The Jesuits and Early Montreal

Lucien Campeau, S.J.

Translated by
William Lonc, S.J. and George Topp, S.J.

Volume 11 of the series
Early Jesuit Missions in Canada

The Jesuits and Early Montreal

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Dedication

To all those

who made this book

possible

Translator's Preface

This is a story of the relationship between the Jesuit Mission in New France and the attempt by a number of people to establish a native Reduction on Montreal Island. It is a story of spiritual heroism and generosity on the part of people like Jeanne Mance, Marguerite Bourgeoys, De Maisonneuve, La Dauversière, Pierre Chevrier, Madame de Bullion, the Hospitalers, the Sulpicians, the Montreal Society — the list goes on. It is a story of heart-breaking errors of judgement on the part of some key players, of struggling in an atmosphere of tension between the Iroquois and the French, partly due to the complex relationship between the Iroquois on the one hand, and native tribes such as Hurons and Algonquins on the other.

The translation of *Montreal: fondation missionnaire* was begun by Fr. George Topp, S.J. a number of years ago and completed by the undersigned. In general, the translation is fairly close to the original French, with due regard for producing an easily readable English version. Occasionally, a word or two were added, usually in the form of footnotes, to clarify a passage -- these additions are always put inside curly brackets { }. Any errors in the English version resulting from the translator' s efforts to make the story more accessible to the general reader are entirely the responsibility of the final translator and publisher, WL.

The spelling of names follows the original volumes, even for most places-names, such as Trois-Rivières rather than Three Rivers. Personal names keep the same spelling as found in Campeau' s texts. There is some variability in these names; rather than attempt any harmonization of spelling, we simply repeat the spelling as found in the French texts. Names of tribes, however, are usually expressed by their English equivalent, except that North American English usage seems to favor Algonquin rather than Algonkin.

A special remark is needed regarding the translation of some words such as *sauvage, paien, civilisation, etc.* A simple rendition by *savage, pagan,* and *civilization* brings along a connotation in English that does not necessarily appear in the French. The word *sauvage,* as used in the Seventeenth Century, will be uniformly rendered by *native* or *person.* The word is based on the Latin *sylva* and denotes *forest-dweller* with no manifestly pejorative connotation. Although the translation could have used *forest-dweller* to generally translate *sauvage,* English usage today is such that *native* or *person* appear to be sufficiently accurate renditions. In any event, *bluets sauvages* is not translated as *savage blueberries*!

The same kind of thing could be said about the word *barbare,* -- ostensibly a synonym for *sauvage* -- if we recall that *Barbaros,* for the Greeks, denoted a non-Greek -- a stranger -- and perhaps potentially a hostile.

To solve the matter within the purview of our translation, "problem" English words are italicized and the reader is invited to make whatever adjustments appear appropriate. Dates are in the context of the Gregorian calendar unless otherwise indicated.

Since a good part of the story pertains to funding, we recall that in those days a tradesman was paid about 100 *Livres* ***(L)*** a year; a surgeon about 200. Thus, in 2002, assuming that a typical medical doctor is paid about $100,000 US before taxes, then — as a very rough estimate — 1 ***L*** in the middle of the Seventeenth century would be equivalent to about $500 US in 2002.

Some names, such as Jeanne Mance, La Dauversière, Dollier de Casson, Faillon, De Maisonneuve, Montreal Society, etc., appear on almost every page, so that short of compiling an analytical Index --beyond the purview of this translation -- those names do not appear in our basic Index of personal names.

Acknowledgments: Many thanks to Huguette B.-Fortin, editor of *Vivre en Eglise,* Montreal, for permission to publish this English translation. Also, to Frs. William Addley, S.J., former Provincial of the Upper Canada Jesuits, and Jacques Monet, S.J. Director of the Institute of Jesuit Studies, Toronto, for providing secretarial help to Fr. Topp in the early stages of the project. Finally, to Mr. Steve Catlin for proof-reading the penultimate version of this book. Last but not least, the Jesuits of Halifax for continued support.

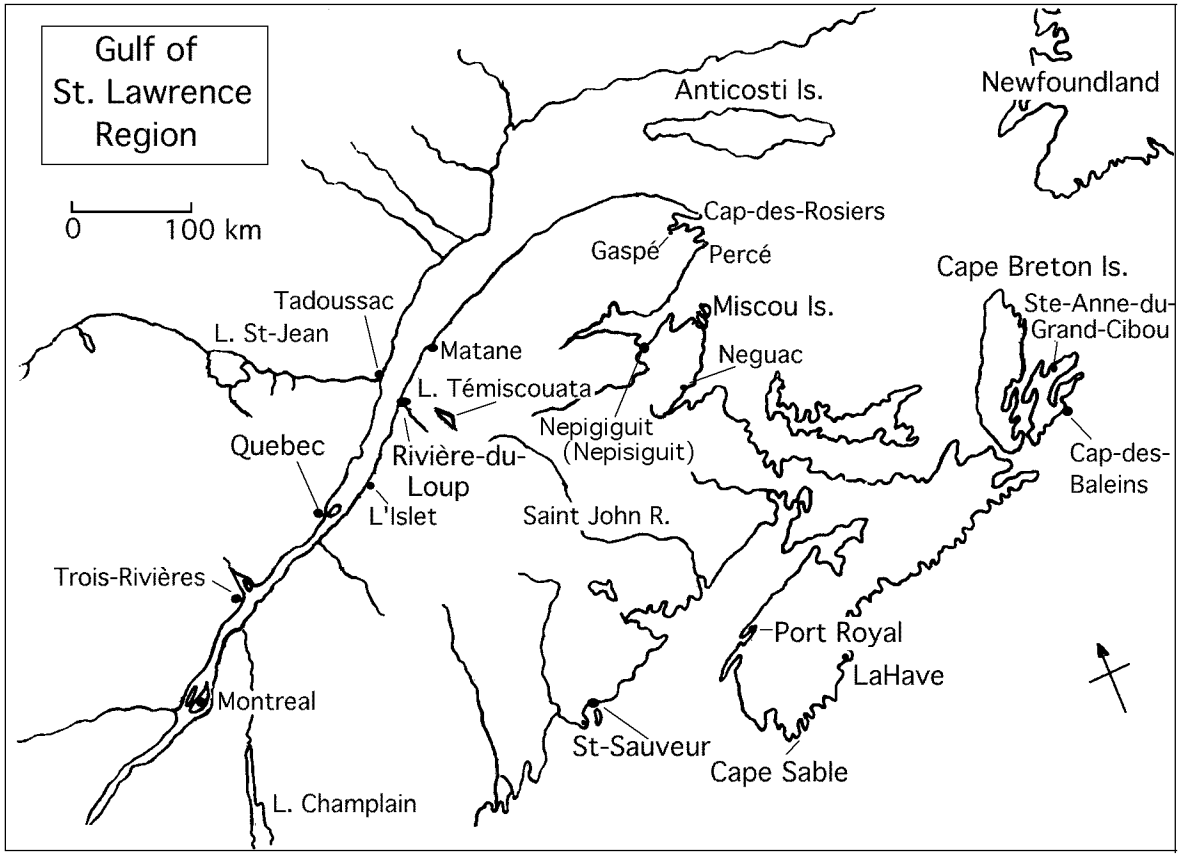
William Lonc, S.J., Professor Emeritus in Physics

Saint Mary's University

Halifax, Canada

December, 2002

Note to third printing. The book has been reformatted, but the text remains the same. March, 2005.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St. Lawrence
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Miscou Is.
Ste-Anne-du-
Grand-Cibou
Matane
Neguac
L. Témiscouata
Nepigiguit
(Nepisiguit)
Quebec
Rivière-du-
Loup
Cap-des-
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Trois-Rivières
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LaHave
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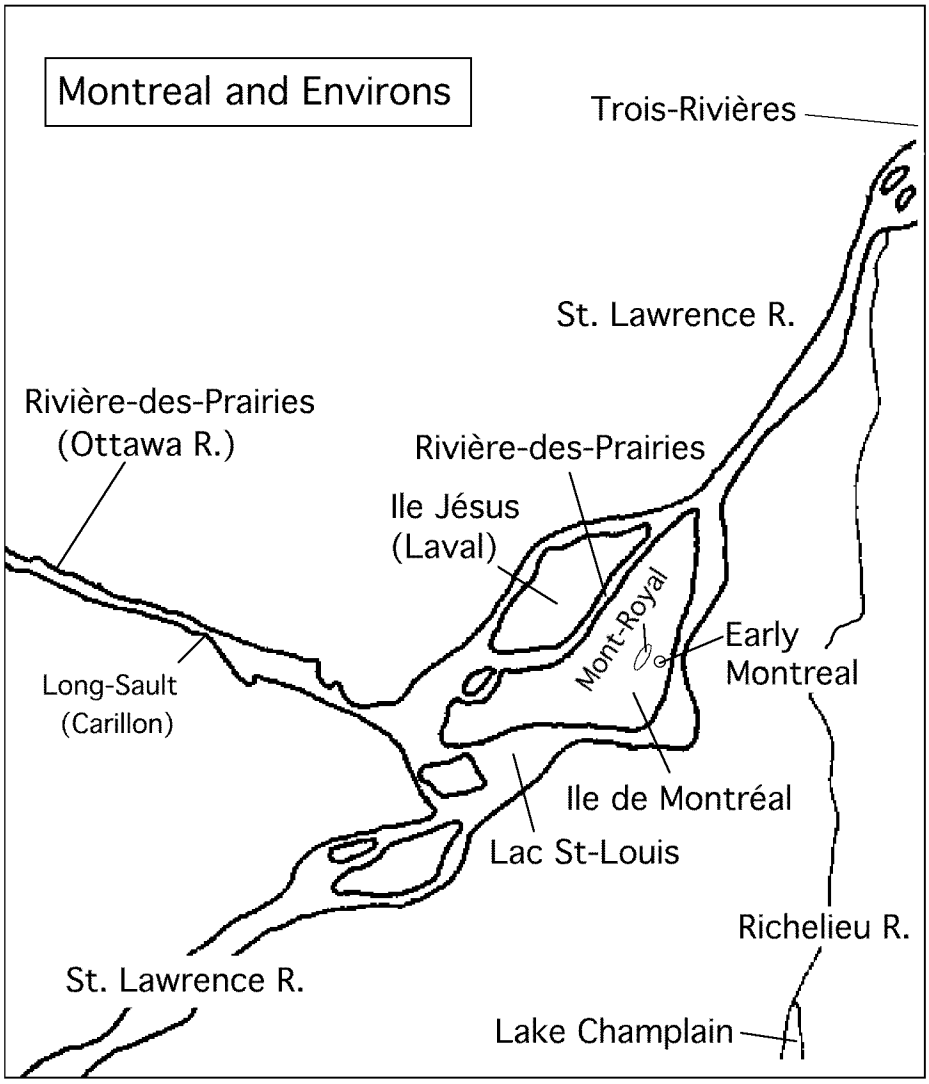
Cape Sable
L. Champlain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St. Lawrence R.
Rivière-des-Prairies
(Ottawa R.)
Rivière-des-Prairies
Ile Jésus
(Laval)
Mont-Royal
Early
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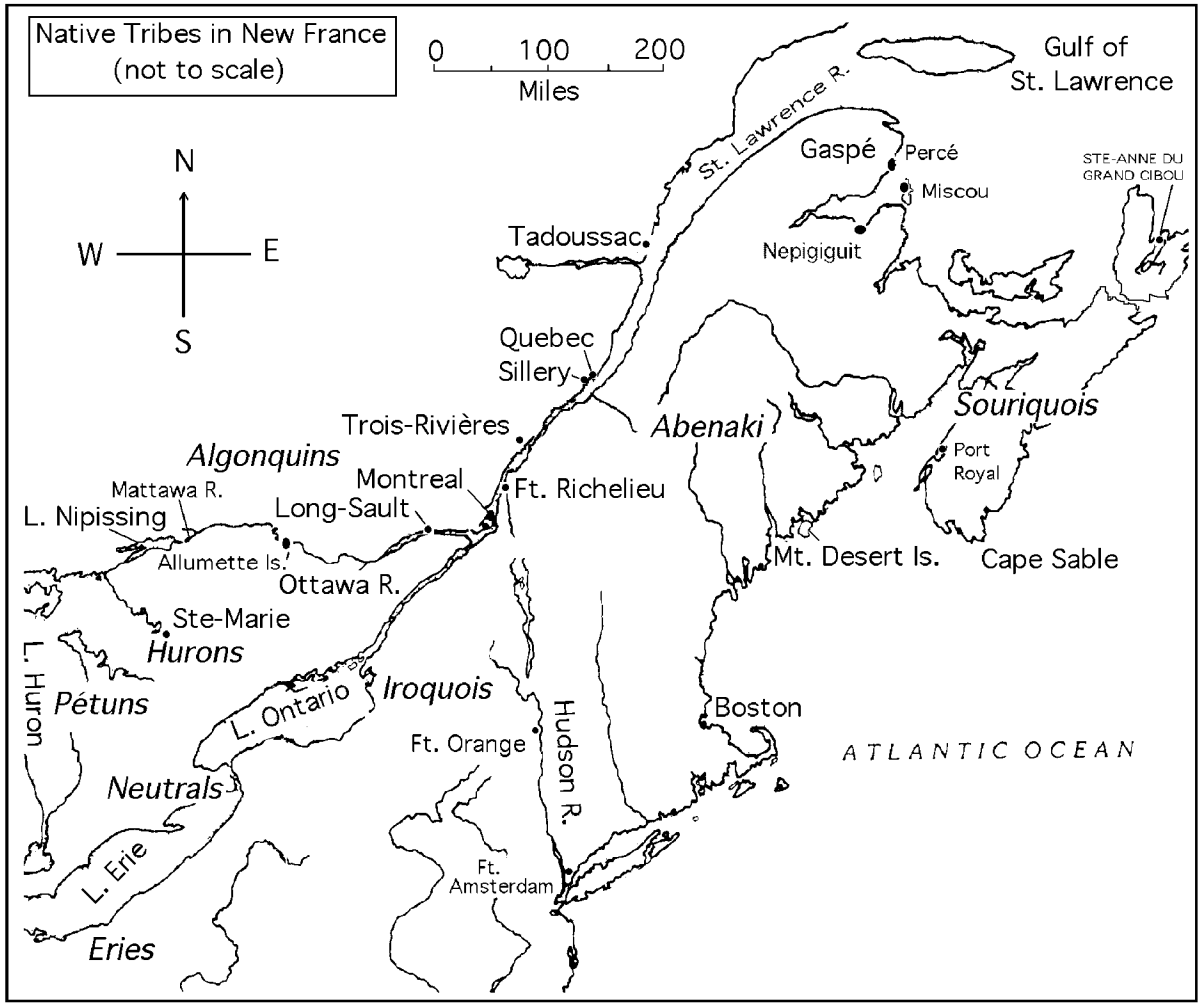
Long-Sault
(Carillon)
Ile de Montréal
Lac St-Louis
Richelieu R.
St. Lawrence R.
Lake Champlain


Native Tribes in New France
(not to scale)
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Gulf of
St. Lawrence
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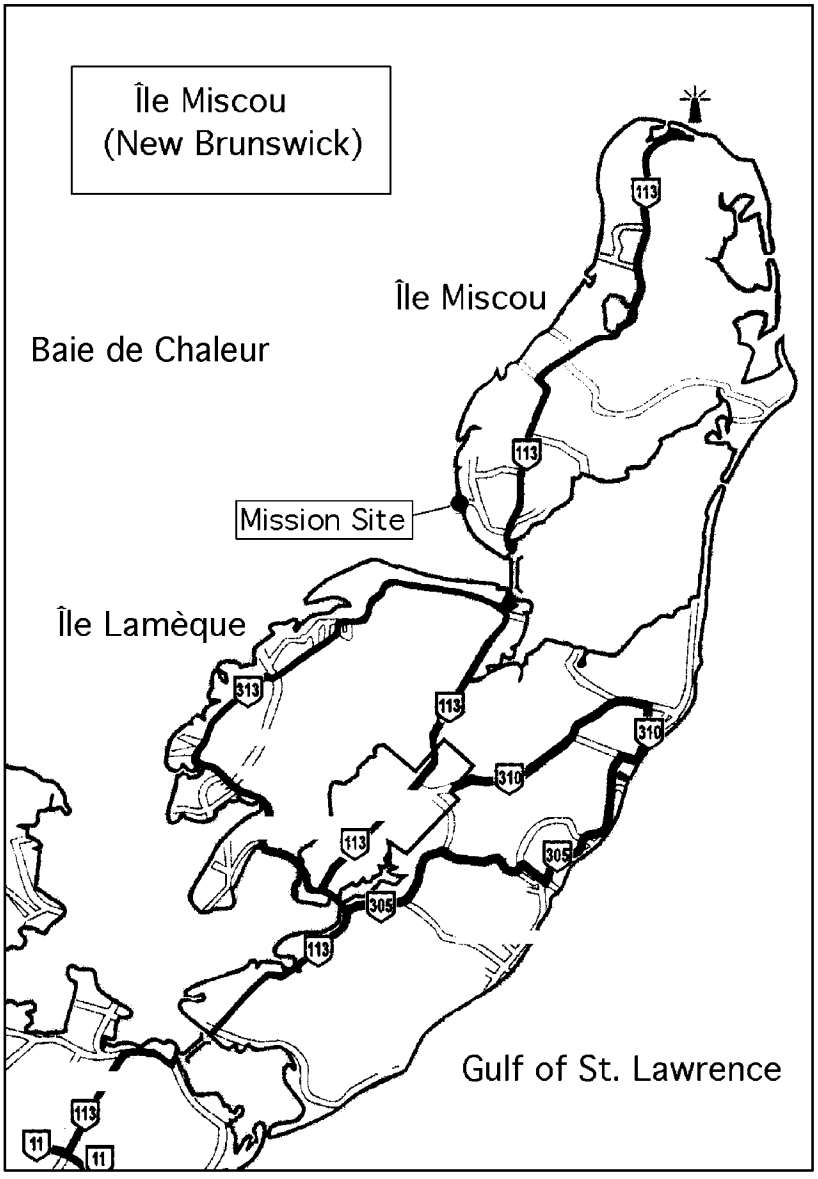
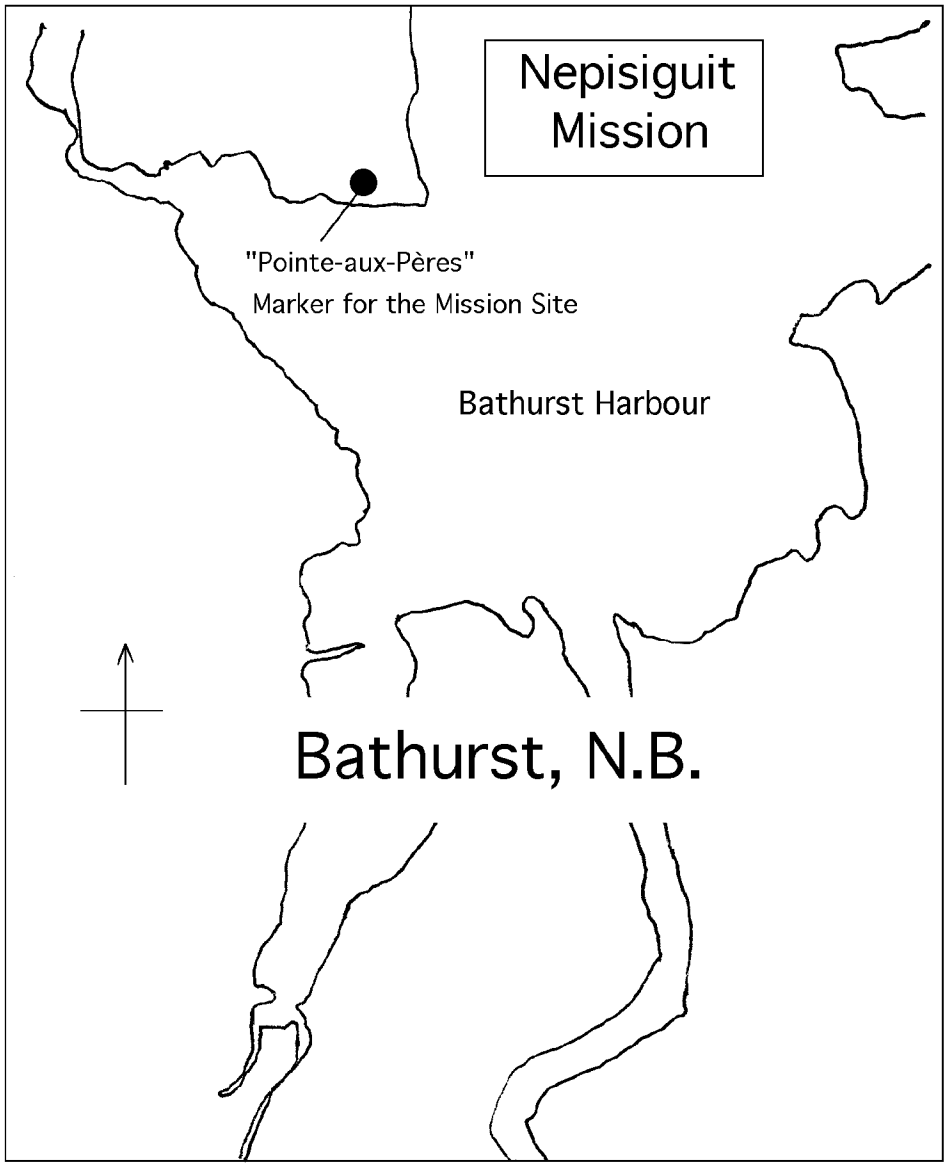
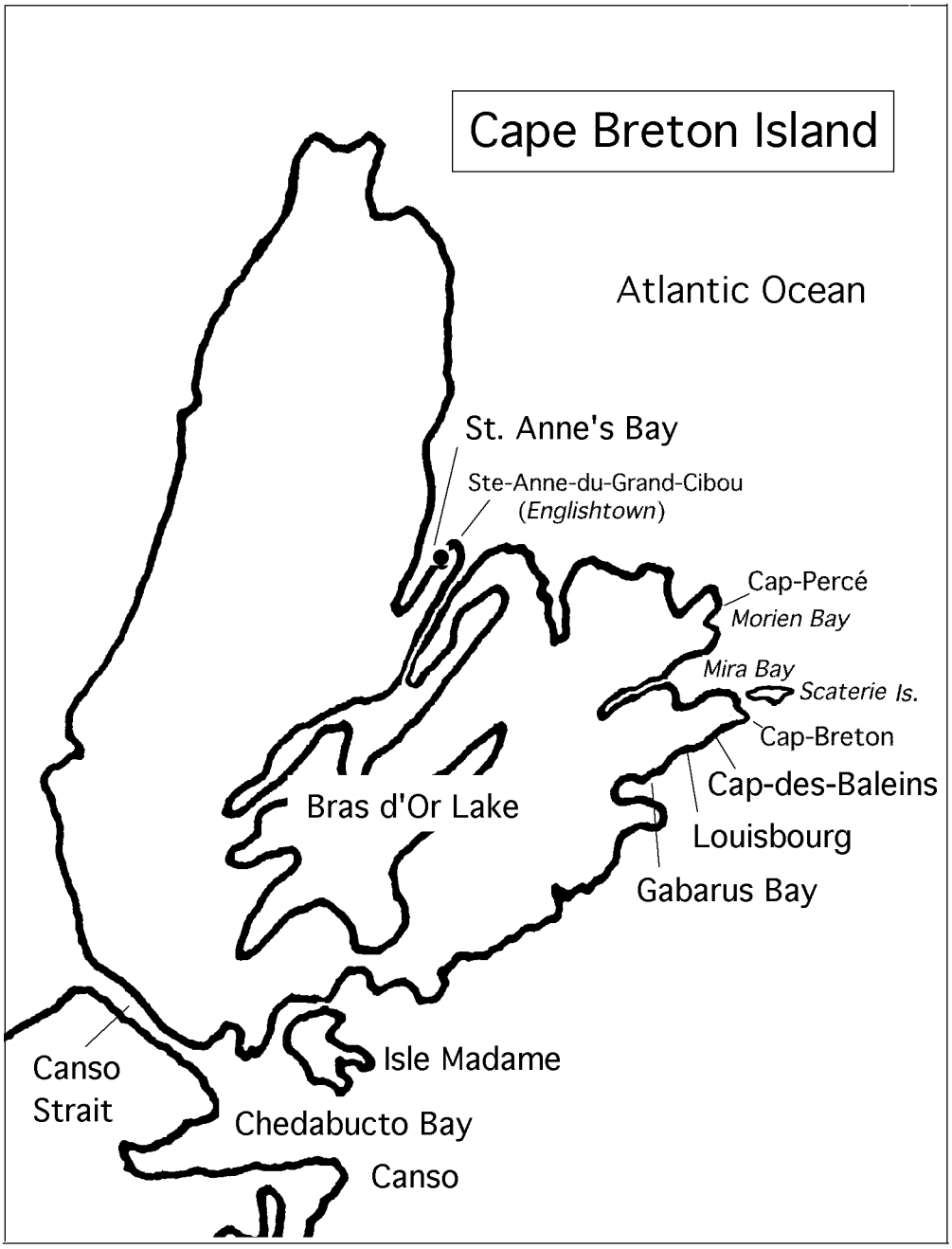
STE-ANNE DU
GRAND CIBOU
Nepigiguit
Tadoussac
Quebec
Sillery
Souriquois
Abenaki
Trois-Rivières
Algonquins
Port
Royal
Montreal
Ft. Richelieu
Mattawa R.
L. Nipissing
Long-Sault
Allumette Is.
Ottawa R.
Mt. Desert Is.
Cape Sable
Ste-Marie
Hurons
L. Huron
Pétuns
L. Ontario
Iroquois
Boston
Ft. Orange
Hudson R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Neutrals
L. Erie
Ft.
Amsterdam
Eries


Île Miscou
(New Brunswick)
Île Miscou
Baie de Chaleur
Mission Site
Île Lamèque
Gulf of St. Lawrence
113
313
310
305
11


Nepisiguit
Mission
"Pointe-aux-Pères"
Marker for the Mission Site
Bathurst Harbour
Bathurst, N.B.


Cape Breton Island
Atlantic Ocean
St. Anne's Bay
Ste-Anne-du-Grand-Cibou
(Englishtown)
Cap-Percé
Morien Bay
Mira Bay
Scaterie Is.
Cap-Breton
Cap-des-Baleins
Louisbourg
Gabarus Bay
Bras d'Or Lake
Isle Madame
Canso
Strait
Chedabucto Bay
Canso

INTRODUCTION
The Beginning

Montreal, known by the French as Ville-Marie at the beginning of our story, was born of the dynamic fervor that inspired the people of France after the other Catholic nations of Europe, in a movement of religious reform under King Henry IV and King Louis XIII. The Edict of Nantes, in April 1598, was essentially a Catholic "charter of restoration" resulting from the civil war and subsequent conversion of Henry IV to Catholicism. This religion, which had been traditional in France, was reaffirmed with renewed vigor and found itself in a climate that enabled it to develop throughout the kingdom without hindrance.

The tolerance granted to the Huguenots -- a unique example of European religious rights of that era -- was a political concession to the power still held by these dissidents although that power was already in a decline. The Catholics were not at all happy with the edict. However, religious peace would have been impossible without the guarantees accorded to the Huguenots, but these guarantees were becoming a prison for them. The tolerance was enshrined in an officially Catholic legislation and limited to privileges already gained by the so called "reformed religion". A law by way of exception, rather than by way of the natural law of the kingdom, it would be interpreted rigorously in accordance with the letter of the edict, without going beyond it.

The initiative for future development now rested with the Catholics. The religious future of France henceforth depended on the vitality of national Catholic feelings. The intense desire for reform which was already inspiring French Catholicism would assure the full implementation of the decree. As long as the generally favorable attitude of Europe towards religion remained what it was, it was inevitable that the steady growth of French Catholicism would one day seem to have rendered useless and unintelligible the concession made by Henry IV to the Calvinists in the agreement of 1598. Legal toleration, not the Act of Catholic restoration, would be revoked in 1685. France would then become once more just as exclusively Catholic on the juridical level, as England was -- and would still be -- exclusively Protestant on the same level up to 1829.

Henry Brémond has outlined and abundantly illustrated the history of this religious renewal that took place among the Catholics of France at that time[1]: the revival of piety among the faithful, especially under the direction of Francis de Sales, the reform of older monasteries of women and men, the foundation of

[1] Brémond, *Histoire littéraire* ….

Orders and Congregations stressing contemplation or various educational and social objectives, the movements for the reform of the secular clergy, improvement in the choice of prelates and in popular preaching, emergence of asceticism and mysticism at every level of society, among the laity as well as among religious and clerics, and enthusiastic interest among the same people -- and no less at the Court -- for spiritual reading, works of piety, and in apostolic and charitable projects.

Zeal for the foreign missions was only one aspect of this vitality. France, prior to 1600, had not as yet carved out any field of missionary endeavor for itself. New France at this period seemed to suit its destined portion. It was to this land that the mother country directed its efforts for the first time, as early as 1604[*], even though the Constantinople mission was also asking for its help in 1609. Up to 1653, North America would have the highest priority in its missionary aspirations.

We must note that apostolic zeal at that time was not a fire that burned only in the hearts of the Catholic hierarchy. Apostolic initiatives were undertaken at all levels of society: lay, clerical, and religious. The evangelization of New France would not be an enterprise undertaken by the French clergy alone, but rather by the Church of France and all its members. It is well for us to emphasize the fact that the apostolate in non-Christian lands, where the Church did not as yet have any regular organization, was traditionally a function reserved to the exempt[*] religious Orders who possessed the pontifical powers needed in such a situation. Thus, the Recollets and the Jesuits were the first to be called to this work. Their efforts had such an impact in France that fervent and active Catholics were inspired with a desire to emulate and share the task with them. The Montreal Society was born of this virtuous passion.

This kind of association – the Montreal Society -- did have some predecessors. For example, the first organization created for the evangelization of our continent was the Company of New France, also known as the Hundred Associates begun by Cardinal Richelieu in May 1628, and composed of one hundred members. Consisting of a few ecclesiastics and religious military men, a majority of nobles of the "robe and sword", about one third middle-class men, merchants and overseas out-fitters or ship-captains, the Company espoused the plan drawn up in Quebec by the missionaries.

As early as 1616, the Recollets had recognized the need of establishing a French and Catholic colony in New France as a nucleus of integration with the native and nomadic people whom they wanted to *civilize* and christianize.

