Chapter II

Theoretical Aspects of French Colonisation of Québec and Pondichéry

French concept of colonisation is very different from that of the English or any other Europeans powers. In the Encyclopaedia of Britannica itself a very clear-cut definition of colonisation is given especially about the French and English. According to the Britannica France believed in a colonisation process that made the colony as part of the mother country. Everything came under the purview of the church as the King came under it. In the case of England colony was treated as having a separate identity that was inferior in all ways. Thus assimilation or mixing with the native population of any kind was not tolerable. The French followed a policy of assimilating the colonies, as this would give them less burden in enforcing their policies.

The French were the first who led expeditions and voyages in search of new lands in present day Canada as called in the modern day and they were the first to establish their sovereignty. This is quite in contrast to Pondichéry in India as the French was the last to
establish their power and control among all the other European powers. French concentrated on expansion of power, over areas that were difficult to access and as such were able to reap the benefit of the fur, fish and cod trade that developed.

The extensive landmass of New France made them encounter the Basque fishermen, Breton, Normans who were harvesting the cods to supply to Catholic countries. These fishermen with their fishing vessels also used the French Atlantic ports. The private entrepreneurs fitted French fishing vessels to New France for catching fish and especially cod. Extensive trade despite loss at sea of crew, the catch, and religious war at home did not deter the merchants in slowing down of trade. Trade in this pattern went on till the late sixteenth century without the backing of the crown, nobility or religious orders of any kind. Trade did not limit to cod or fish but went on to walrus tusks and hide. Like whale blubber of walrus was utilized by turning it into oil that was mainly used to coat the underside of the fishing vessels in order to float smoothly in the water. As the fishery developed and along with it another characteristic developed as a result of it and that was the emergence of Protestant merchants and groups as the leading entrepreneurs in

12 Further information available in Farley Mowat, Sea of Slaughter (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1985)
trade especially in new foundland. Calvinist and the Lutherans also played a very prominent role in promotion of the economic activities of New France despite the fact that they were religious minorities.\textsuperscript{13} All these details did have importance because it was the Protestants in New France first undertook colonisation and in the case of Pondichéry François Martin who was able to buy Pondichéry was a Catholic. This difference is because of the time period as one was in 1508 and the other 1664 when Catholicism was dominant religion in France.

The ideological background for the French contact with the native Amerindians\textsuperscript{14} and their reaction is documented in the work of Cornelius J. Jaenen The French Relationship With The Native Peoples Of New France And Acadia. The first document available dating the contact of the French with the Newfoundland dates back as early as 1504.\textsuperscript{15} Several years earlier however, the cod from the Newfoundland and furs from the North America were being traded in

\textsuperscript{13} Cornelius J. Jaenen, \textit{New France to 1760}, (Pondicherry: Department of History, 1997) p. 5

\textsuperscript{14} Cornelius J. Jaenen, \textit{The French Relationship With The Native Peoples Of New France And Acadia} (Ottawa: Research Branch Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1984) p. 1.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., p.1.
the French ports especially at Rouen. Whatever was known was by the way of the fishing contacts, and from the Spaniards and the Portuguese navigators. The Renaissance promoted a spirit of questioning all aspects of life that gave rise to new theories regarding the history and the contacts with the indigenous peoples.

However, the speculation about the indigenous people inhabiting the Newfound lands, the New World as perceived by the French, resulted in a wide range of opinions. The indigenous people were speculated as representative of the mythical characters, "half human half beast." However, Pope Paul III in the bull of 1537 affirmed that they were "truly men" capable of understanding the mysteries of the Catholic religion. There were various opinions circulating about the New France and Newfoundland as the rediscovered Garden of Eden. "The French settlement in the tropical zone of America in the sixteenth century fitted well into this conceptual framework. Tupinamba tribesmen were brought to

16 Cornelius J. Jaenen, The French Relationship With The Native Peoples Of New France And Acadia. p. 1
18 Cornelius J. Jaenen, The French Relationship With The Native Peoples Of New France And Acadia. p. 2
France, decked out in their scant and brightly coloured feathery costumes, to perform at Court, at public festivals and Church services. The north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence because of its rocky barren lands was considered under satanic dominion. Jacques Cartier described it as “the land God gave to Cain.” It could produce neither bread nor wine essential for Christian worship. Jacques Cartier was the first French Protestant to establish a foothold in New France. He contacted the different First Nations along the shore of Gulf of St. Lawrence and wanted to discover from them the whereabouts of possible areas where gold could be found. Cartier believed he discovered diamond and gold and he found that it was only iron pyrites and mica chips he returned to France disheartened. He did not give any help to the inexperienced Roberval who came to settle people in New France.

European intellectuals at the time of first contact with the natives were considering the effect of environment on the human temperament. That is why they started formulating the theory that the lives of the natives are governed by this factor so much that it

can be seen in their way of life. This was probably because they lived as part of the nature, as nature had created them. Many of the missionaries believed that it was impossible to convert them as they were quite coarse in their behaviour but it was at the same time a challenge to them. There were two types of opinion prevailing among the scholars in France. One was that the First Nations were noble savages that gave them a place in their history, and the other they were the wild half beast-half man that gave them the mystical characteristic.\textsuperscript{20} This encouraged the novelists and literary exponents to let their imagination run wild and write about such people who became live characters in their work.

