into Pondichéry for dying. All the areas the French chose were coastal regions and provided excellent natural harbours and trade went on smoothly. In the areas selected by them they had an excellent inland trade route and this provided an excellent source of transport of goods to
Pondichéry from where these goods were taken to various parts of the world. The villages acquired by the French brought in the much-needed revenue for the sustenance of the large French army and the Governor in Pondichéry. In New France by 1750 meanwhile about 50,000 French lived in the riverine colony, between Montreal and Québec. The Amerindian people in this colony known collectively as the Seven Fires of Canada, lived in seven reductions, seigneuries administered by missionaries and located in the vicinity of the three principal towns.

Both colonies of the French began as commercial comptoirs of monopoly companies: The Compagnie des Indes Orientales at Pondichéry and the Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France succeeded by the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales in New France. Thé Compagnie des Indes Orientales and Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France were united in 1719 under the title Compagnie des Indes. The St. Lawrence valley developed slowly as an area of French

53 It is interesting to note that in the political map of India Yanam is near Andhra Pradesh, while Pondichéry and Karaikal are near by but is individual states now. They are all situated on the Coromandal coast and the Bay of Bengal (Sea) provides the much-needed harbors and port facilities. Mahe, however, is on the Malabar Coast and the Arabian Sea becomes the route of transport of goods to Pondichéry. All the above-mentioned places are in the southern part of India. Chandranagore in Bengal is on the Hoogly River that permits cheap transportation of goods to Pondichéry.
immigrants engaged in agriculture and townspeople engaged in commerce and domestic manufacture. Pondichéry on the other hand, attracted only limited French immigration in the sixteenth century. The authorities invited Indian merchants to establish their enterprises in the town. In the eighteenth century this tendency changed as French nationals were willingly coming to settled down in Podichéry after seeing the life style of the retired Governors and Company officials settled in France. These people had made money from the French trade in India and enjoyed the benefit of it after their retirement, and this made many to come to India in search of wealth.

The Podicherrian and First Nation nature and attitude

In the Indian context the French had to face the four-fold division of the society existed in Pondichéry among the Hindus. Colonial rulers regarded the Brahmins as a caste that held the top position in the ritual hierarchy among the Hindus. This is an Oriental perception of the role of the Brahmin in the Indian society on the whole. Oriental scholars like Sir William Jones regard that the Brahmins were not necessarily well educated, as they appear to be.\(^5^4\) It was believed that the Brahmin was well versed in the

traditional Sanskrit literature. This is probably because they were taught from an earlier age to recite slokas (verses) from the Hindu scriptures. The earlier education was only in oral Sanskrit language given to the Brahmins and the nobility. Naturally a Brahmin became well versed in Sanskrit literature and was given jobs of teaching or becoming the priests of temples. The lower castes were not allowed to read or write or even enter temples and were the ones who contributed to the bulk of manual labour. Over time in India they have gained an important position in society and among the nobility. They were patronised because of their hierarchical superiority. The Brahmins were employed in the colonial administration as native law officers in the courts. They worked as interpreters of the various indigenous languages for the French.

The French also favoured the Chettis who were the trading class and belonged to the left-hand faction. The French Company encouraged them in trade. It is interesting to note that oil pressers, who were very rich, were asked to settle in Pondichéry and local settlers did not like this. This was because the oil pressers belonged to a lower caste and the other caste people living with them considered it to be a pollutant to have them near their villages. There were cases of violence because of this problem of settlement, which the French had deliberately facilitated in the interest of trade. The conflict between the Idangai and Valangai or the left and right
hand factions of the Hindu caste system, increased in order to earn privileges from the French Company.

In 1741 the Conseil Superior issued a royal edict that the town should be accessible to all its inhabitants irrespective of caste and creed. The new Madras Street was thrown open to the public and was made a public thoroughfare for both castes. The racial feature of society under French rule was that there were Europeans and Indians existing under the same rule and judicially possessing the same privileges and enjoying the same legal protection. Though the European population was few compared to the Pondicherrians, the Europeans enjoyed disproportionate power. In New France the French needed the support of the First Nation economically and militarily. There was no segregation between the French colonists and the First Nations at the official level. However, the First Nations lived far from the French settlement areas. They came to the French settlement area to barter their furs for goods that they needed. In 1627, the Company of New France was granted a charter that stipulated, among other matters, that First Nations people who became Catholics were to be deemed French citizens and to enjoy the same privileges. But after royal government replaced Company rule in 1663, Native peoples were treated as allies, not

subjects, of the French Crown. They were not subject to French laws, taxation, trade restrictions or military duty.

Dealings with the natives took place initially at Québec. Later, various other places such as Montréal and Trois Rivieres became important for trade. The question arises as to whether the French purchased the lands from the natives or just acquired large areas where habitation seemed to be sparse. The natives knew all the lands that were a part of the gift of nature and used as hunting grounds. They did not object to the European occupation of the lower St. Lawrence riverine lowlands. At least since 1580 it had been cleared of its original St. Lawrence Iroquois village sites. The Mohawks (Agniers) and the four associated Iroquois tribes remained out of the St. Lawrence valley when French settlement began because of an effective alliance of Huron, Algonkians and Montagnais.\textsuperscript{56} In the hinterland, or pays d’en haut, the French were courteous and always asked permission to establish mission stations or forts on what was recognised locally in terms of good relations for trade and security as Native territories thus avoiding the hostility of

the original inhabitants. Formal possession ceremonies, directed at
the royal claims of the Spaniards, English, and Hudson Bay
Company (after 1670), involved posting the King's arms on oak
trees, erecting commemorative plaques and planting tall wooden
crosses bearing the arms of France. The French in asserting their
claim to sovereignty were able to avoid displacing the First Nations.

