INSTITUT D'HISTOIRE

THESE

PRESENTEE

A L'ECOLE DES GRADUES

DE L'UNIVERSITE LAVAL

POUR L'OBTENTION

DE LA MAITRISE EN HISTOIRE

par

DONALD BOYD SMITH

B. A. (Modern History)
de l'University of Toronto

FRENCH CANADIAN HISTORIANS' IMAGES
OF THE INDIAN IN THE "HEROIC PERIOD"
OF NEW FRANCE, 1534-1663.

AOUT 1969
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AOUT 1969
AVANT-PROPOS

In the preparation of this thesis we benefitted from interviews with Messrs. Thomas Charland, Thomas-Edmond Giroux, Luc Lacourcière, Gérard Malchelosse, and André Vachon. Madame Rémillard of the Institut de l'histoire de l'Amérique française, kindly supplied us with the circulation figures of several of Chanoine Groulx's works. Louis Chevrette, a graduate student at Laval University, allowed us to examine a bibliography which he is presently preparing for publication, on the Algonquins.

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To both our thesis director, Pierre Savard, and our former professor, Jacques Rousseau, we express our gratitude. Their interest in our topic, and their helpful advice are both deeply appreciated.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Avant-propos ......................................................... ii
Table of Contents .................................................... iii
Abbreviations ......................................................... v
Bibliography:

I: Journals Consulted ................................................ vi
Guides ................................................................. viii
The Sources ............................................................ x

II: The Indian of Northeastern North America
as Seen by Frenchmen in the Seventeenth,
Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries
................................................................. xxxiii

Studies of Sources: Books and Articles ............ xxxiv

General Studies on Québec in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries .......... xxxvi

Historiography - General ......................... xxxviii
- Canadian Historiography. xxxix

Literature in English on the Heroic Period
of New France and the Indian of Northeastern North America ........ xlii

Image of the North American Indian and
the Idea of Race, outside of French
Canada .............................................................. xlviii

The Idea of Race in French Canada ........ lii

The North American Indian ........................ lv

Commented Bibliography ................................. lxiv

INTRODUCTION ......................................................... 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>The Indian of Northeastern North America as seen by Frenchmen</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>The Image of the Indian in Early French Canadian Historical Writing</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>The French Canadians and the Indian of the Nineteenth Century</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>The Mid-Nineteenth Century French Canadian Patriotic Historians and the Indian</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Historians</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>More Ignoble Savages</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Social Scientists and the Indian</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
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<td>AF</td>
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<td>Bulletin des recherches historiques</td>
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<td>Bulletin de la société géographique de Québec</td>
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<td>CD</td>
<td>Cahier des Dix</td>
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<td>Canadian Catholic Historical Association/Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Eglise catholique</td>
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<td>CHR</td>
<td>Canadian Historical Review</td>
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<td>CHAR</td>
<td>Canadian Historical Association Report</td>
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<td>Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science</td>
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<td>Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des Evêques de Québec</td>
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<td>Revue canadienne</td>
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<td>RHPRC</td>
<td>Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada</td>
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<td>RHAF</td>
<td>Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française</td>
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<td>RUL</td>
<td>Revue de l'Université Laval</td>
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<td>PTRSC/MSRC</td>
<td>Royal Society of Canada/Société royale du Canada Proceedings and Transactions/Mémoires</td>
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<td>TLHSQ</td>
<td>Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec</td>
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OF THE HEROIC PERIOD OF NEW FRANCE AND THE ANTHROPOLOGISTS OF THE INDIAN OF NORTHEASTERN NORTH AMERICA.


I. THE IMAGE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN AND THE IDEA OF RACE, OUTSIDE OF FRENCH CANADA.


II. THE EDITIONS OF GREY OWL IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA


III. DIFFUSION OF THE IMAGE OF THE INDIAN IN FRENCH-CANADIAN SOCIETY

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THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDES

1. General

Three excellent aids for study of any aspect of North American life are: Frederick J. Dockstader's *The American Indian in Graduate Studies: A Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations*, (New York, Heye Foundation, 1957); William Fenton and al., *American Indian and White Relations to 1830: Needs and Opportunities for Study*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1957) and George Peter Murdock's *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America* 3rd edition, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1960). Dockstader's book contains a listing of nearly 4,000 M.A. and Ph. D. theses relating to the American Indian done at approximately two hundred institutions in the United States, Canada and Mexico, between 1890 and 1956. The bibliography in the Fenton volume is selective and annotated. In the Murdock book there is no annotation given of the approximately 17,000 entries; however it does contain the most comprehensive single listing of titles available anywhere. Of the three, the Murdock book was the most useful.

2. Canada

For Canada the best guide of all is the critical bibliography submitted by T.F. McIlwraith to the CHR from 1925 to 1954. In his annual article, the Canadian anthropologist listed and evaluated each of the works dealing with the Canadian Indian produced that year. As a supplement to McIlwraith's work, one can well consult Jacob Fried and al., *A Survey of the Aboriginal Populations of Quebec and Labrador*, (Montréal, McGill University, 1955). Recent publications are listed in *American History and Life* which first appeared in July, 1964, (Santa Barbara, California, American Bibliographical Centre, 1964). The bulletins and reports of the National Museum are contained in the mimeographed booklet, *National Museums of*

II. STUDIES OF THE INDIAN

1. North America


2. Canada

For an understanding of the Canadian Indian, our first reference tool has been a thick book of 775 pages, the translation into French of all sections on Canadian Indians con­tained in F.W. Hodge's monumental Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. The title is Manuel des Indiens du Canada, publié comme Appendice au dixième Rapport du Bureau géographique du Canada, (Ottawa, Imprimeur de sa très excellente ma­jesté le Roi, 1915). The volume contains hundreds of brief

III. THE INDIAN IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

WITHIN THE PRESENT BOUNDARIES OF QUEBEC


The best starting point for the nineteenth century is the Report of the Special Commissioners: Appointed on the 8th of September, 1856 to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada (Toronto, Derbishire and Desbarats, 1858). As a valuable supplement one can consult the "Mémoire sur le diocèse de Québec, 1794" in MLPCEQ éd. par Mgr Têtu et l'abbé Gagnon, (Québec, Imprimerie générale, 1888). There are two interesting tables in the Province de Québec: Annuaire statistique for the year 1916, namely "Population indienne dans la province de Québec suivant le sexe, la religion et le mouvement de 1886 à 1915", p. 72 and "Population indienne de la province de
Québec distribuée par réserve, tribu, religion et mouvement en 1915", p. 73. Alfred Duclos De Celles"Les sauvages dans la province de Québec" in BRH, VII, pp. 135-144, appeared in 1901.

1. The Abenakis


2. The Caughnawaga and St. Régis Iroquois


The only complete history of the Caughnawaga reserve was written by E.J. Devine, s.j., Historic Caughnawaga, (Montréal, The Messenger Press, 1922). The R.P. Henri Béchard's
J'ai cent ans: L'église Saint-François-Xavier de Caughnawaga, (Montréal, Le Messager, 1946) is really a shortened version of Devine's book in French, but does contain valuable information for the years 1900-1946. In 1885, the Captain of the Iroquois boatmen who volunteered to join the British Boat Expedition for the Relief of Khartoum, Louis Jackson, published an entertaining 35 page account. Our Caughnawaga in Egypt, (Montréal, Drysdale, 1885).


3. The Lorette Hurons

Over a number of years the Hurons have received the most attention of any Indian group in Québec. One of the early articles was that by De Gaspé, "Le village Indien de la Jeune Lorette" which appeared in Le foyer canadien of 1866, pp. 533-554. The Abbé Lionel Lindsay's Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette, (Montréal, La Cie de publication de la Revue canadienne), was published in 1900, and remains the only complete history.

A major contribution to the study of Lorette and the
Hurons was made by Léon Gérin. In the years 1901 and 1902 respectively, he published in the French journal, *Science Sociale*, "Le Huron de Lorette: A quels égards il est resté sauvage", pp. 334-360 and "Le Huron de Lorette: A quels égards il s'est transformé", pp. 319-342. His "Seigneurie de Sillery et les Hurons de Lorette" appeared in 1900, in *MSRC*, 2ème série, VI (1900), pp. 73-115. We made mention to his "Huron of Lorette" in the preceding section.


We were unable to locate the following three items which bear on the Hurons of Lorette. André Napoléon Montpetit (1840-1898), father of Édouard Montpetit, published his *Histoire des Hurons de Lorette* in *L'Opinion publique* probably in 1867. The sociologist, Jean-Charles Falardeau composed a thesis in 1940 for the *Faculté des Sciences sociales*, Université Laval, on "Préhistoire, histoire et description des Hurons de Lorette*. Finally, Marius Barbeau left in manuscript form an essay "The Indian Reserve of Lorette" 23ff., 20 x 25 cm. This work is mentioned in his bibliography published in the *Archives de folklore*, II (1946), p. 28.
4. The Oka Indians

The Algonquin-Iroquois reserve at Oka was the most interesting of all in the nineteenth century. Quite a substantial literature exists, on account of the heated Protestant-Catholic strife among the Indians after 1869. In 1869 all the Iroquois on the reserve left the Catholic for the Methodist Church; whereas the Algonquins remained Catholic. For the tribal composition of the reserve one might read Frank Speck's "Algonkian Influence upon Iroquois Social Organization" in American Anthropologist, XXV:2 (1923), pp. 219-227.

The only complete account of the Protestant Iroquois' struggle with the gentlemen of Saint-Sulpice is by a Sulpician, Olivier Maurault: "Les vicissitudes d'une mission sauvage" in Revue trimestrielle canadienne, (June, 1930), pp. 121-149. Maurault up-dated his 1930 article in 1936, see "Oka" in Nos Messieurs, (Montréal), les Editions du Zodiaque, 1936), pp. 206-260. A very brief summary of the history of the reserve is contained in Jean Dombreval's Archives et souvenirs, (Drummondville, La Parole, 1938), pp. 109-111. Henri Gauthier p.s.s. wrote under the pseudonym of Jean Dombreval.


5. The Indians of Nouveau Québec

The most complete bibliography is that by Jacques Rousseau, "Coupe biogéographique et ethnobiologique de la péninsule Québec-Labrador" in Le Nouveau-Québec: Contribution à


6. The Restigouche Micmacs

There is an excellent bibliographical guide to the literature on the Gaspé Region, Soeur Saint Denis' Gaspésiana, (Montréal et Paris, Fides, 1965). She lists 407 titles of books, manuscripts, periodicals and films, several of which treat the Micmacs of the area.


Mgr Plessis' diary of his 1812 voyage to Gaspésie and the Maritimes was published in 1865. In passing the Micmacs at Restigouche are referred to several times: "Journal de la

Doctor Dionne has written the biography of C.F. Painchaud, who was for nine years the missionary to the Micmacs, 1806-1814, Vie de C.F. Painchaud, (Québec, Léger Brousseau, 1894), pp. 31-47. John Clarke contributed "Le tricentenaire Micmac", a short article in RC, n.s., IX (1912), pp. 227-239. J.C. Taché's "Trois légendes de mon pays, ou l'Evangile ignoré, l'Evangile prêché, l'Evangile accepté" in Les soirées canadiennes, I (1861), pp. 12-109 were reprinted several times. They are not really Micmac legends though, being largely invented by Taché himself.


7. The Indians of the Saguenay Region


The best secondary sources are Mgr Victor Tremblay's Histoire du Saguenay depuis les origines jusqu'à 1870,

8. The Têtes-de-Boule


Other accounts worth consulting are J. Adams' 1831, "Sketches of the Têtes-de-Boule Indians of the Rover St-Maurice" in TLHSQ, v. II (1831), pp. 25-39; Benjamin Sulte's historical account which leads up to the 1850's, "Les Attikameques et les Têtes-de-Boule" in BSGQ, V (1911), pp. 121-130; and the American anthropologist D.S. Davidson's, "Notes on Têtes-de-Boule Ethnology" in American Anthropologist, n.s., XXX (1928), pp. 18-46. The most recent article is that of P. Y. Pépin "Les trois réserves indiennes du haut Saint-Maurice: Onémontachingue, Obidjouane, Manouane" in Revue canadienne de géographie, XI (1957), pp. 61-70.

9. Indians in Other Regions of Canada

Here we are not interested in factual information, but rather in the image of these Indians as given by French Canadian observers. The R.P. Duchaussois, o.m.i.'s Aux glaces polaires: Indiens et Esquimaux, (Ville la Salle, Québec,

The story of the French-Canadian missionaries in all parts of Canada is told in Chanoine Groulx's Le Canada français missionnaire (Montréal et Paris, Fides, 1962), pp. 17-68. James Reardon's "George Anthony Belcourt, Pioneer Missionary of the Northwest" in CCHA Report, (1951), pp. 75-89, is useful since Belcourt was quoted over twenty times by the Abbé Ferland in his Histoire... A rather interesting presentation of the news one missionary sent back to his family is given in Jacques Rousseau's "Caravane vers l'Orégon: Journal de l'Orégon du missionnaire Godfroi Rousseau" in CD, XXX (1965), pp. 209-271.

Two short articles worthy of notice are: G. Lemoine's "Les Algonquins du Canada" in BSGQ, IV (1910), pp. 184-196. Father Lemoine was a missionary among the Algonquin for over twenty years. Of equal interest is Sophie Lenz's "Parmi les Indiens des Etats-Unis" in RC, XIX (1883), pp. 146-155.
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

Our interests in Indians originated during the summer of 1966. That summer we worked on a railway labour gang, formed mainly of métis and Indians. Two years later, in a University of Toronto seminar of Professor Eccles on New France, we decided to study the Indians of early Canadian history for our year paper.

In the preparation of the essay we discovered a paradox. Whereas the early French had a good deal of praise for the Indians they encountered, the French Canadian secondary source writers had none. For the French Canadian historians the Indians were simply bloodthirsty, filthy, treacherous fiends ... This paradox intrigued us, and upon arriving at Laval we proposed as our thesis, the French Canadian historians' image of the Indian in the history of New France.

Eventually we limited our study to what is generally termed the "Heroic Period" of New France, namely the years 1534 to 1663. In effect, these are the heroic years not only for the French but also for the Indian. In these first years of contact with the French, the Indian is still a noble figure.
The Indians Champlain met at Tadoussac in 1603 were "robustes, fermes, pleins de vitalité, et qui ne ressemblent en rien aux piteux débris que connaîtront plus tard les colons français" (1). At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Indians still had their will to survive, their strong sense of identity, and were still well adjusted to their environment (2) ... With the increasing contact with the Europeans came the dislocation of their traditional economy by the fur trade, diseases of epidemic proportions, the depletion of game, the upsetting of their own communal concepts and tribal structure, and the intensification of warfare between the tribes (3). Yet, in the sixteenth, and the early seventeenth centuries the Indians were still largely uncontaminated. The Indian, maître chez lui, proudly refused Christianity and francisation.

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3. Ibid., p. 64.
In the collection of French Canadian historical works on the Heroic Period of New France, we relied for the nineteenth century on: Philéas Gagnon's *Essai de bibliographie canadienne* (1895-1913), and Doctor N.-E. Dionne's *Inventaire chronologique des livres, journaux et revues publiés dans la province de Québec 1764-1905* (1905 (4)). For the twentieth century we have used the bibliographical lists in the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada* (1897-1918) and in the *Canadian Historical Review* (1920-1968). As additional supplements we consulted the excellent bibliography contained in the first volume of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (1966), and the two guides by Philippe Garigue: *A Bibliographical Introduction to the Study of French Canada* (1956) and *Bibliographie du Québec (1955-1965)* (1967) (5).


Our bibliography for this thesis contains only those books and articles we have looked through ourselves. In order to offer the reader a true bibliographical guide we have divided the list of titles into several sub-divisions. Since in several cases a book fits two of these sub-divisions, we have listed the work in both places. Our table of contents contains the names of the sub-divisions. For the area most ignored of all, that is the history of the Indian in Québec in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we have prepared a critical bibliography.

Since we must translate frequently, it would be best at the outset to explain our translation of two difficult words: "sauvage" and "race". Although the English word "Indian" which is often used to translate "sauvage" is incorrect ("Amerindian" would be a better one), we have chosen to use "Indian", the word in common usage. "Amerindian" has a modern air to it which is not in keeping with the spirit of the texts under review. Secondly, we will translate the French word "race" by the English word "nation". Even though it is incorrect to use this word "race" in other than a biological sense(6)

French Canadians continue to do so. For example, in 1961 in his formal announcement of the French edition of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Mgr Vachon, the Rector of Laval University, used the word "race" with the meaning of national group (7).

In this thesis we define New France as all those areas in northeastern North America under French control or influence before the British conquest. We bestow the title of "French Canadian" on anyone whose mother tongue was French, who was born within the present-day boundaries of Canada, and who produced his historical work in this country (8). For the purposes of this thesis we consider as an historian anyone who wrote from primary and secondary source materials about the past, in our own case about the Heroic Period of New France.

7. Mgr Vachon stated: "Nous espérons que cette initiative servira d'exemple et de stimulant et qu'elle contribuera à consolider et à développer les mouvements d'échange et de bonne entente entre les deux grandes races qui constituent notre pays". *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, p. xiii.

8. Thus, the important French writers Dom Jamet, Faillon, Martin, Rameau de Saint-Père, Rochemonteix, and Salone, are not dealt with in this thesis.
CHAPTER I

THE INDIAN OF NORTHEASTERN NORTH AMERICA

AS SEEN BY FRENCHMEN
The Indian of Northeastern North America as seen by Frenchmen

The majority of seventeenth century accounts are extremely paradoxical. Different orders of missionaries, different missionaries within the orders, and a varied assortment of lay people made conflicting reports on the first inhabitants of northeastern North America. For instance, Lescarbot and Champlain visited the same area at the same time (Acadia), but both produced opposite reports on the nature of the Indians. Lescarbot saw the noble savage who was, in many respects, superior to civilized man himself. Champlain, on the other hand, noticed a collection of poor people, rude and of little interest (1). Father Louis Hennepin, a Récollet missionary, found the Indian tribe, the Illinois, "brutish, wild and stupid" as "most of the Savages of America", whereas

the Jesuit, Father Claude Dablon, wrote in the Relation of 1670-71 of this same tribe, "what we say of the chief may be said of all the rest of this nation, in whom we have noted the same disposition, together with a docility which has no savor of the barbarian" (2).

As Father Le Jeune himself wrote in 1633, "J'ai remarqué qu'après avoir vu quelque action commune à deux ou trois sauvages, on l'attribue incontinent à toute la Nation" (3). Nor was this all, writers contradicted themselves within their own reports. In the Récollet Sagard's account of his voyage to and his sejourn in Huronia, the Indians, "ces sales maussades" (4) of the opening pages, become at the end, individuals who display "autant de courtoisie et d'humanité que nous eussions pu espérer de quelques bons chrétiens" (5). For the former Jesuit donné (lay helper) in Huronia, Pierre Boucher, the Indians were by nature "cruels, dissimulez, complaisans, ingrats" and most of all "extremement vindicatif" (6). Yet

5. Ibid., p. 215.
he goes on to add: "Les sauvages, de leur naturel ne sont point capables de grandes malices, comme sont les Européens; il ne sçavent ce que c'est que de jurer ... tous les sauvages ont l'esprit bon, & il est bien rare de voir parmy eux de ces esprits buses & grossiers, comme nous en voyons en France parmy nos paysans" (7).

Throughout all accounts, Indian defaults and qualities are constantly remarked upon -- almost cancelling each other out. The length of observation, the tribe he visited, the circumstances under which he travelled with the particular nation under study, his own social background, his personality, the particular motivations which led him to record his thoughts, all these factors played a part in the traveller's interpretation. It is important for us to take note of all the vices and virtues assigned the Indian by the travellers, for both will be constantly brought forward in the next three centuries to follow, as proof of either the bon or the mauvais sauvage. On the defaults side of the ledger, one finds: adultery, barbarism, swearing, ingratitude, sorcery, libertinage, lying, laziness, over sensitiveness, excessive pride, vengefulness, stealing. Then, on the side of virtues, the following qualities are listed: love of family, fraternal
spirit, good humour, compassion, courage, eloquence, heroism, hospitality, intelligence, liberality, retentiveness, patience, strength, stoicism (8).

Examination of the writings of those who left the most extensive accounts of the seventeenth century native inhabitants of North America, the early Jesuit fathers, helps to explain the dual image of the Indian in the seventeenth century source material. The Jesuit fathers, men formed by a rule of poverty and an intensive classical education, saw much that was admirable in Indian society. Their classical and biblical recollections in addition to their desire to criticize the morals of their contemporary Europeans, led them, on occasion, to idealize the Indian. Periodically in their Relations, the American Indian was transformed from his true state into a figure resembling a citizen of the Roman Republic or a founder of the Christian church (9). However, the Jesuit remained a priest who had been sent to christianized men governed by the Devil. Where the Jesuit as a humanist, saw ancient heroes or saints, the Jesuit, as a priest, saw only degraded vice ridden savages in the grip of Satan. Nowhere are these two images so clearly presented than in Father Le Jeune's 1636 Relation.

In the beginning of his Relation, Le Jeune spares no praise of the Indian's qualities and virtues. The Indians, he writes, carry on their shoulders "les têtes de Jules César, de Pompée, d'Auguste, d'Othon, et des autres que j'ai vus en France, tirées sur le papier ou relevées en des médailles" (10). Their minds are "de bonne trempe", in fact, "les sauvages ont plus d'esprit que nos paysans ordinaires" (11). The Indians are happy souls free from the scourges which torment, which torture so many Europeans, namely ambition and greed. In the forest no one murders another in order to obtain a coveted post, or works himself to death to acquire riches. These people of the woods never rise in anger against another in their group. In their daily tasks, they suffer, but unlike the French, do not lament their sort. They act decently towards their kinfolk, as well as towards the stranger. In Indian society one of their greatest affronts, Le Jeune tells the reader, is to say: "Cet homme aime tout, il est avare" (12).

In the next chapter of this same Relation, Le Jeune changes his tone completely. It must be remembered that the

11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 48.
object of the Relations was to attract French support for the missions in New France. Moreover, the fathers had to justify to themselves and to their potential financial backers, the reasons why they had come to Northeastern North America. Hence, the bad Indian was introduced. In the Relations, pious souls were informed of the misery of the Indians without God, and the happiness of those who had been converted. In short, the Jesuits' appreciation of the Indians' communal life, and their charity worthy of the earliest Christians, was held in check by their need to justify their presence on this continent, and by the necessity to obtain the money necessary to support their missions.

In his Relation, Le Jeune described the Indian's virtues, then immediately after presented his vices. The Indians, he writes, are all "remplis d'erreurs", of which pride is the foremost. Since humility came only after conversion to the faith, the Indians were victims of "la vanité de l'erreur et du mensonge" (13). Little touched by compassion, lying came naturally to these men, especially towards strangers. While the Montagnais did not steal, the Hurons certainly did (14). The Indians were gluttons and at least the Indians Le Jeune

13. Ibid., p. 50.
had conversed with, used improper, unclean language. They were dirty creatures. As for their food: "il est tant soit peu plus net que la mangeaille que l'on donne aux animaux, et non pas encore toujours ..."(15). In their ofrty years of published Relations, the early seventeenth century Jesuits continued in this vein. More than any other individuals, they successfully publicized the bad Indian and bon sauvage and left these two images as a heritage for the centuries to come.

The particular contribution of two eighteenth century Jesuits, Father Charlevoix and Lafitau, was to emphasis more the Indians' virtues than his vices, thus permitting the image of the bon sauvage to dominate over that of the ignoble. In their writings both men continued to make certain reservations about the Indians' character, but on the whole reported only favorable impressions. In one striking passage, Lafitau sums up the spirit in which he, at least, approached the Indian:

"J'ai vu avec une extrême peine dans la plupart des Relations, que ceux qui ont écrit des moeurs des Peuples Barbares, nous les ont peints comme gens qui n'avoient aucun sentiment de Religion, aucune connaissance de la Divinité, aucun objet à qui ils rendissent quelque culte: comme gens qui n'avoient ni loix, ni police exterieure, ni forme de gouvernement; en un mot comme gens qui n'avoient presque de l'homme que la figure. C'est une faute qu'ont faite les

15. Ibid., p. 55.
Missionnaires même & des gens de bien, qui ont écrit d’une part avec trop de précipitation de choses qu’ils ne connaissaient pas assez” (16).