The entry of France into Americas in the sixteenth century coincided with a significant shift in French national sentiment and this would have its effect on both French and the Native ‘Nations’. Historians had traditionally identified the motherland with the dynasty, but as the result of forty years of devastating religious wars (1559-1598) there developed a sense of national identity which could be termed as ‘French’, as opposed to Burgundian, Gason, Norman or Breton. The French rediscovered their Gallic origin so to speak and attempted to reconcile this with the Frankish origins of their monarchy. Francois Connan elaborated an ingenious thesis of the Gallic origins of

\textsuperscript{20} Cornelius J. Jaenen, \textit{The French Relationship With The Native Peoples Of New France And Acadia}. 4
Frankish law and feudalism, which gained widespread acceptance when supported by such eminent scholars as Jean Bodin and the cosmographer François de Belleforest. The kingdom was seen as a sort of mystical body embracing king and subjects, or a sovereign community sanctioned by God and the law of nature.²¹

National consciousness increased as the exploitation and colonisation procedure of the Newfoundland fishing banks and the Canadian fur trade developed into settlement and evangelisation of the native peoples.²² In the sixteenth century French attempt to settle down in the St. Lawrence region and in Québec the first fort was built as a sign.

"King Francis I in justifying the French intrusion into the New World, which with papal sanction had been divided between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, appealed to France's mission to Christianise and civilize the Native peoples and dismissed Iberian claims with the challenges

²¹ Cornelius J. Jaenen, The French Relationship With The Native Peoples Of New France And Acadia, p. 4 The classic studies of these economic aspects remain Harold A. Innis, The Cod Fisheries. The History of an International Economy, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1940) and The Fur Trade in Canada (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930). It is a great tribute to his historical scholarship that these remain key studies after more than a half century.

²² Cornelius J. Jaenen, The French Relationship With The Native Peoples Of New France And Acadia, p. 5
"show me Adam's will". The missionaries subsequently had a hand in formulating colonising theory and provided propaganda not only for their evangelising efforts but also for the charter companies, which exploited the fur resources of the continent in return for the obligation to populate and govern the vast region. This linkage between commerce, conversion and colonisation remained an important characteristic of the French approach to the New World.²³

Initially, merchants and explorers visited parts of Canada and parts of India in search of new lands and wealth. A reference is made in Marcel Trudel's book "The Beginning of New France" that a merchant of Rouen Etienne Bellenger who travelled into Cape Breton and from there into interior region where he saw houses made of bark. He was able to barter some of his trinkets like cap, knife, axe etc. worth forty dollar with the inmates of the house he saw. In return he got beaver, otter, marten furs that was dressed and painted on the inside. This voyage was considered important because he brought back meticulous description of the coast up to Bay of Fundy. In France merchants, who jointly invested in the

"Cornelius J. Jansen, The French Relationship With The Native Peoples Of New France And Acadia, p. 5
venture, or later, by the King who sponsored voyages that promised interesting returns, outfitted ships at first. The need for settlement to sustain commercial activity led to the development of the acquired among the settlers and shortage of food areas that had the potential to become a colony. Small settlements on metropolitan plans emerged. In order to understand the settlement procedure the earlier settlements details need to be given. After Cartier a Lutheran nobleman Jean Francois La Roche established colony in 1542 by building an elaborate headquarters with two strong towers in the inhabitants. The colony dispersed because of the Iroquois attack, outbreak of scurvy, harsh winter, indiscipline. Many of the survivors returned to France.

In 1598 when La Roche was planning an expedition to Newfoundland he secured official permission to take criminals from the jails of Brittany and Normandy. However these criminals were petty thieves and beggars and not hard-core criminals. They were the settlers who populated the areas of New France. For some time a set back occurred as the Protestants lost interest in the colonial ventures. Neither the private entrepreneurs nor the Crown showed any further sign of being interested in colonisation or expansion in

Newfoundland of any kind. This was a temporary phase as very soon this uncomfortable situation was forgotten.

Pierre Gua de Monts another Protestant entrepreneur received a trade monopoly from King Henry IV in 1608 for the entire north Atlantic seaboard, on the ground that he would establish sixty colonists each year and promote missionary work among the First nations. Pierre Gua de Monts was able to organise an association of merchants from various cities to finance a joint Protestant-Catholic expedition. This was done under the direction of a Dutch shareholder Cornelius de Bellois. It was during this time that Champlain a geographer was recruited for the mission, along with him came three vessels carrying artisans, soldiers, peasants, two Catholic priests, and a Protestant pastor and established settlement at Bay of Fundy. It is at Port Royal that a permanent settlement base by the French was established.

25 Cornelius J. Jaenen, New France To 1760, p. 7
26 Cornelius J. Jaenen, New France, p.7
28 Map No. A of the Port Royal settlement is given towards the end of the thesis.
The joint Association of merchants worked out well and Jean de Poutrincourt took charge of local affairs of the Company. He was able to maintain a cordial relationship with one of the many group of First Nations settled there known as Micmacs. He did not encroach upon their settlement areas and had trade with them. Trade in pelts went on as the Micmacs brought them to the French and they bartered with European goods. This relationship became friendly with their chieftain Membertou converting and his family into Catholicism. However in 1611 under the protection of Marquise de Guercheville Jesuit missionaries were sent and conflict occurred because of clashing of interest of the fur traders and missionaries. This did not last long as Samuel Argall captured in the interest of another company called Virginia. The French colonists withdrew inland to live with the Micmacs and in the Scottish colony Nova Scotia trade dwindled with the constant threat of the French and the Micmacs.