The maintenance of peace in the hinterland of the Great Lakes
basin area that was, the source both of valuable furs and of native
allied warriors so necessary for the French during that time and this
peace, assured the commerce of Québec and the security of the
nascent colony from neighbouring English colonies to the South.\(^{57}\)
The natives did not have large areas under their "control," a term
with political connotations, but had extensive hunting territories with
mutually agreed upon boundaries. They did not have a concept of
acquiring lands to boost their status. The whole land of New France
belonged to them and they lived off the land without destroying the

\(^{57}\) Cornelius J. Jaenen, "The Uniqueness of the French Relationship with Canada's
Native People, 1504-1763" in Apama Basu ed., Imperialism, Nationalism and
Regionalism in Canadian and Modern Indian History. (New Delhi: Manohar, 1989),
pp.1-29. Also "Characterizations of French-Amerindian Contact in New France" in
Stanley H. Palmer & Dennis Beinhartz, eds., Essays on the History of North
American Discovery and Exploration. (College Station, TX;Texas A & M University
There was no abuse of the natural products and vegetation. With the coming of the traders, colonisers and the explorers there were more dangers to the whole eco-system. The need to cultivate the northern region did not arise on a large scale or in a more organised manner because of unfavourable terrain and weather. The natives hunted a variety of animals during the summer and preserved meat by drying it with berries. During winter moose meat was considered to the best source of fresh meat to the First Nations. They collected nuts, berries, and edible roots of various plants to store for the harsh winter months. Iroquois and Huron grew corn and while travelling made caches for future use. Fish a rich source of protein were plentiful both during the summer and winter.

French settlement along the St. Lawrence River did not disrupt this traditional Native economy and way of life. In the hinterland of Pondichéry the life of the Indians went on without much change except for the fact that they had to pay taxes on everything that they were using which were earlier more or less free.

In New France, French inhabitants resided in a spatially restricted area. The northern Algonkian bands lived in small family encampments suited to their nomadic way of life. They pursued a cyclical subsistence economy. The Huron, south of Georgian Bay, and the Five Nations Iroquois, south of the upper St. Lawrence River, on the other hand, were sedentary agriculturists living in
sizeable villages of matriarchal long houses. Beyond their agricultural plots, where the women grew corns, beans, squash and tobacco, the men hunted game animals, fished, and traded on extensive hunting territories. It was natural that the French established trading partnerships and military alliances with the Huron and the northern Algonkian nomadic bands. The fur trade was the initial motor of French expansion throughout North America. It was responsible for the first settlements in Acadia and Québec and eventually resulted in a series of trading posts that extended westwards to the prairies and southwards to Louisiana. Because the fur traders relied on free aboriginal labour, the trade has often been thought of as a partnership. The cost of the partnership for the first nations outweighed the benefits. The costs were indirect – disease, increased warfare, an attack on aboriginal religion, and eventually, as the trade declined, European occupation of lands used by native peoples – they were no less real. The colony of New France originated because of fur trade however it did not become the lifeline of the colonist as put forward by many historians and economists alike.

The society of the Pondichéry and Québec is very interesting and missionaries learnt a lot from the intricate cultures of these two

places. In the case of French India Pondichéry, Karaikal, Yanam and Chandranagore a patriarchal society existed, although in Mahe society was matrilineal. In Kerala society matriarchy is followed among the Nairs and Namboodari families who are Hindus. In the earlier period the Nair women can have an open relationship with anyone she chooses to and the child born out of the union will be a part of the women's household. The father has no role to play in the education or upbringing of the child. The eldest son of a Namboodari family can marry Nair women. The marriage of others siblings are not permitted. Which is why the Namboodari men have sambandham relationship with the Nair women. At present this system has undergone change with conservatism giving way to modern outlook thereby reducing the conflict of the earlier prevalent system. In the colonial context this was the tradition.

The missionaries did not like this sort of open relationship because it was against their morality that women could openly sleep with any men who came under her roof. The Jesuits considered this to be immoral and open prostitution. In New France the missionaries felt the same way about the First Nations attitude towards sex. They deplored the prevalence of pre-marital sex which First Nations tolerated but also admired the constancy of marriages in Native communities.
The native settlements were far from the places of the first French settlements. They travelled long distances by water in canoes made of birch bark, which were easy to manoeuvre. In return for furs they would take cloth, kettles, salt and other goods that they needed. This initial period of French native trade continued throughout the Champlain era (1608-1635) of French settlement. Initially, as already stated, the Huron and Algonkian traders brought their furs and pelts down the Saguenay River to the meeting place of Tadousac. After 1608, many traders descended the St. Maurice River to the St. Lawrence to make contact with the French at Québec. By the 1630s, the meeting place of Native traders and French merchants became Trois Rivières, at the mouth of the St. Maurice River, where a trade fair was organised each spring. After the founding of Montreal in 1642, it became the principal point of exchange of furs for European manufactured goods-cloth, knives, needles, etc. However, the Five Nations aggressively pursued their long-standing war against the Huron confederacy with astounding success in 1648-49. The resulting dispersal of Huron remnants not incorporated into Iroquois society, westwards, or a few as refugees near the town of Québec, posed a threat to the French trade. By the 1660s therefore, the French had to embark on expeditions against the Iroquois, with questionable success.
This second phase of the fur trade was one in which French voyageurs in the employ of colonial merchants, who in turn were linked commercially to suppliers in metropolitan France, went into the hinterland in the autumn with trade goods for barter. The canoe route into the interior, the *pays d’en haut*, was long and studded with rapids that had to be avoided by portages around them, often in dense forest. The trade was largely with bands of Algonkian speakers, the Ottawa, Ojibiwa, Saulteaux and dispersed Huron remnants centred at Michilimackinac at the junction of Lake Huron, Michigan and Superior. The Native hunters were seconded by their women folk who prepared the hides and skins for barter. The French traders, after disposing of the European goods offered in exchange (as well as illicit brandy to lubricate relations), guided by Native canoe men descended the Ottawa river to Montréal in the spring time with the furs.