In his Moeurs des sauvages amériquains comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps published in Paris in 1724, Lafitau constantly made the parallel between the customs and beliefs of the people of Antiquity and the Indians. Their customs, religious ceremonies, are the same, as are their ways of life, their arms, their dress and their work instruments (17). The Indians are cruel, Lafitau admits this. Yes, they cut their prisonners into little pieces, but in doing this, he asks, are they not acting exactly as the Greeks and Romans did before them? "Quoi de plus inhumain que les héros de l'Iliade, Quoi de plus barbare que les combats de gladiateurs. Quant aux Juifs, j'en trouverais dans la Bible bien des exemples..." (18). Lafitau, fully aware of the threats to orthodoxy in the early eighteenth century, sets out to prove the universality of divine revelation and thus refute atheism and deism. This is why he launched so fiercely into the commonly held belief that the Indians were beasts simply because they were pagans (19).

In the same spirit as Lafitau's *Moeurs* ... was Charlevoix' *Histoire et description de la Nouvelle-France*. Of the two men, Charlevoix's influence on French Canadian historiography was many, many times greater than that of Lafitau. Garneau himself called Charlevoix, "le meilleur de nos historiens" (20). And as late as 1930, the Abbé Scott noted that Charlevoix remained the "historien de la Nouvelle-France; *Pour la domination française, qu'il a traitée presque toute entière, qu'a-t-on fait de mieux?*" (21) W.J. Eccles, a modern English Canadian historian of New France, has written that "the nineteenth-century historian, such as François-Xavier Garneau and Abbé Ferland, based their histories of New France largely on Charlevoix" (22) What renders Charlevoix even more interesting for his study is that while the nineteenth and early twentieth century historians relied heavily on his history of New France to write their own accounts, they to a man rejected his portrait of the Indians.

Like Lafitau, Charlevoix came to New France blinded by

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his memories of antiquity. The Indians' free life, their absence of preconceived ideas, their liberty from an oppressive government, the absence of privileges in their society, were all praised. A quotation from Charlevoix, which typifies his thought, is included in Ferland's history: "... en beaucoup de rencontres, on serait tenté de croire qu'ils n'ont qu'une demi-raison, tandis qu'en une infinité d'autres, ils sont plus hommes que nous" (23). Another revealing quotation is contained in Charlevoix' journal describing his trip from Québec to Biloxi in 1721:

"Il faut convenir, Madame, que plus on voit nos sauvages de près, & plus on découvre en eux de qualités estimables. La plupart des Principes qui servent à regler leur conduite, les Maximes générales, sur lesquelles ils se gouvernent, & le fond de leur caractère, n'ont presque rien, qui sente le Barbare" (24).

Yes, the Indian had his shortcomings (25), but despite them, Charlevoix wrote, they seemed naturally more virtuous than Europeans. In many respects the heathen was a finer man than the whiteman who conquered or corrupted him: "La plupart ont véritablement une noblesse, & une égalité d'âme, à laquelle

25. Ibid., p. 308.
nous parvenons rarement avec tous les secours, que nous pouvons tirer de la Philosophie & de la Religion" (26). For a European, it is a revelation to observe the harmonious group relations of these people:

"Ce qui me surprend infiniment dans les Hommes, dont tout l'extérieur n'annonce rien que de barbare, c'est de les voir se traiter entre eux avec une douceur & des égards, qu'on ne trouve point parmi le Peuple dans les Nations les plus civilisées" (27).

Two other French writers, Raynal and Chateaubriand, wrote accounts of the history of New France which were later referred to by early French Canadian historians. In his massive Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes, composed in 1780, Raynal narrated at length the French experience in North America (28). In his several volumes, Raynal intended to point out the crimes Europeans had committed in the New World and Asia on account of their greed, their thirst for gold. Like other commentators before him, Raynal used the natives of Asia and the Americas to make criticisms of contemporary European society. In describing the Indians of the new World,

26. Ibid., p. 306.
27. Ibid., p. 307.
for instance, he painted a portrait of the evils of European society:

"Ils n'avaient pas le coeur gâté par ses mauvaises institutions qui nous corrompent, ils ne connaissaient ni les infidélités, ni les trahisons, ni les parjures, ni les assassinats, si communs chez les peuples policés. La religion, les loix, les échafauds, ces digues partout élevées pour garantir les usurpations anciennes contre les usurpations nouvelles, étaient inutiles à ces hommes qui ne suivaient que la nature" (29).

Like Charlevoix, who underlined the Indians' cruelty towards the Jesuit martyrs (30), Raynal does not gloss over their treatments of captives. "Quel mélange de vertus & de férocity!" (31) he comments. However, the main theme of his pages on the Indian of New France is his essential goodness: "Leur franchise & leur bonne foi, sont indignées des finesses & des perfidies, qui ont fait la base de notre commerce avec eux" (32). In fact, the Indians of Northeastern North America, he goes on, can teach us how to govern ourselves. By examining their society one cannot fail to note that the ills of European society stem from "des fondateurs & des législateurs, qui, la plupart, avoient créé la police pour leur utilité

31. Raynal, op. cit., p. 66.
32. Ibid., p. 34.
propre, ou dont les sages vues de justice, & de bien public
avoient été pervertées (sic) par l'ambition de leurs suc-
cesseurs, & par l'altération des tems et des moeurs" (33).
The Indians still lived in a lost golden age and did not suf-
fer from these ills.

Raynal was relied upon a secondary source by the early
French Canadian historians Michel Bibaud (1782-1857), François-
Xavier Garneau (1809-1866) and the Abbé Ferland (1805-1866).
Thereafter he was gradually left aside and forgotten. On the
other hand, the influence of Chateaubriand exerted itself in
French Canada well into the twentieth century. La Minerve
published extracts from his Génie du Christianisme in 1826
(34), from 1830 onwards, extracts were printed in both La Mi-
nerve and Le Canadien (35). Michel Bibaud included portions
of Chateaubriand's books in 1826 and 1827 in his Bibliothèque
canadienne (36). For twenty years after 1830, texts of the

33. Ibid., p. 74.
34. Emile Bégin, "Garneau et le romantisme" in Le Canada
français, XXIX (1941-1942), p. 129.
35. David M. Hayne, "Sur les traces du préromantisme cana-
dien" in Archives des lettres canadiennes, t. I, Ottawa,
Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1961, pp. 146-147.
36. Harry Smith, L'influence d'Augustin Thierry sur François-
Xavier Garneau, Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres
de l'Université Laval pour obtenir le grade de Docteur
d'Université, juillet 1947, p. 56.
master or hommages to him were inserted in French Canadian newspapers (37). For French Canadian historian, Maximilien Bibaud (1824-1887), Chateaubriand was "le génie" (38).

Throughout his lifetime, Chateaubriand was one of the Abbé Casgrain's "dieux littéraires" (39). Joseph-Edmond Roy (1858-1913) quoted Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* in his 1884 work, *Guillaume Couture* (40).

Before beginning any of his books, Chateaubriand read all of the printed matter on the subject he could obtain. The principal sources for his works on North America were the *Jesuits Relations*, Lafitau, and especially Charlevoix (41). The early source materials emphasized the French's apostolic zeal, and the tribulations of the martyrs. At the same time these same sources, especially Lafitau and Charlevoix, exalted the Indians' character and their way of life. Chateaubriand continued in the same tradition as Father Charlevoix before

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him, and praised both the man of nature and the glory of the early missionaries. As long as writers were writing about northeastern North America for French audiences, they could continue to include the images of the bon sauvage and the bon missionnaire, but a French Canadian writer could not. In French Canada, the Indians were not all dead or long-forgotten. The French had fought the Iroquois for nearly a century and a half.

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In 1821, in the bookstore of Bossange et Papineau in Montréal a thick volume was offered for sale, entitled, Beautés de l'histoire du Canada ou époques remarquables, traits intéressans, moeurs, usages, coutumes des habitants du Canada, tant indigènes que colons, depuis sa découverte jusqu'à ce jour. It is a badly organized book, in which legend, historical fact and anecdote alike are all mixed together. The author, who used the pseudonym of "D. Dainville", was probably Adolphe Bossange, who was connected with the bookselling firm that published it (42). The book is rather unimportant in

42. Adolphe Bossange (1797/1862) was a French business man who visited Montréal several times. See Armand Yon, "Les canadiens français jugés par les Français de France, 1830-1939" in RHAF, XVIII, (1964-1965), p. 324.
itself, but it is worthy of note since both Michel and Maximilien Bibaud (43) relied on it as a secondary source. In addition, it is the first work written on the Indian designed for French as well as French Canadian audiences (44).

Dainville's Indian is Chateaubriand's, a romantic man of nature who talks of love in a noble fashion (45). The Indian's generous treatment of the first French explorer, Verrazano, "fait honte à l'avare égoïsme de nos nations policées, et dit plus en faveur du coeur humain, que vingt traités philosophiques sur la vertu" (46). They have "l'haleine aussi douce que celle d'un enfant" (47). Yet, the missionary, as in Charlevoix' and Chateaubriand's accounts, receives his due praise. These disciples of God suffered great hardships: "Sans cesse en butte au caprice des sauvages, toujours près d'être victimes de quelque émeute populaire, ou du ressentiment d'un homme, ils donnèrent au monde un'example admirable de ce que

44. On the title page, it plainly states that the book is available chez Bossange frères in Paris and chez Bossange et Papineau in Montréal.
45. D. Dainville (pseudonym), Beautés de l'histoire du Canada, Paris, Bossange, 1821, p. 496.
46. Ibid., p. 12.
47. Ibid., p. 106.
peut la religion sur l'âme humaine" (48). In Dainville's 
Beautés ..., the Frenchman's good Indian and heroic mis-
sionary are both introduced, for the first time, to French 
Canadian audiences.

48. Ibid., p. 106.
CHAPTER II

THE IMAGE OF THE INDIAN IN
EARLY FRENCH CANADIAN HISTORICAL WRITING
CHAPTER II

The Image of the Indian in Early French Canadian Historical Writing

Dainville's work was sold in Montréal, but it was not written by a French Canadian. The honour of being the first French Canadian to write a history of his nation belongs to Joseph-François Perrault (1753-1844), one of François-Xavier Garneau's schoolmasters. As a young man in the Illinois country, Perrault was familiar with an Indian radically different from Charlevoix' or Dainville's. In 1779, Perrault himself had been captured by a war party in the Illinois country. Held as a prisoner by the Indians he narrowly escaped death on a number of occasions. In his own words, after the Indians had killed one of his companions, they forced him to crawl under the trunk of the dead man's body "dont on avait coupé la tête et les membres, qui étaient plantés sur des piquets; ce qui me fit craindre le même sort au lieu où l'on me
menait" (1). Fortunately, Perrault escaped death, although he was tortured several times. He was left with vivid memories of his captivity. At age 80, he recalled the winter after his release:

"Je fus malade tout l’hiver; les marques jaunes et bleues, que le collier, qui supportait le paquet du chef blessé, que j’avais porté, m’avaient (sic) faites, furent visibles pendant près de deux mois; l’éruption de boutons dont mon corps était couvert (sic) ne fut entièrement passée que dans le même espace de temps, et les fraîcheurs dans mes jambes se firent sentir plusieurs années après" (2).

After his captivity, Perrault left the fur-trade and became a protonotary. In his later life, he established a primary school in Quebec city. Shocked to find out that there was no Canadian history manual for the elementary schools, Perrault set out to write his own. The first section, treating the years from the European discovery to the year 1760, was published in 1832. By his own admission, the manual was based entirely on the histories of "Père Charlevoix, imprimée à Paris en 1743, et sur celle de W. Smith, imprimée à Québec en

2. Ibid., p. 52.
1815" (3). Unfortunately, in the thirty-odd pages devoted to the years 1534-1663, the Indians are passed over in silence. The only lengthy passage relates the Montagnais' and Hurons' torture of an Iroquois in 1609:

"Aussitôt qu'il fut mort, ils lui ouvrirent le ventre, jettèrent ses entrailles dans le lac, lui coupèrent la tête, les bras et les jambes, et les dispersèrent de part et d'autre, sans toucher au tronc; ils ne gardèrent que la chevelure, ils coupèrent le coeur, en petits morceaux qu'ils donnèrent à manger aux prisonniers, ils en mirent un morceau dans la bouche du frère du mort, qui le cracha sur le champ" (4).

Perhaps Perrault included this passage because it reminded him of his own experience with the Indians in 1779, fifty-three years before.

Since Perrault's history of New France was only a school text, a detailed French Canadian account of early Canada had yet to be written. Doctor Jacques Labrie (1784-1831) worked for six years on such a study, from 1825 to his death in 1831, but the sole copy of his unpublished manuscript was destroyed in a 1838 fire (5). Rather than Labrie, it was the Montréal

4. Ibid., p. 11.
journalist Michel Bibaud (1782-1837) who wrote and published the first detailed history of the French Regime ever to be written by a French Canadian. Michel Bibaud's *Histoire du Canada sous la domination française* appeared in 1837 with the following declaration explaining why he had undertaken to compose it:

"Une histoire suivie, uniforme, et complète du Canada, sous la domination française, manquait aux lecteurs canadiens, et nous avons eu l'intention au moins de bien mériter de nos compatriotes en leur donnant cette histoire" (6).

The history is based on Bibaud's previous articles on New France in his first magazine, the *Bibliothèque canadienne*, which he edited from 1825 to 1830, and in the *Observateur* and the *Magasin du Bas-Canada* (7). He did little personal research and gave scant attention to the Indian. Hardly original, Henri d'Arles claimed that the book contains six or seven hundred passages taken directly from the Jesuit Charlevoix (8). In contrast his father ignored the Indians and squeezed

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their general portrait into two of his eighty pages (2.5% of the space) allotted to the period 1534-1663.

Like Charlevoix, Dainville et Raynal, all of whom he credits his preface, Michel Bibaud had a favourable image of Indian society. Indian society, he wrote was "exempts de la plupart des vices qui infestaient les nations policiées de l'Europe et des autres parties du monde" (9). Yet, like all the Jesuit fathers, like Raynal and Dainville, Bibaud does not approve of Indian warfare, for at such times the Indians exercised "une cruauté révoltante, tourmentant leurs prisonniers de la manière la plus horrible, et poussant quelquefois la barbarie jusqu'à les manger" (10). In addition, he praises the early missionaries, these men who distinguished themselves by "une piété, un zèle, une résignation et un dévouement, qu'on pouvait regarder, même alors, comme extraordinaires" (11). To sum up, Michel Bibaud's history contains the contradictions of the Frenchmen's earlier accounts -- The Indian, the man of nature, is presented as the ideal man leading the ideal life, yet at times, this same man acted like a cruel, treacherous, blood-thirsty fiend, especially towards French missionaries.

10. Ibid., p. 21.
11. Ibid., p. 61.
The first French Canadian to break away from the two-century-old tradition of analyzing the Indian by listing his virtues as opposed to his vices, was Maximilien Bibaud (1824-1887) (12). At twenty-four, he wrote his *Biographie des Sagamos Illustres de l'Amérique septentrionale* (1848). A work still used, and cited as a reference over a century later (13).

Like his father, Maximilien was born and educated in Montréal, where he later practised law and taught at the law school at Collège Sainte-Marie. His interest in Indian began early in his life. As an older man, he even changed his name from "Maximilien" to "Marie-Uncas-Maximilien". "Uncas" was an Indian name made famous in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (14). Perhaps Maximilien's *Sagamos Illustres* was inspired by a reading of Cooper, or of Chateaubriand (15). In any event, this is the only book that has ever been written by a French Canadian which praises throughout the noble savage,

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12. There are few studies of Bibaud, the only one we could find was E.-Z. Massicotte's "Quelques notes sur Maximilien Bibaud" in BRH, LII (1946), pp. 90-93.
15. Chateaubriand and Cooper's works are mentioned several times in his *Biographie des Sagamos Illustres* ...
and fails to mention the bad Indian. As no mention is made of
the missionaries, the noble savage in Sagamos Illustres, for
the first time, exists alone. This book constitutes a elogy
in his honour:

"On admire ces héros d'Homère presque bar­
bares; on se passionne pour ces chants anaclé­
tiques d'Ossian, où paraissent une grandeur
sage et une sombre valeur, les Sagamos de la
nord Amérique ressemblent à ces guerriers
poétiques" (16).

Bibaud even criticizes Raynal who, in a section of his
account, refered to the Indians as savage animals:

"Je ne vois plus ces quelques barbares de
Raynal, hérissé du poil des animaux féroces,
mais une race hospitalière, qui offre aux
étrangers et aux malheureux une hospitalité
capable de faire honte à l'avare égoïsme de
nos nations civilisées" (17).

Moreover, it was wrong to portray the Iroquois as bloodthirsty
barbarians. In fact, "les bienfaits de la paix y étaient
appréciés comme les trophées de la guerre" (18). Were the
French any better than the Indian warriors, those French sol­
diers, for example, who "sous Louis XIV, mirent à feu et à
sang la Hollande et le Palatinat, et commirent mille autres
horreurs que l'on se refuse à décrire" (19).

17. Ibid., p. xix.
18. Ibid., p. 184.
19. Ibid.
Seven years later in 1855, Bibaud bitterly criticized the first edition of François-Xavier Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*. He attacked Garneau for his poor French style, his linguistic errors, his lack of respect for religion, and moreover for his errors of fact and interpretation (20). His criticisms of Garneau's Indian are well founded. Bibaud noted that Garneau had stated the Indians, with the exception of the Natchez, did not have any religion; then later on page 222, Garneau went on to describe Indians' funeral practices, facts, sacrifices, and their priesthood (21). In short, Garneau himself proves they were indeed religious. In addition, Garneau erroneously estimated at 17,000, the total population of all the Hurons and Iroquois (22). This figure, Maximilien Bibaud comments, is a gross underestimate, as he proves by again citing contradictions in Garneau's own account (23).

In his 1855 "Discours préliminaire sur les origines américaines", Maximilien Bibaud again proves himself a respectable writer on the Indian, at least for a man writing

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22. Ibid., p. 31.
23. Modern scholars would agree with Bibaud, at the time of contact in the 1620's the Hurons and Iroquois together were three to five times more numerous than the figure of 17,000 Garneau supplies.
over a century ago. In his "Discours préliminaire...", he seems abreast of the most important items of contemporary literature on the subject. Unlike Dainville, Chateaubriand, and his father, he is quite aware of the fact that the Hurons and the Iroquois are members of the same cultural group (24). He does not get carried away with "scientific" hypotheses, for example, that the head size of a people is an indication of their intelligence. In 1867, Francis Parkman himself, accepted this thesis and claimed citing Morton's *Crania Americana* that the Huron/Iroquois were the most intelligent Indian people in the Americas (25). An American writer claimed the same as late as 1948 (26). Wisely, Maximilien Bibaud dismisses the entire theory then calmly observes: "Le sauvage de cette partie est de fait l'être le mieux conformé par la nature, de laquelle il semble n'être point sorti" (27).

Of Maximilien Bibaud's two major contributions on the

Indian, his *Sagamos Illustres* (1848) and his "Discours préliminaire sur les origines américaines" (28), the second is superior to the first. At thirty-one, he is more critical than he was at age twenty-four ... At the time, the theory of separate origins of man was in vogue. Sir William Lawrence, a physician at the Royal College of Surgeons in London, in his lectures of the years 1816-1818 had advanced the idea of superior and inferior races. Dr. Samuel George Morton (1799-1851), a physician and natural historian was the leader of a group which argued that Negroes were a different species of man. Louis Agassiz, the famous Swiss-American naturalist, maintained that there had been not one creation of life in the world but a series (29). In his "Discours préliminaire ..." Maximilien Bibaud discusses individually, then dismisses each of their theories. He cites other authorities and argues for the immigration of the Indians from Asia (30).

Maximilien Bibaud's scholarly approach to the whole problem of separate origin contrasts sharply with that of his


contemporary, and fellow historian, the Abbé Ferland. Bibaud examined the hypothesis with a critical eye, and only rejected it after producing a sufficient number of contrary opinions. Six years later, the Abbé Ferland did not even stop to examine the evidence. The Holy Scripture stated one man and one woman, Adam and Eve, were the original parents of mankind; hence Ferland stated, there were no separate origins of man across the globe. Here is Ferland's dogmatic observation, which has the air of being extracted from a sermon, not from a serious history book:

"Nous ne prétendons pas discuter cette question; car elle est toute résolue pour les catholiques. L'Ecriture sainte, en effet, nous apprend que le genre humain tire son origine d'un seul homme et d'une seule femme, que la main du Créateur plaça dans le jardin d'Eden" (31).

The most interesting section of Bibaud's "Discours préliminaire ..." appears towards the end. Like Abbé Ferland who would tackle the same problem six years later in his Histoire, Bibaud entered into a discussion of whether or not the Indian was capable of civilization. Bibaud begins by noting that many persons have denied that the Indian can be civilized, yet, the Indians of Northeastern North America knew before the European arrival, how to paint all sorts of objects, many of

them practised agriculture with success, all the tribes had their own statesmen, the Indians of the Mississippi and Ohio Valley produced earthworks in their homeland, which compared to those of the Nile (the mound culture). Hence, it was false to say Indians were incapable of civilization (32). For nearly a century, the Indians would never again have such a sympathetic, understanding French Canadian spokesman as Bibaud.

When truly national history would be written, the ambivalent image of the Indian, that of Michel Bibaud, of Chateaubriand, of Dainville, of Raynal, of Charlevoix, of Lafitau, of the early Jesuit fathers and the French explorers, was bound to disappear. Maximilien Bibaud's lead of exalting and defending the Indian would not be followed; rather his interpretation was slated to be forgotten, as the noble Indian gave way to the ingoble. Formerly accounts of the Indian of Northeastern North America had been written for French audiences, the glorifying of many Indian traits had been designed to bring out the inequity of many of the customs of the Old World.

However, the French Canadian patriotic historians wrote for a French Canadian audience. French Canadians of the nineteenth,

unlike the Frenchmen of the eighteenth century, knew the Indians had refused *francisation*; moreover, the majority had, after all the French efforts, declined to accept the Cross. Memories of over a century of Indian wars, in which the French Canadians bore the blunt of the fighting, were not completely dead. Moreover, the degraded descendants of their old enemies, although disappearing rapidly, still roamed the Quebec countryside. The Quebec Indian of the nineteenth century, as we shall see, was a far cry from Chateaubriand's *bon sauvage*. 
CHAPTER III

THE FRENCH CANADIAN AND THE INDIAN
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
CHAPTER III

The French Canadian and the Indian
of the Nineteenth Century

In French Canada of the early nineteenth century, there were two Indians. There was the bon sauvage who came from France, produced by the leading romantic writer of the day, Chateaubriand. On the other hand, there was the bad Indian, the fierce, cruel enemy of the French Regime, whose memory was kept alive by an occasion encounter with their scattered descendants who still might be seen in Lorette, at Trois-Rivières, or outside of Montréal. Two poems of François-Xavier Garneau present the two Indians. In the first, Le Dernier Huron (1840), Garneau writes of primitive man, of the Indians who, before the arrival of the whiteman, lived a glorious, romantic life:

"Libres comme l'oiseau qui planait sur leurs têtes,
"Jamais rien n'arrêtait leurs pas.
"Leurs jours étaient remplis et de joie et de fêtes,
"De chasses et de combats.
"Et dédaignant des entraves factices,
"Suivant leur gré leurs demeures changeaient.
"Ils trouvaient en tous lieux des ombra
ges propices,
"Des ruisseaux qui coulaient" (1).

The second Indian, the demon, appeared one year later in Garneau's Le vieux chêne (1841). The noble, heroic Indian of Le Dernier Huron is replaced by a cruel beast, "à l'oeil noir et farouche", who refuses to cultivate the land, preferring instead to spill blood in making war. Silence! Garneau cries, can you not hear them? There, they are with their human captives!

"Les bûchers sont chargés de victimes humaines
"Dont le gémissement se mêle au bruit des chaînes;
"Le sang ruisselle et teint le sol épouvanté.
"0 jour d'affreuse joie et de cruels supplices,
"Les feux vont inonder les sanglants sacrifices
"De leur terrible clarté" (2).

Garneau continues this savage fiend:

"C'est donc là l'Indien à l'oeil noir et farouche,
"Couvrant de ses guerriers les bords du Saint-Laurent?
"De la cime des monts, où pend sa frêle couche,
"Il montre, plein d'orgueil, son empire puissant.

"Le glaive, c'est sa loi, la seule qu'il connaisse.
"Jamais devant mortel sa tête ne s'abaisse;
"Libre de tout frein et fier de sa liberté,
"Il dédaigne d'ouvrir le sol que son pied foule;
"Il va chercher sa proie où l'astre des jours roule;
"Dans les flots de sa clarté" (3).

The image of the bad Indian, the Indian of Le vieux chêne, was well rooted in French Canada. One can cite the old French Canadian folk-song, "Quand un chrétien se détermine à voyager" which concludes:

"Ami, veux-tu marcher par terre,
"Dans ces grands bois,
"Les sauvages te feront la guerre,
"En vrai (sic) sournois.