According to the treaty of Saint-Germain-en-laye in 1632 France was given back the colony. Two families the La Tour family at Fort Sainte-Marie (present day New Brunswick) and other the d'Aulnay family at Port Royal took control of the fur trade.29

29 Cornelius J. Jaenen, New France to 1760, p. 9
Acadia especially a border for England and France neither the French nor the English could gain total control as such they emerged to be more independent. Farmlands and Orchards, herds and cattle farms, fishery and fur trade with the Micmacs was the economic activities indulged in by the Acadians. Lack of regular priest and as a result of seigneurial control of land, compulsory military service by the men folk, and strong family network make them bound together with a communal identity.\textsuperscript{30}

It was at the Annual encounter at Tadoussac organised by Pierre de Chauvin a Protestant Naval Captain at the base of Saguenay River to exchange fur with the Algonkians. In 1608 a habitation at Québec the main area concentrated in this thesis was established. This was near the Stadocona the Iroquois village where Cartier and Roberval had tried to settle a colony. From here trade was at a vantage point and the Algonkians and Huron’s came to trade with the French on their canoes. Keeping in mind the relationship with other traders the French maintained a good relationship with these fur-trading bands but with the Iroquois there were always wars and skirmishes that threatened trading relationship.

\textsuperscript{30} Cornelius J. Jaenen, \textit{New France to 1760}, p.9
The French colony that came up later on was known as "Nouvelle France, comprising of three regions: Acadia, which included the modern provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, to which was appended the base of Placentia in southern Newfoundland; Canada proper, which consisted of the arable lands of the St. Lawrence Valley; and Pays d'en haut, or upper country of the Great Lake basin, to which in the eighteenth century was appended the Mer de l'Ouest, the far western region stretching onto the great central plains, or Prairies as they are commonly called today".\(^3\) In reality the French colonised the lower St. Lawrence valley along the shores of Bay of Fundy and they established a few trading posts, military forts and mission stations within the Amerindian or the First Nations territory or their ancestral lands.

The founding of Québec was an important step towards trade development as trade could be continued from here on a natural course. The St. Lawrence River made France follow westward into the hinterland developing fur trade and promoting agricultural settlement. Québec is situated in an inland as such during harsh winter communication from here could not be done with the mother

\(^3\) Cornelius J. Jaenen, *New France To 1760*, p. 1
country France. This was a hindrance for some time.\textsuperscript{32} The result of shift of trade point to an interior region made Todoussac loose the importance of bulk trade that it had earlier conducted. In 1611 De Monts bought the habitation of Québec and along with the merchants of La Rochelle made Québec as a depot for furs of all kinds bought from the First Nations on a barter basis.

With the organisation of Company of New France in 1627 by Richelieu, Minister of Louis XIII the company got the right to create seigneuries set up administrative structure in it and have control over commerce. This was modelled on the Dutch East India Company. The Company had an additional responsibility of maintaining soldiers, artisans and Catholic missionaries. With the involvement of Catholic enterprise and Catholic missionaries were given priority. The charter companies exploited the area with the demand of fur. The fur was brought into the French beachheads and was exported from Québec and Port Royal to French Atlantic ports. The Company of Canada, promoted by David Kirke and Associates, organized fur trade. Chartered by King Charles I, and in 1632 it came to an end. Champlain established Company at Rouen and St. Malo in 1614 and the monopoly came to an end in 1620. Till 1633 Company of De

\textsuperscript{32} Marcel Trudel, \textit{The Beginnings of New France, 1524-1663} (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1973)
Caen organized by William De Caen and his nephew along with merchants of Rouen absorbed Champlain's Company.

Montréal became an important centre of trade with the Algonkians and became the centre of missionary activities. A bishop arrived at Montréal but did not start a diocese. The Company had given to the seigneuries hoping that the rich landowners would help in the conversion of the First Nations. It was the Jesuit, the nuns and the Sulpicians who were able to mingle more freely with the First Nations and converse with them. They were able to go into the interior regions and tell stories of Bible, and they identified the missionaries as men carrying a wooden cross above their head that was a symbolic gesture of the missionaries. Perhaps a reminder of the cross Christ had carried and a cross that they have to bear every day in different forms.

As late as 1661 (sixteenth century) the French king Louis XIV realised the need for having a Crown colony without the private entrepreneurs. In 1663 the colony as a whole came under his direct rule. King as the head represented the colonial government. He was in charge of the military, external relations and all matters regarding the first nations. In Québec, Trois Rivières and Montreal the three important towns of the Crown Governors were appointed.
Later on in Acadia and New Orleans in Louisiana also Governors were appointed. The Intendant was in charge of finances, law, order and sub-delegates in each of the regions mentioned assisted him. "The Intendant presided over the Sovereign Council meetings who will issue local ordinances. The Bishop joined the Governor and Intendant on this council, but his participation was soon restricted to occasional interventions to protect the privileges of the clergy. The councilors were appointed by the Crown and the directors of the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, created in 1664 and given the monopoly of the fur trade. Governor and Intendant reported to the King and, after 1669, the royal prerogative asserted itself more forcefully by rescinding all administrative powers of the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, by giving all sovereign councilors royal commissions, by concurring with the creation of a diocese encompassing all North America especially towards north of the Spanish Possessions." This very centralised system of government was not without redeeming features. Royal instructions given in 1663 explained that the general spirit of government was to follow the direction of gentleness, as it would be harmful to employ severity against the transplanted peoples, far removed from their prince and

33 Cornelius Jaenen, *New France to 1760*, p. 16

34 ibid., p. 16
his enforcement officers, this policy refined as paternalism was reiterated on several occasions.

