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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF James Duncan Sigge for the Master of Arts in History presented October 1, 1973.

Title: French-Indian Relations (1672-1701): An Economic, Political and Military Study

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

Gordon B. Dodds, Chairman

Charles LeGuin

George A. Carbone

This paper concentrates on the political, economic, and military policies of New France (French Canada) towards the Indian tribes inhabiting and bordering New France during the period 1672-1701. It was a period of intensive exploration coupled with the fur trade, principally beaver, both of which activities spurred France to compel its "province" of New France to make alliances with the Indians and to block penetration of the French-claimed area by the English colonists to the south (New York and New England) and to the north (Hudson's Bay area).

Any research must be concerned with many interesting

and conflicting factors: the policies of the French and English monarchs combined with the personalities and interests of the governors and officials in their colonies. The involvement of merchants and *coureurs de bois* often conflicted with the civil authorities, the various Catholic orders (often in conflict with each other), and with the English colonies. In the midst of these conflicts were the Indian tribes with their shifting interests and alliances among themselves and the European traders and missionaries intruding into their territories.

The research had several problems that seemed almost insurmountable. The first was the anti-Indian bias exhibited by nearly all writers. Added to this difficulty was the fact of scholars taking sides according to their nationality, American, English, or French. With the exception of The Fur Trade in Canada by Harold Innis, originally published in 1930, there was not a good general account of the French fur trade. There seemed to be misleading information, even inaccuracies, in the location of French forts in modern maps of this period. The sequence of events had to be ferreted out and combined in a cohesive manner from many sources. The first term of Governor Frontenac (1672-82) had conflicting and fragmentary records, while most of his second term was adequately researched; however, there was not a single adequate account of King William's War during Frontenac's second term of office.

The missionaries left adequate records (i.e., the Jesuits), but they looked upon the Indians solely for conversion to their form of Roman Catholicism and, at the same time, blackened the Iroquois (New France's main Indian enemy) and the "illegal" *coursurs de bois* (French traders to the Indians). The latter opened vast areas of beaver trade territory with "new" Indian customers and, because of high monopoly prices, would trade with New France's main trade enemy, the town of Albany in "English" New York.

The major consensus by historians are that Governor La Barre (1682-85) was incompetent and that Louis XIV neglected New France from 1674 to 1689.

Information was obtained from the university libraries of Reed College and Portland State University, at the Multnomah County Library, and at the Oregon Historical Society Library. The last is valuable for primary sources and for scholarly articles concerning this period.

The outcome of this research shows that the French expansion into the Great Lakes and Mississippi Valley regions changed the Indians' lives during this period. The hostile Iroquois were neutralized from warfare against New France in case England and France went to war again, as the Indians' culture became completely dependent on trade goods in a little over one generation. The horse-riding Sioux armed with guns nearly exterminated the Miami, while the Fox and Mascoutin tribes defected from the French shortly after this period was concluded. Higher prices in trade goods that

increased dependence, the increase in tribal warfare among tribes, and their loss of initiative and manual skills all deprived the Indians of real power.

FRENCH-INDIAN RELATIONS (1672-1701):
An Economic, Political and Military Study

by
James Duncan Biggs

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
requirements for the degree of

MASTER of ARTS
in
HISTORY

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1973

TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH:

The members of the Committee approve the thesis of
James Duncan Biggs presented October 1, 1973.

Gordon B. Dodds, Chairman

Charles LeGuin

George A. Carbone

APPROVED:

Jesse Lee Gilmore, Head, Department of History

David T. Clark, Dean of Graduate Studies and Research

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FIGURE 1 : FRONTENAC

Based on contemporary accounts as drawn by a modern artist
for the Frontispiece of Royal Fort Frontenac.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This essay is concerned with French and Indian relations in New France from 1672 to 1701. Major emphasis is placed upon the interpretation by the various French Governors and Intendants (administrative officers) of the policies of the French court regarding the treatment of the Indians, both friendly and hostile to New France. More specifically it focuses on trade and diplomatic relations between the French and the Indians and the French tensions with New York, the New England colonies, and the Hudson's Bay area.

In general, the Indians were not "noble savages," but they did have a low level of culture as a rule and welcomed any chance to trade with the whites (be they English, Dutch or French) whereby they received guns, bolts of cloth for robes, Venetian beads, awls, and metal cookingware.¹ It was easy for them to shift alliances or to alter a peace agreement in part due to the continual competition between the English-Dutch merchants in Albany and the French in Montreal

¹Gustave Lanctôt, A History of Canada, (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), I, pp. 13 and 23. The social level of the Indians was at an elementary level. There were no recognized chiefs nor a force to maintain order for respect for rights inside and outside the tribe. An injustice was left to the offending individual or family to pay compensation to the injured party. If no compensation was offered, or it was too little in the eyes of the injured party, the latter could take revenge against the offender. The Algonquin language could not express abstract thought or ideas.

with their many small forts in the Great Lakes region.

Unlike their treatment by the English colonies to the south, the Indians gained citizenship in New France once they became Catholics by conversion or marriage. However, there were very few religious conversions and even fewer marriages under church auspices.² There were, however, many "temporary" marriages of convenience of Indian girls to white men, but the Indians themselves never looked on these unions as "true" marriages. The basic reason for the lack of conversion was that the Indians felt they had a rich spiritual life and that their religion was everywhere, and not in a closed confined place like a church.

The Governors of New France were faced not only with keeping the Indians under control, but with keeping the colony financially solvent. They ran a fine line between the great paternalist "Sun" King, Louis XIV, the Jesuits and other religious orders, the Montreal merchants, and the often hostile Five Nations or Iroquois. The Canadian weather could complicate the situation, which by its extreme heat or frost could devastate the wheat and secondary crops as well as livestock. The weather made the "habitants" or French settlers hardy if they survived but it also cut communication with France for four months because winter ice on the

² Lanctôt, II, pp. 204-5.

St. Lawrence River blocked French ships. By the time a letter came back from the King or the Minister of the Marine (in charge of both the French colonies and the French Navy), an Iroquois threat could bring New France close to panic. It was an area that taxed the Governor's sanity and his purse, for the job paid a paltry 9,000 livres (\$1,800) per annum, from which he had to entertain guests and to pay for his bodyguard. The beaver trade which alone made the colony solvent was used by the Governor to save his own financial standing, by skimming the profits from the trade.

The four men who governed New France in this period were Frontenac (1672-82), Le Barre (1682-85), Denonville (1685-89), Frontenac again (1689-98), and Callières (1698-1703). In histories of Canada there is general agreement on the caliber of their leadership except for the mercurial Frontenac. Le Barre was an incompetent who should never have been appointed. Denonville was much superior but was not able to offer real leadership to bolster the colony. The last Governor was Callières, a competent and honest man, who completed the peace negotiations with the Iroquois. He was untried as a Governor in war, dying in 1703 of the gout, as Queen Anne's War began in North America (1702-1713) as a continuation of the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe.

Frontenac has remained a controversial Governor of New France. He expanded French influence into the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi River during his first term

in office. In his second term as Governor of New France, he defeated the Iroquois. However, he sent so many trappers into the interior of North America that the resulting increase in furs helped to create a financial crisis for the colony because both depression and a change in fashion helped to create less demand for furs.

At his death, Frontenac was highly regarded throughout New France by all with the exception of the Jesuits and the Montreal merchants.³ Both Indian friend and foe respected him, and even the first great English colonial historian, Cadwallader Colden, Governor of New York, who wrote A History of the Five Indian Nations in 1727, admired the old Governor and felt it was a shame he was a Papist.⁴ In the nineteenth century, the eminent American historian, Francis Parkman in his multi-volume France and England in North America: Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV made Frontenac a "great man," according to the standards of the nineteenth century romantic historians.⁵ In the early twentieth century a French-Canadian historian, William LeSueur, wrote a clear and lucid history of the Governor for the French Canadians of his day.⁶

³Francis Parkman, France and England in North America: Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV (Boston, 1896), V, pp. 450-51.

⁴Cadwallader Colden, The History of the Five Indian Nations (Ithaca, New York, 1958).

⁵Francis Parkman, Ibid.

⁶William LeSueur, Count Frontenac (Toronto, 1964).

Not until about the mid-twentieth century did other historians begin to chip away at Frontenac's reputation. The best of these are written by W. J. Eccles, who wrote Canada Under Louis XIV (1663-1701)⁷ and The Canadian Frontier 1534-1760⁸. Eccles was a Canadian of English origin, who can best be described as a historical "muckraker." He calls the Indians "forest anarchists" and accuses Frontenac of every venal and incompetent quality except for the obvious, senility.

It must be said that another historian, Gustave Lanctôt, who wrote the three volume A History of Canada, is a French Canadian who was perhaps the first to analyze Frontenac's deficiencies in a fair manner.⁹ He makes it clear that King Louis XIV's indifference to New France in general, and as a rule his neglect of it from 1672 to 1688, helped as much to create its crisis with the Iroquois as any other factor.¹⁰

⁷William J. Eccles, Canada Under Louis XIV (1663-1701) (Toronto, 1964).

⁸William J. Eccles, The Canadian Frontier 1534-1760 (New York, 1969). This writer was unable to find Eccles' biography of Count Frontenac written in 1959, but the essence of his arguments are contained in the Canadian Historical Review, XXXVI, (March, 1955) and XXXVII (Sept., 1956).

⁹Gustave Lanctôt, A History of Canada. 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1969).

¹⁰Lanctôt, op. cit., II, pp. 226-7.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE INDIAN TRIBES

THE IROQUOIS STOCK

The great Canadian historian Harold Innis suggests that as a result of the introduction of the fur trade during the sixteenth century, the Algonquin-speaking hunters through the employment of military force drove the more agricultural Indians of the Huron-Iroquois speaking groups from the St. Lawrence Valley into the areas of New York and into northern Canada. The founder of New France, Samuel de Champlain, reported that the dispossession of the Hurons and Iroquois was continuing in the early seventeenth century.

The Iroquois (or the Five Nations) had united in the mid-sixteenth century under their legendary founder, Hiawatha. They practiced agriculture and generally had better dwellings (long houses) than their neighbors. The first tribes united were the Seneca, Onondaga, and the Mohawk, but they were later joined by the Oneida who believed the Mohawks were their "fathers" and by the Cayugas who claimed that the Senecas were their "fathers."¹ They lived along

¹ Gustave Lanctôt, A History of Canada (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), I, pp. 14-15. The Iroquois councils met too infrequently, and this weak government allowed the young warriors to vent their aggressions even on those with whom the confederation was at peace.

Lake Ontario in what is now New York and hunted on other Indians' territory. From west to east the tribes were the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas, the Oneidas, and the Mohawks. The Senecas were the most aggressive "nation" against the Hurons but most authorities consider the Mohawks the most aggressive tribe of the Iroquois. The Iroquois people reached its zenith of numerical strength in 1675-84 with some 16,000 people, but by Frontenac's second term (1689-98) it numbered just over 12,000 people. Of this a total of 2,500 were warriors.²

Another Iroquois-speaking people were the Hurons, who were not as tall, aggressive or agricultural as their relatives, the Iroquois. They became French-aligned after Champlain's exploits against the Iroquois in the early 1600's. Disease reduced their numbers from some 30,000 to a weakened 20,000 or less by the late 1640's.³ They resisted trade with the Iroquois during that time as the Jesuit missionaries told them not to deal with pagans or those aligned with the "heretical" Dutch. In 1648 to 1650, the Hurons were killed by the thousands by the Iroquois, and some 1,000 of the scattered group joined the Onondagas in the early 1650's.⁴ The remaining

²C. H. Parmelee, ed., Handbook of Indians of Canada, 1912 (Ottawa, reprinted New York, 1969), p. 364.

³William J. Kubiak, Great Lakes Indians: A Pictorial Guide (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1970), p. 180.

⁴Kubiak, op. cit., p. 175.

10,000 went to various places, some settling around at Michilimackinac where the Jesuit St. Ignace Mission was located.

A powerful offshoot of the Mohawks were known as the Andastes who were also called Conestoga or Susquehannah. This tribe lived in the Susquehannah Valley in central New York, eastern Pennsylvania, and northeastern Maryland. Its main village contained about 1,300 warriors which meant a total of some 4,500 to 5,000 people.⁵ Their custom was to align politically with the English Colony of Maryland.

THE ALGONQUINS

Surrounding the Iroquois lived the more numerous tribes of the Algonquin-speaking Indians. Some were semi-agriculturalists while others were nomadic hunters. They ranged all the way from the Hudson's Bay area into the Mississippi Valley region and into the area known as Acadia and into New England.

Stepping into the Huron's former place as middlemen between Indians and French were the Algonquin-speaking Ottawa whose very name means "to trade." By the early 1660's they usually traded with the horse-riding warriors of the Sioux although they occasionally fought with them. Many of

⁵Parmelee, p. 368. This is a superb summary of all the Indian tribes in Canada and shows very lucidly that the population for each tribe is guesswork. The only numbers that are accurate were in 1689 when New York needed to know the number of Iroquois warriors that could be used against the French. The Jesuits often exaggerated the numbers of potential converts.

the Ottawas lived at Michilimackinac until 1700. A contemporary French writer, Baron La Hontan, considered them to be ugly and cowardly, but they were probably the best canoemen in the Great Lakes region. During the early 1680's they were furnishing at least two-thirds of New France's supply of furs.

Another Algonquin tribe was the Nipissing, a semi-nomadic but fairly unwarlike small tribe that readily accepted the Catholic religion. Driven north of the Great Lakes by the Iroquois during the 1650's, they settled around Three Rivers and Montreal and were staunch allies of the French in time of war.⁶

Located between Lakes Huron and Michigan were some 4,000 Potawatomis, and south of them were located over 4,000 Miamis. The Miamis were so impressed by La Salle's bravery against the Iroquois that both the Miami and Potawatomi tribes allied with the French in 1680. In 1695, the Miamis lost some 3,000 people in a Sioux massacre.

From Ohio to northern Arkansas dwelt the six-tribe confederacy called the Illinois. They wore skin garments, many of them made of beaver skins. They practiced polygamy. Their 8,000 members were harassed by the Sioux, Foxes, and even the Iroquois.

Strung out along the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan were the Renards or Foxes along with the little known

⁶Ibid, p. 349.

Mascoutins.⁷ The Foxes were not pleased when the Chippewas began receiving weapons from the French, and influenced by the Iroquois during Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), they led the Miamis and Mascoutins against the important French fort at Detroit in 1712. The siege was raised by the French-aligned Potawatomis, who along with other Indians killed some 2,000 of the attackers.

The Chippewas lived north of the Foxes below the tip of Lake Superior; some were as far west as North Dakota. They were numerous, ranging in number from 20,000 to as high as 35,000.⁸ They were also called Ojibway and Saulteux.

Closely related to the Chippewas were the Cree, a hunting nomadic tribe scattered over a large area north of the Great Lakes to the base of Hudson's Bay. From 1670 to 1713, the English Hudson's Bay Company fought with the French for control of this region and indirectly for control of these Indians, although the Crees played no direct part in this struggle that ended in victory for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1713.

⁷Kubiak, op. cit., p. 87. Both this book and the Handbook of Indians of Canada show that the whites wrote very little history on this tribe. As perhaps a result of the defeat at Detroit, the Mascoutins seem to literally disappear from history, while the Foxes became real enemies of the French during the mid-1700's and seemed to block French expansion. The Foxes were absorbed with the Sauks. The writer has seen figures for this defeat at Detroit range from several hundred to as high as 3,000.

⁸Parmelee, p. 118. Unfortunately this is for the year 1776, and one does not know if this large number is an increase or a decrease.

The Abenaki lived in New England, but many were driven into Acadia during King Philip's War (1675-78). Unlike the other Indian tribes, they treated female captives kindly and were both gentle and docile; many were allied with the French by fur trading and by conversion to Catholicism.⁹ As a result of the fur trade they had become hunters by 1700, almost forgetting their agricultural way of life.

Both French and English tried to keep the Indian groups from fighting each other (e.g., the Treaty of Peace in 1682 between Maryland and the Iroquois), but as time progressed towards the 1680's, the traditional animosity continued along with competition for the European goods that greatly enhanced their Stone Age way of life. They soon became dependent and did not resist to any real degree the steady encroachment of the Europeans on their way of living.

THE SIOUX STOCK

The Sioux varied widely in appearance and belief, but the French had contact mostly with the groups on the northern plains of the North American continent. The main group, the one known as the Dakota or Sioux, ranged from what is now Nebraska up into Canada and numbered about 25,000 people. They since the early seventeenth century had been excellent

⁹ Ibid, p. 2. Perhaps the reason for their kindness was the fact that women took active part in the general council. It was quite unusual for the Indians to regard their women this highly. The Hurons regarded their women as not having souls, while the warriors and their favorite dogs would live on in spirit after death. The Abenakis believed in the immortality of the soul.

mounted nomads who hunted buffalo and other game. They traded (and sometimes fought) with the Ottawas, and a delegation was in Montreal as early as 1694.

The other group were the Assiniboin who numbered about 10,000 and ranged from Minnesota into Northern Canada and as far west as Montana. The Assiniboin were divided into seven tribes. It seems apparent that these two large Sioux groups were not cohesive as a fighting unit, but at least they were used by the French traders as a buffer against English penetration of the west.

CHAPTER III

THE FRENCH-INDIAN PROBLEM: BACKGROUND

French relations with the Indians of the colony of New France from 1672 to 1701 required special emphasis on the colony's worst military enemy, the Iroquois. During this time France tried to "integrate" the Indians into New France. King Louis XIV decreed through his Minister of the Marine, Jean Baptiste Colbert, that the Indians marry the French and become Roman Catholics. They should live in towns, he ordered, and farm the lands as the habitants did, and even speak French. This acculturation policy was complicated by the fur trade, in which the coureurs de bois (voyageurs) would undermine missionary efforts by the sale of alcohol, by promiscuity, and other vices.

Central to this conflict of interests was the small aquatic mammal known as the beaver (*Castor canadensis kuhl*), a large rodent of 30 to 60 pounds with a pelt weighing 1-1/2 to 1-3/4 pounds. It was slow-moving, edible, sedentary in its habitat, and numerous, averaging from ten to fifty per square mile. Its fur usually varied in color from dark brown to light brown; occasionally even black and white animals were found.¹ There were other animals used for furs, but

¹Harold A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada (New Haven, 1956), p. 1-6.

the beaver was the most profitable item exported to France, as the mother country deliberately prohibited the importation of other products that New France could have provided.

To obtain the beaver, the coureurs de bois were financed by merchants in Montreal and Quebec or (clandestinely) by the Governor and Intendant, who sold trade goods to the voyageurs. The easiest item to be carried and sold by canoe was brandy, of which the Indians often demanded a dram before attempting to bargain for goods. Indian custom demanded small gifts before trade bargaining, which required sitting on their haunches for hours. The powerful voice of the religious order of St. Ignatius Loyola (Jesuits) thundered against the use of alcohol in the fur trade, but no order issued by the King could block the voyageurs from entering the woods, often with the Governor's secret encouragement.

Champlain believed in conversion of the Indians, in teaching them French trades, and in legal intermarriage of French and Indians. In order to convert the Indians, he invited the Récollet Order to Canada, but a priest, Theodat Sagard, complained in the year 1617 that

the French themselves, who were supposed to be Christians, were by their scandalous lives, the greatest impediment to the conversion of the Indians.²

It was a very old story by 1672, although the Récollets in 1625 had invited the Jesuits to assist them to counteract the

²William D. Le Sueur, Count Frontenac (Toronto, 1964) p. 14.

company's agents and servants, whose preoccupation was trade.

The Indians were

systematically cheated by the French traders, who beat them down to the lowest price for their furs, and charged them the highest price for commodities sold.³

The Jesuits soon displaced the Récollets, while Champlain complained to King Louis XIII (1613-43), requesting a trade monopoly to bring in settlers to fulfill his schemes. Thus the Company of New France (One Hundred Associates) was formed in 1627 and within fifteen years some 4,000 colonists were imported to New France.

During the 1630's the Jesuits were beginning to convert the large Indian tribe of the Hurons, while Trois Rivières (Three Rivers) was founded for the protection of the Hurons against Iroquois attacks. Another major town, Montreal, was founded by religious orders in 1643. Its excellent location was so much better than Quebec's for trade that Indians of the Great Lakes soon came in their canoes to Montreal, loaded with furs.

The most powerful Indian Confederation north of Mexico were the Iroquois or Five Nations, situated mainly in New York. In time they became New France's most powerful enemy and were to come very close to destroying the colony. By 1640, the Iroquois had begun trading beaver pelts for guns with the Dutch in New Amsterdam and soon eliminated all beaver in their limited area. They negotiated with the Hurons to

³LeSueur, op. cit., p. 17

trade with them and to be allowed to hunt on their territory. However, the Jesuits refused to have their charges trade with the heathen Iroquois who even sometimes associated with Protestants. This rebuff angered the Iroquois and the great "Ononthio" or French Governor could not protect the disease-weakened, docile, and decimated Hurons from a genocidal attack by them. Many were killed by the Iroquois guns, many more starved to death, and some Jesuits were martyred in the attacks of 1648 to 1650.⁴

Throughout the 1650's the Iroquois harassed the tiny colony of traders, priests, nuns, farmers, and that ever increasing class of transients, the coureurs de bois. The voyageurs grew as a result of the arrangement by the "new" Company of New France, which forced the settlers to go into the woods to help pay for their own local government and defense as early as 1647. These men became part-Indian in manners, dress, and custom, in contrast to the conservative church-led settlers. The fur trade bore, as a result of their endeavors, all government expenses and provided money to pay for the debt of the old Company of the Hundred Associates. A less

⁴Thomas B. Costain, The White and the Gold (New York, 1954), pp. 143-68. The author clearly shows that the Hurons were very deadly in their attacks on the Iroquois up until an epidemic of disease in the mid-1640's. The Jesuits went into the Iroquois villages in the early 1640's, but the first Jesuit martyr, Isaac Jogues, was killed in 1644 in a Mohawk village. Jogues was a victim of the "Bears", one of the three "families" in this tribe. The "Bears" were not in favor of the peace with the Hurons like the other two "families" of the "Wolves" and "Tortoises."

desirable result was that the Indians were forced to pay high prices in pelts and goods. It is no wonder many traded with the Dutch in Albany, located in the Mohawk region of the Five Nations. New France soon became in danger of annihilation by the Iroquois, due to France's indifference and decrees, but Adam Dollard, Sieur des Ormeaux, with a small band of young Frenchmen and Indians stopped a force of 1,000 Iroquois from destroying Montreal in a "Thermopylae" campaign in 1660.⁵

At about the same time, the indomitable François Xavier de Laval-Montmorency, Abbé de Montigny, was appointed Vicar-Apostolic to Canada. He wanted to be Bishop so he would have ascendancy over the civil government and could stop the trade in brandy being given to the Indians. He had one governor recalled in 1662 in a dispute over the brandy trade; he also excommunicated men from his pulpit for the commission of "immoralities" with the Indians.

In 1663, the Company of New France, originally formed in 1602, surrendered its rights to King Louis XIV (1643-1715), while a new company, the West India Company, was to control all trade. The colony now became a province of France, with a Governor in charge of military and Indian affairs, while the Intendant, an administrative officer, was responsible for the courts and other civil affairs. This was Louis' idea

⁵ Costain, op. cit., pp. 201-11. Some 23 men held off an attempted Iroquois assault on Montreal for a week. The attacking party numbered about 1,000 men. In the meantime the pelts sent to Montreal from the interior totaled some 140,000 livres in value.

of divide and conquer, for each man was to check the other.

However, the King wanted the Iroquois menace tamed, so he sent Lieutenant-General De Tracy with 1,200 men of the Carignan-Salières Regiment to New France. This regiment, battle-hardened from fighting the Turks, was the first French regiment to be armed with flintlocks instead of the older matchlocks.⁶ Along with the soldiers came the able Governor Marquis de Courcelles and the "Great Intendant," Marquis Jean Baptiste Talon. These men were appointed by the King's right hand man and administrative genius, Colbert, whose office was the Ministry of Marine, which oversaw naval and colonial affairs.⁷ From 1665 to 1666 two expeditions against the Mohawks saw the whole Iroquois Confederacy forced to sign a peace treaty that was to last 18 to 20 years.

Following this military success, the King fostered plans for the legal intermarriage of French with the Indians, which involved their conversion to Roman Catholicism. By this act, the mixed couple would be granted land and some livestock, and these Christianized Indians would receive full civil rights. New France would be strengthened and perhaps the endemic Indian wars of the past would abate or cease.

The judicious Courcelles administered military and political affairs, while the idealistic and practical Talon

⁶ Harold L. Peterson, Arms and Armor in Colonial America 1526-1783 (Harrisburg, Penn., 1956), p. 47, plate 55.

⁷ Costain, p. 250. Instead of the usual 50,000 livres per year (\$10,000) the King spent some 358,000 livres or \$71,600 in 1665 to ship the regiment and 1,000 colonists to New France.

ran industry and commerce. Talon built ships, a brewery, and small industries in New France, but his designs to improve the colony were weakened by too many government regulations and monopolies. Their Indian policy was quite successful, for although some murders of the Indians at the hands of Frenchmen occurred, in most instances New France acted quickly to prevent recurrence of these acts which could imperil the peace. However, six Indians were killed by settlers near Montreal for their furs but these criminals were never brought to justice. It is suspected that the stolen furs were taken to Albany, and that one of the murderers was related to a high official. More serious was the murder in 1669 of a Seneca chief by three soldiers. In this case the murderers were hanged in front of an impressed Iroquois group.

In spite of some successes, the Governor and Intendant ultimately quarrelled and both wisely resigned in 1672 rather than to split the colony asunder. The Governor was jealous that the Intendant's successes were well known in the colony, and the quarrel was also because of personality conflicts. This was the enigmatic situation which Frontenac encountered when first appointed Governor. The little colony had grown from 3,418 people in 1663 to over 6,000 by 1671, so Frontenac took charge of a mildly prosperous but troubled country nagged by bureaucratic conflicts and ever fearful of a new Indian outbreak.⁸

⁸Costain, p. 263. Talon reported in 1670 that most of

the "King's Girls" shipped over to New France the year before were pregnant. By 1671 there were 700 births. Talon approved of the several shipments of the "King's Girls" because the Indian women were not as fertile since they would nurse their babies for several years and not have children during that time. It appears Talon did not approve of the "intermarriage" policy between French and Indians.

CHAPTER IV

FRONTENAC'S FIRST TERM

HIS CAREER BEFORE 1672

No more colorful, contradictory and exasperating man could have been found to become Governor of New France than the handsome Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac. Born in Gascony in 1620, he possessed the bombastic mode of speech for which that region of France was noted. His grandfather was both State Councillor and First Steward of the Royal Household of King Henry IV (1589-1613), the First Bourbon King of France, while Frontenac's father was a colonel in the regiment of Navarre, the King's homeland and favorite province.

Frontenac was a godson of King Louis XIII (1613-1643), who was said to be dominated by the crafty Cardinal Richelieu. Richelieu unified and strengthened France and its monarchy, and in 1635 involved France against the Catholic Hapsburgs by siding with the Protestant princes in the Thirty Years War (1618-48). The young Frontenac joined the army in that year since he did not seem to be in line for his family's inheritance, serving until the war's end in 1648. He received many battle wounds and was twice awarded high honors including promotion to Brigadier General, but with the end of the war he was unemployed.

More happily, the last year of war saw his marriage to an attractive sixteen year old noblewoman, Anne de la Grange-Trianon (1632-1707), in a Parisian church reserved for couples not having parental consent, her father having opposed the marriage. However, Madame Frontenac soon parted from her consort and found a place with one of the "best" persons of the court, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the cousin of Louis XIV.¹ Madame Frontenac was a strong-minded person who resented her husband's dominant and arrogant manner, which was shown in his household wherein he prided himself on his table, his horses, and his servants. He was, as the noted diarist Saint-Simon observed, "...a man of good abilities holding a prominent position in society, but utterly ruined."²

He was a courtier who was not successful, one reason being that he was suspected of being a nobleman who would be independent of the King's wishes. In 1669, however, the King's ablest general, Turenne, sent the idle and bankrupt soldier to Crete to defend a Venetian fortress against the invading Turkish army. Frontenac very ably defended the site and the allied forces, though defeated, were permitted to evacuate the city with all guns and supplies.

In 1672 Frontenac was commissioned Governor-General of

¹ Francis Parkman, Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV (Boston, 1896), pp. 1-13.

² M. Chéruel, ed., Mémoires Complètes et Authentiques de duc De Saint-Simon, (Paris, 1856), II, p. 270.

New France, ostensibly because of his abilities, although his appointment may have been aided by his reputed wooing of the beautiful Marquise de Montespan, in whose favors the King was also interested. The court wits sang³

I am enchanted that the King, our Sire
Loves the Lady Montespan:
I, Frontenac, with laughter, I expire.

It is possible that Louis, who was now launching his career as a great lover, decided to send this aging, ailing, but handsome gentleman out of sight because of envy. The post of of Governor-General paid only some 8,000 livres a year (\$1,600), and with this Frontenac had to support and dress some twenty bodyguards and to perform social duties. Frontenac was in debt in excess of 300,000 livres (\$60,000) when he arrived in New France, but the unwritten custom was that all civil servants would supplement their small income in other ways.

Frontenac arranged his affairs and on April 6, 1672, became Governor-General of La Nouvelle France (New France or Canada), for both Governor Courcelles and the Intendant Talon had resigned. Best of all, the puritanical cleric, Monseigneur Laval, who believed in the supremacy of church over state and vehemently opposed all trade in liquor with the Indians, was leaving Canada to attempt to become appointed Bishop of New France. Talon was to be returned to his post, but his illness prevented it, and Frontenac had no one to

³Costain, The White and the Gold (New York, 1954), p. 312.

oppose him as Governor.

HIS ARRIVAL

On September 12, 1672, some twenty bodyguards dressed in orange colored livery marched down the gangplank of a French warship, followed by a well-dressed, plumed gentleman who must have noted the drabness of the town of Quebec. Frontenac by no stretch of the imagination was colorless. This confidence and showmanship was to greatly aid his diplomacy with the Indians. New France's deadliest Indian foes, the Iroquois, were always impressed with a man of age, and Frontenac exemplified the paternalism of Louis XIV, even addressing the Indians during his two terms in office as "children."

Frontenac had official instructions to train the habitants in military drill and to inspect their units regularly to prepare the people not only to defend themselves but to carry war to the Five Nations if they broke the peace. In executing this policy, the Governor was handicapped by Louis' Dutch Wars (1672 to 1678) which prevented the King from sending arms, soldiers, and colonists to Canada. Louis later intervened in the futile Scanthian War between Denmark and Sweden in 1679 instead of sending aid to his colony.

The Governor found his work complicated from the start. He was to encourage intermarriage between the habitants and the Indians. He was to keep the peace with the Iroquois and to support the Jesuit missionaries in Iroquois territory. He

was instructed by his King not to contest the Jesuits over the problem of authority in the colony. He was to have the Indians gathered in towns within the boundaries of New France near the French towns. The Indians were to be taught French ways of work, especially agriculture. The Indians were to be converted to Catholicism so they would have the ecclesiastical benefits of the Church and the civil rights of the state. In essence, the King wanted the Indians "francofied" as much as possible and for them to lose all traces of their own culture.

In just two months after his arrival, Frontenac accused the Jesuits of being "more interested in converting beaver than souls."⁴ He had seen the Mission at Notre-Dame-de-Foy, one league from Quebec, where the Indians were leading their errant way of life and could not speak French. He accused the Jesuits of using the confessional as a means of meddling in intimate family affairs. Worst of all, a Jesuit sermon had dealt with the refusal of absolution to vendors of alcohol, the priest declaring that it was beyond the powers of the temporal arm to change what was ordered by the spiritual authority. The Governor would intercept and open letters sent by the Jesuits before they were forwarded on to France.

The Governor was concerned with protecting the fur market. The Ottawas and Hurons, acting as middlemen, brought

⁴Gustave Lanctôt, *A History of Canada* trans. by M. M. Cameron (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), II, p. 63.

the furs from Lakes Superior and Michigan down to Montreal. These middlemen served the Sioux, Miami, Illinois, and Folle-Avoine Indians. This region was also the source from which the Iroquois from the Lake Ontario country obtained their furs to trade in the English towns of New York and Albany. The English and Dutch buyers urged the Iroquois to establish a meeting place with the Ottawas on the northern shores of Lake Ontario, diverting the fur trade south to them. The Iroquois sent many missions to convince the Ottawas to do this. Some Iroquois chiefs may have been sympathetic to English hints to break their Treaty of July 10, 1667 with the French.⁵

Frontenac discovered that the fur trade was a good source of revenue from observing the Governor of Montreal, Francois Marie Perrot. Perrot, who was married to a niece of Talon, was maintaining a profitable trading post on his island situated above Montreal. His agent at the post was Monsieur de Brucy. The habitants of the town sheltered the illegal activities of the coureurs de bois, for they received benefits from this contraband trade. According to a contemporary, La Hontan, Perrot made many times his 1,000 crowns (\$1,222) salary. This income was not unusual in Louis XIV's time when his civil servants were expected to supplement their meager income as long as they were discreet about the matter.

⁵William J. Eccles, "Frontenac and the Iroquois," Canadian Historical Review, XXXVI (March 1955), pp. 1-16.

THE BUILDING OF FORT FRONTENAC

By 1672, the Loups had made peace with the eastern tribes of the Iroquois.⁶ The western tribes of the Oneidas and Mohawks were very weakened by smallpox.⁷ However, the three western tribes of the Iroquois, the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas, were still fighting the Andastes, as they had been since the mid-1660's. The historian W. J. Eccles claims that this warfare would prevent the Iroquois from interfering with French and Ottawa designs for expansion, but he then later asserts that the Iroquois were docile about the French designs⁸ in the Great Lakes area. As has been mentioned before, Eccles neglects the fact the English and Dutch traders were urging the Iroquois to declare war on the French, so the "docility" thesis should be ruled out on any history of the Iroquois nation unless it is a later period, as in the mid-1700's.

Frontenac had wanted to build a fort on Lake Ontario where the St. Lawrence River meets the Lake and to use the King's money to accomplish this feat. The Minister Colbert

⁶George T. Hunt, The Wars of the Iroquois (Madison, Wisconsin, 1940), p. 145. This was a more "traditional" tribal war that lasted fifty years during which from eight to twenty warriors were killed or captured each year. The Iroquois could have easily defeated them, as they had the Hurons in 1648 to 1650. They had exterminated the Eries in 1653 to 1656.

⁷Reuben G. Thwaites, Ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents 1610-1791 (New York, 1959), LVII, p. 80

⁸Eccles, p. 1-16.

expressed his opinion that expansion was out of the question; the King wanted the colony of New France to be cramped in small fortified towns as was the case in France, but the geography of the complex river system of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence in North America as well as the fur trade made this royal plan obsolete. Colbert did not directly reject the building of the fort at the area called Cataraqui but Frontenac moved quickly rather than waiting for more replies from Colbert.

To prevent the alliance of the Ottawas (who lived at the eastern end of Lake Ontario) with the Iroquois, Frontenac acted with both great persuasion and thoroughness to obtain cooperation from the merchants and churchmen of New France. Using his own cash and credit, he paid for a flotilla which reached Cataraqui (Kingston), where he ordered the rapid construction of a fort with great precision. He built a grandstand for his "children" the Iroquois to use to watch the construction of the fort.

He had previously sent Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, to urge the Iroquois to come and see their "father." Frontenac spoke no Indian language, while the Iroquois chiefs spoke no French but communicated through interpreters.⁹ He distributed gifts even to the squaws and children, and invited the chiefs to his table. He talked of the trade

⁹"Paris, Archives Nationales, Colonies Series C 11 A, Le Père Nouvel à Frontenac, Mai 1673, pp. 3-55," in Eccles, p. 3.

benefits and of having the Iroquois send the colony some nine children to be raised in New France as a sign of good will.

The astute Iroquois thanked him, and promised to protect the Jesuit missionaries from their young braves; they were delighted at trade but what about prices? They would consider the sending of their children, and said that only the Andastes were their enemy. It would be shameful to allow this tribe to crush his "children."

These were no simple-minded Indians, and Frontenac was forced to qualify, stating he could not send his "children" aid against the Andastes as it was too late in the year. Frontenac indicated he would be glad to discuss measures against the Andastes when the Iroquois came to Quebec with the children. It was not an adroit reply, but he had had no instructions about the Andastes, who were in English areas bordering New York and Maryland, but also in areas of Pennsylvania unoccupied by the English at that time.

After the meeting, both La Salle and Father Lamberville praised the Governor. La Salle stressed that the Iroquois were impressed by his generosity.¹⁰ Lamberville wrote from an Onondaga village to the Governor that the Iroquois "were delighted to give you every possible satisfaction," and that the Dutch were angry and were offering aid to help

¹⁰ Leopold Lamontagne, ed., Royal Fort Frontenac trans. R. A. Preston (Toronto, 1955), "La Salle to Frontenac P.A.C. C 11, A 4, Techirogen, August 10, 1673, pp. 107-108."

was judged quite critically by his clerical superior, Bretonvilliers, who told Fénelon not to return to Canada because

by having busied himself too much in worldly matters, and meddling in what did not concern him, he had ruined his own prospects and injured the friends whom he wished to serve. In matters of this sort, it is well to stand neutral.¹⁵

A basic controversy was caused by the opposition of Montreal merchants to Frontenac's building of Fort Frontenac. They backed Governor Perrot, believing that the fort would drain them of furs and furnish a staging area for Frontenac's men, La Salle in particular. The result of the controversy was to split New France and to completely disrupt the colony's administration. In the meantime the Iroquois were still trading with the French at Fort Frontenac and may have known of the controversy. At almost the same time as this imbroglio, the Dutch had recaptured New Amsterdam (New York) from the English, holding the town from July, 1673, until it was returned to the English for all time on November 10, 1674. The Dutch seemed to do nothing to persuade the Iroquois to attack New France at this time.

THE RETURN OF JOLLIET

A young Canadian, Louis Jolliet, a former Jesuit college student and a fur trader who spoke some Indian languages,

¹⁵"Lettre de Bretonvillier 7 Mai, 1675" in Parkman, p. 42-3. Both Lanctôt and Parkman ignore the hanging of the unfortunate coureur de bois as an example of the King's "justice." See page 32 of this paper for an account of this incident.

had been commissioned by Talon and the newly arrived Frontenac to discover the Pacific Ocean by way of the Mississippi River. He and his companions were joined by Father Marquette at the mission of Michilimackinac north of Lake Michigan in December, 1672. They soon visited the Illinois who gave them a friendly welcome. After a long journey, Jolliet and his party reached an Arkansas village at 33° north latitude, and discovered that they were only a few days journey from the sea. Jolliet realized it was not the Pacific but the Gulf of Mexico. After a long return journey, he spent the winter at Sault Ste. Marie and finally arrived at Montreal in July, 1674. Unfortunately he had lost his maps and diary at the LaChine rapids, but the Governor was delighted with the expedition's news anyway. The potential for trade was high, Frontenac felt, and soon he was to back La Salle's efforts to explore the interior of North America.

In December, 1674, the King had revoked the West India Company's charter due to its being three million livres (\$600,000) in debt, and now New France once more became a royal province instead of being the property of a trading company monopoly. On May 24, 1675, the rights of the former company including Canada were leased to Jean Oudiette for a seven year period at 350,000 livres (\$70,000) a year, on condition he should pay a fixed sum to meet public expenses as the former company had done; also the Tadoussac fur trade along with the taxes on moose and beaver skins were inherited by him. He also would have the exclusive right to sell

beaver pelts in France, and since the debt of the Community of Habitants had been amortized, the King ruled that the proceeds from the 10% tax on alcohol and tobacco would also belong to him. Soon, however, the lease was transferred by Oudiette to Quebec's great financier, Aubert de La Chesnaye, for 119,000 livres a year (\$23,800) and an annual present of twelve beaver hats. The people would be free to trade on condition that they deliver the skins to La Chesnaye who bought them at four livres ten sous a pound (90¢).

The enforcement of the severe laws of 1673 brought most of the voyageurs out of the woods and on April 22, 1675, the Sovereign Council decreed no one could engage in fur trading who did not possess a farm that maintained a dwelling.

THE ARRIVAL OF DUCHESNEAU AND LAVAL

Colbert had been shocked at the many autocratic ways of Governor Frontenac. The Fénelon affair had also involved his harsh treatment of the Abbé d' Urfé to whom Colbert was related by marriage, so Colbert felt that the Governor had controlled the office of Intendant long enough. In 1675 Colbert appointed the methodical Jacques Duchesneau from the district of Tours to be the Intendant of New France with responsibility for justice, administration, and finance. The Governor was now to control the army, Indian affairs, and had supreme power in a major crisis.

Duchesneau and Frontenac immediately disliked each other and, in this age of protocol, both were soon writing

letters to Colbert over matters of precedence in church seating and addresses at meetings, and on who was taking furs from the Indians in an illegal manner. In opposition to the conclusions of the earlier historian Parkman, both modern historians Eccles and Lanctôt sympathize with Duchesneau, for he not only had to deal with the autocratic Frontenac but also with the gloomy and puritanical Bishop Laval.

Bishop Laval arrived in New France in September, 1675. He had fought for his appointment as Bishop of New France to be under the jurisdiction of the Pope and not King Louis with his state-controlled Gallican Church. The King wanted to appoint his own bishops but he lost this three year battle to the Pope.

Frontenac lost his battle with the Intendant; in his desire to maintain ties with the western tribes of Indians, he had issued trading permits. The King had forbidden both the Governor-General of New France and the local governors (including Perrot of Montreal) to deliver any trading permits so Frontenac issued, as a pretext for trade, hunting permits from 1676 to 1678.

On Frontenac's side in this power struggle were La Salle and his lieutenants La Forest and Henry de Tonty; Du Lhut, the leader or "King" of the coureurs de bois; Boisseau, the agent of the farmers of the revenue; Barrois, the Governor's Secretary; and Bizard, the lieutenant of his guard. He was opposed by members of the Sovereign Council, by the great financier La Chesnaye, by Le Moyne and his many

sons, Louis Jolliet, Jacques Le Ber, Sorel, Boucher, Varennes, and many others including the Jesuits. The colony was divided from 1675 to 1682 over the fur trade. To complicate matters, south of New France many Indian troubles occurred from that time until the end of Frontenac's term of office.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1678

Frontenac backed the Council decision of 1668 to permit the sale of liquor to the Indians by the habitants in exchange for furs. He attacked the Jesuits verbally for not having accepted this decision. The Jesuits, Frontenac said, had excommunicated brandy sellers despite the absence of Bishop Laval during the first three years of his governorship. In 1676, one year after his arrival, Bishop Laval sent Abbé Dudouyt to Paris to plead with the King to abolish the traffic, but Colbert consulted Talon and felt the allegations were greatly exaggerated. The theologians at the Sorbonne in France held that the Bishop had the right to declare the selling of alcohol a "reserved" case for which only the bishop could grant absolution.

The colony was in turmoil over this question of selling brandy; Duchesneau supported the clergy, while Frontenac denounced the Jesuits throughout the year of 1677. Colbert in that year stated that the Intendant had no real evidence against Frontenac. The struggle continued until the King himself ordered a meeting of the Sovereign Council, which was

composed of New France's twenty most prominent citizens.

In a vote of fifteen to five, with Bishop Laval missing, the committee maintained it was a necessary evil to sell alcohol to the Indians to prevent them from going to the English and that the reports of drunkenness were exaggerated. The minority believed that prohibition would result in a higher morality for the Indians and would benefit agriculture by reducing the number of coureurs de bois in the woods. This meeting occurred in the Château St. Louis on October 26, 1678.

The King heard the results, but being a pious man he submitted the case to the Archbishop of Paris and to the King's confessor, who consulted the returning Laval to present the arguments of the minority. The clerics wanted the King to prohibit the sale of brandy to the Indians in their own territory and wished Laval to limit his use of absolution to this new prohibition. The King, on May 24, 1679, issued an edict forbidding holders of hunting licenses (which Frontenac could now re-issue to his men) to take brandy into Indian territory. It was a half-victory for Laval since it prohibited sales to mission areas of Indians but sanctioned sales in the settlements.¹⁶

The illicit trade in furs continued and grew; the volume reached such proportions that the Governor had to

¹⁶R.A.Q., 1926-27 "Frontenac à Colbert, 14 Novembre 1674, 'p. 74' Louis XIV a Frontenac 22 avril 1675," p. 83. Pierre Dauvial, Le Baron de Saint-Castin (Montreal, 1939) pp. 55-61 and 199, Note in Lanctôt, II, p. 168.

establish a station on the Richelieu and Chambly Rivers to check the movement of travelers. The prices being paid for furs in goods was double in Albany to what it was in New France. This offered great temptation for the coureurs de bois to trade in Albany, and Duchesneau accused Frontenac of protecting the coureurs de bois. The Intendant added that the "King of the Coureurs de bois," DuLhut, being in the Ottawa and Sioux country, was sharing his profits with Frontenac. Duchesneau neglected to notice that DuLhut had negotiated a peace between the Ottawas and the Sioux and had taken possession of their areas in the name of the French King.

The clerics unrealistically interfered with the colony's business and misunderstood the Indians' habit of a gift exchange before the beginning of trade bargaining. The demand of a drink had great ritual value for the Indians, but it left the fur trade dependent on brandy and increasingly in the hands of the coureurs de bois. The lack of a gift of a dram might even divert the fur trade to Albany. The clergy wanted the trade to be negotiated publicly, but this was not feasible due to French expansion.

THE INDIAN WARS OF 1675-78

King Philip's War 1675-78

In the English colonies of New England, King Philip's War raged between the settlers and the Algonquin tribes from 1675 to 1678. It cost thousands of lives. One of the tribes

that allied with "King" or Sachem Philip of the Wampanoags was the Abenaki. They had been harshly treated when the English occupied Acadia from 1658 to 1670. (In the latter year the area was returned to France.) The Abenaki resented their mistreatment by the Boston merchants, and worst of all, their custom of selling Indians as slaves, rather than keeping them to exchange for other prisoners as was the Indian custom.

King Philip's War started because of the fear of New England's Algonquin tribes that they were losing land to the English settlers. The Abenaki joined the war at a late date when in August, 1676, they destroyed the English towns of Casco and Sagadahock. Some 3,000 Indians were killed but the English lost heavily, with 600 men killed, 1,200 houses burned, and some 8,000 cattle destroyed. The total loss was put at 150,000. Indian labor was also lost to the English.¹⁷

Edward Randolph, sent by London to investigate this war, listed its causes (as believed by the Puritans) to be:

Some believe there have been vagrant and jesuitical priests, who have made it their businesse, for some years past, to goe from Sachim to Sachim, to exasperate the Indians against the English and to bring them into a confederacy, and that they were promised supplies from France and other parts to extirpate the English nation out of the continent of America.¹⁸

¹⁷ Martin Ridge and Ray A. Billington eds. America's Frontier Story (New York, 1969), "Edward Randolph's Report to the Home Government," pp. 79-80.

¹⁸ Ridge and Billington, p. 79.

the Five Nations drive the French from the area.¹¹ It should be noted that the Iroquois did send eight children to Frontenac to be educated in French ways.

With a policy which Eccles considers "peace at any price," the Governor went to Fort Frontenac every summer for the next few years to confer with the Iroquois and other Indian tribes at the site. Its strategic value was as a base for the fur trade of the eastern Great Lakes; the fort, as Frontenac instructed the Iroquois, was to safeguard the peace and to barter for furs.

As a reward for building this fort, Frontenac was sent a stern letter from the King. He was instructed to forbid all illegal trading in furs by the voyageurs except those who had a signed license from the Governor. He was to encourage the voyageurs to settle down to the bliss of married life with the "King's girls," who were still being sent from France for the purpose of increasing the population. To outfit the illegal traders was an offense punishable by flogging on the first offense; for the second offense the guilty party was to be sent to the galleys of Louis XIV's fleet. A year later (June 5, 1673) the home country sent a decree that if a voyageur remained for more than 24 hours in the woods without the signed permission of the Governor, the punishment was death. It can be seen that the little colony was over

¹¹Lamontagne, "B 9 and B 10 (P.A.C. C 11 A 4), pp. 12-13 and 125."

latter was arrested for a day. Frontenac then summoned Perrot to Quebec, but Frontenac told Abbé Fénelon that he hoped to settle the matter quietly.

Traveling on snowshoes, Perrot and Abbé Fénelon went 180 miles on frozen ice to Quebec. After a stormy interview, Perrot was arrested by Frontenac. While Perrot was in prison, one of the two voyageurs who had been the original cause of the affair was hanged in front of Perrot's prison window. The proud Frontenac now reported to Colbert that only five coureurs de bois remained at large, and that further hangings were needless. In actual fact, the hanging stopped the voyageurs' activities only for a time.

The matter of Perrot went to the Sovereign Council, a group of top administrators in New France who possessed final authority in administrative affairs and justice. Many of these men opposed Frontenac's autocratic ways, and since France was giving more power to the Intendant, the Governor-General (in this case Frontenac) could no longer appoint men to the Sovereign Council. As a result, the Council was bogged down for months over legalities.

The offended Fénelon went back to Montreal, which was jealous of the power at Quebec. On Easter Sunday, 1674, the Abbé Fénelon preached a sermon at Montreal full of allusions to Frontenac, saying a good administrator reconciles adversaries, does not make his subordinates (the Sovereign Council) feel the weight of authority, nor does he dabble in trade. Sitting in the crowded church was La Salle, who sent

regulated by rules from the French Court.

THE FRONTENAC-FÉNELON EPISODE

In his efforts to control the problem of the voyageurs, Frontenac's bombastic character often emerged as grotesque even in Louis XIV's flamboyant court. From the autumn of 1673 until September of 1674 there arose a crisis in the colony of New France over the problem of the coureurs de bois.

Frontenac had sent word to Governor Perrot of Montreal to enforce the King's order of June 5, 1673, prescribing that the voyageurs were not to remain in the forest more than one day without Frontenac's permission. Montreal was the supply center for the voyageurs, and some had begun to take their beaver pelts to the Dutch in Albany; farms were being neglected by these people. Perrot did nothing to enforce the King's orders.¹²

Frontenac sent a police sergeant to arrest two of the voyageurs in Montreal, but the host housing these two felons allowed them to escape the policemen. Irritated, Frontenac sent Lieutenant Bizard to arrest the host, a task Bizard accomplished but without notifying Perrot as the law required him to do. A comedy of errors followed. Infuriated, Perrot threw Frontenac's arrest letter in Bizard's face, and the

¹²"Le Roi à Frontenac, 12 juin 1672, Fol. 65 $\frac{1}{2}$ Ordonnances, I Ordonnance, 27, Septembre 1672," pp.73-74. Dedit et Ordonnances Royaux, I, pp. 73-74, R.A.Q., 1926-27, "Frontenac à Colbert, 14 Novembre 1674, p. 53; 14 Novembre 1674," in Lanctôt, II, pp. 68-69.

a summary of the speech to a very angry Frontenac. Fénelon then clearly overstepped his bounds when he went among the colonists to collect attestations in Perrot's favor. A relative and co-missionary worker of Fénelon went to Frontenac for an interview and later claimed he was threatened by a stick-wielding Governor-General.¹³

The Council was worried; Perrot challenged them, and even Fénelon, appearing before the Council, showed his arrogance by refusing to remove his hat. Fénelon said only the bishop and not the Council could judge him. Fénelon had the Order of the Sulpicians, rivals of the Jesuits in conversion of the Indians, on his side.¹⁴

The Council ordered the cases of Perrot and the Abbé Fénelon referred to France. Perrot spent only three weeks in the Bastille while in France because his former ten months of detention in New France was considered too rigorous a punishment by the King's officials. The papers giving both sides of the dispute accompanied the two men (Perrot and Fénelon) to France. Talon, who held a post at court, helped Perrot to avoid severe punishment. Perrot was ordered to return and to apologize to Frontenac.

Despite being related to Colbert by marriage, Fénelon

¹³"Jug. et Deli, I, 21 août 1674 pp. 817-21 and passim to p. 877. R.A.Q., 1926-27 "Frontenac à Colbert, 14 Novembre 1674," pp. 70-73 in Lanctôt, II, p. 66

¹⁴Parkman, p. 30-43. The author is anti-clerical unlike Lanctôt, and the former reflects the American bias against the union of church and state. Lanctôt is an excellent historian who however accepts the churchly writings. The church, at that time, aimed at complete control of the habitant's life.

The Treaty of Casco was signed in the spring of 1678 in Massachusetts; it recognized the Abenakis' rights east of the Kennebec River, and the obligation of each settler to pay a peck of corn a year for land rent. It should be noted that in the peace terms under Article Two

That the Indians shall not conceal any known enemies to the English, but shall discover and bring them to the English. That upon all occasions the Indians are to ayd and assist the English against their enemies, and to be under English command.¹⁹

The enemy (to the English) were the French, and the English vowed to use Indian allies against the French. Frontenac had wisely kept out of this conflict; he felt that he now needed all the Indian allies he could obtain, for he now knew the potential of the aggressive English colonists' designs on New France. Events occurring south of Lake Ontario also spelled potential trouble for New France.

The Andastes War 1675-77

At the same time as King Philip's War, the English colonies of New York, Maryland, and even Virginia felt the fury of the Andastes War, which resulted in the "defeat" of the latter by the Iroquois. A modern historian, Eccles, claims this victory caused the Iroquois to begin designs against the French. The weakness of this theory is shown by evidence from the colonial writings of that time which indicate that the English encouraged the Iroquois against the French.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 81.

The records of the war seem hidden in mystery, but the war itself had gained great intensity by the year 1675. The war's seriousness is reflected in that the Iroquois were no longer burying their guns with their dead as was the custom before 1675.

The Andastes were an Iroquoian offshoot from the Mohawks; they lived south of the Iroquois in the areas of New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland. Maryland supported the Andastes, and the Maryland legislature voted to sell 5,000 pounds of tobacco, the money from this sale to be used for providing gunpowder for use by the Andastes against their enemies.²⁰

The fighting between the Iroquois and the Andastes spilled over into Maryland and Virginia, where white settlers were killed. The result in Virginia was Bacon's Rebellion in which Nathaniel Bacon killed at least 70 Andastes, and then turned against Virginia's tidewater government.²¹ The Marylanders withdrew their aid from the Andastes, famine attacked the tribe, and probably a combination of vigilante actions by irate citizens from both states along with the

²⁰Hunt, op. cit., p. 142. His chapter called "The Susquehannah War" clearly illustrates the difficulty of finding accurate information on this "murky" war. It is apparent there were no direct "eyewitness" reports by either the French or English writers.

²¹"Strange News From Virginia" Harry Finestone Ed. Bacon's Rebellion: The Contemporary News Sheet (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1957), pp. 9-17, in Ridge and Billington, pp. 57-58.

Iroquois finished the tribe as a major power.²² It was reduced to a few hundred people.²³

The Iroquois were still angry; drunken braves threatened the Jesuits and said they would destroy the French power.²⁴ Iroquois anxiety increased because in 1677 or 1678 a band of Jesuit-converted Iroquois settled across the river from the town of Montreal. This band probably numbered over 1,000 people, for they furnished some 200 to 300 warriors in later wars against New France's enemies. Some of these were Mohawks who had previously lived on the Hudson River which led to Albany. There is little doubt that some of these Indians conspired to aid the coureurs de bois to go to Albany for higher payment on their furs.

To gain more furs for revenue, Frontenac took advantage of these Indian wars to construct Fort Niagara beginning in 1676. By 1679 he completed the fort, which was located between the Niagara River and Lake Ontario. The Iroquois must have felt surrounded, with Fort Frontenac on their right and Fort Niagara to their left.

²²Cadwallader Colden, The History of the Five Indian Nations (Ithaca, New York, 1958), pp. 33-45. The negotiations for damages caused by the Iroquois with the state of Maryland and Virginia lasted until the year 1682; the Senecas protested their innocence, although they admitted they could have tortured their four white captives to death. The account given sounds more like a series of small skirmishes than a major war of attrition against the Andastes.

²³Constance L. Skinner, Beaver, Kings and Cabins (New York, 1933), p. 193.

²⁴Jesuit Relations, Vol. LIX, p. 251; Vol. LX, p. 173

The area north of the Great Lakes promised trouble, and Greysolon DuLhut was sent into Sioux territory to stop a threat by the Hudson's Bay Company. The hunting Indians of that area, the Assiniboin and the Cree, received trade goods via the Ottawa, Ojibway, and Sioux, but at a very high price. The French domination of trade appeared to be lessening, for the English used ships to send in large amounts of goods via the Hudson's Bay Company's forts. This made them more plentiful and cheaper than the French goods.

The Sioux were caught between the Cree and the Assiniboin, with the Cree to their north and the Assiniboin to their south. DuLhut stopped the alliance of those two tribes against the Sioux, thus saving the area from a large scale war. DuLhut made a peace agreement with the Sioux in 1679 which facilitated trade with the French. He followed up by exploring the area west of Lake Superior to the Mississippi River and soon established posts north of Lake Superior, at Kaministiquia, and a fort on Lake Nipigon.

While DuLhut largely secured the northwest trade of furs for France, as well as the friendship of the northwest Indian tribes, La Salle was trying to perform the same feat in the Mississippi Valley. La Salle had outflanked the Iroquois by 1678 and had suzerainty over the Illinois and Miami tribes. These tribes were over a thousand miles from the main fur base in Montreal, and they would be hard for any French force to defend. In one instance La Salle got the allegiance of the Miami by an unusual act of personal bravery.

In 1680, after the Iroquois had made a foray against the Illinois, they then killed some Miamis on their way homeward and hastily built a fort in the middle of Miami country. La Salle verbally abused the Iroquois in such a manner that the Iroquois warriors departed their fort under cover of darkness. The Miamis were so impressed by this feat that they made an alliance with the French and agreed to French demands for a peace with the Illinois.

The northwest was secured by France's two main explorers, La Salle and DuLhut, thus ensuring the profit from furs for both France and New France. The weakest link were the Illinois who were not able to defend themselves. The Iroquois, who had acted as middlemen between Indians and English and French, did not appreciate potential customers being taken over by the French. Both Frontenac and King Louis XIV backed this French expansion but little aid was given Frontenac by the King for sending settlers into the interior, nor did the King even send soldiers to man the forts. The forts were tiny, often having fewer than ten French coureurs de bois as residents. The English encouraged the Iroquois to attack these outposts, for they were vulnerable and far from help in Montreal.

In the meantime the Jesuits in the western missions, the Récollets at Fort Frontenac, and the Sulpicians at Quinte reported that the Iroquois were ready to strike at New France. The historian Eccles claims that there was no sign that the Governor heeded their letters of warning. In a letter to the

French Minister of the Marine, dated April 25, 1679, Frontenac states that the remote tribes were subservient to French interests, and that while Governor Andros of New York tried to stir up trouble with the Iroquois, smallpox had attacked the Five Nations and they were too busy mourning their dead to start a war.²⁵ However, in spite of Frontenac's statements, it was clear that the English of New York would try to move into the Great Lakes area if there was a break in the dominance of the coureurs de bois.

In 1681 the Iroquois acted with audacity and captured several hundred Illinois women and children and also took some prisoners at a Miami village. Le Tonty had almost been killed when the Iroquois besieged his small fort. Le Tonty reported that the Illinois Confederacy had not panicked, and that they had calmly returned to their villages after the raid. The particular group of the Illinois that was raided was the least effective tribe in warfare. La Salle, Le Tonty's immediate superior, exaggerated the destruction, perhaps to suit the Gascon governor's taste for bombast. This skirmish was the only large Iroquois victory over the Illinois but the French were now excluded from that area of trade.

Frontenac informed Colbert of this attack, but assured him that if the Seneca and the Onondaga did not offer satisfaction for their attacks on French allies, he would order them to come to account for their actions. He blamed the

²⁵Eccles, p. 13.

English for this and stated to Colbert that he felt that 500 to 600 troops could subdue the Iroquois and

We would only have to let them be seen and let them go up and down the lakes without any other act of hostility to ensure peace for ten years.²⁶

Tribal animosities increased as a Seneca chief was murdered by an Illinois at a Kiskakon (an Ottawa tribe) village. The entire village fled to the north without taking any action or punishing the murderer as their primitive law required them to do. This occurred in November, 1681. The incident could be used by the Iroquois as a pretext to attack all the Ottawa tribes, which were still the major Indian middlemen of New France. As a diplomatic move, Frontenac sent Sieur de Marque with a canoe loaded with gifts to the Seneca to persuade them that the incident was a private quarrel, and to instruct them to wait until after the 1682 summer meeting with the Governor at Fort Frontenac before starting any aggression which could lead to a war. Frontenac made it known that the Ottawa were to make reparations for the murder, thus attempting to control the situation by diplomacy.

THE DELAY OF 1682

The winter and spring passed, and it was now approaching summer but Frontenac did not go to Fort Frontenac. He felt that he needed a larger escort at all times than

²⁶Translated from "Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Quebec pour 1926-27, C11A, V 12, Frontenac au Roy, Que., Nov. 2, 1681" in Eccles, p. 7.

previously, as the Iroquois were now hunting in the area of Fort Frontenac. He wanted to invite just two to three deputies from each of the Five Nations to come to Montreal in June. Frontenac and Duchesneau had been recalled in February of that year, and the Governor did not want to risk his life at the last minute, nor did he wish to imperil his reputation with the Indians. He had had no help from France concerning his requests for extra soldiers. Eccles uses La Forest as a source to indicate that the Governor was very nervous and that Frontenac had based his decisions on third-hand Indian rumors.²⁷

By the end of July, the Intendant, with whom the Governor had been constantly feuding, felt that Frontenac must act or otherwise place the Illinois in danger and also risk an attack on the Kiskakons by the Senecas. Duchesneau put forward a plan to have Frontenac cross Lake Ontario to the Iroquois side on La Salle's barque accompanied by other small armed ships and suggested he invite the Iroquois aboard the barque for diplomacy.²⁸ Frontenac rejected this plan; it would lower his prestige by going to his "children," and he waited for the Indians to make amends to the Iroquois. The

²⁷"Mémoire du Chevalier de la Forest: Inventure Production les pieces Paris, Dec. 29, 1719" in Eccles, p. 8. This seems far too late to be accurate and one doubts that this man wrote a diary. Eccles is up to a scholar's tricks by using "old" sources.

²⁸"Paris, Archives Nationales, Colonies, Series C11 A, VI, 28-9, Duchesneau à Frontenac, Quebec, July 28, 1682," in Eccles, p. 8.

Intendant was foolish in this plan; a thousand Iroquois manning their canoes could attack this unwieldy and slow moving flotilla, and to invite the Iroquois aboard would be sheer madness. Eccles must have gravely misjudged the situation when he tries to show the Intendant as reasonable; actually he little understood the Indians. Eccles does admit this error indirectly by showing that the Iroquois had plundered La Salle's barque, and that the crew was severely beaten but were not captured or killed. The Iroquois also raided some stores near Fort Frontenac in August, 1682.

Frontenac's wait for the Kiskakons was rewarded in August when that tribe along with Miami and Huron delegates appealed for aid. The Miami had been attacked four times and had lost prisoners, while the Kiskakons offered a boy, a belt of "porcelaine," and a beaver robe but no more than that for the damage done to the Senecas. Frontenac felt that this was inadequate and told the Kiskakons to return in three days. The Governor felt that the Iroquois would never make amends to the Miamis. The Miamis wanted revenge. He told them only to defend themselves as they left this final meeting; he requested them not to attack any Iroquois on the way home.

Eccles claims that New France could have been destroyed at any time. Most of the settlements were along the St. Lawrence River on strips of land some seven to ten miles long with only twelve to fifteen people; in fact, not enough population was concentrated for defense. Quebec's defenses, Eccles claims, were crumbling and Montreal had no defenses at

all. Three Rivers had only a palisade.²⁹ Despite explicit orders from the Court, Eccles claims that the habitants had few arms but he does not seem to be counting the several hundred voyageurs who were well armed.³⁰ It should be noted, however, that France had not sent arms or soldiers to New France since Frontenac's arrival.

In September, the Governor toured the island of Montreal to select a fort site. At the same time, Teganissorens, an Onondaga ambassador, led the Iroquois delegation to Fort Frontenac. The Governor was not there but the commander of the fort, La Forest, assured the delegates of their safety. They went to Montreal where Frontenac greeted them with great ceremony and loaded them with presents.

Teganissorens said that Frontenac should come to Oswego and that the Five Nations would make no more war on the Huron, Miami and Kiskakon. Teganissorens failed to mention the Illinois in this talk. Frontenac refused his offer; he replied to Teganissorens that the Iroquois should defer the war with the Illinois until the next conference in the spring of 1683. Frontenac knew that he would no longer be governor

²⁹"Denonville Paris, Archives Nationales Colonies, Series C11 A, 213-5 Mémoire Concernment d'estat present du Canada..., Denonville, Que. Nov. 12, 1685" in Eccles, p. 14. This appears to be another example of Eccles' poor use of a source, for Frontenac's successor as Governor of New France, La Barre, had a large shipment of soldiers he did not use to construct fortifications, being well known for his avarice in the fur trade.

³⁰"Paris Archives Nationales Marine, Series B, X, 3-5 Le Roy à la Barre, Fontainbleau, Aug. 5, 1683" in Eccles, p. 10.

then, as he was being returned to France.

Eccles claims that the policy of the Iroquois was as astute as that of the Communists during the "Cold War" in the sense that they tried to isolate the intended victim with threats. Eccles quotes the Jesuit missionary Father Lamberville who wrote that

Many insults have been offered by the Iroquois to French without our having given them the satisfaction of persuading them that we fear them. They profited during all the years of our losses. They surround our allies who stand there and do not have difficulty enriching themselves and they abuse us and acquire strength...they plan to take the whole of Canada and overwhelm us in one entire campaign.³¹

Eccles claims that Frontenac should have told Colbert of the risks of La Salle's explorations into Illinois territory. He feels that Frontenac put the entire colony in jeopardy for his successor.³²

Both the Governor, Frontenac, and the Intendant, Duchesneau, were recalled to France because of the internal division in New France over many matters. The westward expansion had split the colony into factions. The voyageurs, who had

³¹Translated from "Paris, Archives Nationales, Colonies, Series C11A, VI, 47-8 Pere de Lamberville à Frontenac d'Onnontague, Sept. 20, 1682" in Eccles, p. 11.

³²Eccles, p. 14. Eccles calls La Salle a "so-called explorer." Is it his bias as an English-Canadian historian to debunk the French? Unlike Lanctôt, Eccles uses limited sources and uses evidence against Frontenac as written by his enemies: the Jesuits, Montreal merchants, and the Intendant, Duchesneau. He does not use English sources, showing how the English of New York in particular were plotting against the French in competition for furs.

been blamed for promoting licentiousness, dishonesty, and drunkenness among the Indians, were now being granted only 25 congés or permits a year to trade with the Indians. This permitted only 3 men per congé or only 75 men out of the several hundred to go into the wilderness of North America. This poor compromise order was made by the Court of Versailles and went into effect on November 13, 1681. The coureurs de bois had finally been recognized as important links to the Indians in the fur trade and in the claiming of empire.

When Frontenac arrived in 1672 some 61,000 pounds weight of beaver furs were sold yearly, just enough for the colony's maintenance. From 1675 to 1683, the weight of beaver furs sold was averaging some 90,000 pounds yearly due to the exploration and trade into the interior. The fur fairs, in which the Indians came to Montreal and sold their furs on the sandy beaches near the town, were declining as early as 1676 because the traders were now going into the interior. The King had originally ordered these fur fairs for the Indians' protection from the traders. The Ottawa middlemen began losing their dominance of the trade to both Indians and French.

The English threat to the north, the Hudson's Bay Company, was soon to meet its rival, the "Compagnie du Nord," which was formed on May 20, 1682, with Frontenac's covert approval. Several Quebec merchants, among them La Chesnaye and Le Moyne, sent an expedition to trade in Hudson's Bay territory. The expedition was led by the two legendary figures, Pierre Esprit Radisson and Ménéard Chouart des Groseilliers.

These two knew the area and had helped to found the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. In this (1682) foray, a New England ship was captured with furs. The expedition arrived back at Quebec in 1683, only to find an angry new Governor, La Barre. The Governor fined them and sent Radisson to France. King Louis XIV was very angry that La Barre had given up the French claim to the Hudson Bay area but was apparently also irritated with Radisson's success in getting furs and profit. The King sent Radisson back to the area with orders to assure the English that such a thing would not happen again. In actual fact, this French-Canadian company was to make more seizures of both ships and forts of the English in the Hudson Bay area throughout the 1680's and 1690's.

Frontenac sent his own traders into the south and west of the continent which was well channeled by rivers, as his rivals usually went north where the beaver had better fur due to the climate producing thicker guard hairs. Despite the orders from Versailles along with the King's lack of aid, Frontenac's support of La Salle in bringing the Illinois, the Fox, and the Miami tribes into the French trading system, along with DuLhut's success in keeping the peace, blocked the English encroachment of trade from the north. The Iroquois were occupied with tribal wars, and despite their threats and increased numbers, did not even attack the colony of New France.

Due to their wars with the Andastes, Mohegans, Illinois and other tribes, the Iroquois "confederation" was weak.

Anyone could lead a war party and each nation made war of its own accord. The result of increasing French and English expansion in trade was the increasing dependence of the Indians on European goods; even the Five Nations had the white man's hogs for a meat supply in their villages.

Frontenac's first term is the most difficult portion of his career to chronicle as the source material is contradictory and biased. In the case of the *coureurs de bois*, these traders were illiterate as a rule and so one does not know their side of the story directly. The clergy wrote much and they were usually at loggerheads with Frontenac. The Jesuits left very adequate material but it is biased with its exaggeration of the number of Indian conversions. There are few "genuine" documents on what the Indians thought of the fur trade. Colden's writings show the English as dealing fairly with the Iroquois but he maligns both Indians and French. Even during Frontenac's second term of office, there seems to be no well written and adequate account of King William's War. Very few records show how the other Indian tribes were affected by the trade and the increase in tension due to competition between the tribes for trade goods. Only the Iroquois receive adequate treatment while the other important tribes are neglected. It is this writer's opinion that the English and American historians are opposed to the French historians, with each blaming the other side for tension and warfare created by the conflicting powers of England and France.

CHAPTER V

PERIOD 1682-1689

INTRODUCTION

The period 1682-89 saw two governors attempting to deal with an increasingly hostile Iroquois who were encouraged by the English colony of New York. They tried to foster the fur trade and to improve relations with Indians, both friend and foe. The King, Louis XIV, during this critical period was far too busy with designs for remaking the map of Europe to send real aid to the beleaguered colony. The able Colbert had died in 1683 and his incompetent son, Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay, filled his colonial duties with an apathy towards colonial matters which helped create disaster.

LA BARRE ADMINISTRATION

Joseph-Antion Lefebvre, Sieur de La Barre, was a naval officer who had held the office of Governor of the island of Cayenne in the French West Indies, where the English attackers had proved themselves even more incompetent than he was at defense. He had served in the Parliament of Paris and had been Intendant in France several times. Colbert reported that he was utterly incompetent and provoked hatred by his unrestrained conduct in tax

collecting.¹ He was old, sixty, and brought his wife and children to New France where he had to face the situation that Frontenac had glossed over since 1678.

Appointed on May 1, 1682, this nonentity arrived at the end of September at the same time as did Jacques de Meulles, Grand Baliff of Orleans, a man with a mind open to new ideas, who came as Intendant with instructions for the expansion of the colony as drawn up by the Court. On his arrival, however, Meulles had to delay his plans, for Quebec had suffered a fire and was partially destroyed.

Meulles also found that other plans for the colony were not working out. If a Frenchman were to marry an Indian woman, the couple were to receive corn, hemp, seed, a cow and a pig, but she had to be converted to the Catholic faith before marriage. The scheme to have the habitants intermarry with the Indians failed. Since the fund of 3,000 livres (\$600) was not being used as it was intended for the intermarriages, the Intendant Meulles used it to help newly married French couples. Versailles wanted the Indians to have a sedentary life, and had sent six incompetent factory girls to teach the Indian women to weave. The Intendant felt the practical education of a peasant was more essential

¹Gustave Lanctôt A History of Canada Vol. II From the Royal Regime to the Treaty of Utrecht, 1663-1713, translated by Margaret Cameron (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964) 85 II Edits et ordonnances Royaux, III, "Provisions du gouverneur pour le Sieur de La Barre, 1^{er} mai 1682" pp. 44-45 Louis-Marie Le Jeune, Dictionnaire général (Ottawa, 1931) II, p. 690.

to the Indian women than the praying and reading lessons of the Ursuline Order of nuns at Quebec.

More critically, New France was faced with being drawn into a war with the Iroquois over the latter's attacks on the Illinois, so La Barre called twenty prominent citizens including Msgr. deLaval, three Jesuits, the Sulpician Abbé Dollier, Le Moyne, Boucher, and DuLhut, who informed him that the English, in order to protect their fur trade of 600,000 livres or \$120,000 a year, were inciting the Iroquois to attack the French, and were planning to break a potential French and Indian flank assault before attacking New France. La Barre asked Versailles for reinforcement, but Seignelay sent him only some 150 motley marines from La Rochelle's taverns who arrived on November 7th, too late to be of use in any "preventive" expedition against the Iroquois.

Although in 1682 La Barre had sworn to the King he would not engage in business transactions, he formed a business partnership the next year with La Chesnaye and Le Ber, two of Quebec's leading merchants. He then had the gall to forbid the coureurs de bois to trade in the forest or with the English. La Barre complained of rogues at Montreal trying to seize Fort Frontenac while La Salle was in France preparing for the tragic expedition to the Mississippi (1684-87) via the Gulf of Mexico. He sent twelve soldiers to occupy Fort Frontenac; Meulles wrote that the twelve had driven out La Salle's men. Meulles claimed that the aggressors

were acting as agents for creditors of La Salle.² La Salle owed many people, including Frontenac, large sums of money. While this was going on, the Sieurs de La Chesnaye and Le Ber were planning for a large trade by building a large barque and securing La Salle's barque left at the fort.³ In fact, the pelts were prevented by La Barre's men from falling into the legitimate and authorized hands of the Company of the Farm. Meulles claimed that

It was established in...1673 by M. the Count Frontenac, purportedly for the security of the country, but in fact for trading with the Iroquois to serve as a refuge and entrepot for the coureurs de bois scattered among the Ottawa nations, and to form a trading connection in beavers with the Dutch and the English of Albany and Manhattan.⁴

After the seizure of Fort Frontenac, La Barre sent the shrewd Nicolas Perrot on a trade and peace-keeping mission to Lake Michigan, during which he founded the post of St. Nicolas at the confluence of the Wisconsin and Mississippi. New France now had the assurance of aid from the Sioux in that area. DuLhut had founded Kaministiquia (Fort William) and La Tourette (Nipigon) and persuaded the Indians to acknowledge French sovereignty, and to bring their furs to Sault Ste. Marie rather than to the Hudson's Bay Company's forts.

²Leopold Lamontagne, ed. Royal Fort Frontenac trans. by Dr. Richard A. Preston. Champlain Society (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955) C 12.

³Lamontagne, C 13.

⁴Ibid., C 14.

As a sidelight on the "process of persuasion," DuLhut was forced to execute some Saulteux Indians for the murder of two French traders. He had the executions performed in front of 400 Indians who were impressed by this boldness and justice. La Barre was pleased by this act.

The Governor sent reinforcements to Michilimackinac. He also received the Iroquois envoys on August 14, 1683, and loaded them with presents. He demanded they make peace with the Huron, Algonquin, and Ottawa. The envoys replied they would send ambassadors in the spring of 1684, but they were not impressed with this new governor. However, La Barre had thus kept the peace negotiations open.

Governor La Barre signed licenses beyond the normal 25 permits, and authorized a group of 14 associates to send trading parties to the Illinois. At least 60 colonists were trading illegally with the English in Albany and New York, and now the English were coming to Montreal to buy furs and, no doubt, to spy on New France.

The population of New France was hesitant about the possibility of war with the Iroquois; the merchants favored peace, as did the Jesuits living among the Iroquois. The Intendant, Fathers Fremin and Dablon in Quebec, and the missionaries of Sault Ste. Marie and in other western posts felt that war with the Iroquois was inevitable. La Barre confidently wrote to the King that 1,200 habitants could winter in Iroquois territory until the spring of 1684, and that although the Iroquois had 2,600 seasoned warriors,

...our youth is hardened and quite used to the woods... Besides we make war better than they do; and only a few cannon will give us a great advantage.⁵

It is quite obvious he neither knew how to wage Indian guerilla warfare nor did he realize the harshness of Canadian winters which made foraging hard for men in the woods.