Eventually after removal of the Iroquois threat, following the Great Peace of Montréal in 1701, an annual trade fair was organised in Montréal. This was the third stage in the fur trade as native traders again descended each year to the French area of settlement to barter their furs, which included deerskins, moose hides and buffalo hides. Although Montréal was the centre of this commercial activity, Québec remained the headquarters in the colony of the monopoly company, the *Compagnie des Indes*, which was the only
legal exporter of furs and hides to metropolitan France. In this phase of the trade, the upper St. Lawrence route became a principal link with the tribes of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.⁵⁹

In Pondichéry the upper caste Pondicherrians among whom Brahmins were on the higher side of the hierarchy regarded the French as inferior and avoided social interaction with them as much as possible. All foreigners were considered Mlechas by the upper caste Indians. However, the Indian trading class and the nobility mingled freely with the French as they had much to gain from mutual interaction. The French needed them to be intermediaries and the Indian merchants needed the French to continue their trade. The nawabs needed the help of the French military, which gave them the much-needed security in case of war with the neighbouring areas. The French nobility and the important officials were invited on certain occasions, especially when there was marriage ceremony of the trading class called the chetis, religious ceremonies (not in temples where the actual worship was held) naming of the child, the last (funeral) rites ceremony after fourteen day of the death of the person where lunch or dinner were served included European dishes. The Governor, his family and the nobles of the court were invite to partake of the food provided during these ceremonies.

Missionary work in the two colonies followed different courses as well. In New France, the First Nations were regarded as barbaric savages having little religious foundation on which orders were to build a Catholic Church. In Pondichéry the missionaries encountered highly developed religion, as well as some animists and the occasional Christians. Christianity was a religion known and accepted in other parts of India especially South India. This was because it was believed that St. Thomas had landed in India in A.D. 52 in Cranganore in Kerala and spread the Good News to the people of Southern India. The arrival of Vaso da Gama, the Portuguese explorer, and missionaries in due course of time were able to convert the Indians in Quilon, Cochin the Malabar region of Kerala in the sixteenth century. Christianity might appeal to the untouchables (now referred to as Dalits in the Indian context) as a liberating faith but Hinduism provided a greater challenge. So it was that some missionaries developed syncretic rituals to entice converts. A very best example is the car festival followed by Pondicherrians in Villanur where the statue of the Virgin is taken out from the church in procession and re installed in the church. Burning firecrackers and lighting the entire street and celebrating mass with great pomp and show was a typical replica of the Hindu ceremonies. The local Pondicherrians who followed Hinduism did take out these types of
procession of forms of Gods from temples so that the people of the area could witness the Gods idols and get chance to worship.

However for French Pondichéry Christianity was something new. In 1642 the Jesuits came to Pondichéry on the invitation of François Martin the Governor. He wanted the Capuchins to come from Madras to Pondichéry to start religious discourses. The Jesuits in their zeal to proselytize persecuted the Kaikolas or the weaving community who had settled in Pondichéry on the request of the Governor François Martin. In 1693 François Martin wrote about the activities of the Jesuits in Pondichéry to the Board of Directors of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales. In 1692 two Capuchin priests were forced to vacate Madras fort by the British, and this made them come to Pondichéry where François Martin gave them shelter. They actively participated in all the activities of the first church built in Pondichéry and started a centre for learning attached to it. This church was build by Tanappa Mudaliar in 1686. Tanappa had dedicated the Church to Sain Lazarus who was his patron saint. He became François Martin’s interpreter and negotiator in the internal trade matters. The Jesuit activities had become unbearable for a tolerant person like Martin and he did not want to lose the trust of the Kaikolas whom he had with great difficulty set up in Pondichéry to encourage the textile industry. Once they leave the place because of the Jesuit problems the weaving industry would be affected.
When François Martin died in 1706 the Jesuits entered the temples and performed unholy activities in the eyes of the Indian population. Only after the French King ordered them not to enter the temple premises and desecrate it did they stop their activities. They were also ordered not to harm the local people. In 1748 the Jesuits destroyed the famous Vedabhudeshwara temple of Karaikal. It is believed that this destruction was initiated with the help of Jeanne Dupleix, the wife of the Governor Dupleix. The famous diarist Ananda Ranga Pillai, who was also the Dubash of Governor Dupleix, recorded the destruction of the temples.

A peculiar feature of Christianity in Pondichéry was that the Pondicherrians who converted still followed the caste system. They essentially belonged to the caste of their origin and retained their names according to their caste. Tanappa Mudaliars tombstone in the church of St. Andrew at Madras stated that he was christened as Lazarus Timothy and belonged to Agambadi Mudali area. He was a Vellala caste and is considered to be one among the few founders of the French East India Company in Pondichéry. He passed away in 1691 before the Jesuit established a church in Pondichéry in 1692. This is one example of the retention of caste even in the tombstone. This was probably to show the nature and importance of individual upper castes as the upper caste Pondicherrians despite conversion to Christianity did not totally accept the French way of living. Some
of them retained their caste culture of partaking only vegetarian food and not using anything that was leather i.e. made of animal skin. Many of the converted Christians who took meat were looked down upon as they were said to have converted because they were greedy for a piece of meat and wine. This was a constant source of ridicule met by many a converts.

The marriage ceremony held in the church was performed according to the original culture of the Pondicherrians whereby the groom ties the taali a piece of yellow thread with the marriage symbol of a small pendant in gold on the bride. Mere exchange of rings could be done like the French custom. This elaborate marriage ceremony was performed so that the bride had a marriage symbol for everyone to see in order to improve her status in the society whereby she would be respected. This was a personal security for her against abuses, as married women were not harmed by any bad element. On the death of her husband the woman became a widow and she could choose to live a life of prayer and meditation and taking care of her children if any. She was not asked to perform sati as prevailing in other parts of India. There is only one instance of sati (a cruel act of widows burning themselves voluntarily on their husbands funeral pyre or brutally forced to do so) in Pondichéry. Governor Dumas witnessed a self-immolation of a widow on the
funeral pyre of her husband in Villiyanur in 1740\(^6\) and did not do anything to stop such a cruel action.

Even in the churches in Pondichéry there was segregation of the left hand and right hand classes. The lower castes were assigned the last seats and had to keep themselves away from the higher castes. The concept of equality before God did not bring the converted population of Pondichéry together. There were quarrels and fights among the converts and the higher caste Hindus looked down upon the Christian converts. New France also experienced problems in the wake of conversion. In New France there was no occasion for segregation in the churches because the converted Native peoples had their own churches or chapels on the reductions where they lived. Religious freedom was allowed by the French Company Officials in Pondichéry but interference in the form of rules started with Governor Duliever.

Governor Duliever appointed in place of Hebert did not allow any processions and religious functions within the fort. Fortnights before Easter all processions and functions were banned in and around the fort area. On Sundays no songs or instruments could be played outside the forts, as it would disrupt mass in the churches.

\(^6\) Francis Cyril Antony, *Gazetteer of India, Union Territory of Pondicherry* Vol. 1, p. 169
Governor Duliver was acting on the advice of the Jesuits. This 1714 proclamation was met with a very bad result. A large number of Pondicherrians migrated to other places outside the Pondichéry permit. Weavers and artisan's migration proved to be a great loss as their departure affected the trade. Duliver had to cancel the proclamation and the migrated population returned back. The authorities of the Church wanted the crusaders of this agitation i.e Nainiyappa Pillai to be removed from his official position of the Company Dubash.

The Jesuits did not mind only to harvesting souls but played dirty politics. They influenced the Versailles Court to appoint Hebert as Governor and they had a tie up with him that he would do as they wanted or loose his position. Hebert supported the Jesuits and as such he did not get support from his Dubash Nainiyappa Pillai. Pillai refused to help Hebert in accumulating personal profit on the Company trade. Hebert had to make up a false case with witness and Nainiyappa Pillai was charged by the Conseil Souverain's approval to be imprisoned for refusing to obey the French rule. He could not prove his innocence in this case and neither could his sons who tried everything to get their father released met with stony silence from the authorities. Nothing was done to release or bring to trial Pillai and as such Pillai died in imprisonment. This proved that the French were becoming powerful enough to tackle rich landlords.
and influential people who were helping them in trade and turn them into dust.

The Pondicherrians were not allowed to wear shoes or slippers inside the fort area. They had to keep their hats off when entering the fort. This curtailment of religious freedom along with other freedoms resulted in discontentment that gave rise later to the struggle for freedom from the French rule. In New France all Protestant worship was strictly prohibited and penalties were imposed on business that remained open during the hours of divine service or on holy days. The Jesuits were able to establish a church in Pondichéry in 1692 and they made it a centre for learning also. The centre encouraged students to learn Latin, Philosophy and Theology. When the Edict of Nantes in 1683 was revoked thereby permitting Protestants in France to practise their religion this encouraged the Jesuits in Pondichéry to make French King Louis XIV to get Governor Hebert recalled to France. The Jesuits persuaded the French king as such Hebert was recalled back as his earlier Jesuits did not like the orders he had issued. The orders he had issued were that the Pondicherrians had the right to follow their ancient custom and traditions. For the Jesuits this was intolerable as they considered idol worship as pagan and satanic.
The population of both the French colonies French males greatly outnumbered their female counterpart in the early decades of settlement; Company officials adopted a policy of assimilation through intermarriage. Missionaries found the policy dangerous in as much as the Metis population tended to be less French and Christian than they hoped. The mixed blood population, intended to bind First Nation and immigrant peoples, was often relegated to inferior occupation and looked down upon by both the French and the indigenous population. The children born to French parents were called Creoles and Metis. Later on this term was applied to the children of mixed origin. There were also the French who were called Gens de Chapeau or Topas. At the death of Martin in 1706 there were just one hundred Topas in Pondichéry. Governor Dupleix in Pondichéry favoured the promotion of mixed blood individuals in colonial commerce. In New France Champlain and the Jesuit missionaries encouraged intermarriage in the early seventeenth century but in 1705 Governor Vaudreuil forbade all the Frenchmen, soldiers, artisans or following any profession, to marry Native (First Nation) women until the orders from the Court [Versailles] on the matter was got. In 1735, the Council of Marine forbade these mixed marriages as dishonourable "and likely to produce unruly offspring. In 1749 the grounds that mixed marriages were "pernicious to the state and useless to religion." Missionaries were not to perform marriage ceremonies without the permission of military post
commanders. In reality, the mixed blood population in Pondichéry and New France continued to increase despite official views. The positive and negative effects of such relationships are more difficult than racial distinctions with the existing caste system at Pondichéry. Even converts to Catholicism insisted that a wall should separate the right hand and left hand classes in the Church. The Catholic Vellalas received the patronage of the French Governor. They enjoyed a secular hierarchy compared to the Hindu Vellalas. This difference was only in the urban areas as in the hinterland the Hindu Vellalas occupied an important position. In New France the indigenous nations were organised into missions according to language. At Hanesetake (Olka) the Algonkians and Iroquois each had their own missionary.

Closely related to assimilationist objectives, missionary work and social interaction were intended to bind Indians and First Nation. French schools and colleges were erected in the colonies. In New France, the Ursuline Nuns arrived in 1639 to teach girls and a Jesuit College for boys, which was opened in 1663. A seminary for secular priests was built in order to continue this approach. In Pondichéry a Jesuit College opened in 1703 and the Ursuline nuns arrived to offer education to the girls especially in crafts, domestic work,

housekeeping etc. whereas for the boys it was vocational studies in 1738. In 1735 Dumas had earmarked the proceeds from the sale of confiscated items in Pondichéry to the Ursuline nuns who had come from France at his request. Duma was concerned with the education for girls and thereby wanted the Ursuline sisters to start a school for them in Pondichéry with the proceeds got from the seized items. The Ursuline nuns were very aggressive in their approach to the Governor Dumas. When a part of the allocated amount was not given to them they voiced their opinion against him and his private trade. The sisters were deported to France for raising their voice against him and also because they refused to accept the authority of the Conseil Supérieur. He first punished the sisters by stopping their supplies and thereby making them stop their aggressive behaviour and when this did not affect them he decided to deport them back to France. The full-fledged school remained a dream till the eighteenth century. In New France, interested schoolmasters and Sisters of the Congregation went into rural areas to teach both boys and girls on an irregular basis. No such attempt at mass education developed at Pondichéry where matters were further complicated by rivalry between Portuguese and French religious authorities on the Indian sub continent.

In both New France and Pondichéry however the authorities felt a need for a military hospital. The Ursuline sisters that treated
the wounded soldiers ran it in Pondichéry. Dupleix gave land grants to the hospitals that made it possible to continue with the treatment of the soldiers. There was also a General French hospital in Pondichéry run by the Capuchin clergy. The local population of Pondichéry went to the medicine man for traditional cure. The French and the Creole population could get treatment from the military hospitals and from the Capuchin Fathers. Sisters Hospitallesrs arrived at Québec in 1639 and established a hospital for military and naval personnel, financed by the King, but also admitted colonists and the few Amerindians who ventured to trust French medical treatment.

The Récollets held a study session on religious matters at Québec in July 1616. They decided that their first mission was to civilize the First nations by mixing them up with the French. They therefore proposed a three fold policy: a policy of settlement (the immigration of colonists, Huguenots excluded, who would have trading privileges and would teach the Indians to lead a settled life); a policy of missionary recruitment, with the establishment of a seminary; an information policy, to provide the associates with a source of information other than the reports of their own agents. These proposals constitute the first political and religious program ever formulated in New France.
It is in the first half of the seventeenth century that influence of the French on the First Nations was seen. This was a period when many of the First Nations tried to follow the French life styles. The French in turn were following the First Nations survival techniques and methods in the Newfoundland. There were very few roads or paths that could be followed to move around the Newfoundland as such the French learnt the First Nations method of moving around in Canoe. The problem with the French was that the birch barks canoes were very light and cuts through the water fast as such manoeuvring them were very difficult. They learnt the art of canoeing from the First Nations that made their journey smooth. During harsh winter with heavy snowfall snowshoes were worn by the French like the First Nations and used the toboggans for the transport of heavy loads over the snow. Mobility into the interior regions with all these essentials made the French to attain goals of settlement. The French learned the art of building houses that could preserve the heat and for this they learnt from the First nations the method. Cellar was built first so that the house was built on the ground directly. This made heat retention capacity more and the houses were made of wood and minimized the effect of wind. Wood especially logs cut into small pieces was brought into the house before the winter set in so that the logs needed for burning in the fireplace to get heat the house remained dry.
In order to control scurvy that was taking toll more food were being exported from Europe. The French did not know of the annedda or the Stadocona remedy for it. Instead they started incorporating food items like lemon, potatoes and oranges into their daily diet. Antiscorbutique food appeared on the French menu. Salt and salted meats; flour for bread and biscuit; hams, spices, vinegar, sugar; dry fruits like raisins, prunes; dry nuts like almonds, cashew nuts and pistachios were exported. Vegetables needed for daily consumption were grown in the gardens and lands. The cod that was exported from New France were also an item of consumption to prevent the scurvy. Among the drink local made cider of apple or grapes drunk hot and cold, beer, wine made locally wild grapes were common drinks. Apart from this distilled spirits were stored in the cellar and the habitants could enter into the cellar.

Maize the staple corn of the First Nations was one of the principal item from which they prepared gruel called as migan. They maize would be grinded and boiled with fish made a fine gruel. Other important diet was of dry corn roasted in the ashes and partaken as meal with fish or meat. With corn meal the First Nations made sagamité mostly made with mixed corns of all kinds and with all sorts of vegetables. The French were reluctant to take corn for their meals and it was their last resort. They preferred wheat and wheat products to corn. Availability of meats of all kinds like that of
the moose and bear considered equivalent to that of the beef was a delicacy partaken by them. Moose meat was available in winter. Dog meat taken by the First nations were partaken by the French in the initial settlement period probably out of scarcity of food. It is recorded that in 1627 fifty-six outardes or wild geese, thirty ducks, twenty teal and some other birds were assembled for a baptismal feast. As early as 1607 wild pigeons shot down and pies made out of it. On Fridays and Saturday meat was not eaten so fish from the river especially eel was preferred. Beaver tail that tasted like fish was consumed and the body that tasted like mutton was not taken.

Among the fruits consumed by the French settlers figs and prunes were brought from France but locally available raspberries, other small fruits and blueberries were used as preserves along with salt and spice to add taste to the sagamítè. Local pumpkins were cooked in water or under hot cinders and it tasted good. The Montagnais used to drink honey like sweet substance from a tree called Michian. (This was the maple syrup that Canada is very famous at present and the maple leaf is taken as the symbolic representation of Canadian unity in the flag.) The process of making taffy or sugar candy out of the syrup was unknown to the First Nations.

\footnote{Marcel Trudel, pg. 153}
The Frenchmen came to know tobacco and its flavour from the First Nations. Tobacco grew in some parts or were brought from Mexico and Spain and became an important item of trade illegally. As a result, an addiction to smoke this started among the Frenchmen. Some of them ever bartered their shirts for this product. The Jesuits report that tobacco smoking was difficult to get rid of the addiction was a massive strong willed job. Many who tried to quit did so for some time and took up the habit out of the strong addiction to it. The First Nations used to smoke tobacco by puffing on the dry leaves or by putting them in a stone bowl and lighting them, thus inhaling the smoke made them be on high. They were intoxicated with tobacco as such it was very difficult to get them to talk when questioned. As itself the French missionaries who ventured deep into the First Nation area witnessed this smoking process. Groups used to sit together to smoke and talk but when the missionaries asked questions they were silent and kept on staring or laughing at them. This communal smoking was common among the lower castes in Pondichéry where the male members used to sit together to smoke using a single mud pot that had small-attached pipes from where the smoke was inhaled. There is evidence of tobacco and dried Datura
leaves burnt to smoke. Datura\textsuperscript{63} smoke when inhaled created the effect of opium.

In the field of technological exchange the French learnt the method of forced germinating of seeds from the First Nations. The Huron women soaked the pumpkin seeds in water, then sowed them in birch bark boxes and kept them bark boxes. This made the pumpkin seeds kept in bark boxes germinate the next day itself probably out of the moisture and heat trapped in the box. Science had developed this technique much later but the First Nations knew about this method much before the advancement of technology in the form of scientific laboratories. Transporting logs and woods during winter became easier for the Frenchmen with the First Nation Technique by using toboggans. Champlain used this method in 1623-24. The First Nations knew the modern day sauna system of bath as they knew to sweat out. Placing hot stones under a low round tent where the men used to sit naked together in circles one against the other the sweating was generated. This produced sweat generated from the heat of the stones and the bodies together, in between they drank cold water probably not to dehydrate. After this

\textsuperscript{63} Datura was a medicinal plant used by the Pondicherrians for treating asthma. The dried leaves were used as a main ingredient to burn and inhale the smoke thereby causing intoxication.
a cold bath in the river was taken making body and minds feel healthy.

For the French intermingling with the First Nations on trade terms and otherwise learn things to improve their stay in the colony was acceptable. The young boys of the settlers mingled freely as they were enjoying total freedom to do what they wanted. There was no restriction in the beginning and thus enjoying absolute freedom. At Québec and Port Royal there was an embryonic European society but in other places of the Newfoundland it was freer. When the French lived with the Souriquois, Montagnais, Algonquin’s and the Huron’s there was not much of social and religious restrictions. The Jesuits who found them going against the religion did not appreciate this freedom. This was because the young French La Tour fathered a girl by a Souriquois woman. This was the first métis child born and later on there is reference of the French asking for First Nation women’s hand and being refused by them. This was despite the fact that the Frenchmen promised to give them many things in return for taking them as brides by marrying them. Despite all this the parents and the clan members refused to marry their daughters or women to the Frenchmen. During this time two Frenchmen did marry First nations and the women learnt French language, custom and were very loving to their husbands.
Champlain kidnapped and took Domagaya and made his assist in the preparation of a Franco-Iroquois lexicon of fifty words. When another group of interpreters were brought 168 words were included. In order to make the work speedier he made two Frenchmen to stay along with the First Nations and learn their language. This did not last long as war broke out started by the Iroquois. When the French came back they had forgotten whatever they had learnt earlier in the sixteenth century. In Acadia they faced with three language Micmacs or Souriquois in the peninsula, Etchemin or Malecite on the St. John and Penobscot rivers and Almouchiquois on the Kennebec River. In the St. Lawrence river there were the Montagnais, further inland there were many languages but here it is only taken into consideration as to with whom the French had trading contacts, was the language of the Island and Petite-Nation Algonquian on the Ottawa river, Nipissing and the Huron-Iroquois language. Sagard groups all these three as Canadien as they were similar to each other. Without any control itself the linguistic offshoots tended to develop freely and since there was no grammar each evolved quickly. It became very essential that an interpreter be kept for the Montagnais, Algonquin and another for Nipissing. The Huron-Iroquois thus called because both spoke the same

1 Marcel Trudel, New France p.156
language was the common language of commerce and in the entire Great Lake basin this was used.

The French trade with the First Nations did not make them learn French as Colbert complained about this. The earlier trade was where the First nations had the upper hand as they were requested to trade and as such they knew that they did not have to learn the French language to trade. The First Nations however did apply the French names for themselves and their children. The Montagnais Chief Choumin had a nickname *le cadet* and his son Père Joseph.

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century terms used by the First Nations began to be used in French like *caribou ouaraon* for green toad and *Mekezin* for the footwear of the First Nations, *atocas* for cranberries and *toca* for the red berries found in abundance in the area. In order to overcome the linguistic obstacle, the French learnt from the First Nations their language and tried to teach a few of the First Nations French so that they would serve as interpreters. Out of the six send to France lean the language only two came back but learning only few broken language. It is in the end seen that the Jesuits had ultimately to learn the language of the First Nations to survive and go on with their mission of civilising them and mingle with them. In order to learn from them it was very difficult as they
talked very less and had to be induced with tobacco to open their mouth. Sometimes they taught obscene words and the Jesuits preached them thinking that it was a translation of the word they have just learnt. It was easy for teaching the Huron's as they lived a more settled life. The Montagnais had no sound equivalent to f, l, or v in their language as l became r and v became p. The Huron had no labials and f became s, m turned n, and p to t. The major problem was also grammar, as they did not have grammar since there was no written language or words. In order to solve the problem lexicons were drawn and the study of Huron language by the Récollet Sagard who published a Huron dictionary of 132 pages is a work of tremendous magnitude.

In the case of Pondichéry it was the missionaries who learnt the local language Tamil to mingle with the Pondicherrians. Moreover the first description of travel account of the Indian Ocean and the Orient was done by François Martin de Vitre of St. Malo titled Description du premier voyage fait aux Indes Occidentales par les Français en l'an 1603. This work was published in 1604 and had a tremendous influence on the French who started to India and later on settled down in Pondichéry. In 1698 Journal des voyages des Grandes Indes. Many oral and written folk tales, Jataka, stories

5 Marcel Trudel, pg.158
and fables were translated into French especially by the Roman Catholic missionaries stationed at Bengal and South India and circulated in France. In 1718 Abbé Bignon the custodian of the manuscripts of the Royal Library made a list of all the books he wanted to purchase on Literature from India and Indo-China. Classical works on ancient India, Vedas, epics like Ramayana and Mahabharatha, Puranas, Vykarana, Nataka, Alankara, Vedanta and Nyaya (Indian works on philosophy) were collected and these Sanskrit works were translated into French. Apart from this Tamil works were also translated during this period. Father Pons was the first Sanskrit Grammarian in India as he wrote a work on Sanskrit Grammar and published it in France. This work has a base in Latin translated Samksiptasara and Amarakosa. Catalogues for all these works were published in 1739. The Jesuit missionary Beschi compiled a Tamil Dictionary in 1744 and a bilingual one was available however the author remains unknown.