This however changed with the interaction of the French and non-French fishermen with the First Nations. Cod fishing was seasonal and drying of cod and fishes led to increased interest in exploring the countryside. The drying procedure was pretty long making them bored during the period of waiting for drying of the fish. Exploration for fun led these fishermen who settled ashore for the season to come into contact with the First nations who brought fur for trade with them. This became a favourite pass time and a source of steady income. It is remarkable that though an unpleasant life on ships for the fishermen there was little evidence of disease like scurvy that later on the Crown vessel crew, traders, explorers and sailors suffered. The Crown to the Royal Navy recruited young men who became seasoned sailors because of cod fishing as they could manage the water routes better. In the late sixteenth century walrus blubber and hides were traded in that brought huge profit. Whale blubber and whale bone were another item that was demanded in the market and with this the St. Lawrence River trade was taken over by French trade. Accumulation of wealth in Canada took place in the form of fur trade as the fisheries led them to it. The private entrepreneurs have made all the initial contacts with the first nations
in the beginning. If taken a look at the records of trade it is believed that the Protestants were leading the trade. Close to them the Calvinists and Lutherans who were minorities in France but had a strong hold on the economic activity in France. The profit from the trade went to investment in land, trade, factories, banks, and transportation systems in Europe and in Canada.

Regular French living style and life was missing in New France in the initial periods because of its original inhabitants, geography and limited population. The missionaries took up the challenge of civilising and creating a sense of order among the original peoples in the uncultivated hinterland. They aspired to introduce European ways while evangelising. Harvesting the crops, which they have sown in the gardens, and harvesting the souls of the natives was their target. Initially, they hoped to sedentarize the nomadic indigenous bands and accustom them to agriculture. The Huron and Iroquois were already sedentary tribe engaged in cultivating maize, beans and squash. The Crown set aside seigneuries for the missionaries like the Jesuits and Sulpicians on which Native converts would be settled. These tracts of land known as reductions were
modelled on the estates Jesuits had organised in their Paraguayan mission.35

The French adopted a policy of making the First Nations and the Pondicherrians feel that they were equals although some racial superiority was manifested. The First Nations and Pondicherrians could attain French citizenship and intermarry with the Europeans. They were the constant companions of the French during war and were partners in trade in both New France and Pondichéry.36 The French were able to integrate the First Nations and the Pondicherrians into their fold and win their confidence. This is why in the case of French Pondichéry there was no unrest or demand for independence as late as 1920. When the other parts of India were demanding freedom from English rule, India became independent from the British rule in 1947 as a result of this struggle; Pondichéry remained under the French rule. It was only in 1954 that Pondichéry became part of India. However the French played their role well and gave the Pondicherrians the right to choose their citizenship


(between India and France) to become citizens of France. Eighty percent of the population chose to be French citizens largely because of the economical gains of such a choice. The French, at the same time, followed a liberal attitude to keep themselves in the lands that they conquered, bought, or acquired, thereby retaining their colonial attitude.

In Pondichéry the French were able to settle down as traders and established trade relationship with the Pondicherrians in this regard. Initially it was the French East India Company that looked into all the needs of the French men recruited by them to settle in Pondichéry and other parts of India and conquer placed for the crown. After Pondichéry was purchased from the Sultan of Bijapur the French did not immediately construct a fort. It took many plans for the building of the fort. The details of fortification are given in detail in the fourth chapter of this thesis. With the coming of the French into Pondichéry trade activity increased as dealing in textile related items were being brought and sold on regular basis. The Company of East Indies set up trading depots near the Bay of Bengal in order to store the goods brought from various parts of India.

In contrast, the French at Pondichéry, as they renamed it, were given permission by Sher Khan Lodi, the governor of the Sultan of
Bijapur to build a trading post. Bellanger del Espinay was granted the permission to carry on trade as the Mughal Emperor Aurangazeb issued a *firman* to this regard. French bought Pondichéry by paying Sixteen thousand pagodas to the Dutch. In the case of New France they did not have to purchase the land from the First Nations. The first French loge in Pondichéry was set up in Surat in 1666 after Bebber who had been deputed from France to contact the Mughal Emperor and had obtained a firman from Aurangzeb in favour of La Royale Compagnie de France des Indes Orientales. Bellanger took up residence in the Danish loge and started trade from there for a century. Till 1790 the French engaged in trade of Indian muslin, organdie, long cloth, cotton textile, indigo, spices, rosewood, teak and precious stones. In the hinterland long cloth, mull mull, muslin, organdie, Salempuri, Sailasse, Kanjeevaran and Pulicat textiles were brought and taken to different places.