He blundered badly in his next move. In an attempt to favor his own trading partners, the Governor permitted his envoy Le Moyne to tell the Iroquois to challenge, attack, and rob any canoe not having an official license and he even sent a sample license to them. In short, he allowed illiterate and potentially dangerous warriors to police French trade and the results were damaging.

On March 8, 1684, a band of Senecas robbed seven canoes bound for Fort St. Louis with 16,000 pounds of articles for barter, and when the crew protested this challenge by showing their licenses, the Senecas refused to recognize them, saying, "Don't you know that M. Le Moyne told us to pillage any Frenchmen we found in this country, and if they resisted, to kill them?"⁶ Ironically, according to the Abbé de Belmont this shipment of furs belonged to the Governor. It is to be noted that the French canoes were larger than the Algonquin canoes. The larger canoes could now go into the interior and come out with a large profit in furs. The

⁵Lamontagne, D 8 La Barre to the King P.A.C. C 11 A-6-1, p 97-9, 1683 .

⁶Lanctôt, 88. Memoireset Documents, "Relation d'un voyage, 8 mai 1684," pl 342-3 C¹¹ A, 6 La Barre à Seignelay, 5 juin 1684, p. 445ff.

King's decrees had not dealt with technological innovations. The larger the canoe, the greater the loss when the Indians seized it. A total of about 700 French canoes were seized and this enabled the British of New York to move into the Great Lakes region, since the French were paralyzed by La Barre's act of stupidity.⁷

Governor La Barre protested to Governor Thomas Dongan of New York, an Irish Catholic and a former French soldier. Dongan assured him that if the French would be prohibited from trading east of Lake Ontario, he would forbid the British from trading west of that lake. This would have eliminated Forts Niagara and St. Louis, and other forts and missions on the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River controlled by France since the explorations of the 1660's and 1670's. If La Barre had followed Dongan's advice, New France would have been in penury.

A raiding party with 200 Iroquois warriors attacked Fort St. Louis on March 31, 1684. Under the joint command of Tonty and Baugy, the fort withstood a siege of six days until the attackers withdrew, pursued by the Illinois.

As Meulles said, "To the great surprise of the Bishop, the Jesuits, and all the most respected elements in the country...",⁸ La Barre launched a military expedition against

⁷Helen Broshar, "The First Push Westward of the Albany Traders" Mississippi Valley Historical Review, VII (December, 1920), p. 233.

⁸Lanctôt, p. 88.

the Iroquois to recover his profits, consulting only his business partner, La Chesnaye. This was done to save the interests of five to six merchants in the Lower Town of Quebec, or so it seemed, for in May the Governor ordered his representatives in the west, DuLhut, La Durantaye, and Nicolas Perrot, to recruit warriors and to bring them to Niagara. This move appeared to be foolish, for Father Lamberville, living with the Iroquois, affirmed that the Five Nations would accept a settlement if the offer was accompanied by presents "which the Iroquois seldom resist."⁹

La Barre continued to make errors. The Seneca chief Teganissorens had come to Quebec to negotiate but La Barre took him prisoner before the chief had a chance to make a speech. Also, La Barre sent a letter dated June 15, 1684, to Governor Dongan telling him not to sell war materials to the Iroquois as he, La Barre, was preparing to attack them. To expect a trade enemy to remain neutral as one was about to attack his middlemen was the height of stupidity.

A Maladroit Expedition

On July 29, 1684, some 700 French and 300 Indians left Montreal. They crossed to Famine Creek on the Salmon River north of Oswego, very close to the Seneca villages. They arrived on August 19th. La Barre, leading the expedition, stayed in that swampy area six weeks while reinforcements of

⁹Ibid.

200 French and 400 Indians hurried from the west. La Barre's group fell ill and lost courage, but he sent a boat and canoes for barter at Niagara, showing that the merchant in him was stronger than the soldier.¹⁰

Finally Le Moyne was sent by La Barre to the Onondaga to propose a peace and to request a meeting where the French were encamped at Camp Famine. However, English coats of arms had been planted in an Onondaga village and the Onondaga refused to have peace proceedings.¹¹ Excluding the Seneca, the four other tribes sent envoys to Camp Famine on September 3, 1684.

The leader of this Iroquois delegation, Haaskouan or Big Mouth, in an often quoted speech which amazed the Huron, Algonquin, Abenaki, and mission Iroquois present as well as La Barre seated in an armchair, declared that:

I see Ononthio raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the Great Spirit has saved by smiting them with disease. Our women and old men seized bows and arrows to attack your camp, if our warriors had not

¹⁰Cadwallader Colden, The History of the Five Indian Nations, (Ithaca, New York: Great Seal Books, 1958), pp. 48-9.

¹¹Martin Ridge and Ray A. Billington, America's Frontier Story: A Documentary History of Westward Expansion (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), pp. 127-30. Reproduced by publishers Charles H. McIlain ed. Waxall's Abridgement of New York Indian Affairs, 1678-1751 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1915), pp. 10-17. Between July 31, 1684 and August 5, 1684, a peace was affirmed between the Iroquois (excluding the Senecas) and the Maryland Indians, with Governor Dongan of New York giving each tribe a coat of arms. In essence, they thus united officially with the English. The Senecas had complained that the English sent arms to their enemies against "their children." The historian Lanctôt mistakes that the Onondagas were annoyed at the coat of arms being placed in their village.

restrained them, when your messenger, Akouessan, appeared in our village.¹²

Big Mouth justified the pillage of French canoes, and added that even old men had no fear of the French, and that "we depend neither on Ononthio [the French Governor] nor on Cor-laër [Governor of New York] ."¹³ It should be noted that Big Mouth complained of the Illinois hunting beaver on their lands (probably Iroquois hunting areas). One account asserts that he claims that beaver of both sexes were killed.¹⁴ It should be noted that this was in violation of traditional hunting practice. Two beavers were to be left alive in each dwelling after the hunt. However, iron awls were being used for boring holes so that muskets could shoot into the dwellings, and now all the beavers were being killed.

The conference resulted in the abandonment of the Illinois to the potential Iroquois fury and would allow the Iroquois to attack the Indian middlemen (e.g., the Ottawa), which would endanger the colony's economy. After the conference La Barre fled back to Montreal and left his men to march home without their Governor. Only Father Lamberville comforted La Barre for making peace and La Barre used the letter

¹²Francis Parkman, France and England in North America: Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV. (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1896), pp. 107-110. New York Colonial Documents, IX, p. 236.

¹³Parkman, Ibid.

¹⁴Harold A. Innis, The Fur Trade In Canada (New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), p. 55.

to justify his actions to the King.¹⁵ Actually La Barre had left the Illinois defenseless and had endangered New France. The only benefit to the French was that the Iroquois were to give compensation for what they had pillaged from the French canoes.

The news reached the western tribes; Perrot and La Durantaye needed all their powers of persuasion to calm them. The King was angry at what had happened, but La Barre had irritated the King even more by raising the amount of parish contributions from the government of New France to 500 livres, and worst of all, he had added six new parishes to the number of fixed ones. The Récollets, Frontenac's former allies, tried to block these moves for they extended the Jesuit influence.

La Barre was now held in contempt by both the colony and the Indian allies. The King finally relieved him in December, 1684, the letter depriving him of command arriving March 10, 1685.

DENONVILLE 1685-1689

On January 1, 1685, the new Governor Jacques Rene de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, was commissioned. A methodical, pious, but unimaginative man, Denonville was not at all far sighted. He was a 30 year veteran of the dragoons, and certainly was not an "imbecile" as the famed diarist

¹⁵Parkman, p. 114.

Saint-Simon called him. His mission was to humiliate the Iroquois and to protect the Illinois and other allied tribes, and to oppose any land claims which the English might make on either French or native lands.

On August 1, 1685, he arrived at Quebec with 1,600 Troupes de la Marine along with adequate supplies. His initial tour of inspection revealed that only the Château St. Louis, Three Rivers, and the Mountain mission at Quebec were protected by walls; and for the defense of the whole colony, only some 300 Marines plus the militia could be recruited from a population of 12,000.

Denonville felt that it served no purpose to destroy the Iroquois villages since the Indians had the forests to hide in and since they were also being reinforced by Indian captives and English arms. The Governor concluded that the English, not the Iroquois, were the main enemies. The more southern English ports were open all year and their merchandise was low in price. In fact, the prices were so low that they even drew off pelts from New France to the northernmost ports of the Hudson's Bay Company.¹⁶

His plan then was to buy the colony of New York and to dominate the Iroquois, but Callières, the Governor of Montreal, must have felt this was unrealistic. The new Minister of the Marine, Seignelay, said that they must at all costs halt the English traders who had planted their coats of arms

¹⁶Lanctôt, II, p. 94.

in Iroquois territory and who were claiming Lake Champlain and even the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers. This was the result of encouragement from the aggressive English Governor Dongan. Louis XIV, now the leader of the dominant power in Europe, worked through French ambassador Barillon in London, calling attention to his Catholic ally and kinsman, King James II of England, that Governor Dongan was ignoring King James' instructions by sending arms to the Iroquois. No results came from this diplomacy.

The fur supply was good; the average annual supply of beaver pelts was 89,588 pounds from 1675 to 1685, but under Denonville from 1685 to 1687 it increased on the average to some 140,000 pounds of beaver.¹⁷ France and the Spanish Netherlands could absorb only some 40,000 to 45,000 pounds a year of beaver, and very probably had to sell the rest all over Europe. At the end of this chapter, there is a table showing prices paid for the various furs.

Hudson Bay Affairs

In the meantime, Radisson had joined England again. Despite an agreement that each nation would respect the others' establishments, he seized the Canadian Company's Fort Bourbon with its 8 men and some 20,000 beaver pelts. In reprisal, Denonville, at the Canadian Company's expense, equipped an expedition of some 105 men under the command of

¹⁷Innis, p. 70. This is from both French and British sources.

Chevalier de Troyes, with Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène and Le Moyne d' Iberville as lieutenants, against the English in Hudson's Bay. Father Silvy felt that Radisson was not justified in causing a traders' war.¹⁸ Between June 20 and July 26, 1686, Forts Hayes, Rupert, and Albany were seized by the French expedition, along with about 50,000 pounds of furs. There were exploits of seized ships, and soon the French were masters of the bottom of the Bay. Only Fort Nelson on the Bourbon River remained English. Louis must have known of these captures even as he signed an agreement with England stipulating the American colonies of both nations would remain neutral even if the mother countries were engaged in a European war. Also by this agreement the mother countries were not to give provisions to the Indians.

Trading was still brisk, and smuggling was carried on at Forts Frontenac and Chambly in spite of ordinances prohibiting the trade and carrying the death penalty.¹⁹ The network of rivers, the easy profits, and the general participation of the entire population prevented enforcement of the ordinances.

¹⁸J. B. Tyrrell, ed. "The Early History of Hudson Bay," Canadian Historical Review XII (No. 4, 1931), p. 416.

¹⁹"Ordinance prohibiting all French removing to Manatte, Orange and other places belonging to the English and Dutch, on pain of death who will not be domiciliated. Versailles, the 10th, April, 1684 Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, IX, 211." In Innis, p. 53.

Change of Fur Trade Methods

The fur fairs at Montreal and other places became less important as time went on. The small traders protested the decline of the fairs, while Meulles noted the Ottawa dropped in numbers from 200 canoes down to (at the most) some 40 to 50,

...and it is certain that the small profits which are made in the fairs fall into the hands of four to five large merchants who trade in twenty four hours all their furs and very few of the habitants benefit from the trade.²⁰

Thus the decreasing importance of the Ottawa occurred because the interior trade needed a heavy outlay in goods and large interest charges incidental to the slower turnover in trade. Canoes became much larger and could now carry several tons of material. A contemporary French officer, La Hontan, by June 7, 1684, saw only about 25 to 30 canoes arrive in Montreal after a year or eighteen months.²¹ After this date, expeditions were sent into the interior by merchants. The greatest merchant was Sieur Samuel Bernon Rochel with his warehouses in Quebec, while other Canadian merchants had correspondents at La Rochelle in France.²²

In essence, the coureurs de bois now became voyageurs who were company men, leaving Montreal in the spring or at

²⁰"Opinion de MonSieur de Meulles sur les congrés qui se donnent en Canada" Mémoires Generaux, 1686, Can. Arch. C 11 A, CXXI, 2-3" in Innis, pp. 57-58.

²¹Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., New Voyages to North America by Baron de Lahontan (Chicago, 1905), Vol. I, p. 54.

²²Thwaites, New Voyages, p. 374.

least by the middle of September, arriving at the difficult area of Michilimackinac where they re-equipped with food, then left for either Lake Superior to the north or Lake Michigan to the south where they obtained furs from the Indians. They returned to Michilimackinac the following spring about July, then returned to Montreal. The entire journey took at least a year and sometimes required as long as two or three years. This plan resulted in a more continuous and reliable source of furs.

Denonville felt, according to the King's instructions, that Fort Frontenac was valuable both for trade protection and for a stand against a potential Iroquois invasion.²³ He was worried, however; Governor Dongan had planted coats of arms in the Iroquois villages in 1686 and was urging them to plunder French traders. Dongan's letters to Denonville claimed not only the Five Nations' territory but also all the western lands as far as the "South Sea" or Gulf of Mexico. At almost the same time Dongan was urging the Seneca to war, but the arrival of Father Lamberville among the Seneca with presents from Quebec prevented them from taking up the hatchet.

In 1686 the Iroquois seized some 75 Huron and Ottawa, keeping them as prisoners; the French felt that the English were behind the move, but a truce followed with a release of prisoners. However, the Iroquois continued to denounce the French. The Albany merchants were furnishing arms to the

²³Lamontagne, D 17, p. 153.

Iroquois, and it was felt by high officials in Canada that war with the Seneca was needed despite the colony's impoverishment so as

...to avert from us a general indian Rebellion which would bring ruin on our trade and cause eventually the extirpation of our colony.²⁴

In November, 1685, 30 English traders or peddlers sent by Governor Dongan were captured by 200 French and Indians commanded by La Durantaye at Michilimackinac. In May, 1686, the force of Major Patrick McGregor was scattered by Tonty and his Illinois warriors west of Lake Erie.

Expedition Against the Seneca

In June, 1686, La Durantaye in a ceremony similar to an earlier one conducted by La Salle proclaimed French sovereignty over all lands around Lakes Erie and Huron. This ceremony occurred at Detroit in front of Nicholas Perrot and Tonty with their Indian allies. The expedition against the Seneca had begun, but Father Lamberville deterred the Seneca from hostile acts during the summer of 1686 and invited them to meet the Governor at Fort Frontenac in the spring of 1687.

The expedition force was also ready by this same June, both the Governor and Bishop having worked together to persuade the militia to join in the march into Iroquois territory. Some 930 militiamen and 400 Indians from the colony marched while Intendant Champigny on June 17th set out from

²⁴Broshar, p. 236.

Montreal according to the plan and seized some Cayuga around Quinte to keep the news of the expedition quiet.

During this time a large number of Onondaga from peaceful villages assembled at Fort Frontenac. As the customary feast was in progress, Champigny ordered the seizure of some 95 guests and they were chained to stakes where they burst into the defiant death chant of prisoners about to be tortured or burned.

According to the account of La Hontan, an officer of the Marines, he tried to stop the burning of fingertips with lighted pipes of some 36 captured Iroquois men by Indian allies of the French. (The captives were later sent to French galleys.) La Hontan was saved from the infuriated Indian torturers by French officers who told them to have mercy, because he was drunk and since "the bottle atones (sic) for all Crimes,"²⁵ the torturers were promised that La Hontan would be imprisoned and would not be given wine or brandy. This incident shows how deeply alcohol affected the Indians' lives, and also that mercy was usually lacking.

It is sad to say that Denonville was wise in this choice of place for his seizure rather than going to the large Indian villages. He argued that the seizure of these hostages at Frontenac was to prevent them from falling into the hands of Indian allies, to be distributed among them as custom decreed. Denonville claimed that they were seized

²⁵Thwaites, New Voyages, p. 124.

from the peaceful villages north of Lake Ontario because the Iroquois south of the Lake were compelling them to join them and depopulation was beginning to occur. He thus acquired some Onondaga prisoners so he could bargain with the Onondaga and detach them from the Seneca. He seized a total of 120 Onondaga, of whom only 30 were men.²⁶

The King had issued orders to La Barre in July, 1684, for Iroquois war chiefs to man his galleys. He repeated the order to Denonville in March, 1687, but King Louis XIV was thinking of prisoners of war, not guests at a fort. Denonville took more prisoners as he proceeded up the St. Lawrence to join Champigny's forces.

From Fort Frontenac, Denonville crossed Lake Ontario to Irondequoit Bay, landing on July 10th, where he was joined by some 180 coureurs de bois, along with some 400 "western Indians" wearing horns on their heads and tails at their backs, with red or green faces poxed with black or white spots; from their noses hung iron ornaments; some of them were almost naked and painted with figures of animals.²⁷

Three Seneca scouts were spotted by the French and were driven off by a volley after a Christian Mohawk Indian, when questioned as to why they came, replied, "to fight you, you blockheads."²⁸ The scouts returned to their villages,

²⁶Lamontage, D 29, p. 163.

²⁷"Belmont and Saint Vallier, New York Colonial Documents, III, 444," in Parkman, pp. 148-49.

²⁸Parkman, *ibid.*

arriving while the best warriors were absent; only some 400 to 450 braves remained. The women and children fled with their valuables as the town was burned. Meanwhile marching through the oak forests came the vanguard of coureurs de bois, Christian Indians, and Lakes Indians, under the command of Callières. The attack by the Seneca was a surprise on both sides; the Christian Indians did well, while some of the European officers threw themselves to the ground. The second part of the French force, composed mainly of militia, came upon hearing the sounds of the first attack. In the battle some 7 French were killed and 20 wounded while some 34 Seneca were killed and some 25 captured, according to Lancetot.²⁹ One of the wounded was Father Jean Engelran (1639-1718) with an injury in the groin, "who could now teach the fair sex without fear of passion or scandal."³⁰

The main force rested, killing a large number of pigs and ruining the standing crops, while on July 19th Denonville proclaimed sovereignty over the Seneca country. Prisoners who escaped from the Seneca indicated at least 40 were killed, while 60 others were dangerously wounded. In the meantime the French Indians were not getting sick on pork, as

²⁹"C 11 A, 9 Mémoire, pp. 161-98, Denonville à Seignelay, 27 octobre 1687, p. 199, LaHontan, op. cit. pp. 115-23" in Lancetot, p. 106.

³⁰Thwaites, p. 129. La Hontan hated priests with good reason for as he returned to his room in Quebec, a priest was finishing destroying La Hontan's closed book of pornography. This was just after his arrival in Canada as a seventeen year old officer in 1683. He deserted the army in 1693.