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[*] Perhaps alluding to the Acadia project. See our *Première Mission d'Acadie.*

[*] In the sense of not being fully under the jurisdiction of the local Bishop.

In 1625, the Jesuits borrowed this strategy from the Recollets, and one of them, Fr. Philibert Noyrot, convinced Richelieu to adopt it in 1627. A shareholding company along seigniorial lines, endowed with an initial capital of 300,000 *L* and in possession of a commercial monopoly expected to sustain it, the Company of New France assumed that part of the program that fell within the competence of a lay society; that is to say, colonization aimed at promoting the conversion of the native peoples. The religious organizations kept for themselves the specific task of evangelization.

Thus, the Company would undertake overseas expeditions, handle all the commercial activity, and create and support the framework of the new society: appointments and wages of public employees, construction of public buildings, defense, navigation on the St. Lawrence River, and the establishment of administrative institutions.

Within this framework, the public -- seigneurs and rent-payers -- would bear the cost of their own establishments, but be supported and helped at times by the Company. Even if public worship was, at least for a while, an economic burden on the company because it was a public activity, the evangelization of the natives, a strictly apostolic activity, remained the special burden of the ecclesiastical institutions: Jesuits, Hospitalers, and Ursulines, for whom the Company created very favorable conditions. That is how the Hundred Associates -- the Company of New France -- supported the missionary project.

This differentiation in responsibilities was not, however, as clearly marked in the Montreal Society*, a vassal of the Company of New France, even though the general intention of converting the natives was shared by both organizations. In Montreal, the Montreal Society had evangelization as its immediate aim. But the apostolic strategy was identical in both cases which the Jesuits developed and described in their first *Relations*: to create native Christian Reductions* close to French establishments, which would act as a support for the natives. A Reduction of this kind, quite different from the Spanish communities from which it borrowed its name, was a native village built around a French Jesuit mission capable of protecting and of *civilizing* the native inhabitants.

Another association that had the greatest influence on the Montreal Society was the Blessed Sacrament Society. The latter actually gave birth to the former. Most of the members of the first group also belonged to the second, such as Jérôme Le Royer de La Dauversière himself. The Blessed Sacrament Society was a

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* Short form for Société de Notre-Dame-de-Montréal.

* The word denotes a re-gathering of a people.

Catholic Action society, founded in 1630 by Henri de Lévis, Duc de Ventadour, who had acquired the vice regal office of New France in 1625 to bring the Jesuits back to this country after they had been earlier banished from Acadia[*].

The Blessed Sacrament Society was a private association; that is to say, it had no official status defined by Letters Patent, and consequently its existence was not legally recognized by the parliaments. This absence of legally formal recognition was deliberate, even though the Society was known to Richelieu and Louis XIII and approved by them. Hence, the Society did not exercise any activity as a collective and public entity nor did it have any capital shares, except for a common purse to which each member made voluntary contributions. In sum, it gathered together a number of people of rank and means from all over France and undertook to set up works of charity or Catholic action, to give a Catholic spirit to already existing institutions, and to obtain from public authorities the measures deemed to be most suitable to a Christian society.

The Society had its head office in Paris, with branch offices in the principal cities of the kingdom. Each branch enjoyed autonomy in its activity, but maintained a frequent correspondence with Paris, which continued to supervise the activity of its branches. In its meetings it examined needs, projects and the effectiveness of existing works and stated its opinion. But it did not, we repeat, exercise any work as a legal entity. All implementation or realization was left to individual members who voluntarily assumed the expenses.

The Society has been called a secret society; on the contrary, it was discrete, like any private association not wishing to exercise political power. It was always extremely respectful towards the King's authority and submitted to the laws. A mere frown from Mazarin[*], who was so jealous of his influence, was sufficient for it to disband of its own accord in 1660. Its activity had only the notoriety that the individual members gave to their works. It is incorrect to look upon it as a center of intrigues and suspicious influences.[2]

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[*] See Campeau's first volume in the *Monumenta Novae Franciae* series for a history of the Jesuit mission in early Acadia, available in English, as cited in the Other Books in this Series at the end of the book in hand.

[*] Presumed to be Cardinal Mazarin.

[2] Two books concerning the history of the Blessed Sacrament Society were written with a very different spirit. The first is by Dom Henri Beauchet-Filleau, *Annales de la Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement.* The second is by Raoul Allier, *La Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement de l'Autel à Maresille, Documents,* an

The Montreal Society[*] may be considered as an offshoot of the Blessed Sacrament Society, issuing as a project of one of the members of the Montreal Society and assisted by many other people who were exercising important functions in France. It has some traits similar to those of the Blessed Sacrament Society. It did not have capital shares, leaving it up to the generosity of individual associates to defray the expenses of its operation. It did not have any royal commissions that were required for its existence to be publicly recognized. It resembled the Blessed Sacrament Society through the unselfishness of its members who invested in an annuity in the enterprises of the Montreal Society, and renounced all repayment, all interest and all profit, even the very ownership of their contributions, and they went so far as to remove these sums from the entitlements for their heirs.

Furthermore, the members of the Montreal Society acted with firm resolve to disband when the work which they had undertaken was accomplished, abandoning all the rights acquired in the course of the project's realization. It would be difficult to imagine a more complete selflessness.

However, the legally informal character of their association was going to become a serious disadvantage in an organization possessing a patrimony and properties, and becoming public – willy nilly -- by being involved in the establishment of a French colony -- because that is where historical evolution led it.

Such are the principal historical and social conditions that influenced the birth of Montreal. The chapters which we will add successively to this general introduction will help us to see, with the critical attitude it deserves, the unfolding of events and their vicissitudes.

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interpretation that over-emphasizes the role of the laity, is secularistic, and fails to do justice to the religious motivation of the associates.

[*] La Société de Notre-Dame-de-Montréal.

Chapter 1
The Historical Sources

As the historian approaches the history of Montreal's beginning, so clearly religious, there is the problem of "pruning" the available material. The history lies buried in the abundance and the jumble of pious legends that have grown up around this event. People argue about the authenticity of supernatural visions and marvelous deeds presented in belated testimonies, at unlikely dates, and in circumstances that are both divergent and contradictory. The pious outlook of seventeenth century France had an extraordinary craving for this kind of thing and provided the environment in which legends proliferated and produced abundant fruit in circumstances that were held to be providential. According to the accepted hagiography of the time, sanctity was conceived as accompanied by these amazing and miraculous phenomena.

During the reign of Louis XIII, moreover, piety was fashionable. It was held in esteem if it was adorned with spangles and fanciful trappings which were thought to be jewels of heavenly origin. We have not the least doubt that beneath all this there were many outstanding spiritual realities. But all this scintillation and theatrical luster and this glitter -- more characteristic of carnivals and circuses -- was certainly not the healthiest part of the piety of that age. The first duty of the historian is to get rid of all this debris because it hides the substance of events that in themselves were truly admirable.

The sources of the early history of Montreal belong, for the most part, to two traditions that were fostered and preserved by two religious communities: the Sulpicians and the Montreal Hospitalers of Saint-Joseph. Each, without positively excluding the other, tends to emphasize its own Founder and to concentrate its floodlights on him or her. We know very well that a tradition is established not only on a historical foundation but on interpretations and mental constructions that tend to conceal, or to distort, the "objective" truth of the testimonies. We need to overcome partiality, to reach the equilibrium of history.

In the history of Ville-Marie, everything seems to begin with visions: those of Rev. Olier[*] and La Dauversière. We would have no quarrel with visions if they were historically well certified. However, no one can give an authentic report of a vision except the person who has experienced it, but only on condition that he or

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[*] In French, the Sulpicians are usually addressed as *Messieurs*; we think that Mister would be a misleading translation for the modern English-speaking reader. Hence, we use Reverend.

she provides, at the same time, solid guarantees of his or her moral and psychological credibility. Was the "vision" misunderstood? Was it an interpretation? An invention?

The vision becomes all the more questionable when the testimonies are separated in time from the event itself, which is usually the case. We also need to realize that a vision is a psychological phenomenon subject to all the complications of psychical order which have not yet been clarified. Under these conditions, it is very difficult to maintain that a vision is a historical fact, that is to say, as having a verifiable relation to the sequence of events and a true influence on them.

The same can be said about miraculous encounters and other amazing facts, completely enveloped, moreover, in a narrow, interventionist and discredited conception of Divine Providence. Even if the sacral cannot -- in our opinion -- be exorcised from history, the latter is still a reconstitution of the natural order of events. Religion is a fact of the historical order, and the most important fact, in our opinion.

Far from hindering or creating confusion in history, religion enters into history's very constitution. But if history cannot exclude the Act of religion from its consideration, it still retains its own legitimate rules, which are of a different order than those of theology[*], and which owes nothing to the latter, except on the higher level of a global wisdom on which theology is no less dependent than history.

The La Flèche tradition is the one which traces the origin of Montreal to its earliest beginnings. It is represented by two documents. One of them is the *Histoire de l'institution de la Congrégation des Religeuses hospitalières de saint Joseph*, by Mother Péret.[1] This document goes back to 1740.

The other is *Le Petit Mémoire* or *Ecrit autographe* by La Dauversière's grandson, collated in 1715.[2] This latter gives an account of a vision dated February 2, 1630 in which Jérôme La Dauversière is said to have received his inspiration to establish a Hospitalers Institute at La Flèche; he is supposed to have had dictated to him word for word the first chapter of its Constitutions. The *Histoire* states that in

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[*] Religion and Theology appear to be synonymous here.

[1] We shall often refer to the excellent biographical and bibliographic study by Marie-Claire Daveluy, *La Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal*..., and also to the rich documentation gathered together by (Soeur Marie Mondoux), *l'Hôtel-Dieu, premier hôpital de Montréal, d'après les annales manuscrites.*.. The *Annals,* in manuscript, by Mother Péret, are contained in this second work, pp. 313-314.

[2] Daveluy, *La Société de Notre-Dame-de-Montréal*… p. 98.

the course of a similar ecstasy – apparently in 1631 -- the same person received instructions to establish a Congregation of Hospitalers and to establish the Hôtel-Dieu at Montreal in New France.

The belated appearance of these two documents, along with the implausibility of the contents and assigned dates, dispense us from prolonging a discussion about them, especially because Pierre Chevrier de Fancamp, a contemporary and friend of La Dauversière, has him setting out on his spiritual journey in 1632 at the earliest.[3] There is no reason to take any serious account of these visions. And still less for Montreal than for La Flèche because the Montreal project did not become conceivable -- without divine intervention -- until after the foundation of Sillery[*], envisaged in 1637 and implemented in 1638, since the former was modeled on the latter.

One other episode takes on a certain amount of importance at this point, because a great fuss has been made of it. We refer to the first meeting between Olier and La Dauversière. On this occasion, the La Flèche tradition and that of the Sulpicians coincide in some ways, but they are still quite different. The latter tradition is represented by the Sulpician, François Dollier de Casson, in 1672.[4] He situates the interview in Pierre Séguier's residence in Paris at the beginning of La Dauversière's legal proceedings to obtain possession of Montreal Island; that is to say, in 1640.

The La Flèche tradition, represented by the documents we have already mentioned, puts the meeting at Meudon, at the home of the same chancellor. La Dauversière's grandson gives the precise date of 1635 and makes the business of Montreal the subject under discussion. The contradictions would tend to dismiss this incident were it not for a testimony that goes back to Olier himself, one of the protagonists. It is not a firsthand account, but one that was compiled by Louis Tronson after the death of the two men, based on Olier's notes assembled by De Bretonvilliers. Here is what remains of the account:

"We can still [*] add here what happened to him with another person of well recognized piety. About 18 or 20 years ago, both these men were at the Chateau de Meudon to visit Fr. Bernier, and were waiting in the vestibule. Suddenly, through some interior impulse, they threw their arms around each other, even though they did not know each other, and embraced with such tenderness and such great

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[3] Ghislaine Legendre, *Histoire simple et véritable*, p. 108.

[*] In the S-W part of today's Quebec City.

[4] François Dollier de Casson, *Histoire du Montréal.*

[*] The French has: *corr. de présentement* in parentheses.

cordiality that they seemed to be of one and the same heart, expressing a certain passage from the Scriptures which had been put on their tongues. Subsequently, Olier celebrated Mass at which he gave Communion to his new-found friend. After their thanksgiving,* they went into the park where they remained for three full hours discussing with each other the question of the next life, the Spirit of God, the zeal that filled them. This close relationship was so strong and enduring that it endured until death. The same thing happened to another servant of God who is still alive".[5]

According to this document, the date of this meeting could not have been prior to 1640-1642, and since La Dauversière died on November 6, 1659, the copy must have been made about 1660. The man with whom Olier conversed has always been identified as a citizen of La Flèche, even though he is not named. Nothing in the text contradicts this idea. Moreover the word *Monsieur*, which was a correction in the text, and the fact that he received Communion indicate that he was a layman. It is certain that Olier was a very close friend of La Dauversière, a layman. This testimony provides us with some useful information on the historical level.

The meeting took place at the Chateau de Meudon, and it could only be the chateau of the Lorraine-Guise, the principal edifice in that city. Fr. Claude Bernier, Jesuit, was well known, and at that time he was considered a very competent spiritual director. He was the confessor for Catherine-Henriette de Bourbon, natural daughter of Henry IV and the wife of Charles II of Lorraine, Duc d'Elboeuf. The penitent kept him in her Château de Meudon, despite his Jesuit Superiors, from 1633 to 1637. This was the last year in which the meeting could have taken place. Since this was the occasion on which the friendship between Olier and La Dauversière was born, some writers explain that Rev. Olier is speaking about La Dauversière and his Jesuit confessor, Fr. François Chauveau, in a letter at the beginning of 1639.

So much for the historical reconstruction allowed by the text. But, this does not necessarily mean that the two men talked about Montreal. It is even less likely that there could have been any question about the 100 *louis** which Olier, according to Dollier, is supposed to have been the first to provide at that time for the realization of that project.

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* The custom of saying some prayers of thanksgiving after the Mass.

5 The last person mentioned is perhaps M. de Fancamp. In the *Mémoires autographes de M. Olier*, see Daveluy, *La Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal.…*, 110.

* 24 *L.*

Therefore, there could not have been any discussion of Montreal between the two men in 1637 because Olier did not even hear about the project until several years later, according to his own statement. In the matter of a bishopric being offered to him, he wrote in his spiritual notes:

"I thereby understood that I had to be ready to give an answer to this prelate, who approached me through one of my superiors; for Our Lord had made me think about it. Afterwards, I heard these words: *You must be a light of revelation to the Gentiles*, words that I did not understand at all because I said that this diocese was already in the midst of Christians. I did not even know why these words were sung so frequently that day in the Church. It was only several years later that I understood the phrase. After learning about the good deeds being done in Canada by some kind people, I had felt bound by a somewhat miraculous bond to the man in whom Our Lord had inspired this movement, and to whom he had entrusted the project and the enterprise of Ville Marie, the city that was to be built in Canada on the island of Montreal. I have always felt a desire to complete my life in that region, with a continual desire to die there for my Master. May He grant me this grace, if He is pleased to do so. I shall continue to ask for this grace every day of my life. Blessed be God forever".[6]

What was this Episcopal See, whose incumbent was offering it to Olier to be his successor, a title which was linked to the passage from Simeon's Canticle recalled on the Feast of Candelmas, February 2, and which led him to speak about Canada? It could only be Rouen, the only diocese that extended as far as New France. François de Harlay, in fact, had ruled that See as Coadjutor from 1613 and as Archbishop from 1615, and he was looking for a successor. He found one in the person of his 25 year old nephew, also named François de Harlay, in 1651.

The suggestion made to Olier could have taken place between 1645-1650. At this time it was not public knowledge that Rouen had jurisdiction in New France and it was not publicly announced until August 15, 1653. It was several years later that Olier gave some meaning -- of interest to himself -- to the words *lumen ad revelationem gentium*.[*]

We know that in 1653 he offered himself to Jesuit Fr. de Rhodes to go as a missionary to Indochina. From 1649 up to that time, Olier had been the director of the Montreal Society, and had been working in close collaboration with La Dauversière. It was in 1654, on February 2[*], very likely on orders from the

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[6] *Mémoires de M. Olier*,… **1** 17.

[*] Light of revelation for the people .

[*] Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin.

Montreal Society, that this feast-day began to be celebrated as the patronal feast-day of Montreal. *Lumen ad revelationen gentium* was also the motto he gave to his priests being sent to New France in 1657. He assigned to them "ministry to the native people" as their primary apostolate. Similarly it was in 1654 that the design for the city of Montreal was determined and began to be implemented. Prior to that date a seigneurie had been started in 1648 when the project of establishing a Reduction there had failed. But 1654 was the year of urban organization: "the city that is going to be built on the island of Montreal".

This gives us to understand that Olier did not play any early role in the establishment of Montreal as some people have claimed for him. The generosity of the Sulpicians certainly conferred inestimable merit on themselves from 1650 on, but the silence of their Founder is all the more amazing in the first few years. There is no need to be surprised at this. In 1640 and 1641, while preaching in the diocese of Chartres, the future Founder of the Sulpicians was afflicted with a serious and depressing illness. He recovered in 1641 and immediately started a seminary for priests, suggested to him by Fr. Charles de Condren.

At the end of 1641, he began this work on rue Vaugirard to bring it closer to the church of Saint-Sulpice when he became its pastor the following summer. This means that he was very sick or very busy at the time when La Dauversière and Chevrier were launching their project. He did not yet enjoy the prestige which he would later gain from rebuilding his parish. In fact, those two men with whom Olier was to be later associated in such close friendship, are the only ones whose names appear in the records of that period in Montreal. La Dauversière and Chevrier were legally the sole owners of the Canadian island up until 1649; there was no mention of Olier's name.

The *Véritables Motifs*, written in the autumn of 1643, clearly states that La Dauversière was the king-pin in the Montreal enterprise until the foundation of the Société de Notre-Dame-de-Montréal -- the Montreal Society -- in Paris, February 27, 1642. The thesis proposed in the *Motifs* is not that the clerics along with the religious, but rather that the "laity ... can be called in their rank ... to spread the name (of Jesus) and the knowledge of the merits of His blood among the non-Christian nations".[7] The claim made by Olier's priests, when they were eventually invited there, was that the secular priests had a mission vocation identical with that of religious priests.

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[7] Marie-Claire Daveluy's edition, in *La Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal…*, p. 19 of the original.

The significance of this contention did not yet appear at the time the *Véritables Motifs* was being written. The first fellow worker whom the same pamphlet adds to the name of the Founder is that of Chevrier "for whom he is thankful to God, who provided him at this time with a companion through the same paths of His graces, to help him shoulder his burden, for he could not even begin it alone".[8] The second was Maisonneuve, and then Jeanne Mance, both of whom were enlisted in 1641.

It is true that they produced a document presented to the Hundred Associates as a request to obtain the necessary concession of Montreal Island and outlining in a summary fashion the plans of the Montreal Society that would own it. If the document was as they said, it would have had to be composed before December 17, 1640. Faillon published it in its essential form.[9] We give a resume of its principal dispositions, drawn up by the same author:

> "... the founders of Montreal intend to set up three communities at Ville-Marie: one composed of lay ecclesiastics, another composed of Sisters devoted to instructing the young, and the third composed of Hospitalers for the care of the sick."

Thus, before December 17, 1640, someone had foreseen the establishment at Montreal of a seminary for priests which -- in fact -- did not exist in Paris at this time, an institute of teachers 13 years before the arrival of Marguerite Bourgeois, and 19 years before that of her companions, and finally a Hôtel-Dieu to which Madame de Bullion had not yet given any thought!

If this document were authentic, it would indeed indicate the participation of Olier at this early stage, but it is too obviously apocryphal because it could not have been conceived in the stated terms until 1660. The document is plausibly a request made in 1664 at the royal chancellery to obtain Letters Patent that were as yet non-existent. We shall speak of these Letters Patent later in our story.

Marie-Claire Daveluy, who was certainly devoted to Rev. Olier, recognized that it was a fake document.[10] We cannot therefore invoke this document as evidence of Olier's influence in the first period of the work at Montreal. Much could be made of Dollier de Casson's[11] account which makes quite a fuss about the intervention of his Spiritual Father and Founder at this same time. But, we must be on our guard against the large number of interpretations and large amount of

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[8] *Ibid*., p. 27 of the original.

[9] (Étienne-Michel Faillon), *Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada,* **I,** p. 401-403.

[10] Daveluy, *La Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal…*, p. 49.

[11] Flenley, ed., *A History of Montreal,…* pp. 64-66.

confusion that Dollier has caused. At the time he wrote, the legend was alive and well.

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Chapter 2
Initiators of the Montreal Project

Jérôme Le Royer de La Dauversière was born at La Flèche and was baptized on March 18, 1597. He was the son of Jérôme Le Royer and Renée Oudin. He was one of the first students at the Jesuit College, founded in that city by Henry IV in 1604. He could not have avoided knowing several Jesuits who were later destined for the Canadian mission: Charles Lalemant, a professor at the time, François Ragueneau, Claude Quentin, Charles Dumarché, and Jacques Buteux. Fr. Enemond Massé, Jesuit, who had returned from Acadia in 1613, also lived at La Flèche from 1615-1625 and again from 1629-1632. Heir to the Manoir de La Dauversière and the office of Receiver of levies and taxes around 1620. Jérôme married Jeanne de Beaugé in 1619 and she presented him with six children, according to the *Véritables Motifs*, five according to others.

In 1632, a serious illness was the occasion to devote himself to piety and good works. He was the Trustee for the La Flèche Recollets, Treasurer of a Blessed Sacrament Confraternity, and Founder of another confraternity consecrated to Saint Joseph. It may well be that he derived his devotion to Saint Joseph from his contact with the Recollets who came from Spain and propagated it in France -- it was new at that time. Jérôme also organized two branches of the Blessed Sacrament Society, one at La Flèche in 1635, the other at Laval in 1644.

In an era when the practice of zeal and of piety was undertaken personally by celebrities, La Dauversière soon gained a reputation for being a spiritual man. He showed a certain amount of originality in his forms of devotion, but no great depth. He seems to have been one of the first to promote the modern devotion to the Holy Family: Jesus, Mary and Joseph. Previously, the Holy Family was more genealogical: Saint Anne, the Virgin, and Jesus.

Father of a family, Jérôme made imitation of the Holy Family of Bethlehem and Nazareth the driving force of his own piety. But, he was first and foremost a man of action. He multiplied his works of charity and apostolic zeal; these were marred, however, by some disorder and rashness on his part.

The dominant characteristic of his activity was improvisation. He seemed to have had a marvelous talent for giving his pious impulses the traits of heavenly inspiration. In this matter he was like his friend Rev Jacques Olier. It is true that at that time, religious discernment operated within narrow limits and people often let themselves be carried away by enthusiasm, producing some strange results.

Because of his reputation for holiness, La Dauversière was entrusted with large sums of money. His administration of it, however, gave the impression of being

not only somewhat irregular and lacking in prudent foresight, but also of a dulled moral sense which came to be the source of much suffering for innocent people and difficult to reconcile with the rules of enlightened charity. However, it is still true that the two great projects pertaining to Montreal -- the Hospitalers of Saint Joseph and the Montreal Society -- were the result of his energetic activity.

Two series of events enable us to track both of the projects and to follow their separate histories without any undue confusion.

The first series begins with his spiritual conversion about 1632. Along with his uncle and brother -- Florimond Le Royer de Chantepie and René Le Royer de Boistaillé -- he found himself deeply involved in the rebuilding of an almshouse or hospice for the poor, and of a Maison-Dieu, a sort of clinic for the poor. This latter house had existed at La Flèche from the end of the 15th Century. In 1634, Jérôme undertook its restoration and enlargement on a larger property. As early as 1624, efforts had been made to involve the Hospitalers of Saint Augustin in the project, but without success. The house was maintained by three voluntary helpers: Anne de Lépicier, Catherine de Ribère, and Anne Letendre.

During the restoration work, La Dauversière met a pious young lady, Marie de La Ferre, very involved in helping the needy. On May 18, 1636, she and Anne Foureau, her companion, came to live in this primitive hospital with the three servants mentioned above to take care of the sick. The hospital was only a lay institution, the five “nurses” forming an association of charitable persons who devoted themselves to alleviating human misery.

They were not opposed to entrusting this house to qualified nurses because in 1639, the administrators and the Bishop of Angers, through the good offices of La Dauversière, invited the Dieppe Hospitalers to come and take charge. These nuns expressed their willingness to do so and the bishop gave them a prescript of approval on the first of August of that year. But they did not come.

Had Jérôme de La Dauversière, in the meantime, changed his mind and produced a different solution? On July 15, 1639, once again it was he who addressed a request to Mgr. Claude de Reuil, the Bishop of Angers, in the name of the administrators of the Hôtel-Dieu*, formerly the Maison-Dieu. This time he was asking the prelate to approve consolidation of the shelter for the Poor and the Sainte-Marguerite almshouse that had been granted by its titular bishop, Philippe Boisricher. This move guaranteed the financial future of the charitable work.

At the same time, La Dauversière announced that the approbation of an institute of the Daughters of Saint Joseph was on the point of being approved. The

* A hospital.

year 1639 then can be considered as that of the establishment of the La Flèche Hospitalers, the first of whom were the women living in the Hôtel-Dieu since 1636. On December 23, 1639, the City Council definitively entrusted the house to these women. That was the start of the "Confraternity of the Holy Family of Our Lord Jesus-Christ under the name and intercession of glorious Saint-Joseph, the husband of the Blessed Virgin Mary", or more simply the Saint Joseph Hospitalers[*]. Once their constitutions had been drawn up, revised and corrected, Episcopal approval of the institute was granted on October 25, 1643.

It is to be noted that the Saint Joseph Hospitalers were not nuns strictly speaking -- the Council of Trent's only authentic category for religious women -- but secular *filles*,[*] constituted according to the example of other approved institutes which were coming into existence in France in the same century to meet social needs.[1]

The second series of events concerned Montreal and needs to be supported first of all by historically valid support from the *Véritables Motifs*: "The plan for Montreal owed its origin to a virtuous man whom Divine Goodness was pleased to inspire, seven or eight years ago, to work for the native people of New France, concerning whom he had no special prior knowledge".[2] This little book was written at the end of 1643, when people were still waiting for the ships from New France. "Seven or eight years ago" dates La Dauversière's interest in New France back to the end of 1635 at the earliest, and to 1636 at the latest; the 1636 date is preferable. To be inspired to work for the native people, however, does not mean to have in mind a plan for Montreal.

In 1636, La Dauversière could have read the Jesuit *1634 Relation*; even today, a work of basic importance for knowledge of the nomadic native people in New France. But, before beginning to implement the project, there was a long period of hesitation and waiting for approbation from Fr. François Chauveau, his Jesuit spiritual director, living at the Jesuit college in La Flèche.

It was not before 1639 that La Dauversière received permission to put his plans into execution. He thereupon sent tools and provisions in 1640 to Fr. Vimont, the Jesuit Superior in Quebec, while he himself was busy trying to obtain the

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[*] Or La Flèche Hospitalers.

[*] Perhaps in the sense of celibate women .

[1] On this first history of the Filles de Saint-Joseph, see (Soeur Mondoux) *L'Hôtel-Dieu, premier hôpital de Montréal…*, 25-40.

[2] Edition Daveluy, in *La Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal*,… p. 26 of the published edited text.

concession to Montreal. Hence, as of 1636, La Dauversière could have learned much about New France from the *Relations*.

In 1637 it was announced that there was some hope of gathering the natives into one area and to give them religious instruction; this was something people had not even dared to think about before this time. In 1638, it was an accomplished fact, and in 1639 there had been some excellent results, despite the epidemic raging among the native people that same year. La Dauversière could have found all this in the Jesuit *Relations*.

The Jesuits, to be sure, were not totally indifferent to the island of Montreal, certainly a very important feature of navigation on the St. Lawrence. Jesuit missionaries would pass by the island every year on their way to and from the land of the Hurons. It was on January 15, 1636, that the Company of New France had decided to grant the neighboring island to the north to the Jesuits, even giving it a name which it did not have as yet: Île Jésus. The grant occasioned a trip by Montmagny, Governor, and Fr. Le Jeune, Jesuit Superior, to familiarize themselves that same autumn with this concession.

The following year the Governor had Jean Nicollet and Jean Bourdon survey Montreal Island. They made a detailed map which was sent to the office of the Hundred Associates in Paris, where La Dauversière examined and initialed it. All this is relevant to the initial preparations of the Montreal project.

Jérôme de La Dauversière was not a rich man, despite the opinion the Jesuits in Quebec had of him. However, he had a rich friend who undertook to be the financier for his numerous works. He was Pierre Chevrier, Baron de Fancamp, a young gentleman who admired La Dauversière's charity. He is said to be of Norman origin, but that is about all we know about him.

In 1634, Chevrier was already in La Flèche, living with La Dauversière and contributing a 1,000 *Livres* to some transaction. Born during the first decade of the century, he died in the final decade. He may have been introduced to La Dauversière by Fr. Chauveau, the latter's spiritual director. In 1636 Chevrier had made two loans to La Dauversière for a total of 14,440 *Livres*.

The following year, Chevrier bought a house which he gave to the Maison-Dieu which his friend La Dauversière had been looking after. He was known to be preparing to send tools and provisions for Montreal in 1640, and was probably contributing to the project. Chevrier accompanied La Dauversière on his first voyage to Dauphiné that same year.

It was to both of them conjointly that Montreal Island was granted on December 17, 1640. Chevrier was present at the departure of the first expedition to Montreal from La Rochelle in 1641. He held part of the Hôtel-Dieu foundation

fund in 1648 and his part is the one that brought in revenue from the fund most regularly. He became a priest in 1652 and assisted the dying De La Dauversière. Chevrier continued to be actively involved in the development of Montreal by the solicitude he had for the Hospitalers and by several donations and presents. One of the presents was a statue of the Virgin Mary, given to Marguerite Bourgeois in 1672, and a bell for the parish in 1683. He died at an advanced age some time after May 30, 1690.[3]

Here then are the two men who were the well documented initiators of the Ville-Marie colony. It is difficult to explain the main reason for their "obsession" with Montreal. For one thing, the Jesuit *Relations* did not contain much mention of this island at the time. For another, there were no native people living on it, or anywhere else on the entire canoe route traveled between Trois-Rivières and Long-Sault[*]. It was strictly a "no man's land" that the Algonquins, who were attacked periodically now and then by the Mohawks, traversed "on the run". The two tribes were irreconcilable and traditional enemies.