With the coming of Company of New France competition became severe and similarly cotton and dyed cotton yarns, textiles and calico were exported from the main town of Chandranagore and Pondichéry to French Mediterranean ports. Goods from France were brought into the New France and Pondichéry to be traded internally. In Pondichéry there was demand for French drapes, laces, yellow Arsenic glass, sulphur and Java coffee, opium and porcelain. France also brought more iron implements, wines, spirits,
coral stone and ironware into the Indian markets. In Patna, Chandranagore, Pondichéry and the nobility were the main consumers of these goods. The local population did not demand anything other than the glass items and later on synthetic textiles. Trade in New France in contrast, was on a barter basis, according to which French manufactured goods such as knives, hatchets, copper kettles, needles, blankets, cloth, firearms and brandy were exchanged for beaver pelts, moose hides, deer skins and pelts of smaller wild animals. Trading operations at Pondichéry constituted commercial activity in its true sense whereas trade in New France was an unsophisticated exchange of goods in the beginning. Later on the Iroquois had an upper hand in trading their fur and pelts to the French merchants.

The Pondicherrians were discriminated in many ways by the French as their basic rights were taken away. The French concept of equality was applied to the French population, then to other Europeans and the Creoles. The Pondicherrians who had established themselves in high positions were able to get concessions from the French. This was because of the help rendered in work and trade. Without the help of the Pondicherrian interpreters the administrative section would suffer, as documents of India brought to the Governors were in various languages and translators were needed. The firmans issued by the Mughal
Emperor were in Persian and were translated by the Pondicherrians at the court of French Company. In New France, Missionaries were the principal interpreters in the seventeenth century and military officers in the eighteenth century. Missionaries basically learnt the language to mingle with the First Nations.

In New France the French were eager to learn the secrets of the First Nations regarding medicine, herbs, plants and flowers. The study of biology and zoology were of keen interest to them. This was because of the flora and fauna of New France that the French discovered were valuable. Governor La Galissoniere, for example, was an ardent botanist who shared his field observations with Peter Kalm, a Finnish scientist of the Swedish Academy, who visited North America. King Louis XIV had given orders to have specimens of flora and fauna sent to France for royal gardens, university collections and museums. The Jesuit missionaries in their annual Relations recorded a wealth of ethnographical, geographical, cultural


and scientific information. These reports from members of the intellectual elite were widely read in Europe. The Parisian botanist Carrenti published the Canadensium plantarum historia, a botanical text of the flora of New France, less than thirty years after the founding of Québec. The royal physician, Michel Sarrazin became an expert on the animals of the colony and of its rare plants and his research was recognized by his nomination to the Academy of Sciences in Paris.

In French Pondichéry there is a reference of François Martin showing interest in Arabic medicine and translation of few Arabic works on medicine were also done during this period. However the Portuguese had left enough of their sources to show how important the study of local medicine was. The Portuguese compiled a whole dictionary Hortus Malabar. The French took the idea of irrigation method from Malabar region of India. They applied this technique in Moluccus. The French in Pondichéry maintained gardens in the compound of the houses and they were for growing vegetables or fruits, and flowers. Timber was extensively collected from Kalapet region. It is in Kalapet that plantation of timber producing trees were


done so that there was no shortage of the much needed timber for various purposes. Timber was used for building residential houses, furniture, window frames, doors, and gates for the French houses. Pondicherrians also used wooden furniture, doors and window frames. The beauty of the Pondicherrian furniture was that it was ornately carved depicting various motifs or carvings. Intricate carvings are seen in the houses of the very rich landlords and of higher caste Pondicherrians. Pondicherrians used a low seat used for sitting or as a table for eating food served on plantain leaf, were essentially made of wood. Woodwork and woodcraft, toys were one of the handicrafts that the people of Pondichéry knew about.

The motive for colonisation varied and early promoters of North American settlement were largely absentee colonizers. National advantage, religion, humanitarianism, greed for wealth, slaves and ambition were the prime motive for colonisation. Richard Whitbourne's Discourse and Discovery of New expressed the official reason of colonisation to be trade in fish available from the seas and turn Natives into Christian's in order to lead them to their salvation.41

41 J. M. Burnsted, The Peoples Of Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 52
French slave trade and their dealing in Goa especially can be inferred from the catalogues and correspondence of the Camotins of Goa. The Mhamay Camotin\textsuperscript{42} seemed to have been working as courtiers of the French in Goa from 1764. These Camotins were taking care of expenses of French envoys, as they were bankers issuing Bills of Exchange on Poona, Bombay, and Surat.\textsuperscript{43} French made sure that the slave trade continued as auction of the slaves according to their age, gender and race were also done. It was done in such a way that a child and mother should not be separated and be sold together-a part of humanitarian attitude is seen. Able-bodied males especially blacks and locals of Malabar were taken as slaves and transported to Molucuss for plantation work and other manual work.

Slavery existed in the colony and was regulated by the Code Noir of 1685 in Québec, Trois Rivières, Louisbourg and Detroit. The chief slave owners were the religious communities and military

\textsuperscript{42}Camotin was the Portuguese corruption of native Kamat, a family name. The Kamat families were Brahmin by caste and chiefly rice cultivators. The additional surname, "Mhamay" was adopted by the Camotins from their family deity, Mhamaya, meaning the great love information taken from Jeannette Pinto's article "The Slave Trade In The Indian Ocean: The French Experience" paper presented in International Seminar on Indo-French Relations and Indian Independence 22-26 September, 1997, p.15 Tétonio de Sousa has done a lot of work in this regard.

\textsuperscript{43}ibid., p. 15
officers, civil administrators and the bourgeois merchants. In 1709 regulations were issued for domestic slavery by the Intendant keeping in mind the code. The slaves were encouraged to marry, have family units and they were not broken. Children of slaves had rudimentary education and everyone was instructed in the Catholic religion. They had the right to take their masters or mistress to court but no one did so probably out of fear.

In Pondichéry the French maintained a black regiment in the army. The labour especially in French colonies were done by slaves captures as prisoners of war or bought in the market. Heavy traffic in slave trade continued from Pondichéry to various places by the French. It was especially during the time of Governor Dumas that the slave trade increased, as he had to support the Governor of Bourbon in this regard. When Lenoir became the Governor of Pondichéry from 1721-1735 he had a free hand to buy and sell slaves. Earlier he had a nefarious trade with Dumas in slaves. He used to come from Ile Bourbon (Isle de la Réunion) and Ile de France (Mauritius) where he was the Governor in the pretext of settling disputes on confidential matters regarding the constitution with the Governor of Pondichéry Dumas. In reality he came to buy slave girls and boys aged between eight and twenty-five.\footnote{Francis Antony Cyril, \textit{Gazetteer of India}, Vol. I, pg. 167} These
slaves were bought and bound to Ile de France and Ile Bourbon where they constituted the bulk of labour force. They worked in the coffee, tea, indigo, jute and cotton plantations. Buying slaves from Pondichéry was cheap as they were available and also during the famines or calamity time when acute food shortage takes place, people offered themselves as slaves to be taken so that they get to eat something. Human cargo was an important item of trade that continued and with poverty it increased.

The Economic theory in sixteenth century France on the eve of colonization of New France has been defined by economists as Bullionist and populationist. Economic power was equated with the accumulation of gold and silver. This accumulation was especially through a favourable balance of trade with Spain that had grown rich on the precious metal that was available in Central and South America. Historian on New France like Cornelius John Jaenen points out that there was also the conviction that the worlds population like the amount of bullion, was fixed, therefore one nation's increase in population meant an increase in the demographic strength of its potential competitors.

In the mid seventeenth century to this economic theory were added the concept that were protectionist, nationalist and state
interventionist. Jean-Baptist Colbert in 1660's encouraged the French metropolitan enterprise for commerce and industries through state subsidies, the granting of monopolies and high protective tariffs against foreign imports. The Colbertian system turned out to be very nationalistic, therefore found favour in the eyes of French monarch Louis XIV. This system was designed to enhance the power and prestige of France in the international zone and at the same time self-sufficient domestic situation was created for her. Colonies were viewed as producers of primary resources, raw materials for metropolitan manufacture, and as markets for the manufactured goods of the mother country France.

These economic theories and practices, and state policies, were eventually called mercantilist. Mercantilism was never a coherent and well-defined policy as pointed out by eminent historian Cornelius J. Jaenen, and "appears to have existed largely in the minds of historians and economists attempting to bring some coherent order to their understanding of the colonial period." Nevertheless the government in the pursuit of short-term fiscal needs adopted a general set of principles that was not always strictly

45 Cornelius J. Jaenen, *New France to 1760*, p. 23
46 ibid., p. 23
observed by them. This characterized the relationship of the European colonising powers, like France, England, or Spain their overseas possessions and trade areas. European powers tried to impose a very closed system of imperial nature by forbidding their colonies to trade with foreigners, discouraging any colonial manufacturing, and requiring trade to be carried on metropolitan ships manned by metropolitan crews. It is very clearly seen that French business interests came to support most of these policies when the council of commerce was organised by them in 1700.

New France did not fit well into the mercantilist concept for a number of reasons. The resources of New France, or staples as economist Harold Innis called them, fish and furs initially, did not require a largely number of European producers or investors in the colony. Moreover fish required no manufacturing other than time for preserving and drying the slated fish, and furs stimulated the Paris hat-making industry and little else. A limited and small colonial population meant a very restricted market for French manufactures. Finally, its natural markets seemed to be the Antilles and New

48 Cornelius J. Jaenen, New France to 1760, p. 23
England and these were theoretically out of bounds according to mercantilist dogma.  

In Pontchartrain’s instruction as Minister of Marine to the Intendant at Québec in 1708, the mercantile theory was clarified and followed by him as “In general, it is not proper for manufacturing to establish itself in that country because that would only be done to the detriment of those manufactures in France; rather one must proceed so that the raw materials of Canada pass to France to be manufactured. That must be the general practice, nevertheless, especially for the needs of the poor people.” Were there any exceptions to the general practice and if so what deviations from the dogma?

It was under Pontchartrain’s directive and initiative that mercantilism as a concept came about with regard to trade and trading affairs. Colbertism is the other world given for this sort of trade that continued during this time in the seventeenth century. France gained from this sort of enterprise that was made private entrepreneurs along with the state as such to be more involvement from the private enterprising merchants could take place. The

50 Cornelius J. Janene, New France to 1760, p. 23

involvement of state in trade was an important directive towards stability of trade.

Along with him was Cardinal Richelieu who was responsible for the forward march of traders to build up stations and dockyards in relations with the trading goods. Depots to store goods of any dry kind and warehouses along the dockyard were created to facilitate the traders in keeping goods at safe conditions. The slaves or the labourers did unloading and loading.

