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## The Fight Against 'Satan's Dominion': An Examination of Jesuit Missions in New France Through the Lens of the Jesuit Relations

Adam Michael Moran



FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

THE FIGHT AGAINST 'SATAN'S DOMINION':  
AN EXAMINATION OF JESUIT MISSIONS IN NEW FRANCE  
THROUGH THE LENS OF *THE JESUIT RELATIONS*

By

ADAM MICHAEL MORAN

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The members of the supervisory committee were:

Jonathan Grant  
Professor Directing Thesis

Jennifer Koslow  
Committee Member

Rafe Blaufarb  
Committee Member

The Graduate School has verified and approved the above-named committee members, and certifies that the thesis has been approved in accordance with university requirements.

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the Jesuit mission to New France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The various sources of support and opposition are described using the lens of the massive set of primary documents preserved in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, translated and compiled under the direction of Reuben G. Thwaites between 1896 and 1901. The central argument of this thesis is that the Jesuit reductions of New France, where Amerindian converts of various tribes lived together, acted as microcosms of the broader French-Canadian colonial milieu. Each of the sources of support and opposition for the Jesuit missions can be found in these reduction towns. This approach to the Jesuit missions in New France could also have a broader use for historians examining similar colonial contexts.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe were filled with turmoil. Religio-political warfare caused the destruction of central Europe in the Thirty Years' War. Hundreds of thousands of lives were lost and cities were laid waste. Western Europe's internal power structures were still reeling after the religious and political revolutions caused by Reformation ideas in the sixteenth century. Simultaneously, European nations who had managed to coalesce widespread support sought to spread their influence to the Americas in the form of colonial enterprises. European explorers and colonists sought whatever natural resources that were available as well as the elusive northwest passage to bypass the Americas on the way to lucrative Asian trade routes.

While Spain focused its efforts on the central and southern areas of the American continent, the Dutch, English, French, and Swedes contended for a foothold in the northern region of the continent. The French ultimately decided to pour their efforts at colonization into an area with access to a wealthy supply of furs, eagerly traded to them by the Amerindian tribes who inhabited the area. This region also had a promising body of water that could potentially be the legendary sea-route to China. While the French made designs for the settlement of this new colony, they knew that in order to succeed in their endeavors, they would need to make alliances with the peoples already living in the region. From the first encounters with Amerindians, the French knew that they would need to preach the gospel and spread the influence of not only their King, but the Catholic Church as well. One group of Catholic monks was called upon and given exclusive rights to proselytize these tribes. Ultimately, the French goal was to build alliances,



bring more people into the sphere of Catholicism, and create advantageous trade relations for themselves and their kingdom.

### **Jesuits on Mission in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

Having been founded in 1540, the Society of Jesus was not originally intended to address the opposition to the Catholic Church caused by the Reformation, but it quickly rose in reputation and ability so that the Pope could use it in the religious crisis of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As the 1500s continued, the main tasks of the Jesuits' became education, mission work, and serving as diplomatic envoys. Typical religious hierarchies within principalities and kingdoms did not bind these learned monks. The members of the Society of Jesus answered directly to their leader, who in turn, answered directly to the Pope.

By 1600, Jesuit missionaries had already made inroads into India and China, famously by Matteo Ricci.<sup>1</sup> However, the Jesuit establishment in Europe was extensive and robust: "In the later 16<sup>th</sup> century it is probable that only one in ten of Jesuits was working outside Catholic Europe."<sup>2</sup> As French and Spanish exploration and colonization began in the Americas, Jesuits became integrated into to the broader scheme to colonize these lands. They were seen as tools at the disposal of the colonial authorities. Learned and devout, they were perfect for use as diplomats, educators, priests, and even scientists.

The approach often taken by Jesuit missionaries was to first focus on learning the language of their hosts. Jesuit missionaries often attempted to learn and accommodate the beliefs and practices of their hosts. They would then try to fit the major tenets of Catholicism into the

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<sup>1</sup> R. Po-chia Hsia. *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610*. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> J. C. H. Aveling. *The Jesuits*. (New York: Dorset Press, 1987), 146.

original framework of belief and culture of the place they were evangelizing.<sup>3</sup> The Jesuit missionaries sometimes came under fire for this approach. Opposition also came from Protestants and other Catholics in Europe who quickly became concerned with the global reach of this organization that only answered to the Papacy.

### **Jesuits in New France**

Missionaries from the Society of Jesus first arrived in New France in 1609. A few temporary missions were established in the first few decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> None of these ventures lasted; some were disbanded and scattered by early English colonists. Samuel de Champlain founded the town of Québec on the St. Lawrence River in 1608, but the still small settlement was taken over by the English in 1626. The influence and control of this area of Canada meant great access to the very lucrative fur trade. This Canadian post was France's key to enter the vast unknown lands of the American continent. The French sent a force to recapture Québec and French Jesuits were a part of that force. "After New France was restored to the French crown in 1632, the Jesuits had a monopoly of the Canadian missions that lasted until the 1660s."<sup>5</sup> Governor Montmagny, having received a Jesuit education in his youth was an ally of the Order and he welcomed the Jesuits into the new colony. The Jesuits began missions immediately and other institutions followed. The Jesuit college in Québec (today Laval University) "functioned as a general headquarters for the Jesuits of New France."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Hsia, 87-9.

<sup>4</sup> Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents; Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*. (Cleveland: Burrows Bros. Co., 1896), Volume 4, Document 15; Volume 4, Document 16; Volume 4, Document 19.

<sup>5</sup> Peter N Moogk. *La Nouvelle France: The Making of French Canada: A Cultural History*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000), 29.

<sup>6</sup> Allan Greer. *The People of New France*. Themes in Canadian Social History. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 1997), 46.

The Jesuits established missions amongst the Hurons, Montagnais, and Algonquins quickly. "The position of the Jesuits themselves was reinforced [during the tenure of Montmagny]. Almost alone, they provided the ministry to the colony, leaving, whenever possible, the guidance of the two convents of nuns to the few secular priests who found themselves in Québec."<sup>7</sup> The missionaries poured copious amounts of resources into the nearby Huron missions especially. These missions suffered opposition from within the community and from without. The Jesuits created a fortified mission amongst one group of Hurons.<sup>8</sup> Within two decades, the Iroquois Confederacy (enemies of the Hurons) had wiped out all of the tireless and deadly work done in the Huron missions. "In 1611 Father Pierre Biard wrote that the Jesuits' goal was 'to domesticate and civilize' the Amerindians."<sup>9</sup> This remained the broader goal of the missionaries, but the method was refined as the 1600s wore on; missionaries began to focus primarily on conversion and the production of Catholic devotion.

The Jesuits in New France were divided up into different locations and positions. The leader of the Order in New France was the Superior; the holder of this position was changed every two years or so. There were Jesuits who stayed in the French settlements of Québec, Trois Rivieres, and Montréal; these took care of administrative tasks, taught in the seminary and college, and acted as the primary spiritual guardians of the colonists. New France was not assigned a bishop until 1659 so the Jesuits (especially the Superior) were essentially the main religious authorities in the colony until that time.<sup>10</sup> Outside of the French settlements, Jesuit missionaries took up residence with the surrounding tribes. Some tribes followed seasonal

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<sup>7</sup> Jean-Claude Dubé. *The Chevalier de Montmagny (1601-1657): First Governor of New France*. Collection Amérique Française, no 10. (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005), 243.

<sup>8</sup> Moogk, 30.

<sup>9</sup> Moogk, 34.

<sup>10</sup> Thwaites, Volume 38, Document 82. A description of the ecclesiastical structure of New France is included in this document.

patterns of migration, a hardship for missionaries who worked best under sedentary conditions. Early on, an overarching goal of the French colonial authorities was to convince the northern tribes to settle near a French settlement so that year-round education and conversion could occur.<sup>11</sup> Depending on the tribe, a varying number of missionaries would be sent to live amongst the tribes and hopefully convert some of the Amerindians. Differences in culture, traditions, and languages were all factors that made this task fundamentally challenging for the Jesuit missionaries.

### ***The Jesuit Relations***

This thesis rests primarily on the work of one massive set of primary documents. Most of these documents were reports written by Jesuits (especially the Jesuit Superior in New France) as a kind of summary of the major events of the year. Typically, sent back with the mail carried by the late summer fleet, the reports usually covered a year's span of time from summer to summer. These kinds of reports were not at all unusual for Jesuit missionaries to send back to Rome or their leadership in Europe. Similar strategies developed for Jesuit missionaries around the world who wrote these reports. Keeping in mind that their leadership and potentially even opponents would read these reports, the historian Aveling says, "They all found it advisable to phrase their annual mission reports carefully so as to make the most of their successes and offer no handle to their enemies in Rome. Xavier instructed the mission rectors in the Moluccas: 'Write detailed accounts of the work of conversion and let it be of edifying matters: and take care not to write of matters which are unedifying: remember that many people will read these letters...'"<sup>12</sup> There were actually two versions of letters or reports sent to Europe by some Jesuits. There would be

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<sup>11</sup> Thwaites, Volume 46, Document 107. One Jesuit described the vast, subarctic lands north of Quebec where some tribes lived as "Satan's Dominions."

<sup>12</sup> Aveling, 147-8.

an edifying letter that was tailored for the public and there were private annual letters that offered the balanced version of the events of the year, good and bad.<sup>13</sup>

The Jesuits in New France sent regular letters written by the Superior to France starting in 1632 when the Order returned to the conquered settlement of Québec.<sup>14</sup> When the letters reached Paris, they were edited, printed, and sold by the publisher Cramoisy. The Cramoisy series of Jesuit reports, called the *Jesuit Relations* were published annually for 41 years (until 1673). One historian of New France says of the *Jesuit Relations*: "Though certainly the most complete and most voluminous source that we possess for the period of his time in new France, the highly-detailed reports of these religious were drawn up with a very particular purpose: to alert French opinion to the urgency of the missionary project in Canada. They are then to be used with all the necessary precautions."<sup>15</sup> When examining the *Relations*, the historian must be aware of the one-sidedness of this massive set of sources. According to Thwaites, an editor and compiler of these sources, "the *Relations* were formal accounts, carefully edited in Québec and in Paris, and avowedly published for the purpose of attracting money and recruits for the missions of New France"<sup>16</sup> should be compared to the "*Journal des Jesuites*, which is the more valuable because obviously not intended for the public eye."<sup>17</sup> The *Journales*, however, are simply chronicles that lack many helpful details to give context to the events they mention. Although there are a small handful of non-Jesuit (and even non-Catholic, Huguenot) perspectives in the series, the Jesuit perspective is obviously the overwhelming voice in the documents. The expectations of today's historian might be met when reading these texts. The Jesuit fathers, as

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<sup>13</sup> Aveling, 156-7. This explores the difference in these types of letters.

<sup>14</sup> Thwaites, Volume 5, Document 20. The first *Jesuit Relation*.

<sup>15</sup> Dubé, xx.

<sup>16</sup> Thwaites, Volume 27, Page 11.

<sup>17</sup> Thwaites, Volume 27, Page 12.

one might expect, almost always had a paternalistic tone when describing Amerindians. The missionaries' devout Catholic spiritualism also shines through with constant references to divine intervention through prayer. The veneration of Mary is a common theme, complemented with the power of Satan and other demonic forces.

The motives behind writing these reports, besides simply reporting to the Jesuit Father General in Rome, were multifold. The Jesuits were writing to ensure their benefactors (of which there were many) that the missions, though challenging, were effective and worth their continued support. "Quite clearly the *Relation* was insisting – for the purpose of encouraging the benefactors – on the efficacy of the experiment."<sup>18</sup> The reports were meant to assure the patrons that the Amerindians at the reduction missions and in their home villages were being slowly Christianized and 'civilized.' Ultimately, these *Relations* were a form of marketing.

Public opinion was not always positively impacted by the annual publications. The *Jesuit Relations* "horrified readers with eyewitness accounts of the ritualized torture of captives among the Huron-Iroquoians."<sup>19</sup> Horror stories may have kept educated and uneducated alike from immigrating even though they were starving in their homeland; understandably, stories of the harsh Canadian winters and endless conflict with the Iroquois certainly offered a stark perspective of life in the colony that may have dissuaded many.<sup>20</sup> Even the Jesuit Superior Lalemant in the *Relation of 1659-60* compared the peaceful old France to the dangerous New France.<sup>21</sup>

Some *Relations* were edited and marketed to non-French audiences; the Italian Jesuit Bressani, for example, compiled the highlights of the *Relations* of 1636-9 into an Italian

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<sup>18</sup> Dubé, 175.

<sup>19</sup> Moogk, 20.

<sup>20</sup> Moogk, 116-7; Greer, *People of New France*, 13.

<sup>21</sup> Thwaites, Volume 45, Document 102.

publication called *Breve Relatione*.<sup>22</sup> Other manifestations of the *Relations* in European publications include its inspiration for Amerindian characters that appeared in French writings of social commentary.<sup>23</sup> The reports were not always immune from the effects of the harsh colonial experience. Multiple times, no *Relation* ever arrived at Paris; highwaymen in France and the pillaging of a ship by the Spanish were listed as causes for absent or partial *Relations* in two cases.<sup>24</sup>

In the 1890s, Reuben Gold Thwaites and a team of translators and editors published a massive seventy-three volume set of translated, edited, and summarized documents in a collection called *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*. The Cramoisy Series as well as accompanying correspondence, memoirs, and the *Journal des Jesuites* had been translated from the original French, Latin, and Italian into English and compiled into seventy-one volumes plus a two-volume index. Although, the use of this compilation of documents may be seen as an unhealthy bias toward one kind of source, the large amount of these sources and the variety of authors included do help give some perspective to this massive set.

### **The Questions at Hand**

Questions remain about the Jesuits and their mission in New France. Where did the Jesuits get support? Who gave them financial support? Who gave them land grants? Who lobbied for them? Did support come from the official colonial hierarchy? From the King and Queen? The Pope? From the Jesuit hierarchy? Individuals? Organizations? What kinds of opposition did the Jesuits encounter? Within the French colonial system? From other European countries and Amerindian tribes? Other religious groups? Did they encounter opposition in Québec?

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<sup>22</sup> Thwaites, Volume 38, Document 83 and Volume 39, Document 83.

<sup>23</sup> Moogk, 48.

<sup>24</sup> Thwaites, Volume 41, Document 87 and Volume 43, Document 96.

These questions concern the forces and influences that impacted the efficacy and implementation of the Jesuit missions in New France. This thesis begins with answering these straightforward questions. What do the *Jesuit Relations* say about the positive and negative influences on the Jesuit efforts in New France? Do historians echo those same conceptions?

From previous studies and dominant evidence, it is clear that the Jesuits were used by the royal colonial institutions to act as agents, ambassadors, and envoys to carry out the business of the King and his colonial ambitions. This may at first seem surprising coming from a group known to have a very robust hierarchical and military-like power structure independent from any nation's regular religious hierarchy. Jesuit missionaries certainly did report back to their superiors, provincials, and ultimately the Father General of the Society of Jesus, but the Jesuits who were engaged to work under the auspices of colonial governments were for all intents and purposes at the disposal of colonial administrators. What do the *Jesuit Relations* reveal about these relationships between colonial administrators and Jesuits who were pledged to support the Pope?

Why would colonial administrators want to use Jesuits to do their bidding in unknown regions full of natural dangers and potentially hostile peoples (European or Amerindian)? Amongst the various monastic orders of the Catholic Church, the Jesuits were supremely prepared, through their training, to serve whatever function was necessary to ultimately fulfill the mission that their founder, Ignatius of Loyola, had set out to accomplish. In his 1981 general history of the Jesuit Order, historian of English Catholicism J. C. H. Aveling explains the typical arrangements made between Portuguese and Spanish colonial administrators and their accompanying Jesuit missionaries:



By long standing special arrangements between Rome and the two crowns, missionaries were treated as agents of the civil power and at its disposition.... In affect the colonial government hired the missionaries for three purposes. First, they had to serve the religious and educational needs of the European and half-caste settler population. In the case of the Jesuits who would not take on parochial work without special dispensations from parts of their constitutions, this meant Colleges of a European type. Secondly, the missionaries had to shoulder part of the burden of running numerous native reservations. In these, natives, baptized without instruction on mass as a condition of settlement under colonial military protection, lived under a strict discipline enforced by the lash in the gaols. As baptized Catholics, the inhabitants were subjects and wards of the crown. The missionaries resident in or alongside reservations gave a more or less religious and paternalistic tinge to what otherwise was a form of prison existence. The third duty of missionaries was to cooperate in the extension of the colonial sphere of influence in the hinterland behind the colonies and among the neighboring independent native states.<sup>25</sup>

Here, Aveling generalizes Portuguese and Spanish Jesuit experiences; this thesis will compare the typical French Jesuit experience to the situations described in the excerpt above. Another Jesuit historian describes French colonial Jesuits as getting their assignments mainly from the Jesuit hierarchy rather than from the King. Monet asserts that French Jesuits "reported, however, to their provincial superior in Paris, who himself reported to the Superior General in Rome. And it was one of the two latter, not the king, who decided on every assignment of each Jesuit missioned to New France."<sup>26</sup> These competing views may have also been confusing to the Jesuits in the colonial mission fields as well as to historians. Were French Jesuits more loyal to the goals of the French colonial administration or the broader Catholic hierarchical structure? Most of the time, royal and ecclesiastical aims in the colonies would match each other, working together. What happened, though, when Jesuits had to make a choice to advocate for the interests of either the Crown or the Church? Finally, what if any broader implications for the study of

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<sup>25</sup> Aveling, 149.

<sup>26</sup> Jacques Monet. "The Jesuits in New France." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2008), 195.

New France, French colonies, or even Spanish and Portuguese colonies, does the study of the Jesuit endeavors in New France offer historians? Particularly, what can historians discern from the practice of using reduction missionary settlements as a means of evangelism in the broader colonial context?

### **Assertions and Arguments**

The details of many of the questions posed above will be fleshed out in the chapters that follow. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* reveals much about the variety of support and opposition that influenced the Jesuit mission in New France. The positive and negative influences that the Jesuits of New France faced worked as a kind of check and balance system set in the French-Canadian colonial context. This does not simply mean that French colonial forces and their allies supported the Jesuit efforts while the Iroquois, Dutch, and English opposed French colonial expansion as their rivals. Of course, history is never that dichotomous. Some Frenchmen opposed the Jesuits. There were many Iroquois converts living in Jesuit reductions. The Jesuit's most hated influence was not even an animate object (intoxicating liquors).

As explained earlier, Jesuits officially operated as agents of the French Crown. But as the sources will show, many missionaries deviated from the broader colonial strategy. The Jesuits came to see the conversion and cultivation of spiritual devotion amongst Amerindian converts as their priority above any other colonial aim. While the grand colonial scheme in New France called for the assimilation of converted Amerindians into the French-Canadian society, the missionaries only saw the challenges introduced by the negative influences of the colonial milieu in which they operated. Whether the source was Amerindian, French, Dutch, or English, negative influences, especially that of alcohol trade and abuse, led the Jesuits to create mission reduction towns that sought to close off the converts from any outside influence. The goal and plan of the

Order was to keep ‘negative’ influences away from those they had converted. This was, of course, impossible, but it did not stop the Fathers and the leaders of the converts from trying. The final chapter specifically examines the challenges associated with the reduction mission towns of New France.