Montreal Island offered no military advantage to the French on the St. Lawrence, and none against the other Europeans[*] in that part of the continent, since those nations were not as yet a threat to the French. In the later wars with the Europeans, the island was the area most exposed to attack, and it was the first to fall. Neither was it of any advantage against hostile natives: on the contrary, a French colony on the island weakened the defense of Trois-Rivières, making that post an even better target. Military considerations, however, exerted no influence on the thinking of La Dauversière and Chevrier nor did the economic. In this respect, Île d'Orléans, unoccupied and more accessible, and just down-river from Quebec, would seem to present much greater advantages over Île de Montréal.

Hence, a final possible motive remains to be considered and it is constantly mentioned by the sources: the apostolic motive. The Jesuit *Relations* show that the nomadic Montagnais of Trois-Rivières, Quebec, and Tadoussac, were beginning to come together and settle at Sillery, near Quebec. In addition to the Montagnais, there was also a nomadic population base made up of Algonquins, sometimes visited by the Jesuits on their trips westward to the Hurons. Thus far, however, the Jesuits had not worked much with these Algonquins.

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[3] *Ibid*., 103-108.

[*] Long-Sault or Long-Saut; on the Ottawa River, some 50 kilometers west of Montreal.

[*] Mainly English and Dutch.

The Algonquins, as nomadic as the Montagnais, inhabited the shores of the Ottawa, called the Rivière des Prairies at that time. They were composed of seven bands: the Onontchataronons or Iroquets, living in eastern Ontario between the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa, the Ouaouechkairinis or the Algonquin Little Nation whom travelers encountered on their way up the river, the Kichesipirinis on Allumette Island[*], the Kinounchesipirinis, whose name is preserved in the Kinonche River, the Mataouchkairinis (Madawaska), the Sagahiganirinis and the Sagnitaouigamas. The existence of these nomadic bands was already known through the *Relations*, and Fr. Le Jeune mentions every one of them by name in the *1640 Relations*.[4]

We are not speaking here of the hinterland farther west, where several Algonquin-speaking bands had already been noticed, nor about the Algonquins living on Lake Huron, beginning with the Nipissirinians of Lake Nipissing. These western Algonquins were prevented at that time from coming down to the French by the jealous hostility of the Kichesipirinis of Allumette Island. At that time precisely, the Jesuits of the Huron mission were beginning the evangelization of these Algonquins, thanks to some new missionaries who knew the Algonquin language. It was hoped that these natives also would settle down at Montreal, without excluding the Hurons. There we have the essential reasons for the attachment which Le Royer de La Dauversière and Pierre Chevrier showed for Montreal.

From their European location, the two founders of the Montreal project did not as yet see the difficulties of the enterprise they were planning, nor were they able to calculate the real cost in terms of financing and physical dangers. But, they did have a lively awareness of the apostolic advantage Montreal's location presented: the possibility of gathering together all these hunters who were continually chasing game, of forming them into a stable and *civilized* Christian community, and of turning this island -- fertile and abounding in game -- into the kind of native society the Jesuits had begun at Sillery for the Montagnais.

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[*] On today's Ottawa River near Pembroke, Ontario.

[4] *1640 Relation* **I** 129-130. For references to the *Relations*, we use the original edition, indicating the part of the volume and the page, which are also indicated in later scientific editions.

Chapter 3
Acquisition of Montreal Island

The departure from France of two communities of religious women for New France in 1639 had significant repercussions. This was the first time that women became involved in an evangelical enterprise among non-Christians and which presented dangers at sea which their sex was not accustomed to facing. The cloistered life of women's convents of that era rendered this type of expedition inconceivable. Like all the French, La Dauversière and Chevrier could not avoid being impressed by what they saw. Dauversière had expressed his desire to participate in evangelization to Fr. François Chauveau, a professor at the Jesuit college in his city and his spiritual director. The Jesuit at first felt that the young man's aspirations were not in accord with the social standing of his family. But, when the plan became more and more precise in the mind of this man of action, the confessor was eventually won over. This is how Dollier expresses the permission Chauveau gave: "Have no doubt, sir; devote yourself to it once and for all".[1]

The first step was obviously to acquire the ownership of Montreal Island. The promoters knew that it belonged to Jean de Lauson, the Intendant of Dauphiné at the time. Lauson had a long-lasting contact with New France and he was already conducting the business of this colony under the vice-royalty of the Duc de Ventadour. When the title was given back to Cardinal Richelieu -- Grand Master, head, and superintendent of navigation and trade in France -- in October 1626, Lauson stayed on as the Cardinal's business representative for whatever concerned New France.

Cardinal Richelieu was really the first shareholder of the Company of the Hundred Associates. Lauson was not a shareholder,[2] but was the Company's Intendant as well as the Cardinal's personal representative. Meetings were held under his presidency and in his residence. He fulfilled this function at least until 1635. After that Richelieu named Lauson as Intendant, first of all in Provence, then in Guyenne, and then Dauphiné.

Lauson did not lose his interest in the French colony, however, and his administration of New France, where he brought his three sons, Jean, Louis, and Charles, shows the interest which he had always had for its development. On January 15, 1635, he had granted his son François the La Citière fief, extending

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[1] Flenley, *A History of Montreal,…* 62.

[2] Contrary to what Jacques Monet has written in the *Dictionnaire de biographie canadienne*, **1** 439-441 …

from the Saint Francis River to the Châteauguay River, although actual possession took place later in July 29, 1638.

On January 15, 1636, he made a request through Simon Lemaistre, an attorney[*], for the Lauzon fief and gave it to his son Jean. The same day another attorney, Jacques Girard de La Chaussée, was asking for Montreal Island but withdrew on April 30, 1638. Jean de Lauson had no time to develop any of these fiefs prior to 1640. The Company contested his title to Montreal in 1640. The Lauzon fief was later the object of a similar dispute, but he managed to retain it, but the La Citière would be abolished as a fief in 1663.

When he became Governor in 1651, Jean de Lauson and his sons showed courage and initiative, despite the Iroquois blockade. Dollier de Casson would attack Lauson's reputation and would be the principal source of Lauson's unfavorable place in history. Be that as it may, Lauson was the man whom the Founders of Montreal had to approach.

La Dauversière's ardor impelled him to act quickly. If he had been able to do so, he would have sent his first team to New France in 1640. Chevrier de Fancamp had bought some tools and provisions for the trip. It was certainly in the first months of that year that La Dauversière and his associate Chevrier made the trip to Vienne in Dauphiné. They arrived there, unknown and without any authorization, promoting a difficult and questionable project. They met with refusal even from Lauson, a man who was as devout and open-hearted towards apostolic enterprises as they were.

The two travelers returned to La Flèche, but without admitting defeat. Chevrier kept himself busy sending the packages that had already been prepared, to Fr. Barthélemi Vimont, the Jesuit Superior at Quebec. Vimont had not yet heard anything about their plan, and he was astonished by their confidence in him when the packages suddenly arrived. La Dauversière took the road to Paris to ask for Fr. Charles Lalemant's intervention. As Jesuit Procurator in Paris for the Canadian mission, Lalemant had been visiting Lauson since his first return to France in 1626 and had strengthened his friendship with Lauson since the mission's restoration in 1632[*].

Charles Lalemant seems to have been delighted with La Dauversière's project and gladly consented to making a trip to Dauphiné with him. The trip was a success. De Lauson agreed to divest himself of Montreal Island in favor of La

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[*] The French has *prêt-nom.*

[*] The year New France was returned to France.

Dauversière and Chevrier, who had given power of attorney to his friend. The contract was signed at Vienne on August 7, 1640.[3]

Contrary to what has often been said,[4] this was a gift, pure and simple, not a sale. We only need to be able to read to learn:

> "who willingly, purely, simply and of his free will has given and transferred purely and simply, without any exception or withholding anything or making any reservations, to Pierre Chevrier, knight Sieur de Fouancan, and to Jérôme Royer, Sieur de la Dauversière residing in the city of La Flèche in Anjou... That is to say, the island of Montreal, situated in New France, on the Saint Lawrence River above Lac Saint-Pierre, just as it was given and conceded by the Gentlemen of the Company of New France."

The suggestion that it was a sale can only be due to malice or ignorance, because a concession that did not cost a cent in the French colony had no marketable value other than that of the work that might have been done on it. But, Jean Lauson had not done any work on it.

It was the entire Island of Montreal that Lauson had just given away. When La Dauversière showed this document to the Company of New France the following December, they refused to honor it, saying that it was invalid because Lauson had not performed any of a vassal's duties at the seigneury and therefore did not have the right to dispose of it.

The Company could therefore exercise its right of repossession and it did so. It was not opposed to the project as it was being promoted; it simply wanted to make the concession under its own conditions. A first Deed, which has now disappeared, no doubt did not suit La Dauversière. The Company then drew up a second Deed on December 17, 1640.[5] We need to pause briefly to consider the juridical status of Montreal in the context of the whole region of New France.

This time around, it was not the whole island that was being given away, but:

> "... a large part of the island of Montreal situated on the Saint Lawrence River between Lac Saint-Pierre and Lac Saint-Louis, to be the said part of the island at the point which looks to the north-east and continues towards the south-west up the Montreal mountain, which gave its name to this island, and on this side of that mountain, four more French leagues or so and up to the mouth of the little stream which is on that island at the said location of the same four leagues or so, and empties into the channel

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[3] Modern copy in the Baby Collection, Université de Montréal, cote B2/1 microfilm 947.

[4] Some have even given the price -- 150,000 livres tournois -- demanded by Lauson. (see the article by Monet in DCB **1** 439).

[5] Fréchette, *Edits, Ordonnances Royaux,* … pp. 21-24.

> separating the island of Montreal from another island called l'Île de Jésus; the rest of the said island to be taken from the mouth of the said stream to its source, which is towards the south-west, is reserved to the said company. From the mouth of this stream a line will be drawn as far as the other shore of the same island which is on the aforementioned Lac Saint-Louis as it is already drawn on the map and plan of the said island, which was sent from New France by Monsieur de Montmagny, the Governor of the said country, which plan was signed by the directors of the said Company and by the said Sieur La Dauversière at that place, to determine the boundaries of the present concession and to be kept in the hands of the Company's secretary for future reference if the need should arise."

The little stream serving as a boundary to the north-west might well have been the Saraguay River. From its mouth a straight line crossing the whole island between the Rivière des Prairies and Lac Saint-Louis forms the boundary between the Montreal concession and the preserve at the end of the island. We do not know why this preserve was made; perhaps this western end of Montreal Island commanding both Lac Saint-Louis and the entrance to the Rivière des Prairies could have become useful for the protection of trade. The other details contained in this quotation clearly prove that it was not some unknown territory that the Company were giving away, and that the grant had been made after much discussion and reflection.

In any event, to compensate for this retention for itself of this part of Montreal Island, the Company showed its great generosity:

> "Besides, an area of land six miles* wide along the Saint Lawrence River and eighteen miles* in depth on the same lands starting from the north shore on the same side where the Assumption River empties into the Saint Lawrence River; it is to begin at a boundary which will be determined on the same shore for a distance of two leagues from the mouth of the said Assumption River, the remainder of the said two leagues of frontage to start by heading down to the Saint Lawrence River."

Sieurs de La Dauversière and Chevrier certainly did not need this extension at that time, but one day it would be very useful for the Sulpicians and it was actually to become the seigneurie de Saint-Sulpice, which starts two leagues from the mouth of the Assumption River and extends downwards on the shore for two leagues of frontage. It is thus the earliest concession above the Jesuit fief at Trois-Rivières on the north shore of the Saint Lawrence River.

Faillon seemed to have had some difficulty in admitting that the seigneurie of Montreal had been a vassal of the Company of New France. However there is no

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* Two leagues.

* Six leagues.

other way in which the wording of the documents can be interpreted, since they have the same wording that we find in other concessions of fiefs:

> "To be enjoyed by Sieurs Chevrier and Le Royer {La Dauversière}, their successors, and their heirs, of those things granted to them above in full ownership, justice and as a perpetual seignory, as it has pleased his Majesty to give the land to the Company ... and to hold these possessions in homage and trust, which the aforesaid Sieurs Chevrier and Le Royer, their successors or their heirs are bound to bring to Fort Saint-Louis in Quebec, in New France, or some other place which might be designated by the said Company. They will be obliged to declare, at every change of owner, this trust and homage and to pay with one ounce of gold, on which the image of New France is engraved as imprinted on the seal which the Company uses on its correspondence, over and above those duties and rents which can come due for this kind of fief; likewise to furnish their consent and census, and all this according to and in conformity with the provostship and the vicountship of Paris, which the Company intends to be observed and preserved by the whole of New France."

This dependence appears again on the juridical level:

> "And the offices and titles of judges who will be appointed by the said Sieurs Chevrier and La Dauversière,[6] their successors or heirs, in the places presently conceded, will be clearly under the jurisdiction of parliament or the sovereign court which will be established later in the name of the said Company in Quebec or elsewhere in New France. In the meantime the said titles will be issued before the Governor of Quebec to be recognized as sovereign following the commissions of the King and of Monseigneur le Cardinal-duc-de Richelieu."

Justice is a royal prerogative. Even though high, middle, and low seigniorial justice was granted fully in the fief to Chevrier and La Dauversière[*], appeals for the time being would come under the governor who was invested by the King because of his commission, or if such should be the case, under the parliament or the sovereign court which will be created in the colony. Even in France, the Company of New France was not under the jurisdiction of the parliaments, but immediately under the Royal Council.

It was on the military level that the seignory was principally a dependent. The Company of New France had the right to have a citadel; a rare privilege, since it is the essence of royal power, which could not be conferred on subjects:

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[6] There would be no judges appointed in Montreal during Maisonneuve's government. The latter always retained as his personal power, even on the judicial level, the seigniorial authority that is here invested in Chevrier and Le Royer.

[*] The French text has Fancamp.

> "... that is why the Company does not intend whatsoever that the said Sieurs Chevrier, La Dauversière, their successors, or heirs or others, who may come over to New France to become occupants of the places conceded them, can build any fortress or citadel there."
>
> "Nevertheless, they will be able to entrench or fortify themselves to the extent that this is necessary to protect themselves, but only from raids by the natives. The Company however reserves to itself the right to build forts or citadels, if and when it judges this to be fitting in future, to house its captains and officers. In such a case, and from the first request and summons which will be made to the Sieurs Chevrier and La Dauversière, or their successors or heirs, they will be obliged to allow the Company to have the said forts or citadels built and erected in such a place, on the aforesaid island, and the said expanse of land on the said St. Lawrence River, as the Company shall see fit, either on the shores of the said island or places adjacent to the said river, or in the interior of the said island, even on the said mountain of Montreal, if the Company so approves. And for that reason they will be bound to give the officers of the said company as much land as may be needed for the said forts and for the food that will be needed by those who settle there for its preservation."
>
> "Furthermore, in case it should be advisable to build the said forts on some lands which might have been cleared, their owners will be reimbursed by the said Company."

Richelieu, who was the head of the Company, had the full authority of a viceroy as Grand Master and Superintendent of Navigation and Trade; he had good reasons at that time for abolishing the feudal offices of Constable and Admiral to reserve the powers for himself.

A customary clause for these kinds of Deeds, i.e., those which deal with the obligation to populate the fief, says:

> "To begin to develop the lands that have been granted to them above, Sieurs Chevrier and La Dauversière are obliged to bring over a number of people to New France on the next crossing made by the Company; they are to provide the provisions needed for nourishment and to continue to do so, year by year, so that the said lands may not remain uninhabited, and in this way the colony can be increased in its numbers."
>
> "And, so that the Company may be assured of the energetic attention that they are devoting to this task, and that this may serve as quittance for those whom it has to send over for the colony, the said Sieurs Chevrier, La Dauversière, or others who will bring the people to the port of embarkation in such numbers as the Company will be pleased to welcome them, will be bound to put the lists into the hands of the secretary of the said company, all in conformity with the regulations of the said company."

One very interesting clause of this Act is the following: "with the permission to fish and to sail on the St. Lawrence and on the other lakes of New France, apart from those which have been granted as private property to others". Jérôme Lalemant, Jesuit superior, would wonder in 1647 if he had the right to grant

fishing rights on the St. Lawrence River to his tenants. It was explicitly granted to him in 1651. If he had been aware of the concession of Montreal, his doubt would have been well founded. We have no knowledge of any reserved navigation or fishing rights on the river or on important lakes except for the waterways or lakes contained within the boundaries of particular fiefs.

Fishing and navigation on the river were the general rights of the people who lived on the shorelines. Moreover, the seigneurs of Montreal could not restrict these rights for the others:

> "The Company intends that the present concession may not move to be prejudiced to the freedom of navigation, which is to be common to the inhabitants of New France and on all the places conceded above. And to this end let there be a great royal road of twenty fathoms wide all around the said island, from the shore right up to the lands, and an equal distance on the Saint-Lawrence River from the shore of this river to the lands that have been granted. All this is to help navigation and travelling that is done on land."

Hence, here is a restriction which is unique to Montreal and flows from its particular character:

> "Neither the Sieurs Chevrier and La Dauversière nor their successors or heirs will be able to make any concession or transference in whole or in part of the things conceded above for the profit of those who are already living on the lands, either in Quebec or Trois-Rivières or elsewhere in New France, but only to those who clearly express their desire to go there, so that the colony may be increased by their arrival."

This regulation was not observed nor was it enforced. The first person to do some considerable clearing on the island was Jamet Bourguignon, one of the Habitants of Quebec, and the first concessionaire of a piece of land was another Habitant, Pierre Gadois. The following prohibition, concerned with trade, affected all the seigneurs and it contained, at the same time, one of the best descriptions of the privileges of the Habitants which the people of Montreal enjoyed along with the rest:

"Besides, neither Sieurs Chevrier and La Dauversière, their successors or heirs, nor anyone else who comes over to this country to join them to cultivate or to live on the land will be able to trade in furs and hides with the natives or others in any manner whatever, except for their own use and for their personal needs only, after which use, they will be bound to return them to the representative of the said Company; and all this under pain of confiscation and a fine which will be determined by the Governor against those who violate these conditions."

This was a consequence of the fur trade monopoly, reserved in perpetuity for the financing of the colony, and mentioning the privileges of the Habitants --

which those people of Montreal would possess like the others -- in the Company's charter.

The vassal status of Montreal is once more underlined by this communication of a privilege belonging to the seigniorial Company:

> "And in case the said Sieurs Chevrier and La Dauversière wish to bring to the said lands that have been granted some more honorable name or title, the Company will have letters sent to them so that these letters may be presented to Cardinal duc de Richelieu, Peer of France, Grand Master, head and superintendent-general of navigation and trade in the kingdom, and on their presentation to obtain the confirmation of His Majesty, following the edict of the Company, without this being able to detract from the rights and duties reserved by the present concession."

Finally, the Company pronounced a formal annulment of the contract signed with Jean de Lauson on August 7, 1640, and it enjoined on Governor de Montmagny to limit the boundaries of the seignory and to put its beneficiaries in possession of it, sending the official reports of this ceremony to the office in Paris.

Two glaring omissions will be noticed in this document -- that of Olier and that of the Society of Notre-Dame-de-Montréal. We have already expressed our thoughts about the former. Later on we shall examine the Montreal Society's foundation, which at this time had not yet been funded, despite what some people have said and keep repeating. The only legal owners of Montreal Island in this Act -- and for many years to come -- are Pierre Chevrier Baron de Fancamp and Jérôme Le Royer de La Dauversière. The result of all this is that the Act of concession of Montreal is one of the most studied and the best of its kind that has yet been drawn up.

From all that precedes it is very evident that the two seigneurs of Montreal were vassals of the Company of New France by the same title as were the seigneurs of Beauport, the associate seigneurs of Beaupré, or the Jesuits at Notre-Dame-des-Anges. They were vassals by a particular, nominal and conjoined title, and not in any way like a community -- by a contract of association. For a long time this Act of concession would remain the sole legal title to the possession of the island of Montreal explicitly in the names of La Dauversière and Chevrier.

There would be some talk of royal confirmation, but no authentic document can be produced. We have already ruled out an alleged "Plan of Montreal" which is claimed to have been presented to the Hundred Associates at the time of the concession. There remains no trace whatever of any document that says anything about La Dauversière's apostolic intentions. The area of competence for the Company of New France remained colonization; it did not engage directly in evangelization.

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Chapter 4
Two Important Auxiliaries

La Dauversière and Chevrier, having been provided with land in New France, now needed some leaders to head up their expedition. There was no question of their setting out personally, especially since they were needed in France to manage the affairs of the enterprise, and these would turn out to be more burdensome than they had expected. Fortunately, they found two persons who presented themselves in the nick of time and in an unexpected manner.

What was needed first of all was an officer to lead the expedition. Once again it was the Jesuit, Charles Lalemant, who found one in the person of Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve. Born at Neuville-sur-Vanne, February 13, 1612, Maisonneuve was the son of an ancient and noble Champagne family. As it befitted a young nobleman, he was sent to the army at the age of thirteen and served the King in Holland. One day, in the home of one of his friends' lawyers he happened to read a Jesuit *Relation* in which it was mentioned that Charles Lalemant had returned from New France in 1638. He arranged a visit to offer his services, as a soldier in the new country, for the defense of the missionaries and their converts.

The Jesuit, who had recently returned from Vienne where he had accompanied La Dauversière, listened to him with interest but without making any sort of commitment. When La Dauversière, the energetic gentleman from La Flèche, returned and asked Lalemant whether he knew of any nobleman capable of leading the expedition that was expected to set sail in 1641, the priest mentioned Maisonneuve and gave La Dauversière the name of the inn where he was staying.

La Dauversière went there for a meal, during which he brought up the subject of Montreal with Maisonneuve and some other people. The military man showed a keen interest, then went to speak to La Dauversière in private and offered himself and his money without asking for anything except to serve God and the King in his profession, that of arms.

Thus, a commandant was found, and Maisonneuve cooperated with La Dauversière and Chevrier to train a contingent of hired men. There was no need of outfitting a fleet because The Hundred Associates had their own fleet and offered passage to thirty men and thirty large casks of cargo free on board. Any excess cargo would be carried at the expense of the island's seigneurs, along with the wages, the tools, and the provisions for the next year. The passengers were expected to embark at La Rochelle, from where two of the ships were leaving, and at Dieppe where there was only one ship.

La Dauversière recruited some men from around La Flèche and La Rochelle and someone very likely did the same in Normandy for those who were to sail from there. Chevrier and La Dauversière, as Seigneurs of Montreal -- they had no other title --gave Maisonneuve his mission. But Providence had in reserve another even more unexpected recruit, and one who was just as valuable: Jeanne Mance. We now speak of her at greater length.

Jeanne Mance was baptized at Langres in the church of Saints Peter and Paul, November 12, 1606. She was born into a family that was firmly established among the gentlemen merchants society, that of Charles Mance, the Procurator for the tribunal of Langres, and of Catherine Emonnot, his wife. The second daughter of parents who had four more daughters and six sons, Jeanne received an excellent Christian education at a time when the Faith was undisputed and piety was very much alive among the Catholic middle class.

Moreover, in general, religion was the foremost social value. Jeanne's personal piety prompted her to make a vow of chastity[*] at the age of six or seven. At the age of seventeen, she lost her mother and so stayed with her sister to manage a household of twelve children. Nine years later, in 1632, her father's death left her as the principal guardian of her brothers and sisters. She had studied with the Ursulines. She kept herself busy with social work in the city, where Sébastien Zamet was the bishop, and where he promoted works of devotion and charity. Jeanne had many an opportunity to devote herself to the service of the sick during the epidemics that ravaged the city in 1636 and 1637.

In 1640, she was a mature woman of 34. Devoted to God and to holiness, accustomed to helping her neighbor, and faithful to ongoing Spiritual Direction, she was freed from her family responsibilities once her brothers and sisters had grown up. Now, as mistress of herself, she suffered from ill health protracted by her ongoing devotions. Nothing suggests that she had ever heard of Canada. In the provinces, even "echoes" from Paris were very faint.

Towards mid-April 1640, she was visited by a first cousin from Paris, a priest called Nicolas Dolebeau. He was a Doctor of the Sorbonne and Chaplain of the Sainte-Chapelle. One of his brothers was a Jesuit who was leaving that very year for the Île Miscou mission[*], where he later fell ill from destitution and died from an explosion in the hold of the ship that was bringing him back to France in 1643. Furthermore, Dolebeau was Armand-Jean de Vignerot's tutor, the nephew of the

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[*] Perhaps chastity and virginity are being used as synonyms here .

[*] Near Bathurst, New Brunswick .

Duchess of Aiguillon and grand-nephew of Cardinal Richelieu, the heir to the dignities of his great-uncle and founder of the line of the dukes of Richelieu.

Hence, her cousin was a knowledgeable source of religious news from Paris, and the great news at the time was the departure in 1639 of two communities of women for New France. Dolebeau described the general excitement caused by the visit to Paris of Madame de La Peltrie and Marie de l'Incarnation, to whom Queen Anne herself had extended an invitation to come and visit. The tutor was well aware of the generosity of his pupil's aunt in the matter of founding the Hôtel-Dieu in Quebec. Jeanne Mance was overwhelmed when she heard of this. If women were permitted to cooperate in the evangelization of a new continent, why could she not do so also? Could she possibly conceive of a loftier purpose for her life?

At first, she had some doubts about herself, but inspiration overcame her hesitations. As she had always done, she went to discuss this project with her Jesuit Spiritual Director. At first sight, the project might seem to be an adventurous one, especially in a town so far from the capital. But the serious resolve and the age of the penitent, her modesty, her common sense, and her docility, forced her confessor to permit her to pursue her vocation. He was quick to approve her departure for Paris, urging her to see Charles Lalemant, the Canadian mission Procurator, and to submit her vocation to the Jesuit Rector who was the closest to her residence in the capital. That is how she came to leave Langres, May 30, 1640, and was in Paris in the second half of June.

She went to stay with her cousin Antoinette Dolebeau, Dame de Bellevue, who seems to have lived in the faubourg Saint-Germain. Fr. Lalemant, whom she was anxious to see, was staying at the Collège de Clermont among the colleges of the University. Distinguished, affable and courteous, the Jesuit encouraged the visitor and he must have spoken about his own experience in Canada. But he did not say anything about La Dauversière, of whose plans he had not yet been informed.

She also wanted to see Fr. Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Jure, Jesuit, considered to be one of the best Spiritual Directors of that period. He was living at the Jesuit novitiate on the rue Pot-de-Fer, but was not the Rector as some writer would have it. The renowned director listened to her for only a short time, gave her no opinion about her vocation, and showed her the door. This cold reception and the impossibility of arranging a second interview forced the young woman to remain in Paris for three more months.

Madame de Bellevue introduced Jeanne to friends, and Jeanne came to know an active and energetic woman who had earlier been directed by Francis de Sales. She was the wife of Jean Phélippeaux de Villesavin. The woman was full of admiration for this new and unique vocation and undertook to have Jeanne meet

with Fr. de Saint-Jure. The priest yielded to the woman's insistence and Jeanne was now given a long visit with the spiritual master in a private interview. He reassured her and confirmed the divine origin and genuineness of her vocation.

She could not return to Langres until September or October. This return home is enveloped in obscurity in the documents but it is hinted at, and is highly probable. She informed the family of her decision, a decision that she had kept to herself until then. Now she had to undergo the usual assaults stemming from family affection, who were more aware of her suffering than of the mystery of her generosity. Jeanne put her affairs in order, retaining for herself only the disposition of her own person, since we shall see her without any assured revenues whatever.

Resolved to set sail in 1641, Jeanne was in Paris once more during the following winter. Always very simple in her clothing, she did not however go unnoticed. Her strange vocation had been the subject of gossip. Madame de Villesavin must have mentioned it to her friends, and some prominent ladies insisted that she visit them, and she was forced to do so. Among them we must mention Madame la Chancelière, Madeleine Fabri, the wife of Pierre Séguier, Madame la Princesse, Charlotte de Montmorency, the Princess of Condé. Anne of Austria also wanted to meet her. Another rather important person whom Jeanne met during one of her two visits to Paris was Marie de Gournay, widow of Rousseau, a wine merchant of the Port de Bussy. This lady was blessed with extraordinary spiritual gifts and, according to Olier, she saw in Jeanne "one of the greatest of living souls".

At that time in Paris, there was Fr. Charles Rapine de Boisvert, former Provincial and now Superior of the Recollets at Saint-Denis. When Jeanne was introduced to him, the priest encouraged her, but above all advised her that, despite her total abandonment to Divine Providence, she should allow others to help her and thereby let them in share the fruits of her apostolic work.

Shortly after this visit, Jeanne received a note from the Franciscan inviting her to meet him at the Hôtel de Bullion, rue Plâtrière, where he introduced her to one of his female relatives. The lady's name was Angélique Faure, related to Lamoignon, who was then in favor at Court. Since December 1640, the lady was the widow of Claude de Bullion, superintendent of the Finances of France, and whom Richelieu had held in high esteem. She was also the niece of Noël Brûlart de Sillery, founder of the Montagnais Reduction established near Quebec.

Madame de Bullion had a lengthy conversation with her visitor and did not let her leave without a promise to return. In the course of another meeting, she asked Jeanne whether she was willing to take charge of a hospital that the lady intended to build along the lines of the one already founded by the Duchess of Aiguillon in

Quebec. The young woman objected because of her poor health and her inexperience, but she promised to give some thought to the proposal. Then Jeanne promised, at the request of her benefactress, to find out how much such a similar enterprise had cost Richelieu's niece. She turned to Fr. de Saint-Jure, who once more assured her that God wanted her in Canada and that she should accept the help that people offered her without bothering about her weak health.

She reported to Madame de Bullion the information she had received about the Quebec Hôtel-Dieu and she put herself at the lady's disposition to cooperate in establishing a hospital. Her benefactress was delighted but imposed absolute secrecy concerning her identity -- her charity should be known only to God. She then ordered Jeanne not to communicate with her in the future except through Fr. Rapine. This was the origin of the plan for a new hospital, but it had not been determined as yet where it was to be located.

It was now time for Jeanne to think about embarking. The Hundred Associates assigned three ships to go to Quebec. One was to leave from Dieppe, the other two from La Rochelle. Jeanne was advised to embark at Dieppe, closer to Paris and less difficult to reach. But she knew that a Jesuit, Fr. Jacques de La Place, who had already been a missionary in Canada, would be going on one of the ships from La Rochelle. To have the help of a priest during the voyage[*], she opted for La Rochelle. A secular priest, Antoine Faulx, who was being sent to the Quebec Hospitalers, would also travel with her.

Although she was henceforth certain about her apostolic vocation, and already inclined to the service of ailing native people, Jeanne had no idea how she would be integrated into the group of apostolic workers who were already in the country, but she was not worried.