"Si tu veux braver leur fureur
"Sans plus attendre,
"Prie alors de tout ton coeur
"Ton ange de te défendre" (4).

More powerful still are the stories the Abbé Casgrain (1831-1904) collected from the oldest story-tellers of Rivière-Ouelle, the parish in which he was born (5). Published in 1861, the "Légende de la Jongleuse" recounts the unbelievable atrocities that Casgrain claims the savages committed against the pioneers

3. Ibid.
of the faith and civilization. The Abbé Casgrain attributes the Indian's subsequent "anéantissement" to the "inqualifiables barbaries dont ils se rendirent tant de fois coupables envers les missionnaires et les premiers colons qui venaient leur apporter le flambeau de la vérité" (6). In general, in thinking of les sauvages, the Abbé Maurault wrote in 1857, "the mind reverts to those wretched, cruel, and barbarous beings of former days, scalping their enemies, and living upon human flesh" (7).

The French writers had used the Indian to point out ills in their own society -- studying the Indian, they were studying themselves. -- When French Canadians began to write patriotic history they would do the same. However, as both the societies and their historical traditions were different, a French and a French Canadian Indian sprung up. The Frenchman of the nineteenth century had at best little knowledge of the Indians. As Faucher de Saint-Maurice reported in 1870, in France there was a complete ignorance or rather an "indifférence des choses

6. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
7. Abbé Maurault, "Appendix Number 6", Report of the Special Commissioners: Appointed on the 8th of September 1856 to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada, Toronto, Derbyshire and Desbarats, 1858. Unfortunately, there are no page numbers in this work; this appendix however is very short, and the given quotation can be easily found.
de notre pays" (8). Here the noble savage flourished, whereas in Canada the Indian was most often defined negatively, as a cruel savage bound deeply in a primitive past, a primitive society, and a primitive environment. Not only had they refused the French's greatest gift, the faith, so unselfishly offered, but they had also killed many of the ancestors of French Canadians. Did not this degraded beast show the civilized French Canadians of the nineteenth century what they were not and must not be: drunkards, pagans, hedonists, anarchists, and scorners of the soil.

In the mid-1850's the Indians of Lower Canada constituted at best, only 1% of the population. Out of approximately 900,000 inhabitants in Lower Canada in 1851, roughly 7,000 were classified as Indians (9). In the settled areas, there were hardly any pureblooded Indians left, nearly all were Métis. These Indian's manners, their customs, their habits, their mode of eating, were the same as those of the Canadians. Nearly all spoke either French or English. The overwhelming majority of these Indians were as white as the Canadians.

and those one occasionally met with a dark complexion, usually owed it to two or three months exposure to the sun (10).

Despite their limited numbers, the Indian was still a familiar sight in the 1850's. The Abbé Maurault, reported in 1857: "in general the Canadians despise the Indians" (11). Maurault criticized his countrymen for this fault:

"We generally take a wrong view of the condition of our Indians. We form our opinion of them from what we see of those we find on the banks of our rivers and lakes living under huts made of bart (sic). These unfortunates are either idiots or out-casts, who leave their village and escape from the presence of the Missionary to live in vice, and the most abject misery. Those who have never seen our beautiful villages and who have seen only these unfortunates, must entertain but a poor opinion of the Indians. It is the same with many of the Yankees, who judge of the Canadians as a race by those who are to be found living in vice and wretchedness on the banks on the rivers and lakes in the United States" (12).

The few Indians the nineteenth century French Canadians would encounter were the rejects of their own villages. Caught in a white man's world in a downward spiral of failure: lack of education, lack of social and job skills; sickness and alcoholism, they were poorly dressed and devoid of pride. When French Canadians did see Indians, it was these drunken,

10. Abbé Maurault, "Appendix Number 6".
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
diseased and degraded Indians that they saw.

On Ile Verte, an isolated Saint Laurence island, Marcel Rioux collected, in the late 1940's, an old folk song which recalls the days when Indians inhabited the north end of the island (13). The song, whether based on fact or not, betrays an attitude towards the Indian that is most revealing. It is about a little savage, all black and dirty, who drowned while taking a bath in the river. Not only was the Indian a filthy creature, but also he had a great love of alcohol. The last two verses of the song are:

"Aux quatre coins de la tombe, femme, papame,
"Aux autre coins de la tombe, quatre verres de brandy,
"Quatre verres de brandy, Hé, hé, ha! ha!

"Au milieu de la tombe, femme, papame,
"Au milieu de la tombe, un petit verre pour y goûter,
"Un petit verre pour y goûter, hé, hé, ha! ha!

Significantly, the only white who will mourn the dead Indian is Monsieur le curé:

"Qui portera le deuil? femme, papame,
"Qui portera le deuil? Ce sera monsieur le curé,
"Ce sera monsieur le curé, hé hé, ha! ha! " (14)

Certain of the early French Canadian historians were

familiar with nineteenth century Indians: Abbé Ferland, Abbé Maurault (1819-1870), Abbé Lindsay (1849-1921), and Benjamin Sulte (1841-1923). François-Xavier Garneau, we know, consulted the Abenaki Métis, Stanislas Vassal and the Indian missionary M. Malo on a linguistic problem (15). Also, the author of Le Dernier Huron, quite likely was interested in the Huron who lived in Lorette, a scant eight or nine miles from Quebec City where he lived all his life. In his Histoire, he mentioned reading the 1858 Report of the Special Commission on Indian affairs (16). Yet, these few facts prove little. Perhaps, the closest Garneau was to nineteenth century Indian was during his 1829 trip through the eastern United States. Through New York State, in his own words, he traveled: "au milieu de forêts à moitié abattues, surtout entre Albany et Buffalo, forêts qui avaient abrité autrefois les barbares indigènes, ces indomptables Iroquois, dont on apercevait encore ça et là quelques fantômes décrétits" (17).

Fortunately, we know much more about the Abbé Ferland and the Indian of his age. For several years it had been Ferland's function to edit the Annual Report of the Québec diocese's

Association de la Propagation de la Foi. At the same time, the Abbé acted as the Association's Treasurer (18). As early as 1836, he accompanied Mgr Turgeon on his tour of Gaspé and there came on first-hand contact with the Micmacs at Restigouche (19). During his 1858 trip to the Côte Nord and Labrador, Ferland had occasion to see himself the Montagnais and the Eskimo (20). In his short booklet written to disprove certain statements made by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg on Canadian history, Ferland displays his wide knowledge of contemporary missionary activity (21). Furthermore, unlike Garneau and Bibaud he sprinkles his history with references to the Indian of his day (22).

On account of his voyages, and his work for the Association de la Propagation de la Foi, Ferland was well-aware of the injustice of certain white men towards the Indian. With

the Micmacs at Restigouche, he noted:

"Les propriétaires voisins ont empiété considérablement sur le terrain réservé pour la tribu. Ainsi les terres des Micmacs qui devaient avoir quarante arpents de longueur, n'en ont plus que dix ou douze, parce qu'on les fait couper par une ligne diagonale. Des commissaires, nommés par le gouvernement pour s'enquérir des injustices dont se plaignaient les sauvages, donnèrent une opinion défavorable à leurs prétentions. Cependant, par une distinction assez singulière, ils lais­sèrent à la terre réservée pour l'usage du missionnaire, une profondeur de quarante arpents, tandis que les deux terres voisines n'ont que le tiers de cette longueur" (23).

Yet this knowledge of white injustice does not help Ferland to understand the Micmacs. From his personal experience he was no better equipped than Garneau to judge the man "jadis maître de toute la contrée, et aujourd'hui disparaissant rapidement en présence de la civilisation européenne" (24).

Ferland could not understand why the Micmacs, the owners of such fertile lands, did not cultivate them. Why did they "restent flâneurs et nécessiteux, au milieu de champs qui ne demandent qu'à produire" (25). It did not occur to him that the Micmacs might have had their own culture, a hunting not an agricultural one. He did not realize that the Micmacs, like other Indian tribes could not suddenly transform their way

24. Ibid., p. 438.
of life. With hindsight, and a knowledge of the insights of anthropology we can pinpoint the shortcomings of Ferland and the men of his time. Those who commented on the Indian in the nineteenth century, nearly always chose to regard the Indian with the values of their own civilization, and not with those of the Indian himself. The early French Canadian historian, Maximilien Bibaud aside, overlooked that the Indians had been given a world their fathers did not make, a world dominated by a different culture than their own.

The Abbé Maurault knew the Indians better than any other French Canadian historian, before or since his time. He spent three years with the Têtes-de-Boule of the Saint-Maurice Valley, and a quarter-of-a-century with the Abenakis at Odanak, near Sorel (26). Maurault, like Ferland, was well aware of the whiteman's injustice. In his Histoire des Abénakis (1866), he describes in detail how whites seized the Abenakis land at the reserve at Bécancourt (near Trois-Rivières), when the Indians were absent fighting for England in the War of 1812. When the Abenakis returned, they found the whites had seized every acre of their land. By force of arms they seized back two small islands in the Bécancourt River, but lost all the

rest of their land. In 1859, the Legislative Assembly at Québec gave them a paltry annual grant of approximately $200 a year, "mais, Maurault added, on a encore rien fait relativement à leurs droits sur les propriétés qui leur ont été enlevées" (27).

However, even the Abbé Maurault did not really understand the Indian. He concludes his discussion of the Bécancourt Abénakis with this remark which attempts to explain by divine will the persecution of the Abenakis:

"Les persécutions qu'on a fait souffrir aux Abénakis de Bécancourt sont sans doute fort regrettables; cependant elles eurent un bon résultat. Nous pensons que Dieu permit cela pour punir ces sauvages de leurs anciens désordres, et pour sauver leurs âmes" (28).

Benjamin Suite was another nineteenth century historian who was familiar with nineteenth century Indians. A group of Algonquins lived in Trois-Rivières, Suite's hometown, until the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1850, there were still one hundred Indians at Trois-Rivières, where four families farmed, and the others lived by hunting and fishing (29). Moreover, as Benjamin Suite himself recalled in 1873, twenty-five or thirty years earlier, four groups of Indians still

27. Ibid., p. 296.
28. Ibid., p. 297.
visited Trois-Rivières: the Têtes-de-Boule who came to trade with the town's merchants, the Abenakis from Odanak and especially from Bécancourt who came at all times during the year, those Algonquins who hunted not far from the town, the Saint-Régis Iroquois that the Hudson's Bay Company used as canoe men in the Upper Saint-Maurice trade. In those days, Trois-Rivières was the centre of fur trade on the Upper Saint-Maurice, trade goods and furs were collected there (30).

Sulte himself had seen Indians in Trois-Rivières in his boyhood. In 1911, he wrote down his recollections of the Têtes-de-Boule in Trois-Rivières: "Je les ai vus dès mon enfance," he begins, "ceux qui venaient en ville ne marchaient qu'entourés de leurs amis, les Canadiens des bois" (31). Sulte felt in restrospect, they acted like children: "Dépourvus d'audace, de courage, et conscients de leur infériorité, ils ne se redressaient point, mais plutôt s'abaissaient volontiers d'une façon enfantine" (32). They never laughed once, for after all Sulte observed "les sauvages et les animaux ne connaissent pas le rire" (33). When bells rang, "ils levaien
les bras aussi haut que possible et se regardaient les uns
les autres avec un sourire terrifié" (34). Suite's contempt
for the contemporary Indian is evident throughout this 1911
article.

The future director of the magazine, La Nouvelle-France,
and author of a history of the Hurons of Lorette, the Abbé
Lindsay, was raised at Saint-Ambroise, next to the Huron re-
serve at Lorette. Lindsay himself had seen the Huron's Chapel
destroyed by fire in 1862 (35). Thereafter, until the cons-
struction of a new church, the Hurons prayed in that of Saint-
Ambroise (36). Among "mes camarades de première communion",
Lindsay wrote in 1900, "figuraient maints petits Hurons" (37).
It was from these little boys the future Abbé learned an evil
sport -- that of hunting innocent birds. These little Hurons
"m'avaient initié à l'art de décocher la flèche perfide con-
tre d'innocents oiseaux" (38). His recollections of the Hu-
rons with whom he was familiar, were that they were "naturel-
lement vaniteux" (39), a people who neglected agriculture

34. Ibid.
35. Abbé Lionel Saint-George Lindsay, Notre-Dame de la Jeune-
Lorette en la Nouvelle-France: étude historique, Montréal,
La cie de publication de la Revue canadienne, 1900, p. 14.
36. Ibid., p. 218
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., p. 234.
prefering "se livrer à des industries moins onéreuses, plus en harmonie avec leur nature indolente" (40).

The Abbé Casgrain (1831-1904) knew the Abbé Maurault (41), perhaps when they met, they conversed about the Abenakis or other Québec Indians. Casgrain lived for many years in Québec City, perhaps one day, he visited Lorette, like Pamphile Lemay in 1864. There Lemay saw:

"Des enfants basanés à l'oeil noir et mutin
Y suivent, pas à pas, chaque nouveau touriste,
Pour lui vendre un panier qu'ils ont fait le matin,
Ou pour avoir un sou, tendent une main sale" (42).

Or he occasionally read the Rapports des Missions du Diocèse de Québec. Through these reports, like that of Father Andrieux on Têtes-de-Boule, published in 1851, he could read about the unbelievable transformation Christianity made in the lives of the sauvages. Father Andrieux wrote: "Depuis qu'ils sont chrétiens, les Indiens ont connu d'abominables famines, mais ils n'ont jamais mangé leurs enfants ou leurs frères pour prolonger leur existence" (43).

Doctor Dionne (1848-1917) learned about the nineteenth

40. Ibid., p. 242.
43. Father Andrieux quoted in Thériault, op. cit., p. 92.
century Indian in preparing his *Vie de C.-F. Painchaud, Prêtre, Curé, Fondateur du Collège de Sainte-Anne de la Pocatière*, published in 1894. Painchaud had been a missionary among the Micmacs in southern Gaspé from 1806 to 1814. Dionne read in Painchaud's private diary of the Restigouche mission, stories similar to the following:

"Un matin, vers les neuf heures, un sauvage tout déchiré et plein de sang vint en courant se réfugier auprès de moi. Il venait d'être assailli par un autre qui était ivre et qui même, non content de l'avoir déchiré, le menaçait du couteau que celui-ci évita par une prompte fuite. La punition de cette action fut remise à plus tard" (44).

According to the journal, drunkenness was a problem among the Micmacs. Painchaud, on several occasions, used physical force against Indians given to drink in excess. Once, for instance, an Indian chased Painchaud with a thick stick in his hand. Painchaud tackled him, seized his weapon and thrashed him soundly (45).

What did the other nineteenth century French Canadian historians know about the contemporary Indians? If Ernest Gagnon (1834-1915), Abbé Gosselin (1843-1918), Ernest Myrand

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J.-E. Roy (1858-1913), and Abbé Scott (1858-1931) read missionary journals or knew missionaries, they would have learned how the Indians benefited from Christianity. Father Dufresne's testimony is typical. By 1857, this priest had spent thirty-three years of his life residing among the Indians, five at Sault-Saint-Louis (Caughnawaga), five at Saint-Régis, and twenty-three with the Indians of the Lac des Deux-Montagnes. He wrote:

"Before their conversion to Christianity, their [the Indians'] character was violent, brutal, and they always were armed one against the other, but since their conversion they have adopted peaceable and regular habits. They live in peace in the hearts of their families, and entertain friendly relations with those who live with them, as well as the surrounding population. This is owing to the influence of religion, and to the efforts of the Missionaries who have never ceased to preach to them peace and charity" (46).

There is a voluminous literature written by French Canadian missionaries, on the nineteenth century Indian of Québec (47). At some point during their lives French Canadian historians must have read some of it. In 1938, Henri Gauthier, p.s.s. made a summary of all that had been said on the Lac des

46. Father N. Dufresne, "Appendix Number 4" in Report of the Special Commissioners.
Deux-Montagnes reserve (about thirty miles due west of Montréal), since its founding in 1721 to 1877. All the Indian themes, familiar to the nineteenth century French Canadian historians are contained in this short account: their love of liquor, of pleasure; their need of strong clerical supervision and discipline; their haughty independance (for instance, their pretention that they were the real owners of the Sulpicians' seigneurie); their love of violence. This text is important, hence a large section will be quoted and further reference to it will be made later in our thesis. At that time, we will review how the Church used the Indians as a didactic device to establish what the French Canadians were not to become.

Here is a long extract from Henri Gauthier's 1938 text:

"Etat de la mission. -- Il varie suivant les époques. La première époque 1721-1750 est marquée par une lutte terrible que les missionnaires eurent à soutenir contre les superstitions.

"La deuxième époque s'étend depuis 1750 jusqu'en 1760. C'est l'ivrognerie qui prédomine à cette époque.

"La troisième époque, 1760-1794, offre de nouvelles difficultés. Il faut lutter contre les attaques de l'hérésie protestante et aussi contre les prétentions des sauvages sur la propriété du Séminaire.

"La quatrième époque s'ouvre avec l'arrivée de M. Roux et de ses compagnons et se termine à la bataille de Châteauguay en 1813. Divertissements, jongleries, danses nocturnes, ivrognerie, et, en même temps, pratiques extérieures de la religion, les offices fréquentés.


The experienced Western Canadian missionary, Mgr Taché, in 1869, warned French Canadians, against all those "ignorants et insensés" who "rêvaient pour les forêts d’Amérique un peuple primitif, jouissant d’un bonheur imaginaire" (49). This warning was repeated in numerous nineteenth century French Canadian travellers' accounts (50); Judge Routhier's 1881 comment on the Montagnais Indians in the Saguenay Region was typical. Refering to the Montagnais woman, Judge Routhier observed:

50. A number of titles are listed in our annotated bibliography, "The North American Indian", pp. lxiv-lxxiv of this thesis.
"Elle ne lit pas de romans, elle n'en écrit pas, et qui mieux est — elle n'en fait pas. Ceux que Chateaubriand et tant d'autres après lui ont publiés sur les femmes sauvages sont invraisemblables. Ils leur ont tout simplement prêté les passions de l'homme civilisé" (51).

Nor had Arthur Buies found a romantic type of Indian among the Montagnais. Instead he found a poor primitive people rapidly declining in numbers, incapable of learning from "civilisation":

"Fataliste sans le savoir, enfant inculte de la nature, il se laisse aller à elle et n'écoute que sa voix sans songer à lui rien demander au delà de ce qu'elle offre. Aussi, lorsqu'il a épuisé le peu qu'elle lui donne, lorsqu'il a tari son sein avarie, surtout sous un ciel comme le nôtre, n'a-t-il qu'à se résigner et à subir en silence la mort inévitable. Pour vivre il ne veut apprendre de ceux dont l'apparition sur le sol d'Amérique a été le signal de la chute de ses pères et de sa propre déchéance.rien ne peut arrêter la diminution et la mort des races faibles, condamnées d'avance à cause de leur haine d'une demeure fixe, de leur répugnance pour la vie d'ambition et de travail ou de leur infécondité devenue de plus en plus sensible..." (52).

The Noble Savage was dead in French Canada. Too many disillusioned French Canadians had seen, or had read about the contemporary


Indian, "the real native savage", as one English Canadian traveller described him "in his homely dirty blanket garb" (53).

In short, one of the major reasons for the patriotic French Canadian historians' choice of the image of the bad Indian stemmed from the writers' own experience with, or reading on the subject of the nineteenth century Indian. In the French Canadian missionaries' and travellers' reports of the period, a fairly close sketch had been drawn of the Indians' characteristics. For some missionaries the Catholic convert became a new sort of bon sauvage, but for the majority the Catholic or pagan Indian alike, lived a degraded, rather disgusting life. All writers deplored the state of the pagan Indian; he had few virtues and plenty of vices. Chateaubriand had written in his Mémoires:

"Quand l'Indien était nu ou vêtu de peau, il avait quelque chose de grand et de noble" (54).

Now Chateaubriand's, Dainville's and the two Bibauds' noble pagan was cast aside by patriotic French Canadian historians; the era of the ignoble savage in French Canadian historiography began.

CHAPTER IV

THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY FRENCH CANADIAN
Patriotic Historians and the Indian

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The first French Canadian patriotic historian was François-Xavier Garneau (1809-1866) whose historical work was carried on for almost a quarter of a century. Like all French Canadian historians before the Second World War, Garneau was a self-taught historian. Although he was licensed as a notary, he had not attended classical college. Until his Histoire du Canada began to appear in 1845, he had worked for over a year in London, England; then as a journalist, and as a bank cashier in Québec City. Finally he was able to obtain the sinecure of town clerk of Québec, a post which freed him for his historical research. Our examination of his writing is based on the fourth edition published by his son Alfred Garneau in 1882. This edition which contains the notes made by the author during the period between publication of the third edition in 1859 and his death in 1866, is in the words of P.-J.-O.
Chauveau, his "dernier travail", his "ultima verba" (1).

In his preface to the 1859 edition, Garneau presented a list of the sources he had consulted. In comparison to Michel Bibaud who, twenty-two years earlier, had mentioned only Charlevoix, William Smith, Raynal and Dainville, Garneau adds dozens of titles. As Gustave Lanctôt observed, "il eut entre les mains à peu près toutes les sources imprimées, depuis les relations des voyages de Cartier jusqu'aux mémoires sur la fin du régime français". The Librairies of Parliament and of the Québec Literary and Historical Society were open to him. In Québec, he was able to consult the most important manuscripts known at the time: the Journal des Jésuites, the Registres du Conseil souverain and the Governors' and Intendant's correspondence. In addition, he examined the documents published by the Québec Literary and Historical Society, and those transcribed in France by Papineau and Ferland. Finally, the archives of the bishopric and the Seminary were available (2).

In his first volume, in the approximately 180 page section


treat ing the period 1534-1663, 39 pages or roughly 22% of
the text is devoted exclusively to the Indians. Michel Bibaud,
we might remember gave the Indians one-tenth as much space.
However, there are some shortcomings concerning his use of
these 39 pages. Like Michel Bibaud and the Abbé Ferland, he
considered Guillaume-Thomas Raynal's *Histoire philosophique
et politique des établissements et du commerce des européens
dans les deux Indes* (1780), as a serious secondary source. It
is apparent that Garneau used this work in preparing his ta­
bleau of the natives of the New World. While he does not accept
one of Raynal's most ridiculous claims, namely that male In­
dians "ont quelquefois du lait aux mamelles" (3), he does in­
clude another statement equally romantic. Referring to the pre­
mature death of young Indian children, Garneau wrote: "S'ils
venaient à mourir, dit Raynal, on voyait quelquefois deux époux aller, après six mois, verser des larmes sur leur tombeau, et
la mère y faire couler du lait de ses mamelles" (4). Despite

3. Raynal, *op. cit.*, p. 38. Raynal's full statement deserves to be quoted: "Des hommes qui n'ont guère plus de barbe que les ennuques, ne doivent pas abonder en germes reproductifs. Le sang de ces peuples est aqueux et froid. Les mâles y ont quelquefois du lait aux mamelles".
his reliance on Raynal, Garneau rejects Raynal's good Indian. In contrast, Garneau's Indian is blood-thirsty, unreliable, and totally ignoble.

In his *Histoire du Canada*, the noble savage is conspicuous only by his absence. Garneau was especially critical of the Indian's conduct in war. In battle, he commented, "le bruit de la mêlée, la vue d'ennemis palpitants dans le sang, les enviraient de joie" (5). By character the Indians were "vindicatif" (6), hence the tribes from Mexico to Hudson's Bay were on a state of continual hostility. After the war, the male Indian would simply return "dans son repos léthargique, car le travail était déshonorant à ses yeux" (7). The women were left to do all the work in the village. In effect, the Indians had no religion, for the savage's intelligence was "trop bornée pour concevoir un être unique, infini, éternel, gouvernant le monde" (8).

Was Garneau's image of the Indian unfavourable because he believed that, as a people, the Indians were not the equal of the French? It is certain that Garneau was impregnated with a belief in the superiority of the French, in particular,

6. Ibid., p. 104.
7. Ibid., p. 105.
8. Ibid., p. 109.
the Normans. In his text he attributes England's constitutional liberties to the Normans. Even as late as the sixteenth century it was the Normans, he noted, who occupied the social summit of English society. Moreover, England, he claimed, owed its progress since the Conquest to the fact that "l'audace, l'activité, la rapacité normandes fécondèrent la vieille torpeur saxonne" (9).

However, Garneau's normanism did not inspire his image of the Indian. Rather both his Indian and his Norman were created on account of his nationalism. Garneau wrote in a time of grave crisis, in a period of deep pessimism about the future of French Canada. Lors Durham had recently proclaimed his opinion that the French Canadians had no future and should be anglicised as quickly as possible. The union of the two Canadas was organized in 1841 with this end in sight. The increasing number of English Canadian settlers had no interest in seeing that French Canada survived or not. They would raise no objections if their language and culture become that of the majority in Lower Canada. In July, 1857, the Québec newspaper, the Chronicle and Transcript, claimed Chateaubriand himself had pronounced the eminent demise of the French Canadian

9. Ibid., pp. viii, 75, 298.
nation; "Chateaubriand speaks of the French in America as a doomed race, destined to dwindle away like the aborigines with whom they have intermingled and sympathised" (10).

It was against this wave of pessimism and aggressive measures that Garneau acted. He wanted French Canadians to be proud of themselves, to have confidence in their future. In his September 17, 1850 letter to the then Prime Minister, L.H. Lafontaine, Garneau explained his inspiration:

"Je veux, si mon livre me survit, qu'il soit l'expression patente des actes, des sentiments intimes, d'un peuple dont la nationalité est livrée aux hasards d'une lutte qui ne promet aucun espoir pour bien des gens. Je veux empreindre cette nationalité d'un caractère qui la fasse respecter pour l'avenir" (11).

Garneau's observation that England owed its progress to its Norman conquerors would encourage French Canadians to look with pride on their French ancestors. The references to the early French period when "chaque laboureur était soldat et

10. L.W. Sicotte, Michel Bibaud, Montréal, 1908, p. 30. The writer is probably referring to Chateaubriand's remark in his Mémoires, (p. 397), to the effect that French in his day was spoken only in "quelque bourgade de la Louisiane et du Canada, sous une domination étrangère". Note the parallel the writer makes between the future of French Canada and that of the Indians, as well as the idea that the French Canadians intermingled with the Indians. We will examine the question of "intermingling" in a later chapter.

chacque sillon était arrosé de sang français ou de sang indien" (12), reminded French Canadians of their heroic past, their victory over a savage foe.

Garneau's nationalism coloured his description of Indian tribes. Garneau spared no occasion to place the early French colonist in an heroic light. As Michel Bibaud had done, Garneau paints the French's allies, the Hurons, in white and the French's enemies, the Iroquois, in red. The Iroquois are described as "des loups altérés du sang" (13) who gobble up the naive Hurons, innocent as lambs in the art of war. The Hurons fail to seek Indian allies during the struggle, do not realize that the Iroquois are treacherous and only negotiate in bad faith. If Champlain were still alive perhaps he would have been able to save them from destruction, but he was dead (14). The Huron defeat contrasts with the eventual French victories, and even the French defeats, like that of "Daulac" (Dollard des Ormeaux) in 1660, are, in retrospect, glorious triumphs (15).

Briefly, Garneau's Indians are faceless, they merely serve to provide the stage background against which the heroic French

13. Ibid., p. 144.
15. Ibid., p. 151.
can perform their roles. Never is any consideration given to discussing whether the French were taking the Indians' land (16). Garneau accepts what he claims was the age's convention: "Par territoire non occupé, on entendait celui qui ne l'était que par les sauvages" (17). Of those European powers, who came to the Americas, one can easily guess whose motives were the most honourable. For Garneau, Spain came to the New World for gold, England for political and religious liberty and France to spread the gospel (18). In fact, France's missionary effort won the nation the respect of the Indians: "Il faut attribuer à la ferveur de sa foi, l'estime plus particulière que les nations sauvages ont eue pour elle dans tous les temps (19).

Garneau was against the tyrannical Mgr Laval with his

16. Marc Lescarbot in his Relation discussed whether Europeans could legally occupy the Indians' land. He concluded that the Europeans could, since pagans could not be considered owners of land, see Chinart, op. cit., p. 109. It is not surprising that so many declarations were made stating France's desire to christianize the pagan Indians. One of the reasons undoubtedly was to justify French occupation of sections of North America. Clerical French Canadian historians and laymen like Garneau accepted these declarations at their face value. France's sole purpose, they concluded, in crossing the Atlantic was to spread the faith. France's economic motives, and her desire to explore unknown regions of the globe were left unnoticed by these historians.

17. Ibid., t. II, p. 104.
19. Ibid., p. 45.
"esprit absolu et dominateur" (20); he stated that Champlain would have preferred the Récollets over the Jesuits in 1632 (21); he criticized Marie de l'Incarnation and the Superior of the Hôtel-Dieu for their "culte de la spiritualité, pieuse chimère" (22). Yet he forthrightly praised the Church and its Jesuit missionaries. In one prophetic phrase he announced the interpretation of Christianity among the Indians which would be carried from his time to Chanoine Groulx's (1878-1867).

Writing of the cross, Garneau stated:

"Cet emblème religieux produisait sur l'esprit des sauvages, au milieu des forêts sombres et silencieuses de l'Amérique, un effet triste et touchant, et désarmait ces hommes farouches mais sensibles aux sentiments profonds et vrais" (23).

For a hundred years, this would be the recurring theme in French Canadian missionaries' and historians' writings.

In all accounts reviewed in this thesis, the Indians have the reputation of being war-like and fierce in their pagan state. Yet, as an anonymous contributor to the second volume of the Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada noted in 1898, there was little difference in the methods of

20. Ibid., p. 188.
21. Ibid., p. 128.
22. Ibid., p. 199.
23. Ibid., p. 240.
military operations in Europe in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and those of the Indians. All that one might say is that they differed "chiefly in grandeur of scale" and in the European "neglect to protract torture when no ulterior purpose could be served" (24). Unconsciously, Garneau catalogued an example of European Christian savagery which rivaled those attributed to the Indians. En Europe, he observed in his first volume, "on versait des torrents de sang, on dépensait des millions pour des parcelles de territoire" (25).

Yet Garneau never stops to make the comparison of early seventeenth century Indians and their contemporary French counterparts. The Indians were doomed to disappear. Like the forests, they must yield to something grander ... civilization. If only Jacques Cartier could return! "S'il était permis à Jacques Cartier de sortir aujourd'hui du tombeau pour contempler le vaste pays qu'il a livré, couvert de forêts séculaires et de hordes barbares à la civilisation européenne, quel plus spectacle pourrait exciter dans son coeur l'orgueil d'un fondateur d'empire" (26).

   See also for an excellent comparison of early sixteenth century Indian and Christian European savagery, pp. 75-76 of William Clint's "The Aborigines of Canada" read before the Society, 23rd March, 1878. TLHSQ: sessions of 1877-8-9-.
26. Ibid., p. 23.
Has the Indian reached the stage of becoming a didactic tool? -- an example to prove the iniquity of paganism the heroic valour of the early French, the transforming power of the Catholic Church. With Garneau he has not reached this stage. Following Charlevoix, Michel Bibaud praised the savages' life, then went on to contradict himself (like Charlevoix) by describing the customs of the Iroquois. Garneau's image of the Indian is more detailed, and less favourable then the hasty, plagiarized sketch of Michel Bibaud, however it still is incomplete. While the major elements which are to play such an important role for the next hundred years, are present in his work, they are not bound together. The French heroism, the pagan Indian vices, the Iroquois menace, the redeeming power of the Catholic Church, all must be worked and joined together. Then all must be summarized with force and stated with conviction. This would be Abbé Ferland's accomplishment.

In his introduction to his history, Ferland stated quite plainly his vision of the history of Canada, "on voit la religion occuper partout la première place" (27). French Canadian patriotism is firmly allied to religion throughout, in fact, Ferland offered his work to "la religion et à la patrie" (28).

Ferland accepted much that Garneau had written; however, unlike Garneau, the Abbé took special pains to underline that from its first hours, New France had been guided in its struggle for survival by the Church. Cartier, Champlain, Montmagny and Dollard were sincere Catholics, guided first by the interests of their Religion (29). Providence itself had insured the survival of French Canada in its early days (30).

Ferland although he had no formal training as an historian, consulted a wide selection of original source material. In 1854, he was given leave to consult the French Archives. From one of his letters from France to his friend the Grand-Vicaire Cazeau, one gains an impression of his efforts to be complete:

"Il y a quinze jours, je pensais arriver à la fin de mes travaux au ministère de la marine, quand on est venu m'annoncer qu'il ne me restait plus que 70 cartons et quelques gros volumes à parcourir. Or, après en avoir visité de 125 à 130, je me croyais en droit de m'écrier comme le héros de Virgile: Italian! Italian! Mais non, j'en ai encore pour longtemps à monter et descendre les longs escaliers du ministère de la marine" (31).

It was during the course of this journey that Ferland bought or had copied several of the rare volumes of the Relations des

29. Ibid., pp. 46, 132, 141, 214, 345.
30. Ibid., p. 115.
Jésuites that were re-edited by the Canadian government in 1858 (32). With his masses of documents and printed works, Ferland interpreted them "comme canadien et comme catholique" (33).

From Ferland's first comments one searches in vain for Charlevoix's bon sauvage. Ferland's description of Hochelaga provides an introduction to his interpretation of Indian society. This humble village of Hochelaga, he wrote, "avec ses cabanes d'écorce, ses misérables palissades, ses étroits champs de maïs et sa population plongée dans la barbarie!" (34) Ferland's tableau of the Indian's vices and virtues is heavily weighted in favour of the vices. The Indians' ability to bear up with courage and patience to the most terrible misery is praised, as is their hospitality. However, they were dominated by pride and a spirit of vengeance. Moreover, they were dishonest, and given to committing treason when it appeared to be in their interest. Sometimes in the northern regions, when food shortages were frequent, famished Indian women have been driven to eat their own children (35).

33. Ferland, La France dans l'Amérique ..., t. I, p. xi.
34. Ibid., p. 26
35. Ibid., pp. 102-104.
The pagan Indian is an object of pity. While praising the French's Indian ally, the Hurons, as the most intelligent, the most advanced of the north, Ferland goes on to note:

"Cependant, quoique le Huron montrât du bon sens dans les affaires temporelles, il semblait tout à fait borné et aveugle dès qu'il s'agissait des choses spirituelles. Les passions brutales et les vices dégradantes auxquels il se livrait avaient obscurci et abaissé son intelligence; tombé dans la barbarie, il était condamné à ne remonter au niveau des nations civilisées qu'après bien des générations. Du moins, dans les décrets de la miséricorde divine, il lui était dès lors permis de prendre sa place à coté des peuples chrétiens, mais à la condition de rompre avec ses habitudes sensuelles et grossières" (36).

Catholicism is the means of escape for the Indian from his barbarous ways; however, even Catholicism could not bring these children of the woods to reject their enjoyment of complete liberty.

Despite repeated attempts on the part of the civil and religious authorities, Ferland claimed, the Indians could not be convinced to study in a school, to practice agriculture, or to take up a European trade. Even religion could not change their inborn disposition for freedom. Ferland noted all this, then tried to explain why this was so. He wrote that the Indians refused European ways for a combination of three reasons:

Providence wished to maintain inequalities among the human species; second, a nation fallen into barbarism finds it impossible to rise up to the position from which it has fallen; third, the Indians were possessed by the charms of the independent, free and careless life. The Indians could improve their moral position by becoming Catholic, but on account of their love of liberty, could never rise up to occupy a place in the civilized world (37).

Catholicism transformed even the fiercest tribe, the Iroquois. Once the Christian converts among the Iroquois were gathered together in their own village near Montréal, far away from the superstition, drunkenness, and libertinage, which reigned supreme in their homeland, wonders took place: "On admirait les étonnants effets que produit le christianisme sur les coeurs les plus barbares; beaucoup de ces farouches Iroquois étaient devenus des modèles de patience, de douceur et de piété" (38). The moral was one Ferland had been repeating again and again from the opening chapters of his history: "Afin d'arracher ces hommes à l'influence de leurs passions, il fallait les rendre chrétiens" (39). In short, Ferland's

37. Ibid., pp. 163-165. Contrast this opinion of Ferland with one that is diametrically opposite, that of Maximilien Bibaud, on pages 33-34 of this thesis.
38. Ibid., t. II, p. 98.
Indians are a didactic device. The pagan Indian is pointed to, in order to show the advantages of Catholicism. Whereas, the purity and faith of a Catholic Indian can be contrasted with that of contemporary French Canadians.

From henceforth, historical writers followed the path traced by the Abbé Ferland. In their little exposés of Indian vice and virtue, the pagan Indian would be placed in the enemy's camp; whereas, the Christian Indian would be treated as a paragon of virtue. Garneau had been willing to praise Indians simply if they were the allies of the French; however, for Ferland, the pagan Iroquois are on the same footing as the pagan Hurons. The Abbés Casgrain, Auguste Gosselin, Lindsay and Maurault, and the lay writers N.-E. Dionne, Ernest Gagnon and Ernest Myrand, slavishly followed Ferland's lead. Of the seven, the Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain is the most eloquent.

Because of his health Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain (1831-1904), devoted most of his time to literary and historical studies. In preparing his first historical work, he received the guidance of his two friends, the Abbé Ferland and Lavergnière (40). Like Francis Parkman (1823-1893), whose literary

40. Abbé Camille Roy, L'abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1913, p. 86.
style he greatly admired, Casgrain was a romantic historian. For both men, as Casgrain put it, history was not "un squelette desséché qu'on exhume de la tombe; c'est une ombre évaneouie qu'elle doit ressuciter, revêtir de chair et de muscles, animer d'un sang vermeil, et faire palpiter d'un souffle immortel" (41).

Casgrain's inspiration was religious and patriotic. Like Ferland, he agreed that religious motives had been foremost in the early French settlers' minds. Reasons of state, material advantages, a need to increase the strength of the métropole, the honour of making discoveries, commercial profits, all these were only the secondary factors, which provoked France to install itself in the New World (42). Casgrain claimed Champlain in his Voyages had best summed up the French's guiding principles when he stated: "Le salut d'une seule âme vaut mieux que la conquête d'un empire; et les rois ne doivent songer à étendre leur domination dans les pays où règne l'idolâtrie, que pour les soumettre à Jésus-Christ" (43).

As a boy, Casgrain had written a poem, Kéloutseh, modeled on Chateaubriand's Atala (44). That was the last occasion that

43. Ibid., p. 238.
Casgrain's pen described a bon sauvage. In preference to Chateaubriand's Indians Casgrain endorsed those of Francis Parkman. In 1872, Casgrain expressed his admiration for the New Englander's savages: "Il excelle dans la peinture des moeurs et de la vie sauvage qu'il connaît à fond" (45). In accepting Parkman's unsentimental picture of the Indian race, Casgrain moved a world away from Chateaubriand's. Parkman had made a special attempt in his histories to uncover the unattractive in Indian culture. "Ambition, revenge, envy, and jealousy" (46) are the ruling passions of his Indians. Like many of his contemporaries, Parkman believed the Indians were members of an inferior race. The Indians disappeared after the white arrival "not because civilization destroyed them, but because their own ferocity and intractable indolence made it impossible that they should exist in its presence (47).

For Casgrain, one of the glories of Canadian history, came from the clash between the Christian French anxious to convert the poor pagan plunged in the darkness of barbarism and the Indians themselves. O, if only I had been a painter!

47. Francis Parkman, Jesuits in North America, Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1897, p. 418.
Casgrain exclaimed in his 1861 legend "Les pionniers canadiens", then I could paint this Canadian giant: priest, farmer and soldier in one:

"Au fond du tableau, je peindrais l'immense forêt dans toute sa sauvage majesté.
"Plus près, de blonds épis croissant parmi les troncs calcinés.
"Sur l'avant-scène un pan du grand fleuve avec ses vagues d'émeraude étincelant aux rayons du soleil.
"On verrait d'un côté avec ses remparts et ses palissades, l'angle d'un fort d'où surgirait un modeste clocher surmonté de la croix; de l'autre côté, une bande de sauvages fuyant vers la lisière du bois.
"Au centre du tableau apparaîtrait, les cheveux au vent, un éclair dans les yeux, le front sanglant sillonné d'une balle, mon brave pionnier, près de sa charrette, tenant de la main gauche son fusil dont la batterie fumerait encore; de la droite, versant l'eau du baptême sur le front de son ennemi vaincu et mourant, qu'il vient de convertir à la foi" (48).

For Casgrain, the difference between paganism and Christianity was like that between white and black: "Les deux religions: le paganisme et la religion du Christ. L'une qui, par l'orgueil abaisse l'homme jusqu'à la férocité, et abrutit la femme en la rendant esclave; l'autre qui humanise et relève l'homme par l'humiliation, et ennoblit la femme en lui mettant au front l'auréole de la sainteté" (49).

49. Ibid., t. III, p. 7.
Yet why were the Indians so ungrateful? why were they so unbelievably cruel towards "les pionniers de la foi et de la civilisation?" Casgrain goes on to describe what the Indians did to the martyrs, hatchet by hatchet blow. The martyrdom of Jean de Brébeuf is given completely, a précis of the account in the Jesuit Relations:

"Tandis qu'on suspend autour de son cou un collier de haches rougies dans le feu -- qu'on l'enveloppe d'une ceinture d'écorce enduite de gomme et de résine enflammées, -- qu'en dérision du baptême on lui verse de l'eau bouillante sur la tête, qu'on taille sur ses membres des lambeaux de chair qui sont grillés et dévorés devant lui -- qu'on lui perce les mains avec des fers rouges, qu'après lui avoir arraché la peau de la tête, on jette sur son crâne de la cendre chaude et des charbons embrasés -- que sa peau rôtie se fend en larges blessures rouges et sanglantes -- que le fer en feu siffle sur ses muscles agités de spasmes convulsifs et s'enfonce jusqu'aux os, -- que de tout son corps carbonisé s'échappe une vapeur comme d'une chaudière en ébullition -- pas un cri, pas un soupir ne s'exhale de sa poitrine" (50).

Casgrain never for one moment attempts to describe Indian culture in terms of itself, or attempt to explain why from the Indian standpoint the Jesuit missionaries were treated as they were. Casgrain continues his ethnocentric analysis. He cannot understand why they committed such barbarous acts against the missionaries and first settlers "qui venaient leur apporter

50. Ibid., t. III, p. 41.
le flambeau de la vérité" (51). He concludes that the Indians were decimated as soon as civilization advanced towards them, because of their heartless treatment of the early French ...

It is not until 1900 that a French Canadian writer, Léon Gérin, tried to examine Indian motives from the angle of understanding the Indian culture pattern as a whole.

The Abbé Maurault's *Histoire des Abénakis depuis 1605 jusqu'à nos jours* written in 1866 is in the Ferland-Casgrain tradition. In fact, the Abbé Casgrain, "cet écrivain habile et distingué" aided the Abbé Maurault with "beaucoup de renseignements qui nous ont été d'un grand secours dans notre travail" (52). The work was composed in order to prove that no sincere Catholic could study the Indians and not learn to love them. Maurault certainly knew his Indians, having worked as a missionary for over twenty-five years among them. As history, his book is rather poor for he relied heavily on mid-nineteenth century Abenaki family traditions, ignored archival material, and borrowed greatly from previous historical works, especially Ferland.

As Ferland and Casgrain before him, Maurault stressed the pagan state of the Abenakis in order to contrast it with

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the radiance of the Catholic period to follow. As pagans, the Abenakis were not decently dressed, had disgusting eating habits, guarded their hatreds, and the males at least were lazy. For the Abenaki male, war, hunting and forest trips were all that was important. They were not at all interested in European industrial progress (53). In short, the pagan Abenakis were "plongés dans les ténèbres de l'ignorance et de la barbarie, avaient contracté l'habitude de toutes sortes de vices" (54).

According to Maurault, although the Europeans brought new sicknesses to North America with them, it was largely the Indians' fault that they contracted them. They were gluttons and ate far too much of new foods to which they were unaccustomed. Moreover, their decimation was due to their intensive drinking, which caused the death of more of them than all the sicknesses put together (55). The poor savages suffered from the epidemics, their own wars and an even greater misfortune ... "ce fut de ne pas connaître la vérité" (56). As the Abenakis lived in the early seventeenth century in New England

53. Ibid., pp. 12-17.
54. Ibid., p. 108.
55. Ibid., pp. 32-33.
56. Ibid., p. 70.
they were always in contact with Protestant heretics:
"Ainsi, ces infortunés n'eurent pas le bonheur de connaître la véritable religion, qui seule peut consoler dans le malheur. Ils étaient malheureux pendant toute leur vie, et mouraient sans consolations" (57).

As with Ferland and Casgrain, the goodness of the Catholic French is stressed in Maurault's account. The French always treated the Indians with generosity; whereas the English of New England, commencing in 1636, led a war of extermination against them for forty-three years (58). Today, Americans are repeating the New England colonists' methods in the West. Indians are hunted down like wild animals, and exterminated wherever they can be found (59). If the Abenakis after joining the French in Canada, can be accused of cruelty towards the English: "Nous pouvons donc dire que toutes les cruautés que les Abénakis ont exercées contre les colons anglais, ont été causées par la faute des Anglais" (60). In contrast, the Acadians married Indian women in large numbers, once they became Catholic (61). By friendship and by faith the French and the Abenakis were united. In the years of the long, extended,

57. Ibid., p. 71.
58. Ibid., p. 11.
59. Ibid., p. 69.
60. Ibid., p. 309.
61. Ibid., p. 168
struggle with the English and the Iroquois: "Dieu se servit de la nation abénakise pour protéger le petit peuple canadien qu'il voulait sauver" (62).

After Garneau's, Ferland's Maurault's and Casgrain's historical work had been published, the bad Indian took a definite form in French Canadian historiography. These writers' images of the ignoble pagan were diffused in re-edition after re-edition of their works. Garneau's *Histoire du Canada* ran through eight editions (1845-8, 1852, 1859, 1882, 1913-20, 1920, 1928, 1944 -- sixteen editions if one adds the eight textbook printings from 1856 to 1881); Ferland's *Cours d'histoire du Canada*, three (1861-5, 1882, 1929); Casgrain's *Légendes* at least nine (1861, 1861, 1875, 1876, 1884, 1885, 1896, 1924, 1925) and his *Histoire de la Mère Marie de l'Incarnation* at least five (1864, 1873, 1882, 1886, 1893) (63).


The Abbé Maurault's *Histoire des Abénakis* went through only one printing, but it was well received (64). Undoubtedly, it was used as a reference on the Indians long after its 1866 appearance. Faucher de Saint-Maurice wrote this glowing review of the book:

"Prêtre avant de se faire historien, l'abbé Maurault a esquissé à larges coups de crayon cette belle et sainte figure du missionnaire de nos bois et de nos solitudes, qui, n'ayant pour tout bagage de voyageur qu'une vieille soutane en loques, un ciboire grossier, une pierre sacrée et un crucifix, allait, courbant sous le souffle de sa parole, les conseils de fiers sachems et forçait à tomber à genoux devant l'énergie de sa foi, des files entières de Peaux-Rouges encore toutes haletantes des voluptés du combat, et les mains rouges du sang des chevelures qu'elles venaient d'y scalper" (65).

The bad Indian did not replace the good Indian overnight. Like sighting floating relics of a sunken ship, through a careful reading of both Ferland and Garneau one can identify short statements evocative of their contemporary, Maximilien Bibaud. A modern anthropologist, for instance, would not find

64. Joseph Royal wrote in the *RC*, IV (1867), p. 73 that "M. l'Abbé Maurault appartient à la même classe d'historiens que les abbés Faillon et Ferland".

fault with following humanistic statement by Garneau:

"On s'est demandé quelquefois si les hommes de la race rouge étaient doués de facultés intellectuelles aussi puissantes que ceux de la race européenne. Si la même question avait été faite aux Romains sur les barbares qui envahissaient leur empire, ils auraient probablement répondu comme nous le faisons aujourd'hui à l'égard des sauvages. En vain, pour expliquer les efforts infructueux qu'on a faits pour les civiliser, veut-on tirer des déductions de la conformation physique de leur crâne, de leur figure, même de leur teint, elles seront toujours entachées de l'esprit de système, répudié avec raison de nos jours dans toutes les questions de cette nature. Combien n'a-t-il pas fallu de générations pour civiliser les barbares qui inondèrent l'Europe dans les premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne \[\ldots\] Rien n'autorise donc à croire que les facultés intellectuelles des sauvages fussent inférieures à celles des barbares qui ont renversé l'empire romain ... "Si les sauvages ont succombé devant la civilisation, c'est que, outre la faiblesse de leur nombre, cette civilisation leur est apparue tout à coup, sans transition, avec toute la hauteur qu'elle avait acquise dans une marche progressive de plusieurs milliers d'années; d'ailleurs on a beaucoup plus travailler à les dépouiller qu'à les instruire. L'histoire des peuples anciens est là pour le prouver, la conquête peut anéantir même les nations les plus civilisées et les plus nombreuses" (66).