The central argument of this thesis is that the Jesuit reductions of New France, where Amerindian converts of various tribes lived together, acted as microcosms of the broader colonial milieu. Even as the Jesuits wanted to stop ‘negative’ influences from entering their reduction mission towns, they were unable to effectively do so. The support and opposition seen throughout the entire colony of New France (which is detailed in the following chapters), is also seen vividly and intimately in the mission reduction settlements of New France. Reduction towns were set up and run by the Jesuits in French Canada. Located near French colonial towns like Québec and Montréal, these villages tried, but were unsuccessful at keeping out opposing influences such as alcohol abuse, Iroquois and Dutch anti-Catholic influences, and more. Of course, support can be seen in these places too. The reductions were set on land grants given to the Jesuits officially or for use by benefactors. The reduction towns contained all the influences of colonial life in one intimate community.

This premise introduces a different approach to the study of colonial French and Spanish America. The idea for the reduction towns came from the Spanish Paraguayan *reducciones*. Since these towns in New France act as microcosms of the broader French-Canadian colonial experience, the same might be true for Spanish-Jesuit *reducciones* and the broader colonial experience in Spanish America. Of course, the Spanish colonial influence in the Americas covered a much larger region than the French did in Canada, therefore this use of mission microcosms might be best applied to separate regions in Spanish America. Perhaps there will be

striking similarities in the microcosm studies in Mexico and the American Southwest to the Paraguayan *reducciones* and other missions. Jesuit missions may be more or less useful in this approach than those belonging to other orders. Nevertheless, this microcosm model for examining the colonial atmosphere at a smaller level could help researchers of New France, New Spain, and potentially other areas as well. Ultimately, the Jesuits in New France faced intense positive and negative pressures that were felt and seen in the confined locales of the reductions.

### **Organization of the Thesis**

In order to examine the support and opposition encountered by the Jesuits in New France, three body chapters populate this thesis. Chapter 2: “The Support of the French Colonial Hierarchy” focuses on official support offered by the French colonial enterprise. Jesuits and their allies lobbied constantly for financial, political, and even military support from the French government. Some of the most important means of support given by the government and its subsidiaries were land grants made to the Jesuits. This allowed the Fathers in New France to have their own means of income. Some of the land was split up into concessions. Farmers would be given a plot of land to farm and they would pay rent to the Jesuits. The Jesuits were not simply an independent organization looking to do evangelistic charity work in the French colony; they operated as agents of the French Crown, representing Governors and the efforts of the French colonial enterprise. With these missionaries as operatives of the French Crown, they became a vital piece in the French plan for colonial success in New France. ‘Christianizing’ the Amerindian populations was their first task to help this colonial scheme succeed.

On their way to work towards these goals, the Fathers received support from many levels of the government. The King and Queen offered their support and the top ministers such as Richelieu and Colbert were typically very supportive. The most direct line of communication

between Jesuits in New France and colonial officials was between the Jesuit Superior in Québec and the Royal Governor in New France. These Governors, starting with Montmagny, were generally supportive although conflict did arise from time to time. Chapter 2 concludes by looking at the relationship of the Jesuits to the Company of New France, which was sanctioned by the French Crown to operate in the colony; especially given rights to the lucrative fur trade.

The third chapter also looks at support given to the Jesuit mission in New France. This chapter, however, focuses more on the support from private benefactors. Two wealthy ladies were among the most celebrated patronesses of the Jesuits. Madame de La Peltrie was best known for actually moving to Québec and funding an Ursuline seminary for young French and Amerindian girls. The Duchess d'Aiguillon, Cardinal Richelieu's niece, also donated; her endowment went to the founding of a hospital at Québec that took care of Amerindians and French colonists alike. The third patron who became well known was one Monsieur de Sillery. His land grant just south of Québec, offered to the Jesuits, was immediately put to use by creating a mission settlement for Amerindian converts. This mission town, or reduction, and the others that follow it have broader implications that are examined in the concluding chapter.

The *donnés* system was a kind of support given to the Jesuits that was vital and was a way that poorer people could directly aid the missions. Other benefactors, large and small, made donations to the Jesuits. Finally, the Catholic hierarchy in Rome and the French Jesuit provincials offered various forms of aid, spiritual and otherwise. Without these forms of aid, along with those discussed in Chapter 2, the Jesuits would not have been able to accomplish all that they did in New France. If the Jesuits had only experienced these means of support, these missions may not be very interesting to study or it may have turned out like the more oppressive

Spanish *reducciones* in Paraguay. However, there were, indeed, just as many sources of opposition ready to fight the influence of the Jesuits as there were sources of support.

Chapter 4 examines the opposition that Jesuits encountered in New France. As agents of the French Crown, Jesuits were fair game in the colonial rivalry that engulfed the world during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. In this region of North America, the Dutch and the English obstructed French and Jesuit efforts at colonization and evangelism. The Dutch in particular worked with the Iroquois to raid and harass the efforts of the French colonizers (including the Jesuits). Other leaders in Amerindian tribes had unfavorable reactions to Jesuit missionaries from the Hudson Bay to Illinois and eventually down to Louisiana. Other French colonists, especially traders and soldiers, resisted the work of the Jesuits, usually manifested in their differing approach toward relations with Amerindians. The Jesuits were focused on conversion, anything seen as being sinful and corrupt influences were vehemently opposed by the missionaries. More opposition came from within France, where Huguenots sought to sabotage the missionary efforts of the Jesuits. Somewhat surprisingly, other Catholic religious and priests also opposed the Jesuit endeavors in New France. The Order was seen as too dominant and suspicious due to their special, direct relationship with the Pope. Finally, the most insidious enemy according to many Jesuits was alcohol. The liquor trade was identified and demonized more than any other source of opposition. To the Fathers, it seemed impossible to stop. French colonists, Dutch traders, and other tribes all introduced the intoxicating beverages (especially brandy) to the tribes who were the hosts of missionaries. All of these forces opposed the Jesuits and checked the progress of the missions to the tribes of North America.

The focus of the Jesuits became the task of insulating the Amerindian converts from the rest of colonial society. They thought that this strategy of creating mission towns (or reductions)

would work to stop or dramatically limit the negative influences on the new converts under their spiritual guardianship. The final chapter looks at these reduction settlements, examining the reasoning behind their creation and growth. The manifestation of all the positive and negative influences in these mission towns are analyzed and broader implications for the study of colonial America are suggested. Finally, the suppression of the Jesuit Order in the late 1700s and their legacy in New France is examined as the thesis is drawn to a close.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE SUPPORT OF THE FRENCH COLONIAL HIERARCHY

As the Jesuit missionaries to New France were beginning to establish themselves in the colony in the 1620s and 1630s, their relationship with the colonial administration of the colony became vital to accomplishing their evangelistic mission. Without the colonial governor's support and patronage, the missionary efforts of the Society of Jesus might have been frustrated and crushed. Instead, the colonial hierarchy provided the tools the Jesuits needed to have a fighting chance in the daunting task of evangelizing a continent.

Several kinds of support were offered from various officials in the French colonial hierarchy. Members of the Order as well as their supporters amongst nobles and courtiers conducted extended missions in France, lobbying for royal support of various kinds. The Governor of New France granted the Order seigneuries; they were given the rights of use and management for plots of land along the St. Lawrence River. The Company of New France, the main fur trading operation in the colony also provided much needed support to the fledgling Jesuit missions.

Mostly importantly, however, was the way in which the colonial governors not only supported the Jesuits, but how the missionaries were used as agents of the royal government's plan to colonize Canada. The Jesuits were not just receiving charity; they became agents of the French Crown, sent to do the bidding of the governor and Le Roi. This arrangement worked out great until the interests of the Jesuits and the colonial administration deviated and conflict ensued. Nevertheless, the tremendous support of the colonial and royal governments was, without a doubt, a major key to the perceived success of the Jesuit missions in New France.



## Lobbying Efforts

Members of the Society of Jesus and courtiers favorably disposed to the Jesuits spent considerable effort lobbying for increased attention and support for the missions of New France. In his 1616 *Relation*, Father Biard pleaded with his readers to pay more attention to the potential of New France, as well as to give more effort to colonizing and building up the area. The need to lobby for this cause had been placed on his heart by God, he claimed.<sup>27</sup> In a 1626 letter to the Father General of the Jesuits, Father Charles Lalemant recorded that “with consent of his superiors, Father Philibert Noyrot returns to France to promote as hitherto the interests of our enterprise.”<sup>28</sup> The Jesuits were continuously petitioning the French colonial and royal authorities to act favorably toward the missions of the Society.

The *Relation of 1649-1650* reported that Jerome Lalemant had been sent to France to lobby for aid.<sup>29</sup> Among the designated agents stationed in Paris, at various times, working there for the interests of the New France missions were Le Jeune and Lamberville.<sup>30</sup> In 1702, Father Bouvart sought to request that the Comte de Pontchartrain persuade the King to confirm the full rights of the lands of the Seigneurie of Sillery on the Jesuits. The reduction mission town having relocated, the Jesuits sought to use these lands for another purpose.<sup>31</sup> Although the Jesuit Fathers fell under the direct authority of the Pope and the Jesuit Father General, as missionaries in the French colony, they relied on the material and political support of the colonial support structure. This continuous advocacy, therefore, proved necessary in the midst of a royal government that had an overwhelming number of causes to address and responsibilities to tend to.

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<sup>27</sup> Thwaites, Volume 4, Document 14, Page 111-7.

<sup>28</sup> Thwaites, Volume 4, Document 17, Page 181.

<sup>29</sup> Thwaites, Volume 36, Document 74.

<sup>30</sup> Thwaites, Volume 66, Page 11 and Volume 41, Document 88.

<sup>31</sup> Thwaites, Volume 66, Document 179, Pages 43-47.

## Land Grants

As the Jesuits settled into their role as spiritual leaders of the colony of New France, the Governor of New France granted them fiefs or tracts of land in order to provide for their financial needs. The Jesuits would rent out the land or use it in other practical ways in order to make enough money for them to operate.<sup>32</sup> The fiefs given to the Jesuits were meant to help foster a landed elite.<sup>33</sup> Like in France, significant land holdings would provide wealth for the various institutions of the Church. The lands granted to the Jesuits of New France included tracts near Québec in 1626, named Notre-Dame des Anges and near Montréal in 1647, the seigneurie of La Prairie de la Madelaine.<sup>34</sup> At times, the Company of New France also awarded tracts of land to the Society, like the Île aux Ruaux in 1638.<sup>35</sup>

The control and use of these lands were often in flux. In 1646, the Jesuits were compensated with more land added onto an existing grant after they had given a given a section of land to the City of Québec.<sup>36</sup> “Monsieur the governor gave me assurance of an increase in the lands of la Vacherie, in order to replace 6 Arpents which we had ceded to Quebec”<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, the Fathers wanted to grant other land to help the Ursuline nuns in their endeavors.<sup>38</sup> These changes in status were further complicated by the French seigneurial system whereby rights of ownership and seigneurial rights were separated.<sup>39</sup>

These land grants, however, were an economic lifeline for the Fathers in the colony. They engaged in real estate transactions and management because it brought in financial resources to

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<sup>32</sup> Dubé, 201.

<sup>33</sup> Greer, *People of New France*, 37.

<sup>34</sup> Dubé, 199-200.

<sup>35</sup> Dubé, 201.

<sup>36</sup> Thwaites, Volume 28, Document 59, Page 217.

<sup>37</sup> Thwaites, Volume 28, Document 59, Page 209.

<sup>38</sup> Thwaites, Volume 28, Document 59, Page 211.

<sup>39</sup> Thwaites, Volume 28, Document 59, Page 209.

fund their mission. The availability of land to rent also presented an opportunity for settlers and colonists. One of the most unique and important uses of their land, however, was the settlement of Amerindian converts on Jesuit lands. Both the towns of Sillery and Sault St. Louis were used in this way and created to be reduction mission towns (which will be discussed in a later chapter). In 1650, the Jesuits decided to “assign a location to the Hurons upon our lands at Beauport.” The families selected to settle on this tract were carefully chosen.<sup>40</sup> The *Jesuit Relations* and especially the *Journal des Jesuites* record many land transactions.<sup>41</sup> Periodically, the Jesuits would give a full report of their lands and property holdings in the colony, like their “Declaration of Lands” in 1663.<sup>42</sup> Ultimately, these land grants were a significant means of support for the Society, whether they were granted from the Governor or the Company of New France.

### **Jesuits as Agents of the French Crown**

One of the usual aspects of the Jesuit Order in relation to other Catholic monastic orders is that the Jesuits were created to be independent from the typical authorities placed over other orders. They were designed to serve the Pope directly. What this meant, however, was many different things. Many taught in schools and colleges around Catholic Europe. Others sought to preach against heresy and another group were sent to work in foreign missions. One of the most unique jobs a Jesuit could be given was to be a diplomat on behalf of the Pope to the leaders of various territories. In a comparable way, Jesuits were used by Catholic monarchs as diplomats and agents for various tasks within the royal domains or abroad.

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<sup>40</sup> Thwaites, Volume 35, Document 73, Page 39.

<sup>41</sup> Thwaites, Volume 34, Document 70; Volume 35, Document 73; Volume 50, Document 119; and Volume 70, Document 224 include examples of this.

<sup>42</sup> Thwaites, Volume 47, Document 110.

This was certainly the case in New France. The *Jesuit Relations* makes it clear that these Jesuit missionaries were acting as agents of the French Crown; they were ambassadors and officials, enacting the colonial goals of Le Roi. According to Monet, Fathers "Isaac Jogues and Simon Le Moyne were undoubtedly acting in the king's name as ambassadors to the Iroquois in 1646 and in the peace missions of the 1650s."<sup>43</sup> Also in the 1650s, Father Druillettes made a journey to visit an English colonial ambassador, John Winslow, at the Settlement of Coussinoc seeking help against the Iroquois. While the Iroquois nations were certainly having a negative impact on the missions (not the mention the whole colony of New France), it was a Jesuit that was sent to engage in diplomacy on behalf of the governor.<sup>44</sup>

To be sure, the Jesuits were granted a very influential place within the spiritual as well as the political life of the French colony. A memoir, reporting all the trading settlements of the eastern section of Canada, was written on behalf of the Intendant in 1750 by Father Carquot.<sup>45</sup> Jesuits were evidently being used as colonial bureaucrats as well. This should not be so surprising, however, because only the Jesuit missionaries were so well-travelled in the colony and subject to complete the tasks of learned men, such as making detailed reports. Why would the colonial government not use these well-educated men who were at their disposal as colonial agents? This cooperation with the French colonial authorities (even at the highest levels) helped gain favor for the mission work of the Jesuits. "From 1632 until the 1660s the Society of Jesus, or Jesuit Order, had an exclusive patent from Cardinal de Richelieu to carry out the

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<sup>43</sup> Monet, 195. The account of Le Moyne's political and evangelistic mission to the Iroquois tribes, especially the Mohawks, are given in the *Relation of 1656-57*, in Thwaites, Volume 43, Document 96, Pages 209-219.

<sup>44</sup> Thwaites, Volume 36, Document 77.

<sup>45</sup> Thwaites, Volume 69, Document 218, Pages 80-127.

transformation of a New France's Amerindian peoples."<sup>46</sup> As will certainly be mentioned repeatedly, this proof shows that not only were the French colonial authorities interested in helping the Jesuits in their spiritual mission, they sought to utilize the Fathers to accomplish their political goals as well. As much as possible, the French Jesuits and colonial authorities sought to proceed in developing the colony with parallel goals and interests. Sometimes, the plans for accomplishing these goals, however, caused dissonance and conflict. When these conflicts arose, the true allegiances of the Jesuit Fathers were made to shine. In the end, the Jesuit Fathers reported "to their provincial superior in Paris, who himself reported to the Superior General in Rome. And it was one of the two latter, not the king, who decided on every assignment of each Jesuit missioned to New France."<sup>47</sup>

For the vast majority of the colony's lifespan, the Jesuits worked as much as possible with the colonial governor. The governor oftentimes used the learned monks as his own diplomatic corps, ensuring advantageous relations for the colony. Father Le Jeune was sent as an envoy to Paris on behalf of Governor Montmagny in 1640.<sup>48</sup> In spite of Le Jeune's efforts, Cardinal Richelieu only awarded the colony "a miserly 30,000 livres with which to enlist a few soldiers, erect a fort, and put the Jesuit's house at Sainte-Marie in Huronia into a state of defence."<sup>49</sup> Le Jeune continued to be an advocate for the spiritual, as well as the political,

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<sup>46</sup> Moogk, 21.

<sup>47</sup> Monet, 195.

<sup>48</sup> Thwaites, Volume 20, Document 44; also Volume 20, Page 12. Additional evidence about asking Cardinal Richelieu for assistance against the Iroquois can be found in Thwaites, Volume 17, Document 35.

<sup>49</sup> Dubé, 166-167. See also Thwaites, Volume 21, Document 45; and Volume 22, Document 48.

mission in New France; even after taking leave of the colony, he worked as an agent for their interests in Paris, lobbying for more political and financial support for the colony.<sup>50</sup>

Overall, the Jesuits, whose loyalty was ultimately pledged to the Pope, were used as colonial agents of the French Crown. They were usually supportive of the colonial government's general efforts to protect and grow the colony. They offered support for colonial officials, they hosted peace talks with tribal leaders in their residence, they lobbied for political, economic, and even military aid for the colony, and they used their own surplus supplies to help the colony when famine struck.<sup>51</sup> The Fathers were wholeheartedly engaged in not only the spiritual mission to bring Catholicism to the Amerindian tribes, but they also gave themselves up to serve the French colonial strategy in New France.

### **The French Colonial Strategy in New France**

As the colony of New France established itself in the 1630s and 1640s, a colonial plan of action was set into place with the goal of strengthening the demographic fabric of the settlements. The plan was not simply to flood the St. Lawrence River Valley with as many French settlers as possible. The colonial authorities saw the opportunity to build a strong relationship with the people already living in the region. French settlers would be encouraged to intermarry with Amerindians living around the European settlements. To be more specific, the goal was to get tribes who have been Christianized to live near Québec, Montréal, and Trois Rivières. The step after that would be intermarriage. Moogk describes the scheme: "In 1667 the secretary of state for the colonies, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, told the intendant of New France, 'You

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<sup>50</sup> Thwaites, Volume 41, Document 88 is related to Le Jeune's work in 1656; Volume 46, Document 107 relates his continued work in appealing to the King for help for the colony in 1660-1.

<sup>51</sup> Dubé, 123; Thwaites, Volume 38, Document 82; Volume 48, Document 115; and Volume 45, Document 101.

must try to draw these [native] peoples, and especially those who have embraced Christianity, into the neighborhood of our settlements and, if possible, intermingle them there so that, with the passage of time, having but one law in the same master [king], they will form thereby but a single people of the same blood."<sup>52</sup>

The plan to engage the Amerindian tribes in this plan began with building connections and relationships with the Huron peoples and other tribes. A concerted effort was made to go to the tribes. It was not colonial officials who went and spent the most time amongst these tribes, it was in fact Jesuit missionaries who went to live with them. Often, they did this alone, but at times, French soldiers accompanied them in order to protect the Fathers as well as to fend off any attacks from Iroquois raiders.<sup>53</sup> These Jesuits, agents of the French Crown, used evangelism as a tool of French colonial policy. Their goal was to not only save the Amerindians, but to get them to become French and join the colonial society as productive members. The first step on this road was to convert the tribes. "Because religion was regarded as the key to political loyalty in seventeenth-century Europe, the achievement of religious uniformity was given priority as the surest means of ensuring loyal subjects."<sup>54</sup> If the Fathers could deliver whole tribes who had converted to Catholicism to the doorstep of the colonial governor, the plan would be seen by the French as a resounding success.