The aura of her sanctity had been noticed in Paris. Théophraste Renaudot's newspapers mentioned her departure in a short paragraph, dated from La Rochelle, May 9, 1641:

> "Today, under the protection of Saint Christopher, some ships set sail for Canada and the island of Montreal; on board were Father de La Place, with several of his companions and several men for that settlement. Mademoiselle Mance, aged 24[*] and a native of Langres, who has been leading an exemplary life and living on bread and water, and to whom God has granted many graces, also set sail for that country."

This journalistic piece of antiquity has all the flair and the characteristics that are found elsewhere in this literary genre.

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[*] A typical trip from France to Canada could take as much as three months at that time.

[*] The French text has 24. A typographical error? -- she was 34 at this time.

Jeanne Mance, provided with a sum of 1,200 *L* as support for her attempt to establish a hospital, set out for La Rochelle at the end of March or the beginning of April 1641. On the way to the port-city, her dignified bearing and what was be known of her intentions assured her the respect of others. Since she was not familiar with La Rochelle, she chose an inn close to the Jesuits' Church, but the inn was owned by a Huguenot lady. She immediately went to the Jesuits' parlor to see Fr. de La Place. He welcomed her with joy, and it was he who was the first to inform her of what was being prepared at the port, namely, that a contingent was being sent to found a mission at Montreal. Chevrier, Baron de Fancamp, had just left a meeting with the Jesuit.

She received the news without any emotion, simply as something very interesting. But, the next day Jérôme de La Dauversière, who was coming out of the church, met her just as she was going in and he spoke to her. The *Véritables Motifs*, closer to the event, describes their meeting in rather exalted terms. Dollier de Casson, later on, gathered the facts from Jeanne herself. In his text we find such a marvelous seventeenth century style that we were tempted to adopt it, despite the reserve which has to be maintained with regard to the good Sulpician:

> "They needed someone … whom their purse could not provide: a girl or a woman of truly heroic virtue and strong enough to come into this country to take care of all the provisions and goods that were necessary for surviving in this world and to serve, at the same time, as a nurse for the sick and the wounded...".[1]

Not only in private homes, but also in great enterprises, the spirit of economy which women learn when very young is appreciated. Did not Marie de l'Incarnation manage her brother-in-law's business? No wonder La Dauversière was anxious to win over this young woman to his project.

Jeanne did not surrender immediately -- that was not in her character. Then, too, there was the vision of her vocation which has already been outlined. She was a little frightened by the grandeur of the enterprise, said to be fully financed with abundant funding. What would become of her abandonment to Divine Providence, a relationship that had guided her very well so far if she became involved in a project that was too well supported?

Once again, she needed spiritual guidance at this new stage of her destiny. There was also this plan for a hospital, which she had accepted and which must not become involved too soon or rashly in an enterprise which had not been foreseen and had not even "lifted off the ground". She therefore wrote from La Rochelle to Fr. de Saint-Jure, and also to Fr. Rapine, the latter being responsible for guarding Madame de Bullion's secret.

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[1] Flenley, *A History of Montreal…*, 74.

La Dauversière's generous enterprise, which had evangelization as its unique goal, seemed, nevertheless, to be in accord with Jeanne's vocation. The first response to her letters arrived from Paris. Fr. de Saint-Jure urged her to join in the Montreal project, so clearly apostolic and devoid of self interest. Since embarkation was imminent, Jeanne presumed Madame de Bullion's permission. From then on she became the volunteer treasurer of the expedition with the hope of bringing a hospital to Montreal.

That, however, is not all that she brought there. There was still no Montreal Society despite Dollier's literary efforts[*] to have it born prior to its beginnings. The cost of the expedition, we are told, rose to 75,000 *L*. Chevrier, Baron Fancamp, had furnished 20,000 *L*. La Dauversière and Maisonneuve certainly contributed some funds. We do not know who donated the rest of the funding, but in similar situations, members of the Blessed Sacrament Society -- and such was Le Royer de La Dauversière -- could count on the generosity of colleagues.

Once she had become one of the principal elements in the enterprise and given the task of keeping an eye on its finances, Jeanne Mance could not avoid perceiving a problem that was staring them in the face. A long range enterprise had been started. The funds needed for starting off were provided, but what assurance did anyone have that the funding would continue? The whole financial burden rested on La Dauversière and Chevrier; the entire responsibility was undertaken solely in their name. The obligation would still remain each year to send goods, food, tools and new workmen. Chevrier's entire fortune would never be enough. It was inhuman to risk the lives of about fifty persons overseas, in a country not yet developed, without knowing ahead of time how they would be supported.

Jeanne, therefore, advised La Dauversière to set down in writing the objectives of the work at Montreal and to have a large number of copies made, which she would then send to those of her friends in Paris who had shown themselves to be keenly interested in her plan. This was a spectacular success. These rich friends of hers drew along their own friends:

> "… so many people of various conditions, with different mentalities, virtues, experiences, and stubborn enough not to let themselves become involved in this matter without serious reasons."

Along with the hospital project, Jeanne had brought to the aid of the project an organization to manage it: "The Gentlemen and Ladies of the Society of Notre-Dame de Montréal"; Jeanne's "trade-mark" would be engraved on the pediment of the Society: "Dames de Montréal". It had not been customary for women to take part in these organizations for religious action.

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[*] That is, Dollier's account assigns an incorrect date .

The Blessed Sacrament Society, with which the Montreal Society had some affinity, did not admit women to membership, even though it benefited from the Duchess of Aiguillon's largesse. In 1649, women would disappear from its roster. Besides, it was a lay society, with no mission from ecclesiastical authorities, based on the responsibility every baptized person has to extend the Kingdom of God. The *Véritables Motifs* quite explicitly supports and expresses this fundamental thesis.

Having already accomplished so much, and at the point of boarding ship, Jeanne was really worried. She was going to embark on one of the two ships at La Rochelle which Fr. de La Place was also boarding with twelve workmen for Montreal. In the other ship, Maisonneuve would be travelling with twenty-four or twenty-five of La Dauversière's men. There was not a single woman destined for Montreal except for herself. Then, word had reached them from Dieppe, where an agent had recruited some other workmen, that two skilled workmen were ready to leave but did not want to board the ship without their wives and families.

The *Véritables Motifs* also added that "there was even a virtuous young woman of the place (Dieppe) who was suddenly so filled with a desire to go to Montreal that, despite the obstacles and the protests which were made to her, she had forced her way onto the ship as it was casting off, so determined was she to go there to serve God".[2] Jeanne Mance therefore would have some female companions.

Thus at La Rochelle, Jeanne Mance took the last step of her apostolic vocation. From the time she had become the treasurer of the project, she had already rendered it outstanding services. She had provided for a hospital, under the inspiration of Madame de Bullion, and she, on her own, had initiated the formation of the Society of Notre-Dame-de-Montréal, the Montreal Society.

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[2] Edition Daveluy, *Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal*, p. 31 of the little booklet.

Chapter 5
The New Colonists of 1641

Faillon, in his book, accused the Company of New France -- with which, apparently, he was not very familiar -- of meanness, greed, and opposition toward the Montreal project. On the contrary, the Company did its best to promote La Dauversière's project. Not only did the Company give him the island, but in 1641 it also offered him free passage for thirty persons and thirty large casks of goods. The Company also ordered Montmagny, the Governor, to grant two properties to Montreal, one at Quebec on the port, the other at Trois-Rivières. Above all, the Company gave him the order, contained in the Deed of Concession, to invest the new seigneurs with its possession. Without this order, as we shall see, Montmagny would not have taken it on himself to do so.

The Company must also have written to Montmagny to recommend the project to him, given the fidelity and solicitude which he had shown for the new establishment. Without this, the Montreal operation was only a private enterprise -- without any mandate or power emanating from the King or ecclesiastical superiors -- to found a new colony and to establish a new mission.

It was not that the Montreal project had not made a great impression on the poor Quebec colony; the project was seen to be supported by wealthy and virtuous persons for whom any and all ventures were permissible. Now that we have made this point, we shall concentrate on the first expedition of 1641, by which Montreal made its appearance in the country.

We would have liked to know the names of those who constituted this recruitment of 1641 and were Montreal's pioneers. The process of recruiting had its difficulties, as the documented sources give us to understand. There were always violated contracts, desertions at the moment of departure, monetary advances that were lost. Workmen were chosen in view of the work to be done.

A surgeon was indispensable, and so was a gun-smith. For building, specialized workers were needed, a master for each trade, if possible: carpenters, joiners, stone-masons, blacksmiths, or wheelwrights. They also needed wood-cutters, sawyers, cleaners, unskilled workmen, sailors and also soldiers. The immigrants of 1641 were almost all single men. The *Véritable Motifs*, however, speaks of two workmen at Dieppe who refused to leave without their wives and of a young woman who forced her way onto the ship to go and serve God in Canada.

Who were these first two married couples? No document enables us to answer with any accuracy, but we are convinced that the two households were those of Nicolas Godé and Antoine Primot. Nicolas Godé, husband of Françoise Gadois,

had four children at that time and there were no others after arrival in Canada. Nicolas' brother-in-law, Pierre Gadois, had been living at Quebec since 1637. Shortly after the crossing by those bound for Montreal, we find Pierre in charge of looking after Montreal's Quebec properties while waiting to go and settle in Montreal himself, and to obtain the first land-concession there. Was this not due to the presence of his brother-in-law and of his sister in the recruitment?

We also mention Antoine Primot and Martine Messier, because we have no other knowledge about their arrival in the country. They had a little adopted daughter still in the cradle, Catherine Thierry, who would become Charles Lemoyne's wife. And who was that courageous young lady who had no fear of poverty in New France? It can only have been Catherine Lézeau, whose presence in Montreal was mentioned in 1643. However, she was not born at Dieppe, her port of embarkation.

Catherine was Jeanne Mance's first companion, first of all at the fort's dispensary, then at the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu from the time of its construction. She left Jeanne in 1646 to become an Ursuline lay sister in Quebec. The Godé family with its four children, and the Primots with their adopted baby, plus Catherine Lézeau, constituted exactly the total of ten persons who are mentioned as leaving Dieppe for Montreal and who were usually counted as workers. They arrived at Tadoussac at the end of June. According to the instructions he had received at that time, Montmagny assigned a place for the Montreal enterprise in the port and put the two husbands to work at building shelters.

The first of the two ships from La Rochelle to arrive at Quebec was the one carrying Jeanne Mance with twelve workmen. It may have arrived on August 8, according to Dollier de Casson, also carrying Fr. de La Place and the secular priest Antoine Faulx who was to be the chaplain of the Ursulines. It is very likely that Jeanne would have lodged with the Ursulines, her former teachers, if they had any room for her. But the Sisters were still living in a hut on the port and were only on the point of beginning the construction of their convent. Jeanne was offered lodging in the best house in the land, that of De Puiseaux at Saint-Michel. There she met Madame de La Peltrie, who had already left the Ursulines. As for Maisonneuve, we shall wait quite a while for him. He will show up only later on.

Several difficulties connected with Montreal were caused by the improvised character of La Dauversière's initiatives. Montreal was then the conjoint property of this energetic man from La Flèche, La Dauversière, and his friend Le Chevrier, Baron de Fancamp. From this point of view, it was a vassal seignory of the Hundred Associates of the same rank as that of Beaupré, the conjoint property of eight partners. The seigneurs could exercise the powers and duties there that corresponded to their titles, but nothing more.

The privilege of being a citadel -- a privilege enjoyed by the Company -- had been explicitly refused to the Seigneurs of Montreal, although they had the right to build earth works, but only to defend themselves from attacks by the natives. The other seigneurs, for example Giffard at Beauport, could do the same. A military man had been put in charge at Montreal, but plain seigneurs had no authority to issue military orders. They would have had to have an officer holding a royal commission.

Montmagny, the Governor, was the only officer commissioned by the King. Did Montmagny offer Maisonneuve a command, as he had done to François de Chamflour for Trois-Rivières? He refrained from doing so, perhaps, because of the reluctance of the Montrealers to be dependent on him. Moreover, Maisonneuve himself never claimed having any such commission, either royal or subaltern, to support his authority. He called himself simply the lieutenant of the seigneurs of Montreal.

The first group of recruits could not have come at a more unfavorable time. In 1640, La Dauversière had no reason to worry about Iroquois hostility, but 1641 was the year when they discovered the dangers to which French settlements would be exposed: “Under the name of Iroquois, we understand six {sic} nations who are enemies of the Hurons, the Algonquins, the Montagnais, and now of the French” as Jesuit Fr. Le Jeune wrote that year. But “it is only the Mohawks who, strictly speaking, have declared themselves enemies of the French”.[1]

In fact, towards February 20, 1641, the Mohawks had seized François Marguerie and Thomas Godefroy, two interpreters from Trois-Rivières. They treated their prisoners with respect, without inflicting their customary tortures on them. On June 5, a band of Mohawks appeared with their captives opposite Trois-Rivières to discuss alliance and peace. Already armed with 36 arquebuses, they demanded more from the French, to destroy the Algonquins and the Montagnais. Montmagny was summoned from Quebec to conduct the negotiations.

He handled the task of recovering the hostages very skillfully, but he surely could not provide weapons to the sworn enemies of his native allies, the Algonquins and Montagnais. The two parties parleyed at a distance, not trusting one another. The two Frenchmen were set free but the Mohawks could not be persuaded to make a general peace, as was being suggested to them. They disguised their real intent so poorly that they even assaulted the Algonquins and

[1] *1641 Relation*, **I**, 136.

the Montagnais under the very eyes of the French. Montmagny had to come to their defense. Shots were fired. The Mohawks fled, shouting angry threats.[2]

The die was cast and the French were henceforth involved in the traditional war that went on between the native bands of the New France region on the one hand and the Iroquois Mohawk canton, their special and unrelenting enemy. The French colony was not the least bit prepared for this war, and that is why Montmagny sent Le Jeune, as early as that autumn, to France to beg for military help.

Without orders from the King and without instructions from the Jesuit Provincial in Paris -- orders which La Dauversière had not thought of requesting -- the Montrealers found themselves in the very awkward situation of imposing on a Governor who was in a desperate situation, and on a Jesuit mission Superior who was short of men, the creation of a new advanced post, some 70 miles[*] distant from Trois-Rivières, on an invasion route, along with a new Jesuit mission -- both with little hope of success -- on an uninhabited and uncultivated island on the Saint Lawrence.

Actually, Montreal was in the middle of a “no man’s land” traveled “on the run” by the Algonquins out of fear of falling into Iroquois traps. Responsible and accountable for human lives and if left to their own judgment, neither leader – neither Montmagny nor Vimont -- would have ever taken, at this moment especially, the decision to expose fifty men, women and children in the new colony to a tragic fate that was easily foreseeable.

That fact is what historians of Montreal have not reflected on sufficiently. Montmagny and Vimont, in fact, had enough knowledge of the nomadic native peoples, whom this project was designed to benefit, to be able to see that the risk involved in such a sacrifice would not help to attain their objective: the establishment of an Algonquin Reduction. The best defense for the nomads was to be found in their small numbers and the ability to disappear in the vastness of their forests.

That is why these Iroquois, after achieving a virtually complete destruction of the Hurons -- their fellow tribesmen, of the same language and culture as their own -- did not succeed in annihilating the Montagnais and the Algonquins in the same way, or in driving them from their homeland. The Iroquois only succeeded in driving these two peoples deeper into their vast, traditional, hunting grounds.

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[2] *1641 Relation*, **I**, 136-181.

[*] 25 leagues relative to Trois-Rivières, the most remote post at the time.

The nomads were very aware of their northern "escape route" and it was easy to foresee that they would not settle down together in a place that was directly exposed to their enemies, even under the protection of a French fort. The Jesuits were also aware of this fact, and that explains their repeated reservations expressed in whatever praises they bestowed on the Montreal Project.

This reminder of the military climate will help us to understand the events that marked the arrival of the Montreal recruits of 1641. The two ships outfitted at La Rochelle set sail together and for eight days traveled together. Then they were separated by the force of the wind. The twelve workmen led by Jeanne Mance continued their journey peacefully -- far too peacefully -- because their ship was virtually becalmed.[3]

Meanwhile, the ship from Dieppe arrived in New France. After reading the letters from the Hundred Associates, Montmagny assigned the new arrivals some land close to the port beside the Jesuit residence and put the first two Montreal workmen, Godé and Primot, to work at building a storehouse. It would also serve as a lodging for those on their way to the new colony. On August 8, 1641, according to Dollier, Jeanne Mance disembarked with her group, which she immediately reunited with the first workmen.

She could not find lodging in the two communities of religious women. The Ursulines, who were living in the close quarters of Juchereau's house, were still only in the planning stage of building their convent[*]. The Quebec Hospitalers of St. Augustine had moved to Sillery the year before, where their hospital was still unfinished. Pierre de Puiseaux, Sieur de Montrenault, offered to lodge the young women in his beautiful stone house which he had built at great expense on his property at Saint Michel, adjacent to Sillery. He lived there with his married servants, Antoine Damiens and Marie Joly. When Jeanne entered her host's home, she found Madame de La Peltrie there and her attendant, Charlotte Barré.

The good lady had a disagreement earlier with the Ursulines. She loved above all else to be surrounded by young native girls so that when the time came to choose the site on which the Ursuline convent[*] was to be built, Madame de La Peltrie wanted it built at Sillery, like that of the Augustine Hospitalers. She had a powerful ally in the ecclesiastical superior of the nuns, Jesuit Fr. Barthélemi Vimont. But, the Ursuline superior decided that it should be built in Quebec. Her own religious companions, influenced by the stature of Vimont and La Peltrie, opted for Sillery. It was probably Governor Montmagny who enabled the Ursuline

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[3] Flenley, *A History of Montreal,…* 86.

[*] The French has *monastère*.

Superior to win out for Quebec. Madame de La Peltrie, the Foundress of these Ursulines, still set in her opinion, took her furniture and clothing and went to live close to the little native girls. Jeanne Mance quickly formed a close friendship with this lady.

Jeanne, as Treasurer of the Montrealers, had time to take the pulse of the colony while waiting for its leader, La Dauversière. The entire French population, both at Quebec and its environs and at Trois-Rivières, hardly exceeded 450. There were sixty-one families comprised of 280 members. Most of them were dispersed on the lands that were being cleared at Beauport, Beaupré, in the suburbs of Quebec, Port-Neuf, Deschambault, and Trois-Rivières. This dispersal indicates how small was the perceived threat posed by the Mohawks at that time.

The most influential persons were in Quebec: Pierre Legardeur, the Governor's lieutenant; Noël Juchereau, the lawyer and legal adviser of the same Governor; Jean Bourdon, an engineer and a land surveyor; and Olivier Letardif, the Company's general representative. This group had an excellent knowledge of the country and were well able to express their opinion about La Dauversière's initiative, and Jeanne saw that their opinion was not favorable.

The Montreal project seemed, indeed, to be foolhardy to those who were the best informed. Yet the importance of the project was certainly not underestimated. Enveloped in a missionary climate that had prevailed since 1632*, these men did not fail to admire and to esteem such a generous enterprise, which also promised to contribute to a great increase in the population. But, their awareness of the danger from the Iroquois, now so much more acute because it was a recent phenomenon, forced them to exercise much more prudence than anyone had shown until then.

Maisonneuve is not mentioned in Canadian documentary sources prior to September 20, 1641; Jeanne had arrived in August. To determine just when the Commandant was at Quebec, we had to consult the register of Sillery where his name appears for the first time. The document reveals that Paul Le Jeune, the Jesuit who had started the mission that year at Tadoussac, was still in the port on June 29. He administered some Baptisms, none of which were solemn. His companion was Nicolas Marsolet, an interpreter, whose name is inscribed once in the register. Other Frenchmen appear in it also as godfathers: Nicolas Aulart, Daniel Lebrun, and Pierre Boquet, who are not referred to anywhere else in Canada, but were on several ships that had arrived recently.

Now, if we move on to September 20, we find five registered Baptisms, or at least four, which witness to the simultaneous presence in the same place of several

* When the English returned Quebec to the French.

distinguished persons: Paul Le Jeune, Joseph-Imbert Dupéron, both Jesuits, Paul de Maisonneuve, Jeanne Mance, Madame de La Peltrie, Charlotte Barré, Thomas Harenc of Rouen, who also appears on this occasion only. The Baptisms, from September 20 to October 3, 1641, make no mention whatever of where they took place, despite Dupéron's usual accuracy. The place may have been Sillery, or even Tadoussac, where it is certain that Fr. Le Jeune had to go to embark for France.

As a matter of fact, Le Jeune disappears from the register after September 24; but Dupéron and the others were at the same place at the same time as he, and on the same day. They would not have had time to move, from the 24th to the 25th, the day on which Dupéron solemnly conferred Baptism, i.e. with the Holy Chrism, which Le Jeune had not done in the month of June. Le Jeune disappeared therefore on September 24, and we know that he embarked at Tadoussac on Admiral Savinien de Courpon's flagship. So, the others must have stayed at Tadoussac after he left. On September 20, Le Jeune had solemnly baptized a little Montagnais girl from Tadoussac. That means that he had some Holy Chrism either at Sillery or had brought it to Tadoussac where Dupéron would also be able to use it.

The solemnity of the event indicates that this Baptism was not conferred in an emergency and that it offered some assurance of perseverance, even if the parents were still non-Christian. Le Jeune therefore did know them at that time; they were probably catechumens. The fact that Maisonneuve and Jeanne acted as godfather and godmother appears as an act of homage to the new arrivals. The fact that the baptized child was from Tadoussac indicates that the Baptism took place there in Tadoussac, because we know that these Montagnais did not want to live at Sillery.

On September 24, 1641, Le Jeune, without indicating the place, baptized another little girl who had been born on the same day, the daughter of Jean-Baptiste Etinechkaouat, the Montagnais captain at Sillery. But this does not prevent the Baptism taking place at Tadoussac, because the captain had agreed to accompany Le Jeune at his departure and also to meet his colleague at Tadoussac, Nehap or Nehapmat, to persuade him to bring his people to Sillery. The fact that his wife accompanied him, despite her pregnancy, was not at all contrary to native customs. Etinechkaouat and his wife therefore were the passengers on the boat that took Le Jeune to the flagship.

There is nothing to prevent Jeanne, who had traveled with the parents, and probably had been present at the birth of the child, from being the godmother of the little girl. On September 25, Dupéron conferred another solemn Baptism; he did not state where it took place, but the person baptized was the son of Nehapmat, the captain, and of Chiouaboukoukoue, both of Tadoussac. Given the father's importance, the son's Baptism would have normally been administered by Le

Jeune, Founder of the mission. Hence, we have a good indication that he had already embarked on the ship.

The little girl, solemnly baptized at the age of six, despite the non-Christian status of her parents, had to offer some prospect of perseverance; her parents were, indeed, baptized later on. And, since the departure of the ships was imminent, it means that the captain of Tadoussac was at his home at that time. That is our strongest argument for thinking that this whole group: Dupéron, Maisonneuve, Jeanne Mance, La Peltrie, Charlotte Barré, Etinechkaouat and his wife, and even Pierre Gontier, one of the Jesuits' domestics at Sillery, were together at Tadoussac at that time.

On September 27, at the same place, Thomas Harenc and Charlotte Barré were the godparents when a sixteen year old boy was baptized by Dupéron in an emergency. If they had been at Sillery, these distinguished persons would not have been summoned all that distance for a private Baptism. It was very likely under the same circumstances that, on October 3, Dupéron baptized a young man named Earimapamat, who was at death's door. This young man was related to a Christian and probably belonged to the same cabin. Pierre Gontier acted then as godfather because he was the priest's companion.

But, on October 8, 1641, Dupéron was certainly back in Quebec, where he baptized several native boarders in the Ursulines residence; one of them was Marie Iskouechich, the ten-year old daughter of Nehapmat, the captain of Tadoussac. That means that the group which had been at Tadoussac had returned to Quebec, and, as a result, Maisonneuve had arrived there shortly before October 8.

All these delays made it impossible for them to go up the river to Montreal that same year, thus giving Maisonneuve an opportunity to obtain a surgeon from his friend Courpon to replace the one he had lost en route, and to explain to Jeanne the reasons for his delay: The ship on which he was crossing had been forced to return to land three times, and in the course of these port calls, four of the twenty-five men who were supposed to go to Montreal had quit.

Jeanne, in return, warned her leader about the resistance he could expect to face in the matter of the new colony. Thus, the Commandant had much to keep him busy on arrival. For example, he had to complete the Montreal storehouse that was being built in the Quebec port, and to build some boats for use between Quebec and Montreal. In the meantime, Montmagny made him a loan of one of the Company's sloops whose master was Jean Gouray, an inhabitant of Quebec, and married since 1639.

Maisonneuve also found lodging with De Puiseaux. The old man, delighted with the Montreal project, offered him his property and his house at Saint-Michel

along with his fief of Sainte-Foy, situated on the Chesne River, today's Leclercville, where he had a house and some hired men. In return, he wanted to participate in the apostolic work at Montreal. The gift could only be ratified by La Dauversière and Chevrier. In the meantime, Puiseaux was welcomed into the Montreal group.

First, they had to see to implementing the plan, and so Maisonneuve went to visit the Governor. Montmagny explained the situation to him created by the recent confrontation with the Mohawks and suggested that Maisonneuve settle on Île d'Orléans, which was a part of the seignory of Beaupré, and where not a single tree had yet been cut down.

We must admit that this move would have altered the very nature of the Montreal enterprise, but circumstances were such that nothing better could be offered. After listening to the knighted Governor, Maisonneuve replied, according to Dollier:

> "Sir, what you tell me would be fine if I had been sent to decide upon and to choose a post, but since it has been already determined by the Society that is sending me that I should go to Montreal, I am honor-bound to go up there to start a colony even if all the trees of that island were to change into Iroquois".[4]

Even if Dollier, from his own perspective, interprets these beginnings as those of a city, a plan which Maisonneuve could not have had at the time, the speech which he puts on the lips of the Founder are far from improbable. The leader, Maisonneuve, intended to carry out his orders and this tenacity shows courage, but the opposition from Montmagny and the others is no less justifiable. It has been far too easy for writers to forget the co-operation which Montmagny and Vimont, notwithstanding their better judgment to the contrary, continued to extend to the project of Montreal.

Considering the fact that Montmagny was the only representative of the King's authority and that for this reason it was his duty to choose the site where the French troops could be safe, he organized a trip to Montreal. He was accompanied by Vimont and the leading men of Quebec. Maisonneuve was not one of the group, either because he was busy getting his men to start working at the Rivière du Chesne in Quebec, under the command of his surgeon, or because the Governor had not invited him, since there was not as yet any question of taking formal possession of Montreal Island.

The Governor and his entourage landed on the island on October 15. The place chosen for the establishment was the one where Champlain had earlier built a

[4] Flenley, *A History of Montreal,…* 90.

shelter, a somewhat precipitous point formed by the St. Lawrence and the mouth of a small river, later called Saint Martin's Stream. The point dominates an expanse of calm water at the edge of the fast current, protected by an islet and suitable as an anchorage for the ships.

In the meantime, Jeanne was living at De Puiseaux's house where a carpentry workshop had been installed to prepare the timber for the buildings to be built on Montreal island. She distributed tools, clothing and food, and looked after the discipline of her workers. Close by were the Sillery Reduction and the adjacent hospital, which she went to visit with Madame de La Peltrie, Charlotte Barré, and Catherine Lézeau. When winter arrived in November, they were now more confined to the house but they did not fail to attend the religious services in the nearby mission church or in the hospital chapel. The Hôtel-Dieu chronicler mentions that even the workmen made frequent visits to the chapel.

On January 25, 1642, an incident occurred that has been mistakenly used against Montmagny and in which Jeanne was implicated, probably through no fault of her own. Attentive as she was, the treasurer of Montreal was also in charge of the domestic administration and she did not want to let the patronal feast[*] of Paul de Chomedy de Maisonneuve go by without some celebration. On the eve of the feast, she distributed gunpowder to the men and declared a holiday. An hour and a half before day broke over the frozen river, there was a volley of musket fire, sound of a swivel-gun, and the roar of a cannon or *espoir arrimé* mounted on the bridge of the boat used by the Montreal people. Jean Gouray, the master of the boat, handled the cannon.

Everyone around was awakened by the uproar. The Montreal project leader, Maisonneuve, was congratulated and a banquet was served, at which wine was poured for the first time. The whole day was filled with celebrations, and it was brought to a close by another volley. The noise, of course, was heard in nearby Quebec, and Montmagny took steps to find out who had used the artillery without his orders. The boat's captain was put in the brig for a few days.

We may pardon Jeanne, who was not expected to know what the soldiers were up to, or to foresee the disturbance that would follow. In question were the two leaders, Montmagny and Maisonneuve. Did the Governor have the right to be upset? Was Maisonneuve punished justifiably? Faillon assailed the former, and praised the courage and patience of the latter to the skies.[5]

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[*] January 25 is the Feast of St. Paul's conversion.

[5] Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie française*,… **I** 430-434.

In any event, all the reasons Faillon advances are mistaken. Artillery is a royal arm of the service and a commission from the King is needed to use it. The Sulpician Faillon says that Maisonneuve had the King's authority to make use of artillery, and repeats this statement *ad nauseum* without ever giving any proof for it: "The Montreal Society, which was powerful in the eyes of the King, had, it is said, obtained this power"; but the Montreal Society was not yet in existence! "Jean Gouray was one of Maisonneuve's men", someone has suggested; on the contrary, he was one of Montmagny's men, who had already been in the colony for several years! "The boat and the cannon belonged to Maisonneuve"; wrong again, for they were on loan from Montmagny, awaiting the construction of the boats for Montreal; "Maisonneuve was in his Montreal fief": Saint-Michel, the Montreal "fief", was only a commons in the suburbs of Quebec, not a fief!

Marie-Claire Daveluy adds that "Maisonneuve, as captain of the ship, had the right to order the cannon to be fired"; but he was not a captain, since he had crossed over on one of the Company's ships! Maisonneuve had only those powers which La Dauversière and Chevier, the seigneurs of Montreal, could give him. He had not even been put in possession of the seignory by those who commissioned him. Above all, he did not have any military commission, which only the King, or an officer of the King could confer on him. No one had bothered to ask a commission for him.

The cannonade was a blunder at the least, even though not intended, and certainly not malicious. Maisonneuve, who was a soldier, should have been the first to realize this and he should have apologized. As for the punishment inflicted on Gouray, it came under military discipline, applied by the gunner's immediate superior. Why did Maisonneuve, after failing to apologize, make the matter worse by declaring a feast for the prisoner when finally released, drinking to his health, increasing his salary, and by wishing he were in Montreal:

> "There we would be in charge; once we are settled there, no one will prevent us from firing the cannon",[6] and that is what Faillon calls "not doing or saying anything that could reasonably cause offense to Montmagny or harm the respect that was due to him!"