Second Peace Treaty 1687

A second treaty of neutrality was signed by France and England in 1687; the French returned all captured English traders, while New York in July, 1688, returned all thirteen Frenchmen held by the Iroquois.^{36,37} Parleys were held with the Iroquois after Denonville sent back prisoners and many gifts in order to sue for a peace. Dongan, the Governor of New York, after threatening to send missionaries (presumably Catholic) to the Iroquois, was replaced in 1688 by King James II with Sir Edmund Andros, who had been governor of New England since 1686. Andros was bent on following his King's plans to form the American colonies of New York, New Jersey, and the colonies of New England into one unit. His rule was extended, in terms of his commission, to the Pacific. A war was inevitable with Great Britain even if James II had not fled during the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, because of the outrageous claims made by both sides with respect to land and Indian policies.

³⁶Ibid., D 41. This act was performed by Governor Dongan of New York.

³⁷Ibid., C 22-3, pp. 136-39, and Lanctôt, p. 106. According to Lanctôt, Mlle. d' Allone was returned to Quebec in 1687 along with thirteen other Frenchmen. The letters of La Montagne indicate she was not returned until 1700, a captivity of fourteen years. The Iroquois may have known she was La Salle's friend. She tried to get compensation but to no avail. She was refused, perhaps because people who hated La Salle and those to whom La Salle was in debt (including Frontenac) did not care for her claims. This writer believes she was in captivity all these years and that Lanctôt made an error. However, there is the slim chance that she was recaptured shortly after her release.

At Fort Niagara, some 93 out of 100 men died during the hard winter, while during that same winter of 1687-88 Fort Frontenac suffered much the same condition but not to the same degree.³⁸ Denonville, ultra-cautious, vowed to Governor Dongan to destroy Fort Niagara and he kept his word. In the meantime he wanted the King to return the Iroquois captives now in Europe.³⁹ Denonville felt he could not handle a second expedition, his own troops consisting of only 1,400 men, plus some 300 to 400 Indian converts and the militia; he felt 800 more men were needed. The King had sent him only 300 men from France in 1688. His Majesty requested Minister Seignelay to answer the Governor and his friend, Bishop Saint-Vallier:

His Majesty agrees with you that three or four thousand men would be the best means of making peace, but he cannot spare them now. If the enemy breaks out again, raise the inhabitants, and fight as well as you can till his Majesty is prepared to send you troops.⁴⁰

Some 1,200 Iroquois warriors accompanied by Big Mouth, along with six Onondaga, Cayuga, and Oneida chiefs went to Montreal, while Big Mouth ignored Andros' message to refuse to parley with the French. He had received the French message through captured Iroquois via the Mission Iroquois villages in Canada. Fort Frontenac was surprised, and so was

³⁸Ibid., D 41.

³⁹"Denonville, Mémoire du 10 août 1688," in Parkman, p. 167.

⁴⁰"Mémoire du Ministre adresse à Denonville, Mai, 1689" in Parkman, p. 170.

they

...cut the dead bodies [of Indians] into quarters, like butcher's meat, to put into their kettles, and opened most of them while still warm to drink the blood. Our rascally Ottawas particularly distinguished themselves by these barbarities, as well as by cowardice; for they made off in the fight.³¹

It was a common Indian custom to perform cannibalism to absorb the dead warriors' spirit of bravery, and most of the Indian tribes of this area practiced it.

Denonville then went to Niagara after the ten day orgy of destruction where he erected a fortified post and storage place. It was the focal point of the western Indian trade, and he left 100 men there.

The strongest tribe of the Iroquois was now disabled, and the western Indians were prevented from defection and now began to regain some respect for the French, although as one cynical Indian said, "they were good only for war on hogs and corn."³² The seizure of the Indian captives was complained of only by the Abbé de Belmont.³³ The Iroquois themselves did not complain of these seizures.

Denonville himself was doubtful of the expedition's value; he felt that New York should be purchased or conquered so as to eliminate Albany. In the late summer of 1687, the Iroquois took to the warpath again. In August some colonists

³¹"Denonville au Ministre, 25 août, 1687" in Parkman, pp. 153-54.

³²Thwaites, p. 106.

³³Parkman, p. 156.

were killed on their way to Fort Frontenac, while along the Richelieu River a band of 150 Mohawks burned houses, took prisoners and besieged Fort Chambly. Other parties of the raiders came up the St. Lawrence and along the Ottawa Rivers. The Governor stationed 120 voyageurs under Chevalier de Vaudreuil at the eastern end of the Island of Montreal where Vaudreuil was to keep a watch. However, in October, 1687, eight men of a trading expedition were killed, one captured, and seven escaped; the Governor blamed Vaudreuil for not sending a larger party to accompany them.³⁴

In reporting this incident, the Jesuit Father Lamber-ville wrote that the rear canoes in the convoy straggled behind and were captured by the Iroquois. He stated two men were decapitated in front of 120 French, at which sight the French commander fled.³⁵ Even the Onondagas, who had maintained the peace, captured three soldiers at Cataragui (Fort Frontenac) along with Mademoiselle d' Allone (a lady who was said to have been engaged to La Salle, although some priests muttered dark things about her.)

At Montreal, Governor Callières acted, ordering shelters and palisades to be built at each seignory; Denonville extended this requirement to the whole colony and in September ordered all men above the age of thirteen to be armed at all times; he also required signal fires to be made ready.

³⁴Lamontagne, D 32.

³⁵Ibid., D34.

Lieutenant Perelle who in accompanying the ambassadors noted the large flotilla of elm canoes surrounding him on his way towards Montreal.

Big Mouth, on his arrival, harangued Denonville, saying that his people were subject neither to the French nor the British; and that the Five Nations had a plan to exterminate the French, but he claimed he had prevented its execution. Some 900 Iroquois warriors remained with the ambassadors and an impressed Denonville agreed to release the prisoners, but only on the condition that the Mohawk and the Seneca send envoys to him. With signatures of animals, the chiefs signed a paper on July 18, 1688, that declared neither the French nor the English were their masters.

Trouble continued as there were raids by the Mohawk at Contrecoeur, Sorel, St. Ours, and St. Francois in July, 1688. In June the Onondaga attacked Indian allies of the French. Fort Niagara was abandoned on September 15, and later in April, 1689, the commander of Detroit, La Hontan, abandoned that post, leaving only Fort Frontenac in French possession.

Treachery - 1688

The Governor could not have felt secure as he drew up the treaty of neutrality with Big Mouth, even though deputies were promised to come within a certain time to Montreal from the whole Five Nations confederacy. He knew of the killing of some Indian converts above Montreal by fellow

Iroquois, but he ignored it.⁴¹

There was an intelligent, brave, and elegant warrior, a Huron chief, Kondiaronk "the Rat," whose machinations were to help destroy Denonville's gains. Earlier, the "Rat" had agreed at one time to come to terms with the Iroquois and to allow them to be their middlemen in the beaver trade, but in 1687 he was won over by Denonville's presents and promises that in exchange for his friendship the Governor would destroy the Iroquois. He gathered 100 warriors in 1688, but he suddenly discovered that the Iroquois delegates were about to sign a treaty with Denonville. He feared that the Governor's volte-face and his projected expedition would lead to an Iroquois attack on the Huron, so he waited at La Famine (Oswego) and attacked and killed some returning Iroquois envoys.⁴² Teganissorens of the Iroquois protested that they were ambassadors, but the "Rat" said that Denonville had ordered him to attack them. He set his prisoners free, but swore he would be avenged for the governor's trickery. Then the "Rat" kept one prisoner and sent him to La Durantaye as a prisoner of war; the prisoner was executed by a firing squad, the French not realizing he was one of the party of envoys. An Iroquois slave was then sent by the "Rat" to report to the Five Nations that the French had killed an ambassador. After this,

⁴¹Lanctôt, pp. 108-109.

⁴²"Callières à Seignelay, Jan. 1, 1689" in Parkman, p. 170.

the "Rat" paraded impudently about Montreal, and Denonville dared not execute him nor send him to the galleys.⁴³

In spite of this violation, the Iroquois did not move during the winter of 1688-89 as they were planning a summer offensive. The Governor of Montreal, Callières, reported in January, 1689, that the British were

...about to endeavor to invest the entire of Canada and raise all the savages against us, in order to wholly deprive us of every sort of trade and draw it all to themselves by means of cheap bargains they can give of goods at nearly one-half the price our Frenchmen can afford theirs.⁴⁴

During 1688 and 1689 a smallpox epidemic killed some 9% of the habitants of New France out of a tiny population of some 11,000 people. The little colony was in a very weakened condition to resist an Iroquois attack.

On May 8, 1689, Nicolas Perrot reaffirmed the rights of the colony by extending possession of the region from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River to counter any English claims by New York. D'Iberville, directing the affairs of the Compagnie du Nord, the French rival of the Hudson's Bay Company, captured three English ships loaded with furs and returned to Quebec later that year in October.

In the meantime in Europe on May 7, 1689, King William III of England declared war on Louis XIV of France due to the dynastic claims of the latter; William was leader of the

⁴³Thwaites, op. cit., pp. 165171.

⁴⁴"O'Callaghan 9:403" in Brøshar, pp. 237-38.

League of Augsburg dedicated against French extension of power. This event was felt as far away as the North American forests. On June 27, 1689, the Five Nations, meeting in Albany, affirmed that they would fight alongside their English brothers who supplied them with arms for the coming campaign. Denonville was warned of the imminent danger of an Iroquois attack by an Iroquois named Atavia, but he did not put out regular patrols. Perhaps he was weakened by disease but he invited disaster.

Lachine Massacre

Under cover of the hot, wet night of August 4-5, 1689, a large party of Iroquois numbering about 1,500 attacked the sleeping village of Lachine. Some 24 villagers were killed and another 42 out of 50 were tortured to death. At Verdun, also near Montreal, some 24 French started in pursuit while a messenger went to Montreal. The Governor was stunned by the attack but sent only 100 men under Vaudreuil to Fort Rolland at Lachine. Vaudreuil followed orders blindly by not allowing the commander at neighboring Verdun to hunt the Iroquois, many of whom were drunk from raiding the brandy stores. This delay was costly. On August 6, some 100 French volunteers attacked a roving band of Iroquois, but another group of 50 Frenchmen and 30 Indians from Fort Remy were repulsed with a loss of 40 men, half of whom, including the commander, were burned at the stake by the Iroquois. Altogether over 100 lives were lost at the cost of much property

three to be burned by their Indian allies, while one escaped to tell the tale to his comrades. This event may have given Frontenac the idea for "la petite guerre."

Denonville despite his honesty and sincerity was incompetent with the Indians, lacking both military audacity and diplomatic skills, and these deficiencies were reported by the Governor of Montreal, Callières, to Seignelay. Worst of all, he had violated a much needed peace without good reason; his treachery in seizing Iroquois did not help matters at all. He was recalled to France in May, 1689, on the flattering pretext that his services were needed in the European war, but he actually was given the post of assistant tutor to the King's grandson, the Duke of Burgundy.

Frontenac had been living in a nobleman's house, and as a sign of good will, the King had given him some 3,500 livres (\$700), enough for him to live comfortably but not in the extravagant manner to which he had been accustomed. He criticized the policies of his two successors in Canada. The King finally credited him as being more competent than they, and in a gracious manner again ordered him to go to Canada to do his duty. Louis XIV knew that the cantankerous Frontenac was a man used to danger, and that he was brave and resourceful enough to stand against the Iroquois.

TABLE I

La Hontan's List of Rates (c. 1680's-90's)

	Livres	Sous
Winter Beaver (Muscovy Beavers) worth per lb. in Farmer General's Warehouse	4 L	10 s
Skins Fat Beaver (Hair fall off) Skins rubbed on robes, greased by contact per lb.	5 '	0 '
Beavers (Autumn) lb.	3 '	10 '
" Common (Dry)	3 '	0 '
" (Summer)	3 '	0 '
Skins of Silver-colour'd Foxes a piece	4 '	0 '
Common Foxes (good order)	2 '	0 '
Common Martins	1 '	0 '
Prettiest sort of Martins	4 '	0 '
Red & Smooth Otters	2 '	0 '
Winter & Brown Otters or more	4 '	10 '
Finest Black Bear	7 '	0 '
Skins of Elks before they're dressed are worth per lb. about	0 '	12 '
Skins of stags worth	0 '	8 '
Wild Cats (Ensfans de Diable) a piece	1 '	15 '
Sea Wolves, a piece or more	"	"
Pole Cats or Weasels	0 '	10 '
Musk Rats	0 '	6 '
Their testicles	0 '	5 '
White Elk Skins (dressed) a piece	8 ' or more	
Dressed Hart Skins	5 ' " "	
Caribous	6 ' " "	
Roe-buck-skins on occasion dearer than I rate them		

La Hontan's table from Thwaites, I, pp. 379-80.

Writers Note: A livre is worth some \$0.20 and there are twenty sous to a livre or pound. A one and one-half pound

beaver pelt would range (depending on its condition) from \$0.60 to \$1.00. Assuming a laborer in Canada averaged one to two sous a day, he might earn about 30 livres a year compared with earning about 700 livres for a year or two in the woods as a coureur de bois. It is no wonder that at least 10% of the adult males would defy even the death penalty for going into the woods without a permit.

CHAPTER VI

FRONTENAC AND KING WILLIAM'S WAR (1689-98)

Frontenac at age 70 re-emerged from his genteel poverty to again become Governor of New France and to implement Cal-
lieres' ludicrous plan for the capture of New York and the
expulsion of all Protestants from the colony. This plan was
worked out and approved in the Court of Versailles. Imple-
mentation of the plan was delayed by Frontenac's service
with the French fleet preparing for the invasion of Ireland.
As a result he arrived in Quebec on October 12, 1689, too
late and with not enough troops (none of the 1400 promised
were given him) from France to attack the fortified town of
Albany.¹ He did get Louis to release the 13 surviving In-
dians in the galleys. Frontenac loaded them with gifts and
honors, planning to use them in diplomacy with their tribes.

The political-military situation in North America was
very complex. The French-aligned Indian tribes were making
peace offers to the Iroquois, but the English colonies were
in turmoil due to the fact that the "Glorious Revolution" of
1688 in England had seen the expulsion of Louis' friend, James
II, in favor of his most tenacious enemy, William III of the
Netherlands. The colonists were confused and angry over the

¹Gustave Lanctôt, A History of Canada, Vol. II (1663-1713) (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 114.

damage, for the Iroquois "laid almost the whole Island waste, and lost only three men."⁴⁵

Denonville did not seem able to recover, but kept his soldiers busy transporting wheat from the Sault Mission into Montreal. The furs of the western trade stored at Michilimackinac had not arrived for nearly two years due to the Iroquois blocking the trade route, and so the colony was near penury.

The Iroquois response to their initial victory was ineffectual; the weakened town of Montreal could have been besieged, but instead the Iroquois became drunk after Lachine, which showed their true stupidity. The historian Lanctôt, who is very accurate, points out that the colonists drove off the enemy band from Pointe-aux-Trembles. He states that the colonists and some 100 coureurs de bois formed a group called "the Musketeers" to pursue the enemy wherever he was sighted.

On September 2, Denonville ordered Valrennes to evacuate Fort Frontenac due to supply difficulties, and in October the fort was mined and the cannon were thrown into the Lake. The route to the west was opened to the English and the Iroquois.

One heartening event for the French occurred when 21 young Canadians, under DuLhut and Manthet, surprised 22 Iroquois on the Lake of Two Mountains, killing 18 and turning over

⁴⁵Thwaites, p. 225.

the question as to which officials in America they owed allegiance: the soon-to-be-appointed Governors or the deposed King's Governors.

In New York, Jacob Leisler (1640?-1691), a successful German merchant of furs, tobacco, and wine, led the discontented factions of New York against the aristocrats, who were led by the Stuart-appointed Lieutenant-Governor, Francis Nicholson. Most of New York joined Leisler's popular forces, but Albany was isolated, being both anti-Leisler and Dutch. The Puritans, who led the New England Colonies, hated the Dutch burghers as much as did the French, so New York seemed vulnerable to attack by New France.

The French were recovering both from attacks of an epidemic that killed 1/11th of the population (about 1,000 died) and the Lachine massacre, but the colony was united in defense, in contrast to the English colonies. The Indian situation worried both sides, in particular New France, for the Ottawa and Huron were wavering from the French alliance due to the decline of the fur trade caused by the Iroquois threat. However, the Iroquois made no attempt to decimate New France, for they were puzzled, as were all the tribes, by the situation in the English colonies, particularly in New York.

LA PETITE GUERRE

During the winter of 1689-90 Frontenac began to build French morale by reviewing the troops, by setting up a system

of cannon posts to alert the habitants of attacks, and by releasing three of the former galley Iroquois after treating them with great ceremony. The released captives were to notify their leaders to meet the French in the spring of 1690. One of Frontenac's lieutenants felt this scheme would not work, for two Albany delegates helped the Iroquois reject the peace proposals.

In November, 1689, the Ilé Jésus near Montreal was mauled by the Iroquois and later that winter, the Wagenhaers, an Ottawa tribe, made peace with the Iroquois. While stationed at Michilimackinac, the commander Olivier Morel de La Durantaye warned Frontenac of the possibility that this peace might result in diplomatic disaster, and by the end of May, 1690, Frontenac skillfully sent 143 men loaded with presents to stop the Ottawa from defecting.

To keep his Indian allies, to raise French morale, and to harass the English, in substitution for Callières' plan, Frontenac used three parties of coureurs de bois and principally Christian Indians to attack the English during the winter of 1690.

Eccles argues that disaster could have happened to New France because of the manner Frontenac's plans were carried out, because

...a full scale assault on Albany would have been far more productive of results; had it succeeded it would have denied the Iroquois, at least temporarily, their source of supplies.²

²W. J. Eccles, "Frontenac's Military Policies (1689-98)" Canadian Historical Review XXXVII (Sept. 1956), pp. 201-224.

Instead, some three small towns were attacked by this design of "la petite guerre," which involved massacring settlers on the frontier.

The first force of some 114 Frenchmen, mainly coureurs de bois and 96 Mission Iroquois, assembled in Montreal in January, 1690. This force was led by sons of Canadian noblesse, Nicolas d' Alleboust de Manthet, Le Moyne de Sainte Hélène, and, already famous for his previous exploits on the Hudson Bay, Pierre Le Moyne d' Iberville. The snowshoed party dragged their supplies behind them on sledges. The object of the attack was Albany, but the Indians did not relish the prospect of attacking a large and well fortified town, so the group took the other fork in the road to attack Schenectady.

On February 9, 1690,³ the small unguarded Dutch settlement of Schenectady was attacked at night, and 38 men, 10 women, and a dozen children were killed,⁴ while some 80 prisoners were taken. Some 30 Mohawk in the town were spared death or capture, for the Mission Iroquois recognized relatives who could be converted to Christianity.

As the group left the town, an Englishman who lived near Albany was approached, for he had sheltered Frenchmen.

³ This is the traditional date. Lanctôt (p. 116), who is probably accurate, gives February 18, 1690, as the correct date.

⁴ Edward P. Hamilton, The French and Indian Wars (New York: Doubleday, 1962), p. 36. This is one of a series on America put out by Doubleday and it is one of the few that has some scholarship. His only poor coverage is that of the first war between the French and English.

He was allowed by the French to save some relatives; he saved some 60 people from Indian captivity while the Mission Indians grumbled that the man had a lot of relatives. The Mohawk from the town now pursued their former captors nearly to the town of Montreal, causing some 16 French and 3 Indians to be killed or captured. This was a strange way to make war. Frontenac's men seem to have permitted the Indians to determine the site to be attacked and also to free the Mohawk in the town. It was unusual to have the English "neighbor" save well over half the captives from captivity.

The second expedition attacked the village of Salmon Falls north of Boston on March 27, 1690, after nearly a two month trek. Francois Hertel led the expedition of 24 French and 25 Indians after leaving the town of Three Rivers. Some 30 English were killed and some 20 prisoners were captured at this village. On the way back to Canada, the French repulsed an irate force of some 200 English men from Pescadouet and then joined the third expedition coming from Quebec.

The third expedition, led by a trader, Portneuf, reached Casco (Portland) on May 26, after four months of travel. He led some 50 French and 60 Abenaki against the well defended town with its 70 men and eight cannon. The besieged town surrendered on May 29, the success being marred by a massacre of the surrendering defenders by the "Christianized" Abenaki.

Why had Frontenac taken this course of action? One, he

could not attempt to realize Louis XIV's plan against New York, and secondly, he was worried over the English penetration into the Great Lakes and Acadia. Acadia was separated from the main area of New France by geography. As a shrewd move, he made use of the Jesuit-converted Indians for both diplomacy and war, to convince the wavering Indians that Catholicism was directly related to French power. The town of Albany had 450 men to defend itself, while Casco with much smaller numbers had lasted a siege of three days.⁵ Frontenac wanted to impress the Iroquois with a show of force. Indeed, Ouréouare, a Mission Iroquois, had said that Frontenac was really fighting the English and not the Iroquois. The result of these three attacks was to unite the English colonies of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and even Plymouth against the French.

The Iroquois had rejected the peace offer and had seized Chevalier d' Aux and his two companions on that mission; only the former missed burning at the stake. Frontenac's patrols prevented the Iroquois from attacking Pointe-aux-Trembles and Sorels. However, some habitants were killed at Bécancourt.

La Porte de Louvigny's 143 voyageurs and 30 soldiers had prevented the Iroquois-Ottawa alliance and part of that mission was to suppress drunkenness among the Indians and to halt scandalous intercourse between Frenchmen and the squaws.

⁵Lanctôt, p. 114.

The new Intendant, Champigny, had questioned the appointment of Louvigny because of his Quebec warehouse and his baggage loaded with trade goods, but Frontenac stood firm and diplomacy succeeded.

Louvigny's force badly defeated an Iroquois war party at Lac des Chats and arrived at Michilimackinac in late June to learn that Indian envoys had not left for the Seneca country. Nicolas Perrot, a member of Louvigny's force, used presents, his own prestige as interpreter, and Frontenac's message to his "children" to convince the Ottawa to maintain their allegiance. He then toured the tribes of that region.

As a result, on August 19, 1690, some 500 Huron, Nipissing, Cristinaux and Ottawa visited Montreal with some 100,000 crowns (\$122,000) worth of furs in 110 canoes. Frontenac was pleased. He wore his Indian feather headdress and waved a tomahawk singing a war song, as the chiefs responded with war chants. This display was followed by a feast. Tobacco was distributed and the Governor invited several Indian chiefs to his own table to be his guests. One wonders how a man accustomed to the heavy perfumes of the French Court could withstand their odors, but he had grown used to grimness during the Thirty Years War.

Some ten days later, an English force was detected at Chambly, and Frontenac had the Indians join a force of men at La Prairie, making a total force of 1,200 men, but the enemy did not appear. The troops were disbanded, but the Indians promised to follow orders from Quebec; the Western

Indians returned home loaded with many presents and ammunition.⁶

The English force had eluded the scouts and on September 4, the area around La Prairie was attacked and from 20 to as many as 50 casualties were caused. It was led by John Schuyler, a reliable Albany merchant leading his vanguard of 29 militiamen and 129 Iroquois as a prelude to a large two pronged movement against New France, one from New York and the other led by Governor Sir William Phips of Massachusetts.⁷ The New York force consisted of 1,000 English and 1,500 Indians, the latter mainly Iroquois, camped at a meeting place near Lake Champlain. There smallpox killed many, including more than 300 Iroquois. The internal quarreling, coupled with lack of supplies and desertion by the Iroquois, defeated this expedition.

The New England force was more successful, for Port Royal in Acadia was captured on May 11, 1690. Only 100 men guarded a weak French fort. They would have been no match for the 600 men whom Eccles claims attacked them in 34 ships.⁸ However, according to Lanctôt the English numbered some 2,300 men.⁹

This crusade was to stop French-Indian incursions, and

⁶Lanctôt, p. 118.

⁷Ibid.

⁸W. J. Eccles, pp. 206-7.

⁹Lanctôt, p. 119.

to stop "papists" who married savages, once and for all. Religious exercises were held daily on ship and by October 17, this slow moving fleet reached Quebec. Phips sent a messenger to demand that Frontenac surrender Quebec, but the latter had transferred his troops at the last moment from Montreal to Quebec and was in no mood for surrender. Frontenac threatened to hang the envoy and to answer Phips from the mouths of his cannons.

From the 18th through the 21st both sides fought bravely around Quebec but the French defeated the English. Under orders from Frontenac, the French forces fought from behind bushes and ignored the taunts of "bandits" yelled by the English-Indian landing parties. Strangely enough, Eccles claims that Frontenac did not act like a great captain and states that he "is deserving of neither great praise nor censure."¹⁰ However, Frontenac was anything but incompetent and he did not endanger his smaller forces by fighting in the standard European fashion which would have been disastrous for New France.

After exchanging prisoners, the English withdrew to Boston, having lost 600 men from battle and disease. Phips also had nine ships wrecked on the way home. The English could console themselves that they had stopped the raids of "half-breeds."

The triumphant French held both religious ceremonies

¹⁰Eccles, p. 206.

and fireworks to celebrate and even planned to attack and conquer the English colonies if they were given the manpower, but Pontchartrain, who was at least more competent than Seignelay, was now the new Minister of Marine; Seignelay had died in 1690. Since France had been defeated in Ireland at the Battle of the Boyne in July, 1690, manpower was not forthcoming for New France. However, Louis struck a commemorative medal for the defense of Quebec, awarded two officers of the militia titles of nobility, and sent personal congratulations to the Governor. This was very mild thanks from the "Sun King" for an able defense of the small colony, with only 6 of the defenders dead and 20 wounded.¹¹

The end of 1690 saw only three out of eleven ships arrive at Quebec, the survivors having avoided both England's and New England's privateers. Their help was almost nil, and the colony was in distress, for the wheat harvest had been ruined by inclement weather. The soldiers during that winter were quartered with the habitants who received pay directly from the government, while even the Governor was reduced to drinking water, something a French official might find almost intolerable.¹² Still, the colony was in good spirits, and fortunately so, for the war was to continue in an arduous manner for a long time.

The winter and spring of 1690-91 saw the lead pipes

¹¹Lanctôt, p. 121.

¹²"207 AN, Series C 11A, XI, pp. 299-300" in Eccles, pp. 206-7.

being stripped from the buildings to be used for bullets and the habitants living on fish, because "la petite guerre" had exhausted the supplies. One ray of hope was that the Mohawks wanted to end hostilities and so informed their Christian compatriots at Sault St. Louis; later, Mohawk delegates delivered the same message to the Governor of Montreal, Callières, by whom it was favorably received.¹³ Perhaps the sparing of the Mohawks at Schenectady did have an effect after all, since the other four tribes of the Five Nations were united in wishing for war.

In the meantime Frontenac was strengthening the fortification of the three main towns of New France, trying to maintain the support of the western Indians, and working to keep the Canadian-French market supplied with furs. In May, 1691, the Sieur de Courtemanche met the chiefs of the western tribes at Michilimackinac and they promised to continue the war against the Iroquois.¹⁴

During that same month, approximately 900 Iroquois invaded New France and caused great material damage. It was fortunate that the Governor had been warned by the Mohawks earlier; the act of mercy (sparing 30 Mohawks at Schenectady) was now paid in full. "La petite guerre" was effective when Canadian and Indian regulars under Philippe Regaud de Vaudreuil annihilated an entire band of 40 Oneida at Repentigny on

¹³Lanctôt, p. 123.

¹⁴Lanctôt, p. 124.

June 7, 1691.¹⁵

The leaders of Albany were sending Peter Schuyler to capture La Prairie's fort. He led a group of 266 Dutch-English militia with 80 Mohawks and 66 Mohicans, at the request of the fickle Mohawks who had again turned against the French and were now eager for war. Callières, that reliable friend of Frontenac, moved from 600 to 800 men from Montreal and sent Sieur de Valrennes (who had made a profit illegally at Three Rivers) with 120 soldiers to defend Chambly.¹⁶

On the night of August 10, Callières' outposts were attacked by Schuyler's group, but the latter discovered Valrennes' party sheltered behind trees. The battle was characterized by savage hand to hand fighting. The invaders attacked the French thrice, but the Mohawks faltered on the last attack. The English forces were compelled to retreat, leaving both colors and baggage on the field. The French had more casualties than the English, but it was an important moral victory. Valrennes had bravely led his troops, while le Ber was expert with the militia, and Chief Routine encouraged the Ottawas. As a result, much to the disgust of the Iroquois, the men of Albany did not venture against New France en masse during the rest of the war.

Heavy rains had ruined the crops and small raids were

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid. Since Lanctôt uses at least three to four references compared to one for Eccles, he seems much more accurate. He tends to gloat over "glorious" French victories and shows little sympathy in general for the Indians.

were continued by the English, so it seemed a hollow victory. With only some 11,000 people inhabiting New France, Frontenac had some 1,313 men under arms, not counting Ottawa, Huron, and other French-aligned Indians who had to be supplied with guns and presents to continue "la petite guerre."¹⁷

The year 1692 saw the Iroquois continue their attacks on the trade routes; they did turn back some convoys of voyageurs but this semi-siege did not affect the outcome; the habitants harvested in peace, and vessels from France brought large quantities of goods and munitions. In July, Chief Chaudière-Noirés' Iroquois warriors captured habitants at Lachine, Le Chesnaye, and on the Ilé Jésus, but the great fighter, Callières, cut them to pieces at Long Sault. Frontenac was paying a bounty of ten crowns for a scalp and twenty crowns for an English prisoner. Callières' men and Indian allies killed 142 Iroquois and captured 44 prisoners, the majority of these being warriors. The King, in a rare humane moment, commanded the Governor not to issue bounty permits and to keep a sharp lookout for a second invasion attempt by Governor Phips, who, however, could not rally public support in the English colonies for another attack on Quebec.

In October, a band of 400 Iroquois were beaten back at Sault St. Louis, but some habitants were killed in various

¹⁷Eccles, p. 207. Eccles is probably more accurate here on the number of casualties, but Lanctôt claims some 45 French killed, and some 100 English, Dutch and Indians killed. This is far too high, owing to the nature of the fighting, and Lanctôt rarely gives the Indians any credit in war.

other areas. In one brave action at the Verchères seignory during an attack when the men were absent, the seigneur's 14 year old daughter arranged a few people inside the fort in such a way as to make the fort appear well guarded. This ruse worked; by the third day the Indians retreated just as a French patrol appeared.

There was trouble also in Acadia, where 46 men sent from the King's stores sold instead of traded their supplies to the Abenaki Indians and other related tribes. The Abenaki were disturbed by this duplicity and, although normally English-hating, began negotiations with the Massachusetts authorities. It may be said that the example of the Governor's greed for furs may have caused this slight, but it shows that even good Indian allies could be fickle indeed.

Frontenac knew of the dissatisfaction of the Mohawks with the English in June, 1692.¹⁸ He also was aware that the Iroquois used the summer for making war while in the winter when the bare trees offered no shelter, they gave up the hatchet for hunting. Thus Frontenac arranged that the most implacable of the Five Nations were to be surprised by a 700 man force on snowshoes. This force left Montreal in January, 1693, and reached the Mohawk area on February 16th; after entering two abandoned villages, the raiders discovered the third village was full of the enemy. The French attacked and killed 30 Mohawk, while over 300 were captured. It was a

¹⁸Eccles, p. 210.

cheapened victory, however, since only one-third of the prisoners were warriors, as the majority of the Mohawk braves were hunting far from the village. The French plan was to kill the Mohawk warriors but the French leader, Manthet, was thwarted by the 200 Mission Mohawk who objected to this order, which probably came from Frontenac himself. The villages were burned, but a force of some 500 to 600 Mohawk and English from Albany had to be beaten in battle. Ironically, one reason the French succeeded in this victory was that the attacking Mohawk did not want their captured relatives killed. On the return journey, the winter thaw flooded the rivers, and Callières' task force from Montreal had to rescue nearly all the returning force from starvation and frostbite. Most of the Mohawk prisoners had been released to return home because of the weather before this rescue. The final result was that the Mohawk were made destitute and dependent on the English, while French prestige rose throughout the area in both French and English camps.

Throughout the rest of 1693, Frontenac strengthened Quebec and Callières did the same in Montreal to prepare for the English onslaught. Governor Fletcher of New York urged the Iroquois to attack New France, but the Five Nations wanted a combined land and sea attack so that the enemy would be overcome. They argued that it was impossible to conquer Canada by a land force alone;¹⁹ their plan seemed to presage

¹⁹Lanctôt, p. 127.

that of the future conqueror of Quebec, General Wolfe, by some seventy years. The Iroquois complained of a lack of arms and feared with good reason the counterattacks of the Huron and Ottawa (whom Frontenac was urging against them) while they were attacking the French. Meanwhile, Governor Fletcher complained of the lack of self-defense, the colonies' failure to acknowledge the new government of the Crown, and, perhaps worst of all, the loss of the British fur trade because of the war.

In July, 1693, about 700 Iroquois camped at St. Louis rapids to await the arrival of their English allies. Upon learning that Callières' 800 man force was approaching, the group departed the area. Phips must have felt God was against him, for in June the invasion fleet from England arrived in Boston with plague on board. Thus there was no invasion force ready to attack Quebec and the fleet returned to England after a long wait.²⁰

The Oneida had plans of their own, for in June their chief went to Quebec, but the Governor of New York countered with very liberal presents and other diplomatic maneuvers which brought them back to the English fold. The Oneida assured the Governor that the war with the French would be fought to the finish.

In August, the Oneida ambassador in Quebec told Frontenac that French war parties prevented the chiefs of the Iroquois from discussing peace but requested that the great

²⁰Ibid.

Ononthis send two French officers to Albany to negotiate for peace. Sensing a trap, Frontenac broke off negotiations. Callières also felt that the Iroquois made their proposal to stop whatever plans the French may have had to invade the Iroquois lands in autumn. He felt that the Onondaga had heard of these plans, and that they hoped to delay the Governor from attacking even the next year.²¹ It must be stated that the Governor also refused to parley for he felt it was for him to make proposals; if his terms were rejected he would take measures to impose them.²²

Frontenac had ample reason to be satisfied, for in July ships arrived with food, arms, merchandise, and most important, 426 soldiers. In addition to these benefits, the crops for the first time in several years were bountiful.

The beaver pelts and other furs had been accumulating at a large rate but had not been collected due to Iroquois raids. Now Frontenac was free to gather them and he ordered Louvigny to collect the western furs. In August, Louvigny left Michilimackinac in command of a flotilla of canoes containing 250 French and about 450 Indians with some 1,000,000 pounds of furs to be unloaded at Montreal. It was a fortune for New France, and on September 6, the Governor deftly assembled the western chiefs at his own table after the fur fair. He exhorted a large gathering of all Indians not to

²¹Eccles, p. 211.

²²Lanctôt, p. 128.

falter against the common enemy and, of course, loaded the Indians with the customary gifts. Henri de Tonty was sent to Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River, while Nicolas Perrot was dispatched to Chouagen (Chicago) at the south end of Lake Michigan to keep peace among the western tribes.

Eccles claims that the Governor felt that only the Onondaga were blocking the peace while both Champigny and Callières felt an attack was needed or the alliance with the Huron and the Ottawa would disappear. It seems the two men lacked confidence in Frontenac and in his diplomacy. Champigny had prepared 150 flatboats during the winter of 1693-94 and he hoped the Governor would appreciate his gesture, but the flatboats would have been worse than worthless against a large war party of Iroquois elm canoes, since they could not outmaneuver the canoes.

The Iroquois, frustrated in their plans regarding New France, tried intrigue. They sent deputies to the west during the winter of 1693-94, and, according to Eccles, dissuaded 800 Ottawa warriors from attacking the Iroquois villages. Callières felt the Five Nations wanted to keep the French passive

...in order to place themselves in a better position to resume the war against us and to deal in many beaver, trying at the same time to draw to themselves the trade of our savages by a peace separate from ours between the Iroquois and our Indian allies.²³

²³"Paris Archives Nationales, Colonies AN, Series C11A, XIII, 107, Callières au Ministre, Mtl., Oct. 19, 1694" in Eccles, p. 212.

In April, 1694, the Governor presented his terms to a delegation of the Iroquois led by the great Onondaga chief, Teganissorens. The Five Nations were to conclude a general peace with all Indian tribes, including the tribes allied to the French, and in token of good faith the French and Indian prisoners held by the Iroquois were to be released. Frontenac skillfully arranged a gathering of the western tribes during these negotiations.

The commander at Michilimackinac, Louvigny, persuaded the Ottawa to note that Frontenac was not negotiating behind their backs. However, the Ottawa tribal delegation arrived late in the proceedings after Frontenac had exchanged Iroquois prisoners for French prisoners, and the Ottawa were offended in that no Ottawa prisoners were exchanged.

In July, 1694, Governor Fletcher, in a clever move, met with the Five Nations. He urged them to terminate negotiations with the French, and to accomplish his objective, distributed generous quantities of rifles, clothes, tobacco, and good English rum. The Seneca and Cayuga accepted the gifts but still sent envoys to Montreal. However, Fletcher's maneuver did result in those envoys refusing to commit themselves to the French. It is perhaps no wonder that the headstrong individualism of Frontenac led him to believe that his Indian allies were with him. After all, his commanders, Cadillac at Detroit, Tonty at St. Louis, and Courtemanche at Fort Miami kept the Indians on friendly trading terms. This knowledge must have contributed to both his pride and his way

of living. He scorned those advisors in Canada who were not convinced of the wisdom of this representative of the "Sun King" and who felt that the English gifts would overcome the peaceful and good intentions of the Iroquois.

This lull was deceptive to all; the Indians were avaricious and were tired of the war. The King, however, was upset over military expenditures. The cost of defense had risen from 75,000 livres (\$15,000) in 1692 to 200,000 livres (\$40,000) in 1694, and the excess of expenditures over allotted funds was some 550,000 livres (\$110,000). This annual expenditure was almost as much as the amount of livres received by the Crown from the Company of the Farm for its monopoly of the fur trade in New France.

The King was very impatient, and very probably heard the results of Frontenac's war policies from Vaudreuil, who had come to France to settle some family matters. As a result, Louis ordered the Governor to make a large scale assault on the Five Nations, and to use as many Canadians and Indian allies as possible to finish the Iroquois threat. The King felt that New France was weakening his efforts in the fight against William III of England and his allies in Europe.

The French King would have been displeased to hear of the anger of the western Indians concerning the fact that Frontenac's coureurs de bois were trading furs with the warlike Assiniboin. The Ottawa were now being shoved aside as middlemen. Farther west were the Sioux, the most powerful group of Indians outside the Five Nations in America, and

much more numerous and more mobile because of their possession of many horses. They received guns from the French, which alarmed the many Algonquin-speaking tribes for the Miami were at times attacked and slaughtered by the Sioux.

The major fort in the west was Michilimackinac.²⁴

Three villages were grouped around the fort, the Huron and the Ottawa villages, as well as the sixty houses of the French village. There were some 5,000 to 6,000 Indians living there. Despite the Law of 1679, which prohibited the sale of brandy to the Indians, only the Governor could seem to curb the traffic. However, because of their avarice neither Governors Frontenac or La Barre had done this. Denonville and the vigilant La Durantaye had strictly enforced the law until Frontenac again returned in 1689. When Louvigny was made commander at Michilimackinac in 1690, brandy again became a commodity for the Indians and, as has been seen, the French colony was saved from permanent penury.

Even in 1695, the Renard (Fox) and the Mascoutin were negotiating with the Five Nations, and Champigny felt the loss of some 1,200 warriors would hurt the French cause. La Mothe Cadillac was fearful that the restless allies of New France would desert the French and that the western fur trade would be lost to the Iroquois and Albany. Cadillac, a very close friend of Frontenac, as well as being a fellow Gascon, undoubtedly exaggerated the danger, since Albany had not sent

²⁴Lanctôt, p. 138.

its men into the Great Lakes region for some time. He was wrong in his fears, for some 600,000 pounds of pelts came to Quebec.²⁵ Champigny was correct in believing that the Governor had dispatched troops in 1690 to the distant western posts as an excuse for granting special permits.

DEPRESSION

The Farmers-General, which held the monopoly on the sale of beaver in France, were becoming increasingly embarrassed by the rapidly accumulating stocks of furs; up until 1693 they had received some 90,000 pounds of furs a year and it had been fairly easy to dispose of the skins in the European market before the next year's harvest. Now the King told Frontenac to prohibit the troops from trading at the western posts, but the pelts poured in, and by the end of 1692 some 200,000 pounds of furs were flooding the Canadian fur market. Frontenac rationalized the situation by blaming his predecessor Denonville. In May, 1695, the King was forced to relieve the inflation by reducing the prices paid not only for poor furs but for all other pelts as well. However, both Governor and Intendant delayed the application of these lower prices until July, 1697. Complicating this series of events was the change in fashions in Europe to that of using fewer furs and substituting rabbit fur for beaver fur in many cases. By 1696 this caused more beaver pelts to rot in French warehouses. By this time the damage had been done; the price of

²⁵Lanctôt, p. 140.

furs dropped in Europe due to wartime pressures, and the fashion change which reflected the depression in Europe resulted in less fur being used for clothing.²⁶

CADILLAC

Louvigny, the commander at Michilimackinac, was succeeded in 1694 by Sieur Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac (1658-1730). This clever, witty, ambitious and intelligent man (like Frontenac a Gascon) pleased the autocratic old Governor; he flattered Frontenac and abused the old man's betes noire, the Jesuits, at every opportunity. To make more money in a rapid manner, Cadillac used every means to stimulate the fur trade (i.e., the increased use of brandy). The other commanders at the western posts followed Cadillac's example of using soldiers as middlemen and allowing them to trade on their own account. No serious discipline was maintained among them, which perhaps reflected frontier mores. Their chief occupations were said to be fur trading, gambling, and taking advantage of the easy morality of young Indian women. In 1695, Father Pinet bitterly complained that the young Indian women encouraged the soldiers at all hours.²⁷ A Jesuit, Father Carheil, shortly after Frontenac's death, wrote in great detail on the vice and drunkenness in Indian villages near the

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Lanctôt, p. 139.

trading forts during Frontenac's last term.²⁸ The Intendant Champigny advocated, as a result of these reports, the abolition of all congés to cut off these abuses at the root.

Frontenac knew that the Five Nations were not united on strategy and that the peace negotiations (enhanced with wampum) with Teganissorens and his deputies seemed to ensure the re-establishment of the partially destroyed Fort Frontenac.

The able commander Chevalier de Crisafy was ordered to lead 600 men to rebuild Fort Frontenac.²⁹ There were not over 400 men (220 soldiers, 100 habitants, and 25 Indians) who actually went with Crisafy to that site.³⁰ One day later, the Minister of the Marine's letter arrived which ordered the Governor to abandon the mission. Frontenac, as usual, calmly overlooked this order. Champigny, along with others, had sent complaints to France, but the fort was rebuilt so that the western tribes (as Frontenac had explained to these Indians at the last trade fair) could come there. The purpose was also to impose a general peace on the common enemy. The fort was completed and by August 17, 1695, the building party returned to Montreal, with 48 men remaining at the fort instead of the 30 that Frontenac had promised to garrison

²⁸Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. The Jesuit Relations and Allies Documents (New York: Reprinted 1959), 65, pp. 195-99.

²⁹Lanctôt, p. 129.

³⁰Ibid. Lanctôt mentions 700, which is much higher than the number needed to build a fort.

it.³¹

In the meantime Frontenac had escaped another disaster, for a disloyal Huron chief, Le Baron, had allowed the Iroquois to circulate stories of high prices paid for the furs by the English and of the cheapness of English rum. Intrigued by this report, some of the Huron and Ottawa would have joined the Five Nations except for a typical event. It happened in the winter of 1695-96 that 51 Iroquois were killed and 20 were captured by their Ottawa "friends," as the Iroquois hunters were traveling home from the hunting grounds of the Ottawa. There was no further question of a peace between the two tribes. Tribal hatred, deceit, and the need for revenge had again aided Frontenac's diplomacy with the Indians.

Pontchartrain pressured Frontenac to resume military action, and the winter of 1695-96 saw preparations for the long awaited assault on the Onondaga. Cadillac was able to prevent any ratification of peace between the Iroquois and the French aligned Indian allies, but Callières opposed a winter expedition against the foe due to the near pyrrhic campaign of 1693. It was fortunate that the treachery of the Ottawa made the need for the campaign less immediate.

From July 11, 1694, Frontenac aided the plans of the Compagnie du Nord to recapture the forts that had been seized by the English in Hudson Bay. This strategy was forced on him by the home country. D'Iberville, leader of this

³¹Leopold Lamontagne, ed. Royal Fort Frontenac (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), E 13.

expedition, besieged Fort Nelson on September 24th; the fort surrendered three weeks later. D'Iberville spent the winter there and returned to La Rochelle, France, some 30,000 livres richer. However, a year after his return to France in 1695, the English recaptured Fort Bourbon and now again had command of Hudson Bay. Frontenac may not have been happy since 110 French-Canadians had left Montreal with d'Iberville's brother, who was to receive half the prize in both booty and the fur profits. The King seems at this point not interested in what was happening to the overloaded fur market.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE IROQUOIS

The long awaited expedition against the "leader" tribe of the Five Nations, the Onondaga, began in the summer of 1696. The French had some advantage for the English colonies had not worked out a plan for the invasion of Canada, and the Iroquois had lost many of their finest warriors. Huge grants of Mohawk land made to Governor Fletcher of New York (1692-1698) may have psychologically hindered the Iroquois.³²

At the last minute, however, the Ottawa would not join Frontenac's expedition because of a dispute with the Huron. Callières felt that this was an excuse, but it was true that

³²Georgianna C. Nammack Fraud, Politics and the Dispossession of the Indians: The Iroquois Land Frontier in the Colonial Period (Norman, Oklahoma: 1969), pp. 10-15.

the Iroquois might seek revenge on the Ottawa villages while the warriors were away. Eventually Frontenac led a force of some 2,000 men consisting of soldiers, militia, and Indians, along with hand drawn cannon and mortars up the Oswego River, past difficult portages. Frontenac was 76 and was carried in a canoe "on the shoulders of fifty Indians singing and shouting for joy."³³

On August 5th, two divisions advanced on the Onondaga's main village, which was surrounded with wooden palisades 40 feet high. However, the inhabitants fled, burning their village, while the next few days saw cornfields, grain caches, tools, arms and furs entirely destroyed.³⁴ Two mutilated bodies of Frenchmen quite recently killed were found. An old Iroquois was burned by the Indians, despite Frontenac's protests; the victim showed extraordinary fortitude under torture.³⁵

Vaudreuil led his division against the Oneida village some nine leagues further on, capturing 30 prisoners and freeing 4 Frenchmen. They then destroyed both huts and harvest and returned to Frontenac's camp.

On August 9th, the army began its return to Montreal which it reached on the 20th. At a cost of only four French drowned and three killed, they had reduced two of the Five

³³ Jesuit Relations, vol. 65, pp. 25-27.

³⁴ Ibid., vol. 65, p. 129.

³⁵ Ibid.

Nations to flight and famine. The enemy's fighting force had not been diminished by this directly, but they were psychologically beaten.

During the rest of 1696 the continuing French raids into New York caused the Iroquois as a whole to burn their own villages. Their family "wigwam" had been destroyed by Frontenac's large expedition and the lands of their fathers had been violated. France now held domination over the upper country from Lake Oswego to Lake Superior and was winning the alliance of that region's tribes. The King recognized this success with the granting of the Cross of the Order of Saint Louis to Frontenac.³⁶

The humiliated, hungry, and disillusioned Oneida and Onondaga sought food, arms, and clothing from the English, but Governor Fletcher offered only some £300 worth of blankets and iron pots.³⁷ While firearms may have been given, no food was offered. At a meeting in Albany from September 29 to October 1, the Iroquois stated that if no aid came from the English King by his ships, then they would make peace with Ononchio.³⁸ It must have been a bitter winter for the Iroquois. In the year 1697, in February and again in August, the Five Nations attempted to make peace but

³⁶Lanctôt, p. 131.

³⁷Lanctôt, p. 132.

³⁸Ibid.

Frontenac was skeptical of the Oneida.³⁹

The war dragged on; during the summer of that year only two minor raids were made on St. Lambert and La Prairie because the Iroquois had to defend their rebuilt villages against the incursions of the Huron and Ottawa, losing some 200 warriors to them.⁴⁰ The Ottawa seemed aggressive for they had accounted for some 125 of these casualties during that spring alone, but when the Iroquois struck in revenge, Frontenac felt it was a sign of bad faith on the part of the Five Nations.

In diplomacy, the Five Nations seemed to be a more formidable enemy than in war, as their intrigues stirred tribal rivalries in the west; the Sioux attacked the Miami, who in turn robbed the French, and Nicolas Perrot was captured but was saved from torture by the Outagamis' intervention.

To stop this conflict in the west, Cadillac went to Montreal with 300 Ottawa, Huron, and Potawatomi. Again, Frontenac made such excellent use of his talent for diplomacy that when the Indian delegation left Montreal in September, they promised to maintain the peace in their country and to continue to harass the Iroquois.

The English had been discouraged by a French fleet, the sending of which was part of a complex plan both to conquer Boston and to intercept the English fleet heading for

³⁹"AN, Series C11A XV, 94 Frontenac au Ministre Que., Oct. 15, 1697," in Eccles, p. 219.

⁴⁰Lanctôt, p. 131.

Hudson's Bay. The English fleet did not appear, and the season of July was too late to attempt the project of the invasion. Frontenac and Champigny had mobilized the colony so as to raise a force of some 1,500 men; the rural population supplied one man from each house, but the townspeople met the obligation by paying the keep of the soldiers who substituted for them.

D'Iberville again went to Hudson's Bay as ordered by Louis XIV, to the chagrin of the Compagnie du Nord which did not now receive the fur monopoly as the King himself wanted to recapture the Hudson Bay's fur. Thus in September, 1697, D'Iberville won an astonishing naval battle and recaptured Fort Nelson, making possible French business with the Cree and other tribes.

PEACE

On September 20, 1697, the Peace of Ryswick had been signed in Europe. Peace reached Quebec by January 28, 1698, when Colonel Schuyler of Albany representing the new Governor of New York, Bellomont, brought with him 19 French prisoners while Frontenac reciprocated.

The Five Nations also negotiated for peace, but the western tribes continued to raid the Iroquois who in the winter of 1697-98 had lost 100 men including their great chief Chaudière-Noiré. Hence the Iroquois wished to exclude the western tribes from the treaty; Frontenac threw the wampum belt into the chief envoy's face and said,

Tell the chiefs that, if they must needs stay at home to cry about a trifle, I will give them something to cry for. Let them bring every prisoner, French and Indian, and make a treaty that shall include all their children, or they shall feel my tomahawk again.⁴¹

Then he turned to the Ottawa, telling them he made peace when he pleased, and if he continued the war it was for their sake and to recover their prisoners as well as his own.

His new diplomatic problem was to stop Iroquois raids and at the same time not to make a treaty acknowledging New York's sovereignty over the Five Nations. However, Frontenac did not solve the problem for after a short illness he died on November 28, 1698.

Callières became governor of New France, and later was officially appointed, a post he held until his death in 1703. The Iroquois refused to release their French prisoners through the English of New York; they claimed they were independent, and soon some 13 women and children were returned to Montreal in 1700,⁴² but many captives were adopted into the Iroquois life and actually preferred this as also did many captured French-aligned Indians. Also many English who were prisoners in New France did not return home, many of

⁴¹Francis Parkman, France and England in North America: Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV, vol. 5 (Boston, 1896), p. 422.

⁴²W. J. Eccles, Canada Under Louis XIV (1663-1701) (Toronto, 1964), p. 243. Some 50 to 60 French captives were returned to New France, although many French prisoners were content to remain with the Five Nations. Callières finally had to admit that the Iroquois were sincere on the idea of peace.

them preferring the relatively easy-going life of New France to that of dour New England. Perhaps the uncertainty of Puritan salvation was distasteful compared to the regulated but happy people of New France.

The Huron Chief, "the Rat," died in 1701, after having persuaded the French-aligned Indian allies to bring all Iroquois prisoners to Montreal, but the Five Nations did not reciprocate. He died a Catholic convert, attending Mass often, and at Montreal where all the tribes, both French and English aligned, gathered for the peace of 1701, he was buried with full military honors; even some 40 Iroquois paid tribute at his burial ceremony by marching in the procession.

This meeting in August, 1701, included some thirty-one tribes with several thousand Indians.⁴³ The Five Nations skillfully kept all their Indian prisoners (which Frontenac would not have tolerated), but the treaty, when signed, respected their neutrality. This peace with the Iroquois lasted 45 years, a tribute to New France's military and diplomatic prowess. The Five Nations' great power had been

⁴³Eccles, pp. 243-44. There were probably only some 1,300 Indians gathered at Montreal but they were representatives from about thirty tribes (including each of the Five Nations). The sale of liquor during this time was virtually banned for good reason, to prevent the tribes from wrecking Montreal and from fighting with each other. The return of Indian prisoners was a problem that was left by all the Indian tribes to Governor Callières to solve. Now the western fur trade continued to pass through Montreal to France rather than through Albany to London. Callières completed Frontenac's outstanding diplomatic feat of stripping New York of its main source of military strength, the Iroquois, who remained neutral for 45 years.

decisively broken.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The French "Indian Policy" appeared on the surface to be designed to benefit mutually both Indians and French. In reality it was a very mixed record. The failures and successes were occasioned by men and events both in New France and in France. The French government at Versailles was paternalistic; it tried to control trade and to protect the Indians at the same time. However, by the encouragement of the fur trade the French government could not really stop the selling of liquor to the Indians and if they did, they could lose much of it to the power of the Albany traders' rum. The French managed the fur trade under monopolies, a policy that encouraged the exactions of higher prices to the French and the Indians than competition would have allowed. The Indians often went to Albany for cheaper goods and guns, and due to both Court policy and the profit motive, many coureurs de bois deserted to the British. The best example was the founding of the English Hudson's Bay Company by two former French voyageurs, Radisson and Groseilliers.

The conversion of the Indians to Catholicism was generally a failure: The Jesuits wanted them isolated in villages far away from contact with white traders and soldiers, while their main rivals in missionary work, the Sulpicians, favored a more open arrangement and integration of the

Indians into the habitants' way of life. Frontenac was fortunate in his use of the missionary priests and the less violent Mission Iroquois for occasional diplomacy.

Frontenac succeeded by both boldness and diplomacy in expanding the fur trade; one important factor in his success came from his support of La Salle, DuLhut, and other explorers in the Mississippi Valley. Because of Louis XIV's vacillation over expansionist policy and neglect in sending troops and money, New France was open to the attacks of the Five Nations. The unstable and nervous Iroquois feared losing their status as middlemen by being bypassed by the French on the Ottawa River and on the Mississippi River system. Their fears were realized by the mid-1670's. The "so-called" Iroquois expansion during the 1670's and 1680's resulted from "normal" tribal warfare combined with their anxiety.

Governor La Barre inherited this situation but his actions made the situation far worse than it should have been at that time. Governor Denonville was brave but not a diplomat; he was so pious he cut the fur trade by limiting the sale of liquor, and even worse, he alienated the Five Nations by interpreting Louis' request for galley slaves to be captured in war as an order. To supply the slaves, he violated the rules of hospitality by capturing Indian guests. He was honest but unimaginative, and failed to obtain support from his Indian "allies."

Despite some errors in judgment, Frontenac with great skill both militarily and diplomatically, saved New France,

and although he may have needlessly provoked New England into the war, it was true that at this time New England was encroaching on French territory in Acadia and taking the land from the Indians. His lieutenants literally flooded France with far more furs than it could afford, and the ways of obtaining the furs probably caused Indian morals to become worse. However, it was Louis XIV himself who because of his dynastic designs in Europe had led all Europe into a war and a depression. As we have seen, this depression affected the colonies, particularly in regard to the fur trade.

The coureurs de bois became professional. By the 1680's and 1690's, there were at least 200 young men regularly going into the interior of North America. However, the huge increase of poor grade beaver furs ("castor sec") and the market change due to the decree of 1695 resulted in too much beaver by 1700. Also, due to Louis XIV's repeal of the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenot middle class left France, and hatters and furriers had to be imported into France, which raised the price of processed furs.

The Indians had become dependent on the French and the English. Their well-made pottery was replaced by cheap iron and copper utensils. Even the distant Fox tribe had almost replaced their bows and arrows with guns by 1700, only 40 years after their first contacts with the French. While Versailles over-regulated everything, the English allowed their merchants a "free hand" and supported their manufacturers. The result was that the Indians by the early 1700's were

wearing cheap, well-made red and blue English wool robes, which were also better than the French products.

There were only some 2,500 Indians in villages within New France by 1701, not a great increase from 1685 when there were 1,500 in New France in four locations; the latter increase came from the Abenaki. There were only ten conversion-marriages between 1663-1700 of French and Indians, despite the benefits to the Indians and to those whites who married them.¹ All governors had encouraged the Court's policy but the average habitant did not like to be that close to the Indians and there is some indication that the Indians did not feel the French were physically attractive.² As a result of dependence, the Indians lost their initiative, and although the French were filled with good intentions not to take their land, the beaver trade interfered with conversion and inter-marriage, and increased inter-tribal tensions.

By the 1750's the Indians employed by both English and French, with the exception of their use in Braddock's defeat, had ceased to be militarily effective, unlike their prowess of some eighty years earlier. They simply hovered around the battlefields and looted the European casualties, regardless of whether they were foe or ally. The final tragedy is that the dependence built on the beaver trade and on the European civilization and goods reduced not only their

¹Gustave Lanctôt, A History of Canada Vol. II (1663-1713) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 204-5.

²Lanctôt, I, p. 12.

effectiveness as warriors but their integrity as a culture.

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