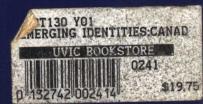




Selected Problems and Interpretations in Canadian History



Paul W. Bennett Cornelius J. Jaenen



EMERGING IDENTITIES

Selected Problems and Interpretations in Canadian History

Paul W. Bennett Upper Canada College Cornelius J. Jaenen University of Ottawa

with

Jacques Monet, s.j.
Regis College, University
of Toronto
George A. Rawlyk
Queen's University
Richard A. Jones
Université Laval
Québec

Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., Scarborough, Ontario.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Bennett, Paul W., date Emerging identities

Includes bibliographies and index. ISBN 0-13-274200-4

1. Canada - Historiography. 2. Canada - History.

I. Jaenen, Cornelius J., date II. Title.

FC149.B45 1986 971'.0072 C85-099420-9

F1024.B45 1986

Every reasonable effort has been made to find the copyright holders of quoted material. The publishers would be pleased to have any errors or omissions brought to their attention.

© 1986 by Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., Scarborough, Ont.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publishers.

Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey

Prentice-Hall International, Inc., London

Prentice-Hall of Australia, Pty., Ltd., Sydney

Prentice-Hall of India Pvt., Ltd., New Delhi

Prentice-Hall of Japan, Inc., Tokyo

Prentice-Hall of Southeast Asia (Pte.) Ltd., Singapore Editora Prentice-Hall do Brasil Ltda., Rio de Janeiro

Prentice-Hall Hispanoamericana, S.A., Mexico

ISBN 0-13-274200-4

Project Editor: Judith Dawson Production Editor: Magda Kryt

Designer: Steven Boyle
Production: Irene Maunder
Composition: Attic Typesetting

Printed and bound in Canada by Imprimerie Gagné

3 4 5 6 7 IG 92 91 90 89 88

Preface and Acknowledgements

This book has been a long time in the making. The grand idea of assembling a new collection of problems in Canadian history was first proposed six years ago. Many members of the Canadian historical community felt that the time had arrived for a new problems book; a few were foolhardy enough to actually join in the enterprise.

Emerging Identities is a uniquely cooperative venture. Over the six-year life of the project, P.W. Bennett served as the coordinating editor, spearheading the enterprise and transforming the various problem studies into a more integrated, cohesive collection. Cornelius Jaenen prepared six important chapters, specifically 1 through 4, 8, and 11. The initial preparation of Chapters 5, 7, and 9 was undertaken by Dr. Jacques Monet. Professor George Rawlyk developed two chapters focusing on aspects of Maritime history (6 and 10). Eight chapters in post-Confederation Canadian history were prepared by P.W. Bennett—namely, 12 to 18, and 20, and Professor Richard Jones contributed Chapter 19, utilizing his intimate knowledge and expertise to explore the dilemma of modern Quebec in crisis.

This book benefited greatly from the work of two resourceful research assistants. Kirk M. Baert, a talented undergraduate student at Queen's University, spent the summer of 1982 combing library stacks and archives—and helped assemble much of the original research materials found in the post-Confederation problems. Dr. Monet's research assistant, Paul Litt, did a fine job assembling documents and reshaping parts of the chapters dealing with the Quebec Act, political unrest in the 1830s and the union of the Canadas. Many of the original translations of work published in the French language were undertaken by professors Jaenen and Jones.

Assembling a collection of twenty problems in Canadian history is no easy task. We make no claim to cover all the important issues in such a changing and diverse field. In preparing *Emerging Identities*, the principal editors have drawn on the talents and expertise of a team of recognized scholars specializing in preand post-Confederation periods, regional and national approaches, and political, economic and social history fields. As editors of this collection, we benefited

greatly from a careful analysis of the pioneering work in this genre: K.A. MacKirdy, J.S. Moir and Y.F. Zoltvany's *Changing Perspectives in Canadian History* (1971), and we acknowledge our debt to these scholars for blazing the trail which we have chosen to follow. While no collection of this size can hope to capture the whole spectrum of specialized interests among historians today, we hope that *Emerging Identities* will serve to introduce students to some of the critical sources, contentious issues and ongoing controversies which enliven the study of Canada's past.