The Company of One Hundred Associates never overcame the effects of the English occupation of Québec between 1629 and 1632. By the early 1640s it stood on the verge of bankruptcy, heavily in debt and unable to supply the funds needed to maintain and to defend the colony. The leading businessmen came together and formed Habitants' Company and they got the rights of ownership over all of France and the Company of One Hundred Associates ceded to the habitants the fur monopoly. The Habitants' Company had to pay the costs of Canada's administration. This included payments to the governor and the military officers for the maintenance of forts and garrisons, the upkeep of the clergy, and the responsibility of bringing twenty male and female settlers to the colony each year.
In 1645, a decade after Champlain’s death, the French colony in the valley of the St. Lawrence contained six hundred residents and a few hundred engagés. Clerical intervention in the 1630’s had greatly increased the population, but it still remained smaller than that of a single large Iroquoian village. This slow growth is puzzling when one considers the advantages of emigrating from France. Landless peasants or workers settling in Canada could obtain all the land they wished; moreover, they could enjoy privileges denied their class in France and avoid paying royal taxes.

Nevertheless, emigration from France to New France was unpopular. No doubt France’s domestic problems—the civil war and religious strife of the 1630s and 1640s—had prevented some from leaving. Certainly, the state provided little encouragement. Protestants had little incentive to establish themselves in the colony, since after 1627 neither Protestant worship nor teaching was permitted in Canada by the terms of the Hundred Associates’ charter.

The obvious discomfort of emigrating also discouraged many to take a chance as first the would-be colonists faced the dangers of crossing the North Atlantic, a voyage that took anywhere from three weeks to more than three months. On these voyages food supplies sometimes ran out and if headwinds continued too long then scurvy
took its toll. If fewer than ten percent of the ship's company died during a crossing the captain considered the voyage most successful. The voyages were always filled with terror but the survivors anticipated the thrill of beginning a new and better chapter of their life.

The peasants and artisans who arrived safely faced the challenge of clearing the virgin forest. At best, a very capable man could clear one hectare in a year. Much of this difficult work had to be performed in the summer months, when the black flies and mosquito made life intolerable. Winter was too harsh for any outdoor work as such all work of clearing and storing wood for fire had to be done during the summer time itself. On top of the hardships of crossing the north Atlantic and the difficulties of clearing land, the new arrivals faced the danger of Iroquois raids, which resumed in earnest in the 1640s. Every male capable of bearing arms and many women had to be ready at all times to fight for their lives.

There was heavy flow of emigrants despite this hardship as they did leave France in the 1630s and 1640s in the hundreds. They left for the French Antilles, for the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe in particular, where, despite warfare with fur trade, tobacco and cotton required a great deal of unskilled labour. Within a decade the total white population of the French Antilles was
estimated at seven thousand. Emigrants from France saw little economic opportunity in New France in the mid-1640's and this is the real reason for its small population.

The fur trade had made the colony. New France depended upon the thousands of Algonquians and Huron, who hunted, trapped, prepared the beaver pelts, and carried those hundreds of kilometres to Québec. Within a generation France had advanced a thousand kilometres into the interior, establishing a firm trading alliance with the Huron's, But in early 1649 it was doubtful whether New France with a resident population of barely one thousand, could survive in the face of determined Iroquois attacks.

With the Company and Crown sponsoring settlements trade developed leading to conflicts and wars among the merchants and the First Nations. It was the cod fishing that was the most profitable trade during the fifteenth century. When private enterprise as represented by the Company of New France (1635-63) failed to populate the colony, the Crown sponsored settlement. The Crown sponsored settlement witnessed enthusiastic groups coming but only the survivors from the perils of long voyage and harsh weather could survive in Québec.
The First nation civilisation underwent profound change with the coming of the French into their interior regions. The fleets of ships that came brought about the revolution in the lives of first nations. Information regarding the First nations was written not by them but by the missionaries who had close contact with them. The letters of missionaries to Paris and France dealt in detail about the way in which the first nations perceived things. The tools of the Frenchmen were looked at in awe, as the end result of the tools was remarkable. For the Iroquoians of the Great Lakes iron implements were very useful. The French metals and tools were considered of great value to the First Nations as they could skin and cut open many animal skins at a faster rate. The steel axe that the European traders had brought earlier lightened the labour of gathering firewood. The copper cooking pots of the French were not fragile like the First Nations pottery vessels, birch bark kettles and perishable wooden boxes. For cutting meat and wood, durable steel knives performed much better than those of stone.

The Europeans into the First Nations areas also brought steel awls and needles to stitch hides. They had needles made of various kinds of fish bone. This had a tendency to break very easily and getting a sharp bone, as needle was very difficult. This was a big relief as it made them work with the hides more easily. Steel was in use among the First Nations and other such natives as early as


sixteenth century. Even without meeting the Europeans their goods were being traded into the interior regions. Replacement of stone tools to brass was a revolution for them. Axe blades made of brass head and spear made of brass

During the French regime the structure of emerging New France (Canadian) society differed from that of other North American colonies. Assimilation of cultures took place to facilitate each other's lives. In the case of Pondichéry from a trading colony became the diplomatic headquarters of Deccan under François Martins Governorship. The French under the Company rule in Pondichéry acquired lands with the help of the Indian nobility. The Pondichéry region consisted of communes of Pondichéry, Mudaliyarpettai and Ariyankuppam. Parts of Ozhukarai, Villiyanur, Nettappakkam and Mannadipattu were also smaller parts included.