The overwhelming image of the Indian in both Ferland's and Garneau's account, is a black one. For Garneau, the Indian is an obstacle which the heroic French must march over. For

Ferland, he is a degraded pagan whose soul must be won for the kingdom of the lord. However, like Garneau, Ferland, at times, sympathised with even the pagan Indian. His eloquent denunciation of Jacques Cartier's kidnapping of the Indian Chief, Donnacuna, illustrates his humanism:

"L'on ne saurait pallier d'injustice d'un tel procédé envers un vieillard inoffensif, qu'on arrachait à sa famille et à son pays, pour le transporter au delà des mers et le jeter sur une terre étrangère. Quelque sauvage que fût sa patrie, elle ne pouvait manquer d'être chère à son coeur: elle avait nourri son enfance, elle renfermait les os de ses pères, elle avait été le témoin de toutes les peines et toutes les joies de sa longue carrière" (67).

The end of the transition period between good and bad Indian was marked by the appearance of Casgrain's historical work. Henceforth, bad pagan Indians with no virtues at all, held the centre of the historical stage. As we shall see in the next chapter, the historians of the late nineteenth century repeated again and again all the vices of the Indian they could possibly find in the Jesuit Relations. Casgrain himself, for over forty years, churned out book after book, praising in particular the early French nuns and missionaries. In contrast to the filthy, fiendish pagan Indians, Casgrain's French nuns and missionaries were always holy and apostolic, free of all

human infirmities ... In a moment of great perception, Casgrain correctly analyzed what he and his fellow historians were doing:

"... notre patriotisme, toujours en éveil, nous a accoutumés à envisager notre passé sous un aspect peut-être trop idéal et plutôt conforme à nos rêves qu'à la réalité. Trop souvent, on a fait des panégyriques au lieu de l'histoire" (68).

Casgrain and his contemporary French Canadian historians of the late nineteenth century were more concerned with producing works of stirring edification rather than of historical fact (69). The journalist, Hector Fabre (1834-1910), knew that Casgrain was adulterating historical facts with fantasies. In 1865, he noted that in Casgrain's writings: "L'imagination a la première place et la vérité n'a que la seconde" (70). Perhaps, he continued: "Les belles imaginations se complaisent dans ces spectacles éblouissants. Mais, l'avancerai-je, je préfère la vérité (.....) Moi, j'aimerais mieux savoir comment

68. Abbé Casgrain quoted in Michel Brunet, "La recherche et l'enseignement de l'histoire" in Québec, Canada anglais; deux itinéraires, un affrontement, Montréal, Editions HMH, 1968, p. 51. Casgrain said this in 1875.

69. As an anonymous contributor to the RHPRC stated in 1907: "There are Canadian historians such as Garneau and Ferland, who, like good wine, improve with time. Not of these is the Abbé Casgrain".

les choses se sont passées réellement" (71). Alas, Fabre was in the minority, for the men of his age who wrote and read history preferred fantasies.

71. Ibid.
CHAPTER V

LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY
TWENTIETH CENTURY HISTORIANS
In the last third of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, historians did little more than add details to their descriptions of the iniquity of the pagan Indian. It is extremely wearisome to read their constant repitition of Indian vices. It appears that each writer tried to outdo the other with the best description of the most barbaric Indian torture. In his Guillaume Couture (1884), J.-E. Roy gave a lengthy description of Couture's 1642 captivity in the Iroquois country. No details of his sufferings are spared, from the mention of the worms that formed in his open, envenomed wounds to cutting off of his right index finger with a shell:

"La douleur fut d'autant plus grande que le sauvage se servit, non d'un couteau, mais d'un morceau de coquillage; et comme il ne pouvait couper le nerf, trop dur et trop glissant, il lui arracha en tirant avec une telle violence,
que le bras enfla prodigieusement jusqu'au coude" (1).

Benjamin Sulte, in his Histoire des Canadiens français (1882-4), typifies the attitude that developed after 1880 toward Indian tortures. The approach, shown for example in J.-E. Roy's Couture, consisted of emphasizing the burnings of early French settlers as well as those of missionaries. Up to 1880, the early French settlers had been overlooked:

"Contre chacun des martyrs jésuites nous pou- vons opposer quarante martyrs canadiens -- hommes, femmes et enfants assommés, écorchés, brûlés, tourmentés d'une manière aussi horrible que l'ont été les pères Brébeuf et Lalemant; mais l'his- toire ne s'en occupe presque pas. La raison de cet injuste oubli est toute entière dans la per- sistance que mettent les jésuites à glorifier, depuis plus de deux siècles, leurs martyrs dont ils font journellement un objet de réclamation pour leur cause. Dans l'espace des vingt années qui viennent de s'écouler, pas moins de quinze volumes ont été mis devant les lecteurs, parlant tou- jours et à tout propos de ces dix ou douze vic- times volontaires du zèle religieux. Les Cana- diens, moins vantards, ne font pas tant de tapage dans la presse. Il est vrai qu'ils ont été con- duits à la boucherie malgré eux, et qu'ils n'ont pu se venger, durant tout le temps du régime français, que par le mépris dont ils ont accablé les jésuites. La légende, défigurée et grossie, remplace à présent l'Histoire" (2).

Until 1910, Indian tortures of women had been neglected

by the historians. Then, the former music teacher, Ernest Gagnon (1834-1915), published his historical work, *Louis d’Ailleboust*. In his pages, the first time in French Canadian historiography, a detailed description appears of the Indians’ torture of a woman. Gagnon does not miss any of the grotesque details of Catherine Mercier’s death in 1651 at the hands of the Iroquois. He writes as if he himself had witnessed the event:

"Le supplice de cette bonne et pieuse femme fut d’une cruauté inouïe. On lui arracha toute la chair de la poitrine de manière à laisser les côtes à nu; on lui coupa les oreilles et le nez, puis on livra son corps ruisselant de sang aux flammes d’un bûcher disposé de manière à satisfaire tous les regards avides de l’horrible spectacle" (3).

Everywhere in the historical writing of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one finds the ignoble savage. Doctor Dionne commented of the Indians in his second volume of *Champlain* (1906), that they were "toujours perfides, ces barbares" (4). If one reads his two volumes on *Champlain*, (5) one can select scores of similar assessments of Indian character. The Abbé Gosselin thought no more of the Indians

5. The first volume was published in 1891. N.-E. Dionne, *Samuel Champlain: histoire de sa vie et de ses voyages*, Québec, Côté, 1891. 2 vol.
than his contemporary, Dionne. Gosselin, writing in 1890, felt Indian religion consisted of disgusting practices as did their tribal customs (6). Ernest Myrand noted in his *Fête de Noël sous Jacques Cartier* (1888), that "l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France est encore rouge de ces tueries abominables de nos ancêtres par les sauvages" (7). Sulte stated in his *Histoire des Canadiens français* (1882-4): "Chacun de nous compte un ancêtre enlevé, brûlé, mangé par les Iroquois" (8).

In 1884, a civil servant with the Québec government, Napoléon Legendre (1841-1907), in a paper read before the Royal Society, "Les races indigènes de l'Amérique devant l'histoire", summarized the image of the Indian in the historical production of his time:

"L'histoire de la colonisation de ce continent par les puissances européennes représente la plupart des races qui l'habitaient avant l'arrivée des blancs, comme des hordes barbares et féroces, qui se sont opposées, par tous les moyens, légitimes ou non, à l'entrée et au progrès de la civilisation parmi elles, et qui ont récompensé par les tortures et une mort affreuse les hommes dévoués qui venaient répandre ici leurs inappréciables bienfaits. Aux sentiments de la plus sincère amitié, elles ont répondu par la

tiraison; aux services rendus, par l'ingratitude; à tous les actes les plus louables et les plus désintéressés, par le meurtre, le pillage et l'incendie. Voilà ce que disent formellement en bien des circonstances, et ce que laissent entendre presque toujours ceux qui ont écrit notre histoire" (9).

Continuing his presentation, and after reviewing recent French Canadian historiography, Legendre rushed to defend the Indian. This had not been done in thirty years! (10) He commenced by underlining the excellent welcome the Indians gave Cartier and his men: "ils les traitent en hôtes distingués, et leur font visiter le pays" (11). Was it not the Indians who informed Cartier of the cure for scurvy? What did the Indians receive in return? ... Cartier kidnapped Donnacona and other chiefs and took them back to France. For a century thereafter "les Européens continuent à venir rançonner le pays, -- toujours du droit du plus fort, -- en y apportant beaucoup moins de civilisation qu'ils n'en rapportaient de fourrures précieuses" (12).

Little by little, the Europeans began to take the Indian's

10. Since Maximilien Bibaud published, in 1855, his "Discours préliminaire sur les origines américaines" in his Les institutions de l'histoire du Canada ou Annales canadiennes jusqu'à l'an MDCCXXI.
12. Ibid., p. 27.
land. They also told him to accept the teachings of Christianity:

"Et, du reste, y eût-il unité de doctrine et de prédication, le sauvage, en voyant les effets qu'ont apparemment produits, sur la plupart des Européens avec lesquels il est mis en contact, la religion et la morale qu'on veut lui faire accepter, a bien droit de se demander si, réellement, il vaut la peine de changer. On lui prêche la paix et le pardon des injures: et il voit tous les jours des disputes et des assauts, des guerres et des représailles. On lui enseigne l'amour de la probité et l'horreur du vol, et il constate en même temps que, non seulement on le triche autant que possible dans la traite des fourrures, mais qu'on s'empare aussi de son sol, comme si c'était l'action la plus naturelle et la moins répréhensibles" (13).

What about the old bugbear of many of his contemporaries that the Indians were cruel fiends? Legendre directly answered their complaints:

"Peut-être agit-il quelquefois, souvent même, avec une cruauté qui nous fait frémir, mais qui ne doit pas nous surprendre, si nous tenons compte de ses moeurs et de son degré de civilisation. Du reste, les plaintes de ses victimes et la flamme de ses bûchers n'ont pas été les premières à monter vers la voûte des cieux; et même dans cette Europe, si bien civilisée, où, au commencement du XVe siècle, (1431) l'évêque de Beauvais avait fait brûler Jeanne Darc (sic), où, un siècle plus tard (1572), eurent lieu les épouvantables massacres de la Saint-Barthélemy, -- il y avait bien, ça et là, quelque bûcher qui fumait encore, et quelque sombre cachot où l'on mettait une victime à la torture. Tant que vous

13. Ibid., p. 28.
n'aurez pas effacé de l'histoire la lueur sinistre de ces horribles autodafés, et fait taire l'écho qui apporte jusqu'à nous les cris des malheureux brûlés vifs ou déchirés sur la roue, il vous est interdit de parler de la cruauté des sauvages. Leur conduite a du moins l'excuse de l'ignorance et d'une violente irritation, tandis que la vôtre a cette aggravation de la pleine connaissance et du libre exercice d'un jugement froid et éclairé" (14).

Legendre, in effect, echoed the cry of justice for the Indian, advanced by Maximilien Bibaud in 1848, and repeated by him in 1855. In another paragraph in his 1884 paper, Legendre again protects the reputation of the Indians. In fighting the European invaders, were they not acting as other peoples would have done?

"Ils se sont battus pour leur religion, leur famille et leur patrie. Ils ont tous défendu pouce par pouce le sol natal, et vengé la mort de ceux qui sont tombés sur le champ de bataille en soutenant une cause qu'ils avaient raison de considérer comme juste et sainte. Ils ont défendu leur propre existence qu'ils sentaient menacée; et ils avaient cent fois raison, car les événements ont justifié leurs alarmes. Que sont-elles devenues ces races puissantes et fières qui déployaient leurs nombreuses tribus sur tout ce continent?" (15)

Legendre, who also wrote a novel, some short articles and a little poetry, only prepared one paper on the American Indian. Hidden in an academic journal, difficult to obtain, it

15. Ibid., p. 29.
was not read by the general public. His final appeal to French Canadian historians fell on unresponsive ears in 1884, and remained unheard of for eighty-five years thereafter (16).

Nevertheless, Legendre's conclusion is as relevant in 1969 as it was in 1884:

"Soyons un peu plus sévères pour nous-mêmes, et plus indulgents pour les races que nous avons remplacées sur ce vaste continent. Elles pouvaient avoir des défauts, mais elles avaient en leur faveur le droit et la raison. Si nous n'avons pas su leur rendre justice pendant leur existence, rétablissions au moins aujourd'hui la vérité des faits pour rendre justice à leur mémoire" (17).

Legendre argued in vain, and the ignoble savage lived on for almost another century. The nineteenth and early twentieth century historians bitterly criticized one another, yet always included the same bad Indians in their accounts. Doctor Dionne wrote of the Abbé Casgrain: "Malheureusement l'abbé Casgrain gâte bien des choses par ses exagérations il aime à gonfler la voix, à forcer les expressions, à donner aux événements une importance qu'ils n'ont pas" (18). In 1897

16. To our knowledge, Legendre's article has never been quoted since 1884.
and 1898, Ernest Gagnon and the Abbé Lindsay disputed in public with the Abbé Casgrain (19). Fifteen years earlier Benjamin Sulte had struck out at all his contemporaries:

"L'histoire du Canada a été écrite par trois classes d'hommes: les Français, qui ont voulu y voir que les intérêts français; les religieux, qui se sont extasiés sur les missions, et les laïques, effrayés par la menace des censures ecclésiastiques. Nous qui ne sommes ni Français de France, ni prêtre, et qui ne craignons pas les censures ecclésiastiques, nous écrivons la vérité" (20).

Yet, the bad Indian was something Dionne, Casgrain, Lindsay, Gagnon, Sulte -- all late nineteenth and early twentieth century French Canadian historians -- agreed upon. To understand this uniformity, one has to study their society.

The last half of the nineteenth century is one of the least studied periods in French Canadian history. As there are so few modern monographs on the subject, the historical infrastructure remains to be written (21). Very generally we know that during the years 1850-1860, French Canadian society experienced profound transformations which led to the victory of the conservative elements within it. The bourgeoisie and

the clergy, formerly divided, joined forces, both groups desiring to promote peace and order in the society (22). As a result, a new elite was formed in the church-controlled classical colleges. These, though small in number — there were only fifteen in the whole province of Québec in 1860 (23) — had tremendous influence. Students in these colleges were directed by the priests toward three professions: law, medicine and the church. Upon graduation, this relatively tiny group constituted a potential audience for the dozen or so classical college graduates who wrote history as a hobby (24).

The French Canadian historians of this period were conservative men, writing for a conservative reading public. Since no one demanded scientific history, the historians produced texts unmarred by footnotes, references and bibliographies.

Due to the lack of good libraries, archival centers, and the hardships of travel, these amateurs relied chiefly on the printed records, and the published national histories, especially

24. Benjamin Suite was the sole historian of the period who was not a classical college graduate. In Québec, as late as 1921, out of a population of all male Catholics from 13 to 20 years old, only 3.56% were enrolled in a classical College — 6,190 out of 174,000.
that of the Abbé Ferland. For these self-taught historians, for whom history was a pastime, not a profession, the object was simply to tell a good story. They sought to recapture the heroic moments of the past, not to analyze them. In addition, many desired to convey a moral lesson in their studies, namely, the need for French Canadians to retain the link between religion and nationality.

The evolution towards a total identification of the French Canadian nation and Catholicism was not made in a day. Yet it was so strong in 1859, that F.-X. Garneau felt compelled to humbly submit the third edition of his history to a clergyman, for the purpose of obtaining his approval (25). By 1882 even marginal criticisms of the Church were frowned upon. When Benjamin Suite attacked the Jesuits, and questioned the success of their missionary work in New France, many individuals and organizations vigorously protested: the Cercle catholique of Québec City, the Institut Saint-Louis of Québec City, Thomas Chapais, P.B. Mignault in the Revue canadienne, and J. C. Taché in La Minerve (Taché’s article was reproduced in its entirety in several other Québec newspapers and published in

brochure-form in Montréal by Cadieux et Derome (26).

The early history of New France illustrated the sacred union of religion and nationality, better than any other period. With heroic courage and perseverance, the ancestors of today's French Canadians had conquered new lands, as the Abbé Scott noted in 1902, "par la croix, l'épée et la char¬
rue" (27). The "Heroic Period" of New France became the ani-
mating subject for the historical production of over one-half century. Writing in 1910, Ernest Gagnon summarized the meaning of the first years of New France:

"L'histoire des commencements de notre France d'Amérique brille d'un éclat qui se projette sur les temps actuels et renferme des enseignements qu'il importe de ne pas laisser tomber dans l'ou­blie. Les pages qui suivent ne contiennent qu'une minime partie de cette histoire et de ces ensei-
 gnements: elles pourront néanmoins, je l'espère, contribuer dans quelque mesure à maintenir les traditions de foi, de vaillance et d'honneur que nous ont léguées les siècles passés: traditions qui sont l'héritage commun de tous les descendants des colons canadiens de la première heure" (28).

26. J.C. Taché, "Les histoires de M. Sulte" in Les Guêpes cana-
diennes, 2e série, Ottawa, Bureau, 1882, p. 218. In the first two volumes of his Histoire des Canadiens français, Sulte praised the work of the Jesuits. It was in his third volume that he strongly criticized their activities in the early history of New France. See P.B. Mignault, Review: Histoire des Canadiens français by Benjamin Sulte in RC, XVIII (1882), p. 761.

27. Abbé H.A. Scott, Une paroisse historique de la Nouvelle-
France: Notre-Dame de Sainte-Foy: 1541-1670, Québec, La-
flamme, 1902, p. ii.

French Canada of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries considered its religion to be the main element of its culture. The French Canadian historians found religious motivations everywhere in early Canadian history. The religious declarations of the early French explorers, included chiefly to justify the French intrusion into an area the Pope had allotted to Spain, were taken at their face value (29). From the first moments of Canadian history the union of faith and nationality had been complete -- the early French had come to the New World to spread the faith.

Of all the great discovers of the New World, Ernest Myrand noted in 1888, Jacques Cartier was the finest. The other explorers did not share Cartier's noble sentiment that "il valait mieux chercher tout d'abord le chemin du ciel avant que de trouver la route de la Chine" (30). While Spain, Portugal, and England, Myrand went on, fought over who would possess the new lands of America, France worked for the propagation of the faith (31) ... Jacques Cartier took possession of Canada in the name of Jésus-Christ. In short, Myrand concluded,

29. Marcel Trudel, Les vaines tentatives, 1524-1603, Montréal/Paris, Fides, 1963, p. 131. See also footnote 16 in chapter IV, p. 64.
30. Myrand, Une fête de Noël sous Jacques Cartier, p. 113.
31. Ibid., p. 114.
Cartier brought to the New World:

"À l'encontre de la rapacité portugaise, l'abnégation évangélique; en retour du féroce esclavage espagnol, l'incomparable liberté chrétienne; il opposait au lucre ignoble du commerce européen de l'époque, l'apostolat généreux dans tous les temps, des missionnaires catholiques. Il apportait enfin la grande, l'inestimable nouvelle de l'Evangile, pour laquelle seule la Providence avait permis, avait voulu la découverte du Nouveau Monde" (32).

God had sent the early French to North America to spread the Gospel among the Indian tribes. This, at least, is what French Canadians believed. In a way, the journalist Joseph Royal (1837-1902) commented in 1866, the French Canadians are, like the Hebrews, one of God's chosen peoples:

"En vérité, il y a plus d'une ressemblance entre la mission du peuple canadien et celle du peuple hébreux: comme ces derniers, ils sont choisis de Dieu qui les met à part et les entoure d'une providence particulière; comme les Hébreux, ils gardent précieusement le trésor de leur nationalité au milieu de mille dangers, et cette nationalité devient la sauvegarde de leur croyance; enfin, dernière analogie, Dieu, par une bonté infinie, permet que de tous les peuples d'Amérique, ils soient le seul qui ait conservé intact le dépôt sacré de sa foi et de ses traditions religieuses" (33).

One French Canadian historian of the late nineteenth

32. Ibid., p. 114.
century, the sole who was not a classical college graduate, Benjamin Suite, refused to accept his contemporaries' romantic treatment of the early French explorers (34). In 1882, in his Histoire des Canadiens français, Suite who as a result of his own unfortunate childhood knew how the world really ran, deflated the idealistic myth:

34. Benjamin Suite deserves to be the subject of a modern monograph. "Le plus alerte et le plus verveux (sic) des écrivains canadiens", the journalist, Hector Fabre, said of him in the Paris-Canada of February 15, 1899 (see Gérald Malchelosse, Cinquante-six ans de vie littéraire. Benjamin Suite et son œuvre, Montréal, Le Pays Laurentien, 1916, p. 35). L.-O. David's judgment that Suite "est souvent porté à exagérer sa pensée, à la formuler rudement" is equally just (L.-O. David, Souvenirs et Biographies, Montréal, Librairie Beauchemin, 1911, p. 261). Non-identification of sources, and a poor synthesis of his material, characterize Suite's work. Yet, as Gustave Lanctôt has written, Suite was "un écrivain inégal, mais, hardi, novateur et véridique" (Gustave Lanctôt, Rétrospective de l'histoire canadienne, Mexico, Editorial Cultura, 1953, p. 8).

Suite loved to challenge accepted beliefs. Hidden among scores of foolish statements are a number of very valuable insights. For instance, the McGill anthropologist, Bruce Trigger, early realized that a good number of Hurons became Christians simply when it was in their interests to do so (see Bruce Trigger, "The French Presence in Huronia: The Structure of Franco-Huron Relations in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century" in CHR, XLIX (1968), p. 134). But his observation was anticipated nearly one century before by Benjamin Suite (see tome IV, p. 109 of his Histoire des Canadiens français).

Forced to leave school to earn his own living at the age of ten, Benjamin Suite instructed himself alone at night. In the space of ten years or so he worked successively as an errand boy, a store-clerk, a bookkeeper, a store-keeper, an accountant. In 1863, he joined the (continued on page 101)
"L'histoire, qui ne devrait rien idéaliser, a voulu faire de Roberval, Cartier et François 1er des hommes à conceptions profondes, ayant pour point de départ de leurs agissements la propagation de l'Evangile. Nous n'en croyons rien. L'esprit mercantile a tout dominé dans leurs entreprises au Canada. Si, d'une part, le Chrétien se révèle dans les pièces officielles de ce temps, on voit très bien que l'exécution était conduite par des hommes de lucre -- des chercheurs de mines et de grandes routes commerciales. Les pratiques religieuses accomplies par les équipages de Cartier, à leur sortie de Saint-Malo, étaient dans les moeurs des populations catholiques; elles le sont encore; mais elles n'ont jamais influencé les desseins secrets des chefs" (35).

34. (continued from previous page) army as an infantryman. After working as a journalist, he received a post in 1870 at the Department of the Militia and Defence in Ottawa. Until his retirement in 1903, he stayed in this department.

His experiences after leaving school undoubtedly contributed to his unorthodox views on many subjects. For example, he favored the Récollets in early Canadian history over the Jesuits. In his own day, Sulte was one of the few to favour the development of industry in Québec (See his "Un besoin pressant" in NC, VI (1869), pp. 807-815).

In his lifetime he published 3,560 articles, and wrote thirty at once, "pour aller plus vite", as he put it (Albert Tessier, "Dans l'intimité de Benjamin Sulte, CD, XXI (1956), p. 166). Sulte was "sympathique". He told the following story of his wife in an 1886 letter: "Ma femme est parfaitement convaincue que 1) je suis un mécanisme inusable, soit le mouvement perpétuel; 2) que le bon Dieu a oublié de me donner une maladie; 3) que je ne mourrai qu'après avoir noirci tout le papier qui existe au monde, ce qui va loin; 4) que si la mort arrive, je la recevrai en riant. Moi aussi, je pense de même". (Tessier, loc. cit., p. 7).

Immediately after Sulte's observation appeared in print, P.B. Mignault in the *Revue canadienne* attempted to refute it:

"Du reste M. Sulte semble insinuer que Jacques Cartier était loin d'être un saint. Presque tous les autres historiens du Canada soutiennent au contraire que Jacques Cartier était un homme très religieux et qu'il avait pour but principal la conversion des sauvages. D'abord nous n'aurions qu'à feuilleter l'histoire de M. Sulte pour prouver que l'explorateur du Saint-Laurent était plein de religion. A peine a-t-il foulé le sol de la Nouvelle-France, qu'il fait ériger une grande croix sur une colline dominant la baie de Gaspé, et quand le mal de terre exerçait ses ravages au milieu de ses hommes il fait faire une procession en honneur de la Sainte Vierge et fait voeu lui-même d'aller en pèlerinage à Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour si Dieu lui accorde la grâce de retourner en France" (36).