No book of problems in Canadian history could be published without the generous cooperation of many. In particular, we would like to thank those Canadian historians, writers and artists who have agreed to allow their original work to be included in our sourcebook. It is their ideas and viewpoints which provide the book with much of its vigour and vitality. Over the course of the project, some twenty historians and prominent educators from across Canada reviewed parts of the manuscript and offered many valuable comments. Some of their ideas will undoubtedly be recognized in this final published collection. At Prentice-Hall Canada, Rob Greenaway took a personal interest in the project and offered valuable encouragement in those early years when it seemed that the book would never see the light of day. MaryLynne Meschino, Judy Dawson, and Magda Kryt steered the book through the protracted editing/publishing process with tact, skill and professionalism.

A few closing words. From the day in the spring of 1980 when this book was first proposed, until its eventual publication, Dianne Bennett has shared in the odyssey, suffering through the periodic setbacks, and typing the manuscript through innumerable drafts. Only she can fully appreciate the mixed feelings of relief and exhilaration with which we greet its publication.

Emerging Identities is the end result of a massive, adventuresome enterprise. To those who view all problems books as "scissors-and-paste" history, we think you will be surprised by this volume. If the book helps enrich and enliven the discussion of Canadian history in introductory survey courses, then we have succeeded in our purpose.

Paul W. Bennett
Upper Canada College
Cornelius J. Jaenen
University of Ottawa

Introduction for the Student

Emerging Identities invites you to explore a Canadian history that is lively, contentious and crowded with competing interpretations. Each chapter-length "problem study" provides you with a brief introduction identifying the critical questions, a set of documentary materials, a selection of key interpretations, and a bibliographic guide to further reading. The collection of twenty problems is designed primarily for use as a sourcebook for seminars, tutorials and essay-writing in introductory Canadian history survey courses. The problems are presented in such a way as to promote the discussion of major historical controversies and to whet your appetite for further historical inquiry and research.

This sourcebook presents students of Canadian history with two different types of raw materials—contemporary sources and conflicting interpretations. The distinction between contemporary sources and interpretations is an important one. A contemporary source consists of some direct record left behind from the period or by the people who are the subject of the historians' study. They are often purely primary sources—actual records by participants which have survived from the past. Contemporary sources may consist of records that are written (a personal memoir, a public speech, census data, or a newspaper report), or oral (a folk tale, a song or poem), or visual (a painting, a line drawing or a political cartoon). Whatever their form, they are the raw materials without which history is impossible.

The usefulness of contemporary sources rests on their reliability, and their reliability can vary greatly. An eyewitness account, for example, will not often tell how closely its author was personally involved with the events he or she describes, how much of the episode under discussion he/she was really a witness to, whether he/she got the information from hearsay, or whether he/she was influenced by personal biases. In analysing and assessing such sources, the wise student must approach the task with a critical eye and seek verification in other reliable accounts and records. As an historian, then, you learn to pass judgements of many kinds on the contemporary sources provided in each problem study.

The conflicting interpretations supplied in each problem/chapter are excerpts from selected secondary sources. A "secondary source", which can offer an impartial report, an informed opinion or a set of opinions (an interpretation), is an indirect record, something written *about* the people or period under study, rather than by them. While contemporary sources usually date from the time of the events being studied, a secondary source interpretation usually dates from a later time.

Analysing and assessing conflicting interpretations in *Emerging Identities* will introduce you to the world of Canadian historiography, or the debates among historians over interpretations of our past experience. For, like the history of any country, the story of Canada's past has been written within the framework of certain intellectual concepts and has reflected differing schools of historical thought. By delving into the conflicting interpretations, you become more aware of how the writing of Canadian history has been shaped by sharply different schools of thinking in Canada's English-speaking and French-speaking communities. Studying Canadian historiography can also produce new, revealing insights into questions of 'national character', the importation of ideas, regional, ethnic and class perspectives, and the prevailing climate of opinion in various time periods.

In the 1970s and early 1980s the study of Canadian history has been undergoing its own "quiet revolution". Historians young and old have brought new perspectives and approaches to Canada's past, revealing areas previously overlooked and offering new interpretations of long-established themes. Our knowledge of Canada's regional, social and economic history has been broadened and deepened. While political history and biography remain a staple of historical writing, there is a growing recognition that "past politics" constitutes only one aspect of the complex texture of Canada's past. Much of the recent wave of Canadian historical scholarship has come to explore what historians Ramsay Cook and J.M.S. Careless once described as the "limited identities of region, culture and class" that lie at the root of the Canadian experience.* Indeed, the outpouring of recent writings has thrust these "emerging identities" into the mainstream of Canadian historical interpretation. Thus, the term "emerging identities" seemed an apt title for our new collection.

P.W.B., C.J.J.

September 1985

Publisher's Note:

- 1. Inconsistencies in spelling or punctuation appearing in the documentary sources are those of the original.
- 2. Square brackets have been used to indicate editorial clarifications or additions.
- 3. The sources of all visuals are listed at the back of the book.

^{*} See J.M.S. Careless, "Limited Identities' in Canada', Canadian Historical Review, Vol. L (March, 1969), pp. 1-10. The concept of "limited identities" was actually coined by Ramsay Cook in "Canadian Centennial Celebrations", International Journal, Vol. XXII (Autumn, 1967), p. 663. See also Careless, "Limited Identities—Ten Years Later", Manitoba History, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1980), pp. 3-9.

Table of Contents

Preface and Acknowledgements Viller V

| 1 | The Meeting of Two Worlds: Who Benefited From Indian-French Conduct: | 1 |
|----|---|-----|
| 2 | Visions of New France: What Was the Colony's Role in the Empire? | 27 |
| 3 | The Church in New France: How Extensive Was Its Influence? | 51 |
| 4 | The Conquest of 1760: Were Its Consequences Traumatic? | 76 |
| 5 | The Quebec Act: Magnanimous Statesmanship or Selfish Expediency? | 106 |
| 6 | Revolution Rejected: Why Did Nova Scotia Fail to Join the American Revolution? | 133 |
| 7 | Political Unrest in the Canadas in the 1830s: What Lay at the Root of the Struggle? | 158 |
| 8 | The Social Reform Impulse in Mid-Nineteenth-Century British North America: Altruism or Social Control? | 185 |
| 9 | The Union of the Canadas, 1841–1864: An Emerging Bicultural Community or "Two Scorpions in a Bottle"? | 216 |
| 10 | Confederation and the Maritimes: Why Did Maritimers Respond With Such Ambivalence to the Idea of Federal Union? | 239 |
| 11 | Métis Resistance and Rebellion, 1869–1885: What Were the Roots of Conflict? | 267 |
| 12 | Nationalism, Continentalism and Imperialism, 1878–1896: Where Did Canada's Destiny Lie? | 294 |
| 13 | The Working-Class Response to Industrialism, 1860–1896: "Living Wage" or Workers' Control? | 321 |
| 14 | The Economic Boom in the Laurier Era, 1896-1911: Prosperity for Whom? | 347 |
| 15 | The Canadian Women's Movement, 1880–1920s: A Struggle for Political Rights or Social Reform? | 376 |
| 16 | Regional Protest in the West and the Maritimes, 1919–1939: Movements of Reaction or Demands for Structural Change? | 406 |
| 17 | Conscription in the Two World Wars: A Case of Military Necessities or Broken Promises? | 435 |

| 18 | Canadian-American Relations, 1945–1980s: Harmonious Partnership or Dependent Relationship? | 465 |
|---|---|-------------------|
| 19 | The Quiet Revolution and Beyond: Who Speaks for Quebec? | 495 |
| 20 | The Challenge of Canadian Diversity, 1960–1980s: Emerging Identities or Portent of Deconfederation? | 524 |
| Subject Index Historiographic Index Credits | | 559 564 566 |

THE MEETING OF TWO WORLDS

Who Benefited From Indian-French Contact?

Indian-French relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are part of a larger story of the meeting of two worlds. While we often think of Canadian history as beginning with Jacques Cartier's voyages of exploration or with the short-lived Norse settlements on the Atlantic coast, in fact, the first inhabitants came to Canada not hundreds but thousands of years ago, and not from Europe, but from Siberia and eastern Asia. These first settlers, who were the ancestors of our Native peoples, eventually migrated, it is thought, from Alaska across the continent from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast, and southward into Mexico and South America. By the time of the arrival of the European sailors and adventurers in the late 1400s, the indigenous peoples had adjusted to many different environments over many thousands of years and had developed many diverse and often complex cultures. In eastern Canada, the meeting place for the Indian and French worlds, there were two language stocks, Algonkian and Iroquoian, and many autonomous bands and nations, each with its own beliefs, customs and habitat. The nomadic Algonkian bands, such as the Montagnais (Quebec), the Beothuk (Newfoundland), the Micmac (Nova Scotia), and the Malecite (New Brunswick), engaged in hunting, fishing, fowling, food-gathering, and some agriculture. The sedentary Iroquoian nations, notably the Huron, whom the French befriended, and the Five Nations Confederacy, whom the French alienated, were basically agricultural peoples.