In Le Jeune's 1637 *Relation*, missionaries to a Huron tribe asked its chiefs, among other things, "Whether it would be acceptable to them that some of our Frenchmen should marry in their country as soon as possible."<sup>55</sup> The chiefs responded positively to this and the missionaries further explained that they "aimed by this alliance to make them [the Hurons] like us [the

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<sup>52</sup> Moogk, 21.

<sup>53</sup> Thwaites, Volume 26, Document, 53.

<sup>54</sup> Moogk, 15.

<sup>55</sup> Thwaites, Volume 14, Document 29, Pages 15-17.

Frenchmen], to give them the knowledge of the true God.”<sup>56</sup> This *Relation* reveals to us not only the fact that the French planned on intermarrying with the Hurons, but that they wanted to ‘Christianize’ and ‘Frenchify’ the Amerindians through this tactic. This was all in the name of building a strong colony full of loyal French Catholic subjects.

The ‘Frenchification’ of Amerindians was the goal of the colonial regime with the idea of strengthening of New France in its mind. "Colbert wrote that the king expected the missionaries, whom he subsidized, to 'teach [the native allies] our language, and to raise them in the same customs and way of living as the French.'"<sup>57</sup> Greer echoes Moogk, explaining that "in the 1660s and 1670s, the administration in France and its officials in Canada proclaimed the need to Frenchify the mission Indians, to bring settlers and Natives together 'to constitute one people in one race.'"<sup>58</sup> By teaching French customs and language and by educating and converting the Amerindians who came to live with the colonists, a new integrated class of people was being formed. The French colonial model in New France was, of course, a bit heavy handed in their relations with the tribes. After all, it was *their* culture, language, society, and religion that was superior, not that of the “savages.”

The plan of assimilation may have seemed like a promising idea to begin with, but the Jesuits soon discovered that allowing Frenchmen and Amerindians to mingle was counter-productive to their mission. Their mission was to convert Amerindians to Catholicism and help them foster a devout Catholic lifestyle. They would also teach French customs, but the Catholicism was the primary concern. The Fathers saw the French colonists as bad influences, especially the travelling merchants. Less than stellar Catholic colonists were harming the mission

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<sup>56</sup> Thwaites, Volume 14, Document 29, Pages 19.

<sup>57</sup> Moogk, 21.

<sup>58</sup> Greer, *People of New France*, 82.



to help the tribes. The foremost concern in this matter was the trade and abuse of alcohol and its negative effects on the converts.<sup>59</sup> The Fathers, therefore saw that the best way to train devout Catholics in this atmosphere was separation. This, however, ran contrary to the ideal of assimilation. The Jesuits had a more nuanced view of Amerindian cultures because of their extended, direct contact with various tribes, but the colonial hierarchy saw them as simply not doing their job.<sup>60</sup> Eventually the missionaries would have been able to 'Frenchify' the converts, but 'Christianizing' was their first step. "For a number of very good reasons, assimilation did not work, but officials such as Governor Frontenac saw only the stubborn refusal of the Jesuits to 'civilize' the Indians."<sup>61</sup> The other downside to the efforts of the Fathers was the austerity of living in a reduction mission town. As times, the strict legalism and general hardships would have made places like the mission town of Sillery seem like a "Sanctified concentration camp" as Greer called it.<sup>62</sup> Finally, the colonial authorities arrived at the conclusion that the assimilation plan had failed and they would simply have to lure more French citizens to relocate to the colony.<sup>63</sup>

The financial mission of the colony was the entire reason the colony existed in the first place. If the primary source of income for the colony was hurt, the colony could go bankrupt. The fur trade was the biggest industry and it was constantly vulnerable to raids by Iroquois warriors. Although France had many other distractions in the mid-1600s, the frequent appeals and updates on the dire need for military assistance in New France finally gained the attention of

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<sup>59</sup> Please see Chapter 4 on this thesis for more on alcohol and the Jesuit missions.

<sup>60</sup> Greer, *People of New France*, 83. Moogk, 41.

<sup>61</sup> Greer, *People of New France*, 82.

<sup>62</sup> Greer, *People of New France*, 81. For more on reduction mission towns see the final chapter of this thesis.

<sup>63</sup> Moogk, 50.

royal ministers.<sup>64</sup> By the 1680s, the coming of war with the Iroquois and the English caused the French colonial authorities to push aside the goal of assimilation and they came to see their converted Amerindian neighbors as simply military allies against the Iroquoian-English menace.<sup>65</sup> While assimilation may have been the goal at first, a combination of reasons including the divergent efforts of Jesuit missionaries and the geopolitical realities of war had caused the tactics of colonial governance to shift in New France. The Jesuits, while separated in mission at this point, kept their relationship with the colonial government as smooth as possible, with the Canadian superior occupying a seat on the colonial council at times.<sup>66</sup> As the 1600s wound to an end and the 1700s began, the Jesuits were looking far off into the distance across the American continent. They were working on fulfilling their dreams of evangelizing as many distant tribes as possible. To go hand in hand with that goal, the Canadian-born explorer Jolliet would team up with Father Marquette to explore the Mississippi River valley in 1673; La Salle would explore the region about ten years later.<sup>67</sup> French missions and forts were established from the Canadian plains to the area of Illinois down to the mouth of the Mississippi River.

### **Royal Support**

For all of the politics and intrigue present at the French royal court, the Jesuits seemed to have enjoyed a fairly consistent level of support from the royal family over the approximately 150 years they were involved in the colony of New France. The 1750s, however, signaled the end of their period of royal favor (this will be discussed more in the conclusion). As Jesuits were seeking to board a ship en route to Canada for the first time, they faced opposition from

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<sup>64</sup> Thwaites, Volume 45, Document 102; Volume 46, Document 104; and Volume 47, Document 108.

<sup>65</sup> Greer, *People of New France*, 83-4.

<sup>66</sup> Thwaites, Volume 30, Document 62.

<sup>67</sup> Thwaites, Volume 65, Document 175.

Huguenots who refused to help them load the ship. At first, the Huguenots rejected a “formal order of the Queen” to help the Jesuits embark on the ship. Only after pressure and coercion from the Queen and others were the Jesuits finally boarded onto the ship.<sup>68</sup> The 1640s brought more kindness from the Queen; this time directed at the converts living in the mission town of Sillery. “Father Le Jeune exhibited a picture to the Savages at Sillery, which had come from the queen, -- containing her portrait, that of the king, etc. At the same time, they were given three Blankets and three arquebuses, at the expense of the warehouse; and we made a feast for them.”<sup>69</sup> These may seem small tokens of support, but in a government that was wracked with debt, intrigue, and pressing geopolitical concerns, this was rather remarkable for the Jesuits. They not only had the support of the Pope, but of the French royal family.

The *Relation of 1642-3* told of the grief expressed at passing of King Louis XIII and Cardinal Richelieu who had both supported the missions.<sup>70</sup> The royal family not only offered support to the missions, but they received recognition in return. Of course, it was not only the Queen who showed patronage toward the mission of the Jesuits. In 1686, the Jesuit Fathers “experienced the liberalities which the king has extended to it, especially as regards the rebuilding of the chapel.”<sup>71</sup> They received a direct patronage from the King in order to build a chapel; certainly noteworthy amongst all the other support given to the missions. At the end of the seventeenth century, in recognition of the efforts of Iroquois Christians at Sault St. Louis during the war, the Comte de Pontchartrain was asked to request aid from the King for the widows and children of the warriors who died from the colony.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, in 1720, the

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<sup>68</sup> Thwaites, Volume 1, Document 3, Pages 131-135.

<sup>69</sup> Thwaites, Volume 28, Document 59, Pages 239-241 also in Volume 29, Document 60.

<sup>70</sup> Thwaites, Volume 23, Document 51, Page 319.

<sup>71</sup> Thwaites, Volume 63, Document 156, Page 233.

<sup>72</sup> Thwaites, Volume 65, Document 173.

Canadian Jesuits asked the King for money to maintain their Montréal establishment, orchard, and tax breaks. This request was granted.<sup>73</sup> While not always substantial, individual donations and support from the French royal family offered something much more valuable than token support; it was a signal that the King and Queen were on their side; the Jesuits were state-sanctioned missionaries. Furthermore, the mention of their support in the *Relations* strategically and implicitly petitioned for more private patrons to come forth. What French noble would not want to be known for funding a cause that the King and Queen also deemed worthy?

### **Governors of New France**

Shifting focus from direct royal intervention, much of the remainder of this chapter will focus on the relationship of the Governors and Governors-General of New France to the Jesuits and their missions in the colony. Of course, the relationship between the Jesuits and the colonial governors changed over time. The first official Governor of New France was the Chevalier de Montmagny.

#### **Governor Montmagny**

The family of Charles Jacques Huault de Montmagny had connections with the Jesuits long before the future Governor of New France came to Canada. Several members of the family of Montmagny had been educated by the Jesuits<sup>74</sup> While at the Jesuit school in La Flèche, Montmagny met three of the future Jesuits that were present in New France during his tenure as

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<sup>73</sup> Thwaites, Volume 67, Document 190.

<sup>74</sup> Dubé, 67-9.

governor: Paul Le Jeune, Charles Lalemant, and Barthelemy Vimont.<sup>75</sup> Dubé continues explaining the connection between Montmagny and the Jesuits by saying:

Montmagny's ties to the Jesuits seem to us, then, to have been a major event in his existence. The ideals which the Fathers attempted to inculcate in their students certainly appear to have had a certain importance in his life. We shall have the occasion to point this out, especially in the analysis of the Relations, whose successive compilers would have nothing but praise for the behaviour and the positions of the old student of La Flèche.<sup>76</sup>

The young Montmagny never joined the Society of Jesus, but he did become a member of the Knights of Malta, which often served the King of France in maritime affairs.<sup>77</sup> Membership in this order also gave Montmagny connections with influential people like Noël Brulart de Sillery, the importance of whom will be discussed in later chapters.

The arrival of Montmagny in New France was received with much thanksgiving on the part of Le Jeune and others of the Order.<sup>78</sup> He was seen as a pious man, a Knight of Malta, and someone with a personal interest in the prosperity of the colony, shown by his position as director of the Company of New France (or the Company of One Hundred Associates).<sup>79</sup> The Governor's arrival at Québec in 1636, was a highlight for the writer of the *Jesuit Relations*: "From this point on, throughout his writing, Le Jeune intended to present his readers with the two elements that, according to him, underlay the joint effort of the missionaries and the monarchy in Canada: The conversion of the native peoples and the establishment of a solid colony. It was precisely for these two objectives that Montmagny would work."<sup>80</sup> Dubé

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<sup>75</sup> Dubé, 71.

<sup>76</sup> Dubé, 75. See also pages 81-2.

<sup>77</sup> Thwaites, Volume 11, Document 29. Dubé, 123-5.

<sup>78</sup> Thwaites, Volume 8, Document 26, Page 217.

<sup>79</sup> Dubé, 112-3.

<sup>80</sup> Dubé, 132.

emphasizes the remarkable way in which the interests and actions of the Governor and the Jesuits aligned during the time of Montmagny's administration of the colony.<sup>81</sup> He even suggests that the Governor leaned very strongly on the advice of Father Le Jeune on how to negotiate with the Hurons.<sup>82</sup> It is evident that the Governor operated as a staunch ally of the Society of Jesus and their mission in New France to Christianize (and hopefully Frenchify) the Amerindians surrounding the colonial settlements.

Not only was the Governor on the same page with the Jesuits in terms of the grand scheme of colonization, he provided personal, financial, and political aid to the major religious institutions of the colony, which all happened to be connected with the Jesuits. Montmagny specifically supported the founding and continuation of institutions “devoted to promoting the Christian life among the aboriginal people: the reduction at Sillery, the Hotel-Dieu of Québec, and the Ursuline seminary.”<sup>83</sup> Governor Montmagny was recorded in the *Relations* as having done many charitable and supportive deeds: he loaned out his house to the Fathers; his diplomatic efforts amongst the Hurons helped secure the missionary efforts there; he gave various kinds of support to the Ursuline hospital, Jesuit missionaries, the Sillery converts, and he even helped celebrate the events of the liturgical calendar along with the ecclesiastical leaders of the colony.<sup>84</sup>

Overall, Montmagny seemed to be the ideal governor to work with the Jesuits on their missions, as well as working toward growing and accomplishing the goals of the colony as a

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<sup>81</sup> Dubé, 151. “The unity which can be observed in the actions of his first years in New France arose from a position that, in keeping with his own religious vocation, he adopted at the outset: constant support of the work of the Jesuits – in concrete terms, the promotion by all means of the Christianization of the indigenous people.”

<sup>82</sup> Dubé, 144.

<sup>83</sup> Dubé, 187.

<sup>84</sup> Thwaites, Volume 19, Document 41; Volume 22, Document 48; Volume 24, Document 51; Volume 42, Document 93. Dubé, 148-9, 152, 215.

whole. “The position of the Jesuits themselves was reinforced [during the tenure of Montmagny]. Almost alone, they provided the ministry to the colony, leaving, whenever possible, the guidance of the two convents of nuns to the few secular priests who found themselves in Québec.”<sup>85</sup> The first official governor gave the Jesuits a special place in the colonial government, the Fathers could only hope and pray that the subsequent governors would be as accommodating.

### **Governors D’Ailleboust, De Lauson, D’Argenson, D’Avaugour, and De Mezy**

Fortunately for the Canadian Jesuits, the next governor also provided support to the Order. Governor Louis d’Ailleboust, who took over the colony in 1648, also had connections to the Society: “Like Montmagny, d’Ailleboust had developed close ties with the Jesuits: in Paris his spiritual director, a Jesuit, had put him in touch with Father Charles Lalemant, who interested him in the Montréal project...”<sup>86</sup> The *Relations* portrays him as quickly banning the sale or excessive use of liquors.<sup>87</sup> This is just one example of his favorable attitude toward the Jesuit missions.<sup>88</sup> He also used Father Druillettes as a diplomatic envoy to the English Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut in 1651. D’Ailleboust was evidently unafraid to use these monastics as agents of the crown on the colony’s behalf; even soliciting military aid against the Mohawks.<sup>89</sup> The next governor, de Lauson, who was also a member of the Company of New France, also sent Druillettes on diplomatic missions to New England in 1651, but a year later, it seemed doubtful that the English would actually offer any assistance.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Dubé, 243.

<sup>86</sup> Dubé, 234. See also Thwaites, Volume 32, Document 65.

<sup>87</sup> Thwaites, Volume 33, Document 66.

<sup>88</sup> Thwaites, Volume 36, Document 74.

<sup>89</sup> Thwaites, Volume 36, Document 76.

<sup>90</sup> Thwaites, Volume 36, Document 78 and Volume 37, Document 81.

The next three governors all had conflicts, not with the Jesuits per se, but with the first Bishop of Québec, François Laval. These disputes seemed to revolve around honor given by the most prestigious seat at the church. Governors D'Argenson, D'Avaugour, and De Mezy are recorded in the *Relations* as being on bad terms with the bishop. The Jesuits and even former Governor D'Ailleboust moderated between the parties and eventually resolved the conflicts.<sup>91</sup> These conflicts show fractures occurring in the façade of the colonial administrative hierarchy, though it seems that these disputes were probably caused by senseless disputes over pride. If the disputes were actually about any deeper, more substantive issues, that is not reflected in the sources. From the perspective of the Jesuits, Governor D'Avaugour represented continued favor to the Order. The governor made Father Ragueneau the head of the public affairs council and Father Lalemant a member of the governing council.<sup>92</sup>

### **Governor-General De Courcelles**

In the 1665 *Journal des Jesuites*, Governor Courcelles is reported as having arrived in the colony along with the new intendant, Monsieur Talon in September. Later that same month, the new governor reestablished the old governing council, returning the bishop to that governing body. Furthermore, the Jesuits asked for new missionaries and for a printing press to enable them to print in the languages of the tribes they were engaged in evangelizing.<sup>93</sup>

The year 1665 not only brought Courcelles and Talon to the colony, but the much-anticipated regiment of troops arrived under the leadership of the Marquis de Tracy. He led raids into Iroquois territory, destroying villages, attempting to assert the power of the French, and

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<sup>91</sup> For D'Argenson see Thwaites, Volume 44, Document 97 and Volume 45, Document 101. For D'Avaugour see Thwaites, Volume 46, Document 106. For De Mezy see Thwaites, Volume 48, Document 114 and Volume 49, Document 116.

<sup>92</sup> Thwaites, Volume 46, Documents 104 and 106.

<sup>93</sup> Thwaites, Volume 49, Document 116, Page 167.



discourage the Iroquois from further raids on other tribes or the French settlements. The Fathers saw the French military success against the Iroquois as providing essential relief to the missions, especially those situated in Huron territory.<sup>94</sup> Besides these military actions, Courcelles' tenure as governor brought some conflict with the Jesuits that was resolved quickly; he officially supported their efforts for missions and education, however, Recollet priests were brought into Canada during this time, which could be interpreted as an attempt to weaken the dominant influence of the Society in the colony.<sup>95</sup>

The troops led by Tracy helped to pacify the over bearing nature of the Iroquois raids and allowed the colony to experience a period of peace and stability. Talon, as intendant, sought to develop the economy and stability of the colony and establish inter-colonial trade.<sup>96</sup> While this period of time encouraged growth in the colony, soon enough, many of the tribes the French had contact with were resigned to seeking safe refuge between the hostile Iroquois and Sioux tribes.<sup>97</sup> The *Relation of 1671-2* tells us that in that year, Courcelles and Talon returned to France and the new governor, de Frontenac arrived.<sup>98</sup> While Courcelles might not have been known as a staunch ally of the Jesuit mission, he was not antagonistic either.

### **Governor-General De Frontenac**

As the Governor Frontenac took office, the Jesuits continued to do their part in the grander plan of colonization. They sought not only to convert Amerindians, but to also keep

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<sup>94</sup> Thwaites, Volume 50, Documents 118; Volume 50, Document 120, Page 201; Volume 51, Documents 121; Volume 51, Document 122.

<sup>95</sup> Thwaites, Volume 50, Document 120, Pages 187-9; for information on education, see Volume 51, Document 124; for information on Recollet priests, see Volume 53, Document 126.

<sup>96</sup> Thwaites, Volume 50, Document 121.

<sup>97</sup> Thwaites, Volume 55, Document 127.

<sup>98</sup> Thwaites, Volume 55, Document 128.

them loyal to France.<sup>99</sup> One of the biggest legacies left by the French Jesuit missionaries in the Americas was the expedition of Father Marquette along with Louis Jolliet in 1673. Their expeditionary party sought to survey and map the Mississippi River. The *Jesuit Relations* preserves a few different accounts of their journey. The party was hoping among other things to discover that the Mississippi River would run into the so-called “China Sea” (a reference to the desire to find a northwest passage), instead some are disappointed that it simply runs into the “Florida Sea.”<sup>100</sup> The expedition made a map of the Mississippi and contact with many Amerindian tribes along the way.