This episode produced a very unfavorable impression in Quebec. But we are more astounded at the premature claim of autonomy for Montreal which cannot be justified in the light of any title whatsoever. This in fact is what crystallized the disagreement between Montmagny and Vimont on the one hand, and the directorship of Montreal -- Maisonneuve and Jeanne Mance -- on the other.

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[6] Official report concerning the incident at Saint-Michel, February 3, 1642, Archives du Séminaire de Québec, *Documents Faribault*, #159.

Notwithstanding the politeness and restoration of good relations, those involved became mistrustful of each other. The Governor and the Jesuit Superior attributed their impression of being rebuffed for their advice to youthfulness and inexperience, whereas the young Commander and his Treasurer blamed narrow-mindedness and hostility towards a plan that came from Divine inspiration, thus justifying their rejecting the advice which experience in the country had led Montmagny and Vimont to give.

In any event, Vimont's writings, in which it is justifiable to recognize also the Governor's sentiments, abundantly testify to a sincere approval of the Montreal enterprise and a profound esteem for its initiators, whose power and importance he even exaggerates. In polite terms, however, the Jesuit superior did not hide from them the fact that the project they had begun was not assured of success. Vimont's confreres had the same reservations, and the facts will show that they were right, as we shall see.

The warnings had been already ignored back at La Flèche, but people concurred with the views of Maisonneuve and Jeanne Mance. That is why Vimont criticized both of them. As for Maisonneuve, Vimont put the blame on Maisonneuve's youthfulness, that is to say, on his inexperience and thoughtlessness. It was Jeanne, however, who bore the brunt of Vimont's criticism. Some Jesuits in France, such as Frs. de Saint-Jure and Charles Lalemant, very likely had written praising Jeanne Mance "to the third heaven".

The leaders of the Montreal Society proclaimed the sanctity of their helper far and wide, but the Jesuits -- especially those in Quebec -- thought that she was "most certainly" suffering from many illusions (*plurimas illusiones*). This testimony by a Jesuit Superior, which he kept to himself for three years before divulging it, cannot be dismissed with a wave of the hand and we shall return to it when the opportunity arises later. However, we are not totally convinced by Vimont's statements because had not always proved himself to be correct in his evaluation of people.

The January "fireworks" event did not destroy the good will which the Governor and the Jesuit Superior at Quebec had started to show towards the Montreal enterprise. Maisonneuve and Jeanne had already been invited to stand as godparents for some converts at Tadoussac and they did so even more solemnly at Sillery. The event was the Baptism of two Hurons who seemed to be important conquests for this Church, still in its infancy, after several years of hardships and difficulties.

The two catechumens had spent the winter at Quebec where they had come out of curiosity rather than from any attraction to the Christian message. Suddenly,

however, they began to feel a holy desire which the missionaries in Huronia had not succeeded in arousing in them earlier. Their names were Atondo and Okhuhouandordon. Both came from Scanonaenrat, the only village of the Tohontaenrats, and Atondo had the rank of captain. After they had been instructed by Paul Ragueneau, and by a thirteen year old Huron girl, Thérèse Khionreha, who was boarding with the Ursulines, the two were solemnly baptized by Vimont in the chapel at Sillery on March 30, 1642. Maisonneuve and Jeanne were the godparents. Atondo was named Paul and Okhukouandoron was named Jean-Baptiste. When they went back home they proved to be good Christians and opened the door to the conversion of their village.

With the approach of spring, the day was approaching for putting La Dauversière's project into motion. The year 1642 would be the year of the establishment of Montreal and the Montreal Society.

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Chapter 6
Beginnings

Although the Montrealers did not learn about the establishment of the Montreal Society until the end of the summer of 1642 -- therefore, after the establishment of the mission itself -- we begin with the first in time, the establishment of the Montreal Society. It took place in Paris. Dollier speaks about the Montreal Society existing as early as the alleged meeting of La Dauversière with Olier in 1640. This has misled historians of Montreal and has sent them looking for the first members of that organization at this non-existent earlier date.

Dollier also speaks of the colony of Montreal in terms of a French settlement, but that is the perspective of 1672, not that of 1642. He advances therefore, by several years, a change of orientation that was imposed on the founders after 1647. In La Dauversière's mind, Ville-Marie was originally a religious mission -- a Reduction -- intended mainly for the Algonquins.

The mission was not to exclude the French, who would be needed to help the neophytes, but it was, first and foremost, for the Algonquins that the project was undertaken. It is true also that a Deed of Concession dated December 17, 1640, awards a fief which La Dauversière and Chevrier were pledged to develop. It was drawn up in the usual style of these concessions. It does not seem, from the Deed itself, that the promoter ever informed the Montreal Society of what precisely he intended to do.

We learn more from a letter sent to Vimont in 1642. The writer is not mentioned, but since it is a reply to a request from the Jesuit Superior for information, it seems to us quite certain that it was composed by De La Dauversière himself. In the Jesuit *Relation* of that same year, which he himself had written for the first time, Vimont, the Superior, after mentioning that a "great man of good works" -- La Dauversière -- had been the first to have the inspiration, and that he had met a person "with the same spirit" -- Chevrier -- continued by mentioning the twenty large casks of food and goods that had been sent ahead in 1640, and then the arrival of the first recruits in 1641, under the leadership of Maisonneuve.[1]

After accurately locating and describing Montreal Island, Le Jeune "borrowed his correspondent's pen" -- who seems to me to have been the promoter himself -- for the account of what, in the customs of the seventeenth century, could only have been a discussion about a foundation:

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[1] *1642 Relation*, **I**, 123-127.

> "About thirty five person(s) have come together to work for the conversion of the native people of New France, and to try to bring a good number of them to the island of Montréal which they had chosen as suitable for this purpose. Their plan is to build some houses for them to live in, cultivate some land to feed them, to establish schools in which to instruct them, and a Hôtel-Dieu to look after their sick".[2]

This took place in Paris. It had obviously resulted from the publicity that Jeanne undertook to exploit before her departure, by sending copies of the Montreal project, published by La Dauversière, to the noble ladies who were her friends.

The number of 35 is the highest that was ever gathered together in the history of the Montreal Society.[3] There are some women; this is explicitly stated in the correspondent's letter. There are some distinguished men, and a number of them are priests. We have every right to speculate about the names, but those that are most plausible are the names of fifteen appearing on the 1649 contract, at a time when the surviving Society became an exclusively male preserve.

The objective of the Montreal Society is very well expressed: to build houses to lodge the natives; to clear the land to feed them; to establish schools to instruct them; to build a hospital to look after them. Everything is for the natives to whom the Associates are to devote their service -- they will be called "Associates for the conversion of the natives" -- as will the French people who will be employed on the site.

The schools[*] cannot but be similar to those that Le Jeune mentions very frequently in his earlier *Relations* but abandoned at that very time as not very suitable for the native children. As for the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu, we know very well that it was brought to the enterprise by Jeanne, and formulated first of all by Madame de Bullion. It is not clear at this point whether it was a question of a French colony or the development of a seignory.

The matter does not appear in the years prior to January of 1648. This interpretation was confirmed by Maisonneuve's conduct in 1643 towards the first two adult converts. He gave each one of them a plot of land, and put two of the Frenchmen at the service of each to help them and to teach them how to cultivate the soil. What follows is the account of the foundation ceremony in France:

> "All the Gentlemen and Ladies met on a Thursday, toward the end of February of this year 1642, at ten o'clock in the morning, in the church of Notre-Dame de Paris, before the Blessed Virgin's altar, where one of the priests in the group said the Holy Mass

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[2] *1642 Relation*, **I**, 127-129.

[3] *1642 Relation*, **I**, 128-129.

[*] The French has *séminaire.*

> and gave Communion to the Associates who were not priests. Those who were priests celebrated Mass at the altars surrounding the Blessed Virgin's altar. There, all together, they dedicated Montreal Island to the Holy Family of Our Lord: Jesus, Mary and Joseph, under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin. They dedicated themselves and joined one another in sharing prayers and merits, so that -- being united in one spirit -- they might work purely for the glory of God and for the salvation of those poor peoples, and that the prayers which they would offer for their conversion and for the sanctification of the said Associates might be more pleasing to His Divine Majesty".[4]

In the purest 17th Century style, that was the foundation formula of an Association. We would not have needed to underline this observation if the "holy association of 1640" injected by Dollier de Casson had not thrown researchers off the track. It was a "pious association", as they were known at that time, but not a "community" in the 17th Century sense of the word.

It is very likely that, earlier on, other associations of that kind were formed as simple works of piety which custom had supported, even to the extent of making them legally recognized. But in the period with which we are dealing, the law was not involved in these pious "associations". To be legally recognized, there had to be a basic contract, the written description of its objectives, the names of the members, the limitations of their responsibilities, and the rules of their association. In the present case, there was nothing of that sort. There was no common investment of funds or legal responsibility – missing elements that would be confirmed in 1647 by a judgment of the Paris Parliament, declaring the Montreal Society as legally non-existent.

At one time, certainly, a recognized community with a religious objective like this one would have been able to exercise considerable powers, such as acquiring foundation funds and pious legacies. Even at that time, the law absolutely required the granting of Royal Letters Patent to enjoy such privileges. But, there was no such Letter for the Montreal Society! Nothing illustrates better the significance of this particular foundation than the patient and remarkable study devoted to the personnel of the Montreal Society by Marie-Claire Daveluy. Very likely, she too, along with many others, was persuaded by Dollier that the association went back to 1640 or 1639.

Daveluy's merit consists in having brought back to life this very remarkable group of people in France who were involved in the enterprise: leading officers of the Court and friends of Cardinal Richelieu. It is not certain that they were all

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[4] *1642 Relation*, **I**, 129.

members of the Montreal Society, but most of them, if not all, did have some connection with it and were well disposed towards it.

Here are only a few names, among the most renowned persons of their time: Gaston, Baron de Renty, considered as a living lay saint, whom we see as possibly the author of the *Véritables Motifs*; Louis Séguier de Brisson de Saint-Firmin, Provost of Paris and a loyal Associate to the end; Antoine Barillon de Morangis, cooperator in Duchess of Aiguillon's good works; Elie Laisné de La Marguerie; Jean-Antoine de Mesmes d'Irval; Jean de Garibal; Christophe du Plessis de Montbard; Bertrand Drouart; and of no less importance, Roger du Plessis, Duc de Liancourt.

This list indicates the existence of a dynamic milieu of Catholic action and reaches right into the King's Council. It accounts for the growing influence exercised on the Court by the humble Montreal Society over a period of several years.

After quoting his Parisian correspondent's letter, Vimont gives the following advice:

> "These Gentlemen will permit me to mention in passing that no one is led to Jesus except through the Cross, and that whatever plans for His glory are undertaken in this country, they involve expenses and suffering, and are pursued amidst opposition, completed with patience, and are crowned with glory. Headlong haste in this matter accomplishes nothing of any value. Zeal is excellent, upright conduct is extremely necessary, and patience will put the final touches on this great work".[5]

The Montreal Society was not a legally constituted association. There was no contract, nor even any registration with the parliaments. We shall see the significance of this situation later on in our story. In the context of legal existence, it resembled the Blessed Sacrament Society. There was no capital fund nor any shares in the Society. At the outset, at least, it did not even possess any collective property. Montreal Island, acquired by concession from the Hundred Associates, remained the personal and conjointly owned property of La Dauversière and Chevrier.

The advantage offered by such an association was that it informally combined vast resources and considerable influence on the part of its Associates which could be called upon for financing an apostolic work. Contributions were voluntary and gratuitous; that is to say, the donors did not demand any reimbursement or individual right over the work or the profits, neither of which, of course, were expected in any event. The contributions were alms given for the love of God.

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[5] Legendre, *Histoire simple et véritable*,… 52.

Of itself the foundation of the Montreal Society did not change in any way whatever may have been the juridical status of Montreal -- a vassal seignory of the Hundred Associates -- nor did it increase Maisonneuve's authority, which was derived from that of the conjoined seigneurs. But it provided what was sought above all at that time, the ability to continue the operation, since the members in their initial fervor invested 40,000 *L* for its support in 1642. But that was all it assured, apart from hope.

In New France, the foundation of Ville-Marie -- a name chosen by the new Montreal Society and probably unknown in Montreal until the end of the summer -- was celebrated with such solemnity as no other establishment, perhaps, that had a similar beginning. The two ships built at Sainte-Foy were brought down to Saint-Michel to be loaded with clothes, tools, instruments, provisions and lumber that had been prepared during the winter.

Montmagny, as the King's representative and of the sovereign Hundred Associates Company, led the convoy accompanied by his military escort. Aboard a "beautiful pinnace" and accompanied by a store-ship, both boats filled with soldiers, he had on his ship Vimont, the ecclesiastical Superior, Maisonneuve, Jeanne, Fr. Joseph-Antoine Poncet, Madame de La Peltrie, Charlotte Barré, De Puiseaux, Antoine Damiens and Marie Joly, both domestic servants of Puiseaux. The forty-four hired men or others who had come from France were distributed among four boats. And they all set sail to head up the river.

No one has recorded the impressions of the passengers on this lengthy trip up the river, now free of ice. Only Jeanne, towards the end of her life, told Marie Morin "that along the shore, for more than a mile* ahead, all that could be seen were fields studded with flowers of every color, a scene of charming beauty".[6] The anchors were dropped behind the islet forming the basin with the mouth of the little Saint-Martin's Creek. The point had an escarpment some seven or eight feet high. But down-stream along the shore and on the left bank of the little river stretched a grassy plain that would flood when the water was high. It was perhaps on this area that they first pitched their tents.

It was May 17, a Saturday. As soon as they disembarked, Montmagny put Maisonneuve in possession of Montreal Island. We do not know whether the first Mass was celebrated that same day or the next day, Sunday. It is probable that they postponed the celebration of Mass to the Lord's Day, as Marie Morin gives us to understand. The altar was built by the workmen, and Madame de La Peltrie and

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* Half a league.

6 Flenley, *A History of Montreal,…* 98.

Jeanne adorned it with streamers and flowers. In full liturgical vestments Vimont intoned the *Veni Creator*[*], then celebrated Mass. His sermon, in substance, according to Dollier, came down to this:

> "Do you see it Gentlemen? What you see is nothing but a mustard seed. But it is sowed by the holy hands of persons so animated with spirit of faith and religion, that it is clear that God must have some great plans, since He is using such chosen workers. And I have not the slightest doubt that this little seed will grow into a huge tree, that it will one day work wonders and that it will spread in all directions".[7]

Unless it be a platitude, this passage represents the aspirations that could indeed exist at the time the Sulpician wrote it, but it is astounding that the Jesuit Superior is not fascinated more by the hope for the progress of the Gospel among the neighboring peoples than by the growth of Montreal. Dollier describes the epic of these determined French people intrepidly attached to this corner of the world which they have now made their own. The Jesuit *Relations* for their part appreciate the opportunities that it offered for gathering the Algonquins together at this post.

After the Mass, the Blessed Sacrament[*] remained exposed for the rest of the day. Montmagny and his military escort stayed on with the Montrealers until they had built a palisade of strong stakes for the protection of the group. He then went back down to Quebec with Vimont, who was seen at Sillery on the 1st day of June.

Around July 28, the cabin for Onontchataronon, known as Atchéast, was built close to the French compound. The father of the family agreed to have his little three or four year old boy, Aminlekete, baptized. Joseph Poncet conferred the sacrament; Maisonneuve and Jeanne gave him the name Joseph.

At the time that Vimont was writing, Fr. Le Jeune had returned from France with a platoon of soldiers and with the funds needed to build a fort at the mouth of the river of the Iroquois, which acquired the name Fort Richelieu on that occasion. But, he had not succeeded in even presenting his plan to the Cardinal for dislodging the Dutch from New Amsterdam to thereby deprive the Mohawks of their source of fire-arms. Everyone saw very well the inadequacy of a fort on the Richelieu River if these Iroquois were not cut off from the sources of their supply of fire arms.

Montmagny built the fort in the first half of August and it was attacked by the Mohawks even during construction. Vimont was there also but seems to have returned to Montreal for the feast of the Assumption, August 15.

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[*] Come Crfeator…

[7] *1642 Relation*, **I**, 132-133.

[*] The consecrated bread .

The arrival of the fleet also brought news from France. Montmagny was busy with preparation of the fort so he sent his lieutenant Pierre Legardeur with the mail for Montreal. Let us recall that Jeanne was anxious to leave for La Rochelle, but had not received any answer from Madame de Bullion, through Fr. Rapine. The letter was brought to Montreal by Legardeur, who also brought along his older brother Jean-Baptiste, whom he wanted to leave with the Jesuits in Montreal. Jeanne's benefactrice approved her decision in favor of Montreal and promised the necessary funds for the construction of a hospital on that island. By the same mail, they learned about the auspicious foundation of the Montreal Society and the choice of the name Ville-Marie for the establishment.

So, the Feast of the Assumption was celebrated with as much enthusiasm as possible as the patronal feast of the settlement. De Repentigny had brought a beautiful tabernacle, the gift of the Montreal Society, and it was put on the altar of the chapel -- still only a bark cabin -- and placed the names of the thirty-five Associates in the tabernacle. Holy Communion was distributed to all at the Mass and the *Te Deum*[*] sung at the end. After the Mass, the cannon was fired. This time, it seems that the gesture did not cause any problem and it is true that Montmagny's lieutenant was present. After Vespers[*] the whole settlement walked in solemn procession, under the watchful eyes of the native people, and a prayer for the King and Queen and the two princes brought the proceedings to an end.

After the feast all the participants went for a walk in the woods. Several Onontchataronons were there. They all climbed up the mountain[*], and when they reached the summit, they had a fine view of the island. Atcheanchi, or Atcheast, according to Vimont, and another native gave speeches:

> "They told us that they were descendants of the people who once lived on this island. Then extending their hands towards the hills to the east and the south of the island they said: 'Look, that is where our villages once were; we had a large population. The Hurons, who were our enemies at that time, drove our ancestors away from this country. Some of them withdrew towards the land of the Abenaki; the others to the land of the Iroquois; one group went to the Hurons and even joined them. That is how this island came to be deserted. My grandfather, said one old man, grew crops on this land. Corn grew very well here, the sun is very good here.' And taking some soil in their hands they said 'Look at how good this soil is. It is very fine'".[8]

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[*] A frequent item in Catholic liturgy.

[*] A prayer usually said in the evening.

[*] A prominent feature on the island.

[8] *1642 Relation*, **I**, 133.

We have often re-read this page, but are not too sure what to make of it. The tradition expressed by the speakers went back only two generations and it is quite accurate. But it seems certain that the sedentary people of Cartier's time belonged to the Iroquoian culture and language, whereas the Onontchataronons, since Champlain's time, seem to have become completely adopted by the Algonquins and spoke their language. At that time, they were living in Eastern Ontario, between the Iroquois and the Algonquins of the Ottawa River.

Despite their remoteness, they were closely allied with the Hurons and the Neutrals; they would hunt in those territories and visit them by way of the Great Lakes, a route avoided by the Algonquins. Is it therefore impossible that they are a remnant of the Saint Lawrence River Iroquois who had escaped from a disaster comparable to the one that would soon strike the Hurons and the Neutrals, who themselves have left some traces among the Algonquin nations? There must have been some earlier displacements of large demographic groups similar to those in historical times!

The name Onontchataronons, a Huron name even in its Algonquin transformation, confirms the evidence given here. The custom of giving persons Huron names also confirms it: the Chief of the Onontchataronons was called Taouiskaron, obviously Huron. These are the same people, called Iroquets, who introduced Champlain to the Hurons in 1610. The Onontchataronons were particularly allied to one of the Huron nations, the Arendahronons, among whom they frequently spent the winter and who were the first of Champlain's allies.

Now, these people, who joined the Huron confederacy towards 1610, seem to have been that part of the Saint-Lawrence Iroquoians who joined the Hurons at that time. The Onontchataronons, even in their Algonquinized form, would therefore be the earlier inhabitants of Montreal Island in the sixteenth century, the ones Cartier had encountered. Those numerous villages on the south shore, on the Richelieu plain, were other Iroquoians whom a greater disaster had forced to disperse. It even seems that the Mohawks and the Oneidas, who had been reunited into the Iroquois alliance for less than a century, came from there, and this would explain why, in the 17th Century, they so tenaciously laid claim to the Saint Lawrence between Trois-Rivières and Montreal.

Granted that the authors of this great dispersal are here called Hurons, it can be questioned whether they were Hurons or Iroquois, since the Algonquins had only one word to designate both of them, and because Champlain, earlier on, was forced to distinguish between good and wicked Iroquois.

Vimont ends his account of the Feast of the Assumption, on August 15, with these words:

> "We did not forget to invite them and to encourage them to return home and to explain to them the plan of the captains who were sending people to this part of the world to help them, promising them that they would help them to build small dwellings and to clear the lost land."

Atcheast appeared to approve of this:

> "The rest of them were of the same mind but did not dare to give us their word that they would stay here to clear the land. Fear of the Iroquois, their enemies, inspired too much terror in them. Not that they would not feel safe close to our settlements, but they would not dare to go any distance away to hunt or to fish. Their enemies could easily come to spy on them and to lay ambushes for those who went even a few miles away from the defended areas. And so I can hardly believe that there was ever a large number of native people at Notre-Dame de Montréal, or that the Iroquois had been conquered or that we cannot live in peace with them".[9]

After they had received the first letters from France but no opportunity to communicate their experiences, Maisonneuve and Jeanne could at last reply by letter by De Repentigny's boat which was going down to Quebec or by the Montreal boats which shuttled back and forth all that summer to transport the materials that had been accumulating in Quebec. The *Véritables Motifs* speaks of a *Relation* about Montreal that was sent in 1642. It seems to have been lost, because it was not published.

These Gentlemen of Montreal[*] were coquettish enough not to write about themselves, thus giving a little lesson in humility to the publicity-minded Jesuits. That is not to say, however, that when they did decide to write about themselves, they did not do so at great length, repetitively, and copiously, as we can see in the *Véritables Motifs*. Maisonneuve and his treasurer Jeanne Mance could not conceal the difficulties experienced in Quebec. We shall see the results of their messages.

A letter, ostensibly from the Montreal Society to Pope Urban VIII, in Latin and translated into French by Marie-Claire Daveluy, is still being circulated in our times.[10] But, the text of the letter that exists has no signatures or date and cannot be found in the Archives of Rome or at Propaganda[*] or in any of the other pontifical congregations. We cannot be certain then that it was ever forwarded as such. In any event, it is at variance with the intentions of the Gentlemen of Montreal who

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[9] *1642 Relation*, **I**, 134-135.

[*] Presumably the Montreal Society.

[10] Daveluy, *La Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal*,… 35-37.

[*] A Pontifical agency in Rome.

were asking for two Plenary Indulgences*, one attached to the church of Montreal, the other to the chapel in Paris, where the Associates held their meetings. The *Véritables Motifs* gives valid testimony that the Gentlemen and Ladies* did receive such Indulgences in 1643.

The social and political influence of the Montreal Society Associates appears more strikingly in a letter which they received from Louis XIII through Governor de Montmagny on February 21, 1643. It was clearly a consequence of the noisy incident of January 25, 1642, which had come to the knowledge of the Montreal Society at the end of the year. In it the King grants the Society "the permission to complete, at their own expense, a little fort which they had begun to build on this island, and to defend themselves with artillery and with anything else that might be necessary, both for their safety and for avoiding the wrath of the native people".[11] This is, in the context of defense works authorized by the Deed of Concession of Montreal, a royal permission to make use of artillery which Montmagny did not find in Maisonneuve's 1641 mandate.

The permission is unquestionable and it increased the enterprise's freedom of action. But, as an arbitrary warrant sent to the governor, it was not a commission granted to the Commandant of Montreal. The King then urged Montmagny to help and to promote the enterprise and to prevent anyone from causing it any trouble, while confirming the reservations of the Hundred Associates concerning the fur trade, still the perpetual monopoly of the Company.

This document made a delegated seigneur the equivalent of a royal officer in the matter of using artillery, but it was not a commission addressed to this Commandant. In fact, Maisonneuve never produced this sort of commission to justify his title and power. Furthermore, the Montreal Society, of which he claimed to be the representative, did not have legally recognized authority for this, because as a private pious association, it did not even have any founding contract signed or composed or registered in the presence of a notary.

A further proof of the influence exercised at the Court by the Gentlemen and Ladies of the Montreal Society was the royal gift of a ship for the enterprise. On April 20, 1643, hardly a month before his death, on May 14, Louis XIII presented the Montreal group with the gift of a 250-ton ship, immediately christened by the

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* Full Dispensation from the time to be spent in Purgatory if certain conditions were met.

* Presumably of the Montreal Society.

[11] Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie française*,… **I**, 485-486.

Society as the *Notre-Dame-de-Montreal*. He also included some pieces of artillery in the gift.

On its maiden voyage to Quebec, the ship brought Louis d'Ailleboust, a "gentleman" engineer of fortifications and a member of the Montreal Society. He was accompanied by his wife, Barbe de Boulogne, and by his sister-in-law Philippine de Boulogne. This nobleman from Champagne, whose grandfather had been Henry IV's official surgeon, was born in 1612 at Ancy-le-Franc.

In Paris, he very likely learned of the Society's establishment and wanted to share in its projects. His wife was ill and could not support his efforts, but the *Véritables Motifs* states that she was cured of an incurable disease at Notre-Dame-de-Paris, which led her to agree to their departure for New France. They came with her sister to join the residents of Montreal, where he rendered considerable services to the improvement of the fortifications. D'Ailleboust's presence alongside Maisonneuve gave the young Commandant a prestige that he did not have before. The D'Ailleboust couple lived a saintly life after mutually agreeing to make a vow of chastity[*].

Montmagny, to show that he harbored no resentment over what had happened earlier[*], on learning the favorable news before the arrival of the *Notre-Dame*, escorted them personally to meet the pioneers. He told them that he had received a letter from the King and shared its contents with them by announcing the blessing that they had received: a ship of their very own.

If we pause for a moment to consider the population of Ville-Marie in that summer of 1643, it does not seem to have been very large. At first one would even think that a name could be assigned to all of them individually. According to recorded numbers, there would have been ten persons in 1641 who came by way of Dieppe, plus the twelve with Jeanne Mance and twenty-one or twenty-two with Maisonneuve. In all, including the surgeon left behind by Savinien de Courpon, that would come to forty-six or forty-seven persons.

To these we can add those from Quebec who joined the group: Marie-Madeleine de Chauvigny de La Peltrie, Charlotte Barré, Pierre de Puiseaux de Montrenault, Antoine Damiens and his wife, Marie Joly, Fr. Joseph Poncet whom Vimont had brought to Montreal and left there, Jesuit Fr. Joseph-Imbert Dupéron, who had been transferred from Trois-Rivières to Montreal in September 1642, to be the first in charge, Jean-Baptiste Caron, a donné with the Jesuits and Jean-

[*] Probably being used here as a synonym for continence .

[*] Presumably the "fire-works" incident.

Baptiste Legardeur, a young lad left in the Jesuits' care; that would make fifty-five or fifty-six persons.

The ships of 1642 are thought to have added twelve workmen, raising the number to sixty-seven or sixty-eight. It reached seventy or seventy-one with the arrival of the D'Aillebousts. Seventy is the number given by the *Véritables Motifs* at that moment.

There were twelve women; the men were in the service of the Montreal enterprise. The D'Aillebousts lived a "normal life"[*]; so did Maisonneuve, Jeanne Mance, with Catherine Lézeau, the two Jesuits and their two domestics. The others constituted a sort of family community supported at the expense of the enterprise. This community survived for several years.

Among these first workmen are the ancestors of the earliest families in Montreal. Apart from the D'Aillebousts, Godé and Primot couples, who were the first to arrive in 1643 and the other two in 1641, the individuals cannot be identified between 1641 and 1642, with the exception of Gilbert Barbier, who arrived in the second year. In 1643, we do not know of any new arrivals except the D'Aillebousts.

Massicotte mentions all the possible names concerned with these beginnings, and has included some who did not live in Montreal. The names that are confirmed, besides those mentioned above, are: Bernard Berté, Pierre Bigot, Guillaume Boissier, Jean Caillot, Jean-Baptiste Daveine, Jean Descarries, Pierre Didier, Jacques Haudebert, Pierre Laforest, David de Latouche, Guillaume Lebeau, César Léger, Léonard Lucault, Jean Mattemasse, Jean Muses, Pierre Néret, Jean Philippe, Pierre Quesnel and Martin (*al.* Mathurin) Serrurier, Jean de Saint-Père, Louis Prud'homme and Lambert Closse must have been there at that time. Boissier, Berté, Laforest, Mattemasse, Bigot and Lebeau were to fall victim of the Iroquois along with others who have remained unknown.

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[*] The French text has "de leur ordinaire", including the quotation marks. In the context, the phrase seems to imply supporting themselves with their own resources.

Chapter 7
First Apostolic Activity

We suspect that Madame de La Peltrie, Jeanne Mance's friend, had some influence on Vimont's choice of Joseph Poncet as the first spiritual director of the mission in Montreal. She had a great admiration for this Jesuit, who had put her in contact in France with Marie de l'Incarnation, and had crossed over on the same ship with her in 1639. She was happy to entrust herself to him, and we can see her practically following in his footsteps from the visits she made to him, even when he was living far from Quebec. In the beginning, Poncet was sent to the Huron mission, but he was not very successful there and returned at the end of one year. He was then sent to Trois-Rivières to work under Fr. Jean Dequen, and later under Fr. Jacques Buteux. It was no doubt there that Vimont picked him up to take him to Montreal[*].

Vimont frequently complained about Poncet's lack of obedience, but the man was not really disobedient. Endowed with a very active imagination, he often put his personal inspiration above the solid rules of spiritual judgment. His theological and pastoral opinions were strange, and he was strongly attached to them. This characteristic trait probably had something to do with the episode that we are now going to describe. Extremely pious, to the point of being superstitious, he certainly lacked discernment of spirit[*]. Madame de La Peltrie was like him in this regard and it is easy to understand why she might have felt so friendly towards him and trusted him.

Fr. Joseph-Imbert Dupéron had come from Lyons to New France, where his brother François had preceded him to the Huron mission. He learned Algonquin at Sillery, being stationed there until the summer of 1642. He was then sent to Trois-Rivières to replace Poncet. But as early as the month of September that same year, he was sent to Montreal to be the Superior of the two Jesuits already at that post. He can therefore be looked upon as Montreal's first Pastor. Unfortunately, he also was one of Poncet's admirers and did not -- on his own -- possess sound judgment. It was a mistake to put these two men together to establish a mission.

The Montreal community lived in a palisaded enclosure in the shape of a huge parallelogram, the façade of which looked out on present day rue de Callières. The fort was situated on the domain of the first seigneurs, between the St. Lawrence and the small river. The two sides of the structure skirted the St. Lawrence on one

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[*] The French text has Trois-Rivières.

[*] Discernment of Spirits is a major theme in Ignation spirituality.

side and the small St. Martin creek on the other. The back part of it coincided with the rear of the site bordering the south-west side of the present day rue de Port; a marshy region extended beyond that point.

At the exit to the fort, a road (rue de Callières) ran along the façade and came to an end at a bridge built on a series of piles, in the direction of rue Saint-François-Xavier. The basis we have for this configuration of the fort is the fact that Maisonneuve's early residence was preserved there until 1683 or 1684, and that it is precisely the place which would be granted to Louis-Hector de Callières by the Sulpicians on July 2, 1688. That was the first concession ever made in the area.

However, the map of early Montreal that is often displayed and which is attributed to Jean Bourdon, does not conform with the geography of the site and it is not Bourdon's in any event. Beaugrand-Champagne's map, frequently displayed, is totally a work of imagination.

If the church was only a bark cabin in 1642, the other cabins could not have been made of any more luxurious and durable material. The military tents which had been brought over did not need to be put up right away. It was in a cabin or in a tent that Jeanne Mance, with the help of Catherine Lézeau, organized the first dispensary or hospital in Montreal. That was to be her way of contributing to the conversion of the natives, just as she had seen the Hospitalers doing at Sillery.

The first natives to visit were the Onontchataronons, in July and August of 1642. We shall meet them several times at Ville-Marie and they will speak seriously about returning, as a body, under the protection of the French to settle down on the island of their ancestors and to start cultivating the land once more. It must be noted that the island, a "no man's land" threatened by the Mohawks and avoided by the Algonquins, possessed a very abundant supply of game animals at that time. This made it very attractive for a people aspiring to be sedentary.

The first year was quite likely to arouse very great hopes. In 1643, Vimont had nothing but praise for this mission:

> "The majority of the French who are here are people of very different social conditions, age and natural gifts, as if they come from different countries. But, they are united in purpose, since they are all working for the glory of God and for the salvation of these poor native people. I can say that their virtue has helped in the conversion of several persons who have been won over to God by the love that the French have shown them. Would you really believe that several of the craftsmen who are working here, since their departure from France, have as their only motive the glory of God and their own salvation, in a place that is virtually remote from any occasions of wrong-doing? The mere thought that they are contributing as much as they can to the salvation of souls makes them work with such great energy that they never feel any reason to complain."

The Superior had high praise for Maisonneuve:

> "They have also been led by a very worthy gentleman, whom God seems to have singularly inspired and to have called to serve Him in this place, since he has such a great love, both for the establishment of the colony and for the salvation of the native people. Suffice it to say that this man is Monsieur de Chomedy de Maisonneuve, and his humility prevents me from saying any more... The Commandant has been kind and effective, and all the people find him easy to obey and they love him for his steadfast devotion to his duty. So much so, that he received great satisfaction from his people, both from his subjects and their captains, and those who govern the Church are perfectly content with one another... The good example set by M. de Maisonneuve and of some other outstanding people who are living there have contributed much to this result."

The Jesuit *Relation* describes the great flood of December 24, 1642, that saw the water come up to the very foot of the palisades, and Maisonneuve's inspiration to plant a Cross on the bank of the little river on the site of the establishment to obtain Divine light, and finally his vow to carry another Cross on his own shoulders to the top of the mountain if the waters stopped rising. When the danger had passed in the middle of winter, the Commandant had a path to the mountain cleared in the forest. It was along this route, on the feast of the Epiphany in 1643, that he carried his holy burden right to the summit and planted it there. Dupéron celebrated the Mass and Madame de La Peltrie was the first to receive Holy Communion. The place later became a venue for pilgrimages.

During these months when Ville-Marie seemed to be forgotten by the whole world and even undisturbed by the Iroquois, rumors about the plans for Montreal were being spread among the Algonquins, and the Hurons as well. The natives were impressed by the generous and completely liberal character of the establishment, in which commercial interest had no place whatsoever, an establishment conceived solely for the improvement of their condition and for their safety, and which had no other intention but to teach them to pray. Ever since 1634, there had been much discussion about this plan with them and between themselves. They had often shown great interest in it. The Hurons claimed that they would have settled there ahead of the Montrealers if it had not been for Iroquois hostility.

Dupéron wrote to Vimont: "I can tell you truthfully that, as soon as they began to hear about the sheer liberality of the Gentlemen of Montreal, they were deeply touched by the plan. The belief that existed everywhere among them, that Montreal had been established solely for the good of the native peoples, has been the strongest attraction that we have that -- some day -- these people will come to believe in God". But, let us be careful when reading these lines! Since we are now

considering Dupéron's account of the situation, we need to make some reservations.

Since the autumn of 1642, some Christian native families whom the two Jesuits had known at Trois-Rivières or at Sillery had been coming to the fort and were having their children baptized. Even non-Christian families were willing to do the same for their children. On February 25, 1643, a band of twenty-five Algonquin warriors arrived to wage war against the Mohawks. They were commanded by a Christian, Simon Piechkaretch, the most valiant of all the Algonquin war chiefs. They left their wives and children at the fort.

Two or three days later, another band came to hunt on the island, something they had not dared to do earlier. Its leader was Oumasatikoueie, an Algonquin from Allumette Island. He had never before been to Montreal, but he was won over in the space of one day and decided to settle close to the fort. Maisonneuve immediately gave him a plot of land and two Frenchmen to begin working there.

The good man was baptized on March 7, with Maisonneuve and Madame de La Peltrie as his godparents; he was named Joseph. Maisonneuve presented him with a musket as a present. He claimed that he was a nephew of the notorious "Borgne of the Island", also known as Tessouehat, chief of the Allumette Island Algonquins. Joseph earnestly begged Maisonneuve to invite the uncle who was at Fort Richelieu at the time.

Before they had time to do so, Tessouehat arrived over the ice with his entourage and came straight to the fort, asking to be baptized along with his wife. He declared that he was ready to take over a plot of land and also to settle on it and was given two men to help him. He was baptized on March 9, and named Paul by Maisonneuve and Jeanne, and then had his marriage blessed in the Church, just as his nephew had done. He also was given a musket as a present.

We are surprised at the hastiness of these Baptisms. Tessouehat was well known to the missionaries for his hostility towards them, both at Quebec and at Trois-Rivières. He was not a thoroughgoing blackguard, but his arrogant and haughty character had already caused much annoyance and he was to create even more. We must mention that the leading captains of the native peoples, and especially Tessouehat for the Algonquins, were the natural guardians of the nation's traditions. The religious disposition of this captain should certainly have been tested for a longer period, as was customary at Quebec and Trois-Rivières. Missionaries as experienced as Frs. Jean Dequen and Jacques Buteux would certainly not have acted with such haste. As we go a little more deeply into the event, we are completely astounded.

In fact, the character of the nephew should have been called into question more than that of his uncle. The nephew was a notorious apostate who had opposed the efforts of the missionaries with all his strength to preach the Gospel to the Algonquins seeking refuge at Trois-Rivières. There can be no doubt about his identity. He was baptized when ill by Fr. Jacques Buteux on July 30, 1639. He was known as Chibanagouch at the time, and was about forty years old. Jean Nicollet, his godfather, had given him the name Abdon.

He then changed this Algonquin name to that of Oumasatikoueiau. That was the name of a treacherous warrior of the same nation, killed in 1637 by the Mohawks and known to the French as Le Grenouille[*] - the French translation of his name from Algonquin. As for the name Abdon, the French translated it as Le Crapaud.[*] He then conceived an intense hatred for the missionaries, and inspired the same hostility in Tessouehat. He tried to prevent the Baptism of Simon Piechkaretch, the warrior mentioned above.

The religious instruction of the Algonquins was being hindered to such an extent in the autumn of 1642 that Vimont sent Le Jeune to Trois-Rivières to have a talk with those who were so obstinate, and he succeeded in subduing them. At the end of November, the Algonquins moved to the Richelieu River, and Le Jeune followed them to support the Christians among them.

After playing some of his tricks, the apostate fell ill and this calmed him down. After Piechkaretch's departure for the war, Oumasatikoueie decided to go hunting on Montreal Island. Several days later, Tessouehat took the same route. The two seem to have been in collusion, both of them wanting to obtain fire arms for themselves. Montmagny had started to distribute fire arms to converts, but he refused to accede to their particular request because of their attitude.

The chapter in which these Baptisms are described with great emotion is the most painful passage to read in all the Jesuit *Relations*. It reeks of falsehood. The Jesuit Superior at Quebec, who had devoted the preceding chapter of the *Relations* to the apostate's escapades, does not conceal the identity of the person baptized in Montreal, but he does not make a single mention of the repeated Baptism.

Dupéron could not have been tricked into performing this ecclesiastically illicit act, since he had spent some time at Trois-Rivières and could not have failed to learn about Fr. Buteux's difficulty with this man. It was even less likely to be the case with Poncet, who had spent the whole of the preceding year at Trois-Rivières and had seen Abdon at work. He must have been aware of the prudence exercised

[*] The Frog .
[*] The Toad .

by his Jesuit confreres when it was a matter of hasty Baptisms. However, in Montreal, there was an eagerness among the leaders to "inform" France of their apostolic successes. Every one of the colony's leaders seemed to have been in agreement with the repeated Baptism: Frs. Dupéron and Poncet, Maisonneuve, Madame de La Peltrie, Jeanne Mance, and De Puiseaux.

If the people in Quebec had any misgivings on reading this report from Montreal, they did not dare to express them, even concerning the most serious item of them all: the repetition of Baptism. Perhaps they were afraid to disappoint the Gentlemen in Paris with regard to the apparently speedy realization of their apostolic expectations. The dispositions of the persons baptized were no less suspect.

Oumasatikoueie would become even more hostile on this account and end up by dying as an outcast. Tessouehat and his wife would be refused Communion to the point that the husband would be so humiliated that he was abandoned by everyone at the time of his death. Moreover, how could anyone be sure that the twenty-five Baptisms performed that same spring were of any better quality? And yet, this type of "hasty" Baptism continued to fill the pages of the register at Montreal for the rest of the year. Then they came to a sudden halt on January 21, 1644, to resume only on August 30, 1645. This "initiative" taken at Montreal did considerable harm to neighboring missions by scattering among the converts several scandalous people who were Christians in name only. This difficult situation lasted for several years. This "production line" approach was not of much help to the project at Montreal.

In April of 1643, significant events took place. On one of the first days of that month, someone noticed some men and women on the opposite shore of the St. Lawrence who had taken to the ice floes and were coming down the river. They were jumping from one block of ice to another and heading for the fort. From a distance they were recognized to be Piechkaretch's band which some other fleeing and pitiful warriors had claimed to have seen defeated and massacred some time earlier. The group was arriving with the head of an Iroquois, a sign of victory. Tessouehat immediately assembled all the Algonquins who were hunting on the island and they all gave the new arrivals a noisy and joyful welcome.

Simon Piechkaretch would become one of the heroes of the Algonquin tradition. At this time he was about fifty years old. He was baptized at Trois-Rivières on January 30, 1641, and took his Christian profession seriously. He was the most skillful, the most clever, and the bravest of the Algonquin warriors; he was also the most feared by the Mohawks, who eventually brought about his death by treachery in 1647.

Having left with Tessouehat after the reception mentioned above, Simon returned to the fort at Montreal with the same Tessouehat and some other captains a few days later. Piechkaretch stammered confusedly, so Tessouehat took over as spokesman and described the real situation. The Algonquins were not the victors; they had lost four men and practically all their weapons. For this reason, their council had decided to withdraw to Trois-Rivières, where their compatriots were living, there to mourn their dead and to see if the French would keep their promise of military help.

Maisonneuve and the two missionaries had no difficulty seeing that this was "goodbye" to the Montreal project. The Algonquins no longer felt secure there and Piechkaretch was certain that the Mohawks would pursue him. The people who had escaped before him -- as was learned later -- had also been tracked down by their Mohawk enemies who stopped only when they were in full view of the Montreal fort. The peace that had endured since May 1642 was coming to an end. The Algonquins thereupon left in a group, even though some individual families would continue to come and go all during the year to the fort.

The only Algonquin who remained was Charles Pachirini, baptized on April 2. He must be distinguished from another Pachirini, who had been baptized at Trois-Rivières with the name of John, and who had already died. Moreover, there was also another Charles, who was married and had a child baptized at Sillery on June 24, 1642. This last person is mentioned again at Trois-Rivières in 1645 with his wife, and he is very likely the man who would appear as the captain of the Christian Algonquins of Trois-Rivières, leaving his name there on the "Pachirini fief" in the town.

As for the young warrior from Montreal, also called Charles, he had been brought, his feet frozen, to Jeanne's dispensary along with two others. The Ville-Marie nurse looked after them with great care, and took this opportunity to give them some religious instruction and became the godmother of Charles. The latter took the two Jesuits for a visit to their fief at Laprairie, after which he left for Trois-Rivières.

When the Algonquins took off like a "flight of sparrows", Ville-Marie waited for the storm, not knowing from which direction nor how it would burst upon them. Maisonneuve and his troops had no experience of this kind of enemy. On March 19, the Feast of Saint Joseph, the framework of the principal building was finished and the cannon was installed on it. People were gradually leaving the bark cabins for more solid houses.

At the beginning of June, a Huron flotilla of sixty men was coming down to Trois-Rivières, headed for the Saint Lawrence rather than today's Rivière-des-

Prairies. This was not their regular route, but curiosity drew them to Montreal. That same year, the Mohawks were blocking all the waterways. Forty of them had constructed a small fort about a mile and a half from the French and a hundred yards from the river. On June 9 the Mohawks caught sight of the "sixty Hurons coming down in thirteen canoes, without any muskets or arms, but laden with pelts",[1] and carrying the manuscript for the annual Jesuit *Relation* along with letters from the missionaries. As the Hurons were landing, after "shooting" the rapids[*], the Mohawks terrified them with a burst of firearms and put them to flight. The Mohawks took twenty-three Hurons as prisoners, and seized their canoes and cargo. The thirty-seven other Hurons scattered into the woods.

The victors left the prisoners guarded by ten of their men and advanced on Ville-Marie to attack five Frenchmen busy building a framework a hundred yards from the fort. Twenty warriors appeared in front of the fort to distract the defenders while ten of the others rushed toward the workmen. Of the five Frenchmen, three were killed and scalped then and there: Guillaume Boissier, Bernard Berté, and Pierre Laforest. The other two, one of whom was called Henri, were led off as captives and tied up with the twenty-three Hurons.

The Mohawks spent the night celebrating their victory and discussing what they should do with their captives. When morning arrived, they bludgeoned thirteen Hurons to death, scalped them, and put the rest with the Frenchmen. Then they rushed to the canoes laden with beaver pelts, took all they could carry, leaving behind about thirty. They then continued on down the St. Lawrence under the very eyes of the French, powerless to stop them.

Eight or ten days later, a French prisoner whose name is not recorded escaped from their hands and returned to Ville-Marie where he described his experience. The Mohawks had kept the Frenchmen tied up for only two days, and had not inflicted any other suffering upon them. Henri, for his part, was led to Mohawk territory where he met Fr. Jogues, captured on August 2. Fearing that he would be burned to death even though his life had been spared earlier, Henri escaped before the month of October. He then disappeared completely and perhaps perished in the woods.

During this time, the Hurons who had escaped from the attack reached Montreal one by one, some on the night of June 9, the others the next day. Fr. Ambroise Davost was there, replacing the two regular priests. He buried the three murdered Frenchmen in the little cemetery already prepared in front of the fort and

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[1] *1643 Relation*, 238.

[*] Presumably today's Lachine Rapids.

surrounded by a palisade of stakes. This account of June 9 is taken from the Jesuit *Relation* for 1643 and does not agree with Dollier de Casson account[2] in some important points.

The Jesuit account is certainly irreconcilable with De Casson's thesis of a Huron betrayal, as constructed by the Sulpician thirty years later. The French witness who was captured with the same Hurons at the same time, says nothing in 1643 about a treachery. Maisonneuve allowed his soldiers to go and look for the abandoned booty and gave them all the profit. It was they, probably, who found the scattered pages of the missionaries' letters, later included by Vimont in his *1643 Relation.*

It may not be amiss for us to mention how the Algonquin "cloud" hovered around Ville-Marie, costing the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society a good deal of money, in addition to the expense involved in construction and defense. Maisonneuve helped all those natives who had stopped hunting so that they could listen to the catechism. It could only be hoped that all these expenses would not have been in vain. But the fear of the Iroquois was such that, for this year at least, the Algonquins did not begin to cultivate the fields that had been assigned to them on Montreal Island.

In the preceding chapter we mentioned that Montmagny had arrived during the summer with the good news of the King's generosity. In September, D'Ailleboust -- the "gentleman" engineer -- arrived, and in the autumn a new surgeon called Noël Bélanger came to the post. Apart from that, there does not seem to have been any other increase of personnel. On the contrary, the Mohawks had seized four good workmen from the colony. Apparently, there were no other losses in 1643.

Finally, to illustrate the devout attitude permeating the little community of the fort, we shall quote a passage from Sister Marie Morin, in its original spelling and syntax. In describing the recollections that she received from the lips of Jeanne Mance, often naively understood and retained, the Canadian Sister attributes to Maisonneuve the establishment of a confraternity or society. The coherence and accuracy of detail confer a historical value to this page. It is situated back in the time between D'Ailleboust's arrival in September 1643 and the departure of Madame de La Peltrie for Quebec in the spring of 1644. It is consistent with the piety and character of the people mentioned:

> "He formed a society of five brothers and five sisters. He put the first of the brothers with Monsieur Lambert Closse, Monsieur Lucau, Monsieur Minime Barbier, Monsieur Prud'homme. The sisters were Madame D'Ailleboust, Madame de La Peltrie, Mademoiselle Mance, Mademoiselle de Boullongne, and a Mademoiselle whom I

[2] Flenley, *History of Montreal,…* 108-110.

> mentioned as a servant of Madame de La Peltrie. They simply called themselves "brothers and sisters", striving to defer to one another in everything and to serve others in their time of need, to console and to serve the sick, etc. They made many Novenas and pilgrimages up the mountain, on foot and at the risk of their lives, because of the Iroquois who could easily hide along the way waiting for them to come by. There were not as yet any open areas, but only standing trees and very dense forests. This did not dampen the ardor of these women or deter them from reaching the summit of this steep and craggy mountain. That is why the strongest men worked hard and sweated a great deal to build roads there. That is what was done for nine successive days by the society of the five brothers and by some others as well."

The *Véritable Motifs* does not disagree when it describes the religious atmosphere for this same period:

> "They made blessed bread, processions on feast days, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament* on Thursday evenings when the workers returned, exhortations, Baptisms of native people and marriages when they occur, and other ceremonies of the Church. They lived together most of the time like people in an inn, some from the private funds of the others, but all living for Jesus Christ, one in heart and soul, in a way re-enacting the form of the primitive Church, for they were really its members."

There are only two names in this list that can cause some doubt, those of Closse and Prud'homme. They were documented only later but it is certain that the second lived in Montreal before 1650. Both can be put in the number of those hundreds of hired men in the whole country whose name did not come to light until after they had been there for several years. In this respect Sister Morin's testimony is a valuable source.

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* A religious service in the Catholic Church.

Chapter 8
Royal Letters Patent of 1644

At this time, Jeanne Mance, albeit living in the shadow of distinguished persons -- even in Montreal -- soon "came on stage" because it was now a matter of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu, which did not exist as yet. In the autumn of 1642, she had learned that Madame de Bullion, her sponsor, approved of her dedication to the work in Montreal and was going to take the necessary financial steps to establish a hospital on that island.

Actually, in the spring of 1643, according to the foundation contract,[1] the great lady had invested 42,000 *L* -- the capital for this foundation -- with the representatives of the Montreal Society: Bertrand Drouart, the secretary, and Jérôme Le Royer de La Dauversière, the procurator. Since the lady still refused to put her name on any Deed, this money passed from hand to hand without contract or receipt, with only a verbal promise to use it for the purpose envisaged.

At that time La Dauversière was preparing the cargo for the *Notre-Dame-de-Montréal*, which was to carry Louis d'Ailleboust over to New France in 1643. La Dauversière, Founder of the Montreal project, must have had a rather urgent need for money because we know that he withdrew 4,000 *L* from the foundation fund for "food, maintenance and payment" of ten of the workmen sent to Montreal "... and food for the poor native peoples who were living there". We have no knowledge of these ten workmen in 1643, but this does not say that they had not come. Besides, the same procurator had taken an additional 2,000 *L* from the same fund for the subsistence of ten men in 1644. One thing is certain; these workmen, if they had been there, did not work at the hospital in 1643 and 1644.

In any event, these withdrawals are somewhat surprising, because a foundation fund must remain untouched if it is to yield fully and annually the expected income. Did La Dauversière have the "anonymous" donor's permission to diminish the foundation fund of the Hôtel-Dieu by 6,000 *L*? It does not seem so, because in 1648 we shall see the lady obliging him to reimburse the withdrawal. His action may not have been dishonest, but it was certainly stupid.

There remained therefore only 36,000 *L* of the foundation and that is the amount that was put to productive use. On January 16, 1644, Jacques Labbé, Sieur de Bellegarde, in the presence of the notaries Chaussière and Pourcel, sold to the same representative of the Montreal Society -- La Dauversière -- various buildings,

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[1] See this contract of January 12, 1644, with the added items in Mondoux, *L'Hôtel-Dieu, premier hôpital de Montréal,…* 324-325.

lands and revenues for the price of 36,000 *L*, all described in the contract. The Deed of sale {if authentic} is extremely complicated. It contained some important obligations and was accompanied by quittances and ratifications. So, the 36,000 *L* were indeed invested in profit-generating accounts, but it is impossible to know precisely what the accounts would yield in revenue to the poor - the intended beneficiaries - of Montreal.

The revenue from the foundation fund at that time was 2,000 *L*. It was calculated at the legal rate, that is to say, of *denier dix-huit*, or five and a half percent. But Bertrand Drouart, acting as La Dauversière's attorney, paid Labbé only 32,000 out of the 36,000 *L*, undertaking to pay the remaining 4,000 within the current year. This means that the Society did not at that time have the total use of the remaining 36,000. The 4,000 was, indeed, paid back the following January 23.

Those involved in the contract, as it is indicated, exchanged the reciprocal guarantees that were customary. But, of what was the Montreal Society's guarantee since it legally owned nothing in its own collective name. We know that Montreal Island and everything on it was the conjoint and personal property of La Dauversière and Chevrier. Someone must have noticed this. That is why, very likely, these two owners of Montreal appeared in Paris March 25, 1644 before the same notaries as above, claiming that everything that they had done so far for the acquisition of Montreal Island and of other lands in New France "was for, and in the name of, the Gentlemen Associates for the conversion of the native peoples of New France on the said island of Montreal". And, they proffered the contract's title: The contract between Lauson and La Dauversière, August 7, 1640, the second and third signatures by Lamy of the Company of New France.

It was therefore a matter of transferring the ownership of Montreal Island to the Montreal Society -- which had not even been formed at that time! Be that as it may, the contract allowed Bertrand Drouart, in the name of the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society, to claim the income accrued through Madame de Bullion's *deniers* after March 28, 1644. But what was the validity of this transfer to a legally non-existent Society? That Society had no juridically signed contract of association that would give public proof of its membership, its aims, and its conditions.

Faillon would reply: "They had Letters Patent from Louis XIII, February 13, 1644". Certainly, if these Letters Patent were acceptable, it is clear that the transfer was perfectly valid, but the Letters of March of 1644 would be redundant because the Letters ostensibly granted to it earlier in February of 1644 would have already recognized the Society's ownership of Montreal Island. In fact, the Letters of February 1644 would have recognized and approved of the association, confirmed its possessions, its aims and granted it the privileges of communities instituted with a religious purpose and other powers which the King alone can grant: power to

name a governor for the King, to receive his commission; freedom of navigation; to institute and to accept pious foundations and legacies for their purposes. Finally, the King would have ordered Montmagny to publish these "earlier" Letters Patent and to supervise their complete implementation. Nothing more would have been needed to create a legal foundation!

Therefore, why did La Dauversière and Chevrier, in March 1644, enact this transfer of their own properties to the Montreal Society which the King had presumably recognized as their own possessions less than a month earlier in February 1644? Why, on March 21, 1650, were fifteen Associates of the Montreal project obliged to make a common declaration of their collective character and as a consequence a mutual donation *inter vivos*[*] of these possessions, and at the same time as a renunciation of any individual hereditary right?

Why, moreover, is there no extant record of the publication by Montmagny -- who would have received orders to do so -- of these earlier Letters Patent? Why was Maisonneuve never named the King's lieutenant in Montreal, but always claimed that he had received his mandate from the seigneurs? Why, in 1647, did the Parliament of Paris, where the Letters necessarily had to be registered, refuse the Society its claimed right to the legacy made by Legauffre, if not for the very reason that the Montreal Society was not a legally existing entity, thereby implying that the Montreal Society did not have any Letters Patent?

Is it not because these "Letters Patent", dated February 13, 1644,[2] were never valid in the first place? Actually, the extant document -- purported to be an authentic Letters Patent -- is very well composed, respecting all the regulations of the chancellery without any anachronisms in relation to the facts except on one point: a minor one perhaps, but minor only in appearance as we shall now see. Recalling the royal interventions in New France, the King would add: "... and with respect to the month of March 1643 on the subject of Montreal, of which we are fully informed..."

But, the King was poorly informed, because the Deed invoked at that time is only the letter – but not a Letter Patent -- by Louis XIII to Montmagny, February 23, 1643. The phrase "to the month of March 1643" leads us to understand, according to the style of the chancellery, a solemn royal document meant to be *ad*

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[*] Between living persons.

[2] The text of the letters patent of February 13, 1644, was published in the *Edits, Ordonnances Royaux, Déclarations et Arrêts du Conseil d'Etat du Roi concernant le Canada*, Quebec, E. R. Fréchette, 1854, pp. 24-26.

perpetuam rei memoriam[*], composed in the same diplomatic form as an edict or a creation of an office, on which the day of the month is not inscribed and to which was attached the great wax seal with red and green foils. This is not just an ordinary letter on which the royal stamp would simply be printed. And yet, it contained a serious distortion of the facts within a year of the document to which it was referring -- very astounding behavior in a chancellery!

The Montreal Society's extant "title", potentially the most highly authorized, the most extensive, the most powerful, and the most perfect title the Society could have ever possessed – *bearing the date February 13, 1644*[*] -- was actually not produced by its beneficiary until March 30, 1665, the day on which the first copy of it was made in the Records Office of the Hôtel-Royal – some twenty years later! We cannot help but see this event as recalling the legal difficulties associated with Legauffre's thwarted legacy in 1647.

The Montreal title, in fact, was not registered either in France or in New France before September 20, 1666, the day on which it was inscribed in the register of the Sovereign Council of Quebec, then vacant on Intendant Jean Talon's orders. These extant and alleged Letters Patent have no legal bearing on the first twenty years of Montreal's history. They are an ante-dated document!

There are, in fact, some indications of the ante-dating even within the text itself. We can ignore the reference to Louis XIII's letter to Montmagny of February 21, 1643; the chancellery of March 25, 1644 could not have been unaware of its precise date or its precise form. However, a final appendix is more suspect: "and for the said letters to be able to be published in different places, we want the same credit to be extended to the duly collected copies as to the present original, for that is our pleasure." Since the head-office of the Montreal Society was in France in 1644, the original, and not merely a copy, should have been presented to the French Parliament, and more precisely to the Paris Parliament.

Furthermore, there was no serious obstacle for an organization based in Paris to provide an original document to the Paris Parliament according to the rules of jurisprudence. Further, in 1644, according to the human and natural order of things, it surely could not have been foreseen that a sovereign court of New France would later – more than 20 years later -- have the same requests for a Letter Patent. The sovereign court came to be only in 1663 after the creation of the Sovereign Council in New France. Therefore, because of this clause -- which somehow

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[*] For the archival records .

[*] Italics mine.

foresaw an event some twenty years in the future -- the indicated date of 1644 on the extant document is subject to suspicion.

On October 23, 1663, the Governor of Quebec, Augustin Saffray de Mézy, gave Maisonneuve a commission as governor of Montreal. The same day, it was presented for registration with the Sovereign Council, but it contained a provision reserving the right of the new seigneurs of Montreal -- the Sulpicians -- to nominate a governor. Souart, Sulpician procurator of his Society when it taking possession of Montreal, appeared elsewhere on the same day to state that "he had certain knowledge that, by Letters Patent from His Majesty of the year 1644, the King had granted them the permission to name and to provide for the government of the said island".[3] For this reason, the Sovereign Council ordered the Sulpician seigneurs to present, within eight months, their titles of ownership of the island and the Letters Patent which they claimed to have. Until such time, the commission given to Maisonneuve would be maintained intact.

As a consequence of this decree by the Council, the Superior of Saint-Sulpice in Paris, Alexandre Le Ragois de Bretonvilliers, made an inventory of titles to Montreal in the papers of the Montreal Society preceding the Sulpicians. Here is what he found: (1) The Deed of Concession by the Company of New France granted to Chevrier and La Dauversière, December 17, 1640. (2) The declaration and grant by La Dauversière and Chevrier to their Associates, March 25, 1644. (3) The further declaration and mutual concession by the Associates, March 21, 1650. All these documents would be inscribed in the register of the Sovereign Council, September 20, 1666. But the Superior did not find any Letters Patent in the collection!

Thinking that very likely the parchment original had been lost but that it must have been forwarded earlier by the Court, the Sulpician Superior asked the Records Office of the Hôtel-Royal for a new original because an original was needed for presentation to the Quebec Sovereign Council, and not merely a copy printed on paper. But, not even the minutes for the Letters Patent could be found in the Records Office. Since no one would ever want to make up an original parchment document in the absence of the first one -- which would need to be returned to him -- the only thing the Records Office would grant him was a comparable document "for the use of the Sieur de Bretonville to take the place of an original".

That is the reason for the unusual appendix, which bestowed, in the very text of the extant Letters Patent, the status of "original" to a copy. To confirm the

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[3] *Judgments et Délibérations du Conseil souverain...* **I**, 38.

authority of the copy, the appointed commissioner, Henri D'aguesseau, ordered Jean Bourdon, the procurator for the Sovereign Council of Quebec -- who was visiting Paris at that time -- to be present at the hearing into the matter. Bourdon, however, did not show up, so the commissioner found himself forced to grant in favor of Reverend de Bretonvilliers.

All these extraordinary procedures – the search in the Records Office by a commissioner appointed *ad hoc*, the absence of the original suggested by the lack of minutes for it, the provisions for assuring the authority of the copies -- prove quite clearly that the editing of the extant "Letters Patent" with which we are familiar was done because of the circumstances of 1663, not of 1644. Thus, in summary, an "original" was reconstituted on the testimony of the Sulpicians, re-edited, and back-dated.

Authentic and valid Royal Letters Patent did not exist, therefore, but rather an antedated version was produced when Letters were requested by the Sovereign Council of Quebec. The signature of the King and that of the Secretary of State, Loménie, do not present any obstacle to this because Louis XIV was reigning in 1644 and in 1663, and Henri-Auguste de Loménie was Secretary of State for foreign affairs during this whole period.

What has led us to this perilous exercise of contesting the existence over a period of some twenty years of these Letters Patent were the following facts: (1) the non-observance on the part of the Montreal Society of an essential condition for the authority of the governor of Montreal: the presentation to the King required by the Letters Patent; (2) the absence of any means of defense to safeguard Legauffre's legacy to the Society, means which the Letters would have contained; (3) the lack of any registration during this whole period: this formality is a condition *sine qua non* for the use of Letters Patent in tribunals; (4) the inability of the title holders to produce an original, and even the lack of any rough draft in the royal register, which was obliged to preserve the original in place of the rough drafts; (5) the silence of other documentary sources concerning the existence of these Letters Patent during a period of some twenty years.

The required Letters Patent were reconstructed by appealing to oral testimony. Now, oral tradition rapidly produces distortion. We can imagine how our Letters Patent were born, relying on Louis XIII's letter to Montmagny, on February 21, 1643. From that time on, the Governor of Montreal had become accustomed to an uniquely autonomous situation which his counterpart at Trois-Rivières did not enjoy. All general governors, one after another, respected this arrangement until 1663. People were accustomed to ascribe it, without identifying the source in any accurate way, to royal intervention. This sort of intervention, however, would normally need to exist in the form of Letter Patent. So it is this form of document

of which Souart spoke before the Council in 1663. But the required Letter Patent could not be found. Someone then succeeded in getting a “new original”, but an “original” that had not been preceded by any “real original”.

This discussion does not, perhaps, seem to have any relevance to the history we are studying. But it does have one connection, and it is an essential relationship. Actually, it is impossible to evaluate accurately the relations of Montreal with the whole of New France, or even the relations of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu with the Montreal Society, without having established the existence or non-existence of Royal Letters Patent. A version of the Montreal story, based on a belief in the existence of these Letters, has been drawn up over the years that contains details and events that have been altered and are incomprehensible.[4] If the Letters Patent were not, in fact, existing prior to 1665, then the same details and events find a natural and unforced interpretation.

An initial conclusion takes us back to the beginning of this chapter and will serve as its conclusion. If we leave aside these Letters Patent, then the legal titles establishing the Montreal Society are very weak. The transfer to the Montreal Society effected by La Dauversière and Chevrier did not afford any legal remedy in the absence of any formal association of this organization. The transfer could not, of itself, give legal existence to the Montreal Society.

And, as for the situation which is our special concern -- the disposition of the Hôtel-Dieu’s foundation funds -- the legally non-existent Montreal Society did not have the right either to accept it or to administer it. Only Royal Letters Patent could have granted this power.

It is fortunate that the question had never been raised before a tribunal. It is hard to say what may then have happened to the funds donated in favor of a similar association to establish a foundation fund for a bishopric; that is, the funds entrusted by Legauffre to the Blessed Sacrament Society, completely lost when the donation was contested in 1647 by the donor’s heirs. The justification for the “adverse” judgment was precisely the fact that the Blessed Sacrament Society did not have Letters Patent from the King enabling it to accept gifts of this kind.

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[4] These Letters Patent are the foundation of Faillon's whole thesis on the subject of Montreal.

Chapter 9
Hôtel-Dieu Threatened

Now that we have settled the question of the Hôtel-Dieu's foundation funds, we shall turn our attention to Montreal, where some unexpected events were taking place. The Algonquins, alarmed by the return of the Mohawks in force, now began to avoid Montreal. The Baptisms imprudently conferred in 1643 had left a lasting and painful impression. Dupéron was removed from Montreal as early as the autumn of that year. Fr. Gabriel Druillètes, a Jesuit and of sound judgment, and one whose zeal was very promising, came to replace him. But Poncet stayed on. Madame de La Peltrie no longer had her band of little girls whom she loved to have around her because the Algonquins did not visit the place during the past winter.

We read in Dollier's account, when he is speaking of the hospital, the construction of which he anticipates by one year, making it 1644 rather than in 1645:

> "This enabled Mademoiselle Mance to see that her good lady had some very good reason for not agreeing to change her charitable gifts in favor of a mission she was requesting".[1]

No one has commented on these enigmatic words. Since the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu was built in 1645, it could only be in 1644 that Jeanne Mance proposed this change to Madame de Bullion. The first hospital was actually built in a great burst of activity after the reception of the letters from France. What was the change envisaged here?

We can only answer that question by re-assembling the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, because the matter has not been treated anywhere in the literature. Dollier's text is the first item. The second is an excerpt from a letter by Vimont to his Superior General[*], dated September 14, 1644. What follows is a translation we made from the Latin:

> "The most distant (Jesuit residence) is called Mont-Royal, or Ville-Marie. It was started four years ago by some men from France, noblemen and men outstanding for their holy lives. It will lead, I believe, to trials and civil strife. For even if these Gentlemen are virtuous, they have never been willing to entrust themselves to those who have had some experience of conditions and regions in this country. Even though we have tried to give them some advice that would be useful for their plans, they have never wanted to accept it and have accused us of being hostile to their project. In

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[1] Flenley, *A History of Montreal,…* 124.

[*] The General of the Jesuits .

> return, they have put their whole enterprise, which is certainly a very noble one, in the hands of a young man and a young girl whom they praise very highly for her holiness. This has caused very great harm to the whole project and is still hurting it. The girl labors under several illusions which we here have recognized very clearly and have deplored as such. What is most unfortunate is that several of our Fathers in France have heaped praise on her and have raised her to the third heaven. The letters which we are sending this year will expose the whole affair and will perhaps suggest some remedies".[2]

Finally, the third piece of the puzzle is an episode in the life of Madame de La Peltrie. It is described in the third person in Fr. Dablon's *1672 Relation*, in the section containing two beautiful testimonies to the two Foundresses of the Quebec Ursulines, who died within six months of each other. It pertains to a plan that Madame de La Peltrie conceived at the end of her stay in Montreal to go up herself in person to the land of the Hurons to work for their salvation. Since these events -- the change proposed to Madame de Bullion by Jeanne, the dismay caused in the Jesuit Superior by Jeanne Mance's changes of mind, and Madame de La Peltrie's Huron project -- all came together in the same year 1644 and took place in Montreal, then they must be connected with one another. We reconstruct the story as follows.

The Algonquins, originally the intended beneficiaries of Ville-Marie, withdrew in 1643. Some families still visited there, but ceased to do so definitely after January 21, 1644. Madame de La Peltrie was still in Montreal because, according to the records, she was a godmother on that same January 21. The great lady, a pioneer in the country in the field of feminine missionary vocations, eclipsed the modest Jeanne. She not only eclipsed the younger woman but also dominated her. Madame de La Peltrie, whose holiness and virtues were unquestionable, was a woman of decision and of rare tenacity. The way in which she had realized her missionary vocation amply demonstrated this.

The "brain-wave" that had prompted her to withdraw from Saint-Michel near Quebec also confirmed this. So did her resolve to be associated with the Montreal project, where she had been living for the past two years. Does anyone imagine that the unfavorable turn of events in Montreal finally vanquished her constancy? Nothing of the sort. She had a passionate desire to look after and to instruct the little native girls. But, there were no longer any of them at Montreal. Hence, she would go to find them where they were sure to be found -- in Huronia!

But how much more grandiose would be a female missionary expedition if, at the same time as a school, the lady's canoes were also to bring a hospital to the

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[2] Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, *Gal*. 109, 1 folio.

Hurons. It was the time when people were speaking about going up to the Hurons. René Goupil*, a surgeon, was going up in 1642 precisely with this idea of being of service. The following year, François Gendron, also a surgeon who was already quite renowned, offered himself as Goupil's replacement.

Since the ailing natives in Huronia needed her just as much as did the little native girls in Montreal, Madame de La Peltrie decided that the Hurons had a great need of medical services. Self-reliant as she was, Madame de La Peltrie had, however, only limited financial means. Now, if she could have access to the rich foundation fund promised to the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu, she could increase her efficiency tenfold with the sick and the children at the same time. She therefore "took control" of Jeanne Mance, who had a great amount of respect for her.

If the nurse of Ville-Marie had been provided with a perceptive Spiritual Director close at hand, she perhaps would have resisted Madame's irresistible charm. Fr. Poncet, who had lived among the Hurons and was still hoping to return to them, had already been under the Lady's influence for several years. There was thus no serious obstacle to the plan in Montreal because Maisonneuve was not the man to oppose the plans of so many holy persons.

Agreement was reached between Madame de La Peltrie and Jeanne. The latter, highly esteemed by Madame de Bullion, wrote to her sponsor back in France for permission to move the hospital she had founded from Montreal to Huronia. Madame de La Peltrie went off to Quebec to prepare for the Huronia expedition of the two women because that could not be done in Montreal. De Puiseaux perhaps entered into the plan as well because he left Ville-Marie and requested the return of the possessions which he had bestowed on the Montreal Society. In fact Saint-Michel seemed to be just the right sort of base of operation for Madame de La Peltrie, who could not, with any decency, seek asylum with the Ursulines whom she had stripped of her gifts, except for the meager foundation that she had given them.

When navigation on the river resumed in 1644, Madame de La Peltrie, Charlotte Barré, Pierre de Puiseaux and his servants, Antoine Damiens and Marie Joly, set sail for Quebec. We do not know when they arrived, but Pierre de Puiseaux was a godfather at Sillery on July 16. Almost without any delay the good lady, along with her companion, went to visit the mission at Tadoussac, where she met two Ursulines who had arrived from Paris. She returned from there on August 2. It is difficult to say whether she intended to go up to the Hurons as early as

* Goupil had been seized and killed by the Iroquois.

1644, or only after Jeanne had received a reply from Madame de Bullion, 1645 at the earliest. The fact is that she was busy making preparations:

> "Everything was ready for this great voyage, her company, her canoes, her provisions, her small bundles containing what she needed to survive in those parts and to enable her to be generous. She was not the least bit frightened by what people had said to her to have her call off this enterprise. She was only waiting for the right time and season for embarking upon it. But one of our Fathers, who had come down from that country with the Huron flotilla, made her see clearly the uselessness of this trip for the purpose that she had in mind and the obvious danger of falling into the hands of the Iroquois, who were then at war with these peoples, that she decided to give up any more thought of it".[3]

We know that Fr. François Bressani, a Jesuit, was captured on the river while heading for the Huron country that same year of 1644. The only priest who came down from Huronia at this time was Pierre Pijart, who was coming to replace Fr. Jean de Brébeuf among the Hurons encamped at Trois-Rivières. It was he who succeeded in dissuading the good lady. Otherwise, they would need to wait for Fr. Jérôme Lalemant, who came down from Huronia in September of 1645.

Fr. Vimont was astounded when he learned of her plan. He could hardly criticize the great lady, for whom everyone had the greatest respect and who was exposing only herself to danger. Everyone in Quebec tried to reason with her. We mentioned earlier that Vimont had a sincere admiration for the work at Ville-Marie, despite his reservations about the way it was being handled. Jeanne Mance's plan seemed to him to put the fate of the missionary colony in danger and furthermore, to portend some long lasting conflicts between the Montreal Society and its benefactress, if the latter agreed to her friend's wish.

As a first step, Vimont recalled Poncet from Montreal and we find him at Sillery in mid-August, whereas Dupéron was at Trois-Rivières. He sent Fr. Georges d'Eudemare to Montreal after his arrival from Île Miscou; we find him in Montreal in mid-July. When Fr. Isaac Jogues arrived from France with his mutilated hands, Vimont appointed him as a temporary companion to Jacques Buteux, who had been sent to take charge at Ville-Marie. Jogues was there towards August 28. But, none of this prevented Jeanne's letter from leaving for France.

So, Vimont also wrote to the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society to prevent the project from being implemented. In addition to the dire effects that Vimont feared the Huron project would have on the Montreal project, he was quite aware that the transfer of funds from the Hôtel-Dieu to the Huron Mission would make the Jesuits suspected of being the instigators of this change.

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[3] *1672 Relation*, 242.

Madame de Bullion had directed Jeanne, by the mail of 1644, to start building the Hôtel-Dieu. That year the *Notre-Dame* transported twenty-one men to Montreal. This time we know their names: Simon Barraut, François Lardereau, Mathurin Mousnier, Jean Vaydie, Nicolas Leroy, Mathurin Boutefeu, Jean Leduc, Paul Chambord, André Julien, Simon Richeome, Jean Gourraguer, Simon Moynet, Pierre Mousnier, Blaise Juillet, Jacques Regnaud and Antoine Vedet, who brought along his wife, Françoise Bugon, with him. In her widowhood, Françoise would be one of Jeanne Mance's helpers.

The ten men promised in 1643 may not have come; we cannot find any trace of them. Perhaps they were all included among the arrivals of 1644, because in that year there were some workmen for the hospital. The others replaced those who had been killed by the enemy. Four had disappeared in 1643; the following year, on March 30, the men killed were: Guillaume Lebeau, Jean Mattemasse, and Pierre Bigot, while two others were led off as prisoners and probably burned by the Iroquois. This sacrifice of Maisonneuve's men had been necessary to convince people that the leader's prudence was not cowardice.

In 1644, besides instructions and men, Jeanne received 2,000 *L* for her subsistence from Madame de Bullion, three sets of things needed for chapels and several pieces of furniture. But, faithful and obedient to Madame de La Peltrie, Jeanne Mance did not have them start building the Hôtel-Dieu. Dollier speaks of a road "over which the wood was brought in to build the hospital".[4] But he was under a false impression in thinking that any building took place in 1644.

The incident narrated above reveals a Jeanne Mance we had not known. She was weak, easily influenced, and impressionable. This, in our opinion, surely does not undermine either her virtue or her piety or the quality of her faith. The Kingdom of God is not only for the strong and the resolute; it is for the little people, the humble and the weak. Jeanne, with her insecurity and her humble courage, was surely no less dear to God than Madame de La Peltrie, a very virtuous woman also, with all her resolute character.

A declaration signed by her* on February 6, 1666, informs us that the land on which the Hôtel-Dieu was to be built had already been given by Maisonneuve in 1644. The Deed of Concession granted 200 *arpents** in area with 4 *arpents* of frontage right on the St. Lawrence. This gave an area 50 *arpents* in depth and makes it a strip of land rather than a field. The rhumb-line was not the same as that

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[4] Flenley, *A History of Montreal,…* 118.

* Ostensibly Jeanne Mance.

* 1 *arpent* = 1.5 English acres approximately.

given to surrounding properties. It was not followed except in the direction of rue Saint-Sulpice, earlier known as Saint-Joseph, which formed the south-west side of this property. Its frontage therefore began at the intersection of the same street and the river and extended down river for 4 *arpents*. This land constituted most of the future borough of Montreal.

This means that, in 1644 and 1645, Maisonneuve had not yet determined the site of the future city and that he had not given any general orientation to the concessions; this was done only in 1648. Nor had he designated the site of the commons on which the land of the Hôtel-Dieu encroached. As far as we know, the Hôtel-Dieu was the first building constructed outside the fort. Finally, we think that since it was entirely inspired by the original plan for a native Reduction -- which is obvious in the original project -- the map of Ville-Marie did not yet include any seigniorial exploitation or urban organization. These new perspectives would be introduced according to the circumstances and needs as they arose.

Jérôme Lalemant is the best observer concerning the construction of the Hôtel-Dieu in its true details. He arrived in Montreal from Huronia on September 7, 1645. Here is what he discovered:

> "When I arrived in Montreal a wooden construction had been prepared for our Fathers and all that had to be done was to put it up. When they were just about to do so, the ships arrived and brought some news and orders from France to those who were in charge of Montreal; they were to use all the workmen at another task, namely, at building a hospital, for which they had borrowed at high interest in the preceding year. However, nothing had been started as yet. Monsieur de Maisonneuve, who was in Montreal at the time, found it hard to break this news to our Fathers. I undertook to do so and to have them approve of it. Since then they have had me cooling my heels, as if I were the one who had held up the work".[5]

La Dauversière had explicitly asked that Le Jeune be the Jesuit Superior for Montreal, and it was probably to him that Le Jeune had complained. Le Jeune had in fact been sent there and spent a year in Montreal with Isaac Jogues as his assistant. Le Jeune, the former Jesuit Superior, was a steady hand and he was the man to straighten things out. Vimont was so unhappy in 1644 with the situation in Montreal that he suppressed the chapter on Montreal in his *Relation.* During that year the new pastor recopied by hand the pages or copy books that were used as a register. Hence the extant register, thought to have been begun in 1642, really dates from 1645-1646. The copyist, moreover, right from the first entry, committed an error in a date, corrected in the *1642 Relation.*[*]

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[5] *Journal des Jésuites*, ed. Laverdière and Casgrain, p. 11.

[*] Perhaps some confusion of dates here in Campeau's text.

We can guess that the letter received by Jeanne from Fr. Charles Rapine, in the name of Madame de Bullion, was not very affectionate. The nurse's only thought was to move into her house, with the result that "on the 8th October of the same year, she was living there and able to write and date her letter from the hospital of Montreal, writing to her dear Foundress".[6] The capital of the foundation fund had been well invested in 1644, but the construction costs were great, and so were those for the upkeep of the personnel. When writing to the benefactress that year, the nurse asked her:

> "... if you could once more be charitable enough to provide for my subsistence and for one servant-girl, and allow the 2,000 *L* in revenue which you gave me be used entirely for the poor, we would be able to do more to help them. See what you can do in this matter. I find it hard to suggest that you should do so, because I find it hard to ask, but your kindness is so great that I would be afraid of an eternal reproach if I failed to inform you of the needs that I know".[7]

The generous Foundress replied the following year, meeting fully the expectations of the young administrator:

> "I am more anxious to give you whatever you need than you are to ask for them. For this reason I have put 20,000 *L* in the hands of the Montreal Society for you to draw the revenue so that you may serve the poor without any cost to themselves. Besides this, I am sending you 20,000 *L* this year".[8]

We might very well imagine that the second of these figures is a mistake for 2,000, which later became the nurse's annual living expenses. The first 20,000 mentioned above would have been a second foundation that Madame de Bullion invested in the Montreal Society. At a rate of interest similar to that of the fund for the Poor, the 20,000 *L* should have yielded 1,100 *L* annually. But, we can wonder if there is not some confusion in Dollier's testimony. The rearrangement of the foundation funds in 1648 has not left any trace of the second 20,000 *L*, even though they must have increased the capital to 60,000 *L*.

The builders, having learned a lesson from the floods in the past, put the hospital on the slope 2 *arpents* or more from the river and above the level land that bordered on it. Given the short time spent on its construction, the hospital could not have been very large nor built of stone. It was probably not completed on October 8, 1645, even though one section of it was habitable.

But from that time onwards, it was the residence for Jeanne Mance and her assistant, as well as of those who were physically ill. Jeanne's house, according to

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[6] Flenley, *A History of Montreal,…* 122-124.

[7] *Ibid*., 124.

[8] *Ibid*., 128.

Sister Morin, was “a wooden construction, which had a kitchen, a room for herself, one for her girls {sic}, and one for the sick for whom she served as nurse and mother.” At some as yet unknown date, but prior to 1651, a stone chapel was added, nine to ten feet to a side. The whole compound was surrounded by a strong palisade, the entrance of which was on the present-day rue de Saint-Sulpice, on the extension of a road coming from the fort through the woods, called the rue de l’Hôpital, and pre-existed rue Saint-Paul.

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Chapter 10
Establishing the Habitant Community

Jeanne Mance became the first woman to leave the fort at the Pointe à Callières when she finally began living in the Hôtel-Dieu, perhaps built too soon. She lived there alone with her assistant, Catherine Lézeau, in the middle of the woods, a few *arpents* from the Montreal community.

There was as yet no privately owned property on the island. We know of only one Habitant from Quebec, Jamet Bourguignon, who cultivated a plot of land on the left bank of the little Saint-Martin creek and had even built a house there, but there is no trace of any concession having been granted to him. It is true that the Hundred Associates had forbidden Montreal to recruit people from the other posts, but it does not seem that this provision was enforced.

Thanks to Montmagny's diplomacy, by the end of 1645 New France enjoyed a period of tranquility once peace had been established between the Mohawks on the one hand, and the French and their native allies on the other. However, other events took place that year that affected Ville-Marie considerably.

The most important event was certainly the transfer by the Hundred Associates of their commercial monopolies and also all the financial responsibility for the colonization of the Saint Lawrence to the Habitant Community. This news was received with widespread satisfaction in August of 1645. Pierre Legardeur and Noël Juchereau had accomplished this feat in France and the King had approved the transaction. The Community's new fleet arrived in August. The *Notre-Dame*, Montreal's own ship, was part of it even though it had not yet been purchased.

The Habitant Community immediately formed an organization for themselves similar to that of the Hundred Associates by electing twelve of their number to a governing Council. It had authority over the public resources of the colony, sea-going and river navigation, commercial imports and exclusive rights to the fur trade, which, it will be recalled, was the perpetual monopoly used for financing the colony. The directors disposed of and distributed revenue in favor of common objectives to which they were bound by the charter of the suzerain company: the Hundred Associates.

Montreal, until then dependent solely on the generosity of the "associates for the conversion of the native peoples" -- the Montreal Society -- was now integrated with the Habitant Community of New France and became one of its three constitutive parts, along with Quebec and Trois-Rivières. La Dauversière, by a contract on January 20, 1645, with Pierre Legardeur, had brought about this

integration. Ville-Marie received its share of the common budget, salaries for its governor, expenses of the garrison, and support of the ministers of religion.

These are a large number of responsibilities of which the Montreal Society was now relieved, although it agreed to support its parish priests for three more years. Montreal also had the luxury of a community store where the residents were able to meet their needs. Since the Society supported the majority of the personnel at its own expense, it would also be the principal customer. Its first manager was Charles Lemoyne, whom the Habitant Community sent from Trois-Rivières to Montreal, along with an interpreter of Algonquin, Thomas Godefroy de Normanville.

Even though there were very few Habitants in the strict sense -- that is to say, families owning property -- at Ville-Marie at that time because the majority of them were in fact employees of the Society. The Habitant Community allowed them to have four members in the first class, that of the nobles; ten in the second class, that of leading citizens; and two in the third class, that of ordinary citizens. The post was therefore treated quite generously, because there does not seem to have been a single family with landed properties.

Some further benefits resulted from these changes. The *Notre-Dame* was a disproportionate burden for the seventy persons living in Montreal. It was chartered by the Habitant Community as early as the year 1645, and on December 12, in Paris, La Dauversière sold it for 22,000 *L*, along with the two boats that were used on the St. Lawrence. The Montreal Society was thus freed from the task of providing transportation that was simply too expensive to maintain. From then on it would rent transportation from the Community under certain conditions determined by contract.

Montreal retained, however, complete freedom to pursue -- at its own expense -- its apostolic work, that is to say the establishment of an Algonquin Reduction on the island. For its part, the Habitant Community was committed to support these objectives as effectively as possible. We must mention that these arrangements left the Montreal store or warehouse at Quebec practically unused, and even more inactive and invisible was the store that had been promised in Trois-Rivières but had never materialized.

In France, the Montreal Society urgently needed to overhaul its own economy. We know that it did not have any capital funds nor any revenue. Every time it was necessary to send something to Montreal, the Society had to collect the money through voluntary and charitable contributions. But by now, the initial enthusiasm had already abated. There was no more talk of Ladies who had favored this association more than others.

The most assured support of the work was a group of Messieurs du Saint-Sacrament, some of whom held illustrious and influential positions at the Royal Court. The Chancellor Pierre Séguier, the Lamoignons, the Bouthilliers, the Barillons, the Laisnés, and the De Mesmes were powerful protectors. Some faithful souls looked after the administrative needs: La Dauversière as procurator, Bertrand Drouart as secretary, Chevrier, Baron Gaston de Renty, who was looked upon as a lay saint, Roger du Plessis, the Duc de la Roche-Guyon, son of the Marquise de Guercheville, Antoine Barillon de Morangis, and perhaps the pastor of Saint-Sulpice, Olier. But, the zeal of these influential people, all members of the Saint-Sacrament, now found it difficult to confine its interests exclusively to one single island on the Saint Lawrence River in New France

The failure that the battered Company of New France was facing due to the painful liquidation of its debts in 1643 left the field open for these Messieurs du Saint-Sacrament to take control of the colony on the St. Lawrence as a whole, and even more so, the whole of New France under its wing. They were even interested in Acadia.

Neglecting or unaware of the policy followed until then by the Hundred Associates, the Messieurs gave Charles de Menou d'Aulnay such a vague commission that he was legally able to seize the Gulf of St. Lawrence -- a neighboring French province -- by force of arms and to ruin the Nepigiguit mission* that had been started there by the Jesuits. The Messieurs du Saint-Sacrament's influence was particularly felt on the shores of the St. Lawrence.

In 1645, Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve had to go to France because of his father's death. He put Louis d'Ailleboust in charge of governing Montreal. Maisonneuve's presence in Paris rekindled and extended the Gentlemen's interest. He returned to Quebec in 1646, but he did not even have time to reach Montreal before another family crisis once more recalled him to France. During the interlude in New France, he witnessed some of the abuses perpetrated by the directors of the Habitant Community, with which he refused to be associated, and he heard the complaints from the Habitants, who had been stripped of the privileges which the charter of the Hundred Associates had guaranteed them. He was therefore able to bring along to Paris eye-witness testimony of conditions in New France.

Along with the Habitant Community delegates, he conceived a new administrative regime. Louis XIV then created, in the Royal Council, a committee composed of four members to supervise the affairs of New France and to make recommendations. This was the first colonial organization undertaken by the

* In Bathurst, New Brunswick.

Crown. It is not by chance that it was entirely composed of Associates and other persons sympathetic to Montreal: Elie Laisné de la Marguerie, Antoine de Barillon de Morangis, Guillaume de Lamoignon and Jean-Antoine de Mesmes d'Irval.

On the commission's recommendation, Louis XIV set up a Council on March 27, 1647, to replace the directorate of the Habitant Community in Quebec. It was composed of Governor-General Montmagny, the Superior of the Jesuits -- Fr. Jérôme Lalemant, as the highest ranking ecclesiastical dignitary -- and of the Governor of Montreal, Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve. The Governor of Trois-Rivières was overlooked, a colony that was more populous at that time than Montreal.

The scope of the Quebec Council embraced administration and police. The administrative budget was set at 40,000 *L* plus the right to ship a considerable number of wooden casks on the Community's ships at no charge. Maisonneuve had one quarter of this budget, 10,000 *L*, for his own support and that of his garrison of thirty men, plus transport of thirty wooden casks at no charge. The Jesuits, including those in Montreal, obtained a round sum of 5,000 *L* for their pastoral services to the Frenchmen and their missions to the natives.

Once again, Ville-Marie was in a superior position in the whole system, participating in the Quebec Council through its governor, and enjoying a share of the budget that exceeded its numerical strength. It is said that someone suggested naming Maisonneuve as governor of the Colony. He refused, but did suggest the name of Louis d'Ailleboust, an associate for the conversion of the native peoples, and a man familiar with the country. In 1647 the Commandant of Montreal brought back with him an invitation from the Royal Council to come to Paris to accept his commission. Was it not Faillon who spoke of Ville-Marie as persecuted by the wicked Hundred Associates and by the jealous people of Quebec?

Ville-Marie waited two years for the return of its absent governor. At his departure, it was enjoying the peace resulting from the treaty at Trois-Rivières. In 1641, when the Mohawks were offering peace to the French in return for firearms to be used against the Montagnais, Algonquins, and Hurons, it was Montmagny who had succeeded, through patient diplomacy, in convincing the Iroquois that they would be better off if they were to maintain a general peace with all his native allies rather than destroying them.

He had used the only means available to him: to return the enemy prisoners unharmed. To accomplish this, he had to overcome the atavistic cruelty of his own native allies. On one occasion he had saved the life of a Socoquiois whom the non-Christian Algonquins of Trois-Rivières had almost tortured to death. He had the

man treated by the Hospitalers, then sent him home to ask for the release of Fr. Jogues.

This first attempt did not succeed. On a second occasion, it was the war-chief, Simon Piechkaretch, who presented the governor with two Mohawks captured in battle. He brought them to Sillery without hurting them in any way. From the three prisoners whom he now had in his custody, Montmagny sent one back to propose peace to the council of the elders back home. The Mohawks, although still divided among themselves, were touched by this display of humanity on the part of the French, whose kindness they were experiencing for the first time. They came to Trois-Rivières, discussed peace, and after several comings and goings, concluded a peace with the French and their native allies. Guillaume Couture, who had been in their hands for three years, was brought back to Trois-Rivières where he now acted as an interpreter.

At Ville-Marie, people took advantage of the peace. The fortifications that D'Ailleboust had been making every effort to strengthen since 1643 were now being completed. Maisonneuve's replacement maintained the military discipline that had begun with the latter and it was as an armed military contingent that they went to work, returning at the sound of the bell. If the *Histoire de Montréal* has practically nothing to say about this period of peace, the register reveals that the Algonquins began to visit once again in the autumn of 1645.

Fr. Buteux, who had been the Jesuit pastor for a year, was replaced by Le Jeune. Fr. Jogues was named as assistant to both of them when not travelling to Mohawk territory. Some Algonquin bands from the Island* (Kichesipirinis) and from the Little Nation (Ouaouechkairinis), the Iroquets (Onontchataronons), the Mattawas (Mataouchkairinis), the Nipissirinians, and some other bands set up camp close to the fort. The leaders of the first three nations were talking about settling there and cultivating the soil the following spring.

But, the Mohawks came by and spoke in such a way as to instill fear of attacks from the Oneidas and Onondagas. Paul Tessouehat was the first to strike camp and disappeared with his people. The rest of the people, however, stayed on because of the abundant hunting on the island. Throughout the following spring, native nations came and went in quite large numbers. Even the Hurons, who visited the mission, claimed that they intended to settle there. Jogues worked among them with much success. Le Jeune baptized several Onontchataronons, and in particular their chief, Taouiskaron, named Jean; until now, he had resisted the missionaries.

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* Ostensibly Allumette Island .

For a second time the people of Montreal were hoping to realize La Dauversière's dream -- an Algonquin Reduction in the protective shelter of the fort. When Jogues left to establish a mission among the Mohawks in September 1646, Jérôme Lalemant gave him these instructions:

> "... to urge all the upper Iroquois with whom he came in contact in the Mohawk villages to make peace. If they refused to do so, he was commissioned to warn the Mohawks very forcefully to prevent them from coming to the Rivière des Prairies[*] which was traveled by the Hurons, to limit their wars to the St. Lawrence far away up-river from Montreal, or at least to forbid them from coming near this island, or the lands that are opposite[*] their villages, being in some sense in French territory. If God grants us this blessing, this island will become a center of peace, just as it had been the target of all the wars".[1]

Unfortunately, the violent death of Jogues and his companion Jean de La Lande on the same journey brought an end to all the hopes. The Algonquins dispersed once again. At the beginning of winter the Mohawks burned Fort Richelieu, it having been abandoned by the Habitant Community because its isolation was driving the soldiers to despair. The following summer, the Mohawks drove away the Algonquins. The Nipissirinians were practically all destroyed. Tessouehat was ambushed on the Ottawa River and lost some of his people. Dollier claims that the Hurons who took refuge in the Montreal fort were plotting with the enemy and laying traps for the French, but Dollier had a deep-seated prejudice against the Hurons.

For quite a long time thereafter there was no reason to hope for the realization of La Dauversière's plan of a Reduction. In 1647, the Baptismal register contains no entries. Later on, it would be only the register of a French post with very few native Baptisms listed; this was just the opposite to earlier times.

While waiting for the arrival in Paris of Louis d'Ailleboust, for whom the commissions of its government had been prepared, the Montreal Society continued to be preoccupied with the welfare of New France. It conceived the idea of obtaining a bishop, an initiative that by rights belonged to the Hundred Associates.

Thomas Legauffre, a devout Parisian priest, the former Master of Accounts and a member of the circle of the friends of Montreal, made a donation of 30,000 *L* to endow a bishopric in New France. He entrusted it to one of his colleagues of the Blessed Sacrament Society, a man named Fornes, to hold in the name of that Society. In his will, Legauffre also left a legacy of 10,000 *L* to the Montreal

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[*] As the Ottawa River was known at that time .

[*] Ostensibly the south shore of the St. Lawrence across from Montreal.

[1] *1646 Relation*, **1**, 145.

Society to promote evangelization at that post. As the affair progressed, the name of Legauffre himself was proposed for the episcopate.

Cardinal Mazarin was favorable and the Jesuits offered no opposition. The candidate, in fact, was the only one who was hesitant, but died in the course of a Decision Retreat directed by a Jesuit. His death, however, did not stop the process being discussed in the French Bishops' Conference. The definitive resolution was postponed pending the validation of the endowment made by Legauffre that was then being challenged in the courts. Both cases for validation -- that of the foundation funds entrusted to the Blessed Sacrament Society, and that of the legacy to the Montreal Society -- were dismissed by the Great Chamber of the Paris parliament, April 8, 1647, for the simple reason that neither one of the Societies -- neither Blessed Sacrament nor Montreal -- enjoyed legal existence, for the simple reason {and here we go again!} that there were no Letters Patent[2]. That is why there was no appointment of a bishop at that time.

D'Ailleboust was in France to be invested as Governor and, while there, he was no doubt partly responsible for the reform in the colonial administration. A new royal decree, of March 5, 1648, reorganized the Quebec Council and restored to the Habitant Community some participation, the loss of which had humiliated them the previous year.

The Governor of Trois-Rivières was added to the Council, as well as the outgoing governor for three years after his mandate, and two Habitants elected by their fellow citizens. The budget of 40,000 *L* was redistributed in such a way as to reserve 19,000 *L* for defense and a mobile force of forty soldiers to be on patrol against the Iroquois. So, the salaries of the governors of Trois-Rivières and of Montreal only amounted to 3,000 *L* and six casks at free freight for six soldiers.[3] D'Ailleboust brought back his nephew with him, Charles d'Ailleboust de Muceaux, a young man with no experience at all of the country. D'Ailleboust,

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[2] This judgement really became a juridical precedent affecting jurisprudence from then on. Formerly, people could ask if Letters Patent were really necessary, at least for religious associations. They would henceforth not be able to ask this question.

[3] Dollier shows that he is poorly informed on this point. Maisonneuve's salary was not increased by the Hundred Associates on this occasion; they no longer had anything to do with the colony's finances (Flenley, *A History of Montreal,…* 144). Moreover, Maisonneuve henceforth had 3,000 *L* as his share of the budget, instead of 10,000. The subsidy for the mobile force was responsible for the decrease. (On this subject, see Campeau, *Les Finances.…*, pp. 86-98).

nevertheless, put him in charge of this mobile force, an appointment that rendered the force inefficient and useless.

The new governor returned from France in 1648 as Admiral of the Community's fleet and was courteously received by Montmagny on August 20. People expected to see him govern as before; that is, together with the Company of New France, supporting and fostering unreservedly the work of the missionaries. On the contrary, he now turned out to be greedy.

Whereas he had not previously acquired any personal possessions while in Montreal, he now showed himself to be very energetic in forming a patrimony in Quebec to leave to his nephew. Above all, he generated all sorts of annoyances for the Jesuits, having their earlier concessions at Notre-Dame-des-Anges invalidated, and having granted to himself practically the entire subsidy ordered by the King for those who served the pastoral needs of the French in 1650 -- a pure act of extortion -- forcing the Jesuits to abandon their fief at Trois-Rivières held in common with the Habitant Community, even though Montmagny had already disposed of the matter in another way.

D'Ailleboust's final blow, however, was the one that stopped him. He had had arranged to have the eel-fishing rights at Sillery given to himself by the Hundred Associates. This brought about the ruin of the Reduction that had been located there precisely because of the fisheries. Jérôme Lalemant, the Jesuit superior, opposed the new policy and was forced to embark for France to defend the missions before the seigniorial Company.

The Superior turned out to be the winner all along the line: the Natives' seigneurie at Sillery was created and D'Ailleboust's fishing rights annulled. At the same time, D'Ailleboust was replaced by Lauson. D'Ailleboust left the colony stripped of its fleet, wiped out with an enormous debt that was started in 1649 by the excessive cost of the overseas voyage for which the Governor had borrowed the sum of 3,000 *L* at high risk interest. But the debt increased above all because of a capital loan, also at extremely high interest, in which La Dauversière participated to the amount of one-third.

Lalemant and Bourdon were given orders by the Council to supervise the next sailing very carefully and that perhaps explains the often gratuitous hostility that Dollier de Casson would show towards Lauson. But it is well established, that instead of a Ville-Marie persecuted by Quebec during this period, the ascendancy acquired by the friends of Montreal over the entire colony coincided with a practically complete abandonment of the Montreal project and was rather disastrous for New France.

In short, this period of the Montreal Society's influence on New France was not beneficial to the latter nor did the poor little island colony of Montreal reap much profit from it either. Maisonneuve had foreseen that a new orientation was being given to it. From his trip to France of 1647, Maisonneuve brought back the permission from the seigneurs of Montreal to distribute lands to any French people who might ask for them.

There had been no distribution of land before then, although Jamet Bourguignon, a Quebec Habitant, was the only Frenchman who had moved to Montreal with his wife and had cleared a small lot near the fort where he built his house. Some hired men who had come earlier showed some interest in settling there. César Léger, as early as the month of May 1644, had gone to Quebec to propose marriage to Roberte Gadois, the daughter of Pierre, the caretaker of Saint-Michel. The marriage ceremony took place, but the marriage was soon annulled and César returned to Montreal.

He had better luck in Quebec on August 28, 1647, when he married Marguerite Bénard who had just landed there with her family. He returned with her to Montreal. However, it is possible that César died shortly afterwards, because Marguerite remarried in 1651. The gunsmith, Antoine Leboesme, on finishing his employment contract in 1647, also decided to stay, but he went to Trois-Rivières, and finally settled at Quebec where he remarried. His son enlisted as one of the Jesuits' helpers among the Hurons and was to become a Jesuit in 1650. Pierre Gadois, who probably left Saint-Michel when De Puiseaux sold it to the Juchereau brothers, came to Montreal at that time with his family.

He was the first concessionaire to whom Maisonneuve granted a plot of land, January 4, 1648. The Deed was one of the greatest importance because it obviously marked the beginning of land clearing on the island of Montreal by the French. His land was situated on the left bank of the little Saint-Martin creek opposite the fort at Callières' Point:

> "Forty *arpents* of land, measure of the country, that is to say a 100 rods an arpent and 18 feet the rod, close to the said Ville-Marie on the said island. To take the 40 *arpents* of land for the following length and in conformity with the right angle alignment of two stakes planted on the dock south-east a quarter east, and northwest a quarter west, the first of these said stakes planted 23 *perches* from the middle of the bridge in the port close to the fort of the said Ville-Marie on the little river which passes close to the said fort, to the southwest quarter west of the said area of the bridge, the two stakes of the port having been planted to serve as a boundary and to mark the rhumb-line of the said concession. And the width of this concession is to be taken from the above mentioned line and the above mentioned alignment to a distance of 10 *perches* close to the said little river rising and skirting this river to a length of 20 *perches* in a straight

line, and to continue the said width according to the alignment, and the said boundary in the direction of the mountain of the said island to the said number of arpents..."

This Deed is in Maisonneuve's handwriting, but signed by the Montreal Registrar, probably appointed for this occasion but not yet capable of composing such a document. The importance of the document is that it lays down the basic principles of land-surveying in Montreal, which would not be imitated anywhere else: the concessions will be made starting from this first plot of land. It enables us to see that Maisonneuve, the first citizen of the city of Montreal, foresaw -- but did not see -- the formation of a town or a city on the very frontage of the lands distributed at this place, because as Governor of Montreal, Maisonneuve retained an option on 2 *arpents* in depth on the same frontage and on that of neighboring lands for this purpose.

That is where Gadois would be obliged to build his house. His house would be located on the south side of today's Bleury Street, according to Trudel. The plots adjoining his would continue to be aligned towards the south. They would be similar to Gadois' land and 10 *perches* or one *arpent* on the little creek, a strip that would later be turned into a commons.

Thus, the Commandant of Montreal did not as yet see where the town would in fact be located, a space then occupied mostly by Hôtel-Dieu land. But this first clearing foresaw a town, on the very frontage of the land granted to Gadois and to his neighbors, verging towards the south. We must mention that the rhumb-line of these lands is different from that of the Hôtel-Dieu property granted to Jeanne Mance in 1644, but it would be the general rhumb-line of the properties and streets of Montreal.

What was Jeanne doing all this time? She was still living in her isolated Hôtel-Dieu with her companion, Catherine Lézeau. Catherine then left her in 1646 to become a lay-novice with the Ursulines of Quebec, and her joining the Ursulines marks the beginning of the steps that led to the recognition of the Archbishop of Rouen's authority in New France. Françoise Bugon, who had become a widow after the death of her husband Antoine Vedet -- probably a victim of the Mohawks -- replaced Catherine as the nurse's companion.

Jeanne intended her hospital services to be devoted to the native people and she must have had an opportunity to bestow the services lavishly during the respite from war in 1645-1646. She was able to gather together the native children and the elderly unable to go along on the hunt, just as had been done at the Quebec Hôtel-Dieu, which had by then moved from Sillery to the neighboring town of Quebec in 1644. The departure of the Algonquins had left Jeanne with only the French as clients -- but, these were young and very healthy!

In 1644 and 1645, Vimont very clearly avoided any report concerning Ville-Marie in his *Relations*. When Jérôme Lalemant went down to Quebec the next year, he did not maintain the same silence but devoted a long chapter to the activities of Le Jeune, to the changing fortunes of the Algonquins, and to the Mohawk visits to that area.

Lalemant mentions the procession of the Blessed Sacrament that took place on May 31, 1646, "in which marched a squadron of French soldiers armed with muskets. The non-Christians took part in it as well as the Christians. They all marched two by two with a fine display of discipline and modesty, from the chapel -- which was then in the fort -- to the hospital where a beautiful repository altar had been prepared".[4]

Lalemant marked above all the good resolution taken by Jean-Baptiste Atironta, the leading chieftain of the Arendahronon Hurons, to settle on the island. The war with the Iroquois, however, prevented this excellent Christian from carrying out his plan. The next year, when the war started up again, Lalemant tells us that two Frenchmen were captured at Montreal and murdered by their attackers. Dollier de Casson does not mention these two victims. It is possible that Antoine Vedet, Françoise Bugon's husband, may have been one of the two because he disappeared from the records at this time.

The following year, on May 18, 1648, two Mohawk canoes showed up, landed at Montreal, and six or seven Mohawks headed for the fort. They stopped when they saw some soldiers sent ahead by Maisonneuve to greet them. They asked to parley; Charles Lemoyne and Thomas Godefroy were sent out to them as interpreters. During the meeting Godefroy let himself be led off some distance to one side, while two Iroquois approached the fort with Lemoyne. Maisonneuve ordered Godefroy to escape at the earliest opportunity because he wanted to take the Iroquois prisoners, to have something with which to bargain and impose peace. Godefroy, however, was not able to make his escape. So, the next day, the two Mohawks had to be returned to free the interpreter.

On July 28, Mathurin Bonenfant was killed by the Mohawks and was buried the next day at Montreal. He was a young man of twenty-five who had been leading a very pure life, according to Fr. Bailloquet's testimony. He was one of a group of men who were cutting hay and brushwood on a level stretch of land. The Mohawks fired on the French from the nearby woods, killing Bonenfant. They set out on a run towards the others, but the French counter-attack felled one or two of

[4] *1646 Relation*, **1**, 144.

them, who were immediately picked up by their companions and then took to flight.

Trois-Rivières at that time was suffering more than Montreal from the Mohawk attacks. However, the Mohawks suffered an overwhelming defeat on July 17 from the Huron trading fleet which had come down that year in great numbers and in a formation imposed on them by Fr. François Bressani. One of the Mohawks who escaped ran towards Montreal where, after crossing the river, he appeared right in the hospital courtyard. He met no one but Philippine de Boulogne, to whom he extended his arms as a sign of surrender. He was made a prisoner.

The Mohawks were waging war at a slackened pace on the St. Lawrence because a large part of their forces were busy among the Hurons in Huronia. In 1647, the Mohawks were afraid that the Onondagas might make “peace” with the Hurons, their natural enemies, so they intervened to prevent this. From that time on, the Mohawks co-operated actively with the Onondagas and the Senecas for the complete destruction of the Hurons.

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Chapter 11
Jeanne Mance Intervenes

Jérôme Lalemant was astounded in 1645 that the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society seemed to have unloaded most of their responsibilities onto the shoulders of the Habitants. The Gentlemen retained, however, the right to maintain their apostolate but were now freed from the responsibility of defending the post. They do not seem to have been concerned about replacing and increasing the post's personnel from 1645 to 1647. The situation became more difficult in 1648.

The news from the Montreal Society in France was so alarming in 1649 that Jeanne Mance decided to make a trip expressly to look for some means of improving the situation. Before following her story however, we must mention the financial status of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu, being administered by La Dauversière in the name of the Montreal Society. We recall that, in 1644, the foundation funds had been invested by Bertrand Drouart on behalf of La Dauversière and the Montreal Society in ventures of various kinds, thought to be capable of yielding 2,000 *L* in revenue.

Jeanne, upon taking up residence in her new Hôtel-Dieu in October of 1645, would suggest to her benefactress that another fund should be allotted for the support of herself and that of one servant, to avoid taking any of the revenue earmarked for the poor native people. Madame de Bullion seems to have replied favorably that she was setting aside 20,000 *L* for the support of the administrator, and that she was also sending her 2,000 *L* for the time being. She did not state clearly what form the foundation would take.

Once her generous gifts had been granted, the benefactress does not seem to have checked up on what use was being made of the money. But, on one occasion in 1648, she carefully examined the investments that had been made until then, and her scrutiny, even into precise details and into the choice of the holders of the revenues, is very evident. The investment made in 1644 in the properties bought by Jacques Labbé de Bellegarde did not seem to her to be satisfactory. Perhaps it had not yielded the promised revenues. In any event, she had the contract broken and recovered the 36,000 *L*.

While waiting to re-allocate these funds anew, she entrusted them to Louis Séguier de Saint-Firmin, the Provost of Paris, a member of the Montreal Society, who then paid the revenue from them to the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu, while waiting for the final disposition. On the same occasion the benefactress discovered the diversion of 6,000 *L* mentioned earlier in our story: she had given 42,000 *L* and not 36,000 *L*, in 1643. Since then she had made various donations to the Montreal

Society in favor of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu to the sum of 8,000 *L*, which had been swallowed up in the general expenses of the Montreal Society.

She had the Associates return all this money for the conversion of the native people, thereby rounding off the 36,000 *L* to as much as 50,000 *L*. Adding 10,000 more, she brought the sum to 60,000 *L*, the same amount assembled by the Duchess d'Aiguillon for the Quebec Hôtel-Dieu. We must mention that, in all this, La Dauversière, despite the reproaches which she may have made to him in the way he administered the foundation funds, remained her spokesman and her procurator in her relations with the Montreal Society. We arrived at all these figures from the new foundation made on March 17, 1648.[1]

Once more, it was Madame de Bullion who explicitly approved -- albeit anonymously -- of the two trustees of the foundation in the general contract of the same March 17, 1648, signed by Pierre Chevrier, Jérôme La Dauversière, and by Louis d'Ailleboust, who was then in France, in the name of their Associates and as procurators for Maisonneuve and Jeanne. These trustees were Baron Gaston de Renty and his wife for one part, and Pierre Chevrier, Baron de Fancamp, for the other.[2] The benefactress understood that the foundation would yield a revenue of 3,000 *L* every year for the Poor of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu.

Besides this general contract, the contractants made limited contracts that same March 17. The de Renty's invested the sum of 44,000 *L* at the rate of *denier* twenty, that is to say at 5%, which would give an annual yield of 2,200 *L*. Chevrier invested the remaining 16,000 *L* at *denier* eighteen for a revenue of 888 *L*, 17 *sols*, 9 *deniers*. The Montreal Hôtel-Dieu was thus assured of an annual revenue of about 3,089 *L*, which was applied to the care of the poor French and natives of Ville-Marie, but included also the upkeep of Jeanne, who had been named administrator for life.

The Hospitalers, who might at some time or other serve at the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu, were excluded from participation. Their Institute or Congregation was neither mentioned nor foreseen. They were bound to look after the sick freely, without drawing any money from the revenues of the institution.

Madame de Bullion, moreover, considered the future status of the project. After the current administrator's death, the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu would be entrusted to a community of Hospitalers who would serve the sick without any

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[1] Act of March 17, 1648, in Mondoux, *L'Hôtel-Dieu, premier hôpital de Montréal,…* 338-342.

[2] Other Acts determining revenues, same date, March 17, 1648, in Mondoux, *L'Hôtel-Dieu, premier hôpital de Montréal,…* 343-349.

salary and independently of the foundation. The administration's financial statement would be presented every year by the administrator or the Hospitalers to the Bishop who would some day be appointed, and to the Governor of the Island of Montreal, or in his absence to his lieutenant, just as was done by the Habitant Community in Quebec.

The secular or religious ecclesiastical Superior of the island would be summoned in the absence of the Bishop. A copy of the financial statement would be sent each year to the seigneurs of the island living in France, who in turn would present it to the Foundress. In the event that there were no Hospitalers consenting to the conditions laid down, the administration would be handled by the island's seigneurs, who would choose an administrator, without the Bishop having any right whatsoever over this administration.

The foundation funds could not be moved outside the limits of Montreal, nor could they be diverted anywhere else. The seigniorial society overseeing the transaction was not responsible for the fate of the foundation, and this provision had been approved by the Foundress Madame de Bullion. But, if the revenues should be redeemed, they were to be reinvested by them at the same interest as if they were their own, and their representatives would collect the revenues each year with the obligation of sending them to Mademoiselle Mance or to her successors.

From all this, it is easy to conclude that the Foundress did not intend that her foundation funds should be dispersed, or that any part of them be diverted for purposes other than the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu, serving the French as well as native poor. Jeanne must have received word -- as early as 1648 -- of these arrangements that were enough to reassure her, to make her happy, and to enlighten her. This was not, however, the reason for her voyage of 1649.

She had learned that Fr. Charles Rapine de Boisvert, her interlocutor in Madame de Bullion's name, had died. It was also being said that the Montreal Society had practically disappeared, and that La Dauversière was at the brink of bankruptcy, and moreover, that he was close to death's door. We have also seen that D'Ailleboust's and La Dauversière's interests had turned more towards Quebec than towards Montreal.

A Society without regular revenues could not allow itself to be divided up in this way. Jeanne made the decision to go to France, first of all, to re-establish communication with Madame de Bullion because she had no permission to write to her directly; secondly, to see whether she could direct the efforts of the promoters a little more effectively.

What measures were taken to re-establish relations between the benefactrice and the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu? We do not know. But Jeanne left her mark in Paris

by reorganizing the Montreal Society. The fervor shown earlier by the thirty-five influential persons on February 27, 1642, had cooled off quite considerably. The great Ladies in the Society were the first to pass into obscurity and oblivion. The men followed them, one after another. The Montreal Society, as we recall, had a rather loose framework and no valid legal title in the eyes of the courts.

Since the alleged Letters Patent of February 13, 1644 did not save Legauffre's thwarted legacy, his case thereby confirmed the fact that the Montreal Society was non-existent. The only document showing that the Society had any sign of existence was the declaration by La Dauversière and Chevrier on March 25, 1644. But in this document no Associates, other than themselves, were named nor had signed it. That is what Jeanne seems to have succeeded in making these Gentlemen understand: their lack of title to legal existence. So her trip to Paris occasioned a second Declaration, signed before a notary on March 21, 1650.

What was stated in the Declaration document was, above all, the names of the Associates, the majority of whom were present and thus able to affix their signatures: Pierre Chevrier Baron de Fancamp, Jérôme Le Royer Sieur de la Dauversière, Jean-Jacques Olier, the pastor of Saint-Sulpice, Alexandre Le Ragois Sieur de Bretonvilliers, an ecclesiastic, Roger du Plessis Duc de La Roche-Guyon, Knight of the King's orders, Henri-Louis Habert Sieur de Montmort, a King's Counselor and master of records at the Hôtel-Royal, Bertrand Drouart, Knight, Louis Séguier Sieur de Saint-Brisson and Saint-Firmin, Provost of Paris. Those who were not present, but represented by Chevrier and La Dauversière, were Louis D'Ailleboust, the Governor-General of New France, and Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve, the Governor of Montreal. This gives us ten Associates, which is certainly all of them because the Declaration professes to give us the list of them all.

Antoine Barillon, who probably had belonged to their number, had withdrawn because he had become a member of the Privy Council and the Commission of New France. Baron Gaston de Renty does not appear; he died on April 24, 1649. His widow, Elizabeth de Balzac, withdrew at that time one half of the succession coming to her children from the revenue of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu, by buying back 22,000 *L*, for 1,000 *L* of revenue. The Society re-allocated this half by entrusting it to the Duke and Duchesse d'Angoulème, a placement that was far from safe. The baroness however retained as her half of the matrimonial property the revenue already determined and 1,100 *L*. She will re-appear later in our story.

This time the identified Associates committed themselves to one another as a "society formed for the conversion of the native people". They not only renounced any personal title but also any title for their heirs to the contributions that they had been able to make for the common enterprise, and similarly any title to the benefits

to be gained from them. But once again, they did not bother to ratify their Act through Royal Letters Patent!

Thus, the fate of the funds or properties which they held by a purely social title remained precarious. The largest amount of capital held by them was the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu foundation. It was in safe hands for the time being because it had been regularly invested for revenue. However, we can deplore the fact that the administration of the funds remained subject to suspicion, since one third of this capital, returned by Renty's succession, was in the meantime entrusted to the Duke d'Angoulème, a "leaking basket" that let the money flow out of every opening. We do not know whether Madame de Bullion had any knowledge of this.

The most tangible result of Jeanne's trip to Paris -- besides reawakening the interest of the Associates in their enterprise -- was to have persuaded Jean-Jacques Olier to accept the post of Director of the Montreal Society. It was not immediately evident, but the commitment by Olier and his Sulpician confrere De Le Ragois was to have fortunate results for Montreal. The Sulpicians were to become the principal financial support of Ville-Marie while waiting to replace the Montreal Society as seigneurs of Montreal in 1663.

During her stay in Paris, Jeanne Mance was once again approached to divert some of the alms expected by Montreal in favor of the Hurons, whose situation was, as we know, very alarming at this time[*]. Since she was well aware of the thinking of her benefactress and the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society, the nurse refused her cooperation to divert funds. We would guess that Le Jeune, who had come back to France to become the Mission Procurator[*] in 1649, gave her this advice. He went to visit the Duke and Duchess of Liancourt and De La Roche-Guyon, recalling very likely the memory of the Marquise de Guercheville, the Duke's mother, to urge them to make the same donation in favor of the Hurons, but they refused, citing their commitment to the work in Montreal.

When preparing for her return, Jeanne did not forget the needs of the little colony of Ville-Marie which had been so neglected in the preceding years. It was important to increase the population, especially now that they had decided to develop the seigneurie. Families were still not very numerous. To the earliest, those of Nicolas Godé and of Antoine Primot, Antoine Vedet's family was added in 1644. But Antoine had died. His widow, Françoise Bugon, Jeanne Mance's helper, married François Godé on January 11, 1649.

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[*] See, for example, Campeau, *Jesuit Mission to the Hurons: 1632-1650*

[*] Presumably for New France, including Huronia.

Since there were no marriageable girls in Montreal, Michel Chauvin, a hired man, went down to Quebec to marry Anne Archambault, July 27, 1647. But, at the time he was already married, a fact discovered by Louis Prud'homme; Chauvin had to go into exile.

The first marriage of French persons at Ville-Marie was that of Mathurin Mousnier and Françoise Fafart, sister of one of the colonists at Trois-Rivières, on November 3, 1647. On the following November 18, Jean Desroches and Françoise Godé were married. There were two marriages in 1648: Louis Loisel and Marguerite Charlot, January 13, and Léonard Lucaut and Barbe Poisson, October 12. Urbain Tessier also went to Quebec to find a bride, Marie Archambault, September 28, 1648.

Added to these were two couples who had come up from Quebec: Augustin Hébert and his wife, who had arrived in 1648, Adrienne Duvivier, then Étienne Dumais and Françoise Morin. They were in Montreal at the end of 1648. Finally, we can include César Léger and Marguerite Bénard. That comes to thirteen households out of a total of one hundred and forty in the entire French colony along the Saint Lawrence. The first French child born in Montreal was Barbe Mousnier's daughter, baptized on November 24, 1648. The following year eight French children were born but only four survived.

It is important to update the demographic growth. Since there were few women, Jeanne brought some back with her: Marie Soulinié, a young 24 year old widow, Marie Chedville, 17, and Catherine Delavaux, 29. Three couples seem to have been on that same trip: Pierre Dagenais and his wife Marie, whose maiden name is unknown; Claude Prud'homme and Isabelle Aliomet, the parents of Louis Prud'homme, a former workman in Montreal who was returning to settle there; Jean Boudart and Catherine Mercier. The parent couple of Prud'hommes would return to France.

The men in that group were: Robert Cavelier, Jean Sicotte, Sébastien Hodiau, married in France, Jacques Messier, the brother-in-law of Antoine Primot, with his 9 year old nephew, Michel, and finally Henri Perrin. That was the situation in 1648 in Montreal which had postponed but not abandoned its plan for a native Reduction. It wished to be first and foremost a French colony, but also a model of Christianity.

Jeanne's return in 1650 did not greet her with a colony with any certain future. The Iroquois had by that time made the interior of the continent, from Montreal to Sault-Sainte-Marie, a territory stripped of all human life, traveled only by Iroquois warriors and hunters. It was feared that, once rid of their enemies to the west -- the

Hurons and others -- the Iroquois would then reunite their five nations for a concerted attack against New France, something that they had never done before.

Louis d'Ailleboust, not able to get any help in France, sent Fr. Druillètes to New England to invite the English to join with the French and their native allies against the Mohawks, or at least to let their military expeditions cross English territory. New France was very much at bay.

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Chapter 12
Colony in Distress

The dark forebodings on the part of Montmagny and the Jesuits were beginning to materialize. Seized with panic and terror, the Hurons had abandoned their Huronia villages in the spring of 1649. Those, at least, who had decided not to seek refuge with neighboring tribes, had settled on an island on Lake Huron called Ahouendoé (present-day Christian Island). With deep sorrow, the Jesuits burned down their residence of Sainte-Marie*, with its chapel and hospital, to follow the refugees.

Plundering by the Iroquois continued in that region and devastated the land of the neighboring Pétun nation, destroying their village of Saint-Jean where Fr. Charles Garnier had been murdered on December 7, 1649. They pursued the Hurons in every direction, and along the way completely destroyed the Nipissirinians on their lake* during the winter. In the spring of 1650, they made a holocaust of the refugees from Saint-Joseph when these Hurons were forced to leave the fortified island to fish and hunt for food.

The situation became so desperate that the native captains and the missionaries resolved to leave their island refuge to avoid total annihilation. Three hundred Hurons joined the missionaries and set out for the Saint Lawrence to look for protection at the French forts. Close to the heights of today's Ottawa City, they met forty Frenchmen led by Charles Lemoyne and Fr. Bressani, coming up the river to their rescue.

Montreal was one of the places where the missionaries were thinking of settling the Hurons:

> "We had spent two days in Montreal where we were welcomed with truly heartfelt and Christian charity. It is a place well suited as a dwelling place for the native people. But since this area bordered on the land of the Iroquois whom the Hurons feared more than death, they could not agree to start their colony there. If the Iroquois could be stopped, this island would soon be completely populated. And I still hope that, before the winter sets in, several families of these good Christian refugees will go and settle there".[1]

Actually, Huron warriors were the only natives to visit Montreal later on. We can easily imagine what changes these events inