

Inland Expansion

The 16th Century

Early in the 16th century the St Lawrence valley was occupied by two agricultural Iroquoian-speaking groups collectively known as the St Lawrence Iroquoians (pl 33). On the Island of Montréal the heavily fortified village of Hochelaga, with about 50 longhouses and perhaps 1500 people, controlled the resources of the St Lawrence from the mouth of the Ottawa River to the entrance of Lac Saint-Pierre. Downstream from Hochelaga, on the north side of the river between Portneuf and Cap Tourmente, were seven small, apparently unfortified villages, with a total population of about 3 000 people. Jacques Cartier called this area 'the province of Canada' after the local Iroquoian word for 'village.' The inhabitants of Canada, termed Stadaconans by modern writers after their best-known village, ranged from Lac Saint-Pierre to the mouth of the Saguenay River and made fishing expeditions to the Gaspé and along the north shore of the lower St Lawrence. Politically these villages seem to have been independent, although Cartier implied that the headman of Stadacona, Donnacona, exercised some influence in the four villages downstream from his, and that all the St Lawrence villagers were 'subjects' of the Hochelagans.

When Cartier arrived in the 1530s the Hochelagans and Stadaconans were at peace with each other. Both groups, however, were at war with other neighbours, the Hochelagans with the Agojuda (*mauvaise gens*), whose warriors came from the west, and the Stadaconans with the Toudaman who lived to the south of Stadacona. The Stadaconans also indicated that warring groups lived in the interior, up the Richelieu River.

South of the Canadian Shield in south-central Ontario lived the Huron-Petun. Southwest of them were the Neutral, and south of Lake Ontario the five Iroquois tribes (pl 33). All were primarily agriculturalists living in substantial villages, the largest of which were fortified (pl 12). All spoke Iroquoian dialects. The Ontario groups may have comprised some 60 000 people and those south of the lake 25 000. Well before Cartier's arrival the Huron-Petun were engaged in wars with the St Lawrence Iroquoians and probably also with the New York Iroquois, while the Neutral were warring with agricultural Algonquian groups in southwestern Ontario and Michigan. Through the 15th and 16th centuries these warring groups were moving further from each other; clusters of villages separated by vast no-man's-lands used as hunting territories were making their appearance.

In the Canadian Shield north of the Iroquoian groups were Algonquian bands that depended on fishing (spring to autumn) and hunting (winter) and traded with the Ontario Iroquoians. Along the north shore of the Gulf of St Lawrence from the mouth of the Saguenay River to the Strait of Belle Isle small Montagnais bands fished and hunted for sea mammals in summer and fall, and hunted caribou in the interior in winter. On the south shore, from Chaleur Bay eastward to the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, Micmac bands depended on fish and seals from spring to fall and on moose and caribou in winter.

Recorded European contact with the natives around the Gulf of St Lawrence began in 1534 with the first voyage of Jacques Cartier. As elsewhere the natives greeted the newcomers enthusiastically and attempted to barter what they had for whatever the Europeans were willing to give. Cartier and his men, frightened by the number of Micmac they saw, were more apprehensive. They had come to find a route to the Orient, not to trade, and eventually gave gifts and traded to establish friendly relations. Later Cartier kidnapped two Stadaconans, the sons of the headman Donnacona, at the Gaspé, hoping they would eventually act as guides.

On his second voyage a year later Cartier was obsessed with the search for precious metals and a route to the Orient. The Stadaconans, among whom he landed, wanted to establish a formal alliance, including an exchange of people. In return they offered to guide Cartier to Hochelaga. Undoubtedly the Stadaconans were impressed by French arms, and probably thought an alliance would bring prestige among the local villages and some measure of pre-eminence over the Hochelagans. Cartier showed no interest in an alliance, however, and his visit to the Hochelagans, without Stadaconan guides, created distrust between him and the Stadaconans that no amount of gift giving could overcome. He and his men overwintered near the Stadaconans (pl 33), and suffered terribly; 25 men died of scurvy before natives told Cartier of a cure. In the spring the Stadaconans began to fuel Cartier's obsession with precious minerals with stories of a wealthy kingdom of Saguenay – stories probably designed to rid the Stadaconans of a heavily armed menace in their midst that could not be bound by an alliance. If so, their plan miscarried; Cartier kidnapped Donnacona, his two sons, and seven others so they could repeat their stories to King François I. None of these captives returned to the St Lawrence but their tales took root at the French court and circulated as far as Spain and Portugal.

War between France and Spain (1536–8) delayed another expedition until 1541. This time Cartier was to found a colony, find a way through the Lachine rapids, and make contact with the Kingdom of Saguenay. Cartier established a fortified base upstream from the troublesome Stadaconans, but by winter met organized resistance from all the neighbouring villages. By spring prospects seemed hopeless, and Cartier departed with a load of gold and diamonds that turned out to be pyrites and quartz. His vice-regal superior in the colonization venture, Jean-François de La Rocque de Roberval, arrived later that year but had no more success. Canada acquired a dismal image in France. Its climate was hard, its impoverished, hostile natives had nothing worthwhile to trade. If there were a sea to the west, there was no easy way to get there. French colonizing efforts turned to Brazil (1555) and Florida (1562 and 1564). All Huguenot ventures, these colonies were soon destroyed by Portugal and Spain. In France Catholic-Huguenot rivalry prevented further colonizing ventures until the last quarter of the century.

Truce with the Huguenots in 1577 and the first profitable trickle of fur from the Gulf of St Lawrence seem to have revived royal interest in Canada. In that year Henry III gave Troilus de La Roche de Mesgouez, a Breton, a comprehensive grant to establish a colony and exploit new lands. La Roche's grant and his connections with shipowners of St Malo probably led to the first voyages specifically for fur trading. In 1581 and 1582 a small Breton ship made a profitable voyage to the Gulf. In 1583 three ships from St Malo traded at the Lachine rapids, while a ship from Le Havre, financed by merchants from Rouen, traded between Cape Breton and the Penobscot River. The attraction of Canada as a source of furs was increased fortuitously in 1583 when the Swedes captured Narva, the Baltic port through which the Russians had exported furs. Five ships were outfitted from St Malo in 1584, ten in 1585. In 1588 Jacques Noël, a nephew of Cartier, obtained a monopoly of the Canadian trade in return for a promise to renew the colony, but pressures from other merchants forced the king to rescind the monopoly and Noël to shelve plans for the colony.

By the end of the 16th century the French court had come to realize that a successful fur trade required a permanent base in Canada. In 1599 Henry IV awarded Pierre de Chauvin de Tonnetuit, a Huguenot, a trading monopoly, ordering him to 'live in the

country and build a stronghold.' Already familiar with the Canadian cod and fur trades, Chauvin maintained a trading post at Tadoussac at the mouth of the Saguenay River over the winter of 1600–1. After two years of successful trading Chauvin died and was briefly succeeded by Aymar de Chaste who, ordered by Henry IV to determine whether the St Lawrence valley was suitable for settlement, organized the first geographical survey of the St Lawrence since Cartier. In 1603 this survey was carried out by Samuel de Champlain.

Champlain's survey disclosed an attractive, uninhabited valley. At various places along the river he was shown grassy areas where the villages of the St Lawrence Iroquoians had stood. Later, during a visit to the Island of Montréal, Champlain observed 60 arpents (about 20 ha) of grassland along the St Pierre River that were 'formerly cultivated fields.' Contemporary writers were certain this was the site of Hochelaga. Of the Hochelagans, Stadaconans, and the other St Lawrence Iroquoians there was no trace. Early 17th century opinion was that they were destroyed by warfare late in the 16th century. Algonquian informants blamed the Huron for the destruction of Hochelaga. Marc Lescarbot writing in 1610 and the Récollet Denis Jamet writing in 1615 both blamed the Iroquois (pl 33).

Trade and Settlement along the St Lawrence, 1600–1630

In 1603 Pierre Du Gua de Monts took over de Chaste's monopoly. Discouraged by the winters at Tadoussac, he decided to begin a colony in Acadia while continuing to trade on the St Lawrence. In 1607 his monopoly was rescinded, and on the urging of Champlain Du Gua switched his colonizing efforts to the St Lawrence in 1608 (pl 35). Champlain was to build a post and explore, while pursuing the fur trade. Québec, the site Champlain chose for a post, commanded the river, was near fertile land for an agricultural colony, and was within range of friendly natives accustomed to trading. Champlain was made to understand by the natives that security at Québec, trade, and inland exploration required French participation in native wars. When a *habitation* was erected at Québec, he accompanied a Montagnais-Algonquin-Huron war party up the Richelieu valley to Lake Champlain to make a raid on the Mohawk. For Champlain the raid was an opportunity to explore and to cement an alliance, promised by Henry IV to the Montagnais in 1602, and for his native companions it was proof of French good will. For the Mohawk it marked the beginning of French interference in their affairs. In 1610 Champlain participated in a second battle and acquired a special status with his native allies; they regarded other traders as 'women, who wish to make war only on our beavers.' The Algonquin and Huron were willing to receive a French boy (probably Étienne Brûlé) in exchange for a Huron boy (Savignon), that each learn the other's customs and languages, a gesture that furthered the alliance.

Champlain had proved himself to his allies, but the trade promised by the Huron had not developed. In 1613 he tried to explore the Ottawa River route to the Huron without native support and was turned back by the Kichesipirini, a group of Ottawa-valley Algonquins, who probably sought to protect their own trade with the French. Only the promise of aid on yet another raid against the Iroquois finally enabled Champlain, Brûlé, 13 soldiers, and the Récollet priest Joseph Le Caron, to travel to the Huron country in 1615 (pl 36). From there Champlain, his soldiers, and 500 Huron set out to attack the Oneida (or Onondaga) while Brûlé was sent to bring warriors from the Susquehannock, Huron allies in Virginia. A major village was attacked but not taken and Champlain was wounded, but he had achieved his main objectives: consolidating the French-Huron alliance, bringing the Huron into the fur trade, establishing contact with the Nipissing, Ottawa, and Petun, and obtaining an impression of the natives and the geography of the eastern Great Lakes.

Champlain's supposition that the Huron would play an increasing role in the fur trade proved to be correct. Their well-developed trade connections with the Neutral and Petun and with Algonquian

bands to the north provided a framework for the collection of furs and the distribution of French trade goods throughout the eastern Great Lakes. By the early 1620s the Huron displaced the Ottawa Algonquins as major suppliers of French goods to the interior groups. The Algonquin responded by imposing higher tolls on Huron or Nipissing traders who passed down the Ottawa (pl 35). As Huron trade with their neighbours grew, so did Huron control of it. Although the French tried to contact other groups, no Neutral, Petun, Ottawa, or Ojibwa ever travelled to the St Lawrence and by the late 1620s no French traders operated west of the Lachine rapids.

To the south on the upper Hudson River regular Dutch trade began in 1614 with the local Algonquian Mahican and expanded to the Mohawk. By the early 1620s the Dutch were trying to reach Algonquian groups north of the St Lawrence through the Mahican, a dangerous relationship in Mohawk eyes. In order to cover their northern frontier the Mohawk made peace with the French and their Algonquian allies in 1624, and then attacked the Mahican, defeating a Dutch-Mahican force in 1626 and driving the Mahican from Fort Orange in 1628. With access to the Dutch secured, the Mohawk turned against their traditional northern enemies.

By the mid 1620s the annual French fur trade in the St Lawrence valley amounted to 12 000–15 000 beaver, but there were only about 20 permanent settlers at Québec. Few natives had been converted to Christianity. The Jesuits, better manned, organized, and financed than the Récollets, entered the missionary enterprise in 1625, and the two orders joined in complaints about the lamentable state of the colony. In 1627 Cardinal Richelieu, now responsible for the colonies and commerce of France, created the large, well-financed Compagnie des Cent-Associés which, in return for a trading monopoly, was charged to bring 4 000 settlers to Canada in 15 years and promote native missions. The next year the company's first expedition – 4 ships and 400 colonists – was captured by a British force commissioned by Charles I and financed by a London merchant company that also intended to trade in and colonize the St Lawrence valley. Starved into submission, Champlain capitulated the following year. For three years, until the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (1632) restored Canada to France, an Anglo-Scottish trading company maintained some 200 men at Québec and operated the St Lawrence trade at considerable profit.

The Iroquois Wars and the Depopulation of Southern Ontario, 1630–1653

After France regained Canada, agricultural settlement spread slowly along the river near Québec and new posts were established at Trois-Rivières in 1634 and at Montréal and Fort Richelieu (at the mouth of the Richelieu) in 1642. Although the Mohawk had not bothered Québec, they attacked these new settlements, which they regarded as within their sphere of influence, and increased attacks on anyone travelling along the upper St Lawrence. As a result Fort Richelieu had to be abandoned in 1645.

The missionary enterprise, relaunched with the full zeal of the Counter-Reformation, was now in the hands of the Jesuits. Richelieu had prohibited the return of the Récollets. Only the Jesuits, their servants, and occasionally soldiers sent to protect them would be allowed in the interior. The Compagnie des Cent-Associés would concentrate on colonization and trade at the St Lawrence posts, Jesuit missions in the interior would function without secular interference, while native traders would control the interior trade. Such was official French policy, and it would not change appreciably until 1681.

The Jesuits' first permanent mission was established in 1634 among the western Huron (Attignawantan). In 1639, under the guidance of Father Jérôme Lalemant, Sainte-Marie-among-the-Hurons was built as a central mission (pl 34). From it missionaries were assigned as parish priests to the principal Huron villages, in some of which churches were eventually built to serve fledgling Christian communities. As the number of Jesuits increased, other missions were opened to non-Huron groups. Unlike the Récollets, the Jesuits sought to replace only those customs they judged to be incompatible with Christianity.

Between 1634 and 1640 epidemic diseases devastated the Huron and neighbouring groups (pl 35). The French, and particularly the Jesuits, were blamed as carriers or accused of deliberately spreading the diseases. Some Huron wanted to kill the priests and sever relations with the French; others argued that French trade and the French alliance were necessary to keep off the Iroquois. The latter faction increasingly drew their strength from their relations with the Jesuits who began to make real progress in native conversions in the early 1640s.

In the 1630s there were sporadic Iroquois raids (usually by the Onondaga and Seneca) into Huronia, while the Mohawk and Oneida raided along the route between the lower Ottawa River and Trois-Rivières. The main aims of these raids seem to have been to provide an opportunity for a warrior to prove himself or to avenge an earlier raid. Usually a few people were killed, some were captured, and occasionally furs and trade goods were taken, but the Huron-French fur trade continued through the 1630s. The Huron also made raids on the Iroquois but apparently less frequently.

By the late 1630s the Mohawk were obtaining muskets from illegal Dutch traders and also from English traders on the Connecticut River. In 1639 the Dutch West India Company, which had obeyed Dutch strictures against the sale of arms, lost its monopoly. The illegal sale of muskets escalated, and in 1641 the Dutch, alarmed over the arming of the Mohawk, reissued an ordinance prohibiting such sales. As soon as the Mohawk saw their supply of arms dry up, they sought to negotiate a peace with the French, a peace they made contingent on obtaining muskets and excluding native allies of the French from the negotiations. As the French did not trade arms even to their allies, they could not agree to these demands; however, when Governor Charles Huault de Montmagny realized that some of the Mohawk were armed, he decided to sell muskets to baptized native allies. The collapse of the peace talks and the founding of Montréal and Fort Richelieu resulted in a flurry of Mohawk attacks that closed the trade routes to the St Lawrence and began the dispersal of the Onontchataronon and the Ottawa-valley Algonquins. Meanwhile the Dutch, fearing problems with the Esopus tribe on the Hudson River and realizing that they were unlikely to trade with any native groups beyond the Mohawk, concluded a treaty with the Mohawk in 1643. For a time the Mohawk traded freely for Dutch muskets, of which they had at least 400 by 1644.

For the French and their allies the early 1640s were difficult years. Virtually every summer the western Iroquois raided Huronia and carried off captives. Mohawk harassment of native traders along the Ottawa River and upper St Lawrence effectively closed this route in some years. Few furs got to the St Lawrence from 1642 to 1644, and in 1645 the Compagnie des Cent-Associés faltered and turned over its monopoly to a company led by the prominent merchants of New France, the Communauté des Habitants. Huron response to Iroquois raids weakened; clearly the Iroquois were growing in power.

Faced with these developments Governor Montmagny resumed peace negotiations with the Mohawk, who were prepared to deal with the French because the Dutch had again officially prohibited the sale of muskets. The Mohawk considered a treaty with the French to be an opportunity to play off the two European powers against each other and to regain Mohawk captives taken by the French and their allies. They insisted on gaining or regaining hunting rights in the St Lawrence-Ottawa River area and on the right to make separate treaties with the native allies of the French. For their part the French thought they could retain their native alliance, stop the wars that were destroying trade, and draw the Mohawk into their orbit. A peace treaty between the French and Mohawk was concluded in 1645.

This treaty expanded the Ottawa-St Lawrence trade to a record 30 000 pounds of fur in 1645 and to more the following year. However, Algonquin resistance to Mohawk hunting parties north of the St Lawrence and opposition to the peace by the other Iroquois tribes were leading to renewed hostilities. Late in 1646 Father Isaac Jogues, the Jesuit priest who had come to open a mission to the Mohawk, was murdered. The peace was shattered.

In 1646-7 the Mohawk dispersed the remaining Ottawa River Algonquin, and the Seneca defeated the Aondironnon, a Neutral group. In 1647 the Huron did not come to trade, but they came in 1648, led by five chiefs with many warriors. Along the way they defeated an Iroquois war party. In their absence another Iroquois force struck eastern Huronia, destroying two villages and taking 700 captives. The same year the Dutch lifted their official ban on the sale of arms and sold 400 muskets to the Mohawk, apparently with the understanding that they would be used against the native allies of the French. In 1649 a well-armed force of 1 000 Iroquois attacked and dispersed the Huron and then the Petun. Following these successes the Iroquois dispersed the Nipissing and the Neutral. Most of the Iroquoian-speaking survivors of these attacks settled among, and were adopted by, their conquerors. About 600 Huron settled near Québec and another 500 to 1 000 Huron and Petun, joined by the Algonquian bands around Lake Huron, fled westward to settle around Green Bay and later along the south shore of Lake Superior (pls 35, 37). By 1653 southern Ontario was deserted.

The causes of the Iroquois wars have been much debated. Clearly the French and Dutch had settled among natives who belonged to opposing alliances. In order to secure their colony and their trade, the French supported their northern trading partners. The Dutch, who initially sided with the Mahican, were forced by the Mohawk into the southern alliance. Through the 1620s and 1630s both the Huron and Mohawk, the most powerful groups in their respective alliances, tried to consolidate their special positions, whereas the Europeans would have preferred to deal with all natives. In the late 1630s and through the 1640s the wars intensified as the Iroquois became increasingly aggressive. Some scholars have interpreted these events as an escalating war by the Iroquois to gain control over the hunting territories of their enemies to the north as their own lands were running short of beaver. Witnesses to these events, however, pointed out that native warfare was not for economic or territorial gain and that there was no decline of beaver in the Iroquois areas before the 1660s. They reported rather that the balance of traditional warfare had been upset by the Dutch trade in muskets, of which the Iroquois had at least 800 by 1648, and that the Iroquois seized this new technology to destroy their old enemies. Their ideal to unite all Iroquoian speakers into one people and only one land, reported by Father Jogues in 1643 and Father Paul Le Jeune in 1656, as well as their need to replace their depleted population seem to have been additional motives.

The weakness of the Huron and their allies is partly attributable to their inability to respond collectively to the rapidly escalating crisis of the late 1640s. The Neutral and Petun did not participate in the wars until it was too late. The Huron were badly divided between Christians and traditionalists, the latter having some Iroquois sympathies. The Huron almost always fought village by village rather than on a tribal or confederacy level as did the Iroquois in the late 1640s, and a considerable body of men were away trading each summer. Unable to act together, and lacking firearms and French military support, the Huron and their native allies were destroyed piecemeal and absorbed by the better armed and better organized Iroquois.

It is doubtful, as some have argued, that the Huron maintained their relations with the French because they had become economically dependent on European trade goods. Such goods made life easier and were desired, but in their absence the Huron economy would function. Knowledge of traditional ways had not been lost in less than a generation. Huron trade with the French continued because the Huron's only hope of survival as a distinct people lay within the French alliance. To kill or eject the Jesuits and sever the French trade would end the French alliance and leave the Huron exposed to the growing, Dutch-backed power of the Iroquois. The Huron hope for survival lay in obtaining firearms and military support from the French. Neither was forthcoming; in the end the French alliance proved to be militarily ineffectual.

The Re-Establishment of Trade, 1654-1666

The dispersal of native groups allied to the French was disastrous for the St Lawrence fur trade and for the tiny colony that depended

on it. By 1651–2 even the trade of the St Maurice and Saguenay valleys had been reduced to a trickle. In 1653, with the colony and the debt-ridden Communauté des Habitants in despair, the western Iroquois, led by the Onondaga, arrived at Montréal and the Mohawk at Trois-Rivières to negotiate peace and the transfer of the Huron refugees near Québec. The Iroquois as a whole favoured peace in the hope they could play off the Dutch and French against each other, but the Onondaga wanted trade with the French to offset growing Mohawk domination of the confederacy, an aim resented and opposed by the Mohawk.

Desperate for peace, the French agreed to open a mission and trading post among the Onondaga and tried to convince the reluctant Huron to join their former enemies. Without Huron agreement a shaky peace was concluded. The western Iroquois, their northern flank secured, now attacked and, after a bitter war, defeated, dispersed, and later (1680s) assimilated the Erie. In 1656, as this war wound down, the Jesuits began a mission that also served as a trading post and had a small garrison at Sainte-Marie-de-Gannentaha among the Onondaga. At the same time the struggle continued for the remnant Huron, whom the Iroquois wanted to assimilate and the French were now prepared to abandon, an obstacle to the Iroquois peace. While the Onondaga and Oneida pressured the Huron to join them, the Mohawk lost patience and attacked, killing some Huron and capturing others. Eventually about 400 Huron were persuaded to go, the Attignawantan to the Mohawk and the Arendahronon to the Onondaga. Along the way some of the Arendahronon men were murdered. The Huron who stayed behind, most of them Attigeneenongnahac, became the ancestors of the contemporary Huron at Lorette. Peace between the Iroquois and the French was collapsing as anti-French factions strengthened among the Iroquois and as the French decided against further appeasement. In March 1658 the complement of 53 Frenchmen at Sainte-Marie-de-Gannentaha fled to Québec after warnings by converts that an attack was imminent. The Iroquois wars resumed, spreading rapidly to the northwest and into the Ohio and St Lawrence valleys. In 1660 Dollard des Ormeaux, commander of the garrison at Montréal, and 16 men were killed at the Long Sault rapids on the Ottawa River; the Mohawk boasted that the French 'were not able to goe over a door to pissee' without being shot.

The fur trade resumed during the brief interlude of peace with the Iroquois. In 1654 about 120 Ottawa and Wyandot (Huron-Petun) arrived with a large supply of beaver for which they wanted muskets, shot, and powder (pl 37). Governor Jean de Lauson granted permission to Chouart des Groseilliers to return to the west with them. In 1656 Groseilliers was back on the St Lawrence with 50 fur-laden canoes, and a favourable assessment of the western Great Lakes for trade and missions (pl 36). In 1657 about 90 canoes arrived, but with the renewal of the Iroquois wars only nine canoes came to Montréal from the west in 1658 and only six in 1659. The Mississauga, who came in 1659, made it clear that they wanted French escorts. Although forbidden to do so, Pierre Esprit Radisson and Groseilliers departed with the Mississauga, returning the following year (1660) with 60 canoes and 300 native traders. Their voyage brought needed capital to the colony, but their furs were confiscated and Groseilliers was briefly imprisoned. For the next two years the Iroquois again blocked the St Lawrence from the interior.

Radisson and Groseilliers had returned with detailed knowledge of the western Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi valley. From the Cree they also learned about the rich fur country between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay. Smarting from their treatment in 1660 and unable to attract support in New France for a maritime trading venture into Hudson Bay to bypass the Iroquois blockade, they took their knowledge to Boston in 1662 and eventually to England, where they found willing backers for the voyages that would lead to the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Jesuits also recognized the importance of Radisson and Groseillier's discoveries, seeing an opportunity to rebuild their interior missions. In 1660 Father René Ménard departed with eight other Frenchmen and a load of trade goods to begin a mission at Chagouamigon (Saint-Esprit) among the refugee Wyandot, Ottawa, and Ojibwa (pl 37).

Although Father Ménard died on the journey and the men who returned in 1663 traded at a loss, the Jesuits were convinced that Chagouamigon could be a successful mission. When 400 Ottawa came to Montréal in 1665, Father Claude Allouez and six Frenchmen departed with them to continue Father Ménard's mission. Their success led to three other missions in the upper Great Lakes by 1668 (pl 38). Unlike the massive Huron and Onondaga missions that experience had shown to be costly and vulnerable, each of these was operated by a single priest with servants.

In 1663 Louis XIV assumed direct control of the administration of New France; its economic affairs became the responsibility of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's minister of finance. In 1665 Alexandre de Prouville de Tracy was dispatched from France with 600 soldiers of the Carignan-Salières regiment to 'exterminate' the Iroquois. Upon arrival the regiment built five forts from the mouth of the Richelieu River to Lake Champlain. Reeling from a smallpox epidemic in 1662 and defeats at the hands of the Saulteaux (1662) and Susquehannock (1661, 1662, 1663), the four western Iroquois tribes were not ready for war and negotiated a peace in December 1665. The Mohawk, now isolated, also treated for peace, but too late. In October 1666 de Tracy marched an army of 600 regular troops, 600 militiamen, and 100 Huron-Algonquin allies to the Mohawk country and devastated villages and crops. The five Iroquois tribes were opened to Jesuit missionaries.

French Inland Expansion, 1667–1696

Colbert planned to increase agricultural settlement and establish industries along the lower St Lawrence while relying on natives to bring furs there. Edicts were again issued prohibiting Frenchmen from travelling in the interior without permission and, with the Iroquois at peace, natives again arrived at Montréal. When they departed, however, French traders went with them, and servants accompanied the Jesuits (pl 38). An illegal French trade developed in the *pays d'en haut* encouraged by merchants in Montréal and beyond official power to stop. These illegal traders became known as *courreurs de bois* (those who later travelled legally were known as *voyageurs*). By the late 1660s perhaps 100 to 200 of them operated throughout the upper Great Lakes, trading out of temporary huts.

At this time the Great Lakes basin seethed with the tensions of recent warfare and population displacement. Some of the Nipissing and most of the Ojibwa returned to their homelands around Lake Huron at the conclusion of the Iroquois peace. In 1668 some Iroquois groups (Seneca, Cayuga, and Mohawk), faced with declining furs and game and pressed by the Susquehannock, began to settle the north shore of Lake Ontario; other Mohawk settled on the St Lawrence opposite Montréal. From these villages they hunted over most of southern Ontario and southern Québec, traded with the Ottawa and Ojibwa on Lake Huron and with various groups farther west, and took many of their furs to Albany, which the English had taken from the Dutch in 1664. West of Lake Michigan there were frequent hostilities between different refugee groups, between refugees and the resident Winnebago, and, as overcrowding pushed hunting territories westward, between these peoples and the Siouan-speaking Dakota. In 1670 war with the Dakota broke out along a broad front from Lake Superior to the Illinois River. In response, the Miami and Illinois moved towards the south end of Lake Michigan while some Ottawa and Wyandot, unsuccessful in their aggressions against the Dakota, fled to the mission of Saint-Ignace at the Strait of Mackinac, and other Ottawa reoccupied their original home on Manitoulin Island. Beyond all this, news reached New France in 1670 that the English had established trading posts on James Bay.

Forbidden by Colbert to establish posts and engage directly in the interior trade, the Intendant Jean Talon ordered instead a series of 'exploring' expeditions to claim new lands for France, discover minerals, and develop trading and military alliances with native groups. Between 1670 and 1673 these expeditions vastly expanded French knowledge of the interior (pl 36) but, because the English paid more for beaver, did not stop the erosion of trade or the illegal

activities of the *coureurs de bois*. Most of the Cree traded with the English at James Bay and, increasingly, the Ottawa and Ojibwa traded with the Iroquois, who traded with the English on the Hudson River. In New France the price of beaver was controlled and taxed (25%), and the one company allowed to export furs paid dearly for its monopoly. French trade goods were frequently more costly than the English; merchants in Montréal could hope to compete only by carrying trade directly to natives in the interior.

Even the governor, Louis de Buade de Frontenac, tried to circumvent Colbert's orders, building Fort Frontenac (1673) and Fort Niagara (1676) on Lake Ontario, both as bulwarks against Iroquois expansion as well as to gain personal control of the fur trade on the lower Great Lakes. Frontenac's favourite, René-Robert, Cavelier de La Salle, who was given permission to explore a route to the Gulf of Mexico, established a series of posts on the Illinois River and became an active fur trader. The Montréal merchants opposed to Frontenac increased their penetration of the upper Great Lakes, establishing major posts at the Strait of Mackinac and on Green Bay, trade relations with the Cree and Monsoni around Lake Superior, and posts as far north as Lakes Abitibi and Mistassini. In 1679 French officials estimated that some 200 and 300 *coureurs de bois* were trading in the *pays d'en haut*.

In 1681 Colbert finally reversed his policy of keeping French traders out of the west, legalizing the interior trade through a permit (*congé*) system, and pardoning the *coureurs de bois*. Up to 25 *congés* would be granted each year, but no one was to receive a *congé* for more than two years running. Each *congé* was a permit for one canoe-load of trade goods with three men per canoe. A *congé* could be sold by its holder, and it could be issued by the governor or the intendant to non-traders to raise money for charitable causes. A canoe-load of trade goods could be expected to produce two canoe-loads of beaver at 40 packs per canoe and, in favourable circumstances, a profit of 40–60%. In addition to the *congés* both the governor and the intendant issued private licences. Because licences were issued for canoe-loads, they stimulated the building of larger canoes. By the late 1680s freight canoe lengths had increased from 7 m to 8.5 m and cargo capacities from 700 kg to 1 000 kg. By the end of the French regime canoes of 10 m with cargo capacities of 3 000 kg were common. Manned by eight men these canoes could cover 110–160 km a day in good conditions.

The legalization of the interior fur trade led to a rapid increase in the number of fur posts. Such posts made it unnecessary for native traders to come to Montréal, and counteracted to some extent the competitive advantage of English prices. Fort Buade at Mackinac, Fort Saint-Louis on the Illinois River, and Fort La Baie on Green Bay became entrepôts where furs were assembled for shipment to Montréal. Entirely in native hands until the late 1660s, the carrying trade to the St Lawrence valley had become French.

The Iroquois peace on which the French fur trade depended came to an end in the early 1680s. Following English successes against the Abenaki in 1675 and the Susquehannock in 1677 (pl 44), the governor of New York, Edmond Andros, openly solicited the Iroquois to drive the French out of the lower Great Lakes. Cautious about renewing war with the French, the Iroquois expanded their hunting and trapping westward towards their old foes the Illinois, Miami, and Ottawa, who were allied with the French. Fighting soon broke out and the French, unprepared for war with the Iroquois, attempted to appease them with presents, while the Iroquois, sensing French weakness, attacked French traders, and, in 1682, pillaged the stores at Fort Frontenac. A small army assembled by Governor Joseph Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre reached Fort Frontenac in 1684 but was struck by influenza. Seizing the opportunity, the Iroquois forced La Barre to accept a humiliating agreement to withdraw French protection from the Illinois and Miami.

With its native alliances crumbling and its trade threatened in the north by the English on Hudson Bay and in the south by the Iroquois-English alliance, New France was in a perilous position. La Barre was replaced, and the new governor, Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville, arrived in 1685 with 500 Troupes de la Marine, about half of what he thought he needed to subdue the

Iroquois. Of the threats to New France, Denonville decided to tackle first the English posts on James Bay which, in the French view, were on lands claimed by France. In 1686 an overland expedition of 105 men led by Pierre de Troyes captured Moose Factory, Fort Rupert, and Fort Albany, and with them 50 000 prime beaver. The English recaptured Fort Albany in 1693, but would not regain their former position on Hudson Bay and James Bay until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. In the south Denonville with a French-native force of about 1 000 men burned the Seneca villages and their corn supplies in 1687. His men too ill and exhausted to proceed further, Denonville was forced to retreat. The Iroquois retaliated in 1689 with devastating raids by some 1 500 men on Lachine and other settlements near Montréal. The French, who lacked the forces to attack the Iroquois directly, responded in 1690 with mid-winter attacks on Schenectady and three frontier villages in New England. English retaliatory expeditions by land and sea were beaten back in 1690 and 1691. When a daring midwinter raid destroyed the Mohawk villages in 1693, New France was beginning to gain the upper hand. The following year long-awaited troops arrived from France, and in 1696 French troops and native allies destroyed the villages of the Onondaga and Oneida. In 1697 England concluded a separate peace with France. Reduced in strength from 2 600 to 1 200 men, abandoned by the English, and then attacked and pushed out of southern Ontario by the Ottawa and Ojibwa, the Iroquois finally came to Montréal in 1701 to ratify a treaty with the French and some 30 native groups; it guaranteed their neutrality in any future French-English conflict.

Retrenchment and Expansion, 1697–1739

The legalization of the French trade in the interior in 1681 and the elimination of English competition from James Bay in 1686 created a glut of beaver in Montréal. By 1696, with the Iroquois war effectively over and the interior relatively secure from Iroquois-English influence, French officials decided that the time had come to reduce military expenses and curtail the fur trade. A royal edict ordered all interior posts closed except Michilimackinac, Saint-Joseph, Fort Frontenac, and Fort Saint-Louis (pl 39), ended the *congé* system, and banned the trade in beaver. Native traders were again expected to travel to Montréal. Endorsed by the Jesuits, who had always condemned the effects of native contact with French traders, this policy was bitterly opposed by the merchants. About 200 *coureurs de bois* remained in the interior and, banned from the St Lawrence, many of them took their fur to the English.

By 1701 the French had established bases east of the mouth of the Mississippi (Mobile and Biloxi), founded Détroit, and garrisoned the remaining interior posts, the beginnings of a continental strategy to contain the English east of the Appalachians. Fur traders were allowed to operate out of Louisiana, missions were established on the upper Mississippi (Cahokia, 1699; Kaskaskia, 1703), and forts were built from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes. As it turned out the founding of Détroit was probably a mistake, as it encouraged the repopulation of the southern Great Lakes, territory easily influenced by the Iroquois and the English. The Wyandot and Ottawa moved to Détroit from Michilimackinac; a number of Ojibwa groups settled in southern Ontario, and by 1710 the Sauk, Fox, Kikapoo, Potawatomie, and Mascouten had returned to their original homeland in southeastern Michigan. Further west, the Miami moved to the Wabash River and the Illinois to the missions on the Mississippi. It did not take long for some of these groups to establish trading relations with the Iroquois and occasional contacts with English traders on the Ohio.

Between 1702 and 1713, with England and France again at war, the French tried to hold the Iroquois to their treaty of neutrality, distributed lavish yearly presents to native allies, and turned a blind eye to a good deal of illegal trade. The Détroit area was a tinder box, and in 1712 fighting broke out there between traditional enemies, the Fox-Mascouten and the Ottawa-Potawatomie. Fearing a plot by the Fox and Iroquois to drive them from Détroit, the French supported the Ottawa and Potawatomie and attacked the Fox. Suffering heavy losses, the Fox fled to the Green Bay area

where they retaliated against native allies of the French such as the Illinois. A second French campaign against the Fox in 1716 brought a temporary peace.

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 ended more than a decade of war between France and Britain and introduced 30 years of peace between them. In the interior of North America France was forced to recognize British claims to the shores of Hudson Bay (pl 40). Northern and southern boundaries between New France and the British possessions were to be established by a joint commission. France was to recognize British 'dominion' over the Iroquois. In the interior the natives were to be free to trade with either nation. With the signing of this treaty, the French moved swiftly to restore trade along the vulnerable southern frontier and to garrison all posts there (pl 39). At the same time Michilimackinac was officially reopened. Aiding these endeavours was the recovery of the market for beaver; by 1714 the huge surplus was gone, consumed by vermin. With the Fox at peace and the southern frontier secure, the *congé* system was restored in 1716, and when the Lake Superior posts were reopened in 1717, New France had essentially returned to her pre-1697 position in the interior.

Most of the interior posts focused on Montréal, a few on New Orleans. Michilimackinac, a transshipment point by the 1670s, became a major entrepôt in the upper Great Lakes, and Détroit assumed this position in the lower Great Lakes (pl 41). Approximately equidistant from Montréal, both were strategically located about halfway to the western extremities of the Great Lakes. They served as interior headquarters for the Montréal traders, as transshipment points for trade goods and furs, and as major Jesuit missions. Détroit was also an important military base and was intended to supply agricultural products to the garrisons of the lower Great Lakes. Kaskaskia on the upper Mississippi was the equivalent entrepôt for the posts and trade dependent on New Orleans. Below the level of the entrepôt were district posts, all of them fortified and those on the southern frontier garrisoned. Dependent on the district posts were smaller posts that were opened and closed depending on native relations and market demands. Trade at all posts was authorized by the crown. In some cases monopolies were given to the highest bidder or to military commanders; in others trade operated through the *congé* system. Whatever the arrangement, holders of monopolies were expected to help bear the cost of constructing, operating, and defending posts, and to maintain native good will with costly presents. The fur trade was to pay for much of the French inland empire. The only exceptions were the king's posts around Lake Ontario and later in the Ohio valley, which were maintained for strategic reasons.

By the early 1720s native middlemen had all but disappeared from the French fur trade as native hunters took their furs to posts nearby. The middleman system, involving native collectors of fur and distributors of trade goods, still operated from the British posts on Hudson Bay. In the Ohio valley British traders came overland with pack-horses to prearranged meeting places where they would trade for a few days and then depart.

Although the French operated a considerable network of posts in the interior, their control of the fur trade was far from secure. Increasingly, itinerant British traders in the Ohio valley were in contact with the Delaware, Shawnee, Miami, and groups near Détroit. In 1725 the Iroquois allowed the British to build a fort at Oswego, their first on the Great Lakes. From Oswego the British traded directly with the Mississauga in southern Ontario. The Chickasaw, instigated, the French were sure, by British merchants in Carolina, raided the French and their native allies in the Wabash-Illinois area. The Fox again disrupted trade and exploration west of Lake Michigan.

These problems awaited the new governor of New France, Charles Beauharnois de La Boische, in 1726. Under Beauharnois goods at the posts on Lake Ontario were sold at a loss if necessary and a limited brandy trade was permitted in an effort to deter the Mississauga and others from trading at Oswego, where rum was cheaply available. In 1728 an army of 1 600 French troops, Canadian militia, and native allies burned the Fox villages. Other expeditions

had to be sent in 1730, 1731, and 1734 before the Fox ceased raiding. In the northwest Beauharnois encouraged Pierre-Gaultier de La Vérendrye's efforts, begun in 1731, to find a route to the western sea, thought to be somewhere in the western interior of Canada (pl 36). By 1739 La Vérendrye had built posts on the Assiniboine River, visited the Mandan on the Missouri, and established Fort Bourbon on the northwest shore of Lake Winnipeg. The Montréal fur trade had penetrated the hinterland of York Factory, the principal Hudson's Bay Company post in the western corner of Hudson Bay. It also penetrated Cree-Assiniboine territory west of Lake Superior and involved the French in warfare between these peoples and their traditional enemies, the Ojibwa and the Dakota. La Vérendrye managed to secure a peace between the Cree and Ojibwa in 1736, but not with the Dakota. Just as the Fox wars ended, the Dakota wars began, and in 1737 the interior posts dependent on Green Bay had to be abandoned. The Chickasaw raids were regarded as a problem for Louisiana, but after an ineffective attempt to deal with the Chickasaw from Louisiana Beauharnois was forced to send troops in 1739. This venture, the first major French expedition down the Ohio River, led to a uneasy truce with the Chickasaw in 1740.

France Secures the Interior, 1740–1755

In 1743 the long peace between France and Britain came to an end in the War of the Austrian Succession (King George's War). New France did not have the troops for extensive campaigns; instead native groups settled along the St Lawrence, especially the Abenaki, occasionally aided by Canadian militia, raided English settlements from Albany to Boston (pl 40). In 1744 British warships began to blockade the Gulf of St Lawrence; few supplies reached New France, trade goods were scarce and expensive, and the lavish presents to native allies had to be stopped. By 1747 the French feared a general uprising in the west. The Mohawk had broken the peace the previous year. Some Huron, who had moved from Détroit to Sandusky, were beginning to attack French traders. The Miami and other groups in the lower Great Lakes were incited by British traders to attack French posts, and destroyed Fort des Miamis in 1747.

When the war between Britain and France ended in 1748, French trade and French-native alliances were quickly restored except in the Ohio country. In 1749 the commandant of the rebuilt Fort des Miamis estimated that 300 English traders were in the area, flooding the lower Great Lakes with cheap trade goods. Moreover, in 1748 the British crown had given title to half a million acres in the Ohio valley to the Ohio Company, a group of London merchants and prominent Virginian plantation owners. France had to respond to these initiatives, and in 1749 Roland-Michel Barrin de La Galissonnière sent a force of 230 men to stake claim to the Ohio valley, re-establish French-native alliances there, and eject British traders. The effect of the expedition was slight; in 1751 the Miami, declaring open support for the English, destroyed Fort Vincennes.

In 1752 La Galissonnière was succeeded by Ange de Menneville, marquis de Duquesne, whose instructions were to let the natives trade with the British if they wished, but to drive British traders from the Ohio valley. Charles-Michel Mouet de Langlade, an officer-fur trader with broad influence among the Indians, was sent with 300 Ottawa, Saulteaux, and French to raid the Miami village of Pickawillany. The English post there was destroyed, the Miami chief La Demoiselle (Memeskia) killed, and the British traders ejected. British influence in the area declined. Duquesne followed the attack on Pickawillany by sending 2 000 troops into the Ohio country where, over the remonstrances of the Iroquois, Shawnee, and Delaware, four forts were built between Lake Erie and the junction of the Ohio and Monongahela Rivers in 1753 and 1754. British objections, delivered by George Washington in 1753, were politely rejected. The following year Washington returned and, although France and Britain were at peace, attacked a small French detachment. The French struck back, forcing his surrender at Fort Necessity and ending for the time being the British presence in the Ohio valley. Farther west, French traders negotiated a peace between the Ojibwa and eastern Dakota in 1750, and between the

Cree and eastern Dakota in 1752. Now under peaceful conditions the French fur trade expanded vigorously into the headwaters of the Mississippi. In the northwest posts were built at least as far west as the forks of the Saskatchewan River. French claims to the lands north of Lake Superior were enforced with the construction of Fort-à-la-Carpe (1751) on the Albany River and the destruction by natives allied to the French of Henley House (1755), a Hudson's Bay Company outpost, also on the Albany.

By 1755 France had virtually succeeded in excluding British traders from the continental interior west of Montréal. The southern frontier was secured by garrisoned forts from Montréal through Lake Ontario to Fort Duquesne on the Ohio (pl 40). The southwestern area was anchored by a string of forts between growing agricultural colonies at Détroit and Kaskaskia. Native relations along the entire southern frontier were stabilized by troops, gift giving, and trade. Although the area produced mainly hides, which were often traded at a loss, its strategic value warranted the cost of securing it. The central Great Lakes basin was anchored by the entrepôt at Michilimackinac (pl 41) and the loyalty of the Ottawa and Ojibwa. Along the northern frontier French posts were established on or near the headwaters of all the major rivers flowing into Hudson Bay. There, where most of the valuable fur was obtained, competition with the Hudson's Bay Company was keen. As in the south the French relaxed strictures against the sale of brandy to meet British competition.

Native Territory and the Seven Years' War

None of the meetings of the joint commission struck after the Treaty of Utrecht to settle the boundaries between New France and the British possessions in North America had produced any results, and neither side recognized the claims of the other. In fact, as late as 1755 the central interior of the continent was still native territory. Perhaps 3 000 French people lived there among some 50 000 natives. Of the two European powers that laid claim to the area, France was more ready than Britain to accept this reality. With a small French-speaking population along the lower St Lawrence, France made no attempt to displace natives by settlement; the French claim to land outside the St Lawrence colony was a claim against British interference in the fur trade. Official French involvement in native affairs was generally limited to securing native alliances, protecting trade (by force of arms, if necessary), and, at times, fomenting intertribal warfare. Except perhaps in the missions near Montréal and Québec, the French no longer tried to remake native cultures in French moulds; converts to Christianity were sought far more passively than in the years of the Huron and Onondaga missions. Native groups were regarded as independent; they were neither French subjects nor bound by French law.

Native cultures had changed, but not primarily because natives had been drawn to European values (to which, the evidence suggests, there was general native aversion) or because they had become reliant on European goods. Such goods often made life easier but did not soon destroy the skills required to make their traditional equivalents. Of the European goods offered for trade, natives quickly became dependent only on muskets, powder, and shot – to ward off native enemies so armed. Natives acquired European goods by expanding their production of furs within traditional strategies of resource procurement. The mixing of different native peoples as a result of warfare probably induced more cultural change than did contact with Europeans and European goods. War displaced populations, reduced numbers, forced people to adjust to different environments, and mingled cultures. At the root of most of the native wars were pre-European rivalries that were aggravated as the two European powers joined different alliances and, sooner or later, supplied them with firearms.

Native control of the land around the southern Great Lakes was finally relinquished after the Seven Years' War (pl 42). During the early years of this war the initiative lay with the French and their native allies, but in 1758 the fortunes of war began to turn. Under their new prime minister, William Pitt, the British resolved to end once and for all French rule in North America with a force of

unprecedented magnitude. In a surprise attack British troops burned Fort Frontenac, and with it ships and supplies destined for the Ohio forts. At the same time a British army invaded the Ohio country. The key to the French hold on the Lake Ontario–Ohio frontier lay with their native allies. At a conference held at Easton, Pennsylvania, in October 1758 Pennsylvania authorities promised the Ohio natives that they would renounce all claims on Indian land west of the Appalachians. Their major war aim achieved, these groups stopped fighting, forcing the French to relinquish the Ohio country.

British plans for 1759 involved a three-pronged attack: a naval assault on Québec up the St Lawrence, an army to advance up the Lake Champlain corridor, and a second army to Lake Ontario and down the St Lawrence to Montréal (pl 42). Vastly outnumbered, and without significant native support, the Lake Ontario garrisons fell to the British. In the Lake Champlain area French forces abandoned Crown Point and Ticonderoga and retired to Fort Île aux Noix. When Québec fell to General James Wolfe's army in September 1759 (pl 43), the end was in sight. Caught between Jeffery Amherst's army coming from Lake Ontario, James Murray moving up from Québec, and William Haviland by way of the Richelieu, Governor Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil was forced to surrender at Montréal in September 1760.

In the terms of capitulation Vaudreuil inserted a clause, agreed to by General Amherst, that France's native allies would not suffer for having borne arms and would maintain their lands unmolested. These terms were ignored, and English-speaking settlers flooded into the Ohio valley. In 1763 native groups led by Pontiac, an Ottawa war chief, and others launched a series of attacks (pl 44) to safeguard their remaining lands. Lacking the logistical support and the direction previously given by the French, they were crushed by the British army after a few campaigns. The Ohio valley was now open for European settlement.

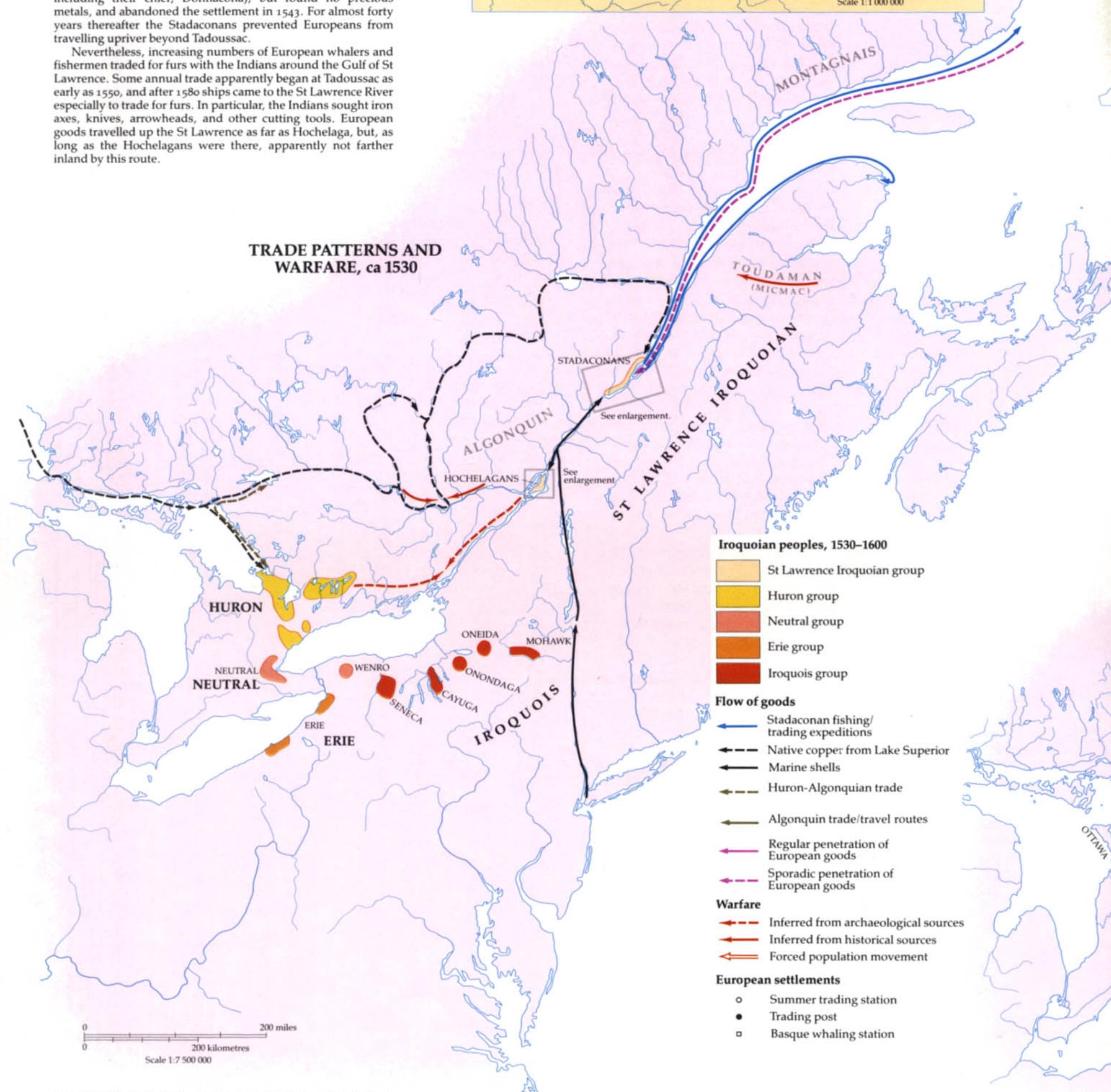
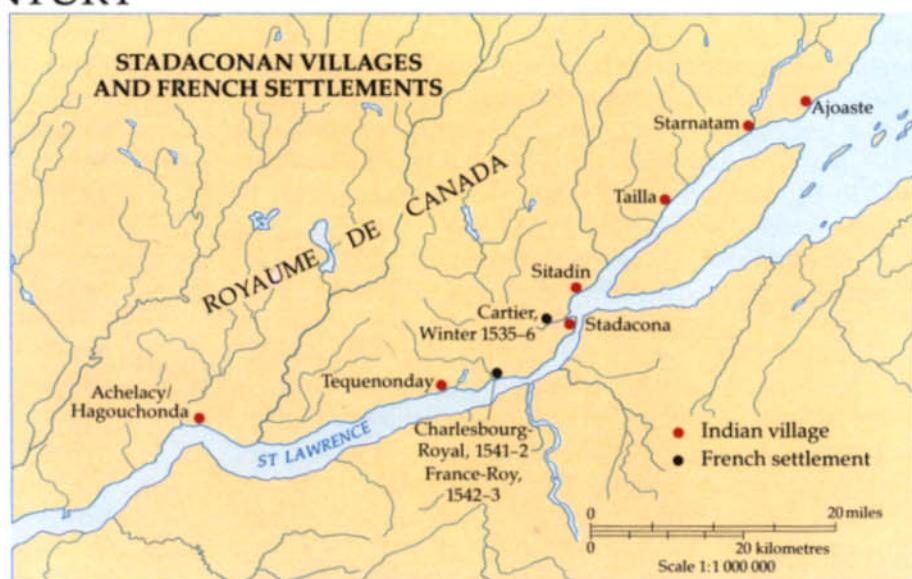
THE ST LAWRENCE VALLEY, 16th CENTURY

Author: B.G. Trigger

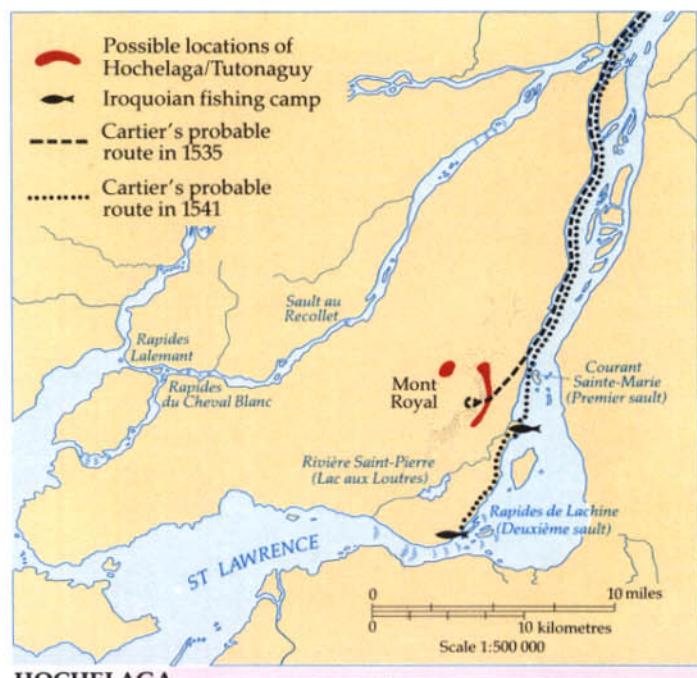
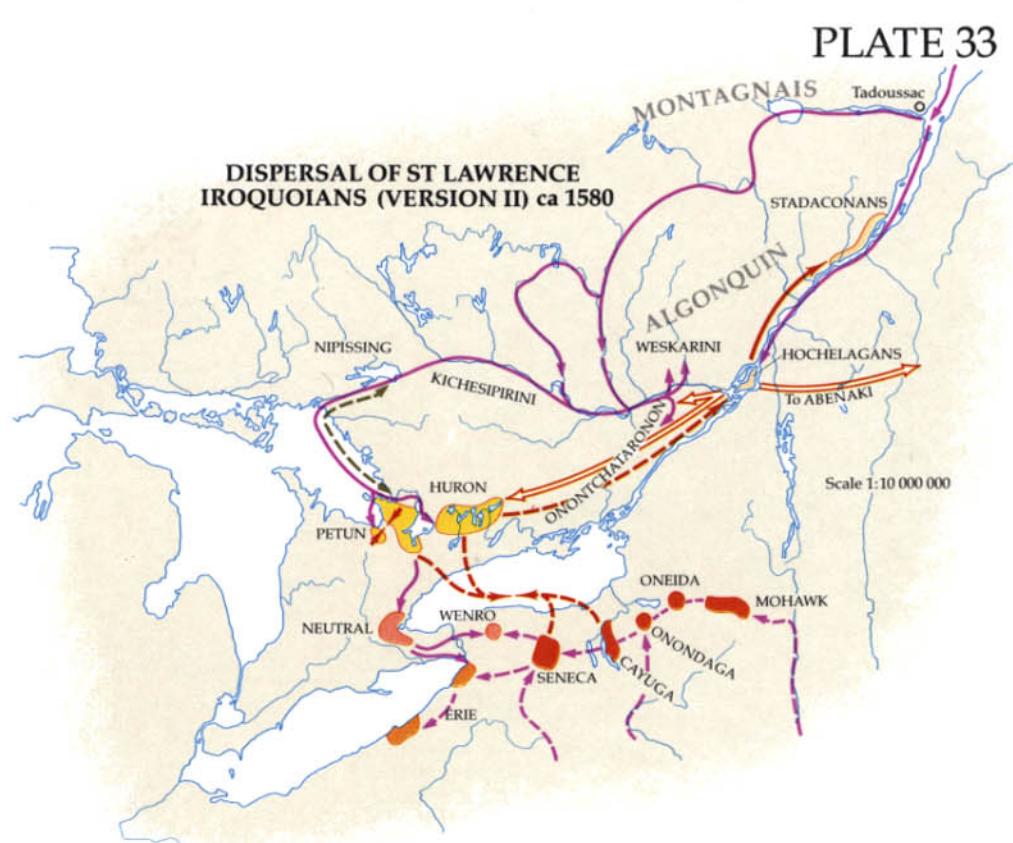
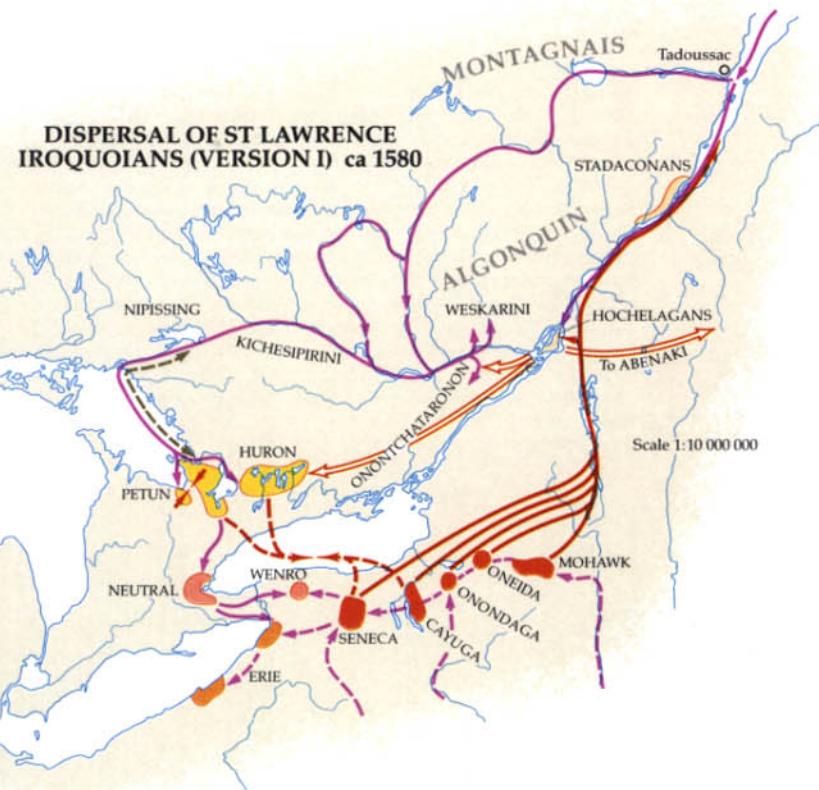
European penetration of the St Lawrence valley during the 16th century affected native peoples as far west as the lower Great Lakes. Early in the century groups of St Lawrence Iroquoians were settled along the St Lawrence River: the Stadaconans around Québec and the Hochelagans at Montréal. The Iroquoian-speaking Huron, Neutral, and Iroquois lived near Lake Ontario.

In 1535 Cartier explored the St Lawrence River to Hochelaga while searching for gold and a route to the Pacific Ocean. He and his crew spent the following winter near Stadacona. Lured by tales of precious minerals and gems in the interior (perhaps references to native copper around Lake Superior), in 1541 Cartier and his vice-regal superior, La Rocque de Roberval, founded a substantial French settlement at Cap Rouge, a few miles west of Stadacona. They faced severe winters and hostile natives (in 1536 Cartier had kidnapped several Stadaconans including their chief, Donnacona), but found no precious metals, and abandoned the settlement in 1543. For almost forty years thereafter the Stadaconans prevented Europeans from travelling upriver beyond Tadoussac.

Nevertheless, increasing numbers of European whalers and fishermen traded for furs with the Indians around the Gulf of St Lawrence. Some annual trade apparently began at Tadoussac as early as 1550, and after 1580 ships came to the St Lawrence River especially to trade for furs. In particular, the Indians sought iron axes, knives, arrowheads, and other cutting tools. European goods travelled up the St Lawrence as far as Hochelaga, but, as long as the Hochelagans were there, apparently not farther inland by this route.

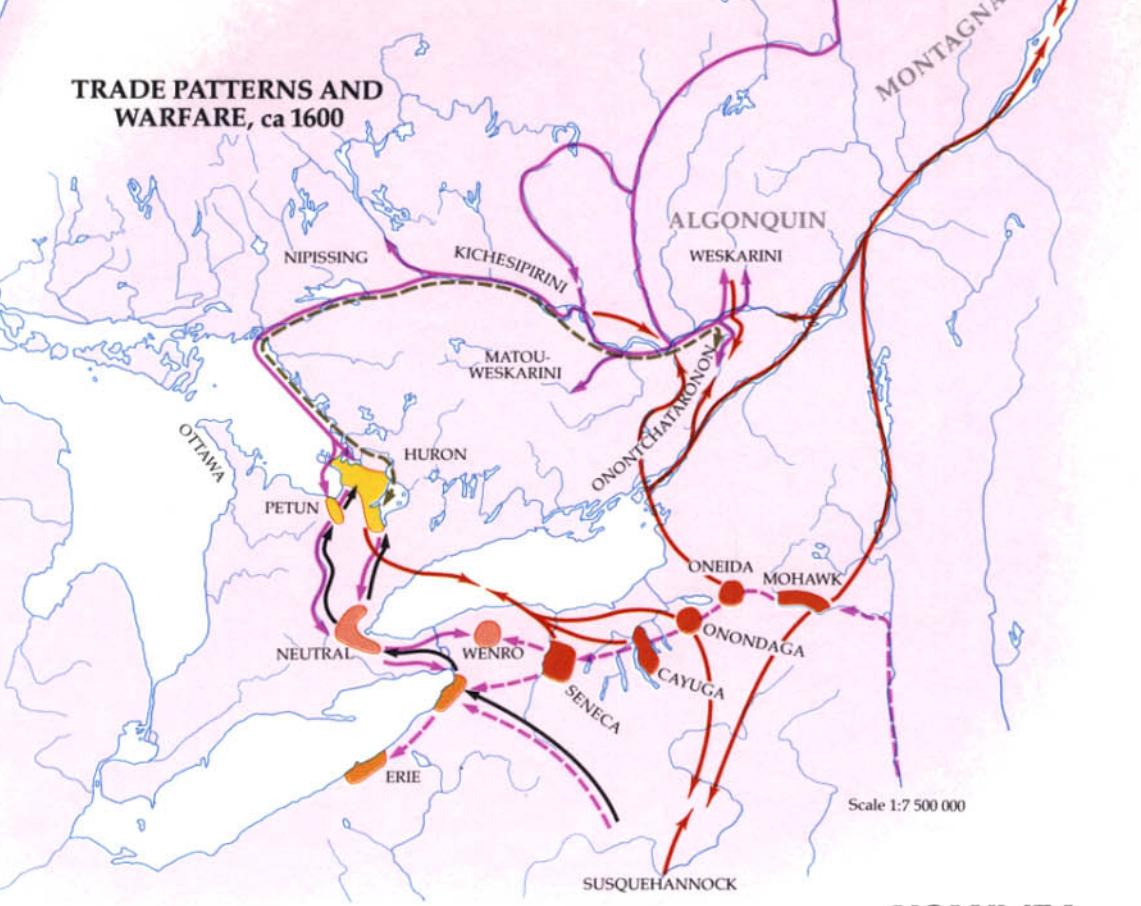
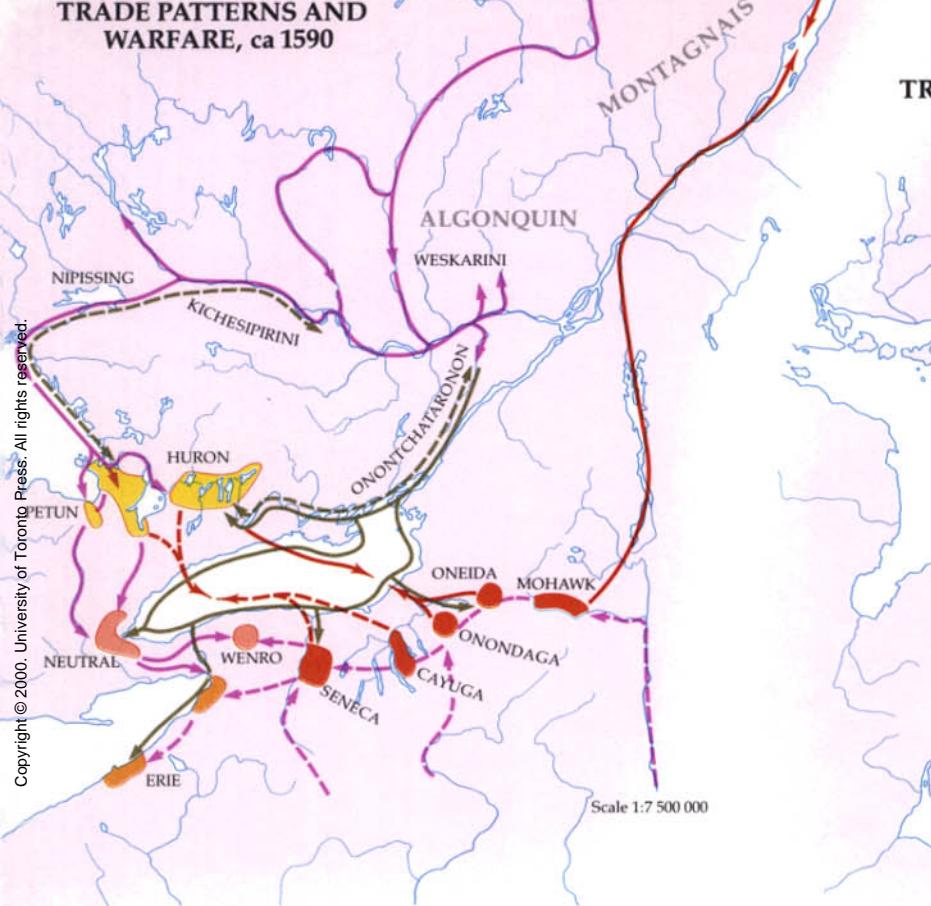


HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CANADA



Efforts by inland tribes to obtain more European goods probably created the hostilities that led to the disappearance of the Stadaconans and Hochelagans, possibly around 1580. The Iroquois south of Lake Ontario had little access to European goods, which were traded far more sporadically around the mouths of the Hudson and Susquehanna Rivers than in the St Lawrence valley. Hence their strong motive to contact European traders along the lower St Lawrence. Historical sources suggest they attacked and dispersed the remaining St Lawrence Iroquoians, perhaps after the Hochelagans, also desiring to remove middlemen, had dispersed the Stadaconans (version i). This would have put the Iroquois in direct conflict with the Montagnais. Conversely, there is archaeological evidence of warfare between the Huron and the St Lawrence Iroquoians along the upper St Lawrence in prehistoric times. It has been suggested that the Huron attacked and dispersed the last of their former enemies (version ii).

For a brief period the Algonquin tribes of the lower Ottawa valley carried European goods to the tribes around the lower Great Lakes. Then the Iroquois probably expanded their attacks against the Montagnais to include the Algonquins, thereby solidifying a defensive alliance between the two and closing the upper St Lawrence to trade. The Huron tribes congregated in the southeastern corner of Georgian Bay, where European goods, travelling by routes well north of the St Lawrence, could be obtained in exchange for corn and furs from their Nipissing and Algonquin trading partners. In this manner was achieved the network of tribal distributions and alliances that Champlain observed in 1603.



SETTLEMENTS AND MISSIONARIES, 1615–1650

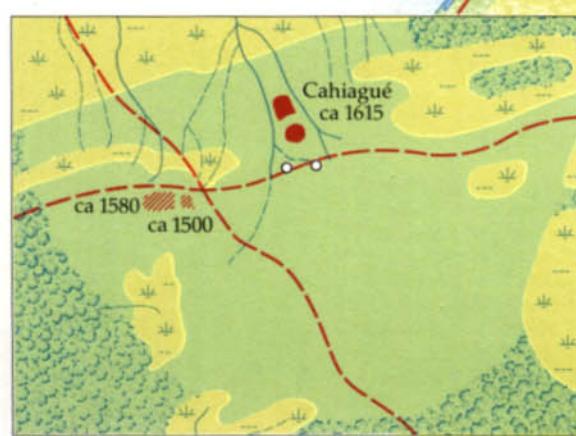
Author: Conrad E. Heidenreich



HURONIA, 1615–1650 (See location map at far right.)

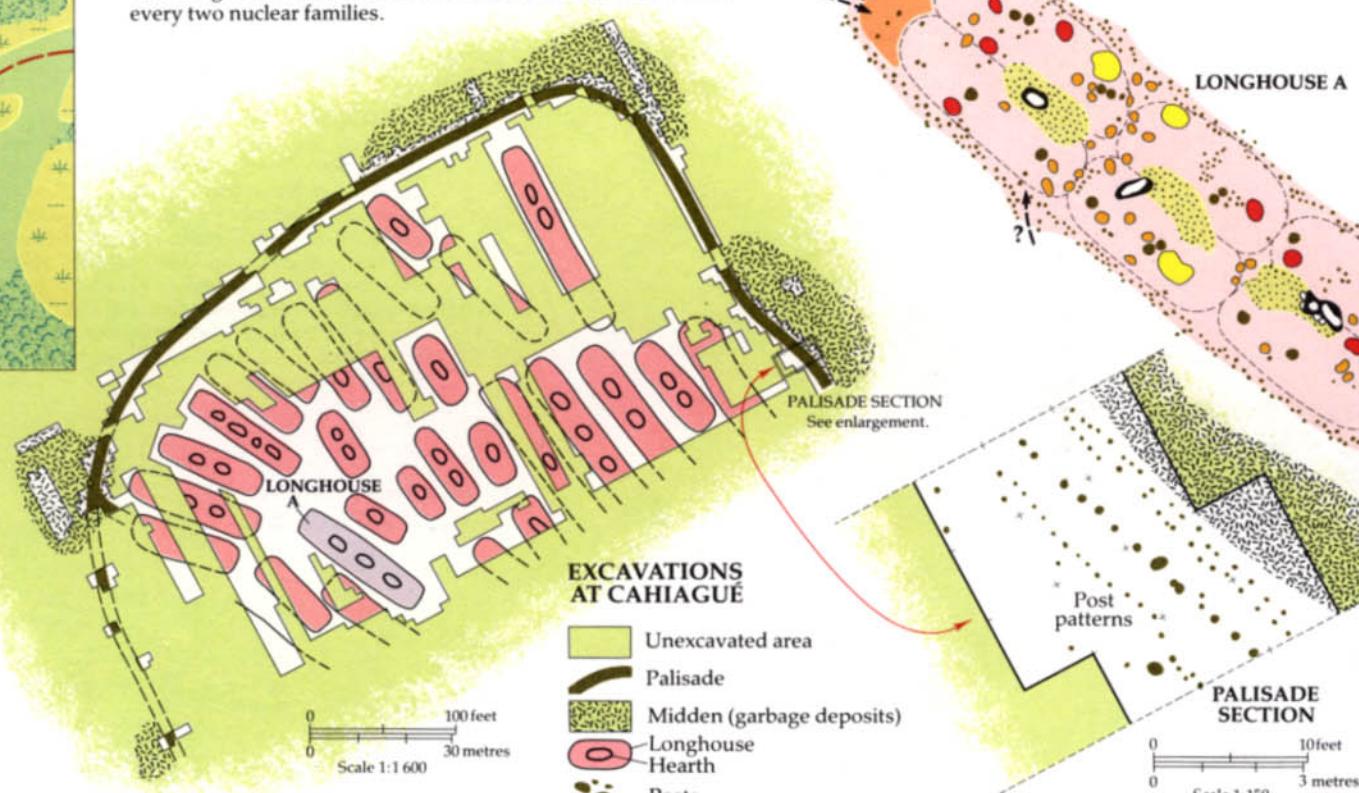
- Main trail
 - - - Known canoe route
 - Village
 - ◆ Fortified mission
 - Tribal centre
 - Well-drained soils
 - Swamp and poorly drained area
 - Canadian Shield
- 0 5 miles
0 5 kilomètres
Scale approximately 1:300 000

Of the Iroquoian-speaking agricultural peoples in southern Ontario at the beginning of the 17th century (pl 33), the Huron became most involved with contemporary Europeans and are best known to us today. Before the epidemics (pl 35) there were perhaps 20 000 Huron. They lived in 18–25 villages scattered across about 900 km² between Lake Simcoe and the southeastern corner of Georgian Bay, an average population density of 23 people per square kilometre. Their villages, located close to springs and to light soils suitable for corn, were connected by trails. The larger villages were surrounded by strong, wide palisades composed of rows of posts up to 30 cm in diameter and sheathed with heavy bark. The other Iroquoian speakers in southern Ontario – the Petun just west of the Huron and the Neutral at the western end of Lake Ontario – lived in similar settlements.

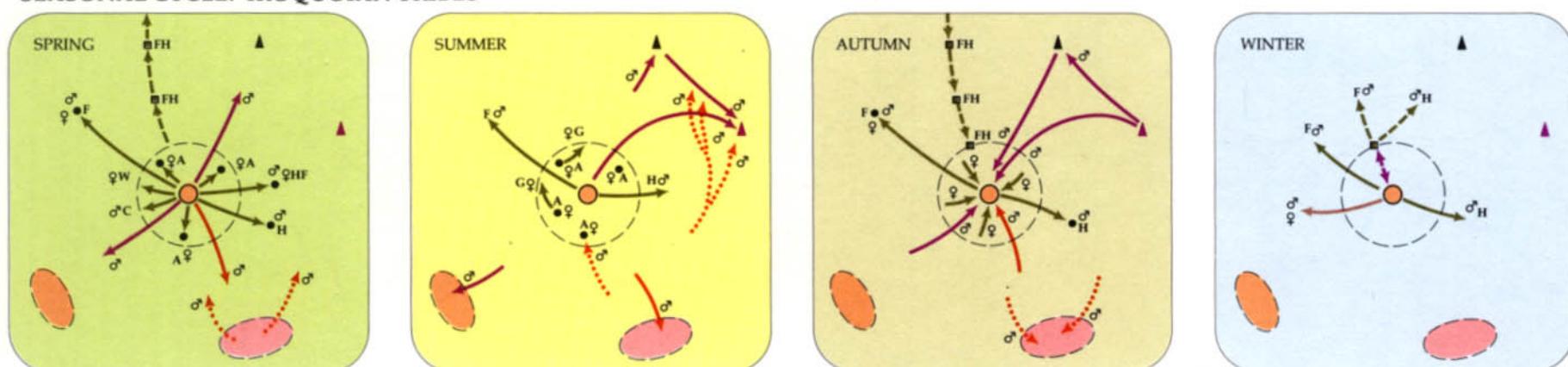


CAHIAGUÉ, ca 1615

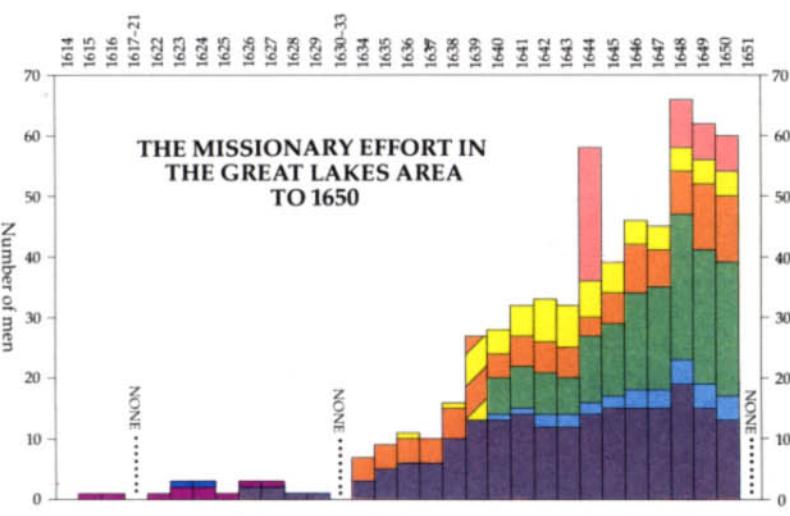
- Trail
 - Abandoned village
 - Ossuary
 - Forest (secondary growth)
 - Wetland
 - Fields (sandy loams)
- 0 1 mile
0 1 kilometre
Scale 1:73 000



SEASONAL CYCLE: IROQUOIAN TRIBES



HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CANADA

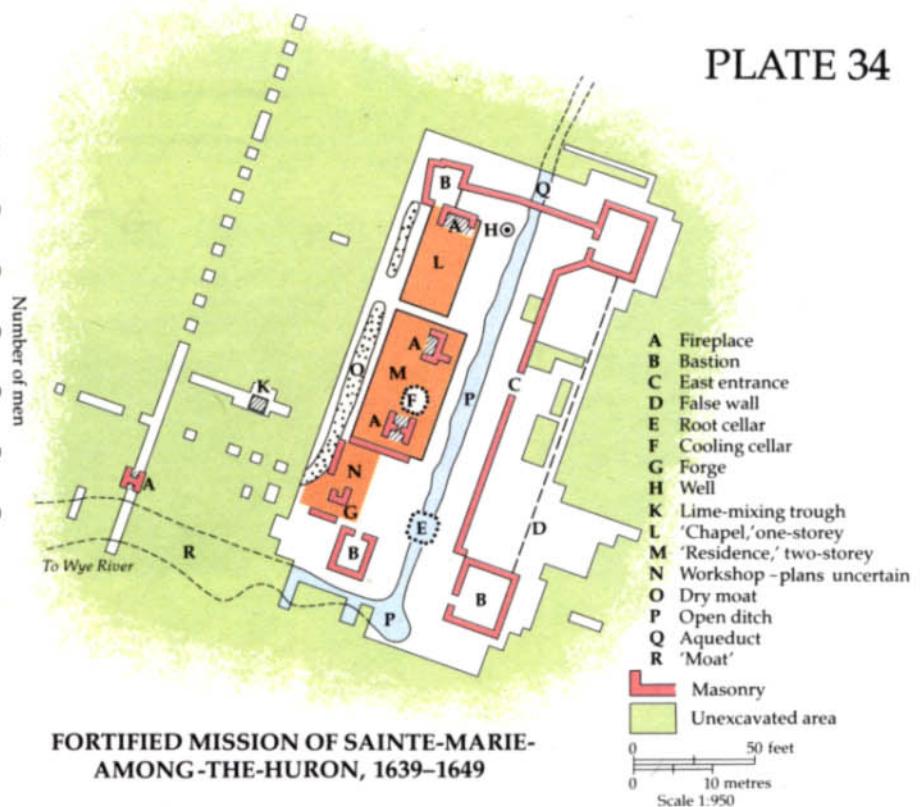


PERSONNEL
Recollet
Brothers
Fathers
Jesuit
Soldiers
Boys
Domestics
Donnés
Brothers
Fathers

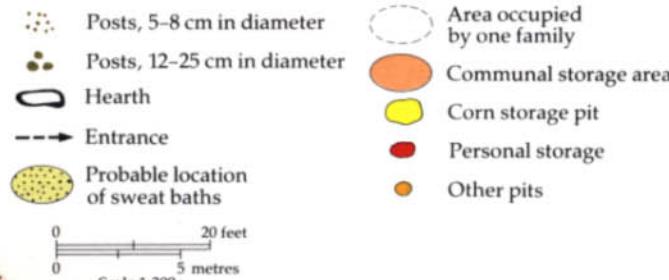
DEPLOYMENT OF FATHERS AT MISSIONS*	HURON	PETUN	NEUTRAL	NIPISSING	ONONTCHATARONON	ALGONQUIN	OTTAWA
	1 1	3 3 1 3 3 1	3 5 6 6 10 11 10 9 12 10 14 12 11 14 7 9	2 2 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	1 1 1	1 1 2 1	1 1 1 1
	1	1	1	4 1 2 2 2 2 1 1 1 1 1			
			2				
				1 1 1			
					1 1 1		
						1 1 2 1	
							1 1 1 1

*Some Fathers served at more than one mission in the same year.

The Recollet Le Caron opened the first mission to the natives of the Great Lakes area in Huronia in 1615. Jesuits joined the missionary enterprise in 1626, but all missionaries withdrew to France in 1629 when the English captured Québec. The French returned to Québec in 1632, and in 1634 the Jesuit Brébeuf reopened the Huron mission. The Jesuits built a central mission, Sainte-Marie-among-the-Huron, in 1639, and soon began missions to the Petun and Neutral and, eventually, to some Algonquian-speaking groups. The entire missionary enterprise collapsed in 1649 when the Iroquois confederacy defeated and dispersed the Hurons, and missionaries were not again in the territory northwest of Lake Ontario until 1660.



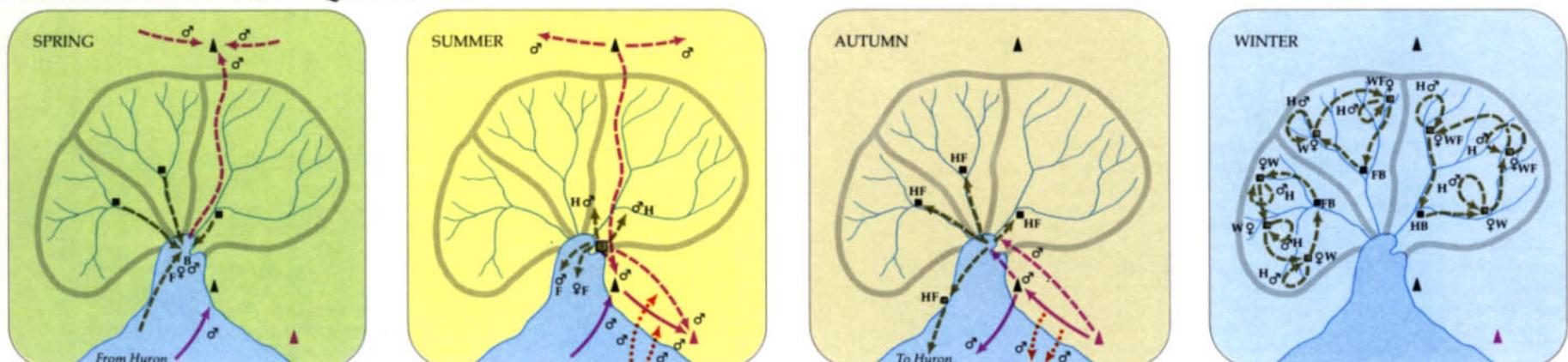
LONGHOUSE A



SEASONAL CYCLE

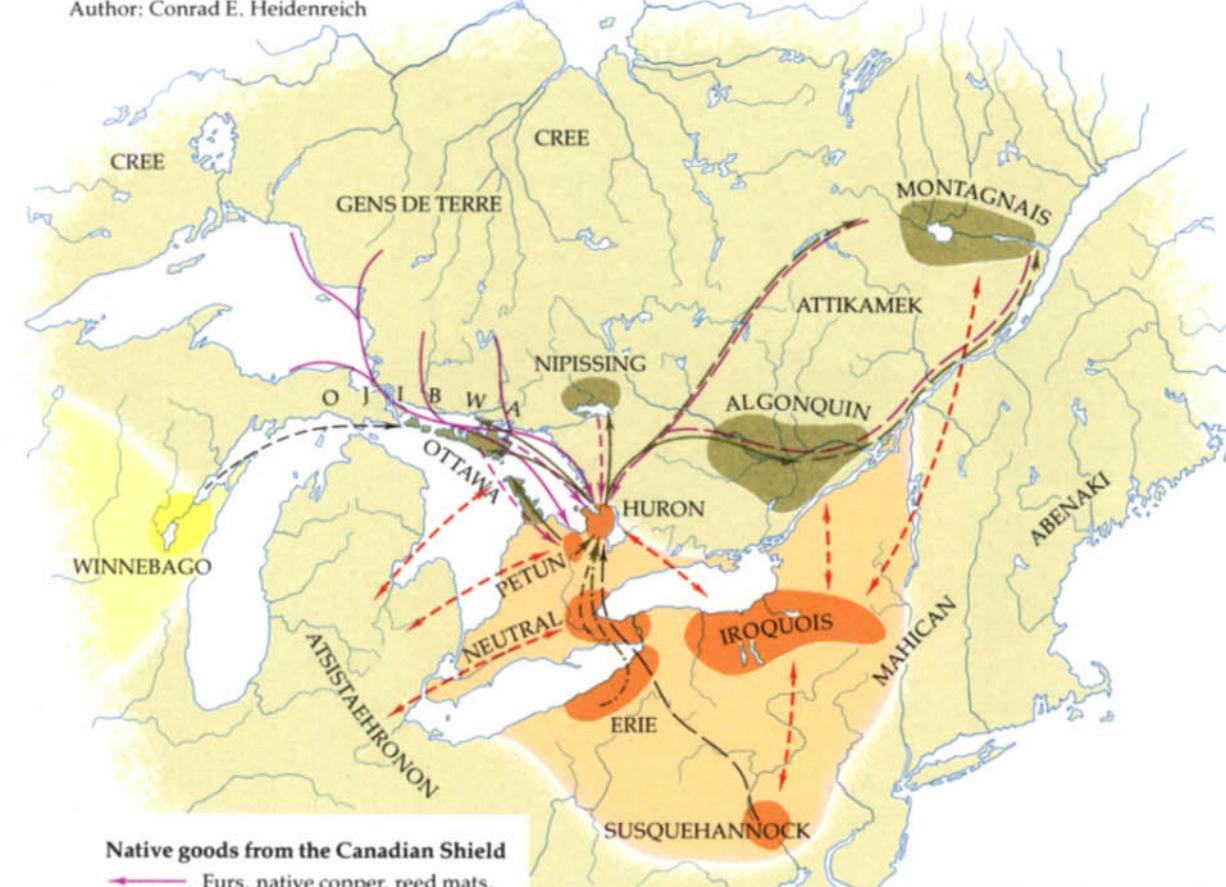
At the beginning of the 17th century the Ontario peninsula was inhabited by agricultural people (Iroquoian speakers) in the south and by hunting and fishing people (Algonquian speakers) in the Shield (pl 18). Among agricultural people the period of intense economic activity was from May until the end of October: women, the elderly, and children worked in the fields; and men hunted, fished, cleared land, traded, and warred. Winter was a time of leisure and of social activity in the village. By contrast, non-agricultural people split up in winter into extended family groups and dispersed over wide hunting territories. In summer, a time of relative plenty, they concentrated in bands at favourable fishing sites.

SEASONAL CYCLE: ALGONQUIAN TRIBES



THE GREAT LAKES BASIN, 1600–1653

Author: Conrad E. Heidenreich



Native goods from the Canadian Shield

- ← Furs, native copper, reed mats, dried berries, moose antlers, red slate
- ← Moose skins, antlers
- ← Fish, furs

Native goods from the agricultural south

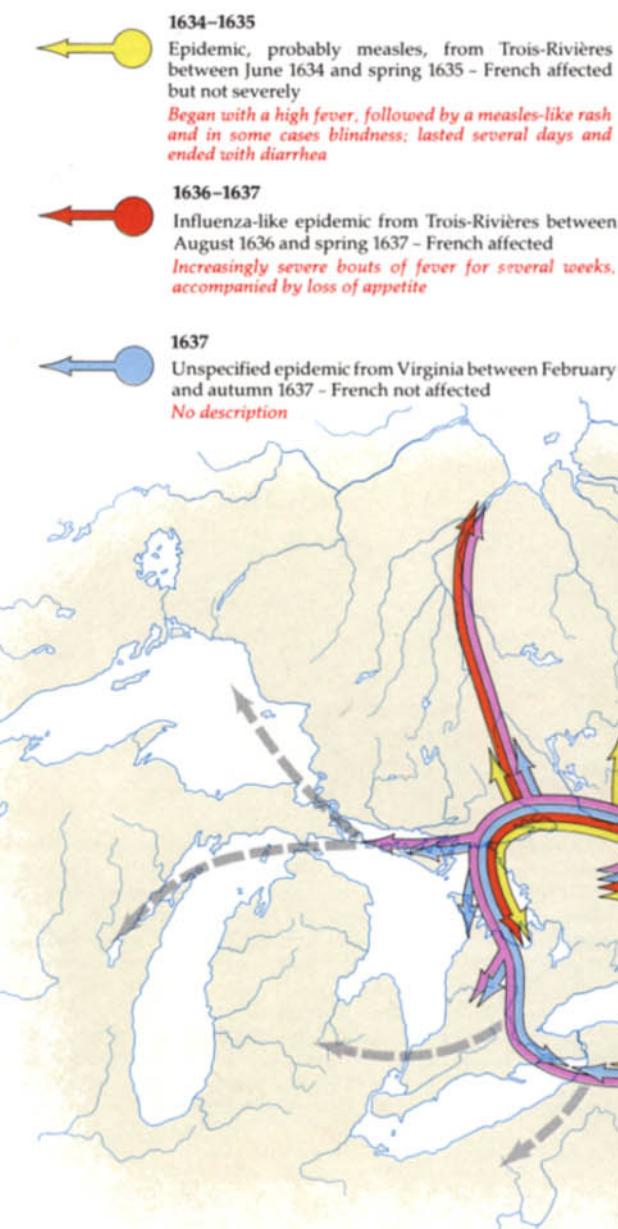
- Tobacco, chert
- Fishnets, corn
- Gourds, raccoon and squirrel skins
- Corn, tobacco, fishnets, pigment, wampum, raccoon and squirrel cloaks

Native goods from other areas

- Bison skins, catlinite
- Wampum and other marine shells

NATIVE TRADE AND WARFARE, 1600–1648

In the Ontario peninsula trade in native goods took place long before direct European contact (1615) and continued alongside trade in European goods until the population dispersions of the late 1640s. It was most active between the fishing and hunting bands of the Canadian Shield and the village agriculturalists farther south. Distant trade through intermediaries brought sea shells (wampum) and native copper to the southern Great Lakes (pls 14, 33). Warfare was also common. The Huron, the Ottawa valley bands, some Montagnais, and the Susquehannock were loosely allied against the five Iroquois tribes, while the Neutral, Petun, and Ottawa fought against the groups in the Michigan peninsula. Originally conducted primarily for reasons of prestige, revenge, and religion, warfare gradually changed in purpose and increased in intensity after European contact.



Linguistic groups

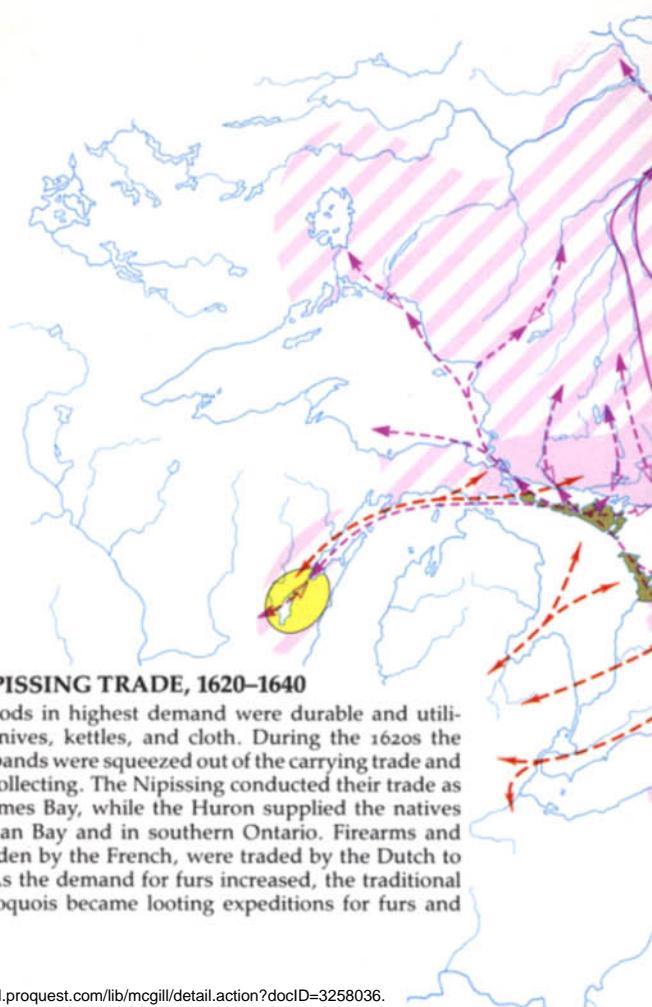
- Algonquian
- Iroquoian
- Siouan

Only selected groups are shown. On the map at the top left the paler shades show generally occupied areas. See pl 18.

Warfare

- Traditional raids
- Looting raids
- Massive attacks
- Forced population movement

✗ 1610 Battles involving the French



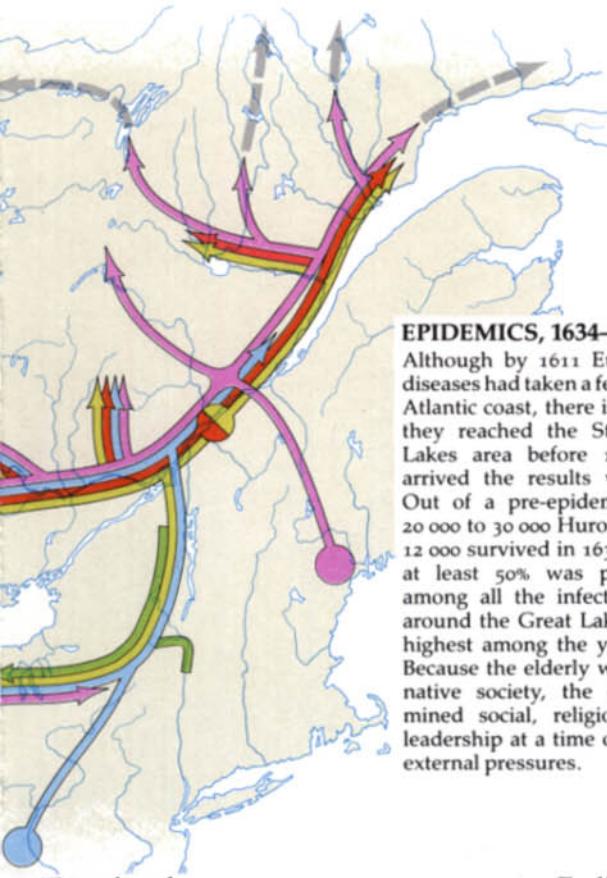
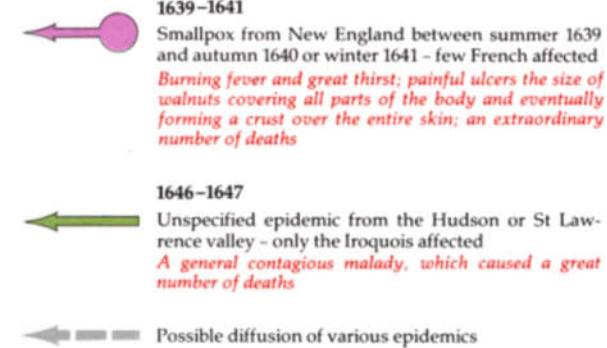
OTTAWA VALLEY AND SAGUENAY TRADE, 1600–1620

The building of trading posts at Tadoussac (1600) and Québec (1608) prompted a rapid expansion of trade between natives and Europeans. Ottawa valley Algonquins and Saguenay Montagnais adapted existing trade networks to exchange European goods for furs from further inland. The Huron began to participate in this trade by 1611, the Nipissing after 1615. All these native traders jealously protected their activities against native and French rivals. Frenchmen were tolerated in the interior only as long as they did not trade. When the French took sides in traditional conflicts and participated in raids on the Iroquois in 1609, 1610, and 1615, they earned the Iroquois' enmity.

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CANADA

HURON-NIPISSING TRADE, 1620–1640

The French goods in highest demand were durable and utilitarian: axes, knives, kettles, and cloth. During the 1620s the Ottawa valley bands were squeezed out of the carrying trade and turned to toll collecting. The Nipissing conducted their trade as far north as James Bay, while the Huron supplied the natives around Georgian Bay and in southern Ontario. Firearms and alcohol, forbidden by the French, were traded by the Dutch to the Iroquois. As the demand for furs increased, the traditional raids of the Iroquois became looting expeditions for furs and trade goods.

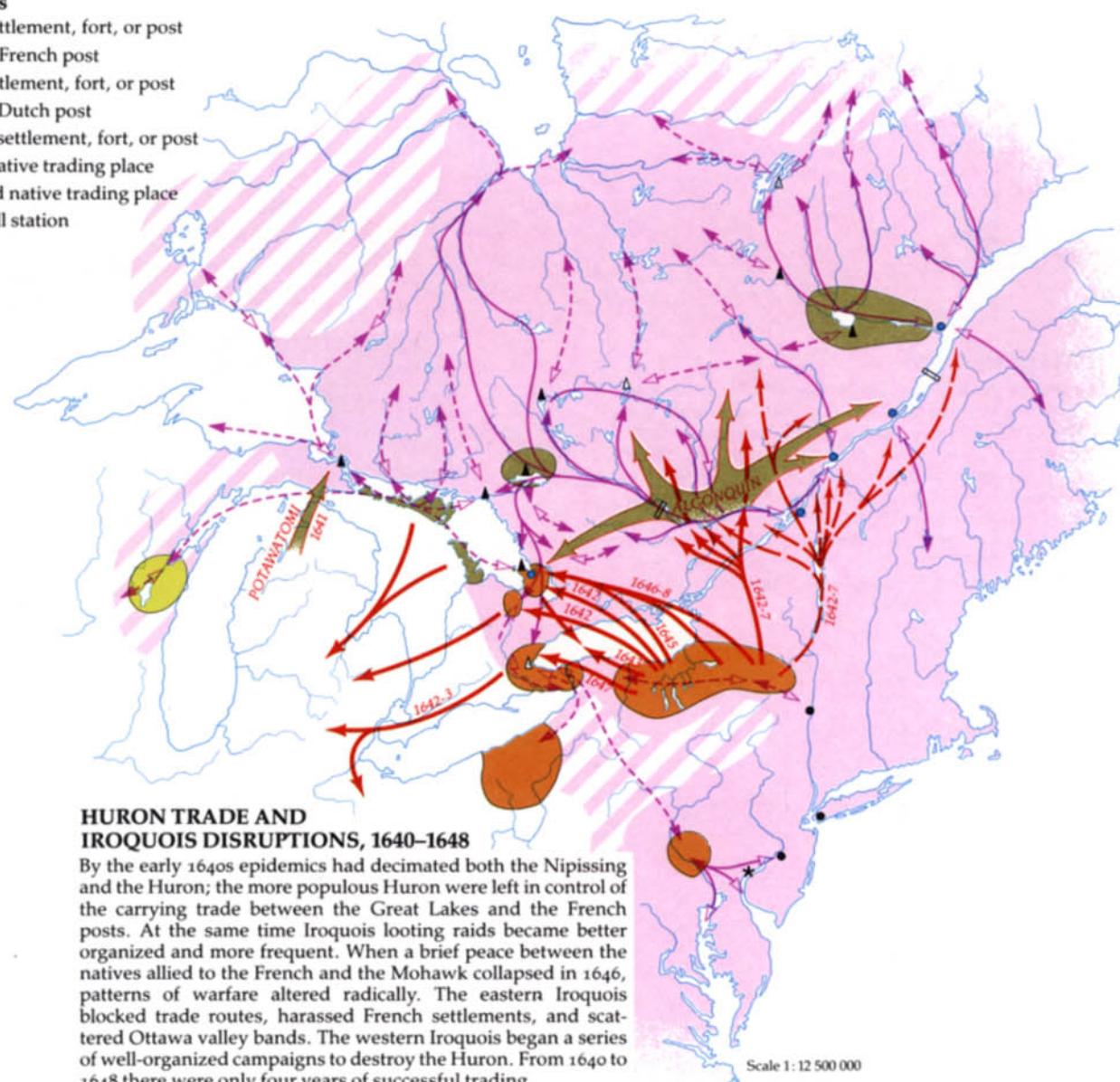
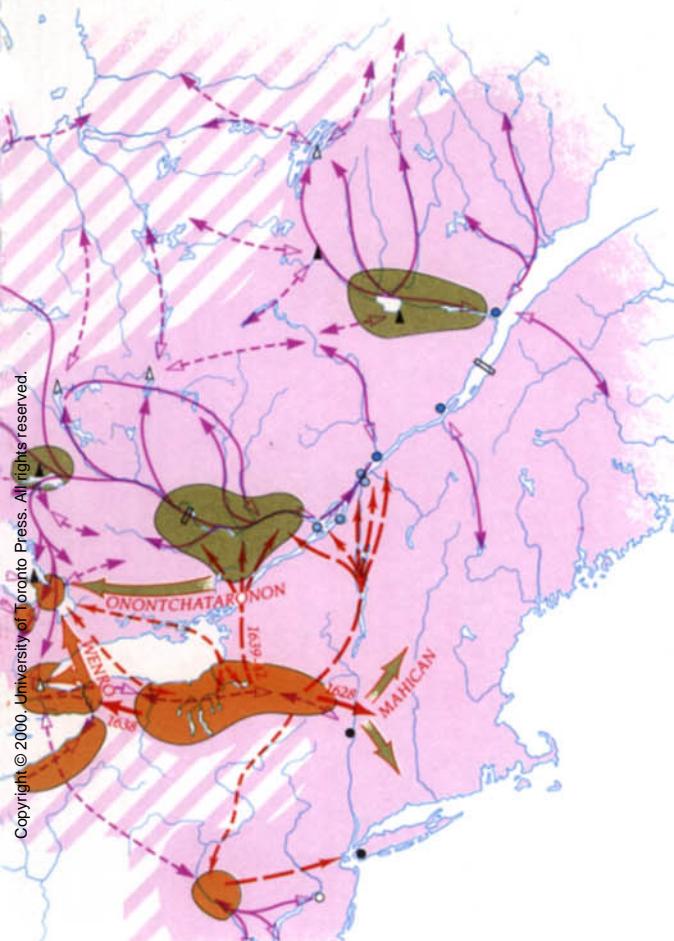
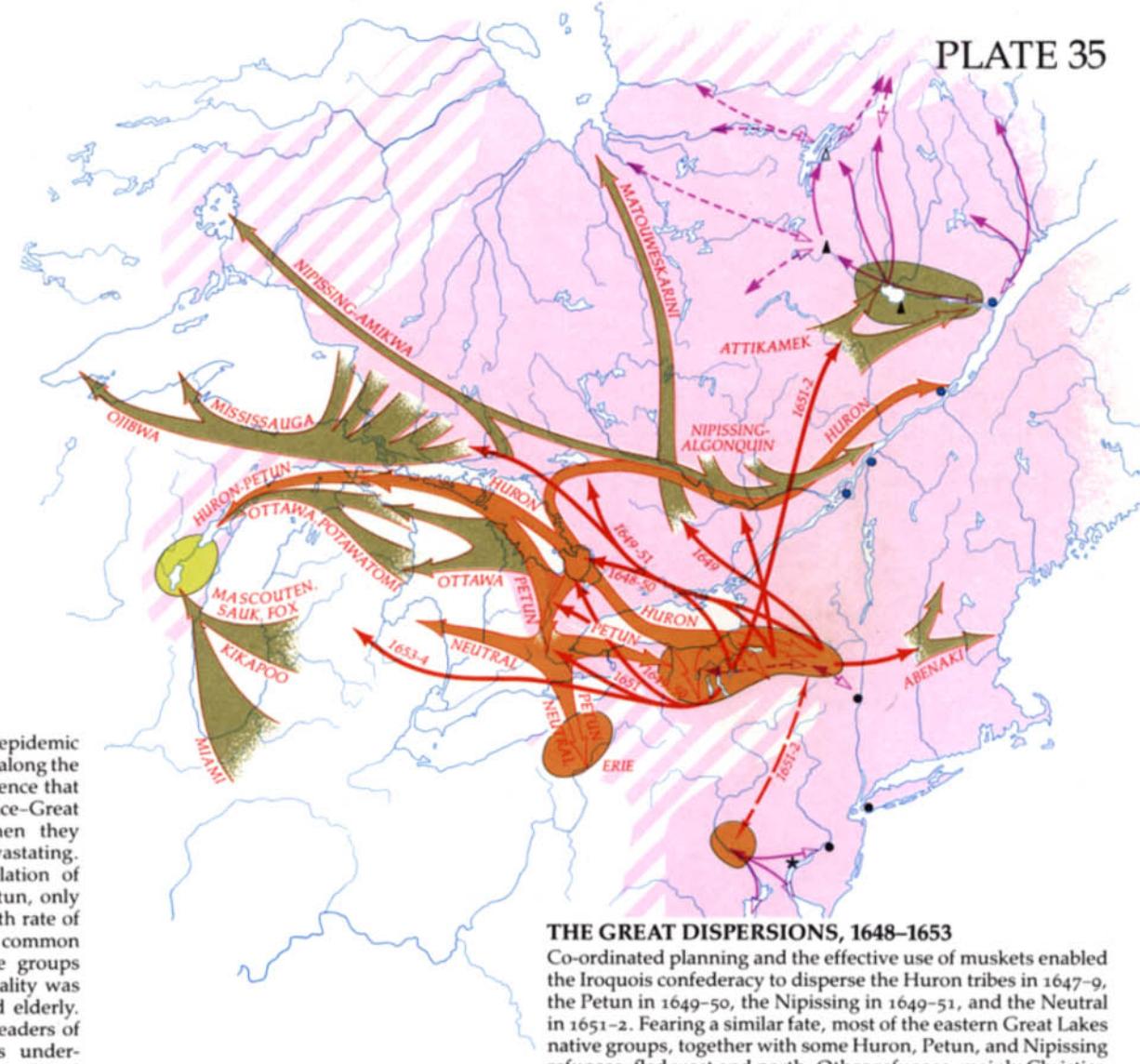


Flow of goods

- European goods
- ↔ Furs and/or other native goods
- Routes operated by native groups in direct contact with Europeans
- - - Routes operated through indirect trading
- European goods common
- ▨ European goods infrequent
- European goods absent

Trading places

- French settlement, fort, or post
- Seasonal French post
- Dutch settlement, fort, or post
- Seasonal Dutch post
- ★ Swedish settlement, fort, or post
- ▲ Known native trading place
- △ Presumed native trading place
- / Native toll station



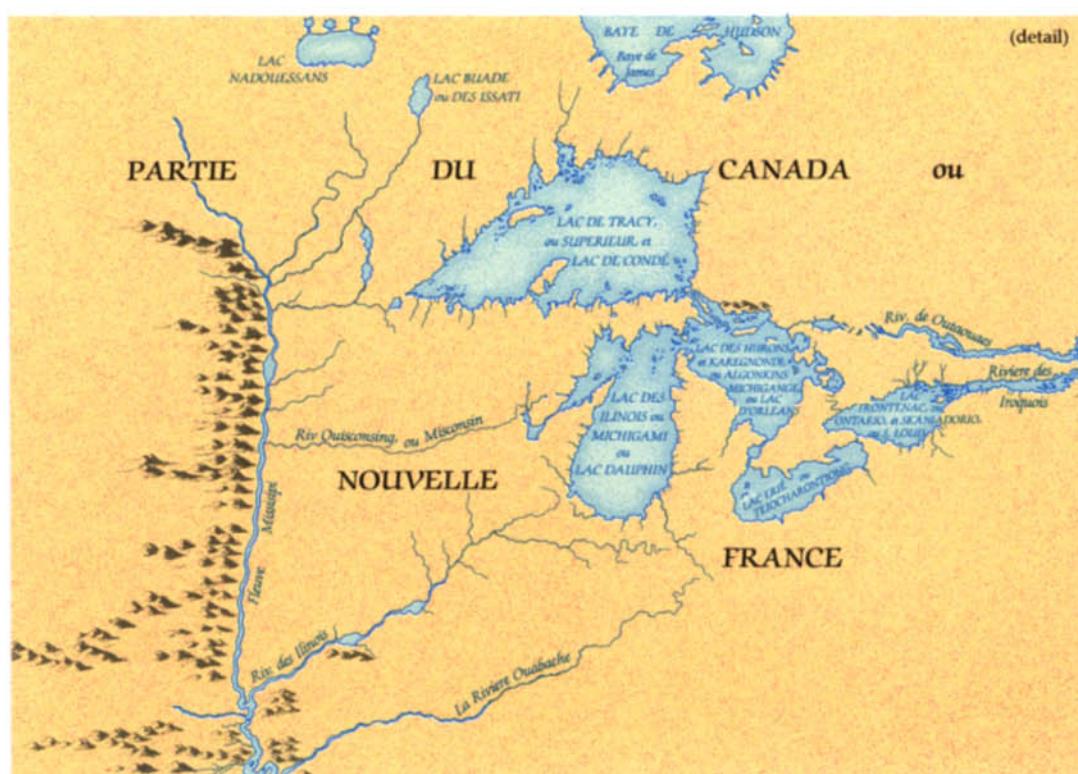
FRENCH EXPLORATION

Authors: Richard I. Ruggles, Conrad E. Heidenreich

Early in the 17th century the French began to explore the rivers draining into the St Lawrence valley. Usually they gathered geographical information from natives, set objectives for exploration based on these accounts, and, when opportunity arose, travelled with native guides. Verbal accounts, maps, and journals transmitted the French discoveries. By the early 1680s officials in Québec were responsible for compiling and sending maps to the *Ministère de la Marine* in Paris where authorized personnel had access to them.

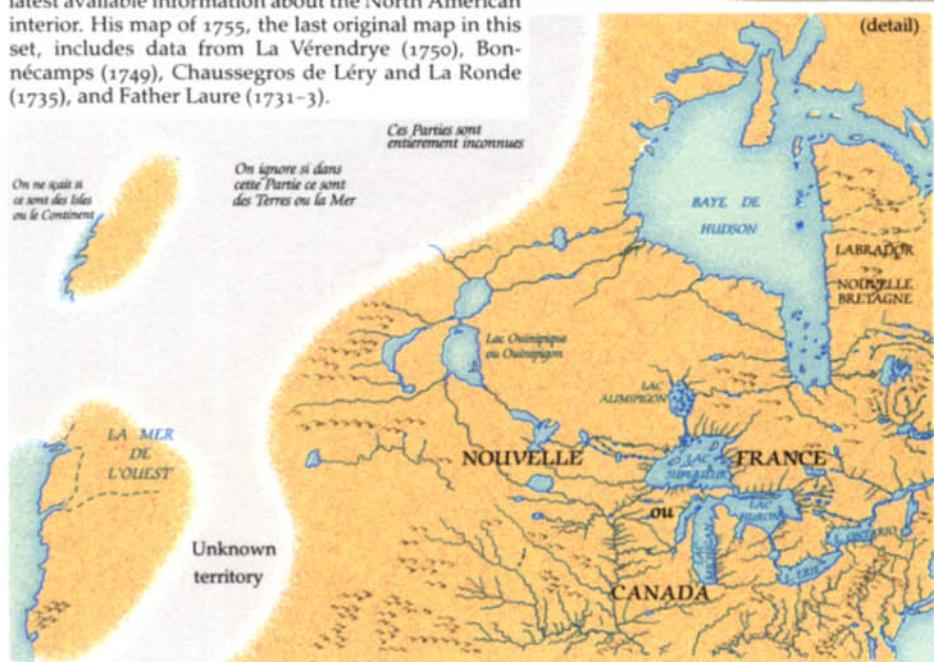
The search for a route across the continent was a continuing motive for exploration throughout the French regime, but usually was set within more limited objectives. Fur traders sought Indian suppliers; missionaries sought Indian converts. Territorial claims and the search for minerals were sometimes important motives for exploration. Occasionally military expeditions yielded new geographical knowledge.

The direction and speed of exploration varied with motives and opportunities. By helping natives in their wars Champlain was able to explore much of the eastern Great Lakes basin; by expanding their missions Recollet, Jesuit, and Sulpician priests obtained new geographical information (pl 34). After 1681, when the interior trade was legalized, French traders explored well beyond the Great Lakes (pl 38). In the 18th century westward exploration accelerated under the pressure of British competition from Hudson Bay and the Ohio valley.



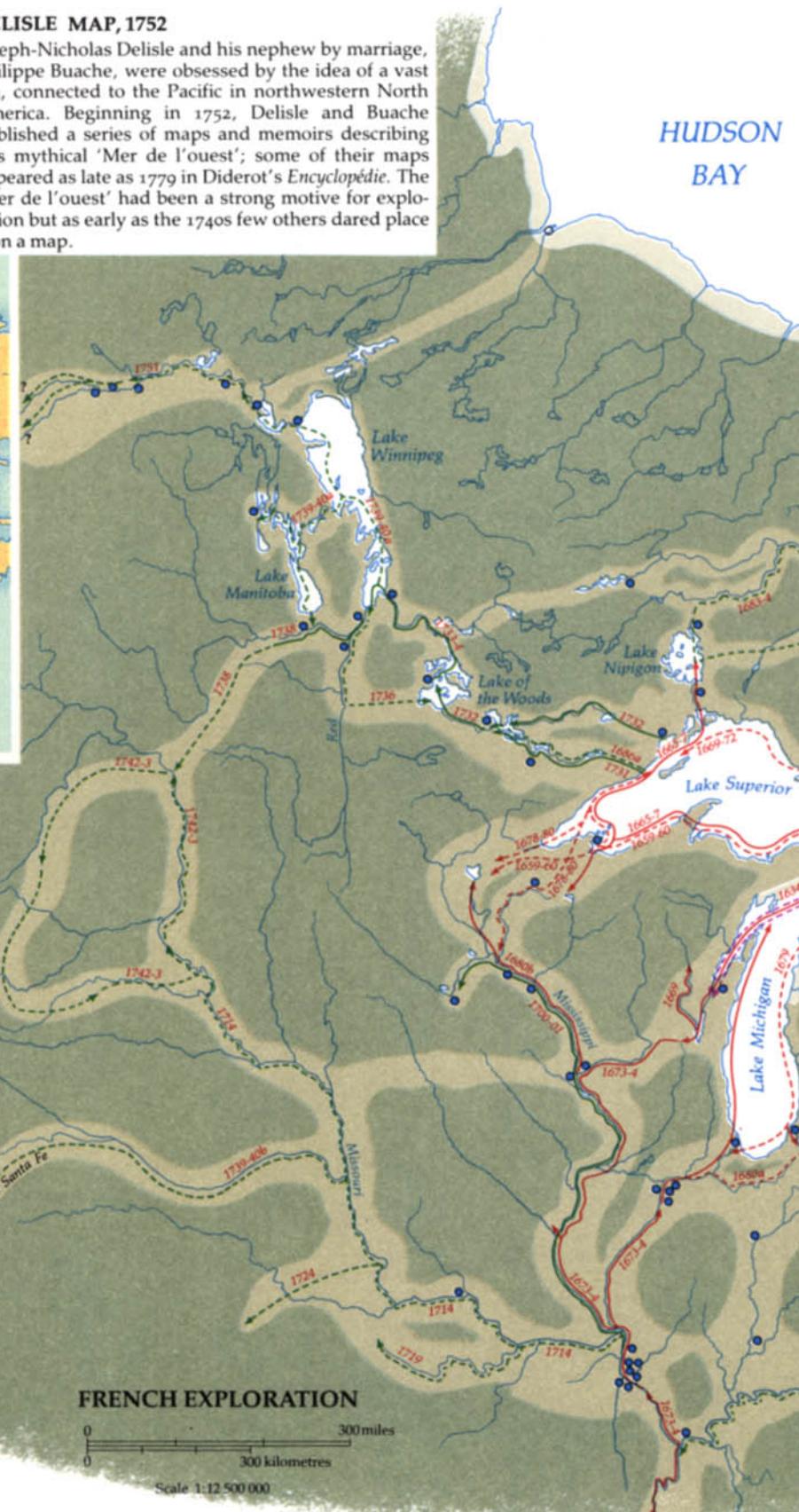
BELLIN MAP, 1755

When he made this map, Jacques-Nicolas Bellin was chief engineer of the cartographic section of the *Ministère de la Marine*, the depository for journals and maps from New France. Bellin used this material to good advantage and, beginning in 1743, produced a series of maps of New France that incorporated the latest available information about the North American interior. His map of 1755, the last original map in this set, includes data from La Vérendrye (1750), Bonnécamps (1749), Chaussegros de Léry and La Ronde (1735), and Father Laure (1731-3).



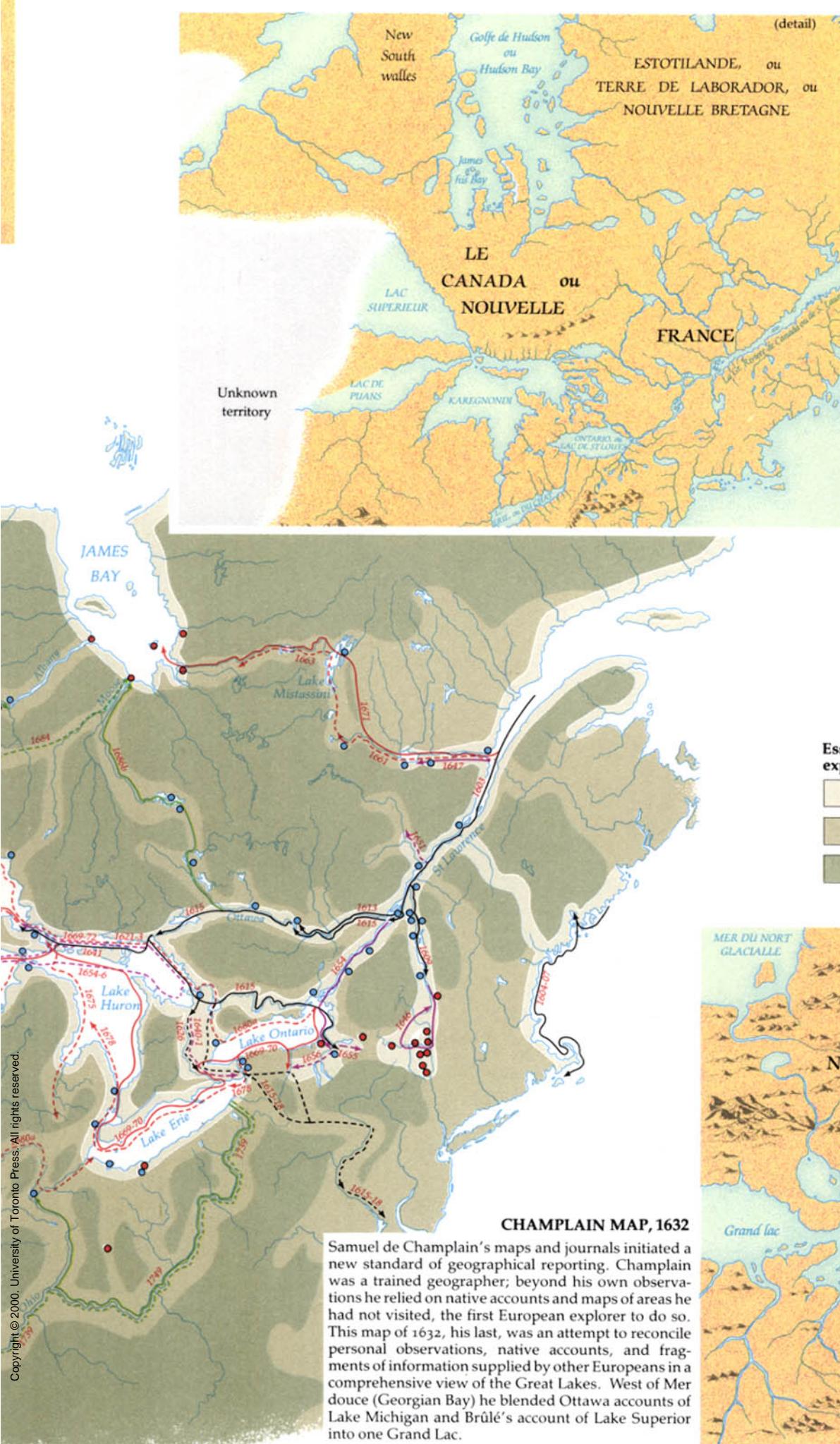
DELISLE MAP, 1752

Joseph-Nicholas Delisle and his nephew by marriage, Philippe Buache, were obsessed by the idea of a vast sea, connected to the Pacific in northwestern North America. Beginning in 1752, Delisle and Buache published a series of maps and memoirs describing this mythical 'Mer de l'ouest'; some of their maps appeared as late as 1779 in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*. The 'Mer de l'ouest' had been a strong motive for exploration but as early as the 1740s few others dared place it on a map.



CORONELLI MAP, 1688

Vincenzo Coronelli, an Italian friar in the Minorite Order of Franciscans, was commissioned to construct a huge globe for Louis XIV. His sojourn in Paris 1681–3 brought him into contact with cartographic material from New France, in particular the manuscripts of J.-B. Franquelin, then chief hydrographer at Québec, and La Salle. Coronelli's map of the Great Lakes, probably compiled in 1684–5 and published in 1688, was the first printed map of Canada to incorporate information from the explorations of Allouez, La Salle, Hennepin, and Jolliet.



SANSON MAP, 1656

Nicolas Sanson, founder of the great French school of cartography, was appointed *Géographe ordinaire du Roi* in 1630 and had access to the latest geographical information from New France. His maps of 1650 and 1656 are the first to show portions of all the Great Lakes more or less in their true positions. Sanson relied on the Jesuits, whose understanding of the Great Lakes basin derived from their own observations, native accounts, and informants such as Brûlé and Nicollet.

DATE	EXPLORERS	MOTIVATION					
		Search for minerals	Expansion of fur trade	Territorial claims	Military expeditions	Missionary activities	Search for route to Orient and northern sea
1603	Samuel de Champlain	*	*	*	*	*	*
1604-7	Samuel de Champlain	*	*	*	*	*	*
1609	Samuel de Champlain	*	*	*	*	*	*
1613	Samuel de Champlain	*	*	*	*	*	*
1615	Samuel de Champlain	*	*	*	*	*	*
1615-18	Étienne Brûlé	*	*	*	*	*	*
1621-3	Étienne Brûlé	*	*	*	*	*	*
1626	Joseph de La Roche Daillon	*	*	*	*	*	*
1634	Jean Nicollet	*	*	*	*	*	*
1640-1	Jean de Brébeuf and Pierre Chaumonot	*	*	*	*	*	*
1641	Isaac Jogues and Charles Raymbault	*	*	*	*	*	*
1646	Isaac Jogues and Jean Bourdon	*	*	*	*	*	*
1647	Jean de Quen	*	*	*	*	*	*
1651	Jacques Buteux	*	*	*	*	*	*
1654	Simon Le Moyne	*	*	*	*	*	*
1654-6	Médard Chouart Des Groseilliers	*	*	*	*	*	*
1655	Pierre Chaumonot and Claude Dablon	*	*	*	*	*	*
1656	Pierre Chaumonot	*	*	*	*	*	*
1659-60	M. Chouart Des Groseilliers and P. Radisson	*	*	*	*	*	*
1661	Claude Dablon and Gabriel Druillettes	*	*	*	*	*	*
1663	G. Couture, P.D. de La Chesnaye, J. Langlois	*	*	*	*	*	*
1665-7	Claude Allouez	*	*	*	*	*	*
1669	Claude Allouez	*	*	*	*	*	*
1669-70	F. Dollier, R. de Bréhan de Galinée, A. Jolliet	*	*	*	*	*	*
1669-72	Jean Peré	*	*	*	*	*	*
1671	Charles Albanel and Paul Denys de Saint-Simon	*	*	*	*	*	*
1673-4	Louis Jolliet and Jacques Marquette	*	*	*	*	*	*
1675	Henri Nouvel	*	*	*	*	*	*
1678-80	Daniel de Greysolon Duluth	*	*	*	*	*	*
1678	Robert Cavelier de La Salle	*	*	*	*	*	*
1679	Henri de Tonty	*	*	*	*	*	*
1680a	Robert Cavelier de La Salle	*	*	*	*	*	*
1680b	M. Accault, A. Auguel, and L. Hennepin	*	*	*	*	*	*
1683-4	Daniel de Greysolon Duluth	*	*	*	*	*	*
1684	Jean Peré	*	*	*	*	*	*
1686a	Jacques de Noyon	*	*	*	*	*	*
1686b	Pierre de Troyes	*	*	*	*	*	*
1700-1	Pierre Charles Le Sueur	*	*	*	*	*	*
1714	Étienne de Véniard de Bourgmond	*	*	*	*	*	*
1719	Claude Charles Dutisné	*	*	*	*	*	*
1724	Étienne de Véniard de Bourgmond	*	*	*	*	*	*
1731	C.D. de La Jemerais and J.-B. G. de LaVérendrye	*	*	*	*	*	*
1732	Pierre Gaultier de La Vérendrye	*	*	*	*	*	*
1733-4	C.D. de La Jemerais and J.-B. G. de LaVérendrye	*	*	*	*	*	*
1736	J.-B. and P. G. de La Vérendrye	*	*	*	*	*	*
1738	Louis-Joseph, François, and P.G. de La Vérendrye	*	*	*	*	*	*
1739	C. Le Moyne de Longueuil, P.-J. Céloron de Blainville, and G. Chaussegros de Léry (fils)	*	*	*	*	*	*
1739-40a	Louis-Joseph Gaultier de La Vérendrye	*	*	*	*	*	*
1739-40b	Pierre Antoine and Paul Mallet	*	*	*	*	*	*
1742-3	L.-J. and F. Gaultier de La Vérendrye	*	*	*	*	*	*
1749	P.J. C. de Blainville and J. P. de Bonnécamps	*	*	*	*	*	*
1751	Boucher de Niverville	*	*	*	*	*	*

Essentially explored

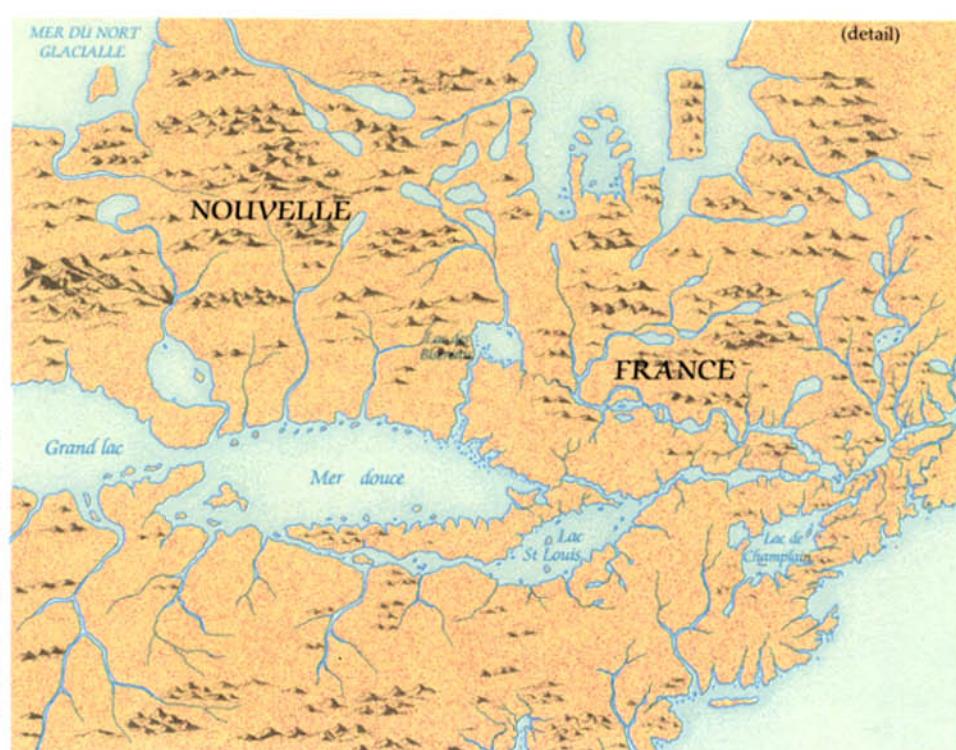
- 1603-1656
- 1659-1751
- Unexplored

Exploration routes

- ← 1603-1626
- ↑ 1634-1656
- 1659-1680
- 1683-1751
- Known route
- ↔ Presumed route

Fort or post

- British
- French



CHAMPLAIN MAP, 1632

Samuel de Champlain's maps and journals initiated a new standard of geographical reporting. Champlain was a trained geographer; beyond his own observations he relied on native accounts and maps of areas he had not visited, the first European explorer to do so. This map of 1632, his last, was an attempt to reconcile personal observations, native accounts, and fragments of information supplied by other Europeans in a comprehensive view of the Great Lakes. West of Mer douce (Georgian Bay) he blended Ottawa accounts of Lake Michigan and Brûlé's account of Lake Superior into one Grand Lac.

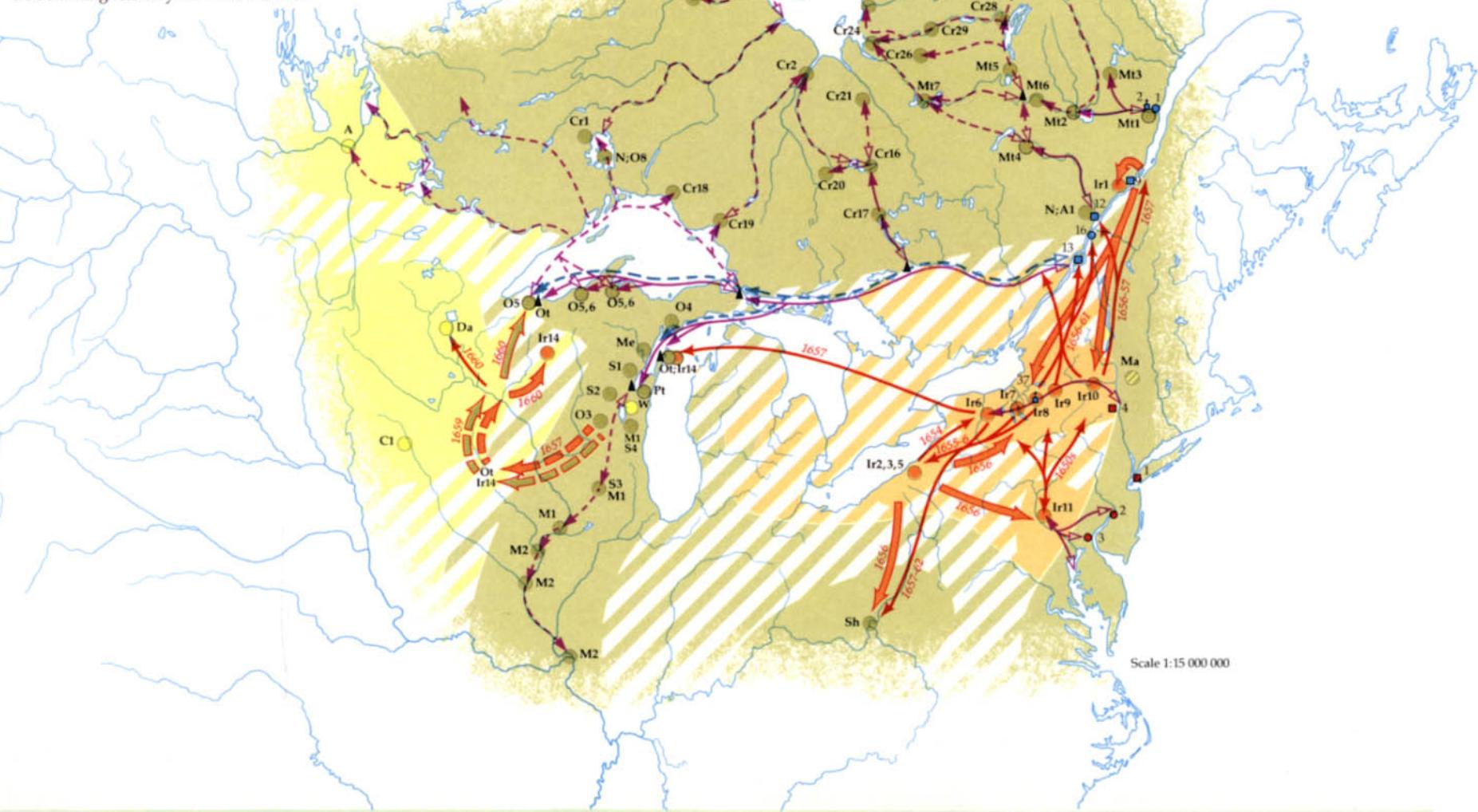
RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF TRADE, 1654–1666

Author: Conrad E. Heidenreich

TRADE RESUMES, 1654–1660

Between 1634 and 1651 epidemics and warfare depopulated most of the eastern Great Lakes region (pl 33). After 1649 the St Lawrence valley was cut off from the west until 1654 when a group of Ottawa and Wyandot (Huron-Petun), now relocated west of Lake Michigan, came to Montréal to re-establish trade. Coureurs de bois and missionaries who followed them back to Green Bay and Lake Superior noted that these groups, as well as the Saulteaux and Potawatomi, had begun a carrying trade between their native neighbours and the French. Meanwhile, Montagnais bands along the Saint-Maurice and Saguenay Rivers continued as middlemen between the French and more northerly bands.

From 1654 to 1658 peace between the French and all the Iroquois except the Mohawk gave the Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga the opportunity to disperse the Erie and the refugee Petun and Neutral and to carry the war south to the Shawnee. In the upper Mississippi a group of westward-migrating Ottawa and Wyandot initiated a protracted conflict when they tried to take hunting territory from the Dakota.



The series of maps (pls 37-40) begun on this plate treats, period by period, the inland development of New France. The maps present an integrated view of French, English, and Indian trade, warfare, and settlement in the central interior of North America.

Goods and traders

- ← European goods
- Native goods
- Natives trading with Europeans
- - - Natives trading with natives
- Annual French traders
- - - Occasional French traders

Settlements and trading places (see numbered list below)

- French village or town
- French mission
- French fort or post
- Dutch village, English after 1664
- Dutch fort or post, English after 1664
- ▲ Known native trading place

Warfare

- Native warfare
- French warfare
- Forced native migration
- □ Peaceful native migration

Native population

- Language and native group, eg Ir6 Iroquoian (Seneca) (see comprehensive list at right)
- Principal native traders

- Area generally occupied
- Area seasonally occupied

Native languages

- Central Algonquian
- Eastern Algonquian
- Iroquoian
- Siouan

NATIVE GROUPS

IROQUOIAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| Ir Iroquoian | Ir1 Huron |
| | 2 Petun (Tionontate) |
| | 3 Neutral |
| | 4 Wenro |
| | 5 Erie |
| | 6 Seneca |
| | 7 Cayuga |
| | 8 Onondaga |
| | 9 Oneida |
| | 10 Mohawk |
| | 11 Susquehannock |
| | 12 Tuscarora |
| | 13 Mingo (Seneca/Cayuga) |
| | 14 Wyandot (Huron/Petun) |

SIOUAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

- | | |
|----------------|------------|
| Da Dakota | Da1 Santee |
| | 2 Yankton |
| | 3 Teton |
| W Winnebago | |
| A Assiniboine | |
| M Mandan | |
| H Hidatsa-Crow | |
| De Dhegiha | De1 Omaha |
| | 2 Ponca |
| | 3 Osage |
| | 4 Kansa |
| C Chiwere | C1 Iowa |
| | 2 Oto |
| | 3 Missouri |

CADDODIAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

- | |
|-----------|
| A Arikara |
| P Pawnee |

ALGONQUIAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Western Language Group | A Arapaho |
| | 1 Arapaho |
| | 2 Atsina |
| B Blackfoot | 1 Siksika |
| | 2 Blood |
| | 3 Piegan |
| C Cheyenne | |
| Central Language Group | O Ojibwa |
| | 1 Ouchibous |
| | 2 Marameg |
| | 3 Mantouek |
| | 4 Noquet |
| | 5 Saulteaux |
| | 6 Mississauga |
| | 7 Nikikouet |
| | 8 Amikwa |
| | 9 Achillogouan (N) (Ot) |
| | 10 Ouchougai (N) (Ot) |
| | 11 Ouassourini |
| | 12 Sagahanirini |
| | 13 Graisse Ours |
| | 14 Not specified |

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| Algonquin | Ot Ottawa |
| Sh Shawnee | Me Menominee |
| Mt Montagnais-Naskapi | Pt Potawatomi |
| | N Nipissing |
| | S Sauk-Fox-Kikapoo-Mascouten |
| | C1 Iowa |
| | 2 Oto |
| | 3 Missouri |
| M Miami-Illinois | 4 Mascouten |
| | M1 Miami |
| | 2 Illinois |

Eastern Language Group

- | |
|--------------------|
| Ma Mahican |
| De Delaware |
| Aw Western Abenaki |
| Ae Eastern Abenaki |

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Central Language Group | Cr Cree-Gens de Terre |
| | 1 West Main Cree |
| | 2 Alimbegouek |
| | 3 Monsoni |
| | 4 Ataouabouskatouek |
| | 5 Washahoe |
| | 6 Weenusk |
| | 7 Penneswagewan |
| | 8 Maskegon |
| | 9 Michinipi |
| | 10 Nameoulini |
| | 11 Christinaux du bois fort |
| | 12 Christinaux du Puant |
| | 13 Kinougeoulini |
| | 14 Geuebagonhelini |
| | 15 Non-specified Gens de Terre |
| | Cr16 Abitibi |
| | 17 Timiscimi (At) |
| | 18 Outoulibi |
| | 19 Nopeming |
| | 20 Piscoutagami |
| | 21 Outchichagamouietch |
| | 22 Non-specified East Main Cree |
| | Cr24 Nisibourounik |
| | 25 Pitchibourounik |
| | 26 Gesseiriniouetch |
| | 27 Opinaguirinouetch |
| | 28 Grands Mistassirini (Mt) |
| | 29 Escurieux |

IROQUOIS DISRUPTIONS, 1660-1666

The Ottawa, Wyandot, and Saulteaux of Lake Superior and the Potawatomi at Green Bay, although harassed by the Dakota, consolidated their positions as principal native traders. The Nipissing and Amikwa who had fled to Lake Nipigon in 1650-3 began a new carrying trade between Montréal and interior Cree groups.

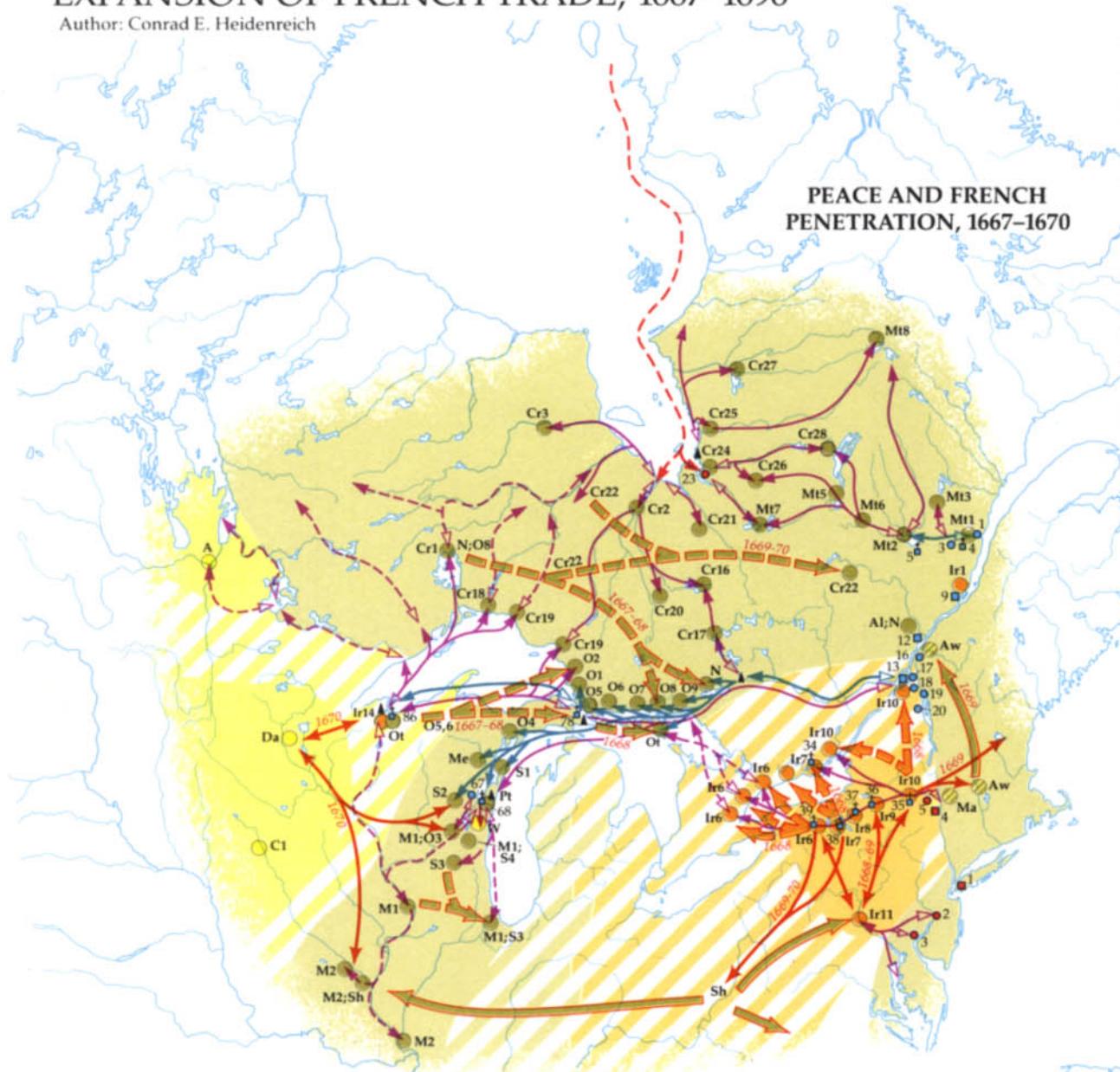
The Iroquois war resumed in 1658. Despite a smallpox epidemic in 1662 and defeats suffered at the hands of the Saulteaux, Susquehannock, and Huron, the Iroquois managed to disperse the Attikamek by 1665 and to disrupt the Montagnais trade. In 1664 the French court sent troops to New France to destroy the Iroquois. Late in 1666 this force of 1200 soldiers, led by Prouville de Tracy, burned the four principal villages of their most implacable foe, the Mohawk, and forced a peace on the Iroquois confederacy.

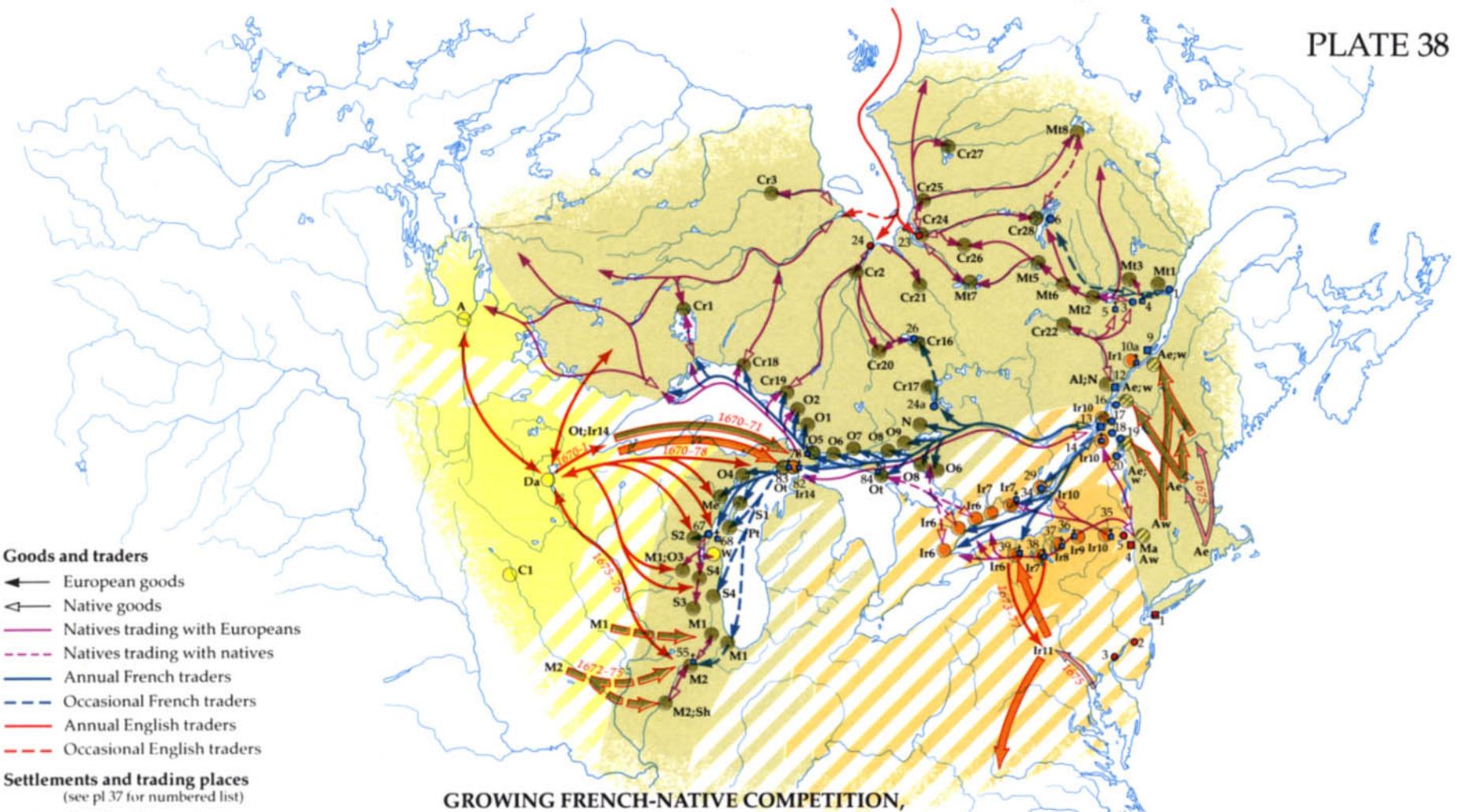


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EXPANSION OF FRENCH TRADE, 1667-1696

Author: Conrad E. Heidenreich

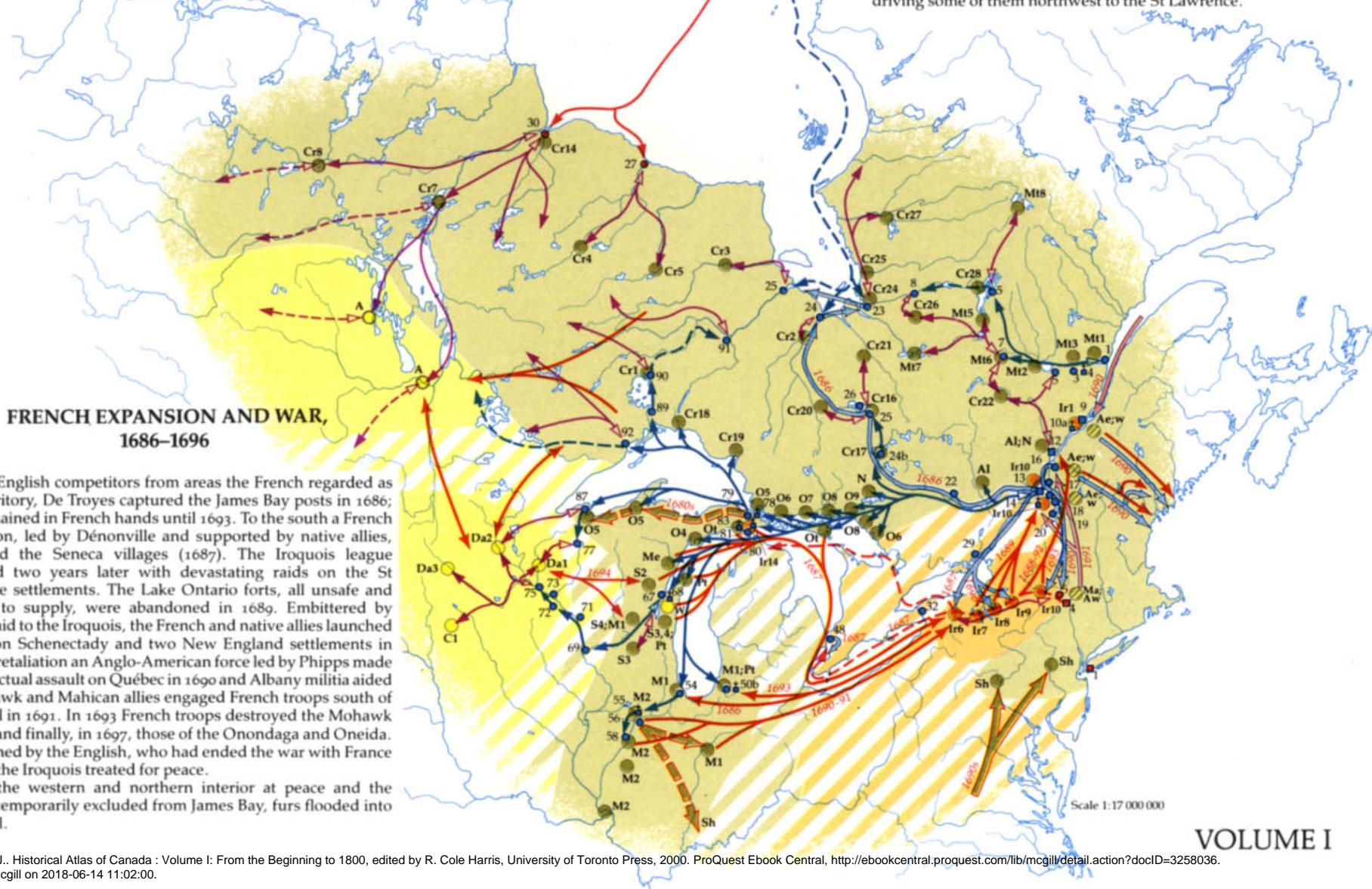




In 1670 the Dakota wars closed the west to the fur trade. Native traders relocated themselves at Sault-Sainte-Marie and Michilimackinac where they competed with French coureurs de bois for furs from the Assiniboine, Cree, and interior groups known to the French as Gens de Terre. Following the establishment of a mission on the Illinois River, the coureurs de bois began to penetrate the lands southwest of Lake Michigan. As French trade in the interior grew, native trade to Montreal continued to decline.

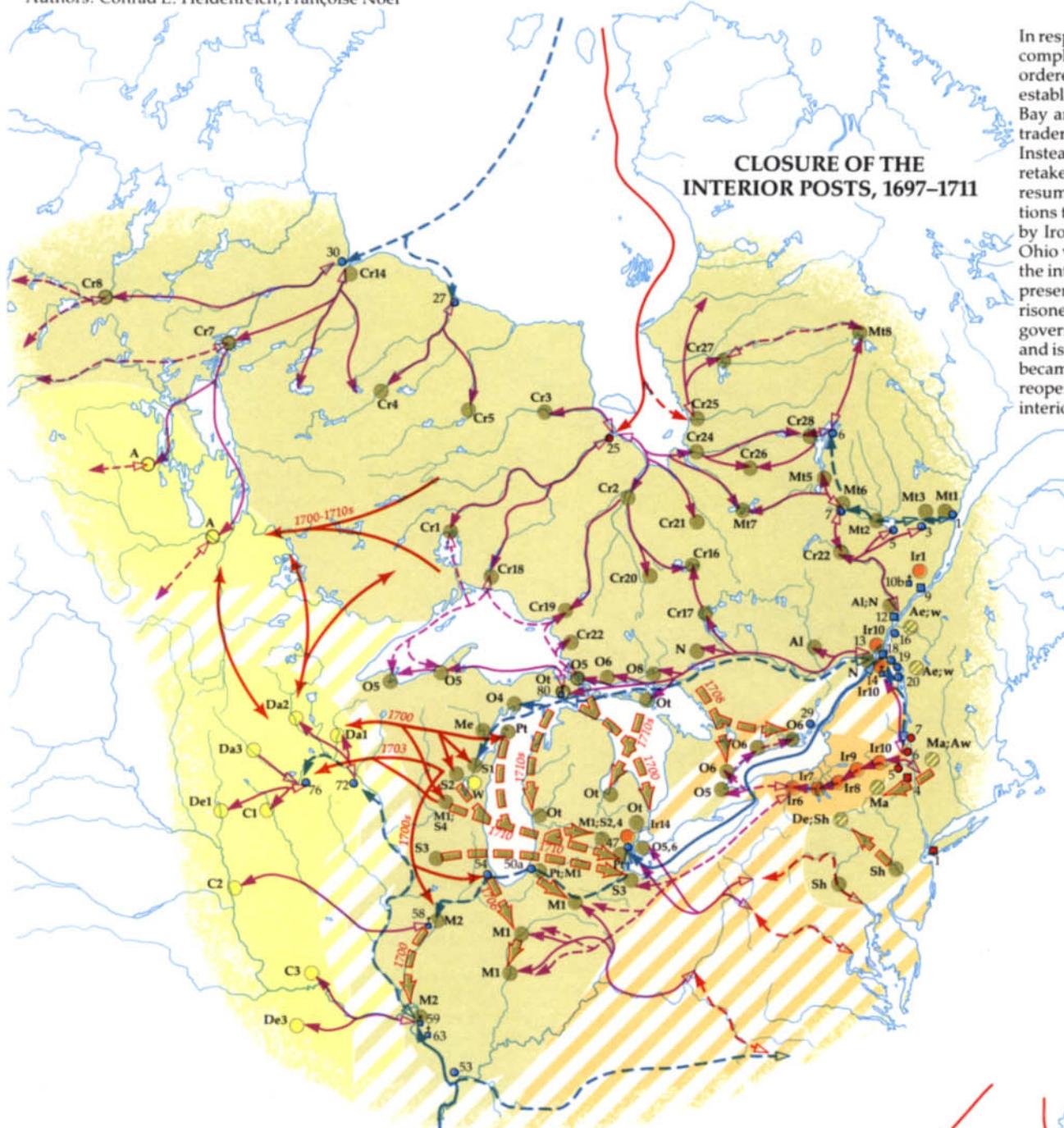
In the east Algonquian fur continued to reach Albany while English competition on James Bay became a threat to the northern fur trade. Fort Frontenac was built on Lake Ontario in 1673 to undercut English influence and to serve as a base from which French trade could be expanded southwest. The fort successfully drew Iroquois fur to the French.

In 1675 Iroquois and English attacks finally dispersed the Susquehannock while New Englanders attacked the Abenaki, driving some of them northwest to the St Lawrence.



TRADE AND EMPIRE, 1697-1739

Authors: Conrad E. Heidenreich, Françoise Noël



In response to a glut of beaver, the costly Iroquois war, and Jesuit complaints about the coureurs de bois, the French crown ordered the interior posts closed in 1696. Although Detroit was established in 1701 and some illegal trade continued at Green Bay and Michilimackinac, French officials expected that native traders would resume their voyages to Montréal. Few did. Instead, the northern fur trade began to shift to Fort Albany, retaken by the English in 1693. The opening of Detroit and the resumption of Dakota hostilities (1700) shifted native populations towards the lower Great Lakes where they were contacted by Iroquois and by English traders beginning to penetrate the Ohio valley. Increasingly coureurs de bois who had remained in the interior smuggled their furs to the English. To maintain their presence in the strategic lower Great Lakes, the French garrisoned the Illinois-Michigan posts in 1701. By 1708 the French governor openly condoned illegal trading at Michilimackinac and issued lavish presents to maintain native allegiances. It soon became obvious to the French crown that if the posts were not reopened France's native allies would become alienated and the interior could be lost to the British.

After the Act of Union between England and Scotland in 1707, the term 'British' replaced 'English'.

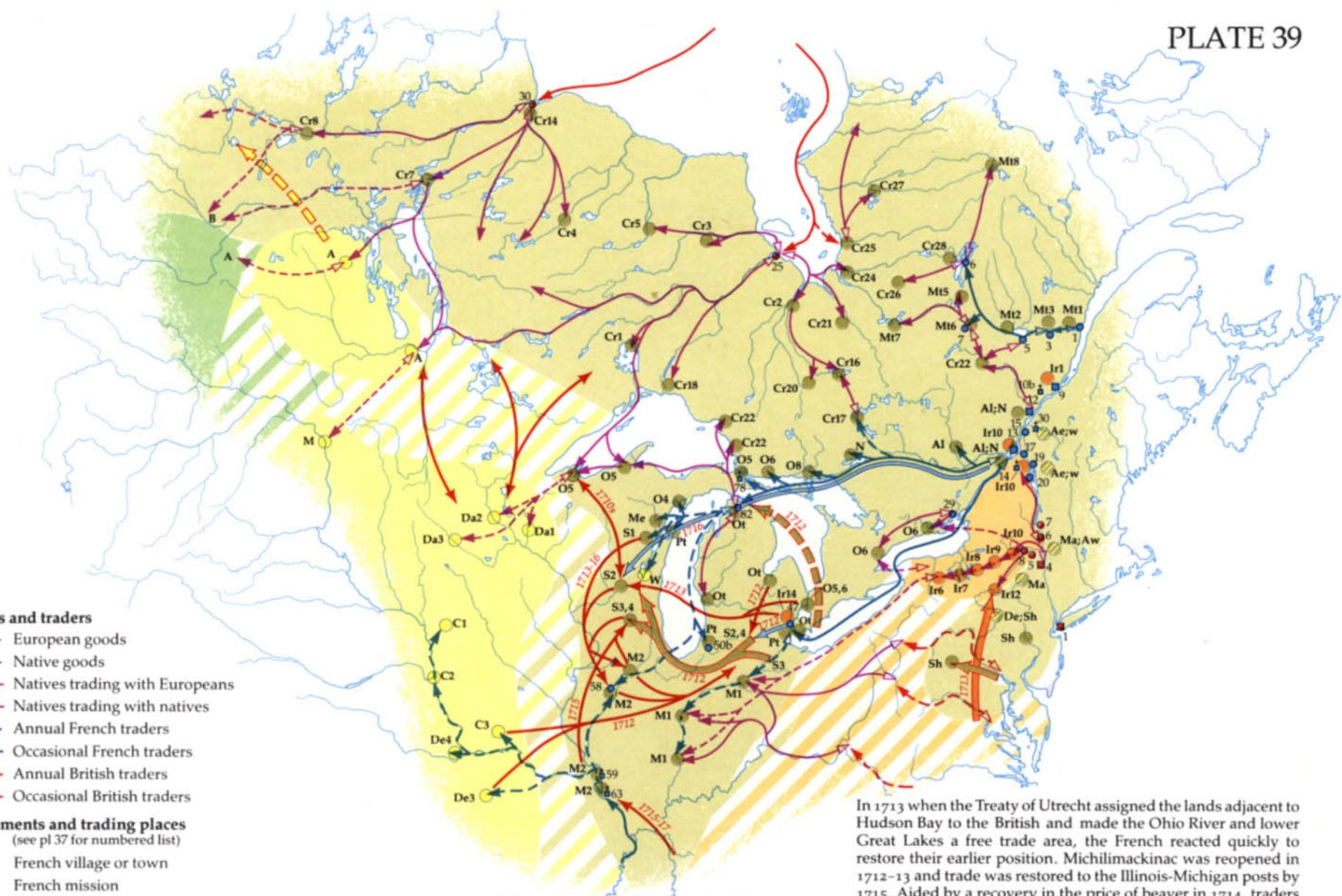
FRENCH INTERIOR TRADE RESTORED, 1717-1725

By 1717 the French had reopened their interior posts. In 1720 forts Frontenac, Detroit, and Niagara gave France control of the lower Great Lakes, while the Lake Superior and Temiscamingue posts quickly cut into the Hudson's Bay Company trade. All posts in areas within the potential reach of Anglo-American traders were garrisoned and every effort was made to retain native alliances. In the Mississippi-Illinois area the Fox, aided by Sauk, Kikapoo, and Mascouten, resumed their war against the Illinois, while the Chickasaw struck the Illinois and Miami from the south. Although direct access to the Dakota from Green Bay was blocked by the Fox, Ojibwa traders reached them from Chagouamigon. On the Missouri French traders out of Fort de Chartres established trade relations with various Siouan groups.

British traders continued their penetration of the Ohio country, and in the 1720s opened temporary posts on the upper Ohio and on an eastern tributary of the Wabash.

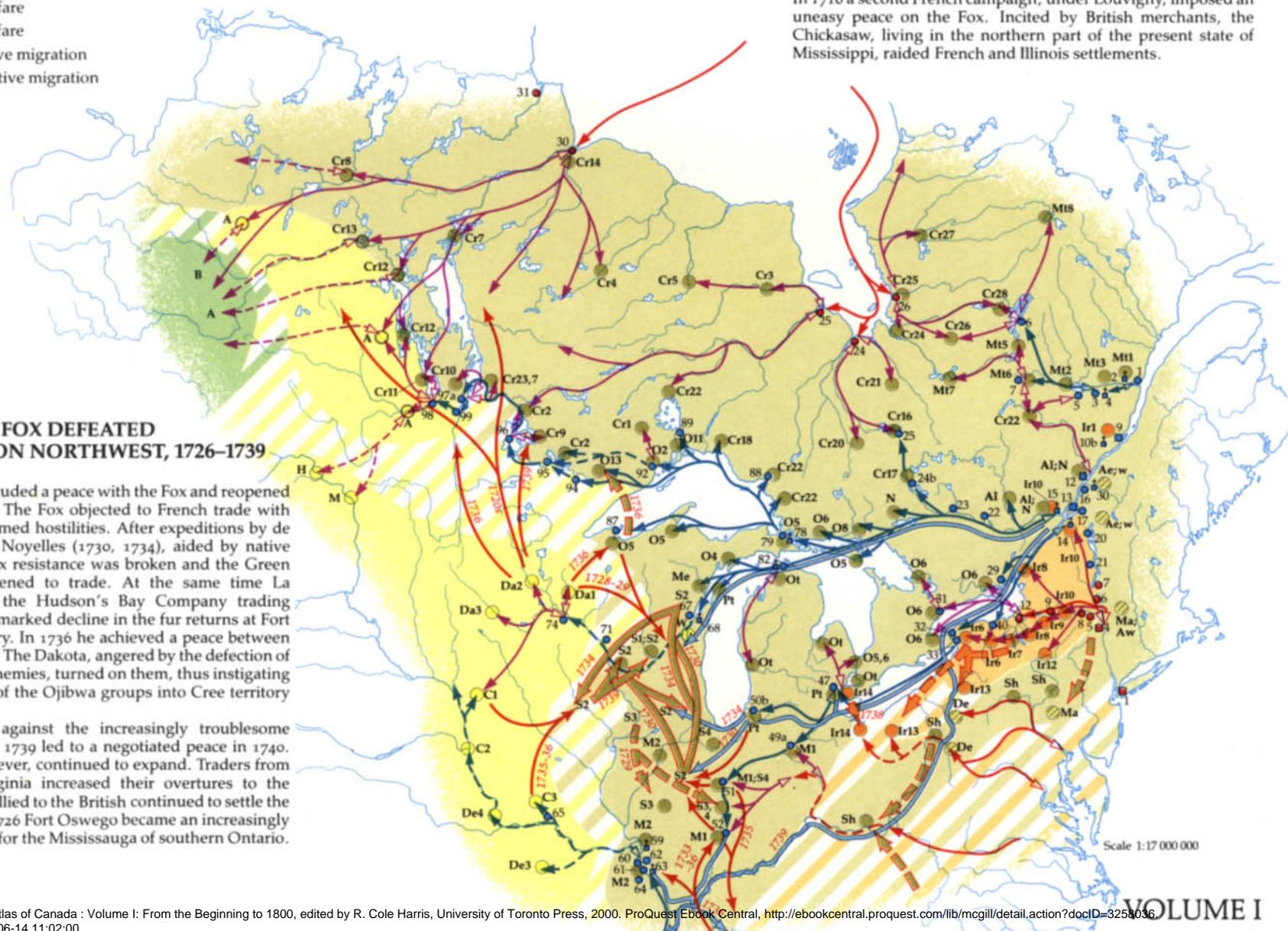


HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CANADA



In 1713 when the Treaty of Utrecht assigned the lands adjacent to Hudson Bay to the British and made the Ohio River and lower Great Lakes a free trade area, the French reacted quickly to restore their earlier position. Michilimackinac was reopened in 1712-13 and trade was restored to the Illinois-Michigan posts by 1715. Aided by a recovery in the price of beaver in 1714, traders again departed for the interior.

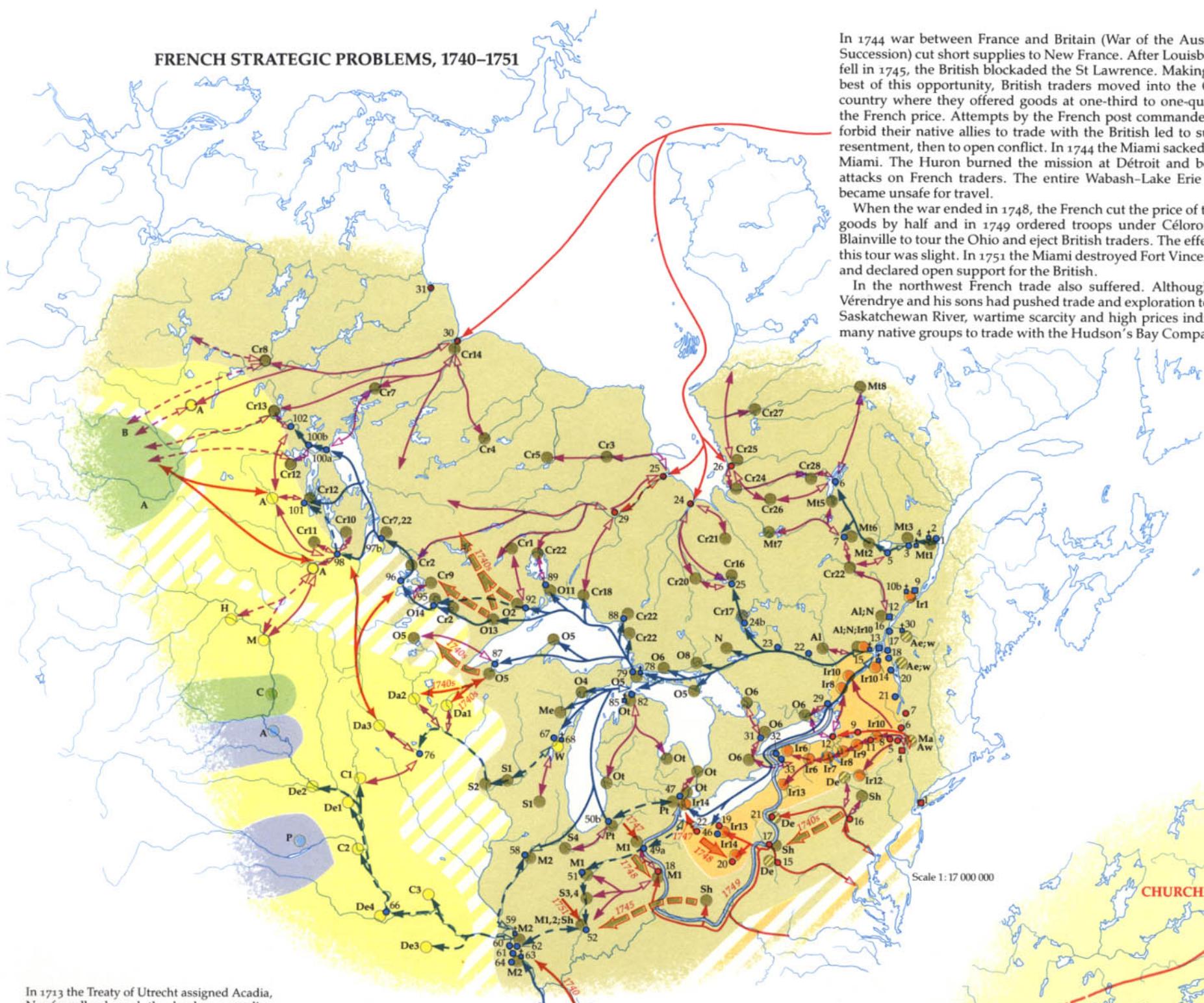
Convinced that the Fox were hatching a plot with the British and Iroquois to drive the French out of the Great Lakes, the Détroit commandant Dubuisson, aided by native allies of the French, launched a pre-emptive raid in 1712. The Fox and their allies fled to Green Bay where they retaliated against the Illinois. In 1716 a second French campaign, under Louvigny, imposed an uneasy peace on the Fox. Incited by British merchants, the Chickasaw, living in the northern part of the present state of Mississippi, raided French and Illinois settlements.



FRANCE SECURES THE INTERIOR, 1740-1755

Authors: Conrad E. Heidenreich, Françoise Noël

FRENCH STRATEGIC PROBLEMS, 1740-1751



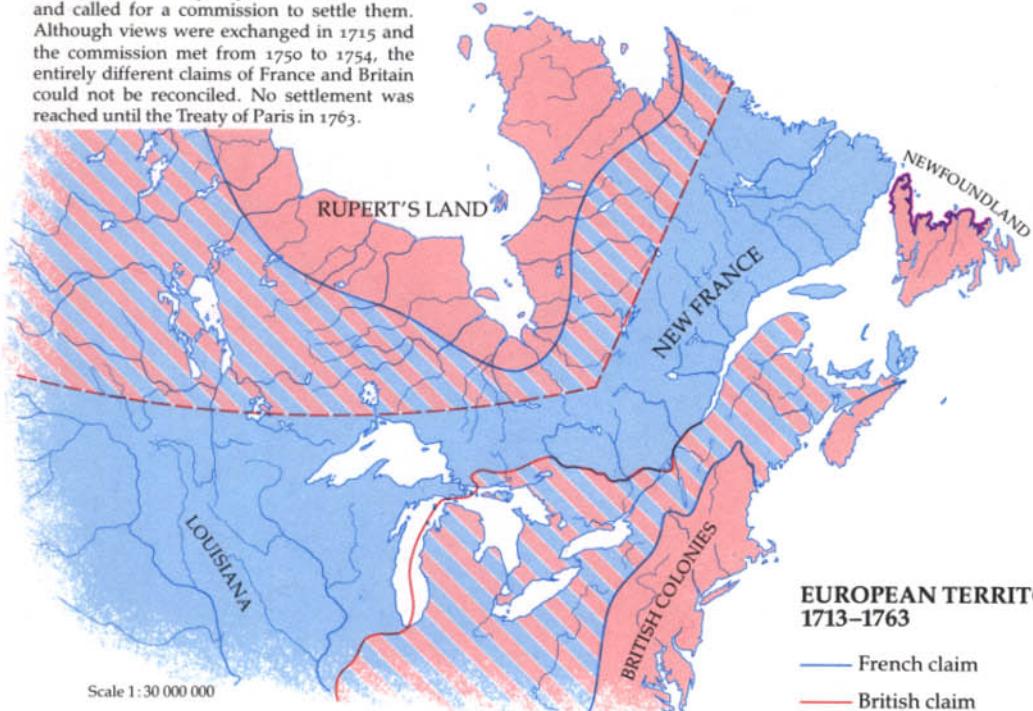
Scale 1: 17 000 000

THE FUR TRADE, ca 1755

In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht assigned Acadia, Newfoundland, and the land surrounding Hudson Bay to Britain. The lower Great Lakes-Ottawa area was to be a free trade zone. The treaty did not specify definite boundaries and called for a commission to settle them. Although views were exchanged in 1715 and the commission met from 1750 to 1754, the entirely different claims of France and Britain could not be reconciled. No settlement was reached until the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

Although licensed and regulated by the crown, the French fur trade was conducted by Montréal merchants who operated in small companies (*sociétés*), often in partnership with post commanders. At some posts (especially the *entrepôts*) concessions to trade were obtained by the purchase of a permit (*congé*) to take a load of trade goods (by 1755 about 2 tons) to the post. The number of *congés* was limited and varied between posts. At other posts trade was by monopoly lease for specified periods. Finally, at some posts trade was a crown monopoly (king's post) operated by agents. The mix of these three systems changed over time.

Fur imports at La Rochelle (pl 48) are some indication of the changing volume of the French fur trade. Comprehensive data on the sources of these furs are available only for the mid-1750s. Permit revenue for 1755 indicates that the products (mainly furs) of the northern posts were more valuable than those (furs and hides) of the southern ones. In the 1750s about 80% of the furs exported from North America were garnered by the French.



EUROPEAN TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, 1713-1763

- French claim
- British claim
- - - Hudson's Bay Company claim

- Recognized French territory
- Recognized British territory
- Disputed territory
- British territory, French fishing and landing rights

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CANADA

Stuart, Wendy J.. Historical Atlas of Canada : Volume I: From the Beginning to 1800, edited by R. Cole Harris, University of Toronto Press, 2000. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mcgill/detail.action?docID=3258036>. Created from mcgill on 2018-06-14 11:02:00.

Goods and traders

- ← European goods
- ← Native goods
- Natives trading with Europeans
- - - Natives trading with natives
- Annual French traders
- - - Occasional French traders
- Annual British traders
- - - Occasional British traders

Settlements and trading places

- French village or town
- French mission
- French fort or post
- British village
- British fort or post

Warfare

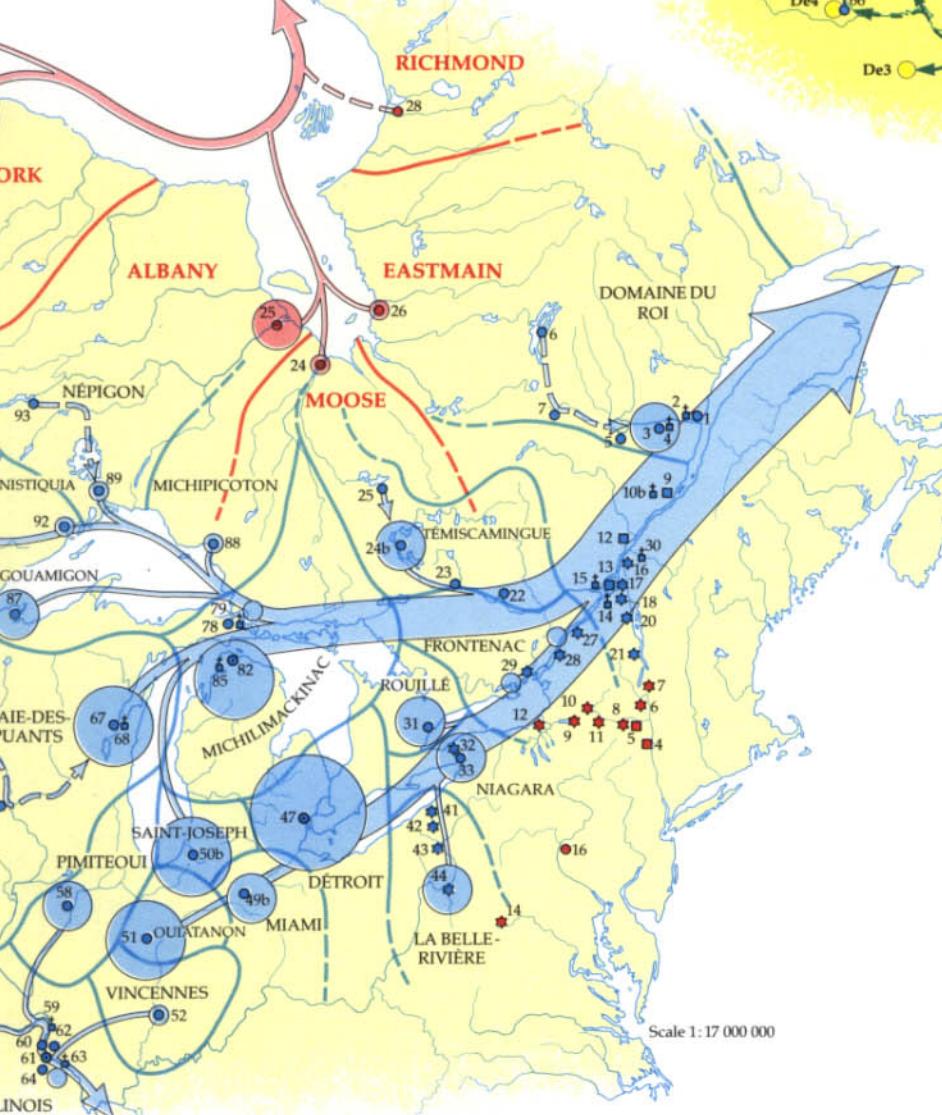
- ← Native warfare
- ← French warfare
- ← British warfare
- Forced native migration
- Peaceful native migration

Native population

- Language and native group,
eg Ir6 Iroquoian (Seneca)
(see pl 37 for numbered list)
- Principal native traders
 - Area generally occupied
 - Area seasonally occupied

Native languages

- Central Algonquian
- Eastern Algonquian
- Western Algonquian
- Iroquoian
- Siouan
- Caddoan



The lessons of the previous ten years were not lost on the French. The Ohio-Wabash country was of little economic value for the fur trade but was strategically of the highest importance. The French recognized that, if the lower Great Lakes natives were alienated, the Mississippi colonies would be cut off from Canada, and in time the upper Great Lakes Indians would drift to the British. Without native support, affirmed through treaties, competitive prices, and a show of strength, the interior would be lost.

In 1752 treaties with the eastern Dakota permitted the vigorous expansion of trade along the upper Mississippi. In the same year the French coerced the Miami back into the French alliance when an Indian party assisted by French soldiers destroyed the Miami's main village, built around a British post at Pickawillany. In 1753-4 French troops occupied four new posts in the upper Ohio, an area always claimed by France. Henley House, a Hudson's Bay outpost on the Albany River, was destroyed in 1755 by natives. For a time the French had secured the interior of North America.

**THE FUR TRADE, ca 1755****Settlements and trading places**

- Major French settlement
- French fort, major garrison
- French post
- French entrepôt and garrison
- French mission
- Major British settlement
- British fort, major garrison
- British post

Internal divisions

- French post districts
- Hudson's Bay Co. districts

Fur and hide production

- More than 700 (packs)
- 301-700
- 101-300
- 100 or fewer

Movement of furs and hides
(in packs of 100 lbs)

- 5 000
 - 2 500
 - 1 000
 - Volume not known
- French Hudson's Bay Company

FUR AND HIDE PRODUCTION		Permit revenue per 1 000 livres	Lease system*
District	Packs %		
Canada			
Témiscamingue	120	1.8	3.5
Sault-Sainte-Marie	100	1.5	0.0
Kaministiquia	65	1.0	4.0
Népigon	90	1.4	—
Michipicoton	55	0.8	4.0
Mer de l'ouest	350	5.3	9.0
Chagouamigon	250	3.8	8.1
Michilimackinac	650	9.8	10.8
Baie-des-Puants	550	8.3	9.0
Saint-Joseph	400	6.0	3.0
Ouiatagan	425	6.4	3.0
Miami	275	4.1	3.0
Détroit	900	13.5	6.5
La Belle-Rivière	225	3.4	0.0
Niagara	275	4.1	0.0
Rouillé	150	2.3	0.0
Frontenac	25	0.4	0.0
La Présentation	35	0.5	0.0
Domaine du Roi	135	2.0	0.0
Total	5 075	76.4	63.9
Louisiana			
Vincennes	80	1.2	—
Pimiteoui	250	3.8	6.0
Illinois	100	1.5	—
Missouri	180	2.7	—
Total	610	9.2	6.0
Hudson's Bay Company			
Churchill	155	2.3	—
York	550	8.3	M
Albany	130	2.0	M
Moose	70	1.0	M
Eastmain/Richmond	50	0.8	M
Total	955	14.4	—
GRAND TOTAL	6 640	100.0	

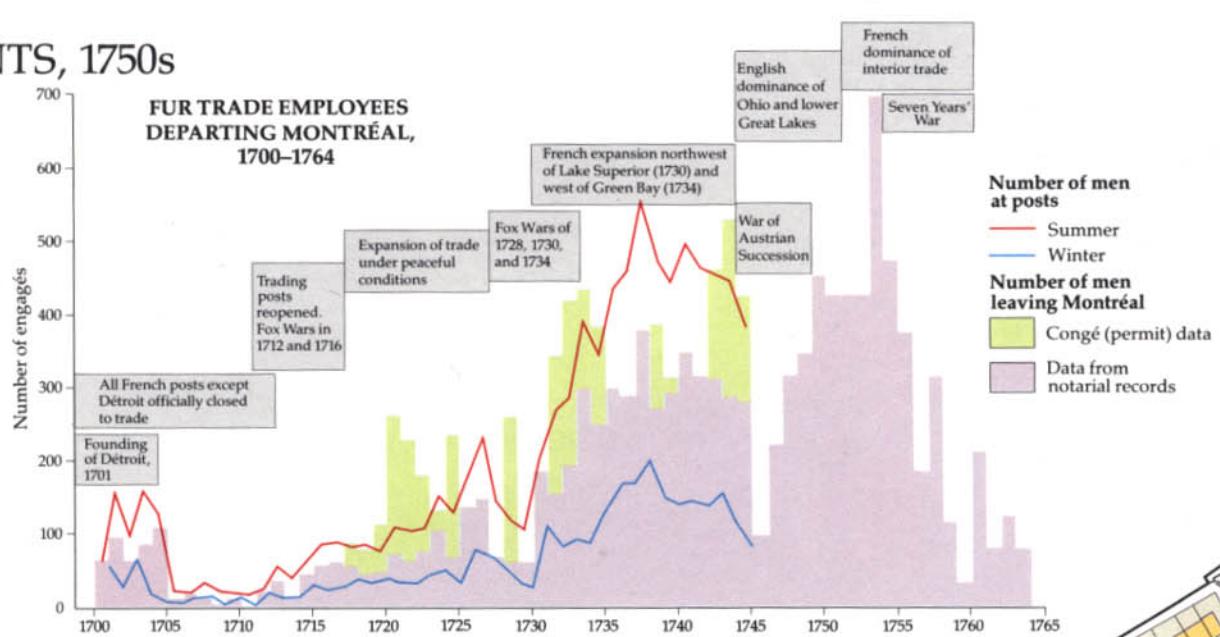
***Lease-system key**

- M - Monopoly leasehold system
- C - Congé (permit) system - number of congés
- K - King's post (crown monopoly)
- S - Seigneurie

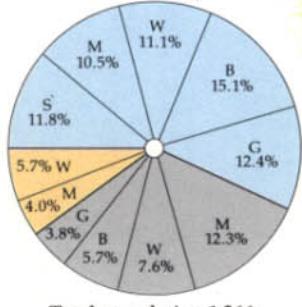
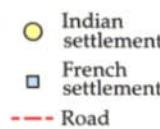
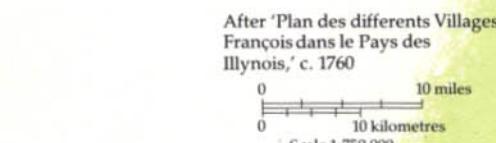
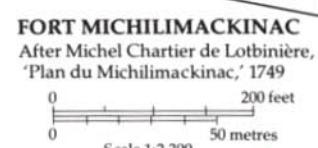
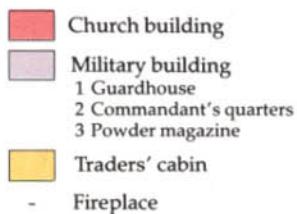
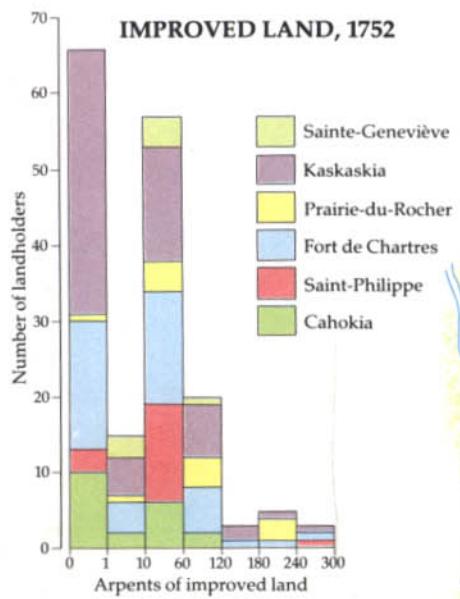
FRENCH INTERIOR SETTLEMENTS, 1750s

Authors: Conrad E. Heidenreich, Fran ois No l;
Gratien Allaire (Manpower graphs)

The commercial hinterland of Montréal extended far into the vast interior of New France. Two main entrepôts, Détroit and Michilimackinac, served as interior headquarters for merchants and as transshipment points. There were Jesuit missions at both centres plus a garrison and agricultural settlement at Détroit. Fort de Chartres, the main French entrepôt in the Illinois country, depended on Louisiana. Beyond these entrepôts were district posts, and dependent on them were smaller posts such as Fort Beauharnois, most of them short-lived. All French posts were fortified and many in the south were garrisoned. Although there were gardens at the larger posts, most agricultural produce was purchased from local natives or imported from Montréal or Détroit.



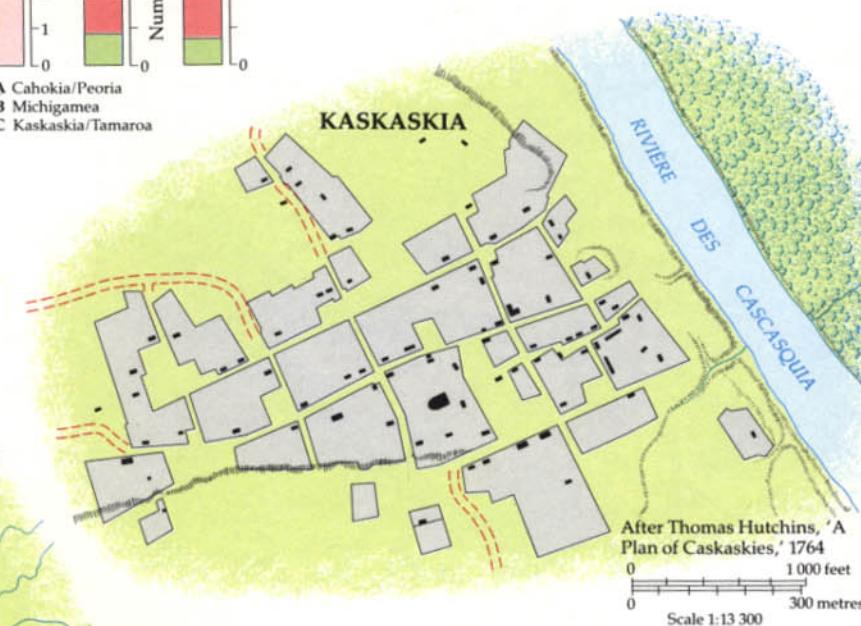
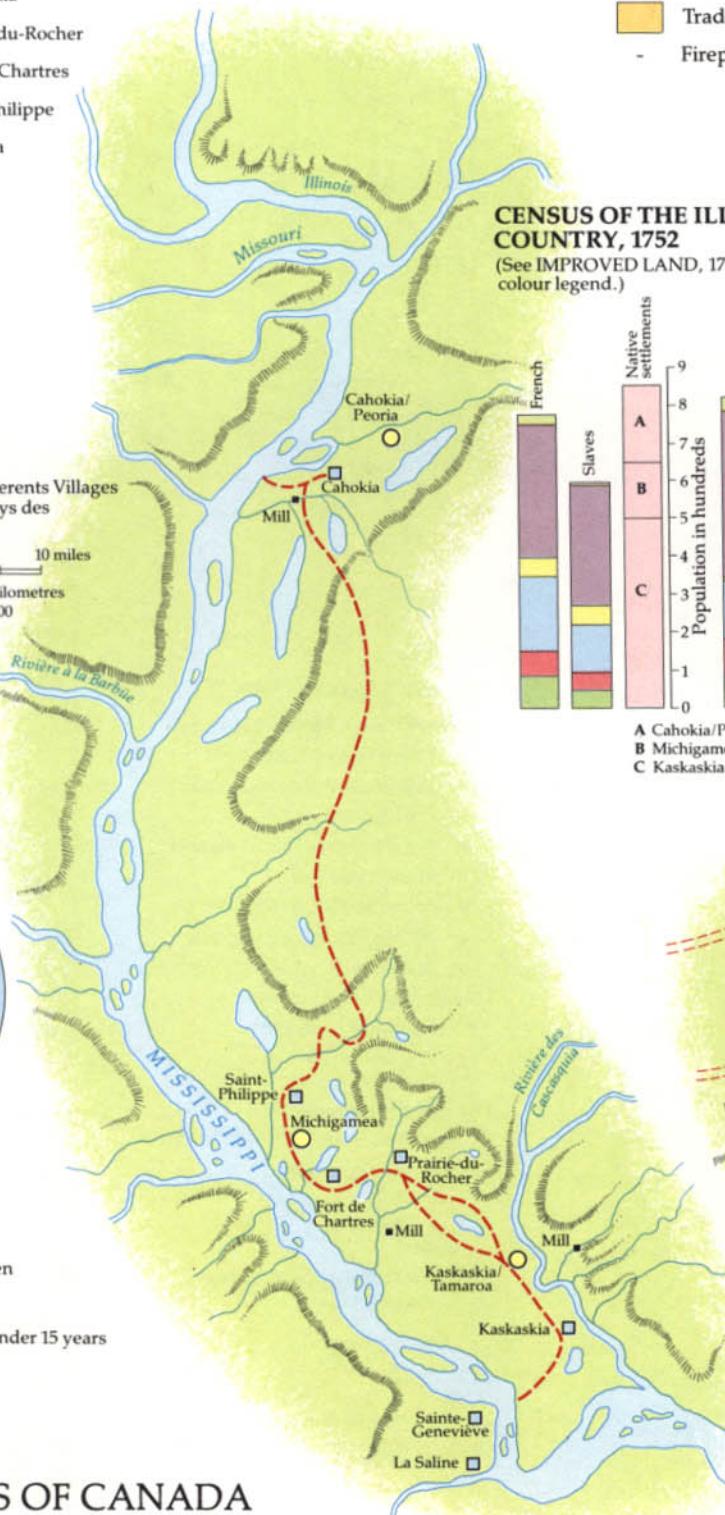
Of the several French agricultural settlements south and west of the Great Lakes those in the Illinois country were by far the most important. There were 223 farmers there in 1752, 70% of them slave-owners. Most farmers worked alongside their slaves on small holdings and probably also engaged in the hide trade. A few large landowners produced considerable surpluses; the Jesuit missionary at Kaskaskia estimated that the Illinois settlements raised three times what they consumed. Wheat and flour, corn, cattle, and swine were shipped to Louisiana, often for Caribbean markets.



Total population 1 366
(Native settlements not included)

-  French
-  Black slaves
-  Native slaves*
- S Soldiers
- M Other men
- W Women
- B Boys } under
G Girls }

*Inclusion of children uncertain



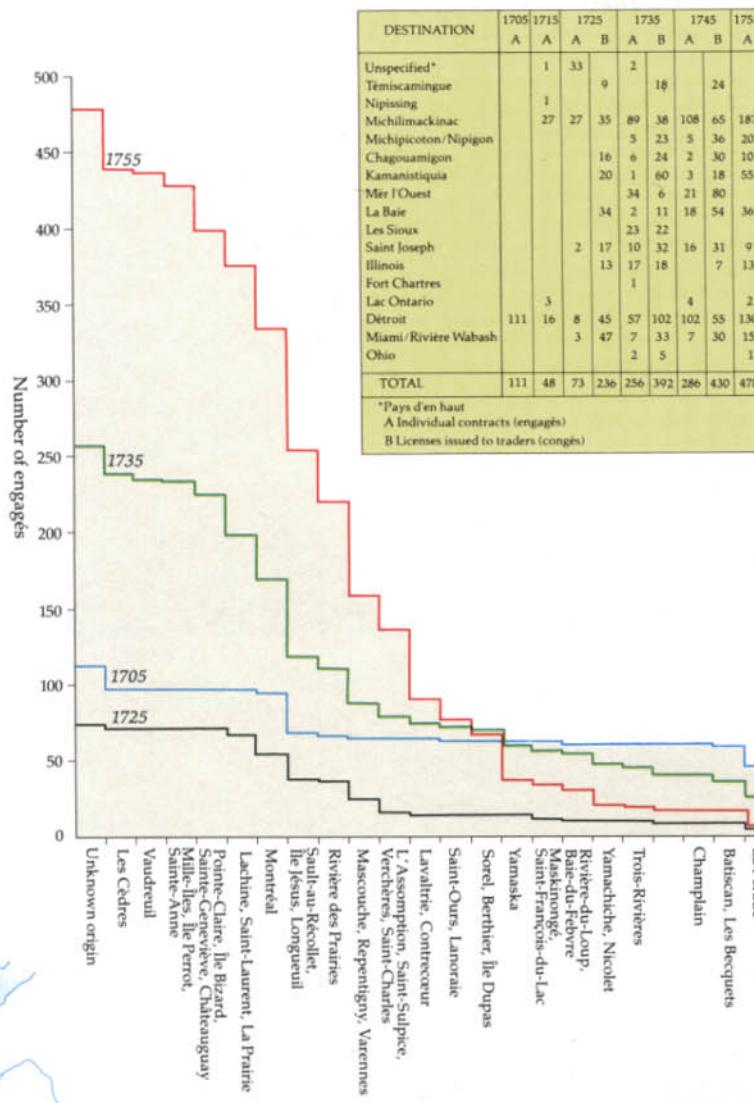
With 350 people of French descent and 321 slaves Kaskaskia had about half the non-native population of the Illinois settlements in 1752. Most buildings were of stone. The largest farmer had 200 ha under cultivation and owned 59 slaves, 155 head of cattle, 62 horses, and 100 swine. The land south of the village between the Mississippi and Kaskaskia Rivers was common pasture.

**FORT MICHILIMACKINAC,
1749-1750, AND
FORT BEAUHARNOIS, 1727**

Michilimackinac was the major entrepôt of the upper Great Lakes. In 1750 28 traders had establishments within the post and 10 families lived there; the summer population of traders and voyageurs was about 200.

Typical of small interior posts, Fort Beauharnois was built in 1727 for the Compagnie des Sioux. The ramparts were constructed of 4-m uprights in four days; buildings and furnishings took one month to complete. The post was open 1727-30 and 1732-7.

- Church building
1 Chapel
2 Jesuit residence
 - Military building
3 Commandant's quarters
4 Junior officer's quarters
5 Sergeant of the guard
6 Guardroom
7 Powder magazine
 - Traders' cabin
 - Yard and/or garden
8 Jesuit garden
9 Jesuit courtyard
 - Crafts and storage
10 Stable
11 Forge
12 Icehouse
 - △ Bake oven
 - × Longitude marker
 - Well
 - Gun placement



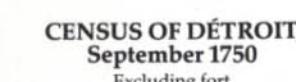
THE DÉTROIT RIVER SETTLEMENT

After Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry (fils),
'Plan Topographique du Détroit,' 1754

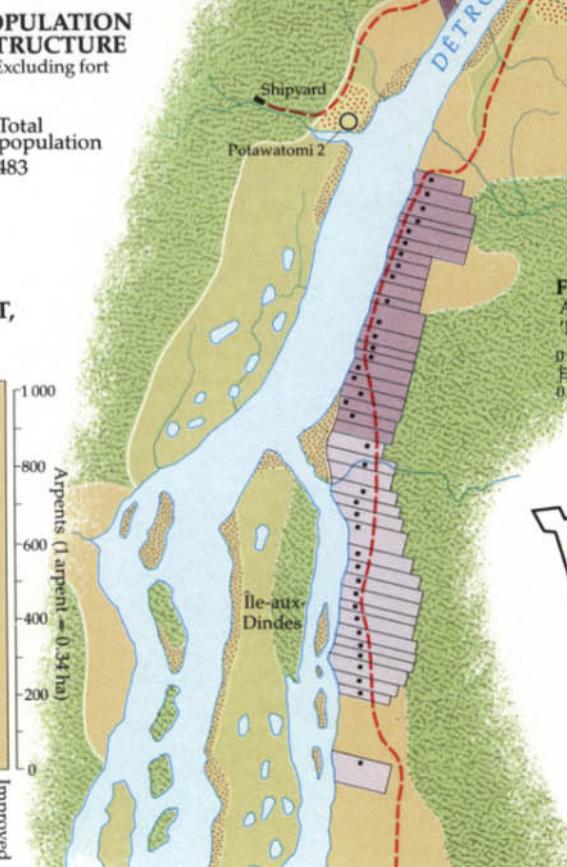
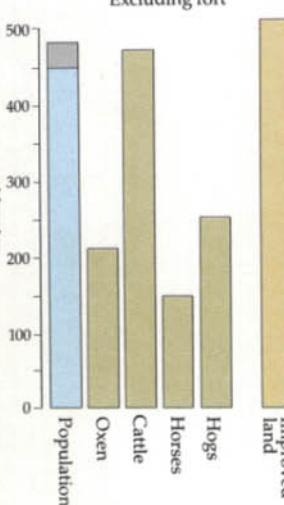


Category	Percentage
Men	30%
Women	23%
Boys	20%
Girls	20%
Slaves	7%

Total population 483

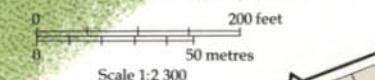


CENSUS OF DÉTROIT
September 1750
Excluding fort



DÉTROIT, 1750–1754

A major garrison and an entrepôt of the fur trade in the lower Great Lakes, Fort Détroit had a winter population of about 200 and a summer population of perhaps 400 in the early 1750s. Another 500 people of European background lived outside the fort, their farms important suppliers for the fur trade. A Jesuit mission served a well-established Indian population of some 2 600 people, the largest concentration of natives in the Great Lakes basin.

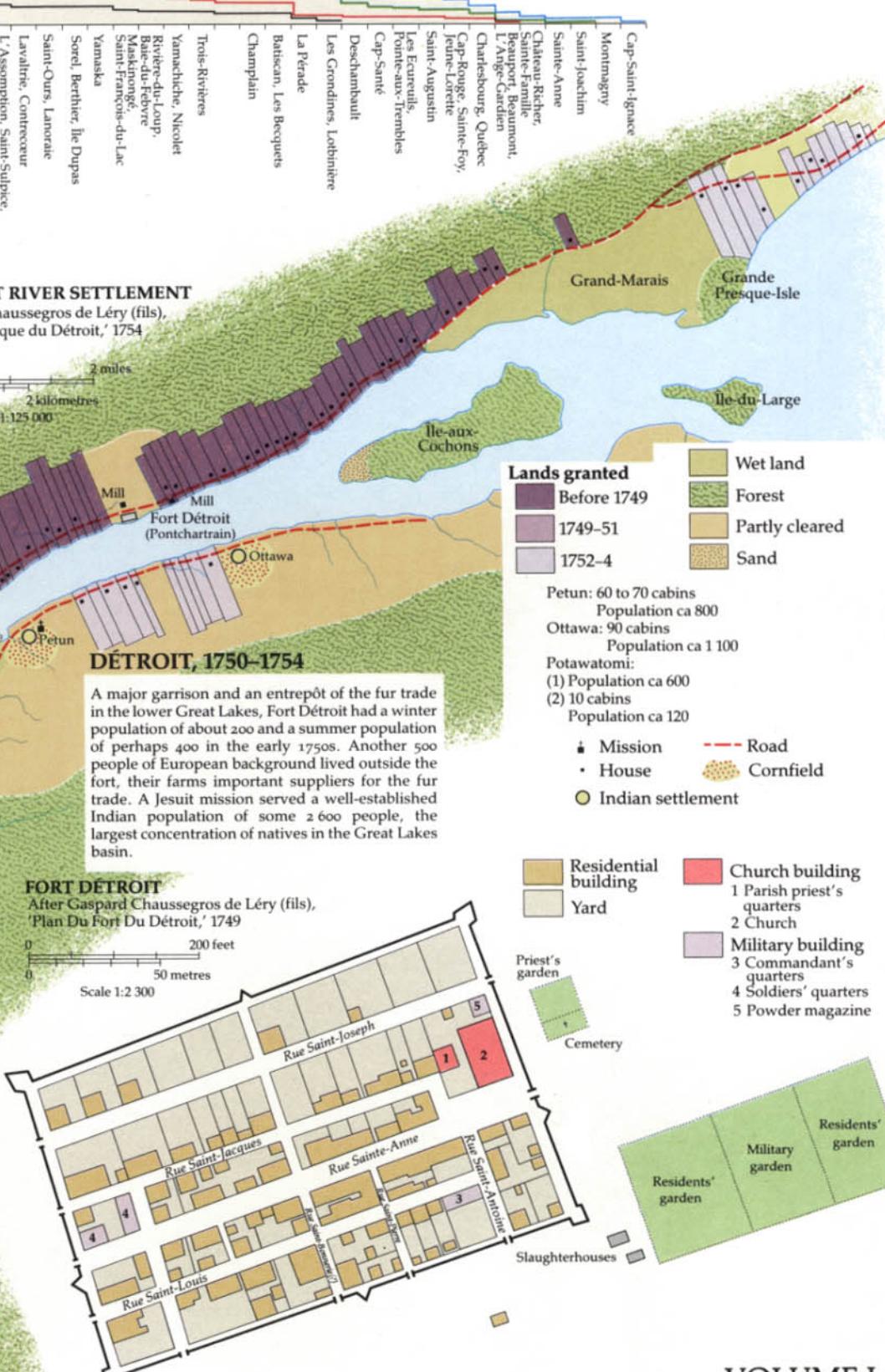


Three series of notarial documents – congés (permits), permissions, and contrats d’engagement – give some statistical information about the personnel of the fur trade. Established in 1681, abolished in 1696, and re-established in 1716, the permit system soon became almost indistinguishable from the permissions the governor granted to officers, merchants, and missionaries to send trade canoes and merchandise to particular posts. The holder of a permit or permission hired canoeemen and frequently spelled out the terms of such work in a contrat d’engagement.

Judging by these sources, the men employed by the fur trade came, increasingly, from rural Montréal Island and from seigneuries nearby. There is record of 15 canoes leaving Montréal in 1715 and 77 in 1750. Between 1716 and 1730 the number of men per canoe doubled from three to six. By the 1730s the documents record some 400-500 men involved in most years, almost a third of them overwintering in the interior. In 1754, at the height of the French fur trade, there is record of almost 700 men employed seasonally. By this date the voyageur recorded in the contrats d'engagement was usually a canoeeman hired to transport merchandise from Montréal to Détroit or Michilimackinac and return with a consignment of furs.

ORIGIN OF ENGAGÉS, 1705–1755

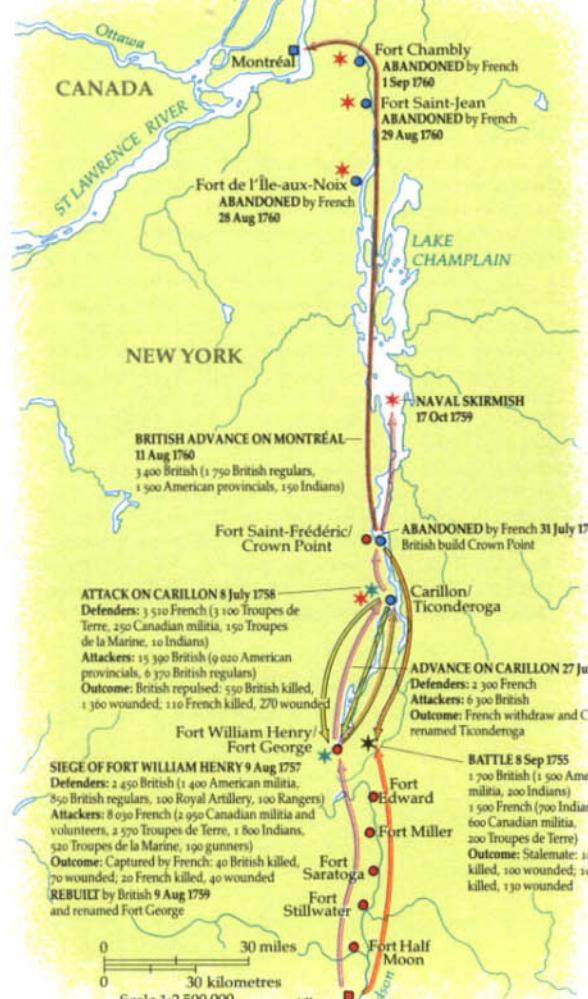
(Cumulative totals at 15-km intervals from east to west)



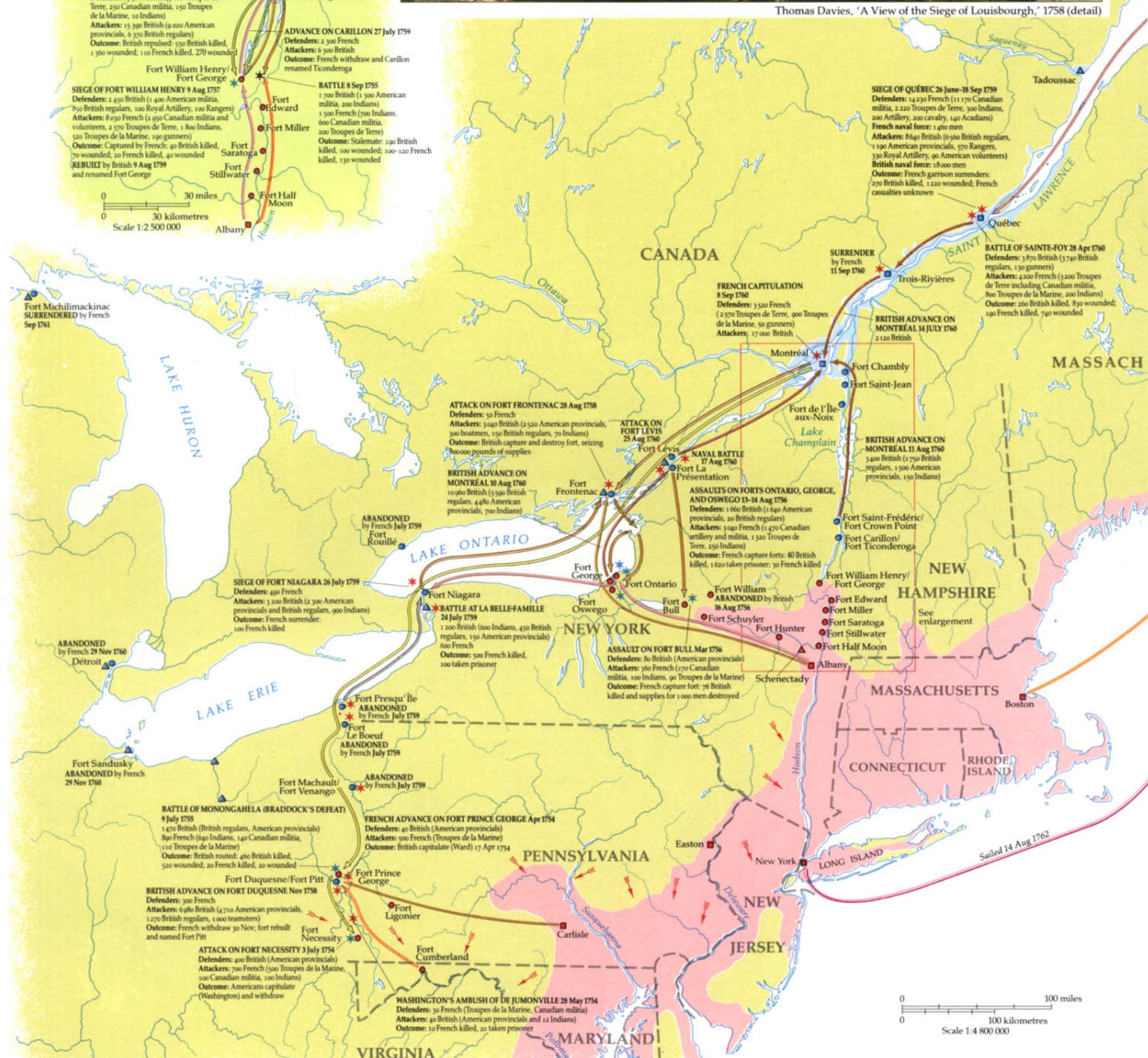
THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

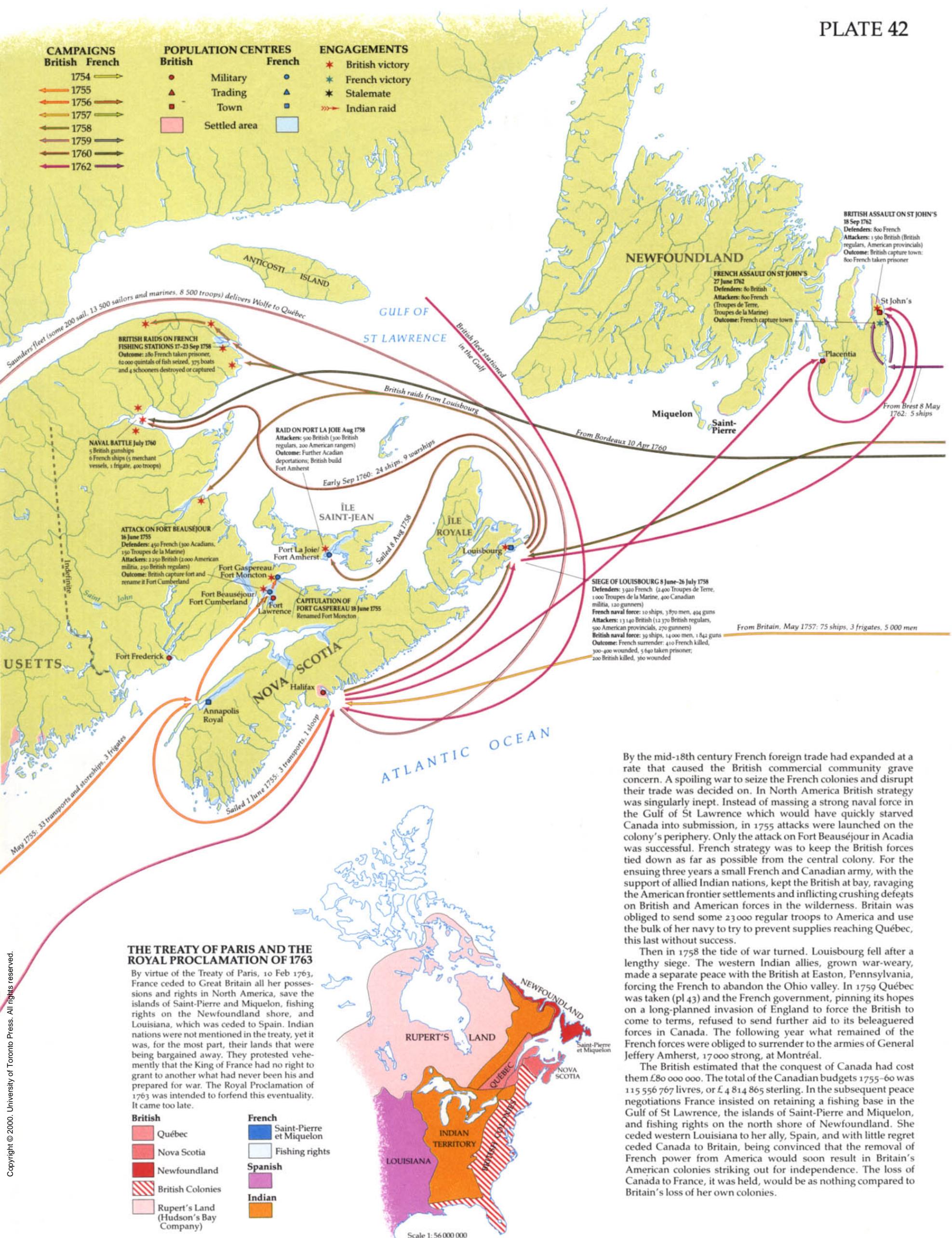
Authors: W.J. Eccles, Susan L. Laskin

THE LAKE CHAMPLAIN CORRIDOR



Thomas Davies, 'A View of the Siege of Louisbourg,' 1758 (detail)





THE TREATY OF PARIS AND THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION OF 1763

By virtue of the Treaty of Paris, 10 Feb 1763, France ceded to Great Britain all her possessions and rights in North America, save the islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, fishing rights on the Newfoundland shore, and Louisiana, which was ceded to Spain. Indian nations were not mentioned in the treaty, yet it was, for the most part, their lands that were being bargained away. They protested vehemently that the King of France had no right to grant to another what had never been his and prepared for war. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 was intended to forefend this eventuality. It came too late.

British	French
 Québec	 Saint-Pierre et Miquelon
 Nova Scotia	 Fishing rights
 Newfoundland	
 British Colonies	
 Rupert's Land (Hudson's Bay Company)	
	 Spanish
	 Indian

By the mid-18th century French foreign trade had expanded at a rate that caused the British commercial community grave concern. A spoiling war to seize the French colonies and disrupt their trade was decided on. In North America British strategy was singularly inept. Instead of massing a strong naval force in the Gulf of St Lawrence which would have quickly starved Canada into submission, in 1755 attacks were launched on the colony's periphery. Only the attack on Fort Beauséjour in Acadia was successful. French strategy was to keep the British forces tied down as far as possible from the central colony. For the ensuing three years a small French and Canadian army, with the support of allied Indian nations, kept the British at bay, ravaging the American frontier settlements and inflicting crushing defeats on British and American forces in the wilderness. Britain was obliged to send some 23 000 regular troops to America and use the bulk of her navy to try to prevent supplies reaching Québec, this last without success.

Then in 1758 the tide of war turned. Louisbourg fell after a lengthy siege. The western Indian allies, grown war-weary, made a separate peace with the British at Easton, Pennsylvania, forcing the French to abandon the Ohio valley. In 1759 Québec was taken (pl 43) and the French government, pinning its hopes on a long-planned invasion of England to force the British to come to terms, refused to send further aid to its beleaguered forces in Canada. The following year what remained of the French forces were obliged to surrender to the armies of General Jeffery Amherst, 17000 strong, at Montréal.

The British estimated that the conquest of Canada had cost them £80 000 000. The total of the Canadian budgets 1755-60 was 115 556 767 livres, or £ 4 814 865 sterling. In the subsequent peace negotiations France insisted on retaining a fishing base in the Gulf of St Lawrence, the islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, and fishing rights on the north shore of Newfoundland. She ceded western Louisiana to her ally, Spain, and with little regret ceded Canada to Britain, being convinced that the removal of French power from America would soon result in Britain's American colonies striking out for independence. The loss of Canada to France, it was held, would be as nothing compared to Britain's loss of her own colonies.

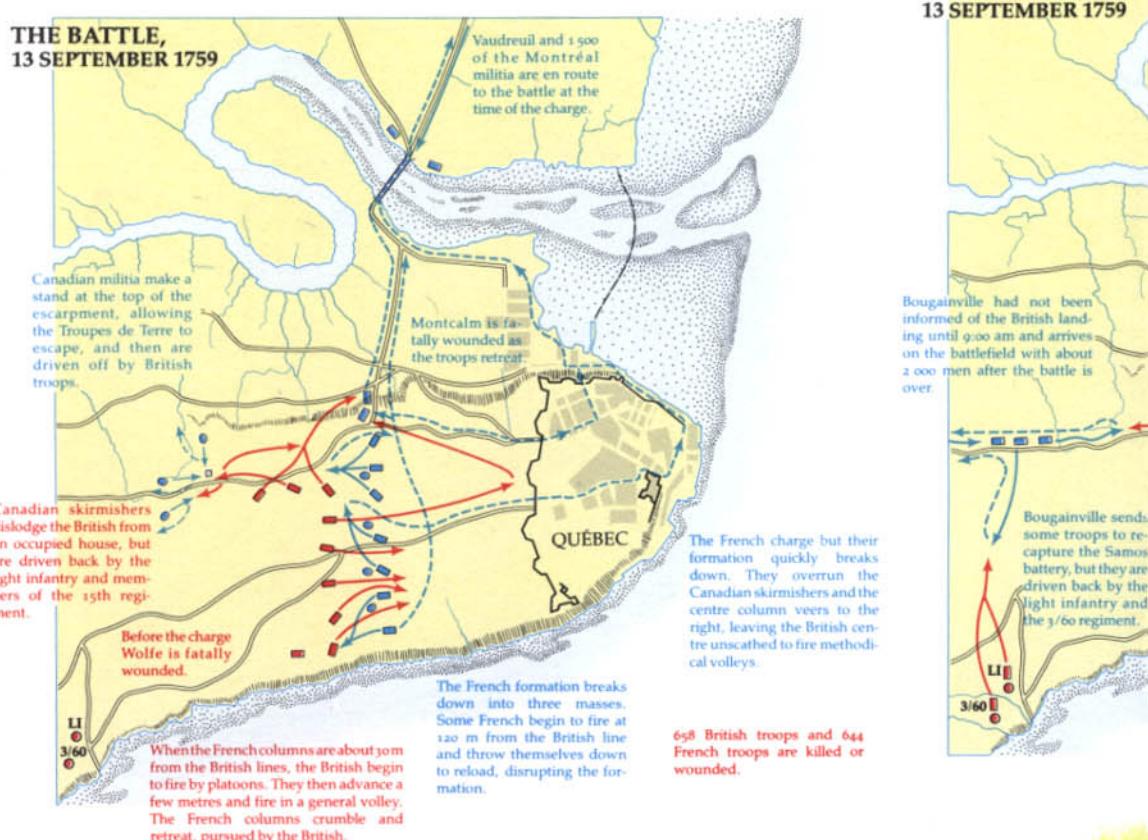
THE BATTLES FOR QUÉBEC, 1759 AND 1760

Authors: W.J. Eccles, Susan L. Laskin

THE BATTLE OF QUÉBEC, 13 SEPTEMBER 1759

After fruitless manoeuvring along the Beauport shore during the summer of 1759 Major-General Wolfe decided on one final attempt to take Québec. His brigadiers recommended landing the army upriver to cut the road to the French supply base at Batiscan. Wolfe chose instead to land at Anse-au-Foulon, leaving the French supply route open. Landing in three waves, with a force less than 4500 strong, the British army assembled on a slope with high ground between it and Québec. On that high ground Montcalm mustered his main force, some 4500 regulars and militia. In Wolfe's rear, two hours' march away, was Bougainville's 3000-man élite force. On Wolfe's flanks were the Canadian militia and Indians. Montcalm, who had some 13 000 men at his disposal, merely had to bring up his cannon and then wait for Bougainville to arrive. Wolfe's men could not remain where they were. To attack Montcalm's position in the face of cannon fire while it was being attacked in the rear and on both flanks by vastly superior numbers would assuredly have resulted in the destruction of Wolfe's army, for whom retreat was impossible. Wolfe had dug a grave for his army but Montcalm marched his own army into it. Instead of waiting to gather his forces he rushed his hastily assembled main force of 4500 in a headlong attack on Wolfe. Holding their fire until the French columns were at close range, the British volleys sent the French reeling back. Only the Canadian militia on the flanks prevented the British from pursuing the French into the city. At a council of war the French officers refused to give battle again; they insisted on retiring upriver to regroup. Attempts to get supplies and reinforcements into Québec were baulked by Commandant de Ramezay's precipitate surrender of the city on 18 September.

THE BATTLE, 13 SEPTEMBER 1759



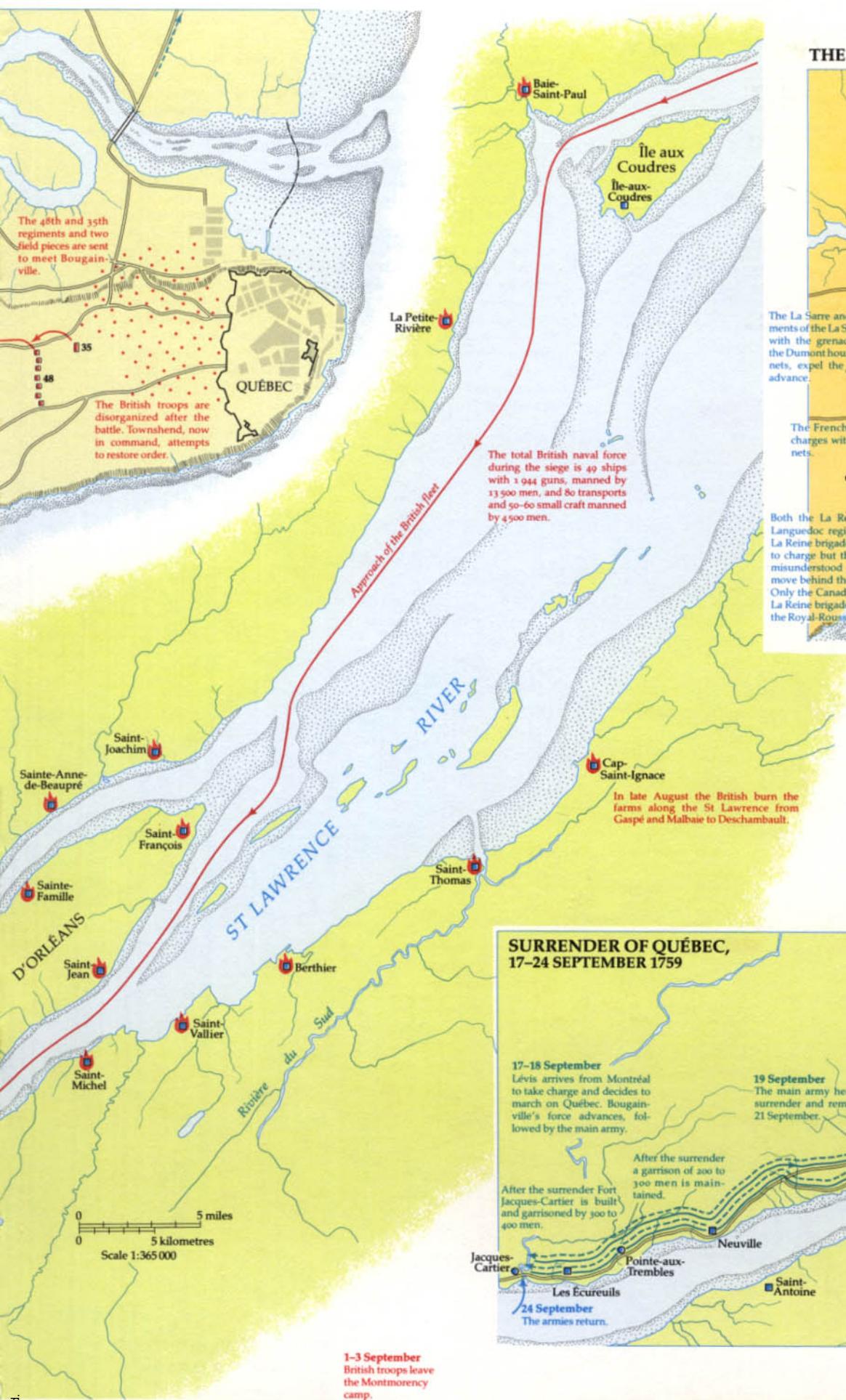
PREPARATION, 13 SEPTEMBER 1759



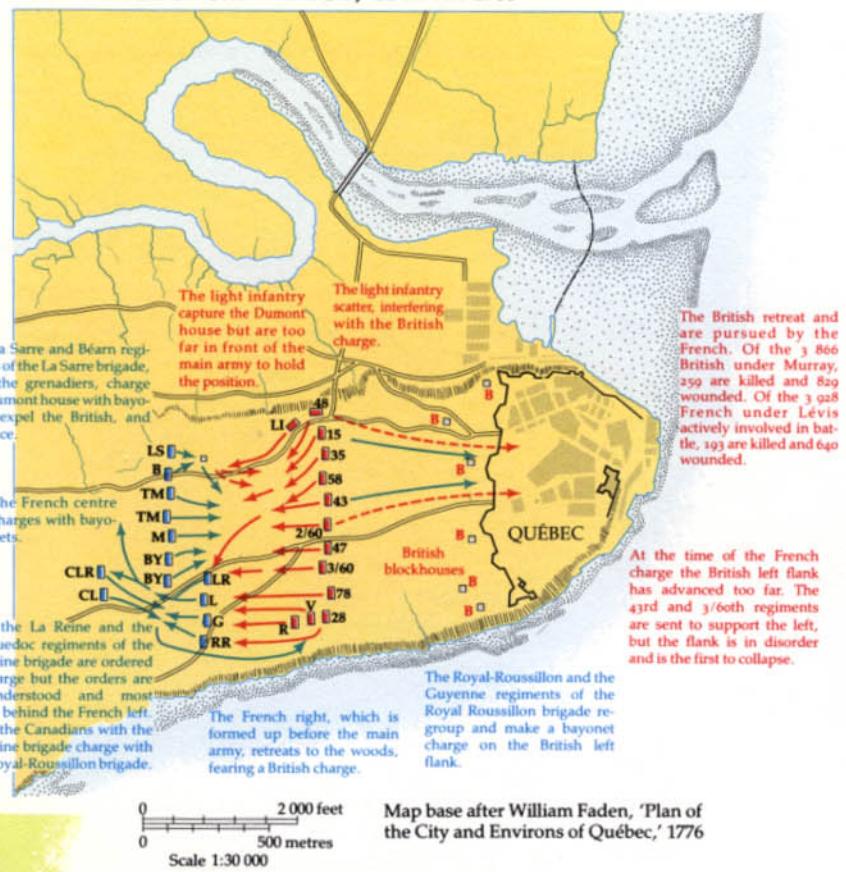
FRENCH	BRITISH
Regiment	-
Dispersed regiment	■
Scattered troops	△
Canadian militia and Indians	×
Garrisoned position	●
Battery	■
Parish centre	○
Ship	◆
Burnt	●
Troop advance	→
Troop retreat	←
Troop concentration	■■■

BATTLE TACTICS, 1-13 SEPTEMBER 1759

7-10 September: Wolfe reconnoitres the channel, deciding on battle tactics. His first plan is to attack at Beauport, but his brigadiers want to land between Pointe-aux-Trembles and Saint-Augustin to cut French supply lines and force Montcalm to give battle. On 10 September Wolfe orders the landing at Anse-au-Foulon.



THE BATTLE OF SAINTE-FOY, 28 APRIL 1760

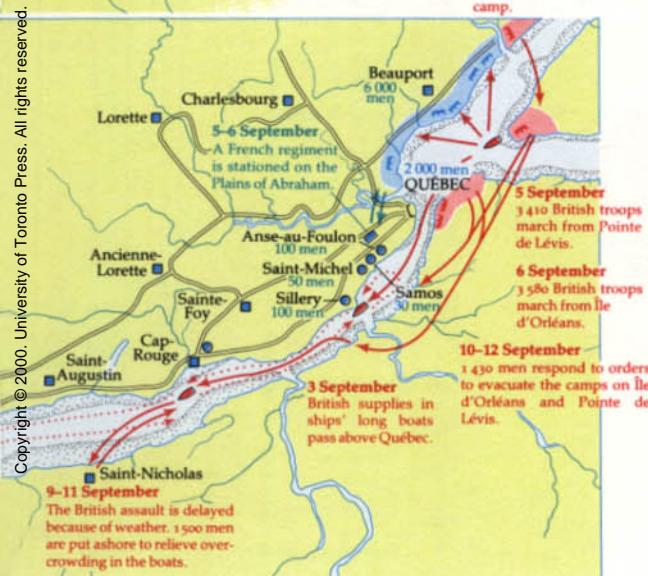
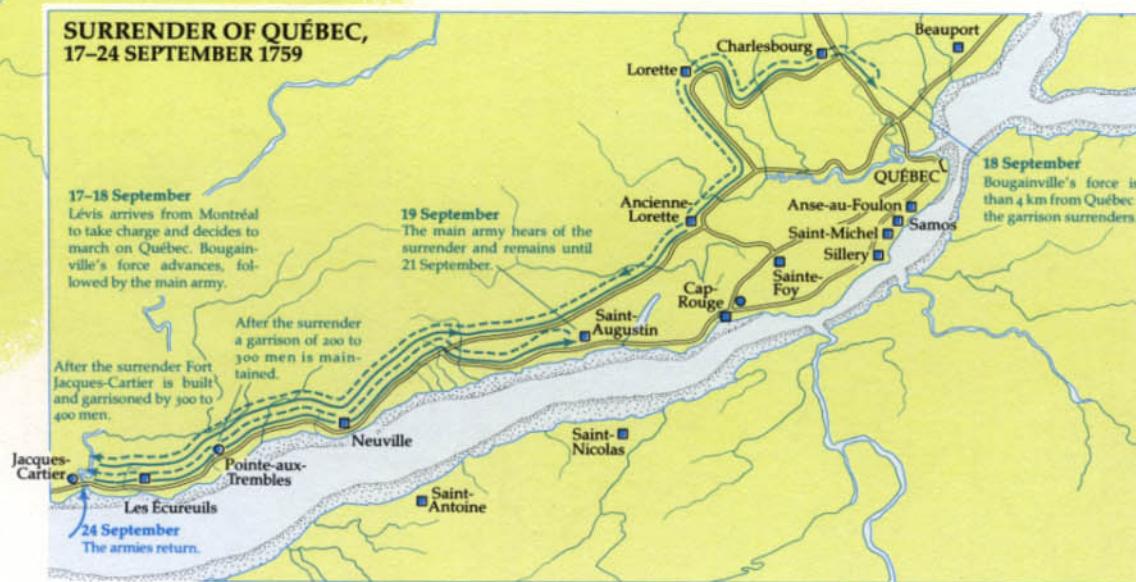


Map base after William Faden, 'Plan of the City and Environs of Quebec, 1776'

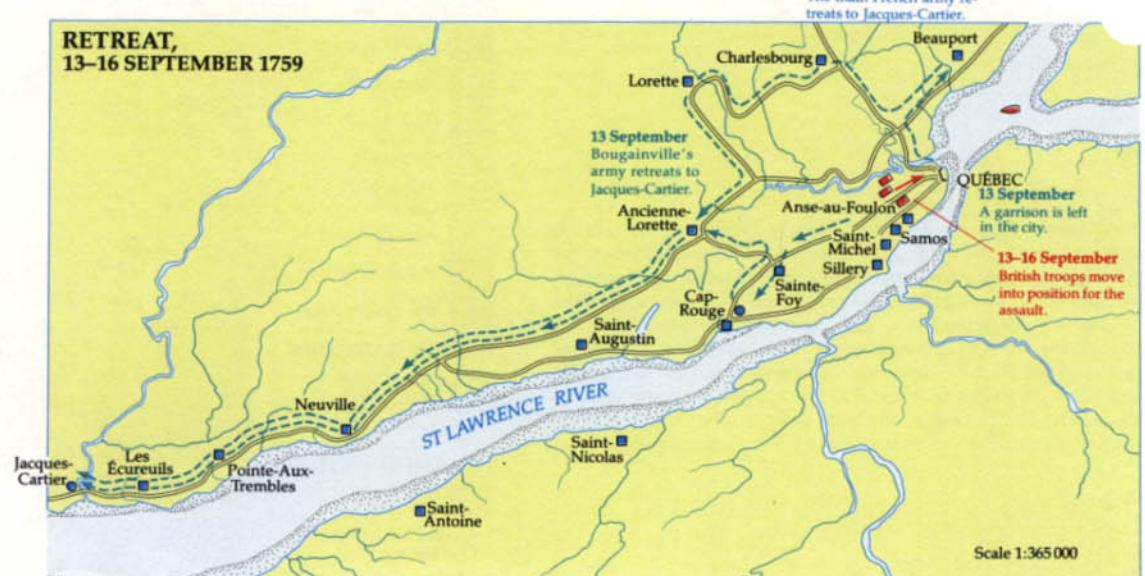
THE BATTLE OF SAINTE-FOY, 28 APRIL 1760

This battle was a replay in reverse of that of the previous year. Murray, the British commander, made the same mistake as had Montcalm, giving battle when there was no need. This time the French, commanded by Brigadier Lévis, carried the day with the bayonet, but after their exhausting march through snow, slush, and mud, then battle, the men were too weary to pursue the beaten foe, and hence the British regained the sanctuary of the city. The ensuing siege had to be lifted on 16 May when a British fleet with reinforcements arrived. The French forces then retreated to Montréal for a last stand.

SURRENDER OF QUÉBEC, 17-24 SEPTEMBER 1759



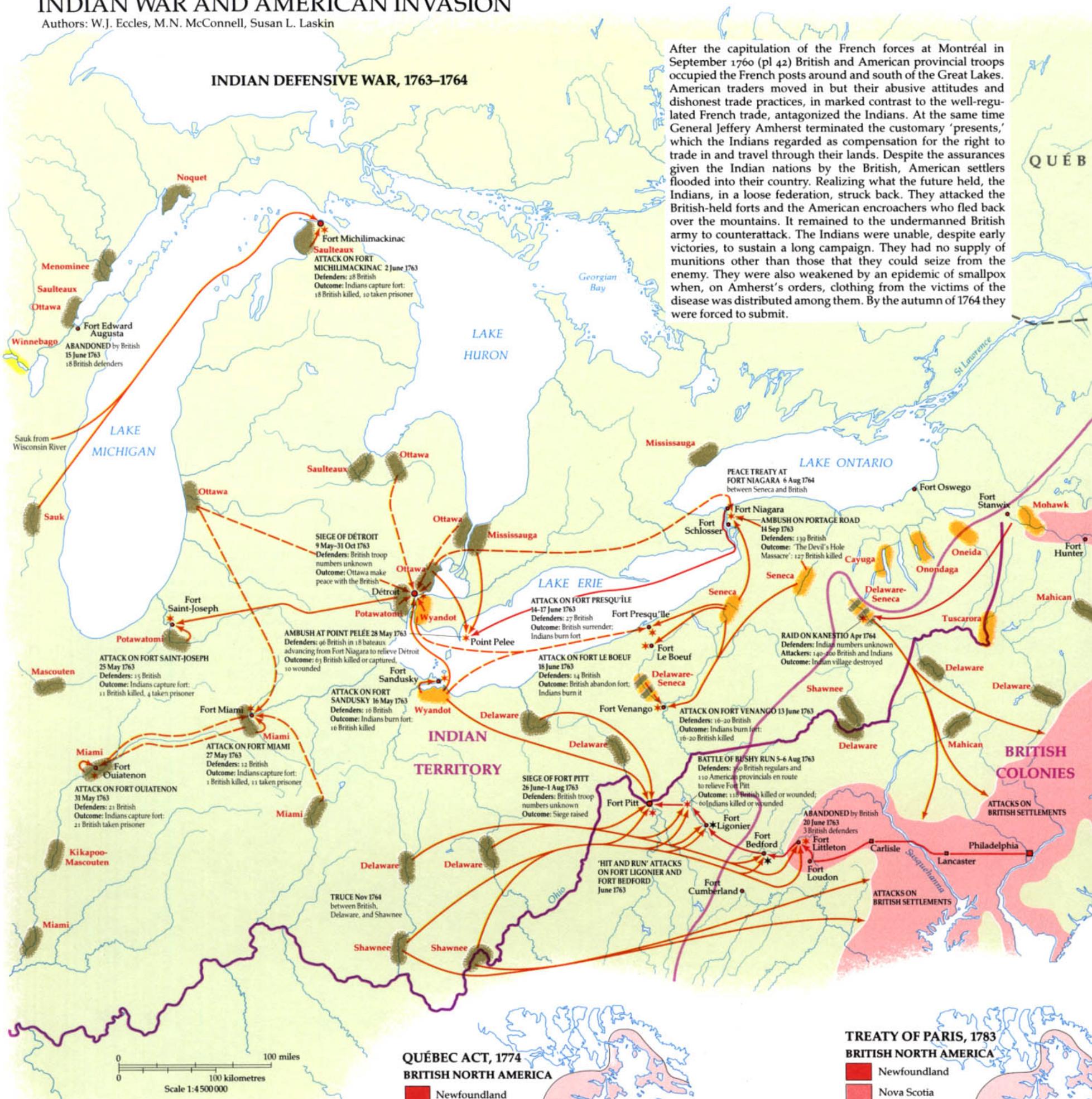
RETREAT, 13-16 SEPTEMBER 1759



INDIAN WAR AND AMERICAN INVASION

Authors: W.J. Eccles, M.N. McConnell, Susan L. Laskin

INDIAN DEFENSIVE WAR, 1763–1764



After the capitulation of the French forces at Montréal in September 1760 (pl 42) British and American provincial troops occupied the French posts around and south of the Great Lakes. American traders moved in but their abusive attitudes and dishonest trade practices, in marked contrast to the well-regulated French trade, antagonized the Indians. At the same time General Jeffery Amherst terminated the customary 'presents,' which the Indians regarded as compensation for the right to trade in and travel through their lands. Despite the assurances given the Indian nations by the British, American settlers flooded into their country. Realizing what the future held, the Indians, in a loose federation, struck back. They attacked the British-held forts and the American encroachers who fled back over the mountains. It remained to the undermanned British army to counterattack. The Indians were unable, despite early victories, to sustain a long campaign. They had no supply of munitions other than those that they could seize from the enemy. They were also weakened by an epidemic of smallpox when, on Amherst's orders, clothing from the victims of the disease was distributed among them. By the autumn of 1764 they were forced to submit.

QUEBEC ACT, 1774

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

- Newfoundland
- Nova Scotia
- Québec¹
- Québec²
- American Colonies
- Rupert's Land
- Indian Territory
- Island of St John

FRENCH TERRITORY

- Saint-Pierre and Miquelon
- Fishing rights

SPANISH TERRITORY

- Louisiana

1 Québec as defined by Québec Act

2 Québec as extended by Carleton Commission 1775

TREATY OF PARIS, 1783

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

- Newfoundland
- Nova Scotia
- Québec
- Rupert's Land
- Island of St John

INDEPENDENT

- United States of America

FRENCH TERRITORY

- Saint-Pierre and Miquelon

- Fishing rights

SPANISH TERRITORY

- Florida

- Louisiana

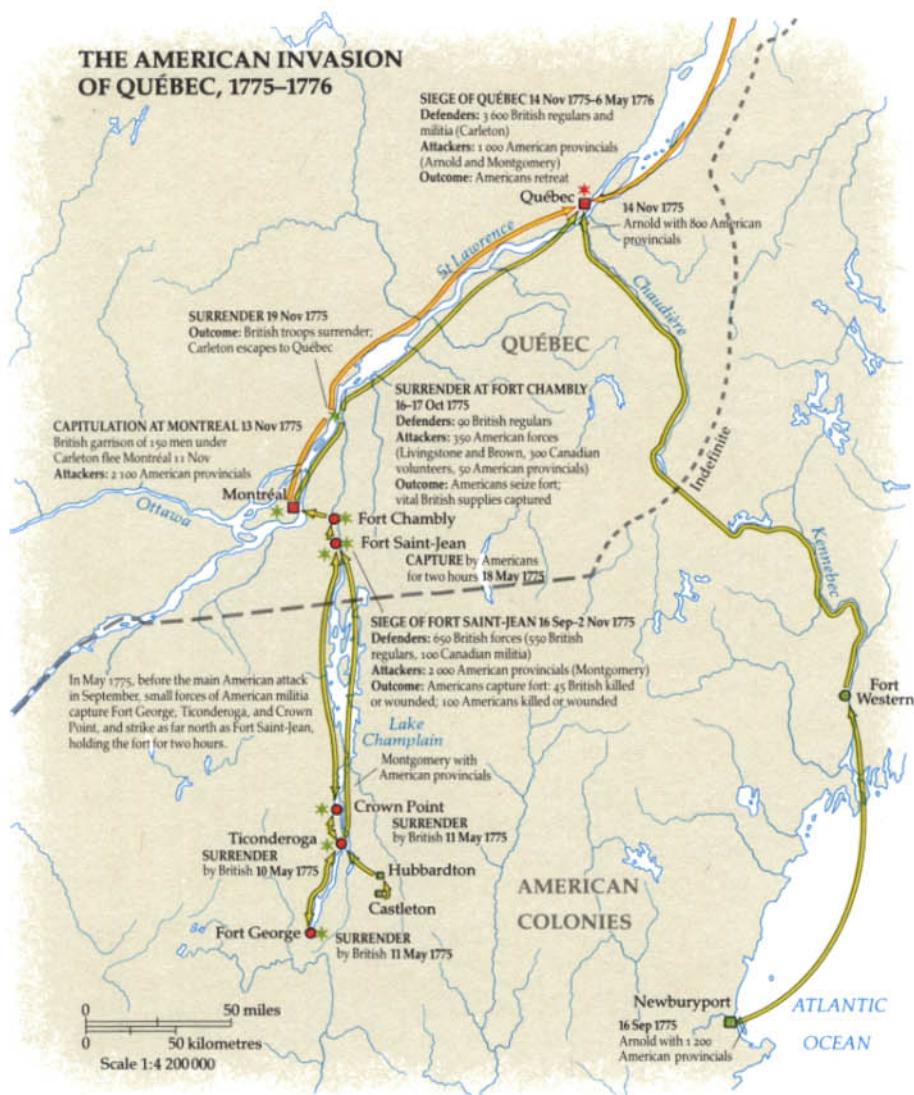
- Disputed territory

- Disputed boundary

The Québec Act extended the borders of Québec to include the region between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Placing this region under the jurisdiction of Québec infuriated the American colonists who coveted the land but refused to assume any of the costs for its administration. They also reacted violently to the clause in the act that granted Roman Catholics the free exercise of their religion. In their view this was another of the 'Intolerable Acts' that propagandists for the revolutionary cause used to inflame the colonists against Great Britain. The following year two American armies invaded Québec, bent on conquest.

Stuart, Wendy J.: Historical Atlas of Canada: Volume I: From the Beginning to 1800, edited by R. Cole Harris, University of Toronto Press, 2000. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mcgill/detail.action?docID=3258036>. Created from McGill on 2018-06-14 11:02:00.

THE AMERICAN INVASION OF QUÉBEC, 1775–1776



ASSAULT ON QUÉBEC, 31 DECEMBER 1775



SETTLEMENT

- Predominantly British
- Predominantly French

British American

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| • Major fort | ● |
| • Minor fort | ● |
| ■ Town | ■ |
| ▪ Village | ▪ |

INDIAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Iroquoian (Mohawk) | ● |
| Siouan (Winnebago) | ● |
| Algonquian (Shawnee) | ● |

CAMPAIGNS

- | | |
|---------|----------|
| British | American |
| ← 1775 | → |
| → 1776 | → |
| ← 1777 | → |

ENGAGEMENTS

- * British victory
- * American victory
- * Indian victory
- * Stalemate

MOVEMENT OF FIGHTING MEN

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| ← British | → |
| ← American | → |
| ← Indian | → |
| ← Indian (attackers uncertain) | → |

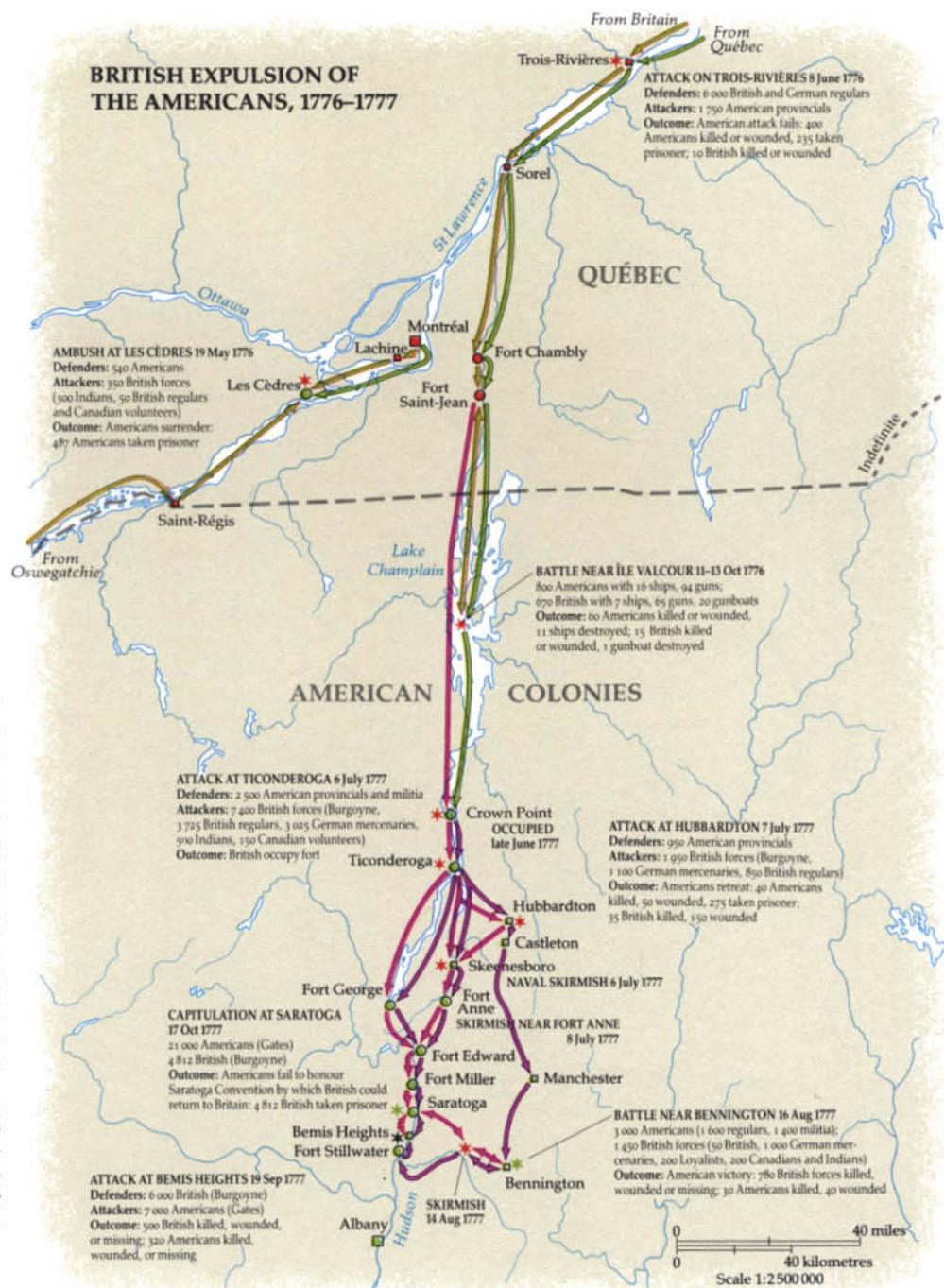
TREATY BOUNDARIES

- Proclamation Line, 1763
- Proclamation Line, 1763–uncertain
- Treaty of Stanwix, 1768
- Colonial boundary

In June 1775 the Continental Congress voted for the invasion of Canada to forestall a British drive up Lake Champlain to the Hudson River, which would have isolated New England from the other rebelling colonies. An American army, 3 000 strong, commanded by Richard Montgomery advanced on Montréal in August, forcing Governor-General Guy Carleton to flee to Québec. In September another American army of some 1 200 men, led by Benedict Arnold, began its ascent up the Kennebec River towards Québec. On 8 November Arnold's army, reduced by disease and desertion to some 800 men, reached the St Lawrence opposite Québec. Montgomery joined it with the bulk of his forces and the combined American army laid siege to the city. An assault on Lower Town on the night of 30/31 December was beaten back with heavy American losses. Montgomery was killed. The siege continued until 6 May when the vanguard of the British relief fleet appeared. The Americans then fled. There was some skirmishing near Montréal but the invasion had been crushed.

In 1777 a British army led by General John Burgoyne retook Ticonderoga and marched for the Hudson River, headed for New York. Eventually, his army reduced and surrounded by more than 30 000 American militia, Burgoyne negotiated the Convention of Saratoga whereby his men would lay down their arms, be granted the honours of war, and return to Great Britain. Once disarmed, his troops were imprisoned.

BRITISH EXPULSION OF THE AMERICANS, 1776–1777



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