One Father, Lamberville, expressed concern to Governor Frontenac in 1682 that the governor might have made a mistake in not meeting with the Iroquois at an appointed time to discuss peace. He also was worried that some people were influencing him to oppose the Jesuits.<sup>101</sup> The diplomatic situation between the friendly tribes and the Iroquois and the English continued to be tense and the peace fragile as the 1690s arrived.<sup>102</sup> To be certain, continued peace with the Iroquois was highly desirable and would have been very advantageous to the Jesuit missions. One issue in 1677 that showed a fissure between the governor and the missionaries was the shifting opposition and then support of Governor Frontenac to anti-alcohol policies that would aid the Jesuit cause. The governor originally supported the Jesuits by blocking liquor sales, however, he later allowed a tavern to be built at the site of one of the

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<sup>99</sup> Thwaites, Volume 57, Document 129.

<sup>100</sup> Thwaites, Volume 58, Document 131; Volume 59, Document 136; Volume 59, Document 137; Volume 59, Document 138.

<sup>101</sup> Thwaites, Volume 62, Document 150.

<sup>102</sup> Thwaites, Volume 62, Document 151; Volume 64, Document 159; Volume 64, Document 167.

mission reduction towns.<sup>103</sup> At this point, there can be no illusion of unbending support of the Jesuits; politics was certainly at play.

### **Governors-General De La Barre, De Denonville, De Calliere, and De Rigaud Vaudreuil**

The leaders of the colony from the 1680s to the 1720s tried the best they could to keep Amerindian tribes on their side, protect from enemy incursions, and to foster productive trade and mission relations with the friendly tribes. Governor-General De La Barre, during his tenure in the 1680s, provided aid to the Abenaki tribe to help them migrate (urging many to settle at the reduction mission town of Sillery) and sought to use them as troops to fight against the Iroquois.<sup>104</sup> Governor-General De Denonville battled against drunkenness amongst the Amerindians and he fully embraced a paternalistic view of the inhabitants of Sillery. It was said of him: “he looks upon our Savages as his children.”<sup>105</sup>

In 1702, Father Carheil wrote to Governor-General De Calliere, warning him of the corruption amongst the missions. The influence of brandy and the prevalence of immoral relations led to the Father demanding reform be made to the administration of military garrisons and merchant activities.<sup>106</sup> Father Bouvart during the same period of time sought to secure royal confirmation that the seigneurie of Sillery would remain fully under the influence of the Jesuit Order. Bouvart’s request to the Comte de Pontchartrain was endorsed by the governor and intendant, showing proof of continued support of Jesuit interests at this time.<sup>107</sup>

During the rule of De Rigaud Vaudreuil, the need to move the mission reduction Sault St. Louis was officially approved. In 1716, the intendant and governor requested funds to relocate

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<sup>103</sup> Thwaites, Volume 63, Document 156.

<sup>104</sup> Thwaites, Volume 63, Document 154.

<sup>105</sup> Thwaites, Volume 63, Document 155.

<sup>106</sup> Thwaites, Volume 65, Document 177.

<sup>107</sup> Thwaites, Volume 66, Document 179.

the settlement. The leaders also provided support to build two new churches in the area of Acadia as the Abenakis sought to resettle that region.<sup>108</sup> The French seemed acutely aware that careful attention needed to be paid in order to retain the loyalty of these tribes who were being influenced heavily by the English and Iroquois.<sup>109</sup> All of these governors were certainly influenced by politics and some seemed to vacillate in offering support to the Order. Besides disagreements with Bishop Laval, the Governors genuinely supported the efforts of the Jesuit missionaries, at the very least, simply within the framework of the grand plan of colonization.

### **The Company of New France**

The colonial governors, intendants, and royal support were vital to the support of the Jesuit missions in New France. There was another entity, however, that had a major interest vested in the colony and therefore offered aid to the Jesuits. The Company of New France (*Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France*) was the official group of investors who were given a legally sanctioned monopoly to the fur trade in the colony. They sought to establish and protect trade and it was in their interest to build and stabilize the colony to protect their business. The group was made up of one hundred original investors who gave the company its other name, the Company of the Hundred Associates (*Compagnie des Cent Associés*). Governors Montmagny and de Lauson were amongst the original investors in the Company.<sup>110</sup> The relationship between the colony and the Company is described by the following:

The first task of the early pioneers was to make themselves familiar with the various places, people, and aboriginal languages. The second was to convince Cardinal Richelieu to found a company of wealthy catholic courtiers, merchants, and officers of state whose

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<sup>108</sup> Thwaites, Volume 67, Document 188.

<sup>109</sup> Thwaites, Volume 67, Document 195.

<sup>110</sup> Dubé, 112-3.

donations and commercial interests could support the colony. This would be the Compagnie des Cent Associés, established in 1628.<sup>111</sup>

Broadly, the interests of the Company and the missionaries aligned. They wanted the colony to succeed. They wanted to foster good relations with the Amerindian tribes and encourage settlement and growth in the colony. This alignment of broad interests led to the support of the Fathers by the Company. The *Relations* repeatedly notes the kindness and benefaction given by the Cent Associés.<sup>112</sup> A letter from the Company even vouches for the Jesuits that they have no interest in the fur trade while another correspondence shows covert permission was given to continue the Order's involvement in the trade.<sup>113</sup> Father Le Jeune in writing to Cardinal Richelieu in 1635 pleads for his aid to be given to the Company and links the perceived accomplishment of the Jesuit mission in New France to that of the *Cent Associés*.<sup>114</sup> In another document, it is recorded that the Fathers on behalf of the Company said masses.<sup>115</sup> These two institutions were certainly linked to each other, with the support and prosperity of the colony as their common goal. Finally, the Company wrote a letter in 1651 lobbying for a Bishop to be granted to Québec. The letter even went as far as suggesting a candidate for this brand new, powerful colonial post. The suggestion, of course, was a Jesuit, Father Lalemant.<sup>116</sup> Ultimately, a Jesuit was not chosen but Bishop Laval did receive a Jesuit education in his youth.<sup>117</sup>

Even though the mutual support helped the colony to get established, troubles plagued the Company, the Jesuits, and the colony as a whole. Constant Iroquois raids ruined the trade with

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<sup>111</sup> Monet, 186-7.

<sup>112</sup> Thwaites, Volume 5, Document 21; Volume 6, Document 22; Volume 7, Document 24; and Volume 16, Document 34.

<sup>113</sup> Thwaites, Volume 25, Document 51 and Volume 27, Document 54.

<sup>114</sup> Thwaites, Volume 7, Document 24, Pages 239-245.

<sup>115</sup> Thwaites, Volume 28, Document 69.

<sup>116</sup> Thwaites, Volume 36, Document 75.

<sup>117</sup> Thwaites, Volume 45, Document 99.

many of the tribes surrounding Québec. War in Europe also distracted the Crown from focusing on the growth and stability of the colony. Montmagny “twice sent Father Le Jeune to warn the French authorities of the dangers that threatened their colony – without success. France was at war, and there was an almost total lack of interest in Canada. The royal power had a convenient alibi: The Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, which was useless, and from 1645 onwards, the Communaute des Habitants, also powerless.”<sup>118</sup>

Because of the difficulties faced by the Company and the lobbying of the French colonists, a new arrangement was formed called the Community of Habitants (Communaute des Habitants). This established greater local control of the fur trade.<sup>119</sup> Unfortunately, war with the Iroquois continued to hurt the trade and eventually France saw the need to send more troops to protect its interests.<sup>120</sup> With the founding of French settlements like Mobile, Biloxi, and New Orleans in the early 1700s, focus began to shift a bit southward. The Company of the West Indies attempted to become dominant in this area, but went bankrupt swiftly due to poor investment strategies.<sup>121</sup> Even though this new Company quickly failed, missions to the southern tribes had begun, many under Capuchin instead of Jesuit direction.<sup>122</sup>

## Conclusion

The support of the governors and intendants continued, though with less intensive reports published in the mid-1700s. The Intendant Hocquart gave support for a church to be built at

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<sup>118</sup> Dubé, 191. For the bankruptcy of the Company, see Dubé, 221-4.

<sup>119</sup> Thwaites, Volume 27, Document 55.

<sup>120</sup> Thwaites, Volume 40, Document 84 and Volume 45, Document 102.

<sup>121</sup> Thwaites, Volume 50, Document 118; Volume 50, Document 121; Volume 67, Document 199; and Volume 67, Document 200.

<sup>122</sup> Thwaites, Volume 67, Document 201.

Tadoussac in 1750.<sup>123</sup> Governmental support for the Jesuit missions continued, but not for long. By 1760, Jesuits were outlawed in France and their colonies (more on this later). Nevertheless, the French Jesuit missions made an impact on the development of Québec and the Americas. None of it would have been possible without the financial, political, military, and personal support of the monarchs, the ministers, and the colonial government. The patronage of these members was key to the outcome of the missions in New France. These governmental bodies provided the tools the Society of Jesus needed to have a fighting chance in the daunting task of evangelizing the vast American continent.

Fathers and their patrons lobbied for royal support; the Governor of New France and the Company of New France granted the Order seigneuries along the St. Lawrence River to support their efforts. Missionaries were used as agents of the royal government's plan to colonize Canada. The Jesuits were not just making converts, they were agents of the French Crown, sent to do the bidding of the King; they were state-sanctioned missionaries. Nevertheless, the tremendous support of the colonial and royal governments was absolutely a major key to what the Jesuits wanted to accomplish in New France.

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<sup>123</sup> Thwaites, Volume 69, Document 219.

## CHAPTER 3

### BENEFACTORS AND OTHER FORMS OF SUPPORT

The missions in New France belonging to the Society of Jesus were a vital piece of the apparatus that was the French colonial presence in Canada in the 1600s and 1700s. As seen in the previous chapter, the missions were not simply an additional charity offered to the Amerindian tribes surrounding the French settlements. They were an integral piece of the grander colonial plan for Canada; the colonial administrators assigned the Jesuit Fathers with molding the people in the tribes to fit the form of French culture and Catholic devotion, the two yarns that were meant to weave the tapestry of French colonial society in Canada. The colonial government used the Jesuits to enact their plans to win alliances with surrounding Amerindian tribes.

Jesuits received financial, political, material, and even military support from the colonial governors, the Company of New France, and even the royal family. In the *Jesuit Relations*, however, the French public, specifically, the wealthy nobles and merchants were constantly petitioned by the Jesuits to become patrons of their enterprise. Father Le Jeune, who wrote many of the early *Relations*, expressed in 1633 a plea on behalf of the Jesuits in Canada “to recommend ourselves to the prayers and to the Holy Sacrifices of Your Reverence and of your whole province. I believe that this mission is cherished by you, and that these poor Savages occupy a good place in your heart.”<sup>1</sup> Two years later, he rejoiced at the outpouring of support from many various sources around France. He praised “the disposition we see in many persons to favor this project, some by their means, others by their personal labors: [all these considerations] lead us to conclude that God is conducting this enterprise.”<sup>2</sup> To him, the variety of kinds of

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<sup>1</sup> Thwaites, Volume 6, Document 21, Page 29.

<sup>2</sup> Thwaites, Volume 7, Document 25, Page 257.



support and the amount signaled the fact that their endeavor to evangelize the Amerindians of the area was indeed God's will.

In 1637, Le Jeune spent the entire first chapter of the *Relation* of that year sharing a list of notable supporters; essentially building his credibility amongst other potential patrons.<sup>3</sup> In the early years of the colony, Le Jeune's *Relations* helped bring awareness to the French of the Jesuit missions in Canada and welcomed all readers to render support as an act of devotion. This initial period was vital to getting the missions effort going. Moogk explains "there never would be another French religious enterprise in North America as great as the seventeenth-century Jesuit mission to the Hurons. Private donors, who supported these pious ventures, became more rare. The crown became the missions' principal patron."<sup>4</sup> As Le Jeune made these public requests for help,

His appeal was heard, and doubly so: first by Marie-Madeleine de la Peltrie, a very rich young widow who persuaded the Ursuline mystic Marie de l'Incarnation and two companions from the monastery at Tours to come with her to found a convent in Québec; second by Marie, Duchess of Aiguillon, another very rich young widow and niece of Richelieu. She approached the Augustinian hospital sisters of Dieppe, who easily agreed on sending three of their number to open an Hôtel-Dieu near the Jesuit College in Québec.<sup>5</sup>

These ladies, therefore, were major patrons to the colony of New France. Although they may not have always supported the Jesuits directly, their support was vital to the missions in New France, providing auxiliary services and support to help the work of the Jesuits prosper.

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<sup>3</sup> Thwaites, Volume 11, Document 29, Pages 45-61.

<sup>4</sup> Moogk, 36.

<sup>5</sup> Monet, 192.

## Marie-Madeleine de La Peltrie

Amongst the main benefactors of the religious mission at Québec was a “very rich young widow,” Madame de La Peltrie, who was described as the “benefactress of the Ursulines” in Québec.<sup>6</sup> After becoming a widow at an early age, she heeded the call for support seen in places like Le Jeune’s *Relations*. “As soon as she became a widow, she began, through the perusal of the *Relations* that we send over every year, earnestly to consider means of contributing to the education of the little Savage girls.”<sup>7</sup> Having in mind to use her wealth to support this missionary cause, she convinced the Ursuline nun, Marie l’Incarnation, as well as two other nuns from Tours to accompany her to the French colony in order to establish a convent.

With her wealth, La Peltrie funded several building projects in the new colony. Her patronage, as well as the leadership of Ursuline Marie l’Incarnation, allowed the construction of a proper girls seminary in Québec.<sup>8</sup> “This seminary is one of the fairest ornaments of the Colony, and a marked help for the detention and conversion of the Savages.”<sup>9</sup> The author of this *Relation* certainly believed that this school, though not built or maintained by the Jesuits, would be a great addition to the effort of the Jesuit missions, of ‘Frenchifying’ and ‘Christianizing’ Amerindians, especially children. The writer also relates that Madame de La Peltrie has gone to Montréal “to be present at the beginning of that new and holy settlement.”<sup>10</sup> The Ursuline seminary, due to the assistance given by La Peltrie, was able to increase their efforts to convert Amerindian children.

The benefactress was not only donated time and money to the Ursulines; she also had considerable involvement in the mission reduction town of Sillery, just south of Québec. She

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<sup>6</sup> Dubé, 149.

<sup>7</sup> Thwaites, Volume 16, Document 34, Page 11.

<sup>8</sup> Dubé, 158-9.

<sup>9</sup> Thwaites, Volume 23, Document 51, Page 291.

<sup>10</sup> Thwaites, Volume 23, Document 51, Page 301.

sponsored converts, a favorite devotional activity of officials and patrons in the colony.<sup>11</sup> In fact, she was so zealous about the missions, the *Relations* report that upon her arrival in the colony and visiting Sillery, “she could not contain herself; she wished to be everywhere, whenever the Savages were in question.”<sup>12</sup> The next year, her contribution and involvement in the work of Sillery continued. She “wished to come to saint Joseph [Sillery] at the Christmas feast, in order to be present with them at the midnight Mass. She experiences such a matchless joy and consolation when she can receive communion with these good Neophytes.”<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, she is described as being more concerned with the converts than their own mothers.<sup>14</sup> La Peltrie, therefore, was unique in the sense that she actually migrated to New France and made life about being involved in the mission efforts around Québec. She helped found and build the Ursuline seminary for young girls and she frequently spent time amongst those living at the Sillery reduction.

In 1662, Madame de La Peltrie contributed to a shipment of supplies sent to Montréal to help that town in a time of need.<sup>15</sup> The *Relation of 1671-2* reports her death and therefore the end of her efforts as a benefactress and foundress of the Ursulines in Québec.<sup>16</sup> The Ursuline, well-established in the colony due to her efforts, were seen as a vital part of the overall mission to convert Amerindians which was run by the Jesuits in New France.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Thwaites, Volume 26, Document 53 and Volume 16, Document 34, Page 21. For more on her involvement in Sillery, see also Volume 20, Document 44.

<sup>12</sup> Thwaites, Volume 16, Document 34, Page 21.

<sup>13</sup> Thwaites, Volume 18, Document 41, Page 159.

<sup>14</sup> Thwaites, Volume 18, Document 41, Page 159.

<sup>15</sup> Thwaites, Volume 47, Document 11, Page 281-3.

<sup>16</sup> Thwaites, Volume 56, Document 128.

<sup>17</sup> The Jesuits handled the business affairs of the Ursulines in New France. A practical example of this is seen in Thwaites, Volume 71, Document 229, Pages 21-3.

## Marie, Duchess of Aiguillon

As the French settled the area around Québec and encountered the Amerindian tribes surrounding the settlements, they began to notice that the people of these tribes were getting sick in massive numbers. Especially in villages where a Jesuit missionary lived, “contagion” would spread rapidly and many died because of it. With the Jesuit goal being evangelism of these tribes, the death rate and prevalence of illness was obviously concerning to them. Furthermore, the Jesuit’s view of treatments given by the tribes was that they were ineffectual. The Fathers began to realize the need for European medicine to be offered to address the deadly epidemics amongst these Amerindian populations. Looking to build a hospital to look after the physical and spiritual welfare of colonists, but especially Amerindians, the Jesuits found a benefactress in the French noblewoman, the Duchess d’Aiguillon.

The Duchess, who was the niece of Cardinal Richelieu, did not travel to New France, as did Madame de La Peltrie.<sup>18</sup> She did, however, find three “Hospital Nuns of Dieppe” monastery. These three nuns travelled to New France along with funds from the Duchess to help build a “Hostel-Dieu for our Savages who were dying in the forests, abandoned and without any assistance.”<sup>19</sup> The hospital was built in 1640; as Dubé describes: “On 9 July 1640, Montmagny presided there at the blessing of the foundation stone of a hospital. The Duchess d’Aiguillon, who financed the enterprise, had asked that the building be constructed in a place inhabited by indigenous people. Sillery was solely dedicated to that.”<sup>20</sup> A hospital is exactly what the Jesuits wanted to help further their mission in a way they could not do themselves. The Jesuits’ desire for a hospital to care for the sick native and baptize the dying was achieved thanks to the

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<sup>18</sup> Thwaites, Volume 16, Document 34, Page 23.

<sup>19</sup> Thwaites, Volume 16, Document 34, Page 9.

<sup>20</sup> Dubé, 153.

patronage of the Duchess d'Aiguillon, Richelieu's niece.<sup>21</sup> The hospital became a foundational institution in the colony. Its service and outreach was unique and vital to the community of French and Amerindians. Jesuit fathers did spiritual teaching to the captive audience in this hospital.<sup>22</sup>

Father Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1639 reported: "We hope that Madame the Duchess, by increasing the aid, will cause increased pity toward the sick people of her house, – let us rather say, of the house of God."<sup>23</sup> While the Duchess was the main benefactor to the hospital, she was by no means the only one. In the 1664-5 *Relation*, Father Le Mercier provides various pieces of information about the hospital. A Parisian had sent aid to the hospital, a Huguenot was converted while infirmed, and a request for more nuns (with dowries) and missionaries was also made.<sup>24</sup>

Further requests for aid were made in the 1666-7 *Relation*, while gratitude was offered in response to the gifts received from France for the hospital mission. A larger house was requested; some ships that docked at Québec, arriving from Europe, would be full of passengers who were very sick and even some who had died.<sup>25</sup> This spread of contagion was not beneficial and the hospitals aimed at stopping it. In the *Relation* of the same year was also reported the death of the hospital mother. Ultimately, the Jesuits wanted a hospital to heal sick colonists and potential Amerindian converts. While the venture was run by nuns, the Jesuits still had a hand in the operation and its planning. Duchess d'Aiguillon became a primary benefactress of the hospital and helped the Jesuits supplement their mission.