Moreover, Mignault added, it is certain Cartier's principal aim was to convert the Indians for the Abbé Ferland himself had pointed out, "dans une adresse au roi, à l'occasion de son second voyage, il présentait l'extension de la foi catholique comme un des plus pressants motifs pour continuer les découvertes" (37).

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century French Canadians refused to believe otherwise. Faith and nationality in French Canada, they felt, had been united from Cartier's to their own time. The French language, the most obvious symbol

of the French Canadian nation, and Catholicism were intertwined. The historian, the Abbé Lindsay composed an article on this theme in 1902, entitled, "La langue gardienne de la Foi" (38). Suite's lead in attributing economic motives to the early French explorers was not followed by his contemporaries.

Yet, for all their belief in themselves, in their role as God's chosen people on this continent, inwardly, the French Canadian elite was frightened. Next to the Catholic faith, they believed that agriculture and rural living were the bulwarks of the French Canadian nation. Yet now the young were deserting the land. Cardinal Bégin lamented in 1917 that the example of Louis Hébert was not serving as a model for the youth of rural Québec parishes:

"Puisse la vaillance de Louis Hébert servir de modèle à la jeunesse de nos paroisses rurales! Trop enclins, hélas! à délaisser la noble profession d'agriculteur et à échanger les moeurs simples et la saine atmosphère de la campagne pour l'air vicié des villes et leurs mille occasions dangereuses, ces chers jeunes gens vont dans les centres industriels du Canada et des États-Unis, grossir la multitude de ceux qui vivent au jour le jour, et qui souvent, par leur inconduite, perdent avec la vigueur de la santé l'intégrité des moeurs, travaillent lentement peut-être, mais sûrement, à la

déchéance physique et morale de la nation" (39).

At first glance, this glorification of rural life would seem to favour an interpretation of the Indians' life. After all the Indian tribes had lived in "la saine atmosphère de la campagne". Moreover, the culture of the Iroquoian-Huronian peoples had been as much agrarian as hunting.

Yet, as we well know, the fact that the Indian had lived in the country did not help him at all. He was still a bad man. French Canadian historians looked down upon the Indian for refusing agriculture (the fact that the Iroquois-Huronian peoples were farming well before the European arrival was overlooked), as well as the Catholic faith. In a small way, the historians used the Indian as a device. In describing the bad Indian, were they not describing what a rural French Canadian immigrant to an industrial center would become?

The Catholic religion, agriculture, and order were viewed by the French Canadian elite as the mainsprings of the nation. They regarded the Indians' freedom as dangerous. French Canadians, they felt, had to be supervised and controlled. The

prohibitions of the Québec diocese in the last half of the nineteenth century could be the subject of a thick book. In 1851, the waltz and the polka were forbidden (40). All Protestant books found by French Canadians on doorsteps or in Catholic Churches were to be burned (41). French Canadians were in 1892 and 1893 forbidden to read L.O. David’s Le Clergé canadien, sa mission, son oeuvre, the Canada-Revue and the Echo des Deux Montagnes (42). Parents were warned to keep a close eye on their children:

"Notre Concile met aussi les pères de famille et les jeunes gens en garde contre ces clubs, où, au lieu de rester dans la famille, ils vont passer une grande partie de la nuit à jouer, à tenir des conversations trop libres, à lire des journaux de toutes sortes, à entendre des discours qui blessent la religion et la foi, et ainsi exposent leur salut éternel et préparent aveuglément la ruine de leur fortune " (43).

After reading a number of mandements and lettres pastorales, one is given the impression that the bad Indian of the history books is really the bad French Canadian. If one re-reads the

40. Archbishop Pierre-Flavien Turgeon, "Lettre pastorale au clergé et aux fidèles de la cité de Québec, au sujet des danses" in MLPCEQ, IV, p. 36.
long extract from Henri Gauthier's 1938 text, summarizing all that had been said on the Lac des Deux-Montagnes reserve, one realizes the Indians' sins are those of the French Canadians' (44): a love of liberty, a not very fervent faith in Catholicism, a desire to enjoy oneself, and alcoholism.

Alcoholism, for example, was a scourge of late nineteenth century Québec. A great campaign against alcohol was carried on from 1840 to 1860 (45). In 1854, Archbishop Turgeon wrote: "les conséquences funestes de l'intemperance n'ont pas manqué de se reproduire: les querelles, les blasphèmes, les morts subites, se sont multipliés d'une manière effrayante" (46). Over fifty years later, the problem still remained as serious as ever. Archbishop Bégin observed in 1906:

"Il y a déjà plus d'un demi-siècle, des prêtres zélés, des hommes de Dieu, constatant avec un profond chagrin les désordres et les ruines causés par l'ivrognerie dans notre pays, se firent les apôtres de la Tempérance de la Croix" (47).

Yet, no historian pointed out that certain French Canadians had a weakness for hard liquor as great as that of certain

44. See chapter III, p. 53.
The late nineteenth and early twentieth century historian, was convinced that an Indian had to be ignoble, for were not all men who were ignorant of Christianity, who did not till the soil, and who lived in total liberty, that way? The Africans of whom Cardinal Taschereau spoke in 1890, resembled the Indians of early Canadian history:

"Toutes les nations civilisées de l'Europe s'occupent en ce moment de faire sortir de l'esclavage et de l'idolâtrie les pauvres nègres de l'Afrique. La connaissance plus parfaite, acquise depuis quelques années, de l'état de barbarie inconcevable dans lequel se trouvent des millions de nos semblables dans le centre de l'Afrique, a dépassé de beaucoup ce que nous en pensions et ce que nous aurions osé imaginer. Le malheur de ces pauvres hommes, enfants d'Adam comme nous, ne cesse pas avec la mort. Il en devient plus horrible pour toute l'éternité, parce qu'ils ont violé pendant toute leur vie les lois les plus simples que l'intelligence et la nature ordonnent de suivre" (48).

Legendre's good Indian could not survive in French Canada, at least in the French Canada of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By the turn of the century the Indian had come to incarnate all the vices a French Canadian must avoid:

excessive liberty, paganism, contempt for those who cultivate the soil, and alcoholism. Like the African in Central Africa, the Indian lived a life to be scorned ... Everyone in French Canada knew that.
CHAPTER VI

MORE IGNOBLE INDIANS
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More Ignoble Indians

After Darwin's *Origin of the Species* appeared in 1859, the theory that races represented different stages of evolution rapidly gained support. By the late nineteenth century, it was a common belief outside of French Canada, that is to say in Europe, the United States and English Canada, that there were inferior and superior races. The American and European social scientists of the period were convinced that the world's races varied greatly in innate intelligence. In respect to the North American Indian not only did they consider him to be a "lesser breed" but also that his traits were inherent and could not be changed (1).

The ideas of evolution and of superior and inferior races, made slow headway in French Canada. We may suspect that the

attitude of the Church had something to do with this. Sir John Bourinot (1837-1902), the late nineteenth century English Canadian historian, measured the intellectual backwardness of French Canadians by the fact that they did not read Darwin (2). By the early twentieth century, however, the concepts of racial theorizing, in vogue elsewhere in the Western world, entered French Canada. One of the first French Canadians to introduce the new ideas, was J.-A. Huot who wrote in 1902:

"La race noire est une race inférieure, et il serait absolument chimérique de croire qu'il soit possible au nègre, placé dans les mêmes conditions que le blanc, d'atteindre le niveau intellectuel de celui-ci. Booker Washington est une brillante exception à la règle, et ne fait que confirmer, par cela même qu'il domine sa race de tout son talent, cette loi inexorable de l'anthropologie " (3).

The first discussion of Darwin's hypotheses in a French Canadian journal appeared in 1908 (4).

This racial theorizing was kept out of the history books. It was consistently used, though, by those French Canadians commenting on the American Negro. Father Louis Lalande in his 1918 article on "Le problème noir", noted that negroes could not benefit from theoretical education. Unfortunately, he observed, the Negro's "développement maximum équivaut — sauf exception toujours — à celui d'un enfant de quatorze ans" (5). Two years later, in 1920, Brother Alexis applied racial theories to the North American Indian: "Que les noirs, les Indiens et une foule d'autres races soient inférieurs aux blancs, cela se constate scientifiquement, c'est-à-dire par l'observation directe des faites" (6).

The "scientific" theory that the Indians were an inferior race served to blacken still further their image in French Canada. In 1866, the Abbé Maurault had made a special attempt to emphasis the considerable number of mixed mariages between Christian Indians and the early French (7). Maurault believed that Christianity changed Indians into virtuous, devout individuals. However, late nineteenth century science emphasized heredity not environment. Leading thinkers in Europe

and North America emphasized that inferior races remained what they were -- they could not be changed. Hence, if Maurault was right, and there had been considerable métissage in the early history of New France, the French Canadians themselves were a second-rate people. In order to protect their self-pride, several French Canadian writers who accepted this theorizing were led to react violently to the slightest suggestion that the French Canadians had Indian blood.

Fuel was heaped on the fire by certain ill-informed Frenchmen who were convinced that Canada, Québec in particular, had a large Indian population. M. Moreau, for example, in reviewing the first edition of Garneau's *Histoire du Canada* in the Paris newspaper, the *Correspondant*, noted that:

"M. Garneau est né au Canada. Il exerce la profession d'avocat à Québec. C'est là qu'il a composé et fait imprimer son livre. La connaissance que, dès son enfance, il a acquise des lieux et des choses, les traditions qu'il a recueillies, l'habitude des races indigènes, dans laquelle il a vécu, l'ont également bien servi" (8).

A fellow compatriot, M. Pavie, described the French Canadian in this manner:

"Un long séjour en Amérique a fait perdre au

créole canadien les vives couleurs de sa car-
nation. Son teint a pris une nuance d'un gris
foncé; ses cheveux noirs tombent à plat sur
ses tempes comme ceux de l'Indien. Nous ne re-
connaissons plus en lui le type européen, encore
moins la race gauloise" (9).

Later, echoing Pavie, the French anthropologist, M. de Qua-
trefages, stated in the 1889 edition of his Histoire générale
des races humaines that "les lecteurs savent que, dans l'Amé-
rique septentrionale, les métis de Français et de Peaux-Rouges
forment la très grande majorité des habitants de la province
de Québec au Canada" (10).

The mere idea that French Canada was the homeland of mé-
tis, and Indians, of an inferior people, enraged two French
Canadians: the Secretary of the Société géographique de Québec,
Eugène Rouillard (1851-1926) and the historian, the Abbé Lionel
Groulx (1878-1967). Of the two, Rouillard's behaviour is the
more difficult to explain.

At first, writing in 1905 of the Indian names on the map
of Québec, Eugène Rouillard had enthusiastically endorsed
them all:

"Les dénominations données par les sauvages de

9. M. Pavie quoted in Benjamin Sulte, "Le Canada en Europe"
in RC, X (1873), p. 290.
10. M. de Quatrefages quoted in Alphonse Gagnon, "Nos cousins
d' outre-mer" in Questions d'hier et d'aujourd'hui,
Québec, Garneau, 1913, p. 43.
la Nouvelle-France aux bourgades qu'ils avaient créées ou aux cours d'eau que leurs légers canots avaient sillonnés, se recommandaient autant par leur ancienneté que par leur originalité. Dès lors, pourquoi ne pas les respecter, pourquoi n'en point perpétuer le souvenir?

"Et puis, ces appellations ne sont pas aussi barbares qu'elles paraissent l'être à première vue. Il en est même quelques-unes de prononciation facile, qui sonnent agréablement à l'oreille, et toutes ou presque toutes ont leur histoire et leur signification particulière" (11)

But, scarcely four years later, Rouillard launched a crusade to remove many of these same Indian names from the map of Québec. Starting in 1912 thousands of Indian names were eliminated (12).

In a revealing article published in 1917 in the Action française, Rouillard explained what upset him about the Indian place names. He was primarily concerned lest foreigners obtain the impression that Québec was populated with Indians:

"Il y a quelques années, un Français de distinction, de passage en ce pays, examinant une carte de la province de Québec, laissa échapper cette exclamation: 'Vous avez donc bien des sauvages dans votre province que la plupart de vos rivières, de vos lacs et même bon nombre de vos villages portent des vocables indiens!'  
≤.≤  la multiplicité des noms bizarres qui, à

11. Eugène Rouillard, Noms sauvages: étymologie, Québec, Marcotte, p. 3.
cause de leur aspect rébarbatif, ne laissent point que de causer une impression désagréable à l'étranger" (13).

Moreover, Rouillard had nationalistic reasons for desiring to eliminate these "noms bizarres":

"De leur côté, nombre d'arpenteurs et d'explorateurs paraissent avoir oublé trop souvent, surtout en ces dernières années, qu'ils se trouvaient dans une province française, et qu'ils devaient donner leurs préférences à des vocables français" (14).

En 1919, the Abbé Groulx joined Rouillard in lashing out at les sauvages. In the first edition of his Naissance d'une race, Quatrefages and a Jesuit, Father Castelein, are severely criticized for accepting the legend that the French Canadians have the Indians as ancestors. Maurice Barrès, himself, Groulx observed, had repeated this myth of the French Canadians' pretended métissage. One hopes, Groulx wrote, to use this lie of métissage to establish "notre caractère de race inférieure" (15).

15. Lionel Groulx, La naissance d'une race, Montréal, Biblio-thèque de l'Action Française, 1919, p. 23. Groulx mentions on this same page that Father Castelein's book, Traité de Psychologie, was still used in European universities ten years earlier. The offending passage at that time "se colportait et se lisait sous les yeux d'étudiants canadiens dans les universités de Louvain, de Paris et de Fribourg". Undoubtedly Groulx encountered it while a student at Fribourg.
It must have been tiring for French Canadians to read again and again that they descended from an "inferior race". Father Courchesne, reporting of a speech of Groulx's in Boston in 1918, betrays both his own and the Abbé Groulx's impatience with those who sought to link the Indian and the French Canadian:

"Toujours est-il que nous n'aimons pas être traités de sauvages, ni par des journalistes imbéciles, ni par des académiciens, gens d'esprit par état. Nous prétendons que ce n'est pas simple susceptibilité, mais légitime souci de la vérité. Et puisque l'on cherche à tourner cette niaiserie en injure, nous ne pouvons qu'applaudir à la conclusion où le conférencier exprime avec éloquence son honnête indignation: 'nous voulons bien être admis dans la grande famille française mais nous ne voulons pas que ce soit par la porte de l'humiliation'. C'est-à-dire que, plus exactement, nous entendons bien rester de la grande famille française puisque nous en avons toujours été, mais nous n'aimons pas que ceux qui nous ont découvert, aient toujours l'air de s'ébahir comme les Parisiens de Montesquieu devant le Persan: 'Ah! Monsieur est Canadien français, comment peut-on être Canadien et Français?' Il faut à la fin imposer des limites à la bauderie, si innocente qu'on la suppose" (16).

Strangely, however, the Abbé Groulx was criticized by two French Canadian contemporaries for his stand. Groulx sought respect for the French Canadian nation, yet both Henri d'Arles

(1870-1930) and Olivar Asselin (1874-1937) protested. D'Arles (the pseudonym of Henri Beaudé, a Dominican priest) wrote in 1919 that it was no shame to confess that some French Canadians had a little Indian blood, as examples he named Mgr Laflèche (1818-1898) and Sir Adolphe Chapleau (1840-1898) (17). Who knows, d'Arles added in 1921, perhaps it would have been better for the French Canadian nation, if French Canadians had more Indian blood:

"Savez-vous bien que ces exceptions à Laflèche and Chapleau ouvrent des perspectives qui donnent à penser? Charles Maurras, parlant du génie latin, qui est créateur, et l'opposant au génie anglo-saxon, qui est destructeur, mentionne, comme illustration intéressante et instructive des vertus particulières aux races latines, la formation du type sud-américain, composé de sang espagnol et indien, très-beau et très-prometteur spécimen d'humanité" (18).

Olivar Asselin followed up Henri d'Arles' criticism with his own in 1923. His objection, while similar to d'Arles', is worth quoting:

"Et puis, est-ce un si grand crime ou un si grand déshonneur que d'avoir comme Chapleau, Mgr Laflèche et Charles Gill, du sang indien dans les veines? Ce que Barrès a écrit de nous de la meilleure foi du monde dépasse-t-il en exactitude l'idée que la plupart des Canadiens Français se font, encore aujourd'hui, des premiers

---

Asselin's and d'Arles' complaints silenced Groulx, who in later years modified his position. The whole treatment of métissage in *La naissance d'une race* was altered in the second and third editions (1930 and 1938). The fiery spirit of the 1919 passage was toned down. The Abbé Groulx also added a footnote which explained why he continued to retain the controversial section:

"Il n'y aurait pas lieu de mettre la moindre ardeur à dissiper cette légende si elle ne servait d'appui à des théories d'ethnologues sur l'infériorité des races métissées et n'avait permis à quelques historiens d'esquisser des fantaisies assez peu complaisantes sur le caractère du peuple canadien-français" (20).

After Groulx's 1919 outburst against the alleged métissage of the French Canadians, there were no new additions to the existing image of the bad Indian. Séraphin Marion (1896– ) in his *Pierre Boucher* (1927) and Léon Pouliot, s.j. in his 1940 study, *Etude sur les 'Relations' des Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France*, merely repeated the negative aspects of Indian life which had been stated, and re-stated since the Abbé

Ferland's day (21). One sentence from Pouliot's book sums up the spirit of the two works: "La vérité, c'est que, sauf quelques peuples, comme les Atticamègues, les Papinschois et les Illinois, tous les Sauvages que nous verrons paraître dans les Relations avaient non seulement les moeurs les plus déplorables, mais l'esprit le plus dépravé par l'erreur et la superstition" (22).

Groulx's synthesis of Canadian history, Histoire du Canada français, appeared in 1950 and in three subsequent editions. His treatment of the Indian adds nothing to that of the late nineteenth century historians. There is the same sauvage, to quote Groulx, "ce primitif recroquevillé depuis des millénaires, dans le même état de vie, dans les mêmes routines dégradantes" (23). For him the Indians of northeastern North America were all the same, "même paganisme têtu, moeurs privées et publiques aussi déplorables" (24). As late as 1961,


24. Ibid., p. 108.
in a book review of *The Founding of Canada: Beginnings to 1815* by the Canadian marxist historian, Stanley Ryerson, Groulx wrote:

"En d'autres pages où il aborde les rapports entre Indiens et colonisateurs, il réserve toute sa pitié pour ces faibles, ces misérables victimes du mercantilisme européen. Aborde-t-il le conflit anglo-français au sujet de la fourrure, il écrit: 'The chief victim of this struggle were the Indian Peoples'. Comme si la guerre, entre les tribus, avant même l'arrivée des Européens en Amérique du Nord, n'avait toujours été le fléau chronique, le sport traditionnel, et comme si les Français n'avaient pas imposé aux Indiens des lacs, à ceux-là, du moins, ce qu'on pourrait appeler la 'pax indiana', paix aussitôt troublée dès que disparaissait ou s'amollissait la police française" (25).

This one passage of Groulx's summarizes the dominant interpretation of the Indian conveyed in the schools of French Canada. Textbook compilers like the majority of French Canadian historians have observed and judged the Indian from the vantage-point of their own culture, not from the Indian's own. Moreover, religious sentimentalism and patriotic emotion have prevented an honest presentation of Canada's first citizens. Too often in the past the history taught in Québec has consisted of moralizing in favour of the Catholic religion and the French Canadian race (26).

One of the most successful Québec school texts was prepared for the secondary schools by Fathers Farley and Lamarche. Their *Histoire du Canada*, for over three decades, was read by thousands of French Canadian students. Published for the first time in 1934, by 1944 this manual was practically the sole Canadian history text in use in the upper secondary school grades (27). As the preface to the 1968 completely revised edition prepared by Denis Vaugeois and Jacques Lacourcière makes clear:

"L'HISTOIRE DU CANADA des Pères Farley et Lamarche, publiée en 1934, fut à toute une génération de Québécois, ce que l'Histoire de France de Malet était à la même époque pour les jeunes Français, c'est-à-dire LE Manuel d'Histoire par excellence" (28).

In the pages of the Farley-Lamarche manual one finds the savage Indian fiend, "orgueilleux, vindicatif, sensuel et manquait totalement de caractère" (29). These same men had a "véritable passion pour la guerre" (30). You could not trust an Indian, the authors went on for "la mauvaise foi régnait

30. Ibid., p. 12.
habituellement dans la négociation des traités" (31). As for their religion, well it was full of "superstitions puériles et souvent grossières ..." (32) The authors' inspiration for these remarks apparently comes from two works on their recommended reading list, both written almost a century before -- the Abbé Ferland's *Cours d'histoire du Canada* and Garneau's *Histoire du Canada* (33).

After the appearance of a number of American and Canadian anthropological studies (34), the ignoble savage disappeared from several French Canadian historians' accounts, in fact, the Indian completely vanished. In their survey histories of New France, Jean Bruchési and Mgr Tessier ignored him totally (35). One history teacher who replied to Archange Godbout's 1944 survey on history teaching in Québec, best sums up the philosophy of those writers who treated the Indian like an invisible man: "Je ne crois pas qu'il faille donner tant d'importance à l'histoire des peuplades indigènes du continent.

31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., p. 13.
33. Ibid., p. 18.
34. The subject of the next chapter, where our accent will be on French Canadian contributions.
C'est une question que je laisserais à l'étude des spécialistes" (36).

The development of a professionally trained corps of university trained French Canadian historians drastically altered the course of their historiography. These men, archivists and university-employed scholars, introduced the international standards and techniques of modern historical study into French Canada. At the beginning, in the first decade and a half after the Second World War, the Heroic Period of New France, the favorite period of the old self-taught amateurs, was completely passed by. Strangely enough when two professional historians, Gustave Lanctôt and Marcel Trudel, did produce studies of the period, neither really challenged the

amateurs' old image of the bad Indian. In 1959, Lanctôt produced a modified version of the ignoble savage. Four years later, Trudel, following the example of Bruchési, Tessier, and several contemporary English Canadian historians, simply ignored him.

In favour of Lanctôt's 1959 work, Histoire du Canada des origines au Régime royal, one must note that in several sections the Indian receives more adequate treatment. For instance, the former archivist observed that not only did the Indians give the Europeans an excellent welcome, but also "les firent bénéficier de leur expérience, de leurs connaissances et de leurs inventions" (37). The Indians introduced the French to the birch-bark canoe, to Indian wood-lore, to the snow-shoe, the toboggan. To the newcomers they served as guides. They introduced the French colonist to corn, beans, the pumpkin, maple syrup, and tobacco (38).

On the other hand, Lanctôt's study is full of the old familiar Indians. These people, he writes, love war which "surgissait au moindre prétexte" (39). The Hurons, according to Lanctôt, permitted "licences matrimoniales" and endorsed

38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., p. 37.
"superstitions ancestrales" (40). The Indian women were "libres de leur corps avant le mariage" (41). In short, a number of the misconceptions of all those who do not study the Indian in terms of his own Indian society, are still apparent in Lanctôt's work (42).

Marcel Trudel's two volumes on the Heroic Period of New France are the best, most intensive studies on the age. Yet both, Les vaines tentatives, 1524-1603 (1963) and Le comptoir, 1604-1627 (1966), are rather ethnocentric. The Indians appear only by reason of their association with the French. Despite the vast number of studies produced by anthropologists and historians of the Indian of northeastern North America, Trudel ignores almost all of them. What he is concerned with in his two lengthy volumes are the moral, social and economic problems of the French alone (43). From 1524 to 1627 New France was an

40. Ibid., p. 170.
41. Ibid., p. 167. As for the Eskimos, he felt they displayed "une complète amoralité sexuelle", p. 43.
42. In any event, Lanctôt's work is much superior to Groulx's. Certain flaws aside, Lanctôt's Indian is far closer to that of reality, than Groulx's is.
43. The two chapters in Le comptoir, 1604-1627: "Problèmes de politique indigène", pp. 353-372; and "Rencontre des cultures", pp. 373-404; treat the Indian only when he is in contact with the French and from a French viewpoint. It is as if he only has a history when he is dealing with the French ... Trudel does not sympathetically project himself into the Indian mentality.
Indian's country. Even in the year 1627 the French in northeastern North America must have been outnumbered by the Indians in a ratio of over one thousand to one. Yet Trudel, unlike Garneau and Ferland, does not give them one complete chapter in either of his two volumes.