Apart from sharing knowledge the Pondicherrians aped little of the French and tremendous influence of the French culture was felt especially in the nineteenth century outside the purview of the thesis time period. In New France there was mutual enthusiasm in both French and First nations for some items remarkable to each other's

66 Francis Cyril Antony, Gazetteer of India, Union Territory of Pondichéry, Vol. 11, pg. 1240-41
taste. Hat used by the French were a source of admiration by the First Nations and they learnt to wear and use the hat like the French. The gesture of taking off the hat and bending before departing after meeting a Frenchman was followed by the First Nations and in their own culture this was not followed. It appears that the chief of Tadoussac was very particular of following the French manner as he showed it before he spoke at the assembly at Québec in 1636. A very important change that occurred was when glass beads replaced the Matachiaz. According to the traditions of the First Nations they wore whelk shell made beads cut into square or made into round shape and stung together in leather strips or strings into chains or bracelets. This was their currency, jewellery, register and bond between nations and individuals. This was the sacred and familiar possession of theirs. When it was supplanted it shows the influence of a foreign culture into their traditions. Among the Souriquois of Acadia French cooking pots replaced their traditional earthen pots. Bread the staple diet of the French was favoured above corn by the First Nations. Instead of garden grown or cultivated things the First Nations wanted French items like biscuit, figs, peas, beans and prunes. This showed that they were moving from agricultural production also. The French to the First Nations introduced drinking wine and brandy and other such intoxicating drinks. They had their

\[67\text{ Matachiaz is also referred as wampum, is strings and belts or porcelain or rassade beads worn as belts by the First Nations}\]
traditional drinks and now bartered many things for brandy. This was a very bad legacy of the French in the lands of the first nations. It is recorded that the replacement of corn by wheat whereby bread became a very popular item of food. Meat was bartered for bread by the first nations. Montagnais murdered two Frenchmen for bread in 1627.

In the religious sphere the Jesuit priests played a prominent role, as they were able to pass the tests that the First Nations did on them. They had shaman and the priest testing strength as history records that at St. Mary’s Bay the Jesuit Biard placed a cross over a dying woman and she was cured. At St. Sauveur in 1613 a Biard baptized a dying child and the child was restored health. In Huronia in 1623 it rained for many days and when the Shamans prayers were not heard the First Nations asked the missionaries. The missionaries prayed and led by Father Joseph the good Lord heard the prayer. This made the First nations realise the strength of the missionaries and Father Joseph earned the title of Arondiouoane. However the First Nations noticed something very peculiar about themselves was that their population was decreasing tremendously. This was because of the disease that they were suffering from which earlier they did not have. All this was becoming very noticeable and they asked the priests about it. They believed it was the priests who were responsible as they brought with them the mysterious religion
and the reality being that with the coming of the Europeans on the whole disease spread among the innocent First Nations. The missionaries thus broke the confidence of the first nations shamans and this paved way for disintegration of their culture. The superior crushed the inferior and merged into its fold all the converts. In Pondichéry there is no evidence of such a performance by the missionaries in the thesis period, however in the eighteenth century there is reference to the padre of the Church at Pondichéry performing the role of person capable of taking out demons from the persons possessed by it. Extortion of demon that has destroyed the life of the person and thereby making the person sane probably was done keeping the tradition of the Bible where Jesus had done so. It is nothing but the faith that made the person all right and the padre in turn got the name of being a miracle performer.

All societies in their nascent stage place great influence on the family and kinship relations. In Acadia, it was the sole institution as neither the seigneurial system; the parish system or the militia system became implanted before the British conquest of that region in 1710. Acadians became a close-knit society of kinship groups, many of which had good relations through intermarriage and trade with the Micmac and Maliseet peoples. The same general pattern of relationships could be found in Canada, but there other institutional networks also lay claim to local and regional loyalties
and associations. In general, colonial families differed from those in the motherland with respect to earlier marriages, lower mortality rates except in the initial stages of colonisation.

"A completed Canadian family in the early century consisted of a father over forty years of age, a mother in late thirties, and eight children ranging in age from 14 to few weeks old. This profile takes into account the average age of marriage for women at about 22 and about 27 for men, the spacing of births about every 23 months, and an infant mortality rate of about 246 out of every 1000 during the first year of life. More adults were married, and there was a market tendency for widows and widowers to remarry. In short, the colonists were fond of the married state. The number of religious, persons bound by vows of chastity was strictly limited by the state. The coureurs de bois were usually young bachelors who might enter into temporary liaisons with native women and father Mètis children in the hinterland, but they nearly always returned to the settlement to take up family life."^68

Marriage ceremonies left little doubt about the purpose of matrimony being procreation of children. In addition to the required

wedding in the parish church, custom decreed that the priest should bless the nuptial bed where children would be conceived as the service books talked about the wedding bed being deathbed from where souls will be taken for god's tribunal.69

The class "distinctions in family relations were important as members of the local elite formed a kinship network. The lower classes, particularly the rural habitants, often ran into church and state rules restricting consanguineous marriages. It has been argued that women enjoyed favoured position in the colony enough protection of their rights of inheritance, marriage contract and possessions of property. They certainly had a wider range of economic opportunities open to them than was at the English colonies. If women with economic status seemed equal to men society was still patriarchal."70 Married women were allowed to carry on business transactions like buying property or selling slaves with the permission of their husbands. A father had the right to decide as to how much he wanted to give as dowry for his daughter without consulting his wife. Men were the legal heads of the household. A woman could help herself against abuses only if applied to the royal courts for a separation of goods and persons and this was granted


70 Cornelius J. Jaenen, New France to 1760, p. 59
only in particularly notorious cases. Women very rarely won a case against her husband and likewise domestic servants and slaves never dared to charge their owners for any crime or abuse. In New France it was the widows who acquired more power and authority than married women to conduct business, make contracts, and serve as legal witnesses. Children were legally minors until the age of twenty-five and as such required the permission of their parents to marry and legal guardians managed their inheritance.

