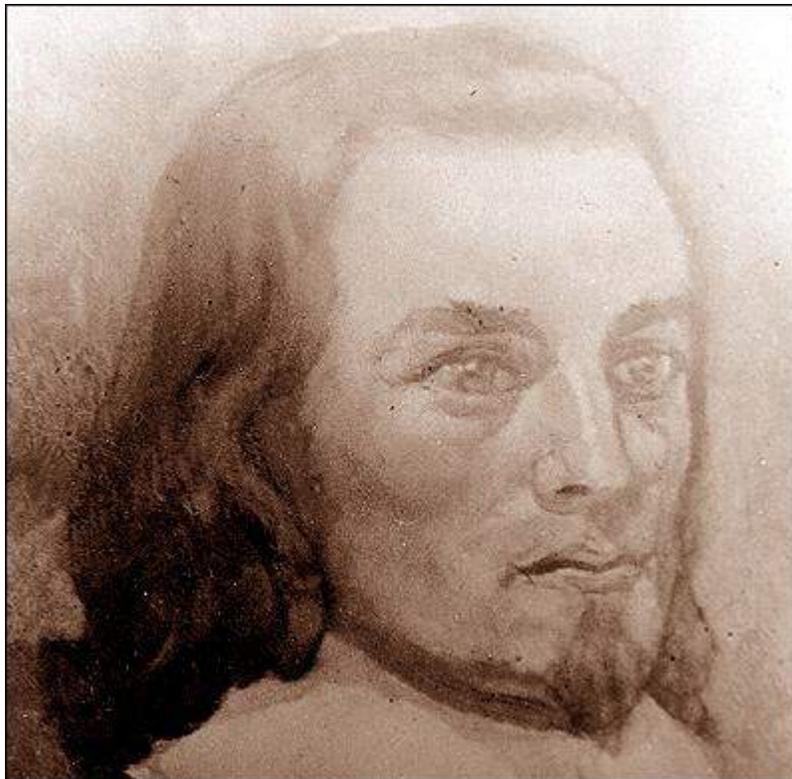
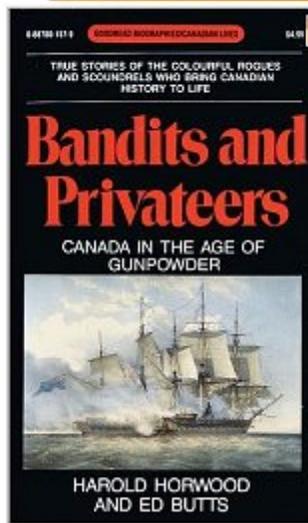


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Sir David Kirke, 1597-1654

Courtesy of the Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives (MF231- 411), St. John's, Newfoundland. Image modified by Wendy Churchill, 1999.

Ferryland

From about 1500 this fishing station on Newfoundland's English Shore was frequented seasonally by migratory Portuguese and Breton fishermen, and, after 1565, by West Country crews from Dartmouth, Bideford, and Barnstaple. It was permanently settled in 1621 as the Province of Avalon, sponsored by Sir George Calvert (1579 – 1632). The 1622 Patent of Avalon was the first in the New World to accept religious diversity. Calvert brought over craftsmen, under his Welsh captain Edward Wynne, to build 'a pretty street' of houses, a quay, warehouses, and harbour defences, of which impressive stone remains survive. Following political failure as James I's secretary of state, Calvert converted to Catholicism in 1625 and retired to Ireland, as First Baron Baltimore. After visiting Ferryland in 1627, he brought his baronial household of 40 to Newfoundland in 1628 – 9, but the cost of defence against French privateers, a slump in the fishery, and the 'sadd face of winter' drove him away, petitioning for a new proprietorship in Chesapeake Bay (eventually, Maryland). About 30 fisherfolk remained in 1629; some were still there in 1638, when Sir David Kirke appropriated Ferryland as the centrepiece of his 'Newfoundland Plantation'. It became a transatlantic and intercolonial entrepôt and effective capital for Kirke, and, during much of the Interregnum (1649 – 60), for John Treworgie, a New England Puritan merchant, named commissioner for Newfoundland. After her husband's death in 1654, Lady Sara Kirke continued to manage Newfoundland's largest fishing 'plantation' at Ferryland and remained senior member of the regional merchant gentry, with her sons and her sister, Lady Frances Hopkins, a royalist refugee who had personally harboured King Charles. Following the Restoration of 1660, the Calverts briefly but ineffectively reasserted proprietorship. Despite considerable damage in 1673, during the third Dutch War, by 1677 more than 100 fisherfolk overwintered in Ferryland and nearby Caplin Bay in ten fishing plantations, many relatively large and strongly oriented to pastoral agriculture. Extensive archaeological remains survive from these later phases of settlement. Although planters were dispersed by Malouan privateers in 1696 – 7, Ferryland has since been continuously inhabited, becoming a focus of Irish settlement in the mid-18th century, and, as civil government slowly emerged in Newfoundland, administrative centre of the south Avalon.

Peter E. Pope

Read more: Ferryland - Newfoundland, Kirke, Avalon, Calvert, Fishing, and Privateers

<http://www.jrank.org/history/pages/7197/Ferryland.html#ixzz12CmVm7rH>

Richelieu's Colonizing Company, 1629-1635

Arriving at Quebec, where he was hailed as one risen from the dead, Champlain found that things in France had taken a new turn. They had, in fact, taken many twists and turns during the nine years since De Monts had financed the first voyage to the St. Lawrence. In the first place, De Monts had lost the last vestige of his influence at court; as a Huguenot he could not expect to have retained it under the stern regency which followed the assassination of Henry IV in 1610. Then a half-dozen makeshift

arrangements came in the ensuing years. It was always the same story faithfully repeated in its broad outlines. Some friendly nobleman would obtain from the King appointment as viceroy of New France and at the same time a trading monopoly for a term of years, always promising to send out some settlers in return. The monopoly would then be sublet, and Champlain would be recognized as a sort of viceroy's deputy. And all for a colony in which the white population did not yet number fifty souls!

Despite the small population, however, Champlain's task at Quebec was difficult and exacting. His sponsors in France had no interest in the permanent upbuilding of the colony; they sent out very few settlers, and gave him little in the way of funds. The traders who came to the St. Lawrence each summer were an unruly and boisterous crew who quarreled with the Indians and among themselves. At times, indeed, Champlain was sorely tempted to throw up the undertaking in disgust. But his patience held out until 1627, when the rise of Richelieu in France put the affairs of the colony upon a new and more active basis. For a quarter of a century, France had been letting golden opportunities slip by while the colonies and trade of her rivals were forging ahead. Spain and Portugal were secure in the South. England had gained firm footholds both in Virginia and on Massachusetts Bay. Even Holland had a strong commercial company in the field. This was a situation which no far-sighted Frenchman could endure. Hence Cardinal Richelieu, when he became chief minister of Louis XIII, undertook to see that France should have her share of New World spoils. "No realm is so well situated as France," he declared, "to be mistress of the seas or so rich in all things needful." The cardinal-minister combined fertility in ideas with such a genius for organization that his plans were quickly under way. Unhappily his talent for details, for the efficient handling of little things, was not nearly so great, and some of his arrangements went sadly awry in consequence.

At any rate Richelieu in 1627 prevailed upon the King to abolish the office of viceroy, to cancel all trading privileges, and to permit the organization of a great colonizing company, one that might hope to rival the English and Dutch commercial organizations. This was formed under the name of the Company of New France, or the Company of One Hundred Associates, as it was more commonly called from the fact that its membership was restricted to one hundred shareholders, each of whom contributed three thousand "livres". The cardinal himself, the ministers of state, noblemen, and courtesans of Paris, as well as merchants of the port towns, all figured in the list of stockholders. The subscription lists contained an imposing array of names.

The powers of the new Company, moreover, were as imposing as its personnel. To it was granted a perpetual monopoly of the fur trade and of all other commerce with rights of suzerainty over all the territories of New France and Acadia. It was to govern these lands, levy taxes, establish courts, appoint officials, and even bestow titles of nobility. In return the Company undertook to convey to the colony not less than two hundred settlers per year, and to provide them with subsistence until they could

become self-supporting. It was stipulated, however, that no Huguenots or other heretics should be among the immigrants.

The Hundred Associates entered upon this portentous task with promptness and enthusiasm. Early in 1628 a fleet of eighteen vessels freighted with equipment, settlers, and supplies set sail from Dieppe for the St. Lawrence to begin operations. But the time of its arrival was highly inopportune, for France was now at war with England, and it happened that a fleet of English privateers was already seeking prey in the Lower St. Lawrence. These privateers, commanded by Kirke, intercepted the Company's heavily-laden caravels, overpowered them, and carried their prizes off to England. Thus the Company of the One Hundred Associates lost a large part of its capital, and its shareholders received a generous dividend of disappointment in the very first year of its operations.

A more serious blow, however, was yet to come. Flushed with his success in 1628, Kirke came back to the St. Lawrence during the next summer and proceeded to Quebec, where he summoned Champlain and his little settlement to surrender. As the place was on the verge of famine owing to the capture of the supply ships in the previous year, there was no alternative but to comply, and the colony passed for the first time into English hands. Champlain was allowed to sail for England, where he sought the services of the French ambassador and earnestly advised that the King be urged to insist on the restoration of Canada whenever the time for peace should come. Negotiations for peace soon began, but they dragged on tediously until 1632, when the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye gave back New France to its former owners.

With this turn in affairs the Company was able to resume its operations. Champlain, as its representative, once more reached Quebec, where he received a genuine welcome from the few Frenchmen who had remained through the years of Babylonian captivity, and from the bands of neighboring Indians. With his hands again set to the arduous tasks, Champlain was able to make substantial progress during the next two years. For a time the Company gave him funds and equipment besides sending him some excellent colonists. Lands were cleared in the neighborhood of the settlement; buildings were improved and enlarged; trade with the Indians was put upon a better basis. A post was established at Three Rivers, and plans were made for a further extension of French influence to the westward. It was in the midst of these achievements and hopes that Champlain was stricken by paralysis and died on Christmas Day, 1635.

Champlain's portrait, attributed to Moncornet, shows us a sturdy, broad-shouldered frame, with features in keeping. Unhappily we have no assurance that it is a faithful likeness. No one, however, can deny that the mariner of Brouage, with his extraordinary perseverance and energy, was admirably fitted

to be the pathfinder to a new realm. Not often does one encounter in the annals of any nation a man of greater tenacity and patience. Chagrin and disappointment he had to meet on many occasions, but he was never baffled nor moved to concede defeat. His perseverance, however, was not greater than his modesty, for never in his writings did he magnify his difficulties nor exalt his own powers of overcoming them, as was too much the fashion of his day. As a writer, his style was plain and direct, with, no attempt at embellishment and no indication that strong emotions ever had much influence upon his pen. He was essentially a man of action, and his narrative is in the main a simple record of such a man's achievements. His character was above reproach; no one ever impugned his honesty or his sincere devotion to the best interests of his superiors. To his Church he was loyal in the last degree; and it was under his auspices that the first of the Jesuit missionaries came to begin the enduring work which the Order was destined to accomplish in New France.

On the death of Champlain the Company appointed the Sieur de Montmagny to be governor of the colony. He was an ardent sympathizer with the aims of the Jesuits, and life at Quebec soon became almost monastic in its austerity. The Jesuits sent home each year their "Relations", and, as these were widely read, they created great interest in the spiritual affairs of the colony. The call for zealots to carry the cross westward into the wilderness met ready response, and it was amid a glow of religious fervor that the settlement at Montreal was brought into being. A company was formed in France, funds were obtained, and a band of forty-four colonists was recruited for the crusade into the wilderness. The Sieur de Maisonneuve, a gallant soldier and a loyal devotee of the Church, was the active leader of the enterprise, with Jeanne Mance, an ardent young religionist of high motives and fine character, as his principal coadjutor. Fortune dealt kindly with the project, and Montreal began its history in 1642.

A few years later Montmagny gave up his post and returned to France. With the limited resources at his disposal, he had served the colony well, and had left it stronger and more prosperous than when he came. His successor was M. D'Ailleboust, who had been for some time in the country, and who was consequently no stranger to its needs. On his appointment a council was created, to consist of the governor of the colony, the bishop or the superior of the Jesuits, and the governor of Montreal. Henceforth this body was to be responsible for the making of all general regulations. It is commonly called the Old Council to distinguish it from the Sovereign Council by which it was supplanted in 1663.

The opening years of the new administration were marked by one of the greatest of forest tragedies, the destruction of the Hurons. In 1648 a party of Iroquois warriors made their way across Lake Ontario and overland to the Huron country, where they destroyed one large village. Emboldened by this success, a much larger body of the tribesmen returned in the year following and completed their bloody work. A dozen or more Huron settlements were attacked and laid waste with wanton slaughter. Two Jesuit priests, Lalemant and Brebeuf, who were laboring among the Hurons, were taken and burned at the stake after suffering atrocious tortures. The remnants of the tribe were scattered: a few found shelter

on the islands of the Georgian Bay, while others took refuge with the French and were given a tract of land at Sillery, near Quebec. To the French colony the extirpation of the Hurons came as a severe blow. It weakened their prestige in the west, it cut off a lucrative source of fur supply, and it involved the loss of faithful allies.

More ominous still, the Iroquois by the success of their forays into the Huron country endangered the French settlement at Montreal. Glorifying in their prowess, these warriors now boasted that they would leave the Frenchmen no peace but in their graves. And they proceeded to make good their threatenings. Bands of confederates spread themselves about the region near Montreal, pouncing lynx-like from the forest upon any who ventured outside the immediate boundaries of the settlement. For a time the people were in despair, but the colony soon gained a breathing space, not by its own efforts, but from a diversion of Iroquois enmity to other quarters.

About 1652 the confederated tribes undertook their famous expedition against the Eries, whose country lay along the south shore of the lake which bears their name, and this enterprise for the time absorbed the bulk of the Iroquois energy. The next governor of New France, De Lauzon, regarded the moment as opportune for peace negotiations, on the hypothesis that the idea of waging only one war at a time might appeal to the Five Nations as sound policy. A mission was accordingly sent to the Iroquois, headed by the Jesuit missionary Le Moyne, and for a time it seemed as if arrangements for a lasting peace might be made. But there was no sincerity in the Iroquois professions. Their real interest lay in peaceful relations with the Dutch and the English; the French were their logical enemies; and when the Iroquois had finished with the Eries their insolence quickly showed itself once more.

The next few years therefore found the colony again in desperate straits. In its entire population there were not more than five hundred men capable of taking the field, nor were there firearms for all of these. The Iroquois confederacy could muster at least three times that number; they were now obtaining firearms in plenty from the Dutch at Albany; and they could concentrate their whole assault upon the French settlement at Montreal. Had the Iroquois known the barest elements of siege operations, the colony must have come to a speedy and disastrous end. As the outcome proved, however, they were unwise enough to divide their strength and to dissipate their energies in isolated raids, so that Montreal came safely through the gloomy years of 1658 and 1659.

In the latter of these years there arrived from France a man who was destined to play a large part in its affairs during the next few decades, Francois-Xavier de Laval, who now came to take charge of ecclesiastical affairs in New France with the powers of a vicar apostolic. Laval's arrival did not mark the beginning of friction between the Church and the civil officials in the colony; there were such

dissensions already. But the doughty churchman's claims and the governor's policy of resisting them soon brought things to an open breach, particularly upon the question of permitting the sale of liquor to the Indians. In 1662 the quarrel became bitter. Laval hastened home to France where he placed before the authorities the list of ecclesiastical grievances. The governor, a bluff old soldier, was thereupon summoned to Paris to present his side of the whole affair. In the end a decision was reached to reorganize the whole system of civil and commercial administration in the colony. Thus, as we shall soon see, the power passed away altogether from the Company of One Hundred Associates.

Saturday, August 8, 2009

[Sieur Guillaum Couillard de L'Espinay First Slave Holder](#)

http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_4gsJ3cTD464/Sn1rpfUgD4I/AAAAAAAAABGg/QyyRp_U1Rc8/s1600-h/ArmsCouillard.jpg
http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_4gsJ3cTD464/Sn1rpfUgD4I/AAAAAAAAABGg/QyyRp_U1Rc8/s1600-h/ArmsCouillard.jpg



In the Family History and Genealogy of my Great Grandfather Moses Genereaux alias James Cummings, mother Marie Dupuis, was the 5th great grand daughter of Guillaume Couillard dit Dupuis, son of Guillaume Senior and Elisabeth De Vesins, married on August 26, 1621. Guillementte Marie Hebert, Metis dau of Louis Hebert and Marie Rolet. This was the first recorded marriage of a French couple in New France. Guillaume had arrived in Kebec in 1613, employed as a carpenter and caulker by the Compagnie des Marchands de Rouen et de Saint Malo. The ceremony was performed by Recollect Father Georges and witnessed by Champlain himself and his brother-in-law Eustach Bouille (brother of Helene). In all reports sent to France by Champlain, he always spoke very highly of the young man who would play an important role in the settlement of French Quebec.

When Quebec was captured in 1629, by the Kirke Brothers [really privateers sailing for English Crown] nearly all of the French including Champlain were shipped to England and eventually to France. The Couillards became the only complete family to live under English occupation. Champlain entrusted the fort to two young Montagnais girls [Natives], Charite and Esperance, whom he had adopted, and Marie-Guilemette was asked if she would keep an eye out for them. They had already spent a lot of time at her home, as she and her mother instructed them in French customs, so that they might one day marry one of the male colonists.

The Treaty of St German En Laye of March 1632 restored the Kebec and Acadia post to France.

The Couillard family continued to work doggedly for the colony and was always held in high regard. He took part in itâ€™s defense against the Iroquois, frequently piloting boats between Quebec and Tadoussac. He also gave part of his land for the construction of a church and became the warden of the parish.

The Couillards may have been the first French-Canadians to own a black slave. [Slavery in the Americas was very common among the native population, most all of the tribes used captives as slave labor] When the Kirke brothers removed themselves from Quebec, they left behind a little boy that they had captured at Madagascar, so Guillaume purchased him from the bailiff. In July of 1632, they had him baptized under the name Olivier, after son-in-law Olivier Tardiff. Later, a Jesuit priest called him "Paul the Young Person", so the little boy grew up as Olivier Le Jeune.

In one letter, Champlain refers to him as the Couillard's "pet", and on official documents he is listed as a servant. When the new Company of 100 Associates, were in control of New France, Guillemette's husband made lime for the new buildings, while continuing to work his farm and perform other duties as needed.

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In December of 1654, the Governor Jean de Lauson, on the authority of the king, presented him with a noble title, "on account of services rendered to the country of Canada", Sieur and Madam de L'Espinay. These honors were later passed down to their sons; Charles and Louis.

Sieur Guillaume Couillard de L'Espinay, died at home on March 4, 1663 and is buried in the chapel of the Hotel Dieu, and three years later Madam Guillemette de L'Espinay sold the house and a portion of his land to Jean Talon and gave the rest to Bishop Laval, for the establishment of the Seminary of Quebec; though later her children would contest the transaction.

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A statue of her husband part of the Louis Hebert's monument, beside the city hall of Quebec. All the while they continued to farm and by 1632, had more than 20 acres cultivated. In 1639, they opened a flour mill and the same year, the governor of Quebec, appointed Guillaume as "clerk responsible for inspecting the sown lands and the food of the settlers of Quebec".

The Manor home of Couillard and Dupuis, while still standing was not built until about 1800 on or near Guillaum's original home.