Trudel ignored the English Canadian anthropologist, T.F. McIlwraith, had written over thirty years before: "An accurate interpretation of the first two hundred years of Canadian history must take cognizance of the Indian point of view as well as that of the white man" (44). Nothing so well illustrates the flaw in Trudel's work than his bibliographies of secondary sources. In both volumes, the lists on all subjects dealing with the French are exhaustive; whereas, the number of items on the Indians is pathetic. In Les vaines tentatives, 1524-1603, five secondary articles on the Indians are given. On the other hand, nineteen books and articles on Jacques Cartier alone are presented (45). The bibliography of Le comptoir, 1604-1627, is a little better, eleven entries on the Indian

appear (46), but this is still insufficient. Nearly all the works (several written by French Canadians) which are necessary for an understanding of the Indian in the Heroic Period of New France have been overlooked. These works will be introduced in the next chapter (47).

46. Marcel Trudel, Le comptoir, 1604-1627, Montréal/Paris, Fides, 1966, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii, xliii. Really only eight entries are given, as the three articles listed written by N.-E. Dionne are outdated, and as aids for an explanation of Indian character, are not very helpful.

47. See also the following pages of the bibliography of this thesis, pp. xlii-xlvi, under A.G. Bailey, Diamond Jenness, Cornelius Jaenen, George Quimby, Frank Speck, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, George Stanley, Elisabeth Tooker, Alden T. Vaughan, A.W. Trelease, Bruce Trigger, for important studies published in English. The important guides to the literature are given on pp. lv-lvi, lxiv-lxv.
CHAPTER VII

Social Scientists and the Indian

In the mid-nineteenth century in the United States a new tradition of Indian studies arose. From the year 1851, when Lewis H. Morgan published his *League of the Iroquois*, an increasing number of American scholars began to study the Indian in terms of his own society. Morgan and the anthropologists who followed, placed themselves inside the alien mentalities they were trying to describe (1). From their new vantage-point anthropologists were able to add a fresh perspective to the primary source materials. For instance, anthropologists have pointed out the limits of authority of Indian leaders, the non-hostile motives of certain Indian traits, and the Indians' different concepts concerning individual and group use of land.

The traditional French Canadian historian's approach, from the Abbé Ferland to the Abbé Groulx, was to observe and judge the Indian from the stand-point of French Canadian culture. Since there was no written account of the Indians' version of the events of the years 1534-1663, the Indians' backgrounds and individual cultures were easily overlooked. On the other hand, Maximilien Bibaud and Napoléon Legendre had both made a genuine attempt to understand Indian life, to depict Indians realistically in terms of their own culture. But their writings were ignored during the era of the bad Indian in French Canadian historiography. While the image of the degraded savage continued to reign supreme in twentieth century French Canada, various French Canadian humanists, and social scientists chipped away at its various tenets. Finally, in the late 1960's the image was replaced.

The first French Canadian scholar to examine the Indian with the method of a social scientist (2) was the nephew of

2. In French Canada, the first individual to write works of genuine scientific quality was the French Sulpician missionary at Lac des Deux-Montagnes, M. Lecouq (1821-1898). On account of his study of Indian linguistics he was elected a member of both the Ethnological Society of Washington and the Royal Society of Canada. American archeological finds on the Indian were popularized by Ernest Marceau ("Les anciens peuples de l'Amérique" in RC, XX (1884), pp. 709-713; XXI (1885), pp. 1-9; and Alphonse Gagnon (Etudes archéologiques et variétés, Lévis, Mercier (continued on next page)
Benjamin Sulte (3), Léon Gérin (1863-1951). Trained as a lawyer, Gérin, had studied in Paris for six months in the winter of 1885-1886. While in France he had come into contact with the École de la Science sociale. The School, under the directorship of Edmond Demolins and the Abbé Henri de Tourville, was continuing and expanding LePlay's techniques of scientific observation of human societies. Once in Canada, Gérin remained in constant correspondence with his former professors (4). Thanks to the methods of the École de la Science sociale, Gérin was able to examine the Indians of the early history of New France under a new light.

In the summer of 1899, Gérin visited the Hurons at Lorette, near Québec, and the Iroquois at Caughnawaga, outside of

2. (continued from page 129) et cie, 1894, 380p. and L'Amérique précolombienne: essai sur l'origine de sa civilisation, Québec, Typographie Laflamme et Proulx, 1908, 376p.). Judge Prud'homme (1853-1941) contributed scores of articles on the Indian to the Revue canadienne and after 1903 to the Royal Society. Unlike Marceau's and Gagnon's work, Prud'homme's was poorly done. Léon Gérin was the first French Canadian to conduct original scientific research on the Indian.


4. Ibid., p. 69.
Montreal. In the studies that he wrote after his visit (5), Gérin emphasized conditions of physical and social environment, and ignored explanations of Indian character by race or religion.

Like his uncle, Léon Gérin was not afraid to point out incidents in the church's past which in his opinion did it no credit. For instance, during his research on the Hurons of Lorette he discovered that the Jesuits had cheated the Hurons of their land at Sillery in the late seventeenth century. Less than twenty years after the land had been granted to the Hurons, the Jesuits seized two-thirds of it, and took the rest of it thirty years later. Gérin presented the facts of the incident and its aftermath in an article written in 1900 for the Royal Society (6).

Gérin's only purely historical treatment of the Indians was his 1903 article, "Les causes du conflit iroquois-huron". Within this article, for the first time since Napoléon Legendre's "Les races indigènes de l'Amérique devant l'histoire", an attempt is made to see the Indian in terms of himself,


and not in terms of the values of the French Canadians. For Gérin, the clash between the Hurons and the Iroquois arises out of Indian social institutions, which in turn have been molded by the physical environment, inter-tribal relations and contact with European civilization (7). This article is original, has value today, and has been quoted only once since 1903 (8).

Gérin was so ignored by his contemporaries that Jean-Charles Falardeau, the French Canadian sociologist, reports that he had hardly heard of him during his student days in the late 1930's at Laval University. Falardeau only discovered Gérin's writings several years later in the library of the University of Chicago! (9) Gérin's articles on the Indian were neglected in his own lifetime; yet, how modern they still are. His interpretation of how the Hurons became inferior in strength to the Iroquois, for example, is not in the least outdated:

"Ils reçurent leurs missionnaires, leurs interprètes, leurs trafiquants, ils devinrent les pourvoyeurs de la traite; et c'est dans l'ébranlement de leurs traditions et de

leur organisation sociale déterminé par la prédication de l'évangile et par le développement du commerce des fourrures, qu'il faut chercher la cause principale de leur infériorité vis-à-vis des Iroquois et de leur dispersion finale par ces derniers" (10).

Gérin was followed by French Canada's first professionally trained anthropologist, Marius Barbeau (1883-1969).

During his lifetime, Barbeau made a monumental contribution to Canadian anthropology, yet rather a minimal one to the understanding of the Indian in French Canada. All his seven major works written on the Indian in the years 1915 to 1947 were in English (11). He wrote very few books and articles on the Indian in French, and what he did contribute in French is not at all his best work (12). For example, his La Merveilleuse

11. Huron and Wyandot Mythology (1915), Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies (1923), The Downfall of Temlraham (1928), Totem poles of the Gitksan (1929), The Indian Speaks (1943), Mountain Cloud (1944), Alaska Beckons (1947).
12. At the age of 83, Marius Barbeau summarized his work published previously in English in a three book series on the Indian: Fameux Peaux-Rouges d'Amérique du nord-est au nord-ouest, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1966, 284p.; Peaux-Rouges d'Amérique: leurs mœurs, leurs coutumes, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1965, 125p.; Comment on découvrit les Indiens d'Amérique, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1966, 125p. Unfortunately in these books Barbeau too often accepts hypotheses as established facts, and this detracts from the value of the series. For instance, see his comments on the Kensington Stone (p. 22), the Irish arrival in America before the Vikings (p. 28), and the Chinese discovery of America (p. 43) in Comment on découvrit les Indiens d'Amérique.
Aventure de Jacques Cartier was printed in 1934 without an introduction or conclusion. It is so disconnected one has difficulty making any sense at all out of it. Within there are unidentified Indian legends, extracts from Rabelais, from Cartier's Journal and from Charlevoix's Histoire de la Nouvelle-France (13).

It is unfortunate that Léon Gérin stopped writing about the Indians in 1903, and that Marius Barbeau contributed so little in French. While the image of the bad Indian remained popular in French Canadian historiography in the 1920's and 1930's, it was partially removed in those same years from English Canadian historiography (14). For approximately one-


14. There are many interesting comparisons to be made between the evolution of the "bad Indian" in English Canada and in French Canada. The first English Canadian writers, like Michel Bibaud in French Canada, included a good Indian in their accounts. William Smith (1769-1847), for instance, chastized the European treatment of the Indian; "to this man of nature, whom he considered as an inferior being, and availing himself of his strength and experience, abused his confidence, repaid his kindness with insult and injury, stigmatized him as a Heathen and Savage, and bestowed on him the grossest epithets, though he himself had first set him, the example of the detestable vices, of deceit, treachery and cruelty". See William Smith, History of Canada, from its first discovery to the peace of 1763, Québec, Neilson, 1815, volume 1, p. 50. Consult also: William Kingsford, The History of Canada, volume 1, Toronto, Rowsell and Hutchinson, 1887; and John Mercier MacMullen, The History of Canada from its first discovery to the present time, Montréal, (continued on next page)
half century Parkman's Indian had dominated in English Canada. Parkman's Indian was essentially the same ignoble savage French Canadian historians had been writing about since Garneau. For instance, the former Oxford history professor, resident in Toronto, Goldwin Smith (1823-1910), noted in 1892 that the Indians were "human wolves" (15). Stephen Leacock (1869-1944) writing as late as 1941 observed that the Indians' use of the resources of North America "was scarcely more than that by crows and wolves their development of it nothing" (16).

One of the first attempts to present the Indians' case in Canadian history was made by Judge Howay in his 1925 article, "Indian Attacks upon Maritime traders of the North-West Coast, 1785-1805" (17). In 1932, the anthropologist, Diamond Jenness, composed his classic volume, The Indians of Canada.


15. Goldwin Smith, Canada and the Canadian Question, Toronto, Hunter Rose & Co., 1892, p. 5.


17. F.W. Howay, "Indian Attacks upon Maritime Traders of the North-West Coast, 1785-1805" in CHR, VI (1925), pp. 287-309.
In the nearly five hundred pages of text, every aspect of Indian and Eskimo life is covered -- political, social, cultural and economic. Five years later, in 1937, Jenness' *The Indian Background of Canadian History* was published (18). This short booklet described Indian life in the period of European contact and presented the reasons for the slowness of New World developments in comparison with those of the Old.

Another major study appeared in 1937, A.G. Bailey's *Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700* (19). In his book Bailey outlined the Indian side of the European arrival in northeastern North America. He clearly brings out the vast number of factors which led to native de-population and to the disintegration of native societies. Other Canadian and American scholars like the anthropologists, A.F. Chamberlain, Vilhajalmur Stefansson, T.F. McIlwraith, and Frank Speck, and historians like George Hunt, Harold Innis, and later George Stanley, all contributed to a better understanding of the Indian in English Canada (20).

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20. See the bibliography, pp. xlii-xlvii, of this thesis for the entries.
Strangely enough, it was not an anthropologist like Diamond Jenness nor an historian like A.G. Bailey who first introduced anthropological notions on the Indian into French Canada. Rather it was an architect, Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne (1876-1950). Beaugrand-Champagne was a self-taught expert on the Indians of northeastern North America, in particular on the Iroquois. For an age when there was little social science taught in Québec's two French-language universities, his articles in the Cahiers des Dix are remarkable. The titles of the articles he contributed for over a decade betray his extensive interests on Indian subjects. The titles range from "L'organisation sociale des anciens Iroquois" (1939) to "Les maladies et la médecine des anciens Iroquois" (1944) to "Croyances des Anciens Iroquois" (1941).

For his articles in the Cahiers des Dix he read widely among the primary and secondary source materials. Yet, Beaugrand-Champagne was an architect, not an ethnologist. His work was useful in an age when the image of the ignoble savage was presented in nearly every textbook and historical work available in French Canada. However, as soon as a trained anthropologist began to produce regularly serious studies on the Indian, Beaugrand-Champagne's work would be outdated. In the meantime, he kept alive in French Canada memory of the good Indian.
As he wrote in 1939:

"On admettra, je pense, que pour les barbares dont on a dit qu'ils étaient les pires, les anciens Iroquois l'emportaient de beaucoup en civilisation sur tous les Indiens qui les entouraient; et qu'ils auraient pu rendre des points à beaucoup de soi-disant civilisés sous plus d'un rapport" (21).

A favorable image of the Indian could be found as well in several of the poems of Albert Ferland (1872-1943). As a boy in Labelle county, at Lake Simon, Ferland had lived close to an Indian reserve. His interest and concern for the Indians stemmed from his childhood (22). In the Introduction to his 1929 poems, "Poèmes au Pays des Sauteurs" he wrote as if he himself were an Indian; "L'homme blanc vient; il voit nos fleurs, nos arbres et nos rivières; d'autres suivent, et alors nos terres nous échappent, et le pauvre sauvage ne sait plus où se retirer" (23).

Similarly the notary, Victor Morin (1865-1960) was sympathetic to the Indians. At the turn of the century, Morin, as the principal Québec director of the Independent Order of Foresters, had worked under the Chief Executive of this

insurance company, the Mohawk Indian, Doctor Oronhyatekha (24). In a 1932 article for the Royal Society, Morin criticized the Europeans' treatment of the Indians:

"Les hommes blancs sont venus, apportant avec eux leurs passions, leurs tares, et toutes leurs turpitudes, pompeusement décorées par eux du nom de 'civilisation', et, dès lors, le niveau moral des enfants de la forêt se mit à baisser jusqu'à ce qu'ils en vinsent à mendier de la munificence des nouveaux venus quelques sous, des babioles, et le droit de vivre sous le grand soleil de Dieu!" (25)

The new attitude towards the Indian was presented in the works of an Englishman, George Stansfeld Belaney (1888-1938), who used the pseudonym of Grey Owl. Grey Owl's books written in particular "à toutes ces âmes où vit la nostalgie de nos forêts vierges et libres, mais que la destinée empêchera toujours d'en apercevoir la splendeur autrement qu'entre les pages d'un livre" (26), were published in Toronto, London, New York and Paris. In his accounts Belaney wrote of Canadian Indians and of his life as a trapper, guide, and forest ranger in Northern Canada. His books went through printing after

printing in the 1930's. For instance, in France where Garneau had gone through only three printings, Grey Owl's Récits de la cabane abandonnée was published at least twenty times, his Ambassadeur des bêtes, twenty-five, and his Un homme et des bêtes, fifty-two (27).

It would be interesting to investigate the extent of Grey Owl's influence in French Canada. His success in France, England and English-speaking North America reflects a shift away from the rigid racial theorizing of the early period of the twentieth century. A new spirit of tolerance was arising toward the Indian. Grey Owl himself remarked in the preface to his Ambassadeur des bêtes:

"Pourtant, depuis quelques années, une transformation notable s'est produite dans les esprits, chez ceux des peuples civilisés qui professent le culte de la tolérance et du véritable esprit sportif. On a vu se répandre une plus juste notion des valeurs réelles, un sentiment plus équitable des droits des inférieurs et l'influence de ces principes a fini par opérer une véritable révolution de l'opinion publique. Alors qu'il y a seulement vingt ans, on se serait fait moquer de soi en prêchant la bienveillance à l'égard de ces créatures que l'homme évolué contemplait de si haut, aujourd'hui, le sentiment général condamne sévèrement ceux qui abusent de leurs forces pour faire souffrir des bêtes innocentes et désarmées ou pour opprimer et maltraiter des peuplades moins

avancées que nous, peut-être, mais qui jus-
qu'alors vivaient heureuses et libres" (28).

In French Canada itself an influential writer, Philippe
Panneton (1895-1960), spoke out for the Indian in 1943. In his
Un monde était leur empire the distinguished novelist, made
a very powerful appeal for the historical study of Indian
America:

"Disons tout de suite qu'elle mérite, de la
part des Américains 'européens', autre chose que
l'ignorance et le mépris que l'on semble vouloir
cultiver à son égard. Nous avons vu quel passé
l'Indien peut évoquer comme sien. Ce passé, il
le peut sans crainte comparer à celui de tous
les autres peuples; car s'il y trouve d'une part
les mêmes luttes, les mêmes souffrances, les
mêmes superstitions et les mêmes cruautés, il
verra d'autre part le même laborieux triomphe
sur une nature rétive, les mêmes gloires guer-
rières, le même patriotisme héroïque, la même
recherche du beau. N'est-il pas profondément
regrettable que l'habitant des actuelles Amé-
riques, quelle que soit son origine, ne songe
point à annexer tout cela à son propre passé et
qu'il ne consente point à ce que l'histoire de
son pays soit, non pas comme maintenant l'his-
toire de la conquête violente par les étrangers
dont il descend mais, comme elle devrait l'ètre,
l'histoire de la Terre qu'il habite et que d'au-
tres, des hommes comme lui, avaient habité
avant lui" (29).

28. Ibid., p. 9.
29. Ringuet /P. Panneton/, Un monde était leur empire, Mont-
Panneton was not the only French Canadian novelist to point out certain truths to historians. Another was Léo-Paul Desrosiers (1896-1967). Trained as a lawyer, Desrosiers became in succession, a journalist, civil servant and then a librarian. In his spare hours he wrote novels and historical studies. In 1939, his first book bearing on the Indians, Commencements, appeared, followed in 1947 by his larger work, Iroquoisie (29). Iroquoisie constitutes the most complete account ever written by a French Canadian on the Indians in the Heroic Period of New France.

After going through an enormous amount of original source material, Desrosiers not only makes a concise synthesis, but also gives it a fine literary polish. One might quote for example, his description of the Hurons after the three great epidemics have carried off thousands in Huronia: "Ils sont comme un bois tout vermoulu qui a conservé la même apparence extérieure, mais que le moindre choc réduira en poussière" (30). Or his image illustrating the need of furs in New France and New Holland:

29. Léo-Paul Desrosiers, Commencements: traites et postes de traite -- Alliance contre les Iroquois -- L'étude des langues indiennes, Montréal, Editions de l'A. C.-F., 1939, 159p. Commencements was really the first draft of Iroquoisie.
30. Léo-Paul Desrosiers, Iroquoisie, p. 235.
"La Nouvelle-Hollande, la Nouvelle-France sont fondées en Amérique, plus que n'importe qu'elle autre colonie, sur le commerce de pelletteries. Sans cet aliment, elles s'affaisseraient comme des ballons vidés de leur air chaud ou de leur gaz" (31).

Desrosiers does not believe that the French came and stayed in the New World with the sole intention to spread the gospel. Quite correctly, he observes that this was only a minor secondary motive (32). Rather than evangelization, he adds, it was the fur trade which convinced the French to install themselves in northeastern North American (33). After their arrival, the French like the other European powers introduced European wars to North America:

"Les nations européennes, qui s'espionnent si bien, s'établissent l'une suivant l'autre, dans quelque coin du nouveau monde; aussitôt débarqués, les colons nouent des liens commerciaux avec les tribus avoisinantes; ils sont tous intéressés par la traite; et peu à peu s'ébauche l'Amérique de demain, où les rivalités, les haines, des pays européens, s'introduisant dans les relations entre tribus indiennes, aggravant les inimitiés, consolidant les alliances, produiront l'Amérique de demain, sanglante et sordide, où les batailles livrées outre-mer se répercuteront dans de petits combats obstinés et féroces, des actions de forêt, et des supplices sans fin" (34).

31. Ibid., p. 147.
32. Ibid., pp. 58-59.
33. Ibid., p. 147.
34. Ibid., pp. 62-63.
Desrosiers is the first French Canadian historian to put his finger on the primary cause of the Huron's downfall, and of the Iroquois' success: namely the degree of contact of each tribe with the Europeans. The Hurons, he notes, owed their downfall to their extensive trading relationship with the French. It was the French who brought the epidemics that caused Huronia's population to decrease by more than half. Moreover, Desrosiers continues, the drop in population was not all; "Ce n'est pas seulement la chute brusque et presque mortelle dans le chiffre de la population, qu'il faut noter, mais encore la disparition des chefs naturels, et l'affaiblissement permanent du moral" (35).

In contrast, the Iroquois remained stronger on account of their few contacts with the whiteman. Isolated in the interior of a continent, the only European post an inland one forty-five miles from their western frontier (Fort Orange), the Iroquois were left to themselves. The Dutch did little exploration, in fact, they never even visited all of the Iroquois country. In short, Desrosiers concludes:

"Alors ces indigènes seront abandonnés à eux-mêmes; la rareté des contacts, de même que le climat plus doux, seront des obstacles suffisants aux épidémies. Ils resteront un peuple de l'intérieur;"
mais en obtenant tout ce que les peuples de l'intérieur ne se procurent que bien difficilement, /From nearby Fort Orange/ les marchandises européennes et les armes à feu, plus tard" (36).

In our opinion, Desrosiers is the best historian of the Indians that French Canada has ever had. Yet, Marcel Trudel, "historien chevronné, comblé d'honneurs, acclamé par la critique" (37), produced two exhaustive bibliographies in his Les vaines tentatives, 1524-1603 and Le comptoir, 1604-1627, without even mentioning Iroquoisie or any of Desrosiers' later articles in the Cahiers des Dix (38). Moreover, the McGill anthropologist, Bruce Trigger, who has written one half-dozen or so articles on the Indians in the Heroic Period of New France (39), has never included Desrosiers in one of his

36. Ibid., p. 105.
bibliographies. Have we then exaggerated Desrosiers' importance?

Trigger's omission of Desrosiers' work, however, seems to stem from an inability to read French easily. After six articles on the subject of the Indians of northeastern North America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is only in the seventh, his most recent, that he even cites books written in French. In this article, "The French Presence in Huronia" (1968), the McGill anthropologist only includes references to four works in French: Marcel Trudel's _Les vaines tentatives, 1524-1603_, and his _Le comptoir, 1604-1627_; André Vachon's "L'eau-de-vie dans la société indienne" (1960); Edwin Tross' edition of Gabriel Sagard's early seventeenth century _Histoire du Canada_ (40).

Trudel's attitude towards Desrosiers' studies is difficult to explain. In 1962, at a conference at Laval University on the "Situation de la recherche sur le Canada français", Professor Trudel was the commentator for André Vachon's paper, "Etat des recherches sur le régime français" (41). At that

40. Trigger, "The Structure of Franco-Huron Relations", pp. 118, 121-123, 134-135. Also, Gustave Lanctôt's _Histoire du Canada_ is used, but in English translation.
time, Vachon, well-known for his competence in the field of Indian affairs in the early history of New France (42), singled Desrosiers out as the sole French Canadian historian who had tried to understand the Indian in New France:

"[La politique coloniale à l'endroit des Indiens]. Un grand nombre d'historiens ont abordé cette question, mais il me semble que, Desrosiers mis à part, on n'a pas suffisamment tenté de comprendre l'Indien, qu'on a trop souvent étudié comme s'il eût été un produit de la civilisation occidentale et chrétienne, et en lui prêtant des préoccupations, des réactions ou des sentiments qui n'ont jamais été les siens. Par suite de cette ignorance des Indiens, on n'a pas toujours su juger correctement la politique française à leur égard et l'on s'est trompé assez souvent sur la portée réelle de telle attitude des autorités françaises vis-à-vis des Indiens ou de ces derniers vis-à-vis des Français" (43).

Trudel's reaction to Iroquoisie was typical of the response it drew from the Québec public. They ignored it. The

42. André Vachon is the first university-trained French Canadian historian to work on the Indian in the Heroic Period of New France. His "L'eau-de-vie dans la société indienne" in CHAR (1960), pp. 22-32, is justly renown for its fair, impartial treatment. His more recent contributions include several reviews on books dealing with the Indians. These were published in Recherches socio-graphiques. Two articles which "solved" the Dollard question are his "L'affaire du Long-Sault" in RUL, XVIII (1963-1964), pp. 495-515 and "Dollard des Ormeaux" in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, pp. 266-275. Last year he published a classique canadienne called Eloquence indienne, Montréal, Paris, Fides, 1968, 95p.

second volume ready in manuscript form, was never published on account of the lack of success in selling the first (44). Consequently Desrosiers contributed extracts of his manuscript in the form of a number of annual articles to the Cahiers des Dix (45).

Of all French Canadian writers, Léo-Paul Desrosiers and Jacques Rousseau (1905-), have made the major contribution to the study of the Indian in Québec. Rousseau is a botanist, but for over a quarter-of-a-century has produced studies on the ethnology of the Indian peoples of Québec. From 1943 onwards he has made repeated trips to isolated areas of province: in 1943 he visited the Tête-de-Boule at Manouan; in 1944, 1946, and 1947, he spent his summers in Mistassini; in 1947, 1948, 1951, and 1965, he went to Ungava (46). Moreover, whenever he was with the Indians, he lived as they did,

44. Similarly when Thomas-Édmond Giroux sought to publish his Le Jour de l'Indien, he was unable to find an interested publisher in the province. Eventually he printed it himself, in 1955. While Giroux lacked the necessary anthropological training to organize and evaluate the material collected, it still is valuable. The book should not be scorned at by historians.