Children were considered as an economic asset as they could contribute to economically supporting the family. The dreams of parents or traditions were forced on the young children and they continued to grow up in that sense. Merchant families in Montreal, Québec and Louisbourg might view children as carrying on the family business or inheriting a bureaucratic position, and daughters as making a good marriage permitting upward social mobility. A noble family in the colony saw the likelihood of its children carrying on the family tradition in the military, ecclesiastical or bureaucratic arena, and unlike in France also in the commercial sphere. Since a number of the colonial nobility were not wealthy, they saw great advantage if
a daughter married into the bourgeoisie and so regilded the family coat of arms.\textsuperscript{71}

"In the absence of any concept of childhood development, children were perceived and even dressed as miniature adults. The church taught that at about the age of seven they had become fully responsible for all moral and ethical decisions and were to be created as such. They were shown little affection, life expectancy being so precarious. Missionaries were surprised by the affection they showed on their children, the permissive manner in which they raised them, and the apparent harmony that existed in the long villages."\textsuperscript{72}

In Pondichéry marriage was an elaborate custom and function followed till few days time. Marriage was an occasion for each family member to come together and the whole paraphernalia went on for in some case few weeks. Although it is among the rich that this sort of tradition was followed, and among the poor and the lower castes marriage ceremony was a matter of four days time. Once a girl was married she was taken to her husband's house as soon as


\textsuperscript{72} Cornelius J. Jaenen, \textit{New France to 1760}, p. 85
she attained the age of puberty. Among the Pondicherrians marriage were held at a very young age, where the bride would be 8-10 and the groom could from 12 and above to any age. Child marriage came to a stand still only in the nineteenth century with education facilities given to the young children. Widows were in plenty as they were married to older persons as such after the death of their husband had a sad life. Parents of rich landlords and higher castes did not have any problem in getting their children married or looking after them when they became widow. The custom was that the male child eventually followed the father’s footstep in the occupational sphere. For the girls they were essentially leading a quiet life looking after the children and the family. Marriages to the Pondicherrians were also to procreate but in case the first wife was not able to conceive a child the man could take another wife was the system prevailing among the Hindus. There was no limit for keeping mistress as this showed the persons wealth as he could maintain all of them. This was not considered to be sin till the missionaries propagated monogamous marriages. Among the lower castes also the same system prevailed and men did not follow monogamy, as this was a free choice like the First Nations.

It is among the lower castes where the women force can be seen working along with their men folk for their daily food. Their children grew up with them in the fields. A women going to sow
paddy or reap paddy carried her child to the field where the work was going on. The child if was a very small baby was laid in a swing made of rope and a small bed of cotton was added and the baby was rocked to sleep by the gentle breeze under huge tamarind or mango trees. The land was cultivated with oxen doing the ploughing and the Indian to mange it. His wife or women folk would normally assist him in the work and sow the paddy, or whatever crop was being cultivated. Women played a very important role in cultivation especially in India. Once the crop was ready, women assist in reaping the crop. In case of Pondichery few areas were devoted to the cultivation of paddy and here work was done by both the genders. Men ploughed the land with ploughshare and oxen tilled the rough land. The women laid the seeds for the crop. After the seedlings grow in few weeks time, it is the women who transplant them from one paddy field to the other. While reaping the crop men cut and stock the rice and women help men in the thrashing. Fisher folk had their children playing on the beach and water and growing up strong. Disease was few but with pollution and changing situation the fitted survived.

The conditions of the fisher folk were different. Their women stayed at home taking care of the children and cooking during the nighttime. The men went fishing at night and returned back with their catch in the morning. It is the responsibility of the women to sell fish
and gutted them for the customers. Unfortunately they did not have the right to keep the money that they earned from selling the fish. Their husbands who used it to drink toddy mostly took the money their women folk earned for them. Thus poverty and illiteracy continued among them to a large scale despite the missionaries taking an effort to teach the children of the fisher folk. The children were considered as god's gift so there was no limit and child bearing became very difficult for women, as they got older. There were umpteen cases of women dying from childbirth pains and infections as later known. With the coming of missionaries they were able to take care of this aspect and provide a cleaner environment for a birth of a child, thus reducing infant mortality. The children of the farmers accompanied their parents and would play around the fields, as there were no schools where they could go.

Women did not have any important position other than as wives and mothers. They did not have a share in the property and when their husbands died had to live at the mercy of their sons or was shunned to a corner of the house. It was considered a bad sign to see a widow and thereby a widow was never to attend any important occasions, ceremonies and lived a lonely life. They were good at taking care of young children and telling stories to them. As
such the young children learnt Jataka\textsuperscript{73} stories and tales from the scriptures from the mothers. Educations to women folk were not allowed as such they did not get to read any thing. The women of higher castes did learn a bit of Sanskrit for performing prayers and orally recited the scriptures. The lower castes did not have scriptures to recite but deep faith in their gods that took care of them. Their faith and strength to fight for daily bread is marvellous, especially the fisher women. She survives only on the basis of her tongue as she uses her voice to hawk fish and get good price for the fish and thereby take to the family. She is the one earned for the family by selling the fish. In the case of the other castes the women did not go to the market to sell anything. The women doing agricultural work were labourers who got their wages in the form of grain. The landlord took the grain as the end product and it is he with his hired men decided to take to the market. The end product was taken to the market by male members and sold by them according to the price they finalised either by auction or by selling in smaller quantities. A portion of the grain was stored for daily use by the landlords in their granaries and they kept enough to be given to the labourers in his field as wages also. In the case of First Nations each group had their own settlement area and lands for cultivation. It is their product and they do the cultivation themselves as there are

\textsuperscript{73} Jataka tales were stories with fables translated from Sanskrit by the Buddhist monks from the Panchantrantra.
no middlemen or labourers involved who did the work. Women along with men did the work to provide food for their family.

In 1759 Québec the capital of New France was forced to surrender after a three-month siege and naval bombardment, the First Nation women had participated actively by helping their men force to keep the intruders out. The following summer when the British army took over Montréal the First Nations retreated back to their areas as they could did not have the manpower to continue the war. After the fall of most of the interior military posts and the collapse of the Amerindian alliance system the French had to give up their fortification.

The French sense of superiority over the First Nation and Indians culturally, if not racially, while maintaining due respect for Native rights and their usefulness in 'maintaining a French foothold on the continent.' At Pondichéry the French town was laid out in 'such a fashion as to segregate the indigenous Indian settlement from the French quarters, its administrative, commercial, cultural and religious institutions.' In towns like Québec and Montreal no such segregation was required, the First Nation having been drawn into the French occupied countryside nearly on seductions. However, there was a social distinction evident in each town, most notably at Québec with its Upper and Lower Towns. The fortification of Québec
and Pondichéry was done for the purpose of maintaining safe trading spots and a way of colonising the indigenous population of the areas.