The bronze statue of Sieur Guillaume Couillarde is part of the Hebert monument, it is interesting to note Guillaume ordered from France a ox and a plow before he died, the ox arrived but not the plow until after his death.

One can not study the ancestry of this united Genereaux and Dupuis family without becoming richly rewarded with history of the founding of New France on the American Continent, the sacrifices, hard work, disappointments, and successes of these early pioneers, carving out a settlement in a hostile environment without much more than their bare hands.

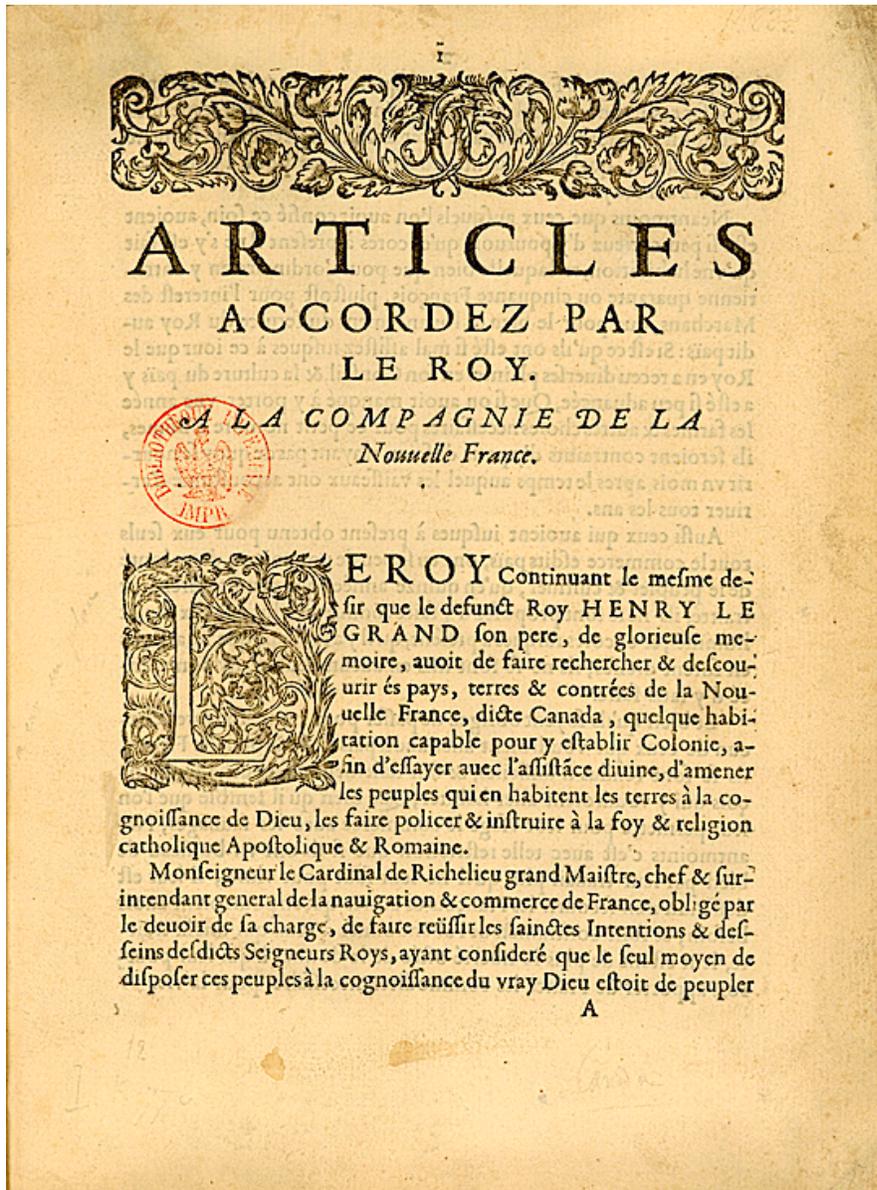
Posted by Lordandlady at [8:36 AM](#)

Quebec Surrenders to the English. Champlain Sent Home.

In 1627 hostilities began between England and France, and Acadia was taken soon after. The English privateer, David Kirke, intercepted 400 would-be Quebec colonists and sent them back to France. The following year he laid siege to Quebec, but Champlain managed to hold him off until hostilities ended for the winter. The attackers returned the next spring, however, and Champlain, whose garrison had

been diminished by disease over the winter, had little choice but to surrender and accept transport back to France. Quebec was not to fall again until the successful attack by British and New England forces in 1759.

[../ImagesChamplain/Large/Item11.jpg](http://ImagesChamplain/Large/Item11.jpg)../ImagesChamplain/Large/Item11.jpg



Development Plan for New France

11. *Articles accordez par le Roy, À la Compagnie de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1628.

While Champlain was contending with Kirke's attack in Quebec, attempts were underway back in France to find the means to support the struggling North American colony that was barely able to keep itself going. New France seemed unable to attract positive notice at home. Certainly, the perception of

severe weather was a huge image problem, but Canada suffered from a chronic lack of population primarily because the fur monopolists were content with the status quo and not interested in supporting efforts to settle colonists in the territory. The charter shown here was granted by Louis XII to the Company of the Hundred Associates, who were charged with developing Canadian settlements.

[René Chartrand](#)

The 1690 Siege of Quebec City

October 1, 1999 12:00 AM

Quebec is a place gifted with great beauty, situated where the mighty St. Lawrence River passes between the heights of Levy to the south and the magnificent Cape Diamond on the north shore. There, the river widens greatly, flowing around the large and lovely Ile d'Orléans, continuing east, past Ile-aux-Coudres, Tadoussac, Anticosti Island and the Gaspé peninsula, and into the North Atlantic.

In the 16th century, Europeans sailing west seeking new lands and routes to China encountered the mouth of the great river. In 1534, French explorer Jacques Cartier took possession of the country in the name of the King of France at Gaspé and the following year sailed upriver to where it narrows beneath the heights of Cape Diamond. There they found the Indian town of Stadacone, the site of present-day Quebec City. They soon landed and built their own small fort but this first settlement and the others that followed all failed, the last one being abandoned in 1543.

The increasing importance of the market for furs in Europe brought new interest in the northern part of America in the early 1600s. In 1608 Samuel de Champlain arrived with a party of traders and built the first habitation on the site. This time the small post flourished and the settlement grew. In 1624 a larger habitation with stone turrets was built. In 1626 work started on Fort St. Louis on top of Cape Diamond which, in time, became the Chateau St. Louis, the residence of the governors of New France and their British successors.

The post of Quebec was surrendered without resistance on 19 July 1629 to the English privateers Lewis and Thomas Kirke who arrived armed with letters-of-marque from King Charles I. (At that time Charles was assisting the Huguenots of La Rochelle against the besieging forces of Cardinal Richelieu; the Kirkes' crews included many resentful Huguenots). Champlain knew he could not resist the far stronger force of the Kirke brothers, especially as another five vessels were upriver at Tadoussac with their brother David who led the expedition. Champlain surrendered Quebec, and sailed to England with the Kirkes as their prisoner. However, by the peace treaty signed between England and France, New France was returned to France, and in 1632 Quebec was again under the French flag.

During the next decades, the post grew into a town. Its harbour was increasingly important as Quebec was the place where ships came and went carrying furs, European goods, men and news. Smaller vessels might make it to Trois-Rivières (founded in 1634) and Montreal (founded in 1642) but larger ships

seldom ventured past Quebec. As French explorers travelled farther into the interior of North America, Quebec's role as the gateway to a vast inland empire increased. The French had explored the Great Lakes and by the 1670s they had gone down the Mississippi River; in 1682 the Gulf of Mexico was reached. Thus, New France was becoming an enormous territory whose boundaries on the east were the small settlements in Acadia (present-day Nova Scotia) and Placentia on the south coast of Newfoundland; going west along the St. Lawrence River valley, past Quebec, Trois-Rivières and Montreal, into the Great Lakes; and then south down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. It formed an enormous arc right across North America.

But as impressive as it may have looked on a map, New France remained a weak colony in terms of population. It had only about 500 French inhabitants in 1641 and about 14,000 in 1689.

War with New England

South of New France, along the Atlantic seaboard, English, Dutch and Swedish colonies flourished. The Swedes were the first to be taken over by the Dutch, then the English took the Dutch colony in 1664 and renamed it New York. It was one of several colonies established by British settlers since the beginning of the 17th century in what was increasingly known as New England. The population growth of these colonies was spectacular. Some 40,000 settlers were already established on the seaboard colonies in 1641 and this had grown to a quarter of a million by 1689. Of the English colonies the most important were Massachusetts and Virginia. As time passed, the English colonists were increasingly aware that the French were carving out a vast empire in North America and would secure the fur trade for themselves. They were also convinced that the evil Papist Catholic missionaries and French officers were encouraging Indians to fight the Puritan and Protestant settlers of New England. As time passed, resentment grew among New Englanders. During the 1680s, relations between the Iroquois, supported by the New Englanders, and the French in Canada went from bad to worse until finally, in 1689, war broke out between England and France, and the governor of New York encouraged the Iroquois to stage a raid on Montreal.

On 4 and 5 August, a large Iroquois war party struck at the village of Lachine, just west of Montreal. The wanton cruelty during the raid both terrorized and revolted the Canadians. They wanted revenge, not so much on the Iroquois as on the New Englanders whom they judged to be the true culprits of this tragedy.

At this very time Louis de Buade, Count Frontenac, arrived in the colony for his second term as governor general. He was a crusty old soldier from ancient nobility, proud and temperamental, an experienced officer and shrewd man of action. Outraged at the news of Lachine, he accepted the advice of his Canadian officers who favoured a new sort of warfare – inspired by the Indians but carried out with European discipline by the toughest and most enduring men. With Frontenac, the officers of the French general staff at Quebec approved the views of Hertel de la Fresnière and other Canadian officers on the tactics that should be adopted: Attack the English colonies by land, in winter and through the woods, in the "Canadian fashion". Frontenac ordered that an attack be mounted simultaneously and as quickly as possible from Montreal, Trois-Rivières and Quebec.

Three mixed expeditionary corps composed of Canadian officers, French colonial soldiers and volunteer militiamen and Indian allies marched into the wilderness. The Montreal group, commanded by Jacques Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène and Nicolas d'Ailleboust, approached the village of Schenectady on the Mohawk River north of Albany, New York, in late January 1690. It was the westernmost outpost of the colony of New York. They awaited nightfall before approaching the fortifications. One of the gates was ajar, blocked by the snow. No guards were on duty. The Montrealers entered silently and soon surrounded every house in the village. At a war-cry signal, the attackers knocked down the doors. The surprise was total and only a few inhabitants succeeded in escaping; sixty were slain. Schenectady was razed, although the survivors were spared; twenty-seven were carried off.

Two months later, on the night of March 27, the expedition that had left Trois-Rivières commanded by Hertel de la Fresnière himself, attacked the fort and village of Salmon Falls, near Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Two hours later, nothing remained standing. The local militia arrived and set off in pursuit of the attackers; Hertel took advantage of this to set a trap. He and his men waited for the Massachusetts militiamen to make their way onto a narrow bridge across the Wooster River, then they fired, killing twenty and sending the rest fleeing. The expedition then set off to join the third attack force, that of commander Portneuf, which was headed for Casco within the limits of present-day Portland, Maine, which was taken and razed in May.

New England attacks Quebec

Outraged in their turn at Frontenac's response, the colonists of Massachusetts (which in 1690 included present-day New Hampshire and Maine) decided to go to the root of the trouble and take Quebec. Such an expedition would have to be carried out by sea. It was totally sponsored and underwritten by the colony itself. The way it was financed was perhaps an early example of "junk bond" trading: money to pay for the venture was raised by paper bonds, and they were to be redeemed on the value of the booty taken at Quebec. Sir William Phips, the most famous native son of Massachusetts – a sometime corsair who had made a huge fortune by salvaging gold and silver from sunken Spanish galleons in the Bahamas – was appointed to command. He had just captured the French outposts in Acadia without a fight and was the obvious choice.

The land forces were volunteer or drafted militiamen from New England. There were no British royal troops participating. (A delegation had travelled to England, requesting military aid, but King William was preoccupied that summer with the threat of James II in Ireland). The colonial troops consisted of about 2,300 men divided into seven battalions. Each battalion bore the name of its major commanding: Quincy, Phillips, Hutchinson, Hensman, Appleton, Gedney and Saltonstall. Most were from Massachusetts but a few companies came from the colonies of New York and Plymouth Plantation (then a separate colony from Massachusetts, just south of Boston). The battalions also appear to have included gunners from the Ancient and Honourable Artillery of Boston with half a dozen brass field guns. These men were probably gathered into an unofficial "Train of Artillery" during the campaign. Finally, perhaps as an afterthought to the perils of the new bush warfare recently practiced by the French, there was a band of about sixty Indians to act as scouts under Lt. Thomas Swift. Command of the troops was given to Massachusetts Lt.Gen. John Walley. In general, New Englanders came from companies of

"Trained Bands" who drilled in emulation of European troops. Their tactical approach was thus totally different that of the Canadians.

Although quite late in the season for sailing to Quebec due to the weather worsening in September, the expedition was still launched and the 34 ships (by most accounts) of the fleet left Boston on 19 August. The largest ship was the Six Friends of 44 guns with 200 sailors; it was Phips' flagship. There were also at least three frigates of 26, 24 and 20 guns and probably several more; details on ships are largely unknown. Brigs and sloops usually armed with several cannons and swivel guns made up the rest of the fleet. The number of sailors, many with some experience in gunnery, must have been about a thousand men. The New England force therefore mustered a total of about 3,400 men. It was the largest military expedition in colonial America until the 1750s.

Phips had no reliable charts to guide him up the St. Lawrence River, so it was slow going. The trip took almost two months. On 16 October the New England fleet finally reached Quebec.

"Through the mouth of my cannons"

Phips and his New Englanders were quite confident that the French would be terrified by their arrival before Quebec. The cowardly and effete French would be no match for their hardy men and the place was expected to surrender immediately. As soon as he had dropped anchor not far from the city, Phips wrote up a fairly curt summons to surrender, with instruction to the French commander that he had an hour to comply. An officer with a trumpeter was at once sent to the city to present the summons. Reaching shore, the New England officer was blindfolded and escorted by two sergeants and an officer, amidst much hustle and bustle and catcalls, through the streets to the Chateau St. Louis. There the fiery Governor General Frontenac listened to the summons. After he had read it aloud, the New Englander pulled out his watch.

That was too much for Count Frontenac. He was so enraged at the tone of Phips' summons that he wanted to have the messenger hanged at once in full view of the Massachusetts fleet! He was restrained by the bishop and the intendant but not without some difficulty. One simply did not summon in such a way "*un homme comme moi*" (a man like me), fiercely proud, who considered himself to be the very shadow in the New World of his royal master, King Louis XIV, the "Sun King". Deeply insulted by Phips' impudence and viewing the whole lot of New Englanders to be a bunch of pirates, he answered the summons with a line which has since become famous in the history of New France and of Canada: "Tell your master I will answer him *par la bouche de mes canons* (through the mouth of my cannons)!"

Taken aback by Frontenac's defiant answer, Phips tarried for a couple of days, examining the city while his big ships fired their guns at it without much effect. Obviously, the French were planning to give him a fight. His envoy had seen a room full of determined officers and the city was full of warlike sounds and calls. Perhaps it was then that the full challenge oftaking a position as strong as Quebec dawned on Phips and his officers and men. This was a place where nature had almost built a fortress on its own. The addition of a few walls and batteries in well-placed positions made it near impossible to storm. Garrisoned by hardy troops, it was almost impregnable.

To man these defences Frontenac had gathered at Quebec about 900 soldiers of the colonial troops, the *Compagnies franches de la Marine*, out of the 1,400 in New France. These troops were regulars who had been sent to garrison the colony in increasing numbers since 1683. In 1690 there were 28 of these "Independent Companies of the Navy", each having an establishment of 50 men. They were not grouped into regiments and came under the authority of the Navy since that department was responsible for the administration and defence of France's colonies in America. These troops were more suited to a classic European-style siege than bush warfare, but Frontenac had also organized them into several temporary battalions to bring them into a field action if need be. While there was no distinct artillery unit, some of the soldiers were trained to man guns by the "King's Gunner" the artillery official who was part of the permanent staff at Quebec. Besides the *Compagnies franches* there was also a 25-man castle guard and the 20-man personal bodyguard of Governor-General Count Frontenac.

The other strong contingent was from the militia. Organized since 1669 on the basis of compulsory service by every man able to bear arms from ages 16 to 60, the Canadian militia was rapidly evolving into a formidable fighting force. This was due to its extraordinary adaptation to Indian-style bush warfare. Indeed, unlike New Englanders, Canadian militiamen hardly ever drilled at their militia musters; instead, they would usually practice shooting skills and deployment under cover. Some 1,100 militiamen were assembled at Quebec, including 300 from Montreal. There were also some Indians but their number appears to have been moderate, perhaps a hundred or so. The French defending force was thus about 2,100 men.

Attack

Phips now knew that the place would be very difficult to take, but he had to come up with a plan to storm it. The fortifications themselves were not all that formidable but he could plainly see that the site made almost any defensive works quite daunting to an attacker. A frontal assault seemed next to impossible; his troops were no doubt brave militiamen, but not professional soldiers, and certainly not material to send in a near-suicidal "forlorn hope" attempt. Possibly the weakest part of the French defenses was the northeast side, but even there the New Englanders would have to first cross the Beauport River before getting to the earthworks. However, this avenue seemed to Phips and his senior officers as the only possibility to crack French defences. They finally resolved to land troops at La Canardière on the Beauport shore, on the east side of the St. Charles River, while the fleet would bombard the city heavily. Accordingly, on 18 October, about 1,200 New Englanders landed under the leadership of John Walley. They were unopposed at the beach but, as they were to find out, the French had already chosen their own ground on which to repulse the New Englanders.

Frontenac, experienced old soldier that he was, expected the New Englander's land attack to come from that area. The banks of the St. Charles River had been built up with field fortifications on the southwest side. He was ready to reinforce the area with three battalions of colonial soldiers. Furthermore, he had already sent in strong detachments of Canadian militiamen with some Indians skilled in bush warfare in the wooded areas east of the river. Thus, on 18 October, led by regular officers, Canadian militiamen and Indians were soon taking aimed shots at the New England soldiers as they ventured near the woods shortly after their landing. The Canadians were almost invisible, hiding behind trees and fighting in Indian style, and they were usually very good marksmen. Losses were heavy for the New Englanders,

who settled on holding their position in the open for the moment. In effect, the New Englanders could hardly move without being detected and shot at. They were, for their part, incapable of returning anything like adequate fire against the numerous skirmishers. This went on for a couple of days, the French forces constantly taking potshots from under cover.

Meanwhile, Phips' bigger ships had moved closer to bombard the city. Perhaps a diversion and even a panic was hoped for. But nothing of the kind occurred. Instead, the shore batteries proved more than a match, and four of the larger ships were pounded by French gunners drawn from the colonial troops. Riggings and hulls were much damaged, and finally the battered New England ships had to withdraw. In the artillery duel, the ensign of the New England flagship was cut down by an 18-pounder cannonball and fell into the St. Lawrence. Some hardy Canadians jumped in a canoe and went for it under a hail of musket shots. Their daring paid off and they triumphantly brought the prize back into the city, unscathed.

On the 20th the New Englanders on shore at La Canardière decided to force a crossing of the St. Charles River. They hoped to cross the river, carry the positions on the southwest shore, and then attack the city's earthworks. It was a difficult task, but Walley's men courageously formed ranks in the best European tradition and, drums beating and colours unfurled, tried again to get to the St. Charles River. However, just at the fringes of the woods, Canadian militiamen were waiting for them under cover and poured a heavy fire on the New Englanders. Wilting in the face of the Canadians' fire Walley's militiamen again fell back. Their brass field guns had been brought up at last but were badly manned. Finally, unable to advance further, the New Englanders retreated back to camp. The Canadians and Indians maintained the pressure thereafter by skirmishing closer and closer to the New Englanders' camp during the next day. By the night of 21-22 October the New Englanders were worn out and totally dispirited, seeing no alternative but a hasty withdrawal. They made a spontaneous general retreat to their ships, abandoning five of their field guns on the shore.

Triumph & Retreat

While the French and Canadians were now triumphant, the New Englanders had completely lost faith in the expedition. Every attempt had failed and they had suffered losses in men and materiel. About 150 men had been killed or wounded in action and many more would die of exposure and sickness. The French and Canadians had, at most, nine killed and 52 wounded (but only eight known wounded for certain). On top of this, bad weather was setting in. Soon the frost would appear. Everyone saw there was no hope of cracking the city's defenses. On the 23rd Phips and his fleet left Quebec and sailed back to New England. Such a late return trip proved very perilous for the fleet. At least four ships were lost. One was later encountered in the gulf drifting lifelessly, its crew all frozen to death.

Once back in New England, the problems associated with Phips' expedition were not over. The sailors and soldiers wanted to be paid some real money rather than worthless bonds and darkly murmured that they might take harsh measures to obtain satisfaction. They had not taken Quebec but might take Boston instead! The nearly empty colonial treasury now faced bills of some 50,000 pounds, with Massachusetts nearly bankrupted; Phips had lost a good part of his fortune in the venture. The colony's leaders were most alarmed and made some compensation. Finally, the militiamen and sailors were paid

in paper certificates – the first paper money issued by the Massachusetts government – which quickly lost their token value.

Thus ended the first siege of Quebec. It was certainly no less glorious, if lesser known, than the famous later sieges of 1759 and 1775. The 1690 military defeat at the hand of Count Frontenac's New France, compounded by large-scale fiscal humiliations, would burden New England for years. Certainly one considerable lesson was learned by New England: Clearly, Quebec could not be taken by armies of colonials alone. To achieve such an objective, the resources of Old England would have to be brought to bear.

by [René Chartrand](#)

Suggested reading

Charbonneau, André, Desloges, Yvon and LaFrance, Marc, *Quebec: the Fortified City*, Pelican & Parcs, 1982

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About the Author

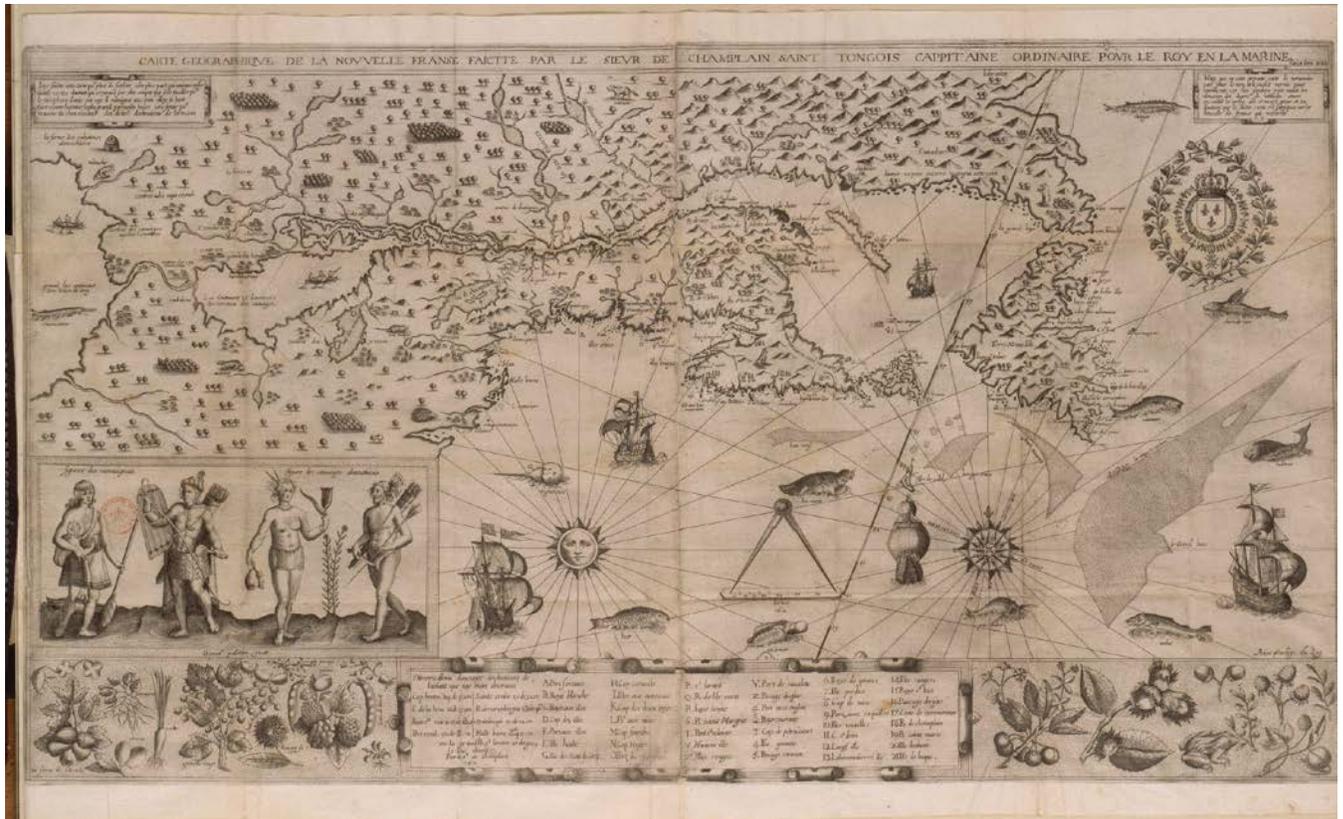
René Chartrand, a native and resident of the province of Quebec, has written many books, including numerous Osprey titles, most recently *Order of Battle 3: Quebec 1759* and [Men-At-Arms](#) volumes on the Spanish Armies of the Napoleonic Wars.

Early years (1608–1663)

Main article: [Canada, New France](#)

Quebec City was founded in 1608 by Samuel de Champlain. Some other towns were founded before, most famously [Tadoussac](#) in 1604 which still exists today, but Quebec was the first to be meant as a permanent settlement and not a simple [trading post](#). Over time, it became the capital of French Canada and all of New France.

</wiki/File:Samuel de Champlain Carte géographique de la Nouvelle France.jpg/wiki/File:Samuel de Champlain Carte géographique de la Nouvelle France.jpg>



[/wiki/File:Samuel de Champlain Carte géographique de la Nouvelle France.jpg](#)

[/wiki/File:Samuel de Champlain Carte géographique de la Nouvelle France.jpg](#) Map of New France made by Samuel de Champlain on 1612

The first version of the town was a single large walled building, called the Habitation. This arrangement was made for protection against perceived threats from the indigenous people. The difficulty of supplying the city from France and the lack of knowledge of the area meant that life was hard. A significant fraction of the population died of hunger and diseases during the first winter. However, agriculture soon expanded and a continuous flow of immigrants, mostly men in search of adventure, increased the population.

The [Roman Catholic Church](#) would be given *en seigneurie* large and valuable tracts of land estimated at nearly 30% of all the lands granted by the [French Crown](#) in [New France](#).^[1] In 1627, after meeting with Samuel de Champlain, [Cardinal Richelieu](#) granted a charter to the [Compagnie des Cent-Associés](#) (or Company of One Hundred Associates). This gave the company control over the booming fur trade and land rights across the territory in exchange for the company supporting and expanding settlement in New France (at the time encompassing Acadia, Quebec, Newfoundland, and Louisiana). Specific clauses in the charter included a requirement to bring 4000 settlers into New France over the next 15 years. The company largely ignored the settlement requirements of their charter and focused on the lucrative fur trade, only 300 settlers arriving before 1640.

The early years of the company's rule were disastrous for Quebec. Because of [war with England](#), the first two convoys of ships and settlers bound for the colony were waylaid near [Gaspé](#) by British privateers under the command of three French-Scottish [Huguenot](#) brothers, [David](#), Louis and Thomas Kirke. Quebec was effectively cut off. On 19 July 1629, with Quebec completely out of supplies and no hope of relief, Champlain surrendered Quebec to the Kirkes without a fight. Champlain and other colonists were taken to England, where they learned that peace had been agreed (in the 1629 [Treaty of Susa](#)) before Quebec's surrender, and the Kirkes were obliged to return their takings. However, they refused, and it was not until the 1632 [Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye](#) that Quebec and all other captured French possessions in North America were returned to New France. Champlain was restored as de facto governor but died three years later.

On the verge of bankruptcy, the company lost its fur trade monopoly in 1641 and was finally dissolved in 1662.

The Jesuit Missions:

by

Thomas Guthrie Marquis

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THE JESUIT MISSIONS

A Chronicle of the Cross in the Wilderness

By THOMAS GUTHRIE MARQUIS

TORONTO, 1916

CHAPTER I

THE RECOLLET FRIARS

For seven years the colony which Champlain founded at the rock of Quebec lived without priests. [Footnote:

For the general history of the period covered by the

first four chapters of the present narrative, see 'The Founder of New France' in this Series.] Perhaps the lack was not seriously felt, for most of the twoscore inmates of the settlement were Huguenot traders. But out in the great land, in every direction from the rude dwellings that housed the pioneers of Canada, roamed savage tribes, living, said Champlain, 'like brute beasts.' It was Champlain's ardent desire to reclaim these beings of the wilderness. The salvation of one soul was to him 'of more value than the conquest of an empire.' Not far from his native town of Brouage there was a community of the Recollets, and, during one of his periodical sojourns in France, he invited them to send missionaries to Canada. The Recollets responded to his appeal, and it was arranged that several of their number should sail with him to the St Lawrence in the following spring. So, in May 1615, three Recollet friars--Denis Jamay, Jean d'Olbeau, Joseph Le Caron--and a lay brother named Pacificus du Plessis, landed at Tadoussac. To these four men is due the honour of founding the first permanent mission among the Indians of New France. An earlier undertaking of the Jesuits in Acadia (1611-13) had been broken up. The Canadian mission is usually associated with the Jesuits, and rightly so, for to them, as we shall see, belongs its most glorious history; but it was the Recollets who pioneered the way.

When the friars reached Quebec they arranged a division of labour in this manner: Jamay and Du Plessis were to remain at Quebec; D'Olbeau was to return to Tadoussac and essay the thorny task of converting the tribes round that fishing and trading station; while to Le Caron was assigned a more distant field, but one that promised a rich harvest. Six or seven hundred miles from Quebec, in the region of Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay, dwelt the Hurons, a sedentary people living in villages and practising a rude agriculture. In these respects they differed from the Algonquin tribes of the St Lawrence, who had no fixed abodes and depended on forest and stream for a living. The Hurons, too, were bound to the French by both war and trade. Champlain had assisted them and the Algonquins in battle against the common foe, the Iroquois or Five Nations, and a flotilla of canoes from the Huron country, bringing furs to one of the trading-posts on the St Lawrence, was an annual event. The Recollets, therefore, felt confident of a friendly reception among the Hurons; and it was with buoyant hopes that Le Caron girded himself for the journey to his distant mission-field.

On the 6th or 7th of July, in company with a party of

Hurons, Le Caron set out from the island of Montreal.

The Hurons had come down to trade, and to arrange with Champlain for another punitive expedition against the Iroquois, and were now returning to their own villages.

It was a laborious and painful journey--up the Ottawa, across Lake Nipissing, and down the French River--but at length the friar stood on the shores of Lake Huron, the first of white men to see its waters. From the mouth of the French River the course lay southward for mere than a hundred miles along the east shore of Georgian Bay, until the party arrived at the peninsula which lies between Nottawasaga and Matchedash Bays. Three or four miles inland from the west shore of this peninsula stood the town of Carhagouha, a triple-palisaded stronghold of the Hurons. Here the Indians gave the priest an enthusiastic welcome and invited him to share their common lodges; but as he desired a retreat 'in which he could meditate in silence,' they built him a commodious cabin apart from the village. A few days later Champlain himself appeared on the scene; and it was on the 12th of August that he and his followers attended in Le Caron's cabin the first Mass celebrated in what is now the province of Ontario. Then, while Le Caron began his efforts for the conversion of the benighted Hurons, Champlain went off with the warriors on a very different mission--an invasion of the

Iroquois country. The commencement of religious endeavour in Huronia is thus marked by an event that was to intensify the hatred of the ferocious Iroquois against both the Hurons and the French.

Le Caron spent the remainder of the year 1615 among the Hurons, studying the people, learning the language, and compiling a dictionary. Champlain, his expedition ended, returned to Huronia and remained there until the middle of January, when he and Le Caron set out on a visit to the Petun or Tobacco Nation, then dwelling on the southern shore of Nottawasaga Bay, a two-days' journey south-west of Carhagouha. There had been as yet no direct communication between the French and the Petuns, and the visitors were not kindly received. The Petun sorcerers or medicine-men dreaded the influence of the grey-robed friar, regarded him as a rival, and caused his teachings to be derided. After an uncomfortable month Champlain and Le Caron returned to Carhagouha, where they remained until the 20th of May, and then set out for Quebec.

When Le Caron reached Quebec on the 11th of July (1616) he found that his comrades had not been idle. A chapel had been built, in what is now the Lower Town, close to the habitation, and here Father Jamay ministered to the

spiritual needs of the colonists and laboured among the Indians camped in the vicinity of the trading-post. Father d'Olbeau had been busy among the Montagnais, a wandering Algonquin tribe between Tadoussac and Seven Islands, his reward being chiefly suffering. The filth and smoke of the Indian wigwams tortured him, the disgusting food of the natives filled him with loathing, and their vice and indifference to his teaching weighed on his spirit.

The greatest trial the Recollets had to bear was the opposition of the Company of St Malo and Rouen, which was composed largely of Huguenots, and had a monopoly of the trade of New France. Many of the traders were actively antagonistic to the spread of the Catholic religion and they all viewed the work of the Recollets with hostility. It was the aim of the missionaries to induce the Indians to settle near the trading-posts in order that they might the more easily be reached with the Gospel message. The traders had but one thought--the profits of the fur trade; and, desiring to keep the Indians nomadic hunters of furs, they opposed bringing them into fixed abodes and put every possible obstacle in the way of the friars. Trained interpreters in the employ of the company for both the Hurons and the various Algonquin tribes were ordered not to assist the missionaries in acquiring a

knowledge of the native languages. The company was pledged to support six missionaries, but the support was given with an unwilling, niggardly hand.

At length, in 1621, as a result of the complaints of Champlain and the Recollets, before the authorities in France, the Company of St Malo and Rouen lost its charter, and the trading privileges were given to William and Emery de Caen, uncle and nephew. But these men also were Huguenots, and the unhappy condition of affairs continued in an intensified form. Champlain, though the nominal head of the colony, was unable to provide a remedy, for the real power was in the hands of the Caens, who had in their employment practically the entire population.

Yet, in spite of all the obstacles put in their way, the Recollets continued their self-sacrificing labours. By the beginning of 1621 they had a comfortable residence on the bank of the St Charles, on the spot where now stands the General Hospital. Here they had been granted two hundred acres of land, and they cultivated the soil, raising meagre crops of rye, barley, maize, and wheat, and tending a few pigs, cows, asses, and fowls. There were from time to time accessions to their ranks. Between the years 1616 and 1623 the fathers Guillaume Poullain,

Georges le Baillif, Paul Huet, Jacques de la Foyer, Nicolas Viel, and several lay brothers, the most noted among whom was Gabriel Sagard-Theodat, laboured in New France. They made attempts to christianize the Micmacs of Acadia, the Abnaki of the upper St John, the Algonquin tribes of the lower St Lawrence, and the Nipissings of the upper Ottawa. But the work among these roving bands proved most disheartening, and once more the grey-robed friars turned to the Hurons.

The end of August 1623 saw Le Caron, Viel, and Sagard in Huronia. Until October they seem to have laboured in different settlements, Viel at Toanche, a short distance from Penetanguishene Bay, Sagard at Ossossane, near Dault's Bay, an indentation of Nottawasaga Bay, and Le Caron at Carhagouha. It does not appear that they were able to make much of an impression on the savages, though they had the satisfaction of some baptisms. During the winter Sagard studied Indian habits and ideas, and with Le Caron's assistance compiled a dictionary of the Huron language. [Footnote: Sagard's observations were afterwards given to the world in his 'Histoire du Canada et Voyages des Peres Recollects en la Nouvelle-France.'] Then, in June 1624, Le Caron and Sagard accompanied the annual canoe-fleet to Quebec, and Viel was left alone in Huronia.

The Recollets were discouraged. They saw that the field was too large and that the difficulties were too great for them. And, after invoking 'the light of the Holy Spirit,' they decided, according to Sagard, 'to send one of their members to France to lay the proposition before the Jesuit fathers, whom they deemed the most suitable for the work of establishing and extending the Faith in Canada.' So Father Irenaeus Piat and Brother Gabriel Sagard were sent to entreat to the rescue of the Canadian mission the greatest of all the missionary orders--an order which 'had filled the whole world with memorials of great things done and suffered for the Faith'--the militant and powerful Society of Jesus.

CHAPTER II

THE JESUITS AT QUEBEC

The 15th of June 1625 was a significant day for the colony of New France. On that morning a blunt-prowed, high-pooped vessel cast anchor before the little trading village that clustered about the base of the great cliff at Quebec.

It was a ship belonging to the Caens, and it came laden to the hatches with supplies for the colonists and goods for trade with the Indians. But, what was more important, it had as passengers the Jesuits who had been sent to the aid of the Recollets, the first of the followers of Loyola to enter the St Lawrence--Fathers Charles Lalemant, Ennemond Masse, Jean de Brebeuf, and two lay brothers of the Society. These black-robed priests were the forerunners of an army of men who, bearing the Cross instead of the sword and labouring at their arduous tasks in humility and obedience but with dauntless courage and unflagging zeal, were to make their influence felt from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the sea-girt shores of Cape Breton to the wind-swept plains of the Great West. They were the vanguard of an army of true soldiers, of whom the words

Theirs not to reason why,

Theirs but to do and die,

might fittingly have been written. The Jesuit missionary in North America had no thought of worldly profit or renown, but, with his mind fixed on eternity, he performed his task *ad majorem Dei gloriam*, for the greater glory of God.

The Jesuits had sailed from Dieppe on the 26th of April in company with a Recollet friar, La Roche de Daillon, of whom we shall presently hear more. The voyage across the stormy Atlantic had been long and tedious. On a vessel belonging to Huguenots, the priests had been exposed to the sneers and gibes of crew and traders. It was the viceroy of New France, the Duc de Ventadour, a devout Catholic, who had compelled the Huguenot traders to give passage to these priests, or they would not have been permitted on board the ship. Much better could the Huguenots tolerate the humble, mendicant Recollets than the Jesuits, aggressive and powerful, uncompromising opponents of Calvinism.

As the anchor dropped, the Jesuits made preparations to land; but they were to meet with a temporary disappointment. Champlain was absent in France, and Emery de Caen said that he had received no instructions from the viceroy to admit them to the colony. Moreover, they were told that there was no room for them in the habitation or the fort. To make matters worse, a bitter, slanderous diatribe against their order had been distributed among the inhabitants, and the doors of Catholics and Huguenots alike were closed against them. Prisoners on the ship,

at the very gate of the promised land, no course seemed open to them but to return on the same vessel to France. But they were suddenly lifted by kindly hands from the depths of despair. A boat rowed by men attached to the Recollets approached their vessel. Soon several friars dressed in coarse grey robes, with the knotted cord of the Recollet order about their waists, peaked hood hanging from their shoulders, and coarse wooden sandals on their feet, stood before them on the deck, giving them a wholehearted welcome and offering them a home, with the use of half the buildings and land on the St Charles. Right gladly the Jesuits accepted the offer and were rowed ashore in the boat of the generous friars. On touching the soil of New France they fell on their knees and kissed the ground, in spite of the scowling traders about them.

The disappointment of these aggressive pioneers of the Church must have been great as they viewed Quebec. It was now seventeen years since the colony had been founded; yet it had fewer than one hundred inhabitants. In the whole of Canada there were but seven French families and only six white children. Save by Louis Hebert, the first to cultivate the soil at Quebec, and the Recollets, no attempt had been made at agriculture, and the colony was

almost wholly dependent on France for its subsistence.

When not engaged in gathering furs or loading and unloading vessels, the men lounged in indolence about the trading-posts or wandered to the hunting grounds of the Indians, where they lived in squalor and vice. The avarice of the traders was bearing its natural fruit, and the untiring efforts of Champlain, a devoted, zealous patriot, had been unavailing to counteract it. The colony sorely needed the self-sacrificing Jesuits, but for whom it would soon undoubtedly have been cast off by the mother country as a worthless burden. To them Canada, indeed, owed its life; for when the king grew weary of spending treasure on this unprofitable colony, the stirring appeals of the Relations [Footnote: It was a rule of the Society of Jesus that each of its missionaries should write a report of his work. These reports, known as Relations, were generally printed and sold by the booksellers of Paris. About forty volumes of the Relations from the missions of Canada were published between 1632 and 1672 and widely read in France.] moved both king and people to sustain it until the time arrived when New France was valued as a barrier against New England.

Scarcely had the Jesuits made themselves at home in the convent of the Recollets when they began planning for

the mission. It was decided that Lalemant and Masse should remain at Quebec; but Brebeuf, believing, like the Recollets, that little of permanent value could be done among the ever-shifting Algonquins, desired to start at once for the populous towns of Huronia. In July, in company with the Recollet La Roche de Daillon, Brebeuf set out for Three Rivers. The Indians--Hurons, Algonquins, and Ottawas--had gathered at Cape Victory, a promontory in Lake St Peter near the point where the lake narrows again into the St Lawrence. There, too, stood French vessels laden with goods for barter; and thither went the two missionaries to make friends with the Indians and to lay in a store of goods for the voyage to Huronia and for use at the mission. The captains of the vessels appeared friendly and supplied the priests with coloured beads, knives, kettles, and other articles. All was going well for the journey, when, on the eve of departure, a runner arrived from Montreal bringing evil news.

For a year the Recollet Nicolas Viel had remained in Huronia. Early in 1624 he had written to Father Piat hoping that he might live and die in his Huron mission at Carhagouha. There is no record of his sojourn in Huronia during the winter 1624-25. Alone among the savages, with a scant knowledge of their language, his spirit must

have been oppressed with a burden almost too great to be borne; he must have longed for the companionship of men of his own language and faith. At any rate, in the early summer of 1625 he had set out for Quebec with a party of trading Hurons for the purpose of spending some time in retreat at the residence on the banks of the St Charles. He was never to reach his destination. On arriving at the Riviere des Prairies, his Indian conductors, instead of portaging their canoes past the treacherous rapids in this river, had attempted to run them, and a disaster had followed. The canoe bearing Father Viel and a young Huron convert named Ahaustic (the Little Fish) had been overturned and both had been drowned.

[Footnote: This rapid has since been known as Sault au Recollet and a village near by bears the name of Ahuntsic, a corruption of the young convert's name. Father A. E. Jones, S. J., in his 'Old Huronia' (Ontario Archives), points out that no such word as Ahuntsic could find a place in a Huron vocabulary.]

The story brought to Cape Victory was that the tragedy had been due to the treacherous conduct of three evil-hearted Hurons who coveted the goods the priest had with him. On the advice of the traders, who feared that

the Hurons were in no spirit to receive the missionaries, Brebeuf and Daillon concluded not to attempt the ascent of the Ottawa for the present, and returned to Quebec. Ten years later, such a report would not have moved Brebeuf to turn back, but would have been an added incentive to press forward.

CHAPTER III

IN HURONIA

The Jesuits, with the exception of Brebeuf, spent the winter of 1625-26 at the convent of the Recollets, no doubt enduring privation, as at that time there was a scarcity of food in the colony. Brebeuf, eager to study the Indians in their homes, joined a party of Montagnais hunters and journeyed with them to their wintering grounds. He suffered much from hunger and cold, and from the insanitary conditions under which he was compelled to live in the filthy, smoky, vermin-infested abodes of the savages. But an iron constitution stood him in good stead, and he rejoined his fellow-missionaries none the worse for his experience. He had acquired, too, a fair knowledge

of the Montagnais dialect, and had learned that boldness, courage, and fortitude in suffering went far towards winning the respect of the savages of North America.

On the 5th of July the eyes of the colonists at Quebec were gladdened by the sight of a fleet of vessels coming up the river. These were the supply-ships of the company, and on the Catherine, a vessel of two hundred and fifty tons, was Champlain, on whom the Jesuits could depend as a friend and protector. In the previous autumn Lalemant had selected a fertile tract of land on the left side of the St Charles, between the river Beauport and the stream St Michel, as a suitable spot for a permanent home, and had sent a request to Champlain to secure this land for the Jesuits. Champlain had laid the request before the viceroy and he now brought with him the official documents granting the land. Nine days later a vessel of eighty tons arrived with supplies and reinforcements for the mission. On this vessel came Fathers Philibert Noyrot and Anne de Noue, with a lay brother and twenty labourers and carpenters.

The Jesuits chose a site for the buildings at a bend in the St Charles river a mile or so from the fort. Here, opposite Pointe-aux-Lievres (Hare Point), on a sloping

meadow two hundred feet from the river, they cleared the ground and erected two buildings--one to serve as a storehouse, stable, workshop, and bakery; the other as the residence. The residence had four rooms--a chapel, a refectory with cells for the fathers, a kitchen, and a lodging-room for the workmen. It had, too, a commodious cellar, and a garret which served as a dormitory for the lay brothers. The buildings were of roughly hewn planks, the seams plastered with mud and the roofs thatched with grass from the meadow. Such was Notre-Dame-des-Anges. In this humble abode men were to be trained to carry the Cross in the Canadian wilderness, and from it they were to go forth for many years in an unbroken line, blazing the way for explorers and traders and settlers.

Almost simultaneously with the arrival of Noyrot and Noue a flotilla of canoes laden deep with furs came down from the Huron country. Brebeuf had made up his mind to go to far Huronia; Noue and the Recollet Daillon had the same ambition; and all three besought the Hurons to carry them on the return journey. The Indians expressed a readiness to give the Recollet Daillon a passage; they knew the 'grey-robles'; but they did not know the Jesuits, the 'black-robles,' and they hesitated to take Brebeuf and Noue, urging as an excuse that so portly a man as Brebeuf

would be in danger of upsetting their frail canoes. By a liberal distribution of presents, however, the Hurons were persuaded to accept Brebeuf and Noue as passengers.

Towards the end of July, just when preparations were being made to break ground for the residence of Notre-Dame-des-Anges, the three fathers and some French assistants set out with the Hurons on the long journey to the shores of Georgian Bay. Brebeuf was in a state of ecstasy. He longed for the populous towns of the Hurons. He had confidence in himself and believed that he would be able to make the dwellers in these towns followers of Christ and bulwarks of France in the New World. For twenty-three years he was to devote his life to this task; for twenty-three years, save for the brief interval when the English flag waved over Quebec, he was to dominate the Huron mission. He was a striking figure. Of noble ancestry, almost a giant in stature, and with a soldierly bearing that attracted all observers, he would have shone at the court of the king or at the head of the army. But he had sacrificed a worldly career for the Church. And no man of his ancestors, one of whom had battled under William the Conqueror at Hastings and others in the Crusades, ever bore himself more nobly than did Brebeuf in the forests of Canada, or covered himself with a

greater glory.

The journey was beset with danger, for the Iroquois were on the war-path against the Hurons and the French, and had attacked settlers even in the vicinity of Quebec.

The lot of the voyagers was incessant toil. They had to paddle against the current, to haul the canoes over stretches where the water was too swift for paddling, and to portage past turbulent rapids and falls. The missionaries were forced to bear their share of the work.

Noue, no longer young, was frequently faint from toil.

Brebeuf not only sustained him, but at many of the portages, of which there were thirty-five in all, carried a double load of baggage. The packs contained not only clothing and food, but priestly vestments, requisites for the altar, pictures, wine for the Mass, candles, books, and writing material. The course lay over the route which Le Caron had followed eleven years before, up the Ottawa, up the Mattawa, across the portage to Lake Nipissing, and then down the French River. Arrived in Penetanguishene Bay, they landed at a village called Otouacha. They then journeyed a mile and a half inland, through gloomy forests, past cultivated patches of maize, beans, pumpkins, squashes, and sunflowers, to Toanche, where they found Viel's cabin still standing. For three

years this was to be Brebeuf's headquarters.

Huronian lay in what is now the county of Simcoe, Ontario, comprising the present townships of Tiny, Tay, Flos, Medonte, and Oro. On the east and north lay Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching, the Severn river, and Matchedash Bay; on the west, Nottawasaga Bay. Across the bay, or by land a journey of about two days, where now are Bruce and Grey counties, lived the Petuns, and about five days to the south-west, the Neutrals. The latter tribe occupied both the Niagara and Detroit peninsulas, overflowed into the states of Michigan and New York, and spread north as far as Goderich and Oakville in Ontario. All these nations, and the Andastes of the lower Susquehanna, were of the same linguistic stock as the Iroquois who dwelt south of Lake Ontario. Peoples speaking the Huron-Iroquois tongue thus occupied the central part of the eastern half of North America, while all around them, north, south, east, and west, roamed the tribes speaking dialects of the Algonquin.

Most of the Huron [Footnote: The name Huron is of uncertain origin. The word HURON was used in France as early as 1358 to describe the uncouth peasants who revolted against the nobility. But according to Father Charles Lalemant,

a French sailor, on first beholding some Hurons at Tadoussac in 1600, was astonished at their fantastic way of dressing their hair--in stiff ridges with shaved furrows between--and exclaimed 'Quelles hures!--what boar-heads! In their own language they were known as Ouendats (dwellers on a peninsula), a name still extant in the corrupted form Wyandots.] towns were encircled by log palisades. The houses were of various sizes and some of them were more than two hundred feet long. They were built in the crudest fashion. Two rows of sturdy saplings were stuck in the ground about twenty-five feet apart, then bent to meet so as to form an arch, and covered with bark. An open strip was left in the roof for the escape of smoke and for light. Each house sheltered from six to a dozen families, according to the number of fires. Two families shared each fire, and around the fire in winter clustered children, dogs, youths, gaily decorated maidens, jabbering squaws, and toothless, smoke-blinded old men. Privacy there was none. Along the sides of the cabin, about four feet from the ground, extended raised platforms, on or under which, according to the season or the inclination of the individual, the inmates slept.

The Huron nation was divided into four clans--the Bear, the Rock, the Cord, the Deer--with several small dependent

groups. There was government of a sort, republican in form. They had their deliberative assemblies, both village and tribal. The village councils met almost daily, but the tribal assembly--a sort of states-general--was summoned only when some weighty measure demanded consideration. Decisions arrived at in the assemblies were proclaimed by the chiefs.

Of religion as it is understood by Christians the Hurons had none, nothing but superstitions, very like those of other barbarous peoples. To everything in nature they gave a god; trees, lakes, streams, the celestial bodies, the blue expanse, they deified with okies or spirits. Among the chief objects of Huron worship were the moon and the sun. The oki of the moon had the care of souls and the power to cut off life; the oki of the sun presided over the living and sustained all created things. The great vault of heaven with its myriad stars inspired them with awe; it was the abode of the spirit of spirits, the Master of Life. Aronhia was the name they gave this supreme oki. This would show that they had a vague conception of God. To Aronhia they offered sacrifices, to Aronhia they appealed in time of danger, and when misfortune befell them it was due to the anger of Aronhia. But all this had no influence on their conduct; even in

their worship they were often astoundingly vicious.

To such dens of barbarism had come men fresh from the civilization of the Old World--men of learning, culture, and gentle birth, in whose veins flowed the proudest blood of France. To these savages, indolent, superstitious, and vicious, had come Brebeuf, Noue, and Daillon, with a message of peace, goodwill, and virtue.

Until the middle of October the three fathers lived together at Toanche, save that Daillon went on a brief visit to Ossossane, on the shore of Nottawasaga Bay. The Recollet, however, had instructions from his superior Le Caron to go to the country of the Neutrals, of which Champlain's interpreter, Etienne Brule, had reported glowingly, but which was as yet untrodden by the feet of missionaries. And so on the 18th of October 1626 Daillon set out on the trail southward, with two French traders as interpreters, and an Indian guide. Arriving among the Neutrals, after a journey of five or six days, he was at first kindly received in each of the six towns which he visited. But this happy situation was not to last. The Neutral country, now the richest and most populous part of Ontario, boasting such cities as Hamilton and Brantford and London, was rich in fur-bearing animals and tobacco;

and the Hurons were the middlemen in trade between the Neutrals and the French. The Hurons, fearing now that they were about to lose their business--for it was rumoured that Daillon was seeking to have the Neutrals trade directly with the French--sent messengers to the Neutrals denouncing the grey-robe as a sorcerer who had come to destroy them with disease and death. In this the Neutral medicine-men agreed, for they were jealous of the priest. The plot succeeded. The Indians turned from Daillon, closed their doors against him, stole his writing-desk, blanket, breviary, and trinkets, and even threatened him with death. But Brebeuf learned of his plight, probably from one of the Hurons who had raised the Neutrals against him, and sent a Frenchman and an Indian runner to escort him back to Toanche.

There was a break in the mission in 1627. Noue lacked the physical strength and the mental alertness essential to a missionary in these wilds. Finding himself totally unable to learn even the rudiments of the Huron language, he returned to Quebec, since he did not wish to be a burden to Brebeuf. For a year longer Brebeuf and the Recollet Daillon remained together at Toanche. But in the autumn of 1628 Daillon left Huronia. He was the last of the Recollets to minister to the Hurons.

Save for his French hired men, or engages, Brebeuf was now alone among the savage people. In this awful solitude he laboured with indomitable will, ministering to his flock, studying the Huron language, compiling a Huron dictionary and grammar, and translating the Catechism. The Indians soon saw in him a friend; and, when he passed through the village ringing his bell, old and young followed him to his cabin to hear him tell of God, of heaven the reward of the good, and of hell the eternal abode of the unrighteous. But he made few converts. The Indian idea of the future had nothing in common with the Christian idea. The Hurons, it is true, believed in a future state, but it was to be only a reflex of the present life, with the difference that it would give them complete freedom from work and suffering, abundant game, and an unfailing supply of tobacco.

Brebeuf's one desire now was to live and die among this people. But the colony at Quebec was in a deplorable condition, as he knew, and he was not surprised when, early in the summer of 1629, he received a message requesting his presence there. Gathering his flock about him he told them that he must leave them. They had as a sign of affection given him the Huron name Echon. Now

Christian and pagan alike cried out: 'You must not leave us, Echon!' He told them that he had to obey the order of his superior, but that 'he would, with God's grace, return and bring with him whatever was necessary to lead them to know God and serve Him.' Then he bade them farewell; and, joining a flotilla of twelve canoes about to depart for Quebec, he and his engages set out. They arrived at Notre-Dame-des-Anges on the 17th of July, to find the Jesuits there in consternation at the rumoured report of the approach of a strong English fleet.

CHAPTER IV

THE ADVENTURERS OF CANADA

Charles Lalemant, superior of the Jesuit mission, had no sooner landed on the shores of New France than he became convinced that the mission and the colony itself were doomed unless there should be a radical change in the government. The Caens were thoroughly selfish. While discouraging settlement and agriculture, they so inadequately provided for the support of the colony that the inhabitants often lacked food. But the gravest evil,

in Lalemant's mind, was the presence of so many Huguenots.

The differences in belief were puzzling to the Indians, who naturally supposed that different sets of white men had different gods. True, the Calvinist traders troubled little with religion. To them the red man was a mere trapper, a gatherer of furs; and whether he shaped his course for the happy hunting ground of his fathers or to the paradise of the Christian mattered nothing. But they were wont to plague the Jesuits and Recollets at every opportunity; as when the crews of the ships at Quebec would lift up their voices in psalms purposely to annoy the priests at their devotions. Lalemant, an alert-minded ecclesiastic, came to a swift decision. The trading monopoly of the Huguenots must be ended and a new company must be created, with power to exclude Calvinists from New France. To this end Lalemant sent Father Noyrot to France in 1626, to lay the whole matter before the viceroy of New France. But from the Duc de Ventadour Noyrot got no satisfaction; the viceroy could not interfere. And Louis XIII was too busy with other matters to listen to the Jesuit's prayer. The king's chief adviser, however, Cardinal Richelieu, then at the height of his power, lent a sympathetic ear. The Huguenots were then in open rebellion in France; Richelieu was having trouble enough with them at home; and it was not hard to convince him

that they should be suppressed in New France. He decided to annul the charter of the Caens and to establish instead a strong company composed entirely of Catholics. To this task he promptly set himself, and soon had enlisted in the enterprise over a hundred influential and wealthy men of the realm. The Company of New France, or, as it is better known, the Company of One Hundred Associates, thus came into being on April 29, 1627, with the great Richelieu at its head.

The One Hundred Associates were granted in feudal tenure a wide domain--stretching, in intention at least, from Florida to the Arctic Circle and from Newfoundland to the sources of the St Lawrence, with a monopoly of the fur trade and other powers practically unlimited. For these vast privileges they covenanted to send to Canada from two to three hundred colonists in 1628 and four thousand within the next fifteen years; to lodge, feed, and support the colonists for three years; and then to give them cleared land and seed-grain. Most interesting, however, to the Jesuits and Recollets were the provisions in the charter of the new company to the effect that none but Catholics should be allowed to come to the colony, and that during fifteen years the company should defray the expenses of public worship and support three

missionaries at each trading-post.

Now began the preparations on a great scale for the colonization of New France. By the spring of 1628 a fleet of eighteen or twenty ships belonging to the company assembled in the harbour of Dieppe, laden deep with food, building materials, implements, guns, and ammunition, including about one hundred and fifty pieces of ordnance for the forts at the trading-posts. Out into the English Channel one bright April day this fleet swept, under the command of Claude de Roquemont, one of the Associates. On the decks of the ships were men and women looking hopefully to the New World for fortune and happiness, and Recollets and Jesuits going to a field at this time deemed broad enough for the energies of both. Lalemant, who early in 1627 had followed Noyrot to France, was now returning to his mission with his hopes realized. A Catholic empire could be built up in the New World, the savages could be christianized, and the Iroquois, the greatest menace of the colony, if they would not listen to reason, could be subdued. The Dutch and the English on the Atlantic seaboard could be kept within bounds; possibly driven from the continent; then the whole of North America would be French and Catholic. Thus, perhaps, dreamed Lalemant and his companions, the Jesuit Paul

Ragueneau and the Recollets Daniel Boursier and Francois Girard, as they paced the deck of the vessel that bore them westward.

But there was a lion in the path. The revolt of the Huguenots of La Rochelle had led to war between France and England, and this gave Sir William Alexander (Earl of Stirling) the chance he desired. In 1621 Alexander had received from James I a grant of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and this grant had been renewed later by Charles I. And it was Alexander's ambition to drive the French not only from their posts in Acadia but from the whole of North America. To this end he formed a company under the name of the Adventurers of Canada. One of its leading members was Gervase Kirke, a wealthy London merchant, who had married a Huguenot maiden, Elizabeth Goudon or Gowding of Dieppe. Now when war broke out the Adventurers equipped three staunch privateers. Captain David Kirke, the eldest son of Gervase, commanded the flagship Abigail, and his brothers, Lewis and Thomas, the other two ships. The fleet, though small, was well suited for the work in hand. While making ready for sea the Adventurers learned of the much larger fleet of the One Hundred Associates; but they learned, too, that the vessels were chiefly transports, of little use in a sea-fight. David Kirke

was, on the other hand, equipped to fight, and he bore letters of marque from the king of England authorizing him to capture and destroy any French vessels and 'utterly to drive away and root out the French settlements in Nova Scotia and Canada.' The omens were evil for New France when, early in the spring of 1628, the Kirkes weighed anchor and shaped their course for her shores.

The English privateersmen arrived in the St Lawrence in July and took up their headquarters at Tadoussac. Already they had captured several Basque fishing or trading vessels. At Tadoussac they learned that at Cap Tourmente, thirty miles below Quebec, there was a small farm from which the garrison of Quebec drew supplies; and, as a first effort to 'root out' the French, David Kirke decided to loot and destroy this supply-post. A number of his crew went in a fishing-boat, took the place by surprise, captured its guard, plundered it, and killed the cattle. When his men returned from the raid, Kirke dispatched six of his Basque prisoners, with a woman and a little girl, to Quebec. By one of them he sent a letter to Champlain, demanding the surrender of the place in most polite terms. 'By surrendering courteously,' he wrote, 'you may be assured of all kind of contentment, both for your persons and your property, which, on the faith I

have in Paradise, I will preserve as I would mine own,
without the least portion in the world being diminished.'

Champlain replied to Kirke's demand with equal courtesy,
but bluntly refused to surrender. In his letter to the
English captain he said that the fort was still provided
with grain, maize, beans, and pease, which his soldiers
loved as well as the finest corn in the world, and that
by surrendering the fort in so good a condition, he should
be unworthy to appear before his sovereign, and should
deserve chastisement before God and men. As a matter of
fact this was untrue, for the French at Quebec were
starving and incapable of resistance. A single well-directed
broadside would have brought Champlain's ramshackle fort
tumbling about his ears. His bold front, however, served
its purpose for the time being; Kirke decided to postpone
the attack on Quebec and to turn his attention to
Roquemont's fleet. He burned the captured vessels and
plundered and destroyed the trading-post at Tadoussac,
and then sailed seaward in search of the rich prize.

Kirke had three ships; the French had eighteen. Numerically
Kirke was outclassed, but he knew that the enemy's fleet
was composed chiefly of small, weakly armed vessels.
Learning that Roquemont was in the vicinity of Gaspé Bay,

he steered thither under a favouring west wind. And as the Abigail rounded Gaspe Point the English captain saw the waters in the distance thickly dotted with sail. Dare he attack? Three to eighteen! It was hazarding much; and yet victory would bring its reward. Kirke was a cautious commander; and, desiring if possible to gain his end without loss, he summoned the French captain to surrender. In answer Roquemont boldly hoisted sail and beat out into the open. But despite this defiant attitude Roquemont must have feared the result of a battle. Many of his ships could give no assistance; even his largest were in no condition to fight. Most of the cannon were in the holds of the transports, and only a few of small calibre were mounted. His vessels, too, overloaded with supplies, would be difficult to manoeuvre in the light summer wind of which his foe now had the advantage. The three English privateers bore on towards the French merchantmen, and when within range opened fire. For several hours this long-range firing continued. When it proved ineffective, David Kirke decided to close in on the enemy. The Abigail crept up to within pistol-shot of Roquemont's ship, swept round her stern, and poured in a raking broadside. While the French sailors were still in a state of confusion from the iron storm that had beaten on their deck, the English vessel rounded to and threw out grappling-irons.

Over the side of the French ship leaped Kirke's pikemen and musketeers. There was a short fight on the crowded deck; but after Roquemont had been struck down with a wound in his foot and some of his sailors had been killed, he surrendered to avert further bloodshed. Meanwhile, Lewis and Thomas Kirke had been equally successful in capturing the only two other vessels capable of offering any serious resistance. The clumsy French merchantmen, though armed, were no match for the staunchly built, well-manned English privateers, and after a few sweeping broadsides they, too, struck their flags. The remaining craft, incapable of fight or flight, surrendered. In this, the first naval engagement in the waters of North America, eighteen sail fell into the hands of the Kirkes, with a goodly store of supplies, ammunition, and guns, Alas for the high hopes of Father Lalemant and his fellow-missionaries!--all were now prisoners and at the mercy of the English and the Huguenots. Having more vessels than he could man, Kirke unloaded ten of the smallest and burned them. He then sailed homeward with his prizes, calling on his way at St Pierre Island, where he left a number of his prisoners, among them the Recollet fathers, and at Newfoundland, where he watered and refitted. When the convoy reached England about the end of September, great was the rejoicing among the

Adventurers of Canada. For had they not crippled the Romish Company of the One Hundred Associates? And had they not gained, at the same time, a tenfold return of their money?

Meanwhile Quebec was in grave peril. The colony faced starvation. There were no vessels on which Champlain with his garrison and the missionaries could leave New France even had he so desired, and there were slight means of resisting the savage Iroquois. Yet with dogged courage Champlain accepted the situation, hoping that relief would come before the ice formed in the St Lawrence.

But no relief was there to be this year for the anxious watchers at Quebec. On reaching England Lalemant had regained his liberty, and had hastened to France. He found that Father Noyrot had a vessel fitted out with supplies for the Canadian mission, and decided to return to Canada with Noyrot on this vessel. But nature as well as man seemed to be battling against the Jesuits. As they neared the Gulf of St Lawrence a fierce gale arose, and the ship was driven out of its course and dashed to pieces on the rocky shores of Acadia near the island of Canseau. Fourteen of the passengers, including Noyrot and a lay brother, Louis Malot, were drowned. Lalemant escaped with

his life, and took passage on a trading vessel for France.

This ship, too, was wrecked, near San Sebastian in the Bay of Biscay, and again Lalemant narrowly escaped death.

Meanwhile the English Adventurers were full of enthusiasm over the achievement of the Kirkes. The work, however, was not yet finished. The French trading-posts in Acadia and on the St Lawrence must be utterly destroyed. By March 1629 a fleet much more powerful than the one of the previous year was ready for sea. It consisted of the Abigail, Admiral David Kirke, the William, Captain Lewis Kirke, the George, Captain Thomas Kirke, the Gervase, Captain Brewerton, two other ships, and three pinnaces. On the 25th of March it sailed from Gravesend, and on the 15th of June reached Gaspe Bay without mishap. All save two of the vessels were now sent to destroy the trading-posts on the shores of Acadia, while David Kirke, with the Abigail and a sister ship, sailed for Tadoussac, which was to be his headquarters during the summer. The raiders did their work and arrived at Tadoussac early in July. Kirke then detached the William and the George and sent them to Quebec under the pilotage of French traitors.

At Quebec during the winter the inhabitants had lived on pease, Indian corn, and eels which they obtained from

the natives; and when spring came all who had sufficient strength had gone to the forest to gather acorns and nourishing roots. The gunpowder was almost exhausted, and the dilapidated fort could not be held by its sixteen half-starved defenders. Accordingly Champlain sent the Recollet Daillon, who had a knowledge of the English language, to negotiate with the Kirkes the terms of capitulation; and Quebec surrendered without a shot being fired. For the time being perished the hopes of the indomitable Champlain, who for twenty-one years had wrought and fought and prayed that Quebec might become the bulwark of French power in America. On the 22nd of July the fleur-de-lis was hauled down from Fort St Louis to give place to the cross of St George. The officers of the garrison were treated with consideration and allowed to keep their arms, clothing, and any peltry which they possessed. To the missionaries, however, the Calvinistic victors were not so generous. The priests were permitted to keep only their robes and books.

The terms of surrender were ratified by David Kirke at Tadoussac on the 19th of August, and on the following day a hundred and fifty English soldiers took possession of the town and fort. Such of the inhabitants as did not elect to remain in the colony and all the missionaries

were marched on board the waiting vessels [Footnote:
There were in all eighty-five persons in the colony,
thirty of whom remained. The rest were taken prisoners
to England; these included the Jesuit fathers Ennemonde
Masse, Anne de Noue, and Jean de Brebeuf; the Recollet
fathers Joseph Le Caron and Joseph de la Roche de Daillon;
and several lay brothers of both orders.] and taken to
Tadoussac, where they remained for some weeks while the
English were making ready for the home voyage.

There were many Huguenots serving under the Kirkes, and
the Huguenots, as we have seen, were bitterly hostile to
the Jesuits. On the voyage to England Brebeuf, Noue, and
Masse had to bear insult and harsh treatment from men of
their own race, but of another faith. And they bore it
bravely, confident that God in His good time would restore
them to their chosen field of labour.

The vessels reached Plymouth on the 20th of November, to
learn that the capture of Quebec had taken place in time
of peace. The Convention of Susa had ended the war between
France and England on April 24, 1629; thus the achievement
of the Adventurers was wasted. Three years later, by the
Treaty of St Germain-en-Laye, the Adventurers were forced
not only to restore the posts captured in North America,

but to pay a sum to the French for the property seized at Quebec.

Towards the end of November the missionaries, both Recollets and Jesuits, left the English fleet at Dover roads, and proceeded to their various colleges in France, patiently to await the time when they should be permitted to return to Canada.

CHAPTER V

THE RETURN TO HURONIA

After the Treaty of St Germain-en-Laye, which restored to France all the posts in America won by the Adventurers of Canada, the French king took steps to repossess Quebec. But, by way of compensation to the Caens for their losses in the war, Emery de Caen was commissioned to take over the post from the Kirkes and hold it for one year, with trading rights. Accordingly, in April 1632, Caen sailed from Honfleur; and he carried a dispatch under the seal of Charles I, king of England, addressed to Lewis Kirke at Quebec, commanding him to surrender the captured fort.

On the 5th of July the few French inhabitants at Quebec broke out into wild cries of joy as they saw Caen's ship approaching under full sail, at its peak the white flag sprinkled with golden lilies; and when they learned that the vessel brought two Jesuit fathers, their hearts swelled with inexpressible rapture. During the three years of English possession the Catholics had been without priests, and they hungered for their accustomed forms of worship. The priests now arriving were Paul Le Jeune, the new superior-general, and Anne de Noue, with a lay brother, Gilbert Burel. They hastened ashore; and were followed by the inhabitants to the home of the widow Hebert, the only substantial residence in the colony, where, in the ceremony of the Mass, they celebrated the renewal of the Canadian mission.

Quebec was in a sad condition. The English, knowing of the negotiations for its return to the French, had left the ground uncultivated and the buildings in ruins. The missionaries found the residence of Notre-Dame-des-Anges plundered and partly destroyed; but they went to work cheerfully to restore it, and before autumn it was quite habitable. Meanwhile Le Jeune had begun his labours tentatively as a teacher. His pupils were an Indian lad

and a little negro, the latter a present from the English to Madame Hebert. The class grew larger; during the winter a score of children answered the call of Le Jeune's bell, and sat at his feet learning the Credo, the Ave, and the Paternoster, which he had translated into Algonquin rhymes. In order to learn the Indian language Le Jeune was himself a pupil, his teacher a Montagnais named Pierre, a worthless wretch who had been in France and had learned some French. Le Jeune passed the winter of 1632-33 in teaching, studying, and ministering to the inhabitants at the trading-post. Save for a short period, he had the companionship of Noue, a devoted missionary, eager to play his part in the field, but, as we have seen, without the necessary vigour of mind or body. Though Noue had failed in Huronia, he thought he might succeed on the St Lawrence. And in the autumn, just as the first snows were beginning to whiten the ground, when a band of friendly Montagnais, encamped near the residence, invited him to their wintering grounds, he bade farewell to Le Jeune and vanished with the Indians into the northern forest. But the rigours of the wigwams were too much for him, and after three weeks he returned to Notre-Dame-des-Anges in an exhausted condition.

In the meantime the Hundred Associates were getting ready

to enter into the enjoyment of their Canadian domain, but now without the hopeful ardour and exalted purpose which had characterized their first ill-fated expedition. The guiding hand in the revival of the colony, under the feudal suzerainty of Richelieu's company, was Champlain. He was appointed on March 1, 1633, lieutenant-general in New France, 'with jurisdiction throughout all the extent of the St Lawrence and other rivers.' Twenty-three days later he sailed from Dieppe with three armed ships, the St Pierre, the St Jean, and the Don de Dieu. These ships carried two hundred persons, among them the Jesuit fathers Jean de Brebeuf and Ennemond Masse. At Cape Breton they were joined by two more Jesuits, Antoine Daniel and Ambroise Davost, who had gone there the year before.

There were no Recollets in the company, for, greatly to their disappointment, the Recollets were now barred from the colony. For this the Jesuits have been unjustly blamed. It was, however, wholly due to the policy of the Hundred Associates. At one of their meetings Jean de Lauzon, the president, afterwards a governor of New France, formally protested against the return of the Recollets. The Associates desired to economize, and did not wish to support two religious orders in the colony; and so the mendicant Recollets were excluded.

The vessels appeared at Quebec on the 23rd of May, and landed their passengers amid shouts of welcome from the settlers, soldiers, and Indians. Presently Champlain's lieutenant, Duplessis-Bochart, on behalf of the Hundred Associates, received the keys of the fort and habitation from Emery de Caen; and at that moment ended the regime of the Huguenot traders in Canada. Thenceforth, whether for good or for evil, New France was to be Catholic.

During the English occupation the Indians had almost ceased to visit Quebec. At first the fickle savages had welcomed the invaders, for they ever favoured a winner, and had thronged about the fort, expecting presents galore from the strong people who had ousted the French. But instead of presents the English gave them only kicks and curses; and so they held aloof. Now, however, on hearing that Champlain had returned, the Indian dwellers along the Ottawa river and in Huronia flocked to the post.

Hardly more than two months after his arrival, a fleet of a hundred and forty canoes, with about seven hundred Indians, swept with the ebb tide to the base of the rock that frowned above the habitation and the dilapidated warehouses. Drawing their heavily laden craft ashore, the chiefs greeted Champlain and proceeded to set up

their camp-huts on the strand. Among them were many warriors, now grown old, who had been with him in the attack on the Iroquois in 1615. There were some, too, who had listened to the teaching of Brebeuf. For the eager missionaries this was an opportunity not to be lost; and, resolved to go up with the Hurons, who willingly assented, Brebeuf, Daniel, and Davost got ready for the journey to Huronia. On the eve of departure the three missionaries brought their packs to the strand, and lodged for the night in the traders' storehouse, hard by the Indian encampment. But they had an enemy abroad. All in this party were not Hurons; some were Ottawas from Allumette Island, under a one-eyed chief, Le Borgne. This wily redskin wished for trouble between the Hurons and the French, in order that his tribe might get a monopoly of the Ottawa route, and carry all the goods from the nations above down to the St Lawrence. At this time an Algonquin of La Petite Nation, a tribe living south of Allumette Island, was held at Quebec for murdering a Frenchman. His friends were seeking his release; but Champlain deemed his execution necessary as a lesson to the Indians. Le Borgne rose to the occasion. He went among the Hurons, urging them to refuse passage to the Jesuits, warning them that, since Champlain would not pardon the Algonquin, it would be dangerous to take the

black-robos with them. The angry tribesmen of the murderer would surely lay in wait for the canoes, the black-robos would be slain or made prisoners, and there would be war on the Hurons too. The argument was effective; Champlain would not release the prisoner; and the Jesuits were forced to return to their abode, while the Indians embarked and disappeared.

There were now six fathers at Notre-Dame-des-Anges. They kept incessantly active, improving their residence, cultivating the soil, studying the Indian languages, and ministering to the settlers and to the red men who had pitched their wigwams along the St Charles and the St Lawrence in the vicinity of Quebec. In spite of Noue's failure among the Montagnais, the courageous Le Jeune resolved personally to study the Indian problem at first hand; and in the autumn of 1633 he joined a company of redskins going to their hunting ground on the upper St John. During five months among these savages he suffered from 'cold, heat, smoke, and dogs,' and bore in silence the foul language of a medicine-man who made the missionary's person and teachings subjects of mirth. At times, too, he was on the verge of death from hunger. Early in the spring he returned to Quebec, after having narrowly escaped drowning as he Crossed the ice-laden St

Lawrence in a frail canoe. He had made no converts; but he had gained valuable experience. It was now more evident than ever that among the roving Algonquins the mission could make little progress.

In 1634 the Hurons visited the colony in small numbers, for Iroquois scalping parties haunted the trails, and a pestilence had played havoc in the Huron villages. Those who came to trade this year gathered at Three Rivers; and thither went Brebeuf, Daniel, and Davost to seek once more a passage to Huronia. The Indians at first stolidly refused to take them; but at length, after a liberal distribution of presents, the three priests and four engages were permitted to embark, each priest in a separate canoe. They had the usual rough experiences. Davost and Daniel, who had no acquaintance with the Huron language, fared worse than Brebeuf. Davost was abandoned among the Ottawas of Allumette Island, his baggage plundered and his books and papers thrown into the river. Daniel, too, was deserted by his savage conductors. Both, however, found means to continue the journey. When Brebeuf reached Otouacha, on the 5th of August, his Indian guides, in haste to get to their villages, suddenly vanished into the forest. But he knew the spot well; Toanche, his old mission, was but a short distance away. Thither he hurried,

only to find the village in ruins. Nothing remained of the cabin in which he had spent three years but the charred poles of the framework. A well-worn path leading through the forest told him that a village could not be far distant, and he followed this trail till he came to a cluster of cabins. This was a new village, Teandeouiata, to which the inhabitants of his old Toanche had moved. It was twilight as the Indians caught sight of the stalwart, black-robed figure emerging from the forest, and the shout went up, 'Echon has come again!' Presently all the inhabitants were about him shouting and gesticulating for joy.

Daniel and Davost arrived during the month, emaciated and exhausted, but rejoicing. The missionaries found shelter in the spacious cabin of a hospitable Huron, Awandoay, where they remained until the 19th of September. Meanwhile they had selected the village of Ihonatiria, a short distance away near the northern extremity of the peninsula, as a centre for the mission. There a cabin was quickly erected, the men of the town of Oenrio vying with the men of Teandeouiata in the task. This residence, called by Brebeuf St Joseph, was thirty-five feet long and twenty wide and contained a storehouse, a living-room and school, and a chapel.

For three years this humble abode was to be the headquarters of the missionaries in Huronia. During the first year of the mission all went smoothly. To the Indians the fathers were medicine-men of extraordinary powers; moreover, the hired men who came with them had arquebuses that would be valuable in case of attack in force by the Iroquois.

Objects which the missionaries possessed inspired awe in the savages; a handmill for grinding corn, a clock, a magnifying lens, and a picture of the Last Judgment were supposed to be okies of the white man. For a time eager audiences crowded the little cabin. Few converts were made, however; for the present the savages were too firmly wedded to their customs and superstitions to accept the new okies. Unfortunately, in 1635, a drought smote the land, and the medicine-men used this calamity to discredit their rivals the black-robos. According to these fakirs, it was the red cross on the Jesuit chapel which frightened away the bird of thunder and caused the drought. Brebeuf, to disarm suspicion, had the cross painted white; yet the thunder-bird still held aloof, and the incantations and drummings of the sorcerers availed not to bring rain. Brebeuf then advised the Indians to try the effect of an appeal to his God. In despair they consented. A procession was formed and the priests said Masses and prayers. The

result was dramatic. Almost immediately a sudden refreshing rain deluged the ground; the crops were saved and the medicine-men humiliated. Still, no perceptible religious progress was made. Though children came to the residence to be instructed by the black-robos, they were attracted more by the 'beads, raisins, and prunes' which they received as inducements to come back than by the lessons in Christian truth. For the most part the elders listened attentively to the missionaries, but to the question of laying aside their superstitions and accepting Christianity they replied: 'It is good for the French; but we are another people, with different customs.'

Winter was the season of greatest trial. The cabins, crowded to suffocation, were made the scenes of savage mirth and feasting. The Hurons were inveterate gamblers; sometimes village would challenge village; and, as the game progressed, night would be made hideous with the beating of drums and the hilarious shouts of the spectators. Feasts were frequent, since any occasion afforded an excuse for one, and all feasts were accompanied by gluttony and uproar. The Dream Feast was a maniacal performance. It was agreed upon in a solemn council of the chiefs and was made the occasion of great licence. The guests would rush about the village feigning madness, scattering

fire-brands, shouting, leaping, smiting with impunity any they encountered. Each one would seek some object which he pretended to have learned about in a dream. Only when this object was found would calmness follow; if it was not found, there would be deepest despair. Feasts, too, were prescribed by the medicine-men as cures for sickness; the healthy, not the sick, would take the medicine, and would take it till they were gorged. To leave a scrap of food on their platters might mean the death of the patient.

Only one of the social customs of the Hurons had any real religious significance. Every ten or twelve years the great Feast of the Dead took place. It was the custom of the Hurons either to place the dead in the earth, covering them with rude huts, or, more commonly, on elevated platforms. The bodies rested till the allotted time for final interment came round. Then at some central point an immense pit would be dug as a common grave. In 1636 a Feast of the Dead was held at Ossossane. To this place, from the various villages of the Bear clan, Indians came trooping, wailing mournful funeral songs as they bore the recently dead on litters, or the carefully prepared bones of their departed relatives in parcels slung over their shoulders. All converged on the village of Ossossane,

where a pit ten feet deep by thirty feet wide had been dug. There on scaffolds about the pit they placed the bodies and bones, carefully wrapped in furs and covered with bark. The assembled mourners then gave themselves up to feasting and games, as a prelude to the final act of this drama of death. They lined the pit with costly furs and in the centre placed kettles, household goods, and weapons for the chase, all these, like the bodies and bones, supposed to be indwelt by spirits. They laid the dead bodies in rows on the floor of the pit, and threw the bundles of bones to Indians stationed within, who arranged the remains in their proper places.

The Jesuits were witnesses of this weird ceremony. They saw the naked Indians going about their task in the pit in the glare of torches, like veritable imps of hell. It was a discouraging scene. But a greater trial than the Feast of the Dead was in store for them. By a pestilence, a severe form of dysentery, Ihonatiria was almost denuded of its population. In consequence the priests, who had now been reinforced by the arrival of Fathers Francois Le Mercier, Pierre Pijart, Pierre Chastelain, Isaac Jogues, and Charles Garnier, had to seek a more populous centre as headquarters for their mission in Huronia. The chiefs of Oenrio invited the Jesuits to their village.

But Brebeuf's demands were heavy. They should believe in God; keep His commandments; abjure their faith in dreams; take one wife and be true to her; renounce their assemblies of debauchery; eat no human flesh; never give feasts to demons; and make a vow that if God would deliver them from the pest they would build a chapel to offer Him thanksgiving and praise. They were ready to make the vow regarding the chapel, but the other conditions were too severe--the pest was preferable. And so the Jesuits turned to Ossossane, where the people agreed to accept these conditions.

Formerly Ossossane had been situated on an elevated piece of ground on the shore of Nottawasaga Bay; but the village had been moved inland and, under the direction of the French, a rectangular wall of posts ten or twelve feet high had been built around it. At opposite angles of the wall two towers guarded the sides. A platform extended round the entire wall, from which the defenders could hurl stones on the heads of an attacking party, or could pour water to extinguish the blaze if an enemy succeeded in setting fire to the palisades.

Here the Jesuits were to live for two years. Outside the walls of the town a commodious cabin seventy feet

long was built for them; and on June 5, 1637, in the part of the cabin consecrated as a chapel, Father Pijart celebrated Mass. The residence was named La Conception de Notre Dame. For a wilderness church it was a marvel. At the entrance were green boughs adorned with tinsel; pictures hung on the walls; crucifixes, vessels, and ornaments of shining metal ornamented the chapel. From far and near Indians flocked to see this wondrous edifice. Best of all, a leading chief offered himself for baptism. The future looked promising; the Indians showed the fathers 'much affection' and a rich harvest of souls seemed about to be garnered.

But all this was to be changed. A hunch-backed, ogre-like medicine-man who claimed to be of miraculous birth came to Ossossane. The pest was still raging, and he laid the blame for it at the door of the missionaries. According to him their prayers and litanies were charms and incantations; their pictures were evil okies. It was, he declared, by the influence of these and other agencies that they had spread the pestilence among the Hurons. Some of the older and most influential Hurons joined with the sorcerer in his denunciation of the priests, and soon the inhabitants of the whole village turned against them. Squaws shut the doors of the cabins at their approach,

young braves threatened them with death, children followed them about hooting and pelting them with sticks and stones. At last the priests were summoned to a public council and openly accused of being the cause of the misfortunes that had recently visited the Huron people. Brebeuf replied to the accusations with unflinching courage, denying the charges, and showing their absurdity. He then boldly addressed his audience on the truths of Christianity, held before them the awful future that awaited those who refused to obey the words of Christ, and declared that the pest was a punishment for their evil lives. The council was deeply impressed by his courage and evident sincerity, and for the time being the lives of the missionaries were in no danger. But they knew that at any moment the blow might fall, and none ever went abroad without the feeling that a tomahawk might descend on his unguarded head.

On October 28, 1637, Brebeuf prepared, as he thought, a farewell letter to his friends at Quebec. He and the four other missionaries at Ossossane signed it and sent it to the superior-general Le Jeune. It opens with the words: 'We are perhaps on the point of shedding our blood and sacrificing our lives in the service of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.' There is no note of fear in this

letter. 'If,' it runs, 'you should hear that God has crowned our labours, or rather our desires, with martyrdom, return thanks to Him, for it is for Him we wish to live and die.' Such was the spirit of these bearers of the Cross. Their humility, courage, and disinterestedness kept them for the present from 'the crown of martyrdom.' But the hunch-backed sorcerer continued his agitation and the storm once more broke over their heads. To show the Indians that he knew their hearts, and that he could meet death with the stoical courage of one of their own chiefs, Brebeuf summoned them to a *festin d'adieu* farewell feast--and while his guests, in ominous silence, ate the portions set before them he addressed them in burning words. He was about to die, but before he departed this life he would warn them of the life to come. Their resistance to Christ's message, their abuse and persecution of Christ's messengers, would have to be atoned for in eternity. His actions and words took effect.

Though the sorcerer still schemed, the Jesuits went about their labours unscathed, preaching to the unregenerate, visiting and caring for the sick, and baptizing the dying.

For a year after the establishing of the mission of La Conception at Ossossane three fathers--Pierre Chastelain,

Pierre Pijart, and Isaac Jogues--ministered to the remnant of the Hurons at Ihonatiria. But the pest was still raging, and by the spring of 1638 Ihonatiria was little more than a village of empty wigwams. It was useless to remain longer at this spot, and the missionaries looked about for another field for their energies. The town of Teanaostaiaie, the largest town of the clan of the Cord, about fifteen miles north of the present town of Barrie, seemed suitable for a central mission. Brebeuf visited the place, talked with the inhabitants, met the council of the nation, and won its consent to establish a residence. In June the mission of St Joseph was moved to Teanaostaiaie. Before the end of the summer Jerome Lalemant, who for the next eight years was to be the superior of the Huron mission, Simon Le Moyne, and Francois du Peron arrived in Huronia. There was now a new distribution of the mission forces, five priests under Lalemant's immediate leadership taking up their abode at Ossossane, while three in charge of Brebeuf settled at Teanaostaiaie.

So far Brebeuf had been the recognized leader in Huronia. He had been nobly supported by his brother priests and his hired men. The residences at both Ihonatiria and Ossossane had been kept well supplied with food, even better than many of the Indian households. Game was scarce

in Huronia, but the fathers had among their engages an expert hunter, Francois Petit-Pre, ever roaming the forest and the shores in search of game to give variety to their table. Robert Le Coq, a devoted engage, later a donne, [Footnote: An unpaid, voluntary assistant whose only remuneration was food and clothing, care during illness, and support in old age.] was their 'negotiator' or business man. It was Le Coq who made the yearly trips to Quebec for supplies, and who with infinite labour brought many heavy burdens over the difficult trails. Brebeuf had proved himself essentially an enthusiast for souls, a mystic, a spirit craving the crown of martyrdom, yet withal a man of great tact, and a powerful exemplar to his fellow-priests. Lalemant, while lacking Brebeuf's dominating enthusiasm, was a more practical man, with great organizing ability. After viewing the wide and dangerous field to be administered, the new superior decided to concentrate the separate missions into one stronghold of the faith. The site he chose was remote from any of the centres of Indian population. It was on the eastern bank of the river Wye between Mud Lake and Matchedash Bay. Here the missionaries built a strong rectangular fort with walls of stone surmounted by palisades and with bastions at each corner. The interior buildings--a chapel, a hospital, and dwellings for the

missionaries and the engages--although of wood, were supported on foundations of stone and cement.

The new mission-house they named Ste Marie; and from this central station the missionaries went forth in pairs to the farthest parts of Huronia and beyond. The missions to the Petuns and the Neutrals, however, ended in failure. The Petuns hailed Garnier and Jogues as the Famine and the Pest and the priests barely escaped with their lives. In the following year (1640), when Brebeuf and Chaumonot went among the Neutrals, they found Huron emissaries there inciting the Neutrals to kill the priests. These Hurons, while themselves fearing to murder the powerful allies of the French, as they regarded the black-robés, desired that the Neutrals should put them to death. But no such tragedy found place as yet. After visiting nineteen towns, meeting everywhere maledictions and threats, Brebeuf and Chaumonot returned to Ste Marie.

The good work went on, notwithstanding trials and reverses. The story of the Cross was being carried even to the Algonquins and Nipissings of the upper Ottawa and Georgian Bay. At Ste Marie neophytes gathered in numbers, and here there were no medicine-men, 'satellites of Satan,' to seduce them from their vows. But, just at the time when

the harvest seemed richest in promise, a cloud appeared on the horizon--a forerunner of darker clouds, heavy with calamity, and of the storm which was to bring destruction to the Huron people.

Meanwhile, how fared the mission at Quebec? Champlain had died on Christmas Day 1635, and the Jesuits had lost a staunch friend and never-failing protector. His successor, however, was Charles Huault de Montmagny, a knight of Malta, a man of devout character, thoroughly in sympathy with the missions. Under Montmagny's rule New France became as austere as Puritan New England.

The Relations of the Jesuits, sent yearly to France and published and widely read, had roused intense enthusiasm among wealthy and pious men and women. Thus Noel Brulart, Chevalier de Sillery, was moved to take an interest in the Canadian mission and to endow a home for Christian Indians. Le Jeune chose a site on the bank of the St Lawrence, four miles above Quebec; and in 1637 the Sillery establishment was erected there, consisting of a chapel, a mission-house, and an infirmary, all within strong palisades.

About the same time two wealthy enthusiasts, the Duchesse

d'Aiguillon, a niece of Cardinal Richelieu, and Madame de la Peltrie, were likewise inspired by the Relations to undertake charitable work in New France. These ladies founded, respectively, the Hotel-Dieu of Quebec and the Ursuline Convent. In 1639 Madame de la Peltrie, who had given herself as well as her purse to the work, arrived in Quebec, accompanied by Mother Marie de l'Incarnation and two other Ursulines and three Augustinian nuns. The Ursulines at once began their labours as teachers with six Indian pupils. But a plague of small-pox was raging in the colony, and for the first year or two after their arrival these heroic women had to aid the sisters of the Hotel-Dieu in fighting the pest.

The Jesuits themselves were busy with the education of the Indians and had already established a college and seminary for the instruction of young converts. The colony, however, was not growing. The Hundred Associates had not carried out the terms of their charter. There were less than four hundred settlers in the whole of New France, and only some three hundred soldiers to guard the settlements from attack. Canada as yet was little more than a mission; and such it was to remain for another twenty and more years.

CHAPTER VI

THE MARTYRS

We have observed that the Hurons were at war with the Five Nations and that Iroquois scalping parties haunted the river routes and the trails to waylay Huron canoemen and cut off hunters and stragglers from their villages.

When or how the feud began, between the Iroquois on the one side and the Hurons and Algonquins on the other, no man can tell. It antedated Champlain; and, as we have seen, he had involved the French in it. There were, no doubt, many bloody encounters of which history furnishes no record. At first the warriors had fought on equal terms, the weapons of all being the bow and arrow, the tomahawk, the knife, and the war-club. But now the Iroquois had firearms, procured from the Dutch of the Hudson, and were skilled in the use of the musket, which gave them a great advantage over their Huron and Algonquin foes.

On the south-east frontier of Huronia, about four miles from Orillia, stood a town of the clan of the Rock, Contarea, a 'main bulwark of the country.' The inhabitants

were pagans who had resisted the missionaries, and refused them permission to build a chapel, not even deigning to listen to their appeals. In the early summer of 1642 the people of Contarea were living in fancied security; and when runners brought word that in the forests to the east a large force of Iroquois were encamped, the Contarean warriors felt confident that, from behind their strong palisades, they could resist any attack. No Iroquois appeared; and, believing the rumour false, many of the warriors left the town for the accustomed hunting and fishing grounds. Suddenly, early on a June morning, the sleepy guards were roused by savage yells. The Iroquois were upon them. The alarm rang out; the towers were manned, and the palisades lined with defenders. But in vain. Arrows and bullets swept towers and palisades, and through breaches made in the walls in rushed a horde of bloodthirsty demons. In a few minutes all was over; the town became a shambles; young and old fell beneath the tomahawks of the infuriated invaders. Then the torch! And the Iroquois hied them back in triumph to their homes by the Mohawk, exulting in this first effective blow at the enemy in his own country.

When news arrived of the destruction of Contarea, there was wild alarm in the mission towns. But it was no part

of the Iroquois plan to attack at once the other Huron strongholds. Huronia could wait until the tribes of the St Lawrence and the Ottawa, allies of the Hurons, should be destroyed. Then the Five Nations could concentrate their forces on the Hurons.

And so six years passed over the Jesuits in the mission-fields. Scalping parties occasionally haunted the outskirts of the villages where they were stationed.

The Iroquois frequently attacked the annual fleet of canoes on its journey to Quebec, and on several occasions captured and carried off priests and their assistants.

But during these years no large body of Iroquois invaded Huronia. The insatiable warriors of the Five Nations were busy devastating the St Lawrence and the Ottawa, pressing the tribes back and ever back, until scarcely a wigwam could be seen between Ville Marie and Lake Nipissing.

The Algonquins who had not fallen had left their villages and had sought safety on the bleak shores and islands of Georgian Bay, or among the Hurons.

The mission was prospering under the guidance of Paul Ragueneau, who in 1645 succeeded Lalemant as superior, when the latter journeyed to Quebec to take over the office of superior-general of the Canada mission. Ste

Marie, a wilderness Mecca of the faith, entertained yearly thousands of Indians, many of whom professed Christianity. On one occasion seven hundred Indians sought this sanctuary within a fortnight, and to each of these the fathers from their abundant stores gave two meals. About the walls fields of corn, beans, pumpkins, and wheat spread fair to the eye. Within the enclosure all was activity. Ambroise Brouet was busy in his kitchen; Louis Gauber was at his forge; Pierre Masson, when not occupied at his tailor's bench, was hard at work in the garden, the pride of the mission; Christophe Regnaut and Jacques Levrier were mending or fashioning shoes and moccasins; Joseph Molere prepared potions for the sick and had charge of the laundry; and Charles Boivin, the master-builder, superintended the erection of new buildings or the strengthening and improving of those already built. The appearance of permanency about the place was enhanced by the fowls, pigs, and cattle. There were two cows and two bulls, which had been brought with incredible toil from Quebec.

The teaching and example of the fathers were winning a way to the hearts of the Indians. In 1648 eleven or twelve mission stations stood throughout Huronia, among the Algonquins, and among the Petuns, now settled in the Blue

Hills south of Nottawasaga Bay. Seven of these stations had chapels and in six it had been found necessary to establish residences. In some of the villages, such as Ossossane, the Christians outnumbered the pagans. The Christian Hurons gave active help to the fathers in the work of the mission, some among their own people, and others among the Petuns and the Neutrals. The chapels had bells--on some discarded kettles served this purpose--to call the flocks to worship; and crosses studded the land. Huronia was in a fair way of being completely won; and the missionaries were already looking to the unexplored regions round and beyond Lake Superior, and even to the land of the Iroquois. Then, with the suddenness of a volcanic eruption, their flocks were scattered and their dearest hopes crushed.

In 1647 there was no communication between Ste Marie and Quebec. Owing to the danger from Iroquois along the route, the annual canoe-fleet did not go down, although a small party of Hurons, it seems, went as far as Ville Marie. The necessities of the mission were, however, urgent, and in the spring of the following year Father Bressani set out with a strong contingent of two hundred and fifty Huron warriors, fully half of whom were Christians. No sooner had this expedition begun its descent of the Ottawa

than an Iroquois war-party, which had wintered near Lake Nipissing, stole southward through the forests towards Huronia.

Contarea had been destroyed. The dangerous position of St Jean-Baptiste, situated near the site of Cahiague on Lake Simcoe, whence Champlain had set out against the Iroquois in 1615, had led the Jesuits to abandon it. St Joseph or Teanaostaiaie, with about two thousand inhabitants, was therefore the frontier town on the south-east of Huronia. Father Daniel, in charge of this station, had just returned from his annual eight-day retreat at Ste Marie. For four years he had laboured in this mission; and, though his flock had been a stiff-necked one, his work had brought its reward. On the 4th of July his little chapel was crowded for the celebration of early Mass, and as he gazed at the congregation of his converts his spirit rejoiced within him. He had just finished the service, when shrill through the morning air rang the cry: 'The Iroquois! The Iroquois!' Rushing out he saw the foe already hacking at the palisades and many of the defenders falling beneath a storm of arrows and bullets. His first thought for his flock, he hurried back into the chapel, beseeching them to save themselves. They pressed about him, praying for baptism and for absolution;

and, as they held to him appealing hands, he dipped his handkerchief in the font and baptized the crowd by aspersion. Then he boldly strode to the door of his chapel and faced the enemy. For a moment the savage fiends hesitated before the stern-eyed priest standing in his vestments, protecting, as it seemed, the flock that cowered behind him; but only for a moment. Yelling defiance at the white medicine-man, they directed their weapons against him; and this dauntless soldier of the Cross received the crown of martyrdom which he had prayed might be his. His slayers fell upon his body, stripped it of clothing, mutilated it, and cast it into the now flaming chapel, a fitting funeral pyre for the first martyr of the Huron mission. The entire village was given to the flames, and the smoke of the burning cabins and palisades rolled over the forest. A small village not far away, on the trail to Ossossane, shared the same fate. The slaughter glutted the ferocity of the Iroquois for the time being; and, with some seven hundred prisoners, they stole back to their villages south of Lake Ontario.

After this calamity the pall of a great fear hung over the Hurons. Paralysed and inert, the warriors took no steps to defend the country against the Iroquois peril. In spite of the exhortations of the Jesuits, they lay

idle in their wigwams or hunted in the forest, dejectedly awaiting their doom.

An Iroquois war-party twelve hundred strong spent the winter of 1648-49 on the upper Ottawa; and as the snows began to melt under the thaws of spring these insatiable slayers of men directed their steps towards Huronia. The frontier village on the east was now St Ignace, on the west of the Sturgeon river, about seven miles from Ste Marie. It was strongly fortified and formed a part of a mission of the same name, under the care of Brebeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant, a nephew of Jerome Lalemant. About a league distant, midway to Ste Marie, stood St Louis, another town of the mission, where the two fathers lived. On the 16th of March the inhabitants of St Ignace had no thought of impending disaster. The Iroquois might be on the war-path, but they would not come while yet ice held the rivers and snow lay in the forests. But that morning, just as the horizon began to glow with the first colours of the dawn, the sleeping Hurons woke to the sound of the dreaded war-whoop. The Iroquois devils had breached the walls. Three Hurons escaped, dashed along the forest trail to St Louis, roused the village, and then fled for Ste Marie, followed by the women and children and those too feeble to fight. There were in St Louis

only about eighty warriors, but, not knowing the strength of the invaders, they determined to fight. The Hurons begged Brebeuf and Lalemant to fly to Ste Marie; but they refused to stir. In the hour of danger and death they must remain with their flock, to sustain the warriors in the battle and to give the last rites of the Church to the wounded and dying.

Having made short work of St Ignace, the Iroquois came battering at the walls of St Louis before sunrise. The Hurons resisted stubbornly; but the assailants outnumbered them ten to one, and soon hacked a way through the palisades and captured all the defenders remaining alive, among them Brebeuf and Lalemant.

The Iroquois bound Brebeuf and Lalemant and led them back to St Ignace, beating them as they went. There they stripped the two priests and tied them to stakes. Brebeuf knew that his hour had come. Him the savages made the special object of their diabolical cruelty. And, standing at the stake amid his yelling tormentors, he bequeathed to the world an example of fortitude sublime, unsurpassed, and unsurpassable. Neither by look nor cry nor movement did he give sign of the agony he was suffering. To the reviling and abuse of the fiends he replied with words

warning them of the judgment to come. They poured boiling water on his head in derision of baptism; they hung red-hot axes about his naked shoulders; they made a belt of pitch and resin and placed it about his body and set it on fire. By every conceivable means the red devils strove to force him to cry for mercy. But not a sound of pain could they wring from him. At last, after four hours of this torture, a chief cut out his heart, and the noble servant of God quitted the scene of his earthly labours.

Lalemant, a man of gentle, refined character, as delicate as Brebeuf was robust, also endured the torture. But the savages administered it to him with a refinement of cruelty, and kept him alive for fourteen hours. Then at last he, too, entered into his rest.

Ten years before Brebeuf had made a vow to Christ: 'Never to shrink from martyrdom if, in Your mercy, You deem me worthy of so great a privilege. Henceforth, I will never avoid any opportunity that presents itself of dying for You, but will accept martyrdom with delight, provided that, by so doing, I can add to Your glory. From this day, my Lord Jesus Christ, I cheerfully yield unto You my life, with the hope that You will grant me the grace to die for You, since You have deigned to die for me.'

Grant me, O Lord, so to live, that You may deem me worthy
to die a martyr's death Thus my Lord, I take Your chalice,
and call upon Your name. Jesu! Jesu! Jesu!' How nobly
this vow was kept.

CHAPTER VII

THE DISPERSION OF THE HURONS

Meanwhile at Ste Marie Ragueneau and his companions
learned from Huron fugitives of the fate of their comrades;
and waited, hourly expecting to be attacked. The priests
were attended by about twoscore armed Frenchmen. All day
and all night the anxious fathers prayed and stood on
guard. In the morning three hundred Huron warriors came
to their relief, bringing the welcome news that the Hurons
were assembling in force to give battle to the invaders.
These Hurons were just in time to fall in with a party
of Iroquois, already on the way to Ste Marie. An encounter
in the woods followed. At first some of the Hurons were
driven back; but straight-away others of their band rushed
to the rescue; and the Iroquois in turn ran for shelter
behind the shattered palisades of St Louis. The Hurons

followed, and finally put the enemy to rout and remained in possession of the place.

Now followed an Indian battle of almost unparalleled ferocity. Never did Huron warriors fight better than in this conflict at the death-hour of their nation. Against the Hurons within the palisades came the Iroquois in force from St Ignace. All day long, in and about the walls of St Louis, the battle raged; and when night fell only twenty wounded and helpless Hurons remained to continue the resistance. In the gathering darkness the Iroquois rushed in and with tomahawk and knife dispatched the remnant of the band.

But the Iroquois had no mind for further fighting, and did not attack Ste Marie. They mustered their Huron captives--old men, women, and children--tied them to stakes in the cabins of St Ignace, and set fire to the village. And, after being entertained to their satisfaction by the cries of agony which arose from their victims in the blazing cabins, they made their way southward through the forests of Huronia and disappeared.

Panic reigned throughout Huronia. After burning fifteen villages, lest they should serve as a shelter for the

Iroquois, the Hurons scattered far and wide. Some fled to Ste Marie, some toiled through the snows of spring to the villages of the Petuns, some fled to the Neutrals and Eries, some to the Algonquin tribes of the north and west, and some even sought adoption among the Iroquois. Ste Marie stood alone, like a shepherd without sheep: mission villages, chapels, residences, flocks--all were gone. The work of over twenty years was destroyed. Sick at heart, Ragueneau looked about him for a new situation, a spot that might serve as a centre for his band of devoted missionaries as they toiled among the wanderers by lake and river and in the depths of the northern forest.

He first thought of Isle Ste Marie (Manitoulin Island) as the safest place for the headquarters of a new mission, but finally decided to go to Isle St Joseph (Christian Island), just off Huronia to the north. There, on the bay that indents the south-east corner of the island, he directed that land should be cleared for the building. The work of evacuating Ste Marie began early in May, and on the 15th of the month the buildings were set on fire. The valuables of the mission were placed in a large boat and on rafts; and, with heavy hearts, the fathers and their helpers went aboard for the journey to their new

home twenty miles away.

The new Ste Marie which the Jesuits built on Isle St Joseph was in the nature of a strong fort. Its walls were of stone and cement, fourteen feet high and loopholed. At each corner there was a protecting bastion, and the entire structure was surrounded by a deep moat. It was practically impregnable against Indian attack, for it could not be undermined, set on fire, or taken by assault. A handful of men could hold it against a host of Iroquois.

About the sheltering walls of Ste Marie the Indians gathered, to the number of seven or eight thousand by the autumn of 1649. Here the missionaries continued the good work. The only outposts now were among the Algonquins along the shore of Georgian Bay, and the Petun missions of St Mathias, St Matthieu, and St Jean. But the Petuns were presently to share the fate of the Hurons; and Garnier and Chabanel, who were stationed at St Jean, were to perish as had Daniel, Brebeuf, and Lalemant.

During the autumn Ragueneau learned that a large body of Iroquois were working their way westward towards St Jean. He sent runners to the threatened town, and ordered Chabanel to return to Ste Marie and warned Garnier to be

on his guard. On the 5th of December Chabanel set out for Ste Marie with some Petun Hurons, and Garnier was left alone at St Jean. Two days later, while the warriors were out searching for their elusive foes, a band of Senecas and Mohawks swept upon the town, broke through the defences, and proceeded to butcher the inhabitants. Garnier fell with his flock. In the thick of the slaughter, while baptizing and absolving the dying, he was smitten down with three bullet wounds and his cassock torn from his body. As he lay in agony the moans of a wounded Petun near by drew his attention. Though spent with loss of blood, though his brain reeled with the weakness of approaching death, he dragged himself to his wounded red brother, gave him absolution, and then fell to the ground in a faint. On recovering from his swoon he saw another dying convert near by and strove to reach his side, but an Iroquois rushed upon him and ended his life with a tomahawk.

In a sense Chabanel was less fortunate than Garnier. On the day following the massacre of St Jean he was hastening along the well-beaten trail towards Ste Marie, when the sound of Iroquois war-cries in the distance alarmed his guides, and all deserted him save one. This one did worse, for he slew the priest and cast his body into the

Nottawasaga river. This murderer, an apostate Huron, afterwards confessed the crime, declaring that he had committed it because nothing but misfortune had befallen him ever since he and his family had embraced Christianity.

For some months after the death of Garnier and Chabanel the Jesuits maintained the mission of St Mathias among the Petuns in the Blue Hills. Here Father Adrien Greslon laboured until January 1650, and Father Leonard Garreau until the following spring. Garreau was then recalled, leaving not a missionary on the mainland in the Huron or the Petun country.

The French and Indians on Isle St Joseph, though safe from attack, were really prisoners on the island. Mohawks and Senecas remained in the forests near by, ready to pounce on any who ventured to the mainland. When winter bridged with ice the channel between the island and the main shore, it was necessary for the soldiers of the mission to stand incessantly on guard. And now another enemy than the Iroquois stalked among the fugitives. The fathers had abundant food for themselves and their assistants; but the Hurons, in their hurried flight, had made no provision for the winter. The famishing hordes subsisted on acorns and roots, and even greedily devoured

the dead bodies of dogs and foxes. Disease joined forces with famine, and by spring fully half the Hurons at Ste Marie had perished. Some fishing and hunting parties left the island in search of food, but few returned.

It soon appeared that for the Hurons to remain on the island meant extinction. Two of the leading chiefs waited on Father Ragueneau and begged him to move the remnant of their people to Quebec, where under the sheltering walls of the fortress they might keep together as a people. It was a bitter draught for the Jesuits; but there was no other course. They made ready for the migration; and on the 10th of June (1650) the thirteen priests and four lay brothers of the mission, with their donnes, hired men, and soldiers, in all sixty French, and about three hundred Hurons, entered canoes and headed for the French River. On their way down the Ottawa they met Father Bressani, who had gone to Quebec in the previous autumn for supplies, and who now joined the retreating party. And on the 28th of July, after a journey of fifty days, all arrived safely at the capital of New France.

[Footnote: For a time the Hurons encamped in the vicinity of the Hotel-Dieu. In the spring of 1651 they moved to the island of Orleans. Five years later their settlement

was raided by Mohawks and seventy-one were killed or taken prisoner. The island was abandoned and shelter sought in Quebec under the guns of Fort St Louis, and here they remained until 1668, when they removed to Beauport. In the following year they were placed at Notre-Dame-de-Foy, about four miles from Quebec. In 1673 a site affording more land was given them on the St Charles river about nine miles from the fortress. Here at Old Lorette a chapel was built for them and here they remained for twenty-four years. In 1697 they moved to New Lorette--Jeune Lorette--in the seigneurie of St Michel, and at this place, by the rapids of the St Charles, four or five hundred of this once numerous tribe may still be found.]

The war-lust of the Five Nations remained still unsatiated. They continued to harass the Petuns, who finally fled in terror, most of them to Mackinaw Island. Still in dread of the Iroquois, they moved thence to the western end of Lake Superior; but here they came into conflict with the Sioux, and had to migrate once more. A band of them finally moved to Detroit and Sandusky, where, under the name of Wyandots, we find them figuring in history at a later period. The Iroquois then found occasion for quarrels with the Neutrals, the Eries, and the Andastes; and soon

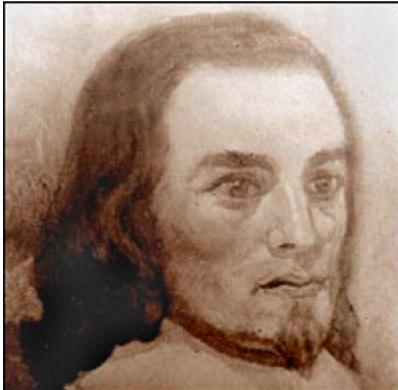
practically all the Indian tribes from the shores of Maine to the Mississippi and as far south as the Carolinas were under tribute to the Five Nations. Only the Algonquin tribes of Michigan and Wisconsin and the tribes of the far north had not suffered from these bloodthirsty conquerors.

The Huron mission was ended. For a quarter of a century the Jesuits had struggled to build up a spiritual empire among the heathen of North America, but, to all appearances, they had struggled in vain. In all twenty-five fathers had toiled in Huronia. Of these, as we have seen, four had been murdered by the Iroquois and one by an apostate Huron. Nor was this the whole story of martyrdom. Six years after the dispersion Leonard Garreau was to die by an Iroquois bullet while journeying up the Lake of Two Mountains on his way to the Algonquin missions of the

Sir David Kirke and the Newfoundland Plantation

David Kirke (ca. 1597 - 1654) had had an adventurous career before his days in Newfoundland. When war broke out between England and France in 1627, Kirke was commissioned by King Charles I to attack the French in Canada. With his brothers, Kirke made two successful expeditions, culminating in the surrender of Québec in July 1629. He remained in Canada until 1632 and was knighted the next year.

At some time during this period he must have visited Newfoundland, because in 1635 he wrote a description of the island. Two years later, Charles I made a "Grant of Newfoundland" to Kirke, the Marquis of Hamilton, and the earls of Pembroke and Holland. The prior right of George Calvert's descendants was set aside because the family had allegedly abandoned Ferryland, and Charles I tacitly accepted Kirke's appropriation of the settlement.



David Kirke, 1597-1654.

Kirke wrote a description of Newfoundland in 1635.

Courtesy of the Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives (MF231- 411), St. John's, Newfoundland. Image modified by Wendy Churchill, 1999.

[Larger Version](#) (34 kb)

However, this was not a grant of property, but of a commercial monopoly. The patentees - known as the Company of Adventurers to Newfoundland - were to have "Power to admit Merchants into their Partnership" and rights to "the sole trade of the Newfoundland, the Fishing excepted". The French and Dutch would not be excluded from fishing or the transport of fish to the Mediterranean, but discouraged by a tax of five percent on fish. This would enable the West Country merchants to monopolize fishing, while the patentees controlled the sack or cargo trade in fish. A London business run by Sir David's brothers John and James (Kirke, Barkeley and Company) was the commercial agent of the patentees from the beginning. Their interest in the Newfoundland Plantation resulted from a prior interest in the fish trade, rather than the other way around. David Kirke's family became the original Newfoundland fish merchants, supported by dependent fisher folk who traded the fish they caught for the goods the merchant supplied.

What David Kirke appropriated at Ferryland from Sir George Calvert went beyond physical infrastructure. Part of what the Kirkes co-opted was a human infrastructure bridging the Atlantic. Ferryland had close connections with the West Country ports, which habitually sent their ships and men to the south Avalon. By 1638 Dartmouth, in particular, had connections with Ferryland that stretched back to the previous century. The connection no doubt explains the hostility of

some West Country merchants to the interloping Kirkes. It may also account for the fact that both George Calvert and David Kirke incorporated Dartmouth into their trading networks. The accumulated local knowledge in Dartmouth and its hinterland of the area between St. John's and Ferryland, and the personal trans- Atlantic links between these regions, were too useful not to cultivate. After 1660 ties with the North Devon ports of Barnstaple and Bideford became stronger, as did links with the New England fishing towns, particularly Salem, Massachusetts.

Ferryland was also an administrative centre which, in the mid-17th century, rivalled St. John's in importance. From 1638 to 1651, Sir David Kirke was Governor of Newfoundland and actually held courts at Ferryland.

The victory of Parliament in the English Civil War (1642-1648) doomed Sir David Kirke as a proprietor and governor. As a royalist, he was an enemy of the victorious Commonwealth government and in 1651 his estates were "sequestered". This was not necessarily a permanent confiscation, and royalists could buy back their estates for a fine of ten to 50 percent of their value, as Sir David did in 1653. But he was subject to additional scrutiny for his crimes were not only political.

Kirke had been part of a monopoly sanctioned by the former king, together with a circle of aristocratic courtiers. This was bad enough, but worse was the fact that Kirke appeared to have manipulated the syndicate's operations to benefit Kirke, Barkeley and Company rather than the original patentees. Kirke's three aristocratic co-adventurers died soon after the end of the Civil War, two of them on the scaffold, leaving Sir David holding the bag, so to speak. He was recalled to London in 1651 to face a suit by Cecil Calvert, second Baron Baltimore, and died there, possibly in the original Southwark "Clink", early in 1654. He was succeeded as governor by John Treworgie, a *Puritan* merchant from Maine, but Dartmouth-born.

Cecil Calvert, 1606-1675.

From Justin Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America: English Explorations and Settlements in North America 1497-1689*, Vol. III (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1884) 546.

[Larger Version](#) (69 kb)



The restoration of King Charles II in 1660 raised the question of who would be restored to the proprietorship of Newfoundland. Despite the affecting pleas of Lady Kirke to the new monarch - whose father her husband had served - in 1661 Cecil Calvert regained the right to name administrative agents in the Colony of Avalon. These deputies presented "the picture but not the effects of government", in the words of a contemporary petition, and did little more than collect rents. Sir David's widow Sara and her eldest son George functioned as a kind of provincial gentry.

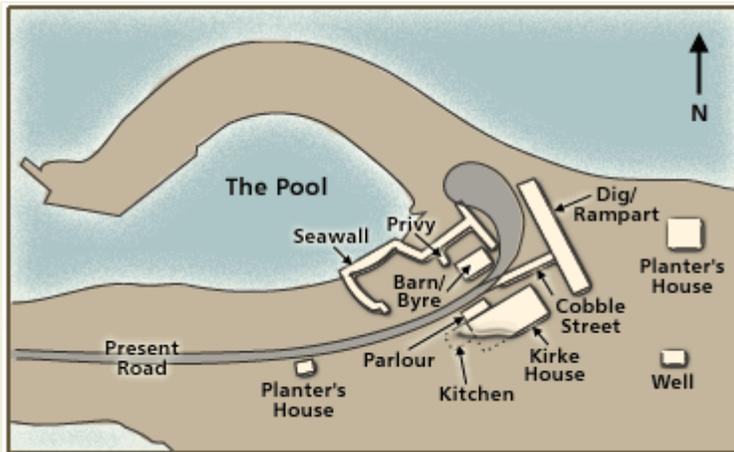
From 1651 to her retirement in 1679 Lady Sara Kirke managed the Pool Plantation at Ferryland, and her sons developed their own plantations there and at Renew's. Four decades after their arrival, the Kirkes still dominated the harbour: two generations of the extended family in five separate households had plantations there in the 1670s. When Royal Navy commodores took their censuses in the 1670s and 1680s, Ferryland was found to be one of the more populous and stable of the Newfoundland settlements, characterized by large plantations and a strong commitment to pastoral agriculture. As late as 1696, three of Sir David Kirke's sons, George, David jr. and Phillip, remained substantial planters on the Southern Shore.

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Kirke House Artifacts



Pool Plantation, 1638 – 1696.

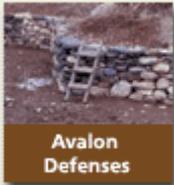
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In 1636 a syndicate headed by Sir David Kirke was granted all of Newfoundland by Charles I in return for services against the French in Canada a decade earlier. In 1637 Kirke, his wife Lady Sara, and their



Avalon Waterfront

sons arrived at Ferryland and dispossessed Calvert's representative, William Hill, from the Mansion House. Shortly afterwards the settlement became known as the Pool Plantation. Shown here are two sides of a tobacco pipe with the monogram DK, clearly the property of Sir David sometime in the 1640s.



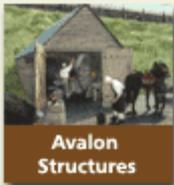
Avalon Defenses



Sir David Kirke's Tobacco Pipe Bowl.

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[Larger Version](#) (48 kb)



Avalon Structures

In 2001 the remains of a large dwelling, measuring about 64 feet by 23 feet were uncovered. The house was built shortly after the arrival of the Kirkes and involved the demolition of the bakery/brewhouse that stood in the same location. In this illustration can be seen fireplaces at either end of the house, a cobble pavement that formed part of the interior floor and the remains of joists of a wood floor. The two pipes shown in the previous illustration indicate that the house was occupied by the family of Sir David Kirke.

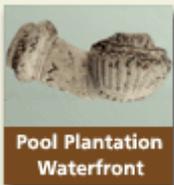


Kirke House Artifacts

Remains of a Large Dwelling.

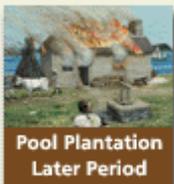
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[Larger Version](#) with more information (54 kb).



Pool Plantation Waterfront

South of the cobble street, immediately north of the Kirke house, a deep midden revealed thousands of objects discarded during the 17th century. The upper layers of the midden have been most extensively explored, and have revealed the presence of a family of the Ferryland gentry. This illustration shows a number of artifacts exposed in a small portion of the midden.



Pool Plantation Later Period



Artifacts Unearthed in a Midden.

Reproduced by permission of the Colony of Avalon Foundation, Ferryland, Newfoundland, © 2001.

[Larger Version](#) (51 kb)

Ceramics from the midden include fragments of many expensive tin-glazed (Delft) vessels. The "puzzle jug" on the left was probably made in the Netherlands in the second half of the 17th century. The Portuguese plate bears the word "Amors," (love) and was sometimes used to carry rings at a wedding ceremony.

"Puzzle Jug" and Plate From the Midden.

Reproduced by permission of the Colony of Avalon Foundation, Ferryland, Newfoundland, © 2001.

[Larger Version](#) (58 kb)



The most expensive ceramics from the Kirke house were made in Estremoz, Portugal, during the 16th and 17th centuries. Sometimes called terra sigillata, only a few vessels have been found in Europe and none elsewhere in the New World. They must have belonged to members of the gentry, for they are of a style that was purchased by Philip II of Spain as gifts for his daughters.



Terra Sigillata Ceramics from the Kirke House.

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[Larger Version](#) (28 kb)

Sewing implements from the Kirke midden include a silver thimble, silver pins and a silver bodkin. Usually made from copper, brass or iron, these objects further indicate the upper class status of the Kirke family.

Sewing Implements from the Kirke House Midden.

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[Larger Version](#) (26 kb)



A silver-plated iron boot spur was found in the midden. Not necessarily a horseman's equipment, spurs were a standard part of a gentleman's costume until about mid-century.



A Silver-plated Iron Boot Spur.

Reproduced by permission of the Colony of Avalon Foundation, Ferryland, Newfoundland, © 2001.

[Larger Version](#) (37 kb)

These two gold finger rings were found in the uppermost layer of the midden. Both are women's rings and may have been lost during the French attack on Ferryland in the fall of 1696.

Women's Gold Finger Rings.

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[Larger Version](#) (34 kb)



From the nearby ditch, and also from the last years of the Pool Plantation, came these gold objects: a thimble, a tiny sequin or stud and a supposed ornament of uncertain function.



Gold Objects from the Pool Plantation.

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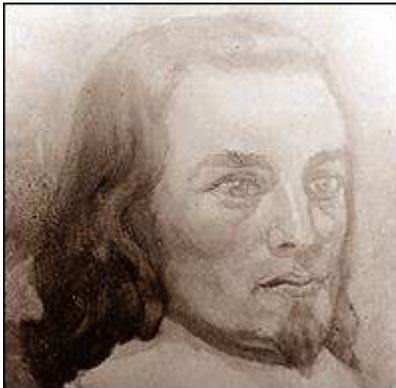
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[Next Stop: Pool Plantation, Waterfront](#)

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David Kirke and the Pool Plantation

The Kirke family, particularly Sir David Kirke, his wife, Lady Sara Kirke, and their three sons, are much underrated players on the stage of Canadian history.



Sir David Kirke, 1597-1654.

Unknown artist. Likely a fanciful 20th Century sketch.

Courtesy of the Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives (Newfoundland Collection MF-231, Photo 411), Memorial University of Newfoundland Library, St. John's, Newfoundland. Image modified by Wendy Churchill, 1999.

[Larger Version](#) (29 kb)

In 1628 Sir David and his brothers combined to capture both Nova Scotia and Québec from the French, the latter surrendered by Champlain himself.

Samuel de Champlain.

In 1608, the French explorer Champlain founded the colony of Québec. Sir David Kirke and his brothers Louis and Thomas captured the area in 1629 on behalf of England.

From Henry Kirke, *The first English conquest of Canada: with some account of the earlier settlements in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland*, 2nd edition (London: S. Low, Marston & Co., 1908) facing 29.

Larger Version with more information (44 kb)



Under the terms of the ensuing treaty these territories were returned to France, and in 1637 a syndicate headed by Sir David was granted the entire island of Newfoundland in recompense for their efforts on behalf of the crown. At the same time Sir David was granted a coat of arms, which survives today as the coat of arms of the province.



Newfoundland Coat of Arms granted to Sir David Kirke in 1638.

The 17th-century issue of this coat of arms was forgotten over time. After being rediscovered, it was adopted by Newfoundland as its official coat of arms in the 1920s.

Courtesy of the College of Arms (Miscellaneous Grants 4.7), London, England. From Peter Neary and Patrick O'Flaherty, *Part of the Main: An Illustrated History of Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's, Newfoundland: Breakwater Books, ©1983) 31. Image modified by Wendy Churchill, 1999.

Larger Version (63 kb)

Sir David was soon to take advantage of this grant. In 1638 he arrived at Avalon, dispossessed the Calverts' representative and established residence in the mansion house. Since Kirke was governor of all of Newfoundland and chose to establish himself at Ferryland, it is not altogether improbable to see Ferryland as Newfoundland's first capital. Sometime not long after the Kirkes' arrival, the name Avalon disappeared and the settlement began to be referred to as the Pool Plantation, perhaps in a conscious effort to obliterate the memory of Calvert's venture. The Calverts did not forget Avalon, however, and [legal action between the two families](#) continued intermittently for more than four decades.

Sir David Kirke was an unrepentant [Royalist](#), and after the [Civil War](#) he was called to England to account for his activities in Newfoundland. While he was there, Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, took the opportunity to press his suit over the [proprietorship](#) of Avalon.

Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore.

Cecil Calvert (1606-1675) was George Calvert's son and heir. In 1632, Cecil became the second Baron of Baltimore and the first Lord of Proprietary of both Avalon and Maryland.

From Justin Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America: English Explorations and Settlements in North America 1497-1689*, Vol. III (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1884) 546.

[Larger Version](#) (64 kb)



Kirke lost this round of litigation and died in prison. Sara Kirke and her sons paid no heed to this judgement, however, and continued to reside at Ferryland and conduct business as usual from the Pool Plantation.

Lady Kirke must have been a remarkable individual. After the death of Sir David she managed affairs at the Pool Plantation and became one of the most successful fish merchants on the [English shore](#).



Letter from Lady Sara Kirke to King Charles II, 1660.

Courtesy of the Colony of Avalon Foundation, Ferryland, Newfoundland. Image modified by Wendy Churchill, 1999.

[Larger Version](#) (66 kb)

Indeed, according to census figures from the 1660s and 1670s, Lady Kirke owned more stages, boats and train (cod liver oil) vats and employed more servants (fishermen and fish processors) than any other planter on the English shore, including her sons. If Lady Kirke was not the first Newfoundland proprietor to make the fishery profitable, she was almost certainly British North America's first woman entrepreneur.

Lady Kirke died sometime in the early 1680s and, according to local legend, lies buried somewhere on the Ferryland Downs, just east of her Pool Plantation. Her sons survived her and ran successful enterprises at Ferryland and elsewhere on the eastern Avalon until 1696, when a French raid destroyed most of the English settlements. The three Kirke brothers were captured and imprisoned at Placentia, probably with the thought that they could be ransomed. Two died at Placentia and the third died at St. John's a short time later, thus ending the Kirke period in eastern Newfoundland.

KIRKE (in French sources called **Kertk**, **Quer(que)**, or **Guer**), **SIR DAVID**, adventurer, trader, colonizer, leader of the expedition that captured Quebec in 1629, and later governor of Newfoundland; b. c. 1597 in Dieppe; d. 1654 near London.

David was the eldest of five sons of Gervase (Jarvis) Kirke of Derbyshire, merchant of London and Dieppe, and Elizabeth Gowding (Goudon), who may have been the daughter of an English merchant settled in Dieppe (BM, Add. MS 5533, 215). As an importer from Dieppe, Gervase undoubtedly had good information on French operations in North America. In 1627 some London merchants, including Gervase, formed a company whose object was trade and plantation on the St. Lawrence. When war broke out that year between France and England, the company financed an expedition, under David Kirke, which was commissioned by Charles I to displace the French from "Canada." Accompanied by his brothers LEWIS, THOMAS, John, and James (sometimes called Jarvis), David Kirke set off with three ships probably in company with a fleet bringing settlers to Sir WILLIAM ALEXANDER'S projected colony at Port-Royal. Kirke may have stopped at Ferryland, the colony of Lord Baltimore [see CALVERT] in Newfoundland before ascending the St. Lawrence and capturing Tadoussac. He seized one supply ship going to Quebec and then sent Basque fishermen to Champlain demanding the surrender of the post. Champlain rejected the demand because he was expecting relief from France, and Kirke decided against an attack on the fortified settlement. The English ships turned back to England, but they encountered the French supply fleet of four vessels under Admiral ROQUEMONT de Brison and captured them without loss in a short engagement. When news of these events reached Paris the Kirke brothers were burned in effigy because, having been born in Dieppe, they were considered French citizens and their actions were therefore treason against King Louis.

Impressed with the achievement of the Kirkes, their backers applied for a patent giving them the sole right to trade and settle in Canada. Sir William Alexander complained that such a patent would infringe upon the land granted to him under the Great Seal of Scotland in February 1627/28. The two groups compromised by joining in the Company of Adventurers to Canada to establish an Anglo-Scottish colony at Tadoussac with Alexander holding all the land within 10 leagues of Tadoussac on both sides of the river and with the united company having the right to free trade and use of the harbours.

The second fleet, of six ships and three pinnaces, left Gravesend in March 1629 under the Kirke brothers, with Jacques Michel, a deserter from Champlain, again acting as pilot on the river. From Quebec, where the small garrison were now on the point of starvation, Champlain sent a party to meet the expected relief fleet which, under ÉMERY DE CAËN, was bringing word that peace had been declared in April by the Treaty of Susa. Although the party did meet de Caën in the Gulf, they were captured by the English on their way back to Quebec. David Kirke, now aware of the desperate conditions at Quebec, sent Lewis and Thomas on to that post from Tadoussac, and Champlain, having no alternative, surrendered on 19 July 1629.

Despite the Treaty of Susa, Charles I refused to restore the captured lands in North America until his wife's dowry was paid by his brother-in-law, Louis XIII of France. Protracted negotiations over the dowry and ownership of the furs seized at Quebec by the Kirkes were ended in 1632 by the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye and the adventurers were ordered to restore Quebec and Port-Royal to the French. During the intervening years the English had retained control of Quebec while the Company of Adventurers to Canada prosecuted the fur trade, contended with attempts at trade by both French and English interlopers, maintained 200 men in Canada, and explored "400 leagues" into the interior. In recognition of their services, David Kirke was knighted in 1633 and Lewis (who was knighted in 1643) received a patent of dubious validity to trade in the St. Lawrence.

In 1635 Sir David wrote a description of Newfoundland based on a visit of uncertain date, and on 13 Nov. 1637 he was made co-proprietor of that island with the Marquis (later Duke) of Hamilton and the earls of Pembroke and Holland, the prior right of Lord Baltimore in Avalon being set aside because he was accused of deserting his settlement at Ferryland [but see HILL]. The patent issued to the Company of Adventurers to Newfoundland forbade any settlement within six miles of the shore and any interference with visiting fishermen. Complete freedom of the fisheries was guaranteed but Kirke was authorized to collect an impost of 5 per cent of all fish and oil taken by foreign fishermen. The coat of arms granted to these Adventurers is that of the Province of Newfoundland today. In 1639 Sir David, as the first governor of Newfoundland, took possession of Baltimore's "Mansion House" and the other property at Ferryland. In the same year the four eldest Kirke brothers were naturalized as English citizens.

As governor of Newfoundland Sir David soon came into conflict with the fishing merchants of western England, the so-called "Western Adventurers," who were intent on preserving their control of the Grand Banks fisheries by excluding settlement from the island. Sir David had brought out about 100 colonists, erected forts at Ferryland, St. John's, and Bay de Verde, and collected tolls from all fishing vessels. The charges of the Western Adventurers were that he had rented preferred fisheries to foreigners, destroyed curing buildings, and disrupted the industry by establishing taverns along the coast. Kirke replied showing the bias of his accusers and the faults of these summer visitors.

Because of family connections and dependence on royal favour Sir David supported the cause of Charles I in the English Civil War. After Prince Rupert induced part of the navy to join Charles's forces in 1648, the Puritan government feared that Newfoundland under Kirke might be used as a royalist base for counter-revolutionary naval operations. Sir David, sometime correspondent of Archbishop Laud, hired 400 sailors in 1649 ostensibly as fishermen. The island was therefore kept under naval surveillance and strict controls were placed on access to the island, as in the case of Sir Lewis Kirke.

In 1651 Sir David was called to England to answer charges that he had withheld taxes collected in the name of the government. His property was put in charge of commissioners, including TREWORGIE, who were also directed to collect the impost on foreign fishermen. The following year other commissioners were appointed to manage "the affairs and interest of the Commonwealth in Newfoundland" which included guarding the island against Prince Rupert. Treworgie appears to have remained in control *in situ* until 1659.

Kirke's estate was temporarily sequestered and in England he was called before the Council of State several times. As sole survivor of the original patentees Sir David transferred five-sixths of the patent rights to Cromwell's son-in-law, perhaps for political reasons. The charges against Sir David were never substantiated and his wife was allowed to return to Newfoundland to superintend his business. Sir David, however, was imprisoned on a suit by Lord Baltimore's heir for the seizure of Ferryland in 1639, and while in prison, probably in the Clink in Southwark, he died about the end of January 1654. The commissioners sent to Newfoundland in 1651 were in turn arrested on the suit of James Kirke for £1,100 owing to Sir David's estate.

Apparently Lady Kirke and her sons, George, David, and Philip, continued to reside in Newfoundland, but after the Restoration Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, successfully reclaimed his father's patent for Avalon though he never exercised his rights. On behalf of his eldest nephew, George, Sir Lewis demanded compensation for improvements made at Ferryland by the Kirkes. Lady Kirke petitioned Charles II that George be made governor of Newfoundland, an arrangement suggested by the Newfoundlanders themselves, but no resident governor was appointed. Lady Kirke and her children were still in Ferryland in 1673 when a Dutch fleet sacked and burned the settlement. A decade later, in 1683, Sir John Kirke, whose daughter had married Radisson* and who was himself a member of Prince Rupert's Hudson's Bay Company, asked the king for compensation to himself and the families of Sir David and Sir Lewis for the losses incurred in the conquest of Canada in 1629, a claim that the French had never paid. The last reference to George Kirke appears to be in 1680 when he was proposed as a collector of the toll levied on all boats fishing in Newfoundland waters.

David Kirke's character remains obscure and controversial, heroic to some English writers, piratical to some French. His actions at Quebec have been denounced as those of a violent and grasping religious bigot, yet his relations with Champlain seem to have been gentlemanly and even cordial. In an age of violence Kirke behaved in Newfoundland like a self-appointed king of the fishery island, ousting Lord Calvert's agent and imposing his own order on the transient fishing fleet. Yet the investigations of the Puritan parliamentarians into the activities of this known Royalist failed to produce any evidence of malfeasance on his part.

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The MS sources for Kirke's life are relatively few and scattered, but the majority are to be found in PRO, C.O. 1/5, 6, 10, 12, 14–17, 21, 22, 24, 25, 34, 44, and 66, and in S.P. 25/16, 18, 25. The diplomatic correspondence concerning the restoration of Quebec and the disposal of the captured furs is in S.P. 78/85–91, and related material can be found in *Acts of P.C., col. ser., 1613–80*. Documentary evidence concerning the time and place of Sir David Kirke's death is found in Somerset House, Surrey and Sussex wills, Alchin, f.379.

Contemporary material in print includes Champlain, *Works* (Biggar), VI and Sagard, *Histoire du Canada* (Tross), especially IV. Lescarbot, *History* (Grant), III, gives a brief account of the capture of Quebec. Du Creux, *History* (Conacher), picks up the story of the English conquest only in 1632. Eighteenth-century accounts appear in *Mémoires des commissaires*, I, 42–43, 71, 160; II, 275–77, 484–88; IV, 279–80, 301 and *Memorials of the English and French commissaries*, I, 115, 145, 214, 401, 421, 569, 571.

Léon Pouliot, "Que penser des frères Kirke?" *BRH*, XLIV (1938), 321–35, discusses the problem of the nationality of the Kirke brothers. L. D. Scisco has published "Kirke's memorial on Newfoundland" in *CHR* VII (1926), 46–51. The only monograph on the Kirkes is Henry Kirke's *The first English conquest of Canada* of which the second edition (London, 1908) corrects many inaccuracies from the first edition (1871), but omits all documentary references. The best account of the relationship of the Kirkes to events in Canada and Acadia is given by Biggar, *Early trading companies*. A contemporary ballad celebrating Kirke's victory has been published recently: Martin Parker, *England's honour revived by the valiant employtes of Captaine Kirke: News from Canada, 1628*, ed. J. Stevens Cox (Beaminster, Dorset, 1964).