45. Unfortunately, in these articles either Desrosiers or the Editor of Cahiers des Dix decided to do away with almost all the footnotes. Iroquoisie is well documented, but these articles rarely are.

thought as they thought. He revealed his method in 1960:
"Pour pénétrer le processus mental d'autrui, on doit faire
table rase de sa propre dialectique et adopter celle de l'in-
terlocuteur" (47).

Rousseau's articles on the Indians have appeared in
French Canadian publications ranging from the Revue d'histoire
de l'Amérique française to his series of eighty-eight articles
in the Montréal newspaper La Patrie in 1950-1951. Since 1952,
his work on the Indians has appeared regularly in the Cahiers
des Dix. It is in this publication that his three articles,
"Ces gens qu'on dit sauvages" (1958), "Les sachems délibèrent
autour du feu de camp" (1959), and "Les premiers Canadiens"
(1960), were published. Together they constitute the most
complete account of the Indian in Canada available in French
(48).

Like the eighteenth century Jesuit father, Lafitau,
Professor Rousseau compares the Indians with many other peo-

ples, in particular with the whiteman. In a televised lecture

47. Jacques Rousseau, "Dualisme religieux ou syncrétisme chez
les Algiques de la forêt boréale" in Actes du VIème Con-
grès International des Sciences anthropologiques et eth-
48. See CD XXIII (1958), pp. 53-90; XXIV (1959), pp. 9-51;
in 1966, for example, he addressed himself to the problem of the Indians' cruelty: "Cruauté à la guerre! J'ai cru à la cruauté particulière des sauvages jusqu'aux pogroms et aux camps de concentration de 1940-45" (49). For Rousseau, the Indians "sont des êtres humains, avec les qualités et défauts des êtres humains" (50). The Indians themselves cannot be simply described, he wrote in 1954:

"S'il n'existe pas de caractère stéréotypé pour tous les cheminots d'Amérique ni pour les pêcheurs gaspésiens ou les colons d'une paroisse abitibienne, les Indiens chasseurs d'une même peuplade ne sont pas non plus identiques" (51).

Professor Rousseau, in marked contrast with the advocates of the image of the bad Indian, establishes that the pre-contact cultures were suited to their milieu, and based on daily work and peace, not on war. He observed in his "Les sachems délibèrent autour du feu de camp":

"Les anciens Amérindiens jouissaient d'une organisation sociale, économique et politique, rudimentaire sans doute, mais se comparant avantageusement à celle de beaucoup d'Européens avant l'avènement du christianisme. Il leur arrivait, comme aux Blancs, de guerroyer, mais leur culture reposait d'abord sur la paix

49. Jacques Rousseau, L'Indien et notre milieu, Université Laval, Cours télévisé, janvier-avril 1966, mimeographed, p. 16.
50. Ibid., p. 18.
et le travail" (52).

On account of his background in anthropology and his vast experience with the contemporary Québec Indian, Professor Rousseau tears shreds in the traditional image of the bad Indian, with every article he writes. In one concise paragraph he answers the old hackneyed charge that the Indians are inferior:

"L'intelligence de l'Amérindien n'est pas inférieure à celle du Blanc. Le progrès ne vient pas de l'effort collectif d'une population, ni des hautes castes sociales. Une seule allumette peut incendier la forêt. Il suffit de l'étincelle d'un homme de génie pour pousser l'humanité du paléolithique au néolithique. Encore faut-il que la nature mette des matériaux à sa disposition. Entre le négrito de la Nouvelle-Guinée et le Blanc qui roule une douze cylindres, il n'existe souvent que le hasard de naissance. Parce que le cheval s'est éteint en Amérique avant l'occupation du continent par des Asiatiques, les peuplades amérindiennes durent s'arrêter à un palier inférieur du progrès" (53).

53. Ibid., p. 33.
CONCLUSION

Albert Keiser, stated at the end of his *The Indian in American Literature* (1933) that: "The character of the Indian is variously described and interpreted mainly as a result of the purpose of the author and the circumstances under which he became acquainted with the native" (1). So it is with the French Canadian historians under review in this thesis. The Indian the nineteenth and twentieth century French Canadian saw, was not the noble Indian of the early seventeenth century that the first missionaries had described. In writing their patriotic histories the overwhelming majority of French historians simply projected into the past the Indian of their own day. Since they were composing patriotic histories, the point of view was always that of the French ... The Indian was a savage fiend, a fierce obstacle to the establishment of the French in this country.

Both images of the good and the bad Indian were contained

in the seventeenth century primary source material. The authors of the largest collection of surviving documents, the Jesuit fathers, shared this ambivalent view of the Indian. On the one hand, the Jesuit fathers formed by a rule of poverty, and an intensive classical education, saw in the Indian, the Romans of the Republic, and the Christians of biblical times. However, these same men remained priests who had come across a huge ocean to christianize a continent. In short, the Jesuit fathers were two men in one: humanists and Catholic priests. The humanist saw the noble qualities of the Indian; whereas, the priest sighted only the monster in Satan's grasp.

The eighteenth century Jesuits, Lafitau and Charlevoix, toned down the image of the bad Indian in their accounts. Both men were conscious of the menaces to orthodoxy, and desired to establish in their studies the universality of divine revelations. In this manner they could refute the atheists and deists. Both writers went out of their way to note the good aspects of Indian life. But, as they remained priests they did not forget to underline as well the glory of their order's martyrs of the previous century ... Hence, a paradox remained in their accounts as in those of their predecessors. If the Indians were, in the main, of noble character, why did they murder the missionaries? The French Canadian would
himself add, why did they murder our ancestors?

The first French Canadian historian, Michel Bibaud, plagiarized Charlevoix to such an extent that the image of the good Indian is carried over into his account. But, as soon as French Canadians began to write patriotic history the noble Indian would disappear. Traces of the eighteenth century Jesuit's humanism still remain in the histories of Garneau and Ferland. But the overwhelming impression conveyed by the two authors is that the Indian was a degraded Savage. Later writers, like Casgrain and Maurault, removed the Jesuits' humanism completely. In the late nineteenth century, the French Canadian historians rose to a new level of enthusiasm for the Catholic and French origins of French Canada. As usual, the Indian suffered in their hands.

The Abbé Arthur D'Amours, who contributed the introduction to Joseph Dumais' *Héros d'autrefois: Jacques Cartier et Samuel de Champlain* (1913) summed up the themes of the overwhelming majority of late nineteenth and early twentieth century French Canadian historians, when he wrote:

"Oh! quels français et quels chrétiens que ces premiers canadiens! Français et catholiques, catholiques et français, toujours. Dans leur ignorance et leur barbarie, les sauvages dégénérés voyaient la croix d'un œil de mécontentement et même de haine, ils osèrent l'injurer et s'attaquer à elle. Nos pères estimèrent
The sole French Canadian historian of the late nineteenth century, who had not attended classical college, Benjamin Sulte, rejected his contemporaries' convention that religion and nationality had been one since the French arrival in northeastern North America. Religious motives, according to Sulte, had not inspired the first explorers, rather it had been economic ones.

Yet, this insight of Sulte's does not convince him in the least to alter the image of the bad Indian. Not only does he retain it, but he also expands it and makes his Indians even fiercer, and more ignoble than those of the other historians of his time. The barbarians in Sulte's pages treacherously ambush brave French settlers, and torture both men and women. In his history Sulte sought to prise not the church, but rather the French Canadian habitant, from his first days in Canada. Hence he was led to exaggerate the savagery of the men the early French had fought against so long.

At least in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century accounts one is given the impression that the so-called bad Indian is simply a bad French Canadian. In this period the Catholic religion, agriculture, and order were all regarded as the strengths of French Canadian society. Bad French Canadians were those who became Protestant (the modern paganism), who left agriculture for urban centers, and who sought personal liberty free from clerical supervision. Finally, in an age of chronic alcoholism bad French Canadians were those who drank to excess.

Outside of French Canada racial theorizing made headway in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Indians were held to be an inferior race; therefore, all peoples which had Indian blood were, according to the theorists, second-rate. Those French Canadians who feared the slander that French Canadians had descended from les sauvages, reacted violently. The Secretary of the Société géographique de Québec, Eugène Rouillard, led a crusade to remove Indian place names from the map of the province of Québec. The Abbé Groulx thumped against all those who suggested métissage had been great in New France. Yet, Groulx dropped the issue when Henri d'Arles and Olivar Asselin retorted that perhaps it would have been better if French Canadians had received more Indian blood.
Were not Mgr Laflèche and Sir Adolphe Chapleau, both of whom had Indian ancestors, two of the French Canada's finest citizens?

The full impact of the negative image of the Indian was not felt in the period it was produced in, the last half of the nineteenth century, but rather later in the twentieth. Before 1885, outside of the poorly stocked parish and school libraries (which only contained 250,000 books on all subjects in 1860), there were no free public libraries. In the 1890's there were only two: the Fraser Institute in Montréal and a small workingman's library in Québec City's Saint-Roch (3). Moreover, the Québec school system was hardly developed (4). In 1871, 36% of those over twenty in the province could not even read or write (5). In the rural parish of Saint-Denis at the turn of the century, the literature of the people was in the form of songs and recounted stories (6). As for those who those who did attend school, Léon Gérin noted of rural Saint-Justin:

5. C.-J. Magnan, Honneur à la Province de Québec!, Québec, Dussault & Proulx, 1903, p. 47.
"Ces enfants cessent de fréquenter l'école vers l'âge de dix ou douze ans. Presque tous savent alors lire, écrire et un peu compter; mais la plupart, faute de pratique, oublient rapidement au sortir de l'école ce qu'ils ont appris; et fréquemment, à l'âge de dix-sept ou dix-huit ans, il ne leur en reste plus rien" (7).

In the twentieth century came the slow growth of libraries, the institution of the study of Canadian history in all schools, and a general rise in Québec's level of education. However, it would be a mistake to overestimate the diffusion of historical works in twentieth century Québec. Henri d'Arles complained in 1921 of the difficulties the French Canadian public presented writers: "nous public manifeste une apathie si complète à l'égard de nos hommes de lettres que la littérature soit encore chez nous la plus dure des carrières" (8). Over the forty year period from 1907 to 1947, French Canada never had a magazine, which printed historical articles, with a circulation of more than 2,000 copies. In 1917, there were two such magazines in the market, La Nouvelle-France and

8. Henri d'Arles, Nos historiens, p. 11. Arthur Lower makes the same complaint for English Canada in his My First Seventy-Five Years, Toronto, Macmillan, 1967, p. 293. He notes that Harold Innis' History of the Canadian Pacific Railway, for example, sold only two or three hundred copies.
the Revue canadienne, but between the two of them they had only 2,175 subscribers (9). In passing, one might note that Sélection, the special French Canadian edition of the American magazine the Reader's Digest, published since 1947 in Montréal, had in 1964 a circulation of 237,674, and in 1969, 276,901 (10).

The most successful popular histories produced in French Canada have had very limited circulation. From 1934 to 1946 only 19,000 copies of Jean Bruchesi's Histoire du Canada pour tous were printed (11). From 1950 to 1967, the first volume of Chanoine Groulx's Histoire du Canada français has been through four editions, yet the total number of volumes published in all four editions is only 18,442 (12).... Millions of French Canadians once they are finished with their public or secondary school textbook on Canadian history, never read a book on Canadian history again. They left school with vague notions obtained from their texts of savage Indians carving up their

9. Circulation figures are taken from the Canadian Almanac, Toronto, Copp Clark Co. for the following years 1907 (p. 254), 1917 (p. 299), 1937, (p. 504), 1947 (p. 768).
10. Figures are from N.W. Ayer & Son's Directory: Newspapers and Periodicals, Philadelphia, N.W. Ayer and Son, for the following years, 1964 (p. 1207), 1969 (p. 1251).
ancestors and burning missionaries at the stake. Even if they did read history later, chances were that they would read about the same fiend their texts had introduced them to.

The attitude of Maximilien Bibaud and Napoléon Legendre toward the Indian is difficult to explain. Was their defense of him inspired by a reading of French or American statements on his behalf (13). Regardless of these writers' inspiration, the impact of all French Canadians presenting a favorable image of the Indian, at least until the 1960's, was slight. Maximilien Bibaud's books went through only one edition and were forgotten by the beginning of the late nineteenth century. Napoléon Legendre's 1884 paper, "Les races indigènes de l'Amérique devant l'histoire" was buried in a hard-to-obtain academic journal (14). Léon Gérin wrote five articles on the Indians, but only one appeared in a French Canadian magazine. The circulation of this magazine, La Nouvelle-France, was approximately 1,000 (15).

13. In Legendre's case the fiery protest against American Indian policies, written by Helen Hunt Jackson in 1881, might have influenced him. Her A Century of Dishonor was republished in 1965 in New York by Harper Torchbooks.


15. Unable to locate the circulation figure of La Nouvelle-France for 1903, we have supplied it for 1917. See The Canadian Almanac, 1917 (p. 299).
In the mid-twentieth century Philippe Panneton's *Un Monde était leur empire* (1943) went through just one printing. The projected volumes of Léo-Paul Desrosiers on the Iroquois were never published on account of the lack of success in selling *Iroquoisie* (1947). Thomas-Edmond Giroux was forced to privately print his *Le Jour de l'Indien* (1955) since no publisher proved interested. Even the excellent articles of Léo-Paul Desrosiers and Jacques Rousseau in the *Cahiers des Dix* have had a rather restricted circulation. Since 1945 only 850 copies of the *Cahiers des Dix* have been printed annually (16).

Today, in the late 1960's, for the first time in over a century, French Canadians are more inclined to accept a positive image of the Indian in preference to a negative one. Credit for this shift is due, in part, to those men who kept the image of the good Indian alive in French Canada: Maximilien Bibaud, Napoléon Legendre, Léon Gérin, Marius Barbeau, Philippe Panneton, Léo-Paul Desrosiers, Jacques Rousseau, Thomas-Edmond Giroux, and André Vachon.

The French Canadians of the 1960's have accepted the values of the new, urban, and industrial society. Those of

16. This information is always given inside the front cover of the *Cahiers des Dix*.
the predominantly rural and static French Canada of the last half of the nineteenth century have been rejected. Few today continue to glorify agrarian virtues, and continue to claim that Catholicism is the main element of French Canadian culture. Today, the Indian is not damned for his reluctance to practice agriculture, or for his hesitancy in accepting the Catholic faith. In short, the values and basic assumptions of the historian of the 1960's differ greatly from those in vogue in the late nineteenth and first half or so of the twentieth century.

Not only the society but also history has changed in Québec. Formerly history was written by self-taught amateurs totally unaware of the need for the respect of historical texts, the necessity of exact references and full, accurate indexes. The amateurs' approach was uncritical. They for the most part went about their task seeking primary source material which would glorify French Canada's past. There were never any doubts in their interpretation of the evidence. Moreover, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century French Canadian historians, the authors of the dominant image of the Indian in French Canadian history texts, were like new-born children knowing nothing of any country beyond the region in which they lived. They had no perspective or point of comparison
by which to judge the Indians and their colonial experience.

They used the Indian to prove the transforming power of the Catholic church, the need to practice agriculture, and the necessity of avoiding alcohol. In 1964, the Chanoine Groulx was still using the Indian as a stag-prop for one of his cherished causes. When reviewing Thomas Charland's *Histoire des Abénakis d'Odanak*, he quoted Charland as to the location of Odanak, but could not resist adding three words to the exact quotation. Groulx wrote: "À Odanak\[\] Ce village se situe 'sur la rive est de la rivière Saint-Pierre, en face de Saint-François-du-Lac, dans le voisinage de Pierreville, comté d'Yamaska', Etat du Québec" (17).

Since the establishment of history departments at Laval University and the Université de Montréal immediately after the Second World War, international standards of historical scholarship have been introduced to French Canada. Historians with a scientific formation are being produced. One of the men most instrumental in the rise of scientific history in Québec, Marcel Trudel, is also the most productive historian on the Heroic Period of New France since Doctor Dionne. Strangely enough, however, in his studies the Indian disappears.

At least Dionne talked about the Indians, but with Trudel one has the impression that the Indian is a tree. The Indian in Trudel's books is present, but like the trees in the surrounding forests acts only as part of the background against which the French enact their roles.

Anthropology has contributed a great deal to our understanding of this continent's first inhabitant. Thanks to the anthropologists the historian can learn why the Indian acted as he did at certain moments in his past. With the insights of anthropologists, men who have recorded customs and beliefs from the Indian standpoint, a far more just image of the Indian could be recorded in French Canadian history books. Treating the Indian as an invisible man merely falsifies accounts of early Canadian history. As Napoléon Legendre wrote of the Indians in the Heroic Period, eighty-five years ago:

"Si nous n'avons pas su rendre justice pendant leur existence, rétablissions au moins aujourd'hui la vérité des faits pour rendre justice à leur mémoire" (18).

INDEX (1)

Agassiz, Louis
32.
Alexis, Brother, cap.
111.
Andrieux, Father
50.
Antoine, R.P.
54.
Asselin, Olivar
117, 118, 156.
Bailey, A.G.
136, 137.
Barbeau, Marius
133, 134, 161.
Barrès, Maurice
115, 117.
Beaugrand-Champagne, Aristide
137.
Bégin, cardinal Louis-Nazaire
103, 106.
Belaney, George Stanfeld
See Grey Owl
Bibaud, M. Maximilien
19, 21, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 44, 46, 56, 81, 92,
Bibaud, Michel
18, 21, 26, 27, 34, 56, 58, 59, 63, 67, 154.
Bossange, Adolphe
See D. Dainville
Boucher, Pierre
7, 118.
Bourinot Sir John George
110.

1. This index contains the names of persons mentioned in
the text.
Brasseur de Bourbourg, Abbé
   44.
Brébeuf, Jean de
   76, 87.
Bruchési, Jean
   122, 124, 159.
Buies, Arthur
   55.
Casgrain, Abbé Henri-Raymond
   19, 38, 39, 50, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 83, 84, 93, 94, 154.
Cartier, Jacques
Castelein, Father
   115.
Cazeau, Grand-Vicaire
   68.
Chamberlain, A.F.
   136.
Champlain
   2, 6, 63, 65, 68, 73, 88, 154.
Chapais, Thomas
   96.
Chapleau, Sir Adolphe
   117, 157.
Charland, Thomas
   ii, 163.
Charlevoix, Father F.X.
   12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 34, 58, 67, 69, 134, 153, 154.
Chateaubriand, François-René
   16, 18, 19, 21, 28, 31, 34, 36, 55, 56, 61, 62, 73, 74.
Chauveau, J.-P.-O.
   58.
Cooper, James Fenimore
   28.
Courchesne, Father
   116.
Couture, Guillaume
   19, 86.
Dablon, Father Claude
   7.
D'Ailleboust, Louis
   88.
Dainville, D.
   20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 31, 34, 56, 58.
D'Amours, Abbé Arthur
154.
D'Arles, Henri (pseudonym of H. Beaudé, o.p.)
26, 116, 117, 118, 156, 158.
David, L.-O.
105.
Darwin,
109, 110.
Demolins, Edmond
130.
Desrosiers, Léo-Paul
142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 161.
Dionne, Doctor N.-E.
3, 50, 51, 72, 88, 89, 93, 94, 163, 164.
Donnacona (Indian Chief)
83, 90.
Dufresne, Father N.
52.
Dumais, Joseph
154.
Durham, Lord
61.
Eccles, W.J.
14.
Fabre, Hector
84, 85.
Falardeau, Jean-Charles
132.
Farley, Father Paul-Emile
121.
Ferland, Abbé J.B.A.
14, 15, 18, 33, 43, 44, 45, 46, 58, 59, 67, 68, 69, 70,
71, 72, 73, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 96, 102, 11, 122, 126,
129, 138, 154.
François 1er
101.
Gagnon, Ernest
51, 72, 88, 94, 97.
Gagnon, Philéas
3.
Garigue, Philippe
3.
Gauthier, Henri, p.s.s.
52, 53, 106.
Garneau, Alfred
57.
Garneau, François-Xavier  
14, 18, 23, 30, 36, 37, 43, 44, 45, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 72, 80, 81, 82, 83, 96, 112, 122, 126, 129, 140, 154.

Gérin, Léon  

Gill, Charles  
117.

Giroux, Thomas-Edmond  
ii, 161.

Godbout, Archange  
122.

Gosselin, Abbé Auguste  
51, 72, 88, 89.

Grey Owl  
139, 140.

Groulx, Chanoine Lionel  

Hébert, Louis  
103.

Hennepin, Father Louis  
6.

Howay, Judge F.W.  
135.

Hunt, George  
136.

Huot, J.A.  
110.

Innis, Harold  
136.

Jenness, Diamond  
135, 136, 137.

Keiser, Albert  
152.

Labrie, Dr Jacques  
25.

Lacourcière, Jacques  
121.

Lacourcière, Luc  
ii.

Lafitau, Jesuit Father  
12, 13, 14, 19, 34, 149, 153.

Laflèche, Mgr  
117, 157.

Lafontaine, L.H.  
62.
Lalande, Father Louis
111.
Lalemant, Father
87.
Lamarche, Father Gustave
121.
Lanctôt, Gustave
58, 123, 124, 125.
Laval, Mgr François de Montmorency
64.
Laverdière, Abbé
72.
Lawrence, Sir William
32.
Leacock, Stephen
135.
Legendre, Napoléon
89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 107, 129, 131, 160, 161, 164.
Lejeune, Father Paul
7, 9, 10, 11.
Lemay, Pamphile
50.
Leplay,
130.
Lescarbot, Marc
6, 64.
Lindsay, Abbé Lionel Saint-George
43, 49, 72, 94, 103.
Malchelosse, Gérard
ii.
Malo, M.
43.
Marie de l'Incarnation, Mère
65, 80.
Marion, Séraphin
118.
Maurault, Abbé J.P.A.
39, 41, 43, 46, 47, 50, 72, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 111, 112, 154.
Maurras, Charles
117.
McIlwraith, T.F.
126, 136.
Mercier, Catherine
88.
Migneault, P.B. 96, 102.
Montmagny, 68.
Moreau, M 112.
Morgan, Lewis M. 128.
Morin, Victor 138, 139.
Morton, Dr Samuel George 32.
Myrand, Ernest 51, 72, 89, 98.
Ormeaux, Dollard des 63, 68.
Oronhyatckha, Doctor (Mohawk Indian) 139.
Painchaud, Abbé C.-F. 51.
Panneton, Philippe See Ringuet
Papineau, 20, 58.
Parkman, Francis 31, 72, 74, 135.
Pavie, M 112, 113.
Perreault, Joseph-François 23, 24, 25.
Pouliot, Léon s.j. 118, 119.
Quatrefages, M. de 113, 115.
Rabelais, 134.
Raynal, Guillaume Thomas 16, 17, 18, 27, 29, 34, 58, 59, 60.
Ringuet, 141, 142, 161.
Rioux, Marcel 42.
Rouillard, Eugène 113, 114, 115, 156.
Rousseau, Professor Jacques ii, 148, 149, 150, 151, 161.
Routhier, Judge A.B.  
54.
Roux, monsieur  
53.
Roy, Joseph-Edmond  
19, 52, 86, 87.
Royal, Joseph  
99.
Ryerson, Stanley  
120.
Sagard (Récollet) Gabriel  
7, 146.
Saint-Maurice, Faucher de  
39, 81.
Scott, Abbé H.A.  
14, 52, 97.
Smith, Goldwin  
135.
Smith, William  
24, 58.
Speck, Frank  
136.
Stanley, George  
136.
Stefansson, Vilhajalmur  
136.
Sute, Benjamin  
43, 47, 48, 49, 87, 89, 94, 96, 100, 102, 103, 130, 155.
Taché, Mgr Alexandre Antonin  
54.
Taché, J.C.  
96.
Taschereau, cardinal Elzéar  
107.
Tessier, Mgr Albert  
122, 124.
Tourville, Abbé Henri de  
130.
Trigger, Bruce, Graham  
145, 146.
Tross, Edwin  
146.
Trudel, Marcel  
123, 124, 125, 126, 145, 146, 147, 163, 164.
Turgeon, Mgr Pierre-Flavien  
44, 106.
Vachon, André
ii, 146, 147, 161.
Vassal, Stanislas
43.
Vaugeois, Denis
121.
Verrazano,
21.
Washington, Booker
110.