The initial contact of the Indians and the French in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries presented its share of challenges and benefits for both peoples. The French who came to North America brought with them deeply ingrained concepts of order, culture and "civility" that had been shaped in the Old World. Indian society, to the early French colonizers, was part of a new

2 Emerging Identities

world, a new-found collection of "uncivilized" people, or natural people inhabiting a natural world. To the French, the fundamental challenge was to turn the Indians into "civilized" people—people refined in manners, improved in arts and learning, and worshipful of God. Evangelization or conversion to Christianity was thought to be essential to the accomplishment of this task. Indian-French contact was, however, a two-way process. The French who came as civilizers were often regarded by the Native peoples as intruders. Over time, many Indian ways, beliefs and social values had their influence on the European colonizers. And the question of who benefited more from contact—the Indians or the French—is the central issue in this problem study.

The nature and circumstances of early contact provide clues to the consequences of European colonization. The Indians and Inuit¹ of Eastern Canada first began sustained interaction with traders and colonizers from France in the seventeenth century. There had been earlier contact with the Vikings, beginning in the late tenth century, and with Western European fishermen since at least the fifteenth century. These early encounters, which appear to have been violent on occasion, probably led to the introduction of virulent diseases to which the Native population of the time had little immunity, and which seriously reduced the population levels. Permanent European settlements followed only later; not until 1604 in Acadia, 1608 in Canada, and 1639 in the upper country, did the Native peoples have to contend with a European presence. It constituted nothing less than an invasion, heralding permanent occupation and eventual domination.

Were the long-range consequences of colonization immediately apparent? New France began as a fishing ground and a commercial counter for the fur trade. It became a colony of European settlement, (almost exclusively on lands not inhabited at the time by Indians), and by the early 1700s it was seen in France as being of great strategic and military value. This evolution in the perception of, and the value attached to the colony affected France's relationship with the original peoples. First contacts had been largely with nomadic Algonkian hunting cultures, such as the Micmac and Montagnais, but later ones involved the agricultural Iroquoian confederacies of the Huron and the Five Nations Iroquois. New France eventually extended from Newfoundland and Acadia along the St. Lawrence Valley and Great Lakes Basin, into the hinterland as far away as the Mississippi Valley and the western prairies. With the passing of time, the fur trade and Catholic missions, which had occasioned the initial contact in many cases, became involved in a system of military alliances with various nations, friendship pacts and associations. The French found themselves in competition with the Anglo-American colonies and the Hudson's Bay Company (founded in 1670) for the trade in furs and sometimes also for the alliance and allegiance of nations of the interior.

Inuit—(Inuk in the singular)—is the term which has come to replace Eskimo and which
is preferred by these inhabitants of our northern region. Eskimo was probably of
Algonkian origin and referred to "eaters of raw flesh"; Inuit means "the people".

From the beginning, officials in France and in the colonies pondered the origin and culture of the Indians and planned to "civilize" them through policies of evangelization and assimilation ("francisation"). Samuel de Champlain, the founder of Quebec (1608), set out with the help of Catholic missionaries to create a kingdom of one people, based on the vision of a French-Indian-Catholic empire. Champlain's plan eventually gave way to the concept of a biracial colony peopled by Europeans and "civilized" Indians, which in turn was replaced by the less ambitious and idealistic notion of a Royal province containing French subjects and a few segregated communities of converted Indians. Each phase in the French plan of conversion and assimilation met with some acceptance but also resistance from Indians who sought to retain their ancestral ways and often found European ideas and lifestyles peculiar or incomprehensible.

The evolving Indian-French relationship before 1760 was not without its contradictions. Although French sovereignty was proclaimed over the entire continent, missionaries, soldiers and settlers were directed to respect Indian self-government and land rights, particularly in the interior, or "upper country". The relationship was not mutually beneficial in all its aspects. Epidemics carried off an alarming proportion of the indigenous population in the early stages of contact. Depopulation was accompanied by a depletion of game, notably of beaver and moose. Exploitation of the first staple products cod and furs—also led to the introduction of alcohol, the devastating effects of which were felt by Indians and all segments of French society. On the other side, the French were drawn into the existing pattern of warfare, which resulted in a long series of seventeenth-century wars with the Iroquois Five Nations, and later armed clashes with other nations in the Upper Great Lakes country, in the lower Mississippi River region, and on the western prairies.

Popular historical interpretations suggest that the aboriginal peoples, with their traditional customs and values, yielded before the advance of a technologically more sophisticated European civilization. Yet this popular view may rest on some misconceptions. For in fact many French travellers, missionaries and traders left behind records which suggest that they had come to view the original inhabitants of Acadia and Canada as well-adjusted, self-reliant peoples possessing many positive qualities. Some of the French apparently learned to appreciate the diversity of Indian cultures, distinguishing between the customs of Micmac, Montagnais and Iroquois. Other French observers remarked on the degree of freedom, tolerance, equality and harmony which characterized Indian relations. For their part, the Indian peoples seem to have been remarkably discriminating in their adoption of French ways and beliefs. Newly introduced technology such as the musket and the wheel were not always seen by them as superior to traditional ways of hunting and transport like the bow and arrow and the birch bark canoe. French tools, implements, modes of transport, language, behaviour, social customs and religious beliefs were all examined-and some were adopted selectively. Many aspects of French culture were rejected outright as the Indians continued to value their own religion, manners and morals. Often they adopted the viewpoint so

4 Emerging Identities

clearly stated by a Micmac who confronted a French Jesuit missionary: "That is the native way of doing it. You may have your way and we will keep ours. All value their own wares."

The meeting of the Indian and the European worlds produced a relationship which was more complex than has been popularly recognized. Who benefited more from the interaction of the French and the Indians as friends and as foes? To what extent were the aboriginal peoples exploited or robbed of their ancestral hunting territories and productive fields by the French? Is it possible that the French and Indian societies became so intertwined in often mutually satisfying relationships that neither wished to extricate itself? Or were the two societies bound together simply because neither partner could dominate or control the situation?

SELECTED CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

THE TWO WORLDS MEET—EARLY IMPRESSIONS OF EACH OTHER

The early impressions that the Indian and European peoples had of each other provided a glimpse of the possible challenges and benefits which lay ahead. The Spanish explorers of the late fifteenth century provided the French with their first perceptions of the New World and its peoples. However, the French were not long in condemning what they believed to be excessive Spanish cruelty in dealing with the Indians, and in proclaiming their own determination to establish a fruitful and peaceful relationship. Precise knowledge about the world discovered by the French expedition of 1524 (headed by Giovanni da Verrazzano) and the 1534-41 voyages of Jacques Cartier was scant. Early French impressions reflected a Europecentric (Europe-centered) view of the world and were usually closely related to European aspirations— political, economic and religious—in the New World. Likewise, the Indians viewed and measured the European intruders by the standard of their own ways and values.

An Early French View—Montaigne's Impressions of the New World and Its Inhabitants

Some of the first French impressions of America and its peoples were those recorded by Michel de Montaigne, a French essayist (1533–1592) known for his humane and broad-minded outlook. In attempting to describe America and its peoples to those with no first-hand experience of either, Montaigne remarked that "our world has just discovered another world". The concern he expressed for the Native peoples, whom he considered to be "in the infancy of mankind", was a theme that would recur. It suggested that they possessed an original and natural goodness which Europeans had lost and which the New World might also lose in contact with the Old World.

I am much afraid that we shall have very greatly hastened the decline and ruin of this

new world by our contagion, and that we will have sold it our opinions and our arts very dear. It was an infant world; yet we have not whipped it and subjected it to our discipline by the advantage of our natural valor and strength, nor won it over by our justice and goodness, nor subjugated it by our magnanimity. Most of the responses of these people and most of our dealings with them show that they were not at all behind us in natural brightness of mind and pertinence.

Donald H. Frame, ed., The Complete Works of Montaigne. Essays, Travel Journal, Letters (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), Vol. III, p. 693.

Those people are wild, just as we call wild the fruits that Nature has produced by herself and in her normal course; whereas really it is those that we have changed artificially and led astray from the common order, that we should rather call wild.

Donald H. Frame, ed., Montaigne's Essays and Selected Writings (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963), p. 89.

A Europocentric Impression of North American Indians—The Fête at Rouen, 1550

Indians, even if from Canada, were long depicted in France of the sixteenth century dressed like indigenous South Americans. When King Henry II of France paid a visit to Rouen in 1550, a Brazilian village was built and some fifty Indians from New France were required to sing, dance and fight. A French woodcut captures the bizarre spectacle of this "Brazilian" fête at Rouen:



A meeting of two worlds-the fête at Rouen. 1550.

Two French Missionary Assessments of Indians, 1615 and 1627

Much of the work of evangelization and assimilation in New France was undertaken by two Catholic religious orders, the Récollets and the Jesuits, and by the secular priests of Saint-Sulpice at Montreal. The first concerted

missionary activity was that of the Récollets, a Franciscan order, among the sedentary agricultural Huron who lived near the southern shores of Georgian Bay. When the Récollets found the burdens of missionary work beyond their meagre resources, the Jesuit order came to their assistance. In 1625, a small group of Jesuit missionaries arrived at Quebec. Soon the Jesuits were virtually the sole missionaries to the Indians in Canada. In terms of finance, intellect, power and prestige, they were the religious order best equipped to understand the challenge of massive conversion. Although among Europeans they probably had the best understanding of Indian spiritual beliefs and values, their goal was to uproot these in order to implant the Catholic religion.

Two early French missionary assessments of the Indians reflect views couched in seventeenth-century Catholic religious zeal. Both Denis Jamet, a Récollet friar, and Father Charles Lalemant, a Jesuit missionary, offered a revealing look at the diverse nations, and some insights into their difficulties in evangelizing the Indians.

A Récollet View, 1615

As for the stature of these people, they are all well-proportioned and sturdy, the Huron above all others are the strongest and have Flemish traits. The Nipissings are more slender in build but are courageous and quick. All wear their hair long, men as well as women, go bareheaded, dress in skins of beavers, martens and other animals, all are limited to their judgment and have little sense of values if it is not in their immediate profit. All live without worshipping any deity. The Montagnais, Algonkins and Nipissings invoke the devil through men they call *pilotois* and on several occasions I have heard them sing together in rhythm around their sick. An interpreter told me they were prayers to the devil....

... As for what touches us the most, which is the conversion of these barbarians, according to human reasoning it is a difficult matter; this is because the Montagnais and Algonkins are nomads and live scattered in diverse places only so long as they find fish and game there. Given the little we see of them and the impossibility of living among them, we will never learn the language and none now knows it. As for the Hurons, they are settled peoples living in large villages near a great lake the other end of which they have never seen.... All religious who go there can expect no comfort. Their food is usually Indian corn cooked in water; for their feasts they have bread baked in hot ashes. They have the advantage that the lake lacks no fish if they want to take the trouble to fish, but they are lazy and content themselves with one dish when they could have two. That is a bit annoying for us Frenchmen. But what matters most is that to win their friendship it would be necessary to live with them helter skelter in their cabins, which is a strange dissatisfaction, as you can imagine, Monseigneur....

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 500 de Colbert, Vol. 483, Father Denis Jamet to Cardinal de Joyeuse, 1615, ff. 581-582v. trans. Cornelius J. Jaenen.

A Jesuit Missionary's View, 1627

... They attach great faith to their dreams. Some of them will tell you two days before the arrival of ships the hour of their arrival and will tell you nothing more except that they have seen it in their sleep. These people are reputed among them to be able to speak

to the Devil. Their conversion will give us no little difficulty. Their licentious and lazy lives, their rude minds which can scarcely grasp things, the paucity of words which they have to explain our mysteries because they have never had any form of divine worship, will tax our wits. Yet we do not lose courage, thank God, because we trust in this truth that God will not take so much account of the fruit we produce as of the good disposition and the labour we undertake; furthermore, the greater the obstacles to their conversion, and the more distrust we have in ourselves, the more trust we will have in God

Lettre du Père Charles Lalemant, supérieur de la Mission du Canada de la Compagnie de Jesus (Paris: Jean Boucher, 1627), pp. 6-7, 13. trans. C.J.J.

Early Indian Views of the French, 1632

Since little recorded evidence exists of Indian views of the Europeans and their intrusions into Native societies, we must rely on reports of their impressions left by French missionaries and officials. The Récollet friar Gabriel Sagard offered these Europocentric observations based on his missionary work during 1623-24 in the Huron country.

They call the French Agnonha in their language; that is, iron people. The Canadians [i.e., the Indians around Quebec City] and Montagnais surname us Mistigoche, which in their language means wooden canoe or boat; they call us so, because our ships and boats are made of wood and not bark as theirs are.

Since they reckoned that the greatest captains in France were endowed with the greatest mind, and possessing so great a mind they alone could make the most complicated things, such as axes, knives, kettles, etc., they concluded therefore that the King . . . made the largest kettles, and regarding us in the capacity of captains they used sometimes to offer us kettles to mend.

At Quicunonascaron there was the great captain and chief of the...Bears, whom they called Garihoua andionxra This Garihoua andionxra had no small opinion of himself, when he desired to be spoken of as brother and cousin of the [French] King and on an equality with him, like the two forefingers on the hands which he showed us touching one another, making a ridiculous and absurd comparison thereby.

They have such a horror of a beard that sometimes when they try to insult us they call us... Bearded, You have a beard; moreover they think it makes people more ugly and weakens their intelligence. They speak very composedly. . . . This restraint of theirs leads them to call Frenchmen women, because they are too hasty and excited in their movements and speak all together and interrupt one another.

Gabriel Sagard, The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons. Edited by G.M. Wrong trans. H.H. Langton. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1939), pp. 79, 183, 149, 137 and 140.

FRENCH POLICIES OF ASSIMILATION—BENEFITS FOR WHOM?

Converting the Indians to Christianity was part of a larger French strategy of assimilation, or making the Indians over into French-speaking "civilized" peoples. From the early days of Samuel de Champlain (1608-1635) the French invited Indians to convert to Christianity, and to become "francised"

through intermarriage with the French and the adoption of a settled agricultural way of life. Some French officials and missionaries were optimistic that the Indians would soon see the advantages of the French way of life, but others were more cautious, if not frankly pessimistic, observing that Native beliefs, traditions and ways were well-established over centuries of living in the North American environment. Nevertheless, French officials attempted, with mixed success, means of assimilation ranging from integrated education and intermarriage to evangelization and segregated settlement.

Creating "One People"—Two Views of the Assimilation Policy, 1618 and 1675

A plan to form "one people" with the Indians was first proposed by Champlain and later reaffirmed by the French monarchy. Central to this plan was the idea of assimilation into French colonial life by means of raising and educating Indian children in a French environment. In the following documents, Samuel de Champlain explains in a 1618 memoir his dream of creating "one people" and King Louis XIV (1638–1715) expresses his official support for such a plan and its potential benefits.

Champlain's Plan of Colonization, 1618

... considering the advantage and profit to be derived therefrom, as well for the glory of God as for the honour of His Majesty and for the good of his subjects, the Chamber of Commerce has passed a resolution to represent to His Majesty and to the said Lords of his Council on the measures which he should take for such a holy and glorious enterprise....

... the said Sieur de Champlain declares and proposes, subject to the good pleasure of His Majesty, should he see fit to undertake and pursue the said enterprise, to build at Québec, the site of the Sieur Champlain's settlement situated on the river St. Lawrence, at a narrow part of the said river, some nine hundred or a thousand yards in width, a town almost as large as St. Denis, which shall be called, if it please God and the King, Ludovica, in the centre of which will be built a fair temple, dedicated to the Redeemer, and called the Church of the Redeemer, as a memorial and commemoration of the good that it shall please God to do to these poor people, who have no knowledge of His holy name, to incline the will of the King to bring them to the knowledge of the holy Christian faith and to the bosom of our holy mother Church....

H.P. Biggar, ed., *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, Vol. II. trans. John Squair (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922–36), pp. 326,337.

Louis XIV's Instructions on Assimilation, 1675

I am well satisfied with all you have done to attract the children of the natives in order to have the girls fed and raised by the Ursulines, and the little boys by you.

The priests of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice have made me the promise that they will continue to raise some, and you could do nothing which would be more useful for my service, for the benefit of the colony and that would be more pleasing to me than to enjoin the religious communities and even individuals who are somewhat comfortable