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<sup>21</sup> Dubé, 154-5.

<sup>22</sup> Thwaites, Volume 22, Document 48.

<sup>23</sup> Thwaites, Volume 16, Document 34, Page 25.

<sup>24</sup> Thwaites, Volume 49, Document 117.

<sup>25</sup> Thwaites, Volume 51, Document 121.

## Noël Brulart de Sillery

As discussed in the second chapter, the grand plan of colonization for the French in Canada was to use the Jesuit missionaries to convert the Amerindians while simultaneously teaching them French culture. As the tribes were being 'Frenchified' and 'Christianized,' they would also begin intermarrying with French colonists. This process would create an inter-racial class of French subjects, loyal to Le Roi, protecting and advancing French interests in North America. Difficulties with the influence of alcohol and the frequently-travelling lifestyle of many of the tribes led the Jesuits to shift their focus to simply conversion and development of devout Catholics, leaving cultural and social assimilation to the side. The missionaries believed that they must separate Amerindians from the negative influences of both their tribe and French colonial society by creating a town solely focused on the production of faithful Catholics.

To bring this idea to fruition in New France, the Jesuits needed land and funding to create a new settlement on, just for Amerindian converts. The Fathers found a benefactor in Noël Brulart de Sillery. A noble in the circle of the Queen Mother, he was known for having "never lacked money."<sup>26</sup> In addition to being known in the French court, Sillery corresponded with Governor Montmagny, in fact, they were both members of the Knights of Malta. This connection further shows the involvement of that organization in the early development of the colony of New France. Sillery convinced the Company of New France to grant him a tract of land in the colony of New France in 1637. Sillery's "first idea was to found a seminary for young aboriginal girls. In the spring of 1637 he sent workers to Québec to commence construction of a building. But at this time Le Jeune believed that the first priority was to encourage the natives to settle in a village, the permanence of which would restrain their 'vagabond wanderings.' So he decided,

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<sup>26</sup> Dubé, 125.

after consulting with the benefactor – who accepted this change – to divert the workers to the preparation of a reduction in the neighborhood of Québec.”<sup>27</sup>

Officially named Saint Joseph the reduction mission town just south of Québec served to provide a kind of embassy for the surrounding tribes with proximity to the political, social, and religious capital of New France. The town was separated enough from Québec to avoid some of the negative influences of the town; however, it was close enough to provide quick access to protection, supplies, and consultation with the French allies. The converts were given an amount of autonomy in the settlement, which included electing their own chief. More on the operation and importance of this town and others like it will be discussed in the last chapter.

Monsieur de Sillery had agreed to grant his seigneurie to the Jesuits to carry out the plan for a reduction mission town. Less than three years after the establishment of the town, the *Relation of 1640-41* reported the reaction to the death of de Sillery. It related that “his death had checked the aid that he gave us; but ... some persons of merit are not willing that this great work should cease, and they are strengthening our hands which were being weakened by the decease of those who are worthy to bear the name of true Fathers of the Christian Savages.”<sup>28</sup> Even though a major benefactor had died, the mission reduction at Sillery quickly took up the torch of patronage. De Sillery’s death was not the end of his work of patronage, however; much of his estate was understood to be destined to fund the maintenance and growth of Sillery. Later, the *Relations* compare the founding of the town to its status a few years later: “At the start, we had means of supporting eight workmen at Sillery; they are at present reduced to four; and still we hear from France that the amount of the donation of the late Monsieur de Sillery, intended for

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<sup>27</sup> Dubé, 151-2.

<sup>28</sup> Thwaites, Volume 21, Document 44, Page 109-111.

their maintenance, is detained in France.”<sup>29</sup> The legacy of de Sillery as the patron of this principal town of converts was not, however, based on the outcome of the dispersal of his estate. The town became the place for Amerindian allies of various tribes to congregate and escape their original society in order to create a new Amerindian Catholic polity.

### **The *Donnés* System**

The *donnés* system was made up of French men who devoted their lives to the missions, without pay. In the contracts establishing these relationships, the Society pledged to “provide the *donné* with food, clothing, and care when sick.”<sup>30</sup> These men were not priests or even lay members of the Society of Jesus. These were simply men devoted to the Jesuit missionary cause who could work and serve as “domestic” servants. The advantage of these men to the Jesuits was that a lay Jesuit brother “cannot do what a Domestic can, such as carrying loads, using an arquebus, etc., we have always... desired to have ...Secular Domestics, who would give themselves for the rest of their lives to the service of our Fathers who are here among the Hurons.”<sup>31</sup> These servants were originally intended for use only amongst the Huron missions, but soon were in use in other mission fields.<sup>32</sup> “*Donnés* were individuals, usually young men or boys, who helped the Jesuits with non-religious duties. By the terms of their contracts, they had to remain chaste and serve without any pay other than their room and board.”<sup>33</sup> Ultimately, these *donnés* were especially useful in the unfamiliar terrain through which the missionaries had to bring supplies and were always vulnerable to attack. “These pious men replaced the salaried

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<sup>29</sup> Thwaites, Volume 23, Document 51, Page 307.

<sup>30</sup> Moogk, 30.

<sup>31</sup> Thwaites, Volume 21, Document 47, Page 293.

<sup>32</sup> Thwaites, Volume 21, Document 47, Page 297.

<sup>33</sup> Allan Greer, ed. *The Jesuit Relations: Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America*. Bedford Series in History and Culture. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), 11n. 4.



workers employed by the society. The Hurons now saw devout and obedient French laymen whose conduct followed the missionaries' teachings."<sup>34</sup> Therefore, the utility of the *donnés* was not only practical, but also spiritual. It helped the missionaries to have contracted manual laborers who could bear arms, but it also was beneficial to use these men as an example of what the Fathers wanted the Amerindians to become. This aligned perfectly with the grand scheme of colonization discussed in the previous chapter. Perhaps, by the lay example of these servants, the Hurons and others would decide to adopt not only Catholicism, but French culture as well.

### **Other Benefactors and Forms of Aid**

The benefactors mentioned already in this chapter as well as the support received from official governmentally sanctioned sources were not the only means of aid received by the Jesuits for their missions in New France. There were also many other French subjects that donated, whether materially, with physical labor, or even through prayer. Nobility and clergy loved to show their support for the Amerindian missions by becoming baptismal sponsors for converts.<sup>35</sup> This was a kind of public statement that declared one's support for the Jesuit missions. Profits made by merchants were used in New France to help build a church and clergy-house.<sup>36</sup> All kinds of help were given to the cause: donations of food, clothing, and devotional aids; land donations, gifts, and trinkets; prayers, public pronouncements, and physical labor. These things were more or less appreciated by the Amerindian congregations who received the donations. Sometimes, gifts were misunderstood and the cultural value was either over- or under-appreciated. One example of the reception of these gifts is preserved in the *Relation of 1642-43*. In this "letter which a Christian Neophyte has dictated, by himself, to be sent to France, to a man

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<sup>34</sup> Moogk, 30.

<sup>35</sup> Thwaites, Volume 2, Document 11.

<sup>36</sup> Thwaites, Volume 27, Document 54.

of consideration, his benefactor,” the man gives thanks for the devout and charitable donations of the benefactor and for the hospital nuns who were taking care of him.<sup>37</sup> The authenticity of this letter is difficult to discern. He does attribute negative qualities to his fellow tribesmen and positive qualities to the Frenchmen, though this may not actually tell us anything about the conditions under which the document was written. The letter was nevertheless shared in the *Relation* of that year in France.

Other than the lands already mentioned that were donated from various sources for use by the Jesuits in their missions, additional land grants were given to the Jesuits.<sup>38</sup> The *Journal des Jesuites* of 1668 reports that the Abbé de la Madeleine had donated an estate to the Society in New France. The Fathers did not use this plot of land for a reduction town; instead, they used it to give “over 40 concessions” of land to settlers in the colony.<sup>39</sup> Another wealthy Frenchman, Jérôme Le Royer de La Dauversière wanted to found a Christian Amerindian colony on the island of Montréal. The Jesuits influenced him, Dubé explains, “From his adolescence onwards he had lived in the Jesuits’ orbit.”<sup>40</sup> A former soldier, Maisonneuve, was selected to lead the expedition to found the new settlement in 1642. The Jesuits were involved in the conception of this plan and the plan was to invite friendly tribes in the process of conversion to settle around the town. It would essentially be another reduction settlement like Sillery.<sup>41</sup> More settlements designed for friendly tribes were created in the early 1650s when the Jesuits bought, with donations from France, the Ile d’Orleans (also called St. Mary’s Island), the island in the St. Lawrence River just north of Québec. This effort of establishing this “Huron colony” under the

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<sup>37</sup> Thwaites, Volume 24, Document 51, Page 39-43.

<sup>38</sup> See Dubé, 131 about Jesuit seigneurial lands.

<sup>39</sup> Thwaites, Volume 51, Document 123, Page 149.

<sup>40</sup> Dubé, 217.

<sup>41</sup> Dubé, 217-9.

direction of the Jesuits cost them “eight thousand livres.” They Fathers claim to “give with pleasure what is sent to [them] from France; but it is well-directed charity, since it has no other object than the salvation of souls.”<sup>42</sup> These other settlements and reductions were one kind of very effective donation to the Jesuit mission in New France.

Essentially every report and letter sent back to France, especially those published and read by the public were filled with appeals for money and people to be sent. If not these kinds of donations, clothes, gifts, food, or anything else were greatly appreciated. Specific congregations in France decided to become patrons to a specific mission town. The *Relation of 1652-53* told of clothes that were sent for Hurons by friends of the mission from France.<sup>43</sup> The next year, the report included a request for six more Jesuit fathers and more money to be sent to support the missions. It also reported the charity of French benefactors as well as gratitude given by the Hurons to a congregation in Paris.<sup>44</sup> A letter by Father Le Jeune in 1657 included an accounting of donations for the Québec convent while the *Relation* of that same year include multiple requests for money and aid to support the Iroquois missions.<sup>45</sup> One strong connection that developed was between the converts living at the reduction town of Lorette and the congregation that met the Cathedral of Chartres. The Lorette congregation sent a wampum belt and the congregation at Chartres reciprocated by sending a reliquary.<sup>46</sup> The Chartres congregation was also requested in 1749 to renew their support for the converts of the Abenaki tribe.<sup>47</sup> Other kinds of aid are requests for money in order to reimburse a Jesuit for personal expenses incurred while

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<sup>42</sup> Thwaites, Volume 36, Document 79, Page 203.

<sup>43</sup> Thwaites, Volume 40, Document 84.

<sup>44</sup> Thwaites, Volume 41, Document 86.

<sup>45</sup> Thwaites, Volume 43, Document 94; Volume 43, Document 96; and Volume 44, Document 96.

<sup>46</sup> Thwaites, Volume 61, Document 146.

<sup>47</sup> Thwaites, Volume 69, Document 216.

offering charity. The mission report of 1683-4 included an account by Father Bigot about his expenses accrued because of an act of charity. He bought supplies for the sick on credit and was asking for help from a friend to repay the credit debt.<sup>48</sup> The government, Company, and nobility were not the only supporters of the Jesuit missions. Aid came from many places, great and small; the Jesuit mission was surely a cause with widespread support and appeal in France.

### **The Pope and the Catholic Hierarchy**

If the French public and many government officials supported the Jesuit missions in New France, the Pope and the Catholic hierarchy must have given undivided support, one may assume. Early on, the Recollet fathers were noted in the *Relations* for their kindness given to the Jesuits in their efforts to establish themselves in New France.<sup>49</sup> The leading Jesuit in New France, known as the Superior, would periodically write letters to the head Jesuit in France (the provincial) and the Father General in Rome, the leader of the entire Society of Jesus. These letters often gave short accounts of the status of the missions as well as asking for more workers and support.<sup>50</sup> Many years, at least one new Jesuit would arrive in the colony to join the missions; evidently these requests were heard in most years.

In his 1637 *Relation*, Le Jeune reported that “His Holiness, wishing to crown us with his blessings, has had sent to us this year plenary Indulgences” for certain days.<sup>51</sup> Of course, by admitting this, he wielded the name of the Pope, which gave great weight to his cause in the minds of French Catholics. Wealthy and devout French citizens would want to donate to a cause the Pope also found worthy. This, then, worked doubly in the Jesuit’s favor. These strategies of

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<sup>48</sup> Thwaites, Volume 63, Document 154.

<sup>49</sup> Thwaites, Volume 4, Document 15.

<sup>50</sup> Thwaites, Volume 6, Document 22; Volume 7, Document 23; Volume 11, Document 27.

<sup>51</sup> Thwaites, Volume 11, Document 29, Page 47.

requesting help and also admitting when help was received and by whom was not simply a matter of reporting, but of politics and advertising. Essentially, these *Relations* served as a kind of early modern marketing.

In 1647, Garnier thanked the Father General of the Society of Jesus for a letter he sent to the Hurons.<sup>52</sup> This was another kind of support issued by the Jesuit hierarchy, clearly in favor of the missions. Communication with the Father General was continued the next year by Father Brebeuf who reported on the Huron mission, which was dealing with the frequent raids by the Iroquois. The notable part of this correspondence, however, was that Brebeuf attempted to use this letter for political intrigue. He sought to lobby the Father General to keep Father Ragueneau as the Superior despite a rule set to limit lengths of time in office.<sup>53</sup> The Jesuits in New France used their supporters and benefactors to try to influence the missions in the way they thought best.

Politics and missions once again were bedfellows when Bishop Laval was being appointed in 1651. As noted in the previous chapter, the Company of New France wrote directly to the Father General of the Jesuits to lobby for Laval to be the bishop.<sup>54</sup> Bishop Laval was not a Jesuit, but did receive a Jesuit education in his youth and therefore felt some obligation to advocate for their causes.<sup>55</sup> The Bishop fulfilled the expectations and was very supportive of the Jesuit missions, even after he retired his post. Gravier notes in a letter to him in 1697, that it would be beneficial to the Jesuits to have a bishop in New France that supports their cause and Gravier also extends gratitude for donations given by the former Bishop of Québec.<sup>56</sup> As the

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<sup>52</sup> Thwaites, Volume 30, Document 61.

<sup>53</sup> Thwaites, Volume 32, Document 64.

<sup>54</sup> Thwaites, Volume 36, Document 75.

<sup>55</sup> Thwaites, Volume 45, Document 99.

<sup>56</sup> Thwaites, Volume 46, Document 102, and Volume 65, Document 171.

political climate in Europe turned against the Jesuits, Québec received a bishop in the 1750s that was unfavorable to the Order.<sup>57</sup> For most of the period of Jesuit missions in New France, support from the hierarchy was generally given, but as will be discussed in the final chapter, the Jesuits had lost their political sway by the 1750s and the end was drawing near.

### **Conclusion**

The Jesuit missions in New France were an integral piece of the broader colonial plan for Canada. Jesuits received financial, political, material, and even military support from the colonial governors, the Company of New France, and the monarchs. The *Jesuit Relations* constantly petitioned the French public, specifically, the wealthy nobles and merchants to become patrons of their Canadian missions. The *Relations* give a list of benefactors to just one parish, Notre Dame de Recouvrance, in Québec from 1632-1657.<sup>58</sup> The chapel was originally funded by Samuel de Champlain; at various times donations were made by the Jesuit Fathers, Governor Montmagny, the Company of New France, Lieutenant Governor de L'Isle, Madames de La Peltrie and d'Ailleboust, and many other notables and common colonists donated to this chapel. The support of this chapel alone show the diversity of support given to Jesuit efforts in New France.

The two most dynamic benefactresses of the Jesuit missions were Madame de La Peltrie and the Duchess d'Aiguillon. These ladies donated time and wealth to build and support an Ursuline seminary for girls and a hospital for Québec, respectively. The land grants given for the use of the Jesuit missions were also some of the major donations given to the Order. The land grant of the Monsieur de Sillery, especially, served as a model for how the Jesuits would use the

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<sup>57</sup> Thwaites, Volume 69, Document 223.

<sup>58</sup> Thwaites, Volume 42, Document 93, Pages 269-289.

land they received and how they would interact with Amerindian converts. The Church hierarchy also provided support in various ways to the Jesuit missions, from establishing the *donnés* system to wielding papal prestige to strengthen their petitions for help from the French public. With all of this support, it may seem surprising that the missionaries ever had challenges that threatened the perceived success of their venture. Just as the Society received political, spiritual, and material support from various groups, they would just as quickly experience opposition coming from the same arenas. The support and the opposition of the missions would play out on the grand colonial stage, as the Jesuits became agents in the deadly theater of international colonial competition.

## CHAPTER 4

### OPPOSITION TO THE JESUITS IN NEW FRANCE

While the Jesuits and their mission in New France received many sources and kinds of assistance, just as many forces of opposition welled up against the order and their operations in the workings of New France. Previous chapters already established that Jesuits were acting in much more than a spiritual framework. As agents of the French colonial regime in New France, they encountered opposition from seemingly every direction.

Other European colonial powers had their own designs for northeastern North America (not to mention the rest of the continent). To the Dutch and the English, especially, a French and Catholic power nearby their own budding colonies was unacceptable and they schemed to sabotage the French efforts in New France, including the Jesuit missions. Leaders of the Amerindian tribes, especially those tribe members known as “medicine men,” often provided fierce opposition to the Jesuits and their preaching and imposition of a new religion and social order. Within the population of New France itself, colonial administrators, military garrisons, and other colonists obstructed the Jesuit’s plans, sometimes intentionally, sometimes not. Referring to the Jesuit missions around the world, Aveling explains, "there were numerous collisions between Jesuit mission superiors and governors, government agents, estate owners and trainers."<sup>1</sup> This rang true for Jesuits in New France as well. New France was not primarily an agricultural colony. The fur from animal pelts quickly became the main commodity of Canadian origins. While the Jesuits in New France often had their hands full with resistance from many directions, those who monitored Jesuit interests in France also had opponents to contend with. The media in France was often brutal towards those who obtained the enmity of certain

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<sup>1</sup> Aveling, 150.



publishers. Pamphlets full of sensational accusations seemed to spring from a fount of perpetual supply. Eventually, the Jesuits would lose out in this arena, causing the cessation and abandonment of essentially all of the Jesuit mission operations. The remnants of these Jesuit missionaries will be discussed in more depth in the conclusion.

Social and political sources of opposition were only half of the resistance bolstered against the Jesuit missions in New France. Before the Jesuits ever arrived in French America, other religious groups actively opposed their involvement in the colonies. Challenges came against the Jesuits from Protestant and Catholic groups alike. Of course, this was only the opposition lodged against them by other Europeans. Medicine Men and other religious Amerindians were often profoundly resistant to the new teachings of the “black robes.”

All of the kinds of opposition discussed up to this point, however, pale in comparison to the number one enemy of the Jesuit mission in New France. This last force was addressed with just as much vigor and more often than any other kind of opposition faced by the missionaries, even though this force is not human and not even animate. The final source of opposition, of course, is intoxicating liquor. Brandy, especially, was so widespread in the tribes of North America, it could be said that these liquors were more effective at reaching the populations of Amerindians than the missionaries were.

Overall, the combination of these forces, often times working together, against the Jesuits and their missions in New France, successfully curtailed in some places, and hindered in others, the spread of the Catholic faith and French alliances to the people in the tribes of North America.

## Opposition by Other European Colonial Powers

The 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries can be characterized by European nations jockeying for position with regards to the settlement and edification of colonial outposts and colonies around the world. In North America, the Spanish, French, Dutch, English, and Swedes all scrambled to establish themselves on the eastern coast of North America and begin to work their way inland to establish trade routes and alliances with Amerindian tribes. While France focused efforts north of the Caribbean on the St. Lawrence River, the Spanish focused on Cuba, Mexico, and then South America. The English, arrived on the scene later, trying to make up for lost time. Eventually, the English would supplant Swedish and Dutch colonies covering the areas of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and the region around Philadelphia.

As the French began to move into the region of the St. Lawrence, they also sent expeditions to settle around the area of Maine and Acadia. By 1611, Jesuits were seeking to establish missions in the area. In 1614, the Jesuits at the French settlement of St. Sauveur on the coast of Maine, saved the settlers from potential slaughter when an English force from Jamestown discovered and occupied their outpost. The English evidently thought the Frenchmen were simply pirates until they discovered the Jesuits amongst them. The chronicle of the event says that the Jesuits revealed themselves to the English and “were heard somewhat kindly by the Captain, and received with respectful address: the only thing of which he disapproved being that Fathers of the Society, who had commonly so good a reputation for piety and wisdom, should be among a band of runaways and pirates.”<sup>2</sup> This French settlement was abandoned and the Fathers eventually made it back to France. This English attack constituted the first direct hostility French Jesuits had faced in New France. It was only a small taste of the hostilities against the French

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<sup>2</sup> Thwaites, Volume 2, Document 12, pgs 257-9.

and the Jesuits to come later. The coast of Maine and Acadia were proving to be prime targets for English animosity. However, “by that time, the main thrust of French colonization had shifted farther west to the St. Lawrence River Valley.”<sup>3</sup>

The English continued their encroachment on French territories in Canada throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and particularly the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the *Relation of 1671-1672* it was reported that the English had made a camp on the bay of “Hutson.” Father Albanel related on the 28<sup>th</sup> of June (probably in 1672) that his party saw “a hoy of ten or twelve tons, with its rigging, carrying the English Flag and a lateen sail.”<sup>4</sup> No Englishmen were reported present at the cabins; it could be assumed that they were inland conducting a trading mission. Although no direct hostility ensued, the discovery of the English camp at Hudson Bay illustrated the status of European colonial competition. The next year, Father Nouvel discovered increased English trade activity to the north. He described the situation in terms of colonial competition for trade with and influence amongst the Amerindian tribes of the area. Acting as colonial agents, Nouvel claimed, “We try as much as we can, conformably to what Monsieur the Governor and Monsieur the Intendant have written to us about it, to incline them to continue their intercourse with the French. But already we see that the establishment of the English on the great bay of the North [Hudson Bay], ... will cause a decided prejudice against the colony [New France]. The English have already diverted a great many of the inland savages who visit Lake Superior, and attracted them to themselves by their great liberality...”<sup>5</sup> The effects of these English encroachments to the north

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<sup>3</sup> Greer, *The Jesuit Relations*, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Thwaites, Volume 56, Document 128, Page 185. Another journey of Father Albanel to Hudson Bay and the English camp is recorded in Volume 59, Document 135, Page 67. On this journey, he encounters an English fort at the bay and they threaten to kill him if he continues toward their position.

<sup>5</sup> Thwaites, Volume 57, Document 129, pg 21.

were compounded by the state of hostilities to the south, mainly caused by the Iroquois and the Dutch.

Even as the English were making slow, but steady advances in Virginia, Massachusetts, and the Hudson Bay, the Dutch were busy engaging in trade and diplomacy with the Iroquois. The Jesuits and others in New France saw the ‘heretical’ Dutch as instigators of the Iroquois, inciting them to attack the Hurons, Ottawas, Algonquins, and other tribes who were the hosts of Jesuit missions. Iroquois raiding parties seemed to be ubiquitous, attacking anyone who crossed their paths. It certainly seems that the Dutch were trading weapons to the Iroquois in return for slaves as Christina Snyder relates in her book.<sup>6</sup> By the 1670s, French Jesuits had made several attempts at establishing missions amongst the various Iroquois nations. As seen by the Jesuits, these missions had vacillating success and often some Iroquois would decide to tolerate the Jesuit influences in their tribe no longer. The Dutch, who were settled south of the Iroquois, had established trade relations with the tribes and sought to influence them against the French. The sale of alcohol seemed to be the main tool used by Dutch (and other) traders to divert the Iroquois from the influence of Jesuit missionaries.<sup>7</sup> In 1674, the Jesuit Dablon reported that Father Bruyas “has had much to suffer from the Dutch, who are the neighbors of that [Iroquois] village. He has even been compelled to hide, in order to save himself from the evil designs which those heretics entertain toward him.”<sup>8</sup> It was not only on land that the Dutch threatened the work

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<sup>6</sup> Christina Snyder. *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2010), 48. See also page 46.

<sup>7</sup> For more on Dutch brandy being used by the Iroquois see Thwaites, Volume 47, Document 108.

<sup>8</sup> Thwaites, Volume 59, Document 135, Page 75.

of the missions; Jesuit missionary Jean Enjalran, in 1676, told of his voyage from France and how they “had fortunately escaped being taken by the Dutch.”<sup>9</sup>

As the English took over the former Dutch colony of New Netherland by the 1670s, the hostilities coming from the Dutch shifted fully to the English. The Jesuits’ activities amongst the Iroquois were severely hampered by the influence and schemes of the English. In 1687, it was related in a letter sent back to France that the Governor of New France, “Monsieur de Denonville omits nothing that can be done to protect them from the incursions of the Iroquois, who are all the more to be dreaded since they are incited by the English, who will not fail to suggest to them means for doing us injury.”<sup>10</sup> English involvement in Iroquois society continued into the 1700s and was a contributing factor to the migration of some Iroquois converts settling at the mission settlement outside of Montréal. This is reflected in a letter Father Germain describes “Families who have left their own country, because they were not free to form a church and to lead a Christian life there, on account of the insults offered by their infidel countrymen and by the English.”<sup>11</sup> It should be clear through this citation that although the Dutch and English were powerful influences in opposition to the work of the missions of the French Jesuits, they were by no means the only influence or resistance. Leaders from various Amerindian tribes provided their own robust resistance to the missionaries.

### **Opposition by Amerindian Leaders**

Non-Jesuit Europeans were not the only ones to actively oppose the mission work of the Jesuits in New France. As one could imagine, the leaders of the various Amerindian tribes reached by the Jesuit missionaries often times had adverse reactions to the lessons, teachings,

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<sup>9</sup> Thwaites, Volume 60, Document 141, Page 107.

<sup>10</sup> Thwaites, Volume 63, Document 158, Page 279.

<sup>11</sup> Thwaites, Volume 66, Document 186, Page 205.

and claims of authority made by Jesuit Fathers in the mission field. Chiefs and Medicine Men were often the first ones to resist them.<sup>12</sup> Even after missionaries had stayed with a tribe, Jesuits would face emotional, verbal, and physical persecution in response to things they did or even things that they could not control or predict, like the coming of disease or famine. Quite early on, the Amerindians began to suffer from infectious diseases such as smallpox soon after first contact with the Jesuits. While neither the Jesuits, nor the Amerindians, knew anything about the spread of germs and diseases, the tribes often made the correlation and therefore sought to persecute and expel the Jesuits from their communities.<sup>13</sup> Because the Fathers often baptized the sick and dying as a means of last resort salvation, many tribes hosting missionaries made a correlation between death and baptism, thinking that conversion would lead to death.

There were those, of course, who simply disagreed with the moral teachings of the Jesuits as well. In 1694, a Jesuit missionary to the Illinois tribes explained why he did not visit a tribe, which had good relations with French traders. He proclaimed that he did not go because “there are among them some libertines who do not love the Missionary’s presence, because they wish to continue their evil conduct.”<sup>14</sup> A brief time later, the same father reports a more passive opposition amongst another tribe. He “was surprised by the indifference to instruction that [he] observed.”<sup>15</sup> He is politely told that influential people in this tribe, medicine men and a chief, strongly oppose his mission work because it is against their customs, but they were attempting to decline him politely. Jesuit missionaries in New France experienced a vast range of responses to their evangelistic efforts from the early 1600s through the late 1700s and covering areas from

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<sup>12</sup> Thwaites, Volume 5, Document 21 Volume 9, Document 26; Volume 10, Document 26; and Volume 17, Document 34 are just some examples.

<sup>13</sup> Thwaites, Volume 11, Document 28; Volume 12, Document 29; and Volume 15, Document 30.

<sup>14</sup> Thwaites, Volume 64, Document 166, Page 161.

<sup>15</sup> Thwaites, Volume 64, Document 166, Page 163.

Hudson Bay to Lake Pontchartrain and Acadia to St. Louis. Unfavorable responses were frequent and sometimes deadly.

### **Opposition from Traders and Garrisons**

During the first decades after the French arrived in Canada, the various Amerindian groups who hunted and collected pelts brought the furs down to the French settlements on the St. Lawrence River by way of large canoe fleets.<sup>16</sup> Eventually, this gave way to small groups and individual French traders travelling the vast interior of Canada from the region around the Great Lakes to Hudson Bay. These French traders would often stop over at Jesuit missions and sometimes they would end up living at trading posts which were also located around villages or missions where Jesuits were engaged in evangelism. Missionaries and traders got along just fine quite often, but other times, the goals, interests, and activities of these Frenchmen would clash. Traders would often bring liquors as a good to sell or trade to Amerindian peoples. The Jesuits fiercely opposed this.

The fur trade was integrally linked to the prosperity of the colony of New France. Since there was no main cash crop, agriculture was mainly used for subsistence instead of profit. The real money to be made was the trade in furs to be sold to Europe. The system of trade was not just as easy as bartering from one person to another, it involved complex diplomatic relations between different Amerindian tribes and European nations. Trade would slow or stop when safety could not be guaranteed. Frequent Iroquois raiding parties sometimes kept the majority of furs from reaching the ports in a given year.<sup>17</sup> Other times, even the Iroquois wanted to trade

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<sup>16</sup> Thwaites, Volume 12, Page 3, and Volume 12, Document 29, Page 229-31.

<sup>17</sup> Thwaites, Volume 32, Document 63.

with the French; when they saw it as being advantageous to do so over trade with the Dutch or English.<sup>18</sup>

The main conflict between traders, whether French or otherwise, was the sale of liquor to Amerindians, who then were likely to respond antagonistically toward the Jesuits. Alcohol itself will be discussed more in depth at the end of this chapter, but it is important to point out that this seemed to be the major point of contention between what otherwise was a good relationship. Of course, some traders were accused of committing atrocities. Jesuit missionary Laure, for example, suspected French traders of purposely selling goods contaminated with infectious diseases to the Mistassin tribe in 1730.<sup>19</sup> Frenchmen in the army were also accused of poorly representing the French Crown and their religion. Father Carheil said of the military garrisons that “God and the king or badly served by the officers and men stationed in the western posts.”<sup>20</sup> The typical hardships that come with groups of men who get their hands on intoxicating liquors seems to account for most of the active resistance to Jesuit authority and action at the missions.

### **Opposition from within France**

The French Jesuit mission to New France, as mentioned earlier, had acquired a strong opposition even before the first missionaries arrived in Canada in the early 1600s. For every benefactor and courtier that supported the efforts of the Society, there seemed to be just as many firm opponents, waiting to tear down the efforts of the Fathers. Because the Jesuits were created to report directly to the Pope, instead of each country’s ecclesiastical authorities, the Order was often the subject of mistrust and disruptive attacks. The influential nobles at court who sided for

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<sup>18</sup> Thwaites, Volume 41, Document 87.

<sup>19</sup> Thwaites, Volume 68, Document 202.

<sup>20</sup> Moogk, 129-130. Thwaites, Volume 65, Document 177.



or against the Jesuits went to great lengths to influence the top ministers like Colbert and Richelieu and ultimately Le Roi et La Reine.<sup>21</sup>

There was another kind of opposition however that had a deeper impact on how French society viewed the Society of Jesus. Pamphlets that described the malevolent and deceptive operations of the Order in New France circulated and spread a spirit of skepticism about and animosity against the Jesuit Fathers. In Father Biard's *Relation* of 1616, he justifies his telling of the history of the Jesuit missions to New France as a response to the public attacks against the reputation and efforts of the Order. Biard described the attacks as such:

Now inasmuch as this slanderer and factionist (which I shall call him hereafter), beginning with the embarkation of the Jesuits, pursues them, dogging their footsteps in Canada through woods and rivers, upon sea and land, day and night, in all their travels and dwelling places, -- everywhere spying them out, to draw down upon them, covertly and treacherously, his impostures and calumnies; for this reason we must of necessity go back upon our route, to defend the innocent and give a true account of their actions and conduct.<sup>22</sup>

Even 64 years later, Father Fremin was fighting accusations of deception against the Jesuits. The missionaries worried that these accusations would hurt their credibility amongst the men and women they were preaching to. By Fremin's efforts, the reputation of integrity maintained by the missionaries was held intact. "This greatly increased the confidence which the Christian Savages have in the fathers who teach them."<sup>23</sup>

Specific grievances against the Jesuits in New France included complaints that the Fathers were engaging in the fur trade.<sup>24</sup> Father Le Jeune responds in 1636 that a beaver pelt essentially acted as the common currency of Canada: "day-laborers also would rather receive the

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<sup>21</sup> Thwaites, Volume 20, Document 44; Volume 41, Document 88; Volume 46, Document 107.

<sup>22</sup> Thwaites, Volume 3, Document 14, Page 157.

<sup>23</sup> Thwaites, Volume 63, Document 156, Page 221.

<sup>24</sup> Thwaites, Volume 9, Document 26, Page 173.

wages for their work in this money than in any other.”<sup>25</sup> Speaking of the prevalence of opposition against the Jesuits coming from France, Le Jeune resigns himself to the fact that “We cannot expect long to serve the Master we serve, without being slandered.”<sup>26</sup> Whether false or true, these numerous attacks simply added to the fierce opposition already aimed at the Society.

### **Opposition by Other Religious Orders and Ecclesiastics**

Even as Jesuits were planning to come to French Acadia in the early 1600s, Frenchmen belonging to other Christian groups who had already arrived were plotting to end the Jesuit mission in New France before it even began. In 1610, a work by Huguenot writer Marc Lescarbot was published, entitled *The Conversion of the Savages*. It addressed the desire of some to send Jesuits to accompany the next expeditions to New France (really Acadia) in order to boost the missionary efforts amongst the Amerindian tribes:<sup>27</sup>

There are in that country some men of the Church, of good scholarship, whom nothing but their religious zeal has taken there, and who will not fail to do all that piety requires in this respect. Now, for the present, there is no need of any learned Doctors who may be more useful in combating vices and heresies at home. Besides, there is a certain class of men in whom we cannot have complete confidence, who are in the habit of censuring everything that is not in harmony with their maxims, and wish to rule wherever they are. It is enough to be watched from abroad without having these fault-finders, from whom even the greatest Kings cannot defend themselves, come near to record every moment of our hearts and souls. And then what would be the use of so many such men over there at present, unless they wanted to devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil? For going there is not all. What they will do, when they get there, must be taken into consideration.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Thwaites, Volume 9, Document 26, Page 173.

<sup>26</sup> Thwaites, Volume 9, Document 26, Page 173.

<sup>27</sup> Greer, *Jesuit Relations*, 15. Thwaites, Volume 1, Preface, Page 45.

<sup>28</sup> Thwaites, Volume 1, Document 1, Pages 81, 83.

In January 1611, Jesuit Father Pierre Biard related to Father Aquaviva, the Jesuit General: “Two of them [Calvinist merchants] had made a contract with Monsieur de Po[u]trincourt to load and equip his ship... They straightway declared that they would have nothing more to do with the vessel, if it were going to carry any Jesuits.” They even rejected a “formal order of the Queen” to help the Jesuits embark on the ship. Only after pressure and coercion from the Queen and others were the Jesuits finally boarded onto the ship.<sup>29</sup> Lescarbot referring to this same incident that ended up delaying the voyage, blamed the same pair of Jesuits for this delay that proved financially devastating for the main company of Poutrincourt’s party.<sup>30</sup>

As the French focus of colonization moved to the area surrounding the settlement of Québec, French Jesuits ultimately became the designated missionaries to fulfill the broader plans for colonization. The Jesuits became the official missionaries of New France in 1632.<sup>31</sup> They were by no means the only group of Catholic missionary monks. The Recollet missionaries had worked amongst the Hurons up until 1629. Jean-Claude Dubé relates in his book that one Recollet in particular, thought the Recollet Order’s “exclusion from the Saint Lawrence in 1632 in favour of the Jesuits was an injustice.”<sup>32</sup> This phenomenon of Jesuit missions being viewed jealously by other orders is echoed by Aveling’s remark on Jesuit missions worldwide: “Jesuits were inevitably regarded as interlopers and competitors within the ecclesiastical establishment maintained by the colonial government.”<sup>33</sup>

Fifteen years after the exclusive rights to mission were given to the Jesuits, other Orders were still working in New France’s missions. In July 1647, the Jesuit Canadian Superior Jerome

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<sup>29</sup> Thwaites, Volume 1, Document 3, Pages 131-135.

<sup>30</sup> Thwaites, Volume 2, Document 11, Pages 175, 181.

<sup>31</sup> Dubé, 129.

<sup>32</sup> Dubé, 129. A Recollet missionary by the name of Daillon to the Neutral Nation in 1626 are recounted in Thwaites, Volume 21, Document 44, Page 203.

<sup>33</sup> Aveling, 149.

Lalemant received “letters from the Capuchin Fathers, who begged us not to return again.”<sup>34</sup> This was in regard to the mission to the Abenaki tribe. The Capuchins wanted to have their own Canadian mission field. Later that year, the *Relation* of 1647 told of the hospitable encounter Father Druillettes had with the Capuchins who were on the coast of Acadia.<sup>35</sup> The Capuchins may not have offered up hostile resistance, but they certainly were trying to guard their mission territory from Jesuit incursions.

The dominance of the Jesuits in New France did not go unchallenged in France and Rome either. In the 1630s, “The French assembly of bishops empowered the Bishop of Rouen, with backing from the Roman *Propaganda* to exercise ordinary jurisdiction over French Canada and put an end to the practical monopoly of the Jesuits there.”<sup>36</sup> It was not enough to crack the foundations though, the Jesuit missionaries of New France were proving to be a resilient bunch, even when charismatic opposition arrived at their front step.

In 1657, the Abbé de Queylus, a Sulpician, arrived in Québec from France. He brought with him three priests of the same order.<sup>37</sup> His initial meetings with Jesuits and others in the colony was cordial, however soon after arriving, the Abbé proceeded to preach a message against the dominant influence of the Jesuits in the colony.<sup>38</sup> From this incident, things got worse after private correspondence between Jesuit Fathers were read and delivered to the Governor. These letters did not depict the Governor in a favorable light and also criticized the Abbé as well. In response, de Queylus preached a scathing satirical message against the Jesuits and proceeded to sue the Jesuit Order for reimbursement for the cost of their residence, claiming it belonged to the

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<sup>34</sup> Thwaites, Volume 30, Document 62, Page 185.

<sup>35</sup> Thwaites, Volume 31, Document 63, Page 187.

<sup>36</sup> Aveling, 232.

<sup>37</sup> Thwaites, Volume 43, Document 95, Page 53.

<sup>38</sup> Thwaites, Volume 43, Document 95, Page 59.

pastor of the Québec parish.<sup>39</sup> After this, he settled for about a year in the area of Montréal, taking care of its religious interests.