The eleven enclaves are divided thus:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>North</th>
<th>1. Kalapet Enclave</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Alankuppam Enclave</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Both belong to the Mannadipattu Commune)</td>
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<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>1. Suttukanni Enclave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Sorapattu Enclave</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Mannadipattumain Enclave</td>
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<tr>
<td>(These three belong to the Mannadipattu Commune)</td>
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From north to south the above mentioned eleven enclaves covers the area of Pondichéry in a semi circle. The whole area enjoys a natural boundary of Bay of Bengal on the east and by the Arcot District on the south. When the British captured Arcot the French were very cautious about their security in French fort of Pondichéry. The total area of Pondichéry is 290 square kilometres much smaller than Québec. French policy of assimilation and slow change made the Pondicherrians go hand in hand with all the French policies and rules thrust on them.

In order to understand the ways in which French were able to stick on to Pondichéry and Québec for a long time is the missionary

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Enclave Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>6. Nettappakkam Enclave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Manakuppam Enclave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Nettappakkam belong to Nettappakkam Commune and Manakuppam to Villiyanur Commune)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SouthWest</td>
<td>8. Karaiyamputtur Enclave</td>
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<td></td>
<td>9. Manamedu Enclave</td>
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<td></td>
<td>10. Kaduvanur Enclave</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(These three belong to the Bahur Commune)</td>
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<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>11. Bahur main Enclave</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(This belonged to the Bahur Commune)</td>
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zeal and the trade relation that was developed. French religious orders came to the colony to convert the Indians to Christianity and to assimilate them into French life. The first French Missionaries assigned the task were the Récollets who were a branch of the Franciscan Friars, community without a rich financial base. Three Récollet's priests and a lay brother arrived at Quebec in 1615. Five years later they opened a monastery at Notre-Dame des Anges, several kilometres from Québec. The Récollets initially hoped that their seminary would train a native clergy for the colony, but they found the Indians had no desire to be made into Frenchmen. The seminary soon closed for lack of students and funds.

In an attempt to solve their financial problems the Récollets sought to collaborate with the Society of Jesus, a wealthy and powerful order founded by Ignatius Loyola a century earlier. From 1625 to 1629 the Jesuits assisted the Récollets in establishing missions in New France. This highly disciplined order, renowned for its ability to attract able and often well-born candidates, was also known for its willingness to take on the most dangerous tasks. Jesuits had already served in the front lines of the Roman Catholic Church's campaign to reclaim Protestant Europe. These highly educated men would write some of the best contemporary descriptions of New France in their Relations or reports back to France.
After the English occupation of New France, Cardinal Richelieu gave the Jesuits a monopoly of the Canadian mission field. Their work now began in earnest. Yet when they began a school for Indian children they encountered the same problems as the Récollets. Simply enlisting native students was difficult. Parents refused to let their children go, and finally the priest had to give presents to the parents in order to gain students for the seminary. Of these, many ran away and others became ill and died. The death increased the parents' resistance to their children's schooling, as did the French custom of physically punishing children; this practice was foreign to the Indian's methods of childbearing. Religious observances and beliefs generated systems of rules for personal and social behaviour. Each individual had the potential to acquire spiritual power; as such the individual was valued and respected by the First Nations. Children were rarely punished or forced to follow what their parents or elders did. Teaching took place in an indirect way like tales from grandparents told on cold nights when everyone came together to sit round the fire.

When Ursuline nuns arrived in the colony in 1639 they came with the specific purpose of instruction Indian girls. Over the next thirty years the nuns succeeded in teaching a few girls to read and write. It was difficult work. In 1668 Marie de l'Incarnation, foundress
of the Ursuline order in New France wrote that it was very difficult to civilise the Indian girls.

The Jesuit work with the Algonquians is remarkable as they learned the language, introduced schools and provided medical care to the Indians. To fight against disease like smallpox and measles the Indians started accepting the treatment by the nuns. They started to leave their invalid and sick in the care of the nuns who took care to bring them back to normal health. This was a change as the natives were also by nature very considerate in taking care of their sick and invalid ones. They protected him or her from all sort of attack and did not leave them to die in case of war also.

The Jesuits like the Récollets believed that a nomadic life was against the Christian morals and thereby propagated settled life-giving space for religion to come in. Settled life promoted a sort of order in life and channelised life towards a goal was their ideology. An agricultural background would provide a source to rely on religion. This theory that god settles along with the settlers and not with those who travel around is ridiculous as there would not have been any voyages and expeditions had this been the cause. When the whole concept of Omnipotence is there this seems to be ridiculous that settled life is a way of Christian ideology. Insistence of a regular structured and settled life provided for a better control by
the church and the clergy on the settlers who were Christians is the whole concept behind the settlement concept.

The Jesuits felt that the Algonquians would accept Christianity better as they were agriculturists as such lived a more settled life. In order to help their work the Jesuits hired workmen to come and clear farmland on the cliff of Cap aux Diamants seven kilometres above Québec where Jacques Cartier had mined for diamonds and he got only few white stones which were mistaken for diamonds, and whereby small villages were constructed. On these villages the French colonists and the converted First Nations were to be settled thus forming a pattern whereby rule could be possible and also overseeing their activities. Upon receiving the fortune of the Noël Brulart de Sillery, formerly a minister and ambassador of the kind, the Jesuits gave the name St. Joseph de Sillery to the reserve of approximately thirty-five hectares.

The missionaries were not mere instrument of conversion but very equally humane in their approach towards the First Nation and the Pondicherrians. There were cases where the missionaries interfered with the politics and the internal matters of these two colonies causing trouble to them and the people. In the case of New France they showed a keen interest in trade and establishing trading
relationship with the First Nations. In Pondichéry however with regard to trade the missionaries did not interfere.