In 1659, however, the Abbé de Queylus returned to Québec from Montréal and proceeded to claim the right to be vicar-general based on the authority of the Archbishop of Rouen. The newly appointed Bishop de Laval arrived with contradictory orders that overruled the claims of de Queylus.<sup>40</sup> This embarrassment led to the Abbé returning to France soon afterwards.<sup>41</sup> This was not the end for de Queylus in New France though, two years later, he returned to Québec secretly. Having revealed himself upon his arrival, he was commanded by Bishop de Laval to stay in Québec. He expressly disobeyed the order and ultimately was sent back to France two months later.<sup>42</sup> From here, the Abbé seems to fade from the record of the *Journal des Jesuites*. His example shows that some devout Catholics, who sought to serve the Church fervently, were also actively seeking to subvert the dominance of the Jesuits in the colony of New France. Opposition to the Society of Jesus continued to manifest itself in all forms and fashions.

These are just some examples of the opposition received by the Jesuits in New France from various Christian religious groups, whether Catholic or Protestant. It is evident from reading the *Relations* that opposition from other religious groups did not always stem from a simply religious dispute. All too often, political and social disagreements turned into conflicts between governors, bishops, superiors, religious orders, and other colonial administrators.<sup>43</sup> When the suppression occurred, in the 1760s and 1770s, this form of religious opposition took

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<sup>39</sup> Thwaites, Volume 43, Document 95, Page 63-5, 73.

<sup>40</sup> Thwaites, Volume 45, Document 101, Page 107, 111, 113.

<sup>41</sup> Thwaites, Volume 45, Document 101, Page 117.

<sup>42</sup> Thwaites, Volume 46, Document 106, Page 183, 187.

<sup>43</sup> See the bitter ecclesiastical war discussed in Thwaites, Volume 64, Document 164.

on a whole new life whereby it seemed that every possible ally of the Jesuits had turned into a hardened enemy. This turn of events will be examined more in the concluding chapter.

### **The Real Enemy of the Missions: Alcohol**

For all of the opposition put up against the Jesuits in New France by people of various nations and backgrounds, there was one thing that proved to be the most commonly faced enemy of the Jesuit missions. This item seemed to be so ubiquitous in New France, that almost every tribe they encountered used it. Intoxicating liquors, especially brandy, was mentioned by the missionaries more often and with greater disgust than any other kind of opponent. The missions could not seem to function in the same area where alcohol was being consumed and causing drunkenness. In the 1662-3 *Relation*, Father Lalemant describes two main enemies of the Jesuit missions: the Iroquois, who relentlessly attacked the French and their allies, and alcohol, which is seen as ruining the mission work already done amongst the tribes.<sup>44</sup>

The main merchants of liquor to the Indians were traders. Some traders thought that getting their trading partners drunk before making a deal would be advantageous for them and it was said that some Amerindians related the feeling of drunkenness to a spiritual experience.<sup>45</sup> The French Jesuits accused the Dutch, who had trading relationships with the Iroquois among others, of intentionally selling alcohol to these tribes in order to introduce chaos and incite violent opposition against the Jesuit missionaries who live amongst them.<sup>46</sup>

Fairly early on, efforts to stop the sale or trade of alcohol to Amerindians in New France were made by colonial authorities. Governors and Ecclesiastical authorities issued physical and

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<sup>44</sup> Thwaites, Volume 48, Document 112.

<sup>45</sup> R. C. Dailey. "The Role of Alcohol among North American Indian Tribes as Reported in the Jesuit Relations." *Anthropologica* 10, no. 1, (1968), 49.

<sup>46</sup> Thwaites, Volume 47, Document 108.

spiritual penalties for those who disobeyed. In the Relation of 1642, a leader of the Sillery mission town pleaded with a Frenchman, “Write to France, and tell the Captains to send ships here, and not to send us any more of those poisons that destroy us, that take away our senses, and cause us untimely death. Let the same be done here as at Kebec, where it is not permitted to sell this fire water to the Savages.”<sup>47</sup> According to this account, the efforts at Québec to restrain the trade were seen as being successful by the leaders of the Sillery reduction. More attempts were made every decade to hinder the sale and use of alcohol by the Amerindians.<sup>48</sup>

The restrictions against selling alcohol to Amerindians in New France culminated with the policy of excommunicating anyone who was caught doing so. Bishop de Laval was the first to fully implement this policy. “On the 6<sup>th</sup>, Ascension Day, the Excommunication was published against those who give intoxicating liquors to the savages.”<sup>49</sup> Of Laval’s proclamation it was related that: “after the King’s orders and the Governors’ decrees had proved ineffectual, he by excommunicating all the French who should give intoxicating liquors to the Savages, suppressed all these disorders, and they have not broken out again since the excommunication...”<sup>50</sup> This penalty was seen as too harsh by some and it would be repeatedly repealed and reinstated through the years.

The Governors and other secular colonial authorities at times did their part in stopping the liquor trade. There could also be a physical punishment for trading brandy to Amerindians.<sup>51</sup> At times, the leaders of the colony met to discuss how to address the issue of alcohol. In 1667, “an ordinance was passed at the first opening of the council against the disorders caused by

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<sup>47</sup> Thwaites, Volume 22, Document 48, Page 241.

<sup>48</sup> Thwaites, Volume 35, Document 74 and Volume 43, Document 95.

<sup>49</sup> Thwaites, Volume 45, Document 101, Page 153.

<sup>50</sup> Thwaites, Volume 46, Document 102, Page 105.

<sup>51</sup> Thwaites, Volume 46, Document 106.

liquor.”<sup>52</sup> About a year later, Governor-General de Courcelles received word of a pledge made by his counterpart, the English governor of New York to stop the sale of liquor to various tribes.<sup>53</sup> Eighteen years after that, in 1686, the opening of a tavern near the mission town of Sault St. Louis, near Montréal, was blocked by Governor-General de Frontenac who reportedly felt an obligation to help the mission of the Jesuits.<sup>54</sup> The willingness of the secular authorities to help out in this battle against the sale of liquors was deeply dependent on the sentiment of the colonial officials toward the Jesuits of New France or their Superior. Politics, of course, found its way into this battle as well.

The debate over the best way to curtail this trade continued throughout the period of French control of the colony. In 1662, there were debates over the best way to restrain the trade and these debates continued over fifty years later.<sup>55</sup> Alcohol was still seen as a large hindrance to the efforts of the missionaries in 1736 and was blamed for ruining the missions amongst the Illinois tribes.<sup>56</sup> In 1750, Father Vivier wrote to the Father General of the Jesuits that “the brandy sold by the French, especially by the soldiers, in spite of the King’s repeated prohibitions, and that which is sometimes distributed to them under the pretext of maintaining them in our interest, has ruined this Mission, and has caused the majority of them to abandon our holy Religion. The Savages – and especially the Illinois, who are the gentlest and most tractable of men – become, when intoxicated, madmen and wild beasts.”<sup>57</sup>

Ultimately, alcohol was the most consistent enemy of the missions and the most prevalent in their day-to-day operations amongst the tribes. The Jesuits in New France saw this substance

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<sup>52</sup> Thwaites, Volume 50, Document, 120, Page, 207.

<sup>53</sup> Thwaites, Volume 52, Document 125.

<sup>54</sup> Thwaites, Volume 63, Document 156.

<sup>55</sup> Thwaites, Volume 47, Document 111 and Volume 67, Document 189.

<sup>56</sup> Thwaites, Volume 68, Document 209.

<sup>57</sup> Thwaites, Volume 69, Document 222, pg 201.



and its use and abuse as the destroyer of their holy work.<sup>58</sup> This inanimate opponent seemed constantly in their way, undoing their efforts to ‘Frenchify’ and ‘Christianize’ the tribes they encountered. Even at the reduction mission towns, liquor was seen as the prime adversary to which direct attention had to be given.

### **Conclusion**

The enemies of the Jesuit mission to New France came from a variety of places. Nevertheless, the Jesuits did carry on in their work, taking setbacks in stride and never becoming complacent with their perceived accomplishments. Opposition came from other Europeans who saw them as pawns in a game of colonial expansion. The English and Dutch gave the Jesuits an especially troublesome time in the theater of New France. Understandably, leaders of the Amerindian tribes the missionaries encountered were often opposed to their new customs and teachings. Foes from within various tribes were at times polite, but unresponsive and other times violent persecution ensued. Colonists in the form of traders and military garrisons often had fundamentally dissimilar objectives that led to conflict between the missionaries and this group. Traders often times would be more concerned about maintaining good relations with the tribes in order to preserve trade relations rather than presenting potentially unfavorable doctrines and customs. Opposition came from within France as well, where pamphlets and other publications pronounced the evil intentions of the Society and elite opponents attempted to sway ministers and monarchs.

Huguenots and perhaps surprisingly, other Catholic monastic orders, also presented opposition to the order for their dominance and direct relationship to papal authority. Politics seemed to be the basis for many of these disputes and there can be no doubt that the biggest

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<sup>58</sup> Thwaites, Volume 68, Document 208.

enemy was at times, used as an agent of chaos by the political enemies of the Jesuit missions. Traders, whether French, Dutch, or English brought intoxicating liquors, especially brandy, into circulation and this was seen as the most powerful and rampant enemy faced by the Jesuit missionaries. All of these challenges presented to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus throughout the 1600s and 1700s were dealt with in stride. The support given to the Jesuits (discussed in previous chapters) helped keep their mission alive. Overall, even though they might have been serving as agents of the French Crown while on mission, their overarching focus remained on the spiritual guidance of the colonists and Amerindians. The policies of colonial authorities as well as the benefactors and opponents of the Jesuits can all be seen in one place. The reduction mission towns acted as a microcosm of the entire mission in the colony. These will be examined in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE REDUCTION & CONCLUSION

#### **The Reduction: Lynchpin of the French Colonial Strategy in New France and Refuge from the ‘Devil’s Domain’**

Why, when the main research question this thesis seeks to answer pertains to the support and opposition received by the Jesuits of New France, is there such an extensive look at these reduction mission settlements? It is precisely because these few places became a microcosm of the support and opposition received by the Jesuits in their primary mission in the colony of New France. In fact, the reduction missions can help historians understand the broader colonial context because they are a microcosm of the colonial milieu. All the forces of support and opposition in colonial New France are seen at play in the reduction towns. As seen in the previous chapters, financial, administrative, political, military, and religious help came from many various sources, large and small. Similarly, several kinds of opposition showed themselves in the reductions. Iroquois attacks and the prevalence of alcohol abuse, along with other negative influences all acted against the efforts of Jesuits as they sought to ‘Christianize’ the people of surrounding tribes. These were forms of opposition that interfered with the Jesuits’ fidelity to the broader colonial plan of the French in Canada. This scheme of colonization was to create a new French Catholic society of Amerindian and European racial composition.

As pointed out previously, the negative influences perceived and experienced by the Jesuits caused them to decide to deviate from the assimilation plan and therefore to focus in on the first part of the plan, the conversion of the Amerindians they encountered. The best way they saw to accomplish this was to separate them from negative influences by creating segregated communities, specifically designed for Amerindian converts only. Before the Fathers decided to focus solely on conversion, there were suggestions to have the friendly Amerindian tribes settle

near the French settlements because many of the tribes north of the Iroquois travelled seasonally to hunt.<sup>1</sup> They would in certain seasons of the year, break camp and engage in months long hunting expeditions. It was especially difficult for the Jesuit missionaries to spend time with these tribes due to their constant movement; a mobile chapel is difficult to maintain. As the plan of intermarriage and assimilation failed to take root, the French saw that they were going to need to recruit more French subjects to colonize New France, marrying other French subjects, building families, and settling the land.<sup>2</sup>

### **The Reduction at Sillery**

When Monsieur de Sillery offered to finance the construction of a school in Québec, the Fathers instead made the suggestion to build a mission reduction town, that would give the migratory tribes a place to settle a short distance from the main French settlement.<sup>3</sup> The *Relation of 1638* tells of the founding of the reduction town of Sillery (also called Saint Joseph).<sup>4</sup> The Company of New France also decided to support the initial growth of the town, with the goal in mind of getting friendly tribes to settle in towns instead of living a migratory life.<sup>5</sup> Further patronage comes by way of Madame de La Peltrie and Governor Montmagny. La Peltrie served as a support of the reduction at Sillery, she had “no greater solace that to visit the Savages.” This being the case, she “went to St. Joseph [Sillery] through the snows, so as to be present at the midnight Mass with the new Christians; she took with her two or three Seminarists.”<sup>6</sup> Support

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<sup>1</sup> Thwaites, Volume 8, Document 25 and Volume 18, Document 41.

<sup>2</sup> Moogk, 50.

<sup>3</sup> Dubé, 151-2. More details on Monsieur de Sillery and the decision to create the reduction are discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>4</sup> Thwaites, Volume 14, Document 30.

<sup>5</sup> Thwaites, Volume 16, Document 34.

<sup>6</sup> Thwaites, Volume 20, Document 44, Page 135.

came from nobles, officials, and the wealthy in New France and the mother country as well.<sup>7</sup> A few years after the town of Sillery was founded, the benefactor Monsieur de Sillery passed away and those involved in the reduction town eagerly anticipated the distribution of funds related from the patron's estate.<sup>8</sup>

The *Relation of 1640-41* reports several stories of residents of Sillery who, being guilty of a sin, insisted that they receive punishments for their sins. The Fathers saw these punishments as being too extreme in proportion to the sin committed. One Father asked a man in such a predicament "if his fault really merited such a chastisement."<sup>9</sup> Some Jesuit fathers tried to calm the overzealous at Sillery who were taking the idea of penance to an unorthodox extreme.<sup>10</sup> This pertained to people desiring to punish themselves as well as the converts at Sillery behaving as a mostly autonomous polity that included a prison for those who had committed what were seen as major sins.<sup>11</sup> Those seen as unconverted or lapsed were at times ostracized and exiled from the reduction town.<sup>12</sup>

The state of society at Sillery led one Jesuit father to ask if, perhaps, the missionaries had been too harsh, which led the converts to desire to create such a devout society at any cost.<sup>13</sup> Sins such as drunkenness were common amongst the converts. Alcohol was very difficult to escape, which was one reason to create the reduction settlements. The matter became so pressing for the colony that Governor and Bishop at times instituted a punishment of excommunication from the

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<sup>7</sup> Thwaites, Volume 22, Document 48.

<sup>8</sup> Thwaites, Volume 23, Document 51.

<sup>9</sup> Thwaites, Volume 20, Document 44, Pages 147.

<sup>10</sup> Thwaites, Volume 20, Document 44, Pages 145-51.

<sup>11</sup> Thwaites, Volume 24, Document 51.

<sup>12</sup> Thwaites, Volume 33, Document 66.

<sup>13</sup> Thwaites, Volume 33, Document 66.

Church if a Frenchman was caught providing liquor to Amerindians.<sup>14</sup> Originally, the French colonial administrators and missionaries desired to follow model of the Paraguayan *reducciones* when designing the mission reduction towns like Sillery.<sup>15</sup> Although the Spanish versions may have been more intense, the goal was the same: create a society of devout, loyal Catholics in this new and foreign land. When the Fathers in New France realized that the Canadian tribes would not simply volunteer to move into the reductions and stay there, they “were careful to allow their converts a wide margin of independence, for the Indians of New France would not tolerate regimentation.”<sup>16</sup> Ultimately, conditions were at times so bad, historian Allan Greer referred to the reduction at Sillery as a “sanctified concentration camp.”<sup>17</sup> Greer continues his description of the Jesuit’s Canadian missions in general:

Eventually, the astute and resourceful Jesuits developed a gentler, less obtrusive mission regime, one, which worked much more successfully in the Canadian setting. The broader context of Native-European power relations forced them to take this more accommodating approach. Their colleagues in South America could take a much more exacting line because the Natives they ministered to were already exposed to the oppression of white conquerors. The Gaurani were not constitutionally more submissive than the Iroquois, but the alternative to accepting the regulated life of the Paraguayan *reduccion* was to place oneself at the mercy of ferocious slavers and ruthless *encomenderos*, whereas Natives outside a Canadian mission faced no such perils. Like the colonial state, the missionary Church in New France had to tread carefully or ‘their’ natives would simply leave.<sup>18</sup>

While Monsieur de Sillery gave the land grant, the town itself had to be built from the donations that came from many different patrons. The cost of maintenance and growth at Sillery was great; this could be due to the residents not being used to living an entirely agricultural

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<sup>14</sup> Moogk, 38-9. Thwaites, Volume 27, Document 54 explains that, at times, the Jesuits punished Frenchmen for drunkenness just to seem as if they were being fair to converts.

<sup>15</sup> Dubé, 151.

<sup>16</sup> Greer, *Jesuit Relations*, 13.

<sup>17</sup> Greer, *People of New France*, 81.

<sup>18</sup> Greer, *People of New France*, 81.

lifestyle and where members of various tribes came and went.<sup>19</sup> Some seasons passed where many of the residents were gone on hunting expeditions, especially if harvests and supplies had been lacking that year. The venture became even more expensive when fires broke out and destroyed buildings, which happened periodically.<sup>20</sup> The late 1640s brought more construction at the town; St. Michael's Church was built, along with a wall to protect the town, which was vulnerable to Iroquois raids.<sup>21</sup> In the early 1650s, benefactors in France were still sending money to provide aid for the settlement at Sillery.<sup>22</sup> At certain times, the funding and political support (coming from France and the participating tribes) for the town seemed to dry up. One entry in the 1659-60 *Journal des Jesuites* explained that Sillery residents would be consolidated into the French population at Québec.<sup>23</sup> Whether the consolidation was because of an attack or a lack of supplies is not clear, but the fact of turbulent times at Sillery remained.

The direct political administration of this town was put under the auspices of an elected chief. When necessary, the town would elect a new chief to represent them.<sup>24</sup> This political leader acted as an intermediary between all the major parties involved in the town. The Amerindian converts from various tribes would be in contact with the chief as differences sometimes caused divisions between converts from different tribal origins. The chief also acted as an ambassador and advocate for the converts. This can clearly be seen in the letter by Sillery Chief Tekwerimat sent to Father Le Jeune to lobby for aid to send from France to help against

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<sup>19</sup> Thwaites, Volume 27, Document 54.

<sup>20</sup> Thwaites, Volume 27, Document 54 and Volume 43, Documents 95-96.

<sup>21</sup> Thwaites, Volume 31, Document 63 and Volume 34, Document 70. Some concessions were made on the lands of the Sillery tract of land. These are assumed to be concessions to French settlers who then could oversee the use of that property. These are briefly mentioned in Thwaites, Volume 47, Document 111, Page 299.

<sup>22</sup> Thwaites, Volume 37, Document 81.

<sup>23</sup> Thwaites, Volume 45, Document 101, Page 115.

<sup>24</sup> Thwaites, Volume 52, Document 125.

the Iroquois attackers.<sup>25</sup> This letter was recorded in the *Relation of 1650-51*. Spiritual administration, however, was left to the Jesuits, with whom the hospital nuns also labored. The roles of the missionaries at Sillery were not only to provide regular priestly duties, but also to take particular care to guide the converts to behave in ‘civilized’ ways. As mentioned previously, they heavily discouraged the possession and usage of alcohol, but also the excessive use of devotional self-mortification practices.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, they advocated for Sillery converts to conduct themselves politically, socially, and militarily like the ideal Frenchmen. The *Relation of 1662-63* compares the cruelty of enemy executions typically practiced by Amerindian tribes to the executions of converted prisoners of war.<sup>27</sup> The Jesuits, therefore, saw the Sillery Christians, as taking the high moral road for shooting their prisoners of war instead of burning them at the stake.

Early in the life of Sillery, the Governor of France began sending French militia and regular soldiers with soldiers from those settled at Sillery to attack the Iroquois in response to the latter’s frequent deadly raids.<sup>28</sup> Eventually, the political administrators of the colony saw the sole reason to support the reduction towns as the best way to keep Amerindian warriors nearby Québec and other French towns in order to defend and respond to the dominant Iroquois military presence. Father Bigot’s mission report of 1683-4 tells of the French plan to attract more Abenaki tribe members to settle at Sillery in order to use Abenakis in their campaigns against the Iroquois.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, a Recollet missionary (not a Jesuit) was involved in the efforts to convince the Abenakis to relocate. By the 1680s, several more reductions had been founded

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<sup>25</sup> Thwaites, Volume 37, Document 79.

<sup>26</sup> Thwaites, Volume 62, Document 147.

<sup>27</sup> Thwaites, Volume 48, Document 112.

<sup>28</sup> Thwaites, Volume 30, Document 62.

<sup>29</sup> Thwaites, Volume 63, Document 154.



around New France. Sault St. Louis was seen as a model town, Hurons and Iroquois converts were living at the reduction of Lorette, and Abenakis were mainly at Sillery.<sup>30</sup>

Over the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in New France, the general strategy of the colonial administrations did not change very much. "In the 1660s and 1670s, the administration in France and its officials in Canada proclaimed the need to Frenchify the mission Indians, to bring settlers and Natives together 'to constitute one people in one race.'"<sup>31</sup> By this time, the Jesuits, who originally agreed to this plan of conversion and 'Frenchification' of Amerindian allies, had deviated from this plan to focus mainly on conversion and the production of devout Catholics, thinking any other kinds of assimilation were secondary would have to wait until the proper time. The plan of rapid intermarriage and assimilation "did not work, but officials such as Governor Frontenac saw only the stubborn refusal of the Jesuits to 'civilize' the Indians."<sup>32</sup> The missionaries had come to see the Amerindians differently than colonial officials and settlers. Jesuits had a more complex view of native cultures because of their extended, direct contact with various tribes, but the colonial hierarchy saw them as simply not doing their job.<sup>33</sup> From the perspective of the Jesuits, the French and other Europeans were introducing evils that were just as, if not more destructive than qualities that belonged to the tribes originally. In the mission reduction towns, the Jesuits desperately tried to control these negative influences in order to foster communities full of Catholic devotion; this became the focus of their efforts, not the assimilation of converts into French society for the purpose of creating new political and military

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<sup>30</sup> Thwaites, Volume 62, Document 153.

<sup>31</sup> Greer, *People of New France*, 82.

<sup>32</sup> Greer, *People of New France*, 82.

<sup>33</sup> Greer, *People of New France*, 83.

allies.<sup>34</sup> This disagreement caused conflict between the Jesuit leaders in New France and the colonial officials.

Although the Fathers made significant efforts to meet their goals, the geopolitical realities of colonial North America became a destructive and negative influence manifesting itself in the deadly conflicts that all too often surrounded and permeated the sheltered reduction communities. Iroquois attacks appear consistently in the Relations; almost every year's report was littered with reports of raiding parties striking anywhere from the Great Lakes region to the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. For a time, the Iroquois attacks caused plans for more reduction missions to be scrapped or at the very least delayed.<sup>35</sup> The Relation of 1649-50 reported that the Hurons, seeking protection, were moving closer to the French and farther away from the Iroquois.<sup>36</sup> Ultimately, Iroquois raids essentially destroyed the Huron society. Sometimes, tribes would cling to whoever they thought would give them protection. With their religious linkages and their suitable defensive positions, the French were one of the most viable options for protection from the Iroquois. This played into the hands of the French who wanted tribes to settle near them anyway in order to increase trade and assimilation efforts. The mid-1650s brought a short-lived and tenuous peace between the Iroquois and the French and Hurons. During this time, the French were urged to create a French settlement in Iroquois territory.<sup>37</sup> One difficulty the French had in achieving peace with the Iroquois is that, since the Iroquois were a confederacy of five semi-autonomous tribes, one tribe could agree to peace while the others were still engaged in warfare. This made any peace between the parties fragile and temporary. As mentioned earlier, the coming of war with the Iroquois and the English in the 1680s caused the

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<sup>34</sup> Thwaites, Volume 57, Document 130.

<sup>35</sup> Dubé, 179.

<sup>36</sup> Thwaites, Volume 35, Document 74.

<sup>37</sup> Thwaites, Volume 41, Document 86; Volume 41, Document 89; Volume 42, Document 90.

French colonial hierarchy to push aside the goal of assimilation and they simply saw native converts practically as military allies.<sup>38</sup>

### **Other Reduction Settlements**

When Montréal was founded in 1642, the colonial administration of New France had already planned to attract Amerindian tribes to settle around the new town.<sup>39</sup> The Jesuits were given land nearby and many Huron came to live at the reduction known as Sault St. Louis and today as Kahnawake, which is located south of Montréal on the opposite bank of the St. Lawrence River. Iroquois converts settled near Montréal, mainly at La Prairie de la Madeleine, which was to the east of Montréal, also across the river.<sup>40</sup> The *Relation of 1676-77* tells us that this Iroquois colony at La Prairie de la Madeleine ultimately moved to and combined with Sault St. Louis.<sup>41</sup> The 1670s also brought a Jesuit-backed settlement at La Prairie. French settlers were being conceded land on the same seigneurie that had previously been reserved for the reduction only.<sup>42</sup> A 1682 letter describes the area around the Sault St. Louis mission town. A Jesuit chapel, new Mohawk settlements, and 100 French families were notable features of the formerly predominately Huron mission town. Also noted in this letter is Catherine Tegakwitha, who was celebrated for her piety and Catholic devotion that stood out amongst her fellow Mohawk tribesmen. A shrine dedicated to her veneration quickly arose in the settlement.<sup>43</sup> Through the 1720s, this settlement battled the influence of alcohol sold to them by the French and even reject the stationing of a French garrison at the town due to anticipated negative spiritual influences

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<sup>38</sup> Greer, *People of New France*, 83-4.

<sup>39</sup> Thwaites, Volume 22, Document 48.

<sup>40</sup> Moogk, 36-7. Thwaites, Volume 56, Document 128.

<sup>41</sup> Thwaites, Volume 60, Document 143.

<sup>42</sup> Thwaites, Volume 55, Document 127 and Volume 59, Document 139.

<sup>43</sup> Thwaites, Volume 62, Document 152.

(like an increased presence of alcohol). The royal council granted this request to reject the garrison.<sup>44</sup> Kahnawake and its surrounding land, south of Montréal, is designated a Mohawk reserve today.

Besides Sillery, there were other Amerindian settlements near Québec. The Ile d'Orleans, a large island in the middle of the St. Lawrence River, just north of Québec, for a time was home to a settlement of Hurons. They cleared land and created farms on the island in the 1650s.<sup>45</sup> Iroquois raids harassed these settlers and also Iroquois requests to have them relocate to live amongst them. The Hurons resisted as long as possible, but they ultimately joined the Lorette settlement just west of Québec.<sup>46</sup> The *Relation of 1673-74* relates that the town of Lorette welcomed not only Huron converts, but Iroquois as well who had escaped their home villages where Catholicism was not popular. The residents of Lorette were mainly farmers and they even shared excess corn with poor French settlers.<sup>47</sup> The Jesuits were determined to turn Lorette into a vital town in terms of Franco-Amerindian relations. Father Bouvart explained the Jesuit motives at Lorette as honoring Mary, creating a place of pilgrimage, and to increase grace for the French and Amerindians. Convert settlers at Lorette were granted land concessions to farm on and the place did ultimately become a place of refuge and pilgrimage for Huron and Iroquois converts alike.<sup>48</sup> In 1710, Lorette was reported to be doing well, but still suffering from the negative influences of the liquor trade; overall it reported as being a model for mission towns.<sup>49</sup>

When the missionaries, traders, and soldiers reached the area around the Miami tribe in the 1750s, the French were still using the same strategy of building a French fort or settlement

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<sup>44</sup> Thwaites, Volume 65, Document 169 and Volume 67, Document 193.

<sup>45</sup> Thwaites, Volume 40, Document 84.

<sup>46</sup> Moogk, 36.

<sup>47</sup> Thwaites, Volume 58, Document 133.

<sup>48</sup> Thwaites, Volume 60, Document 140.

<sup>49</sup> Thwaites, Volume 66, Document 184.

and trying to convince the surrounding Amerindians to settle near them to boost trade, protection, and hopefully to ‘Christianize’ and ‘Frenchify.’<sup>50</sup> Generally, the French strategy, especially amongst the missionaries became to convince the friendly tribes to settle near the French. The “Jesuits and their Friends in France” were sometimes able to donate food and other supplies.<sup>51</sup> The reductions seemed to work to a certain extent. No matter the amount of support received from officials, benefactors, or the Jesuits, the mission towns never entirely escaped the negative influences of the outside world. The reductions were, for converts living amongst pagans in their home villages, often times the choice made in order to escape persecution in their own towns. These mission towns were in fact so alluring to converts that the original, home villages began to complain that too many people were moving to the reductions.<sup>52</sup>

### **The Microcosm**

The assertion made at the beginning of this chapter remains unexamined at this point. It seems the reduction mission towns, like Sillery, Lorette, and Sault St. Louis, were a microcosm of all the positive and negative influences felt on the broader Jesuit mission in New France. The second chapter examined the support given to the mission work by colonial officials, from the King and Queen to the Governors and Intendants. Jesuits were integrated into the colonial strategy and were expected to act as agents of the Crown. The Company of New France also played a critical role in supporting Jesuit activities by awarding land grants for instance. The third chapter looked at other benefactors and sources of support outside of the colonial hierarchy. Many wealthy nobles became devoted to the mission and some, like Madame de La Peltrie moved to New France to provide aid in person. Land grants like that of Monsieur de Sillery were

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<sup>50</sup> Thwaites, Volume 69, Document 221.

<sup>51</sup> Thwaites, Volume 60, Document 139.

<sup>52</sup> Thwaites, Volume 63, Document 156.

critical to furthering the mission of the Jesuits as explained in the first part of this chapter. The Church and the Jesuit hierarchy provided spiritual guidance and leadership to the Jesuits. The fourth chapter explained the opposition and negative influences the Jesuits and their missions encountered as they sought to convert Amerindian tribes. Opposition came from other European powers that allied with the Iroquois who, it seemed, never grew tired of raiding the St. Lawrence River Valley. Medicine men and chiefs of various tribes resisted Jesuit preaching and influence as one might expect; sometimes, French traders and soldiers opposed the spiritual goals of the Jesuits with more worldly intentions. Other Frenchmen offered opposition as well; Huguenots and other Catholic religious orders at times opposed the dominant influence of the Jesuits in New France. The most pervasive form of opposition, however, came from an inanimate object. The Jesuits saw the trade and abuse of alcoholic beverages, especially liquors like brandy, as one of the most destructive and obstructive influences on the missionary efforts of the Order. Nothing seemed to be able to stem the influx of alcohol coming from all perceptible entry points.

All of these pieces, in one way or another, found their way into the reduction settlements. These mission towns, therefore, can be viewed as microcosms of the colonial milieu of New France. The reductions would not have been seen as successful without the support received from patrons, large and small; and no matter how hard they tried, the Jesuits never fully stopped the influences of the Iroquois (and their European colonial backers), other tribes and religious orders, and of course liquor. Every one of these factors were not only at play in the colony at large, but also in the small confines of the reductions. The remnants of these reductions remain today in the suburbs of Montréal and Québec City. They, like the Province of Québec itself, are the legacy of French colonialism in Canada. Just as the Jesuits left their legacy of reductions as a colonial strategy of evangelism, which can be seen today in the towns of Kahnawake and

Loretteville, the French left their legacy of 'Frenchification' in the who Province of Québec. A hybrid French culture developed in the area of Québec. In this way, the French colonial scheme worked, even when Le Roi lost his colony after the Seven Years War. The reduction towns of the Jesuits, in altered and weathered forms, live on in Canada today, even after the Jesuits had been suppressed.

### **New Spain and South America**

As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, the reductions of New France were originally modeled on the Paraguayan *reducciones* which were much more authoritarian and intense than those of New France. Why were the Canadian missions seemingly more tolerant and less authoritarian than those of South America? Were the French missionaries more tolerant? Allan Greer makes the point that the difference in these reductions were not because the French Jesuits were somehow more humanitarian. "The contrast with the Latin American experience should teach us that this broad-mindedness was the product of a peculiar balance of power, not of any pre-existing 'liberal' mind-set on the part of the Jesuits."<sup>53</sup> In other words, the comparatively weak geo-political position held by the French with regard to power wielded over tribes and other colonial rivals was the main reason the French Jesuit reductions tended to be less intensive.

The study of Spanish Jesuit *reducciones* may hold an even more practical use for historians of Latin America. Just as this paper asserts that the reductions in New France were microcosms of colonial influences working with and against each other in a broader colonial sense, the Spanish mission towns may also reveal the forces at play in the surrounding colonial atmosphere that may not be discernible through other research. Of course, the massive geographical expanse that composed Spanish America would allow missions in many different

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<sup>53</sup> Greer, *People of New France*, 81-2.

locales to be examined for their influences. These influences could perhaps give a different view of the broader colonial society in which these *reducciones* were located. Using this microcosmic approach to study colonial milieus certainly provides an area for future research.

### **The Final Chapter: The Suppression of the Jesuit Order and Its Impact on New France**

As the 1750s ended in Europe, the dynamic and often-dominant Jesuits were facing a backlash across Europe from countries that were considered staunchly loyal to the Catholic Church. The dominance and independence of the Society of Jesus made the Jesuits seem suspicious in the eyes of subjects, nobles, and monarchs across Catholic Europe. In France, the Jesuits were finally suppressed as a sanctioned order within the realm in 1762. In French America, the Jesuits in Louisiana were expelled in July of 1763. As for the explicit reason for banning the Order from Louisiana, they had been charged with not taking care of their missions and simply focusing on the prosperity of their estates. They were also charged with usurping powers of vicariate-general for episcopate of Québec.<sup>54</sup> Capuchins at New Orleans were particularly aggressive towards the newly outlawed fathers. Their property in New Orleans was seized. Some were accommodating to the exiles. A few found refuge (at least temporarily) in Spanish territories and another lodged at the home of a Louisiana planter.<sup>55</sup>

Just before the suppression was announced in French territories, the British conquered Québec during the Seven Years War. This left the fate of the Jesuits of New France in the hands of the English instead of the French. While the English were not friends of Catholics, let alone Jesuits, they were not actively persecuting and suppressing the Order as France was (or soon would be doing). These difficulties and uncertainties led many Jesuits to scatter or go

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<sup>54</sup> Thwaites, Volume 70, Document 228.

<sup>55</sup> Thwaites, Volume 70, Document 228.



underground. In October 1759, Father Well was attempting to get letters from France to Canada through Scotland.<sup>56</sup> Due to war, communication and supply lines were cut off and Jesuits continued to desperately try to get letters or supplies through to the other side of the Atlantic. Since the Jesuits oversaw the Ursuline operations, these nuns were equally effected by the difficult circumstances.<sup>57</sup> Some Jesuits were just trying to survive in their former mission field that was newly dominated by Englishmen who did not appreciate their presence. Questions of how to protect, maintain, and distribute Jesuit properties kept leaders busy. In the midst of these trials one father was concerned with a pressing spiritual matter: “Are Catholics allowed to swear on the Protestant Bible?”<sup>58</sup> Even by the 1780s, the Jesuits in English Canada still retained fiefs and seigneuries.<sup>59</sup> Finally 1788 and 1789 brought about discussions between Jesuits and the English that ultimately led to comparatively merciful agreements, which did call for the revocation of Jesuit properties, but also provided protections for the four remaining Jesuits (who were mostly older gentlemen).

### **Conclusion**

The Jesuit missionaries of New France had made an impact for over a century. They were originally tasked with creating devout French subjects. The realities of colonial life made this twofold job very difficult, therefore the Fathers focused heavily on producing devoted converts. This goal is most readily seen in the founding of mission reduction towns. Sillery and other locations served as places that, for better or worse, were focused on the training of Amerindians to become loyal Catholics. The influences that shaped the colony in a broader sense were all

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<sup>56</sup> Thwaites, Volume 71, Document 230.

<sup>57</sup> Thwaites, Volume 71, Document 231 and Volume 71, Document 232.

<sup>58</sup> Thwaites, Volume 71, Document 233.

<sup>59</sup> Thwaites, Volume 71, Document 235.

present in the reduction. These towns can therefore serve as microcosms to help study the interaction of all these influences. This model may be helpful when studying the various mission settlements in New Spain and other colonial locations. The existence of Kahnawake and Loretteville serve as the legacies of Jesuit missions in Québec, which itself serves as the major legacy of French colonization in North America.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Adam Moran

Florida State University

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### EDUCATION

- 2015-2017 M.A. in History  
Early Modern Europe & Public History  
Florida State University
- 2011-2013 M.S. in Curriculum and Instruction  
Specialization: Social Science Education  
Florida State University
- 2007-2010 B.A. in History and Religion  
Florida State University
- 

### AWARDS AND ASSISTANTSHIPS

- 2015-2017 Graduate Assistantship  
Florida State University Department of History
- Fall 2012 Graduate Research Assistantship  
Florida State University College of Education
- 2012 Tornillo Family Scholarship Fund  
Florida State University College of Education
- 

### TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- 2013-2015 Teacher, Lincoln High School, Tallahassee, FL  
Advanced Placement U.S. Government & Politics (12<sup>th</sup> Grade)  
Advanced Placement Macroeconomics (12<sup>th</sup> Grade)  
World History Honors (9<sup>th</sup> Grade)  
Sponsor for the Model United Nations and Brain Bowl Teams

- Spring 2013 Student Teacher (Intern), Deerlake Middle School, Tallahassee, FL  
Civics Honors/ Gifted (7<sup>th</sup> Grade)
- Fall 2015 Graduate Assistant, Florida State University Department of History  
Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade
- 2016-2017 Graduate Assistant, Florida State University Department of History  
Nationality, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States
- 

#### CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- February 2016 “A Jamaican Planter’s Perspective on the Napoleonic World”  
Consortium on the Revolutionary Era
- 

#### SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

- Summer 2016 “Church History”  
Three Part Lecture Series, CrossWay Church, Tallahassee, FL
- December 2013 “The Intertestamental Period”  
Two Part Lecture Series, CrossWay Church, Tallahassee, FL
- Summer 2013 “Minor Prophets of the Bible”  
Four Part Lecture Series, CrossWay Church, Tallahassee, FL
- 

#### SERVICE

- 2012-2013 Treasurer, Association of Future Social Science Educators  
Florida State University Chapter
- 

#### LANGUAGE SKILLS

- Spanish Reading, writing, and speaking: limited working proficiency
- Attic Greek Reading: elementary proficiency

French            Reading: limited working proficiency  
                      Writing and speaking: elementary proficiency

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#### MEMBERSHIPS

2016-            The Masséna Society  
2016-            North American Vexillological Association  
2012-2015      Association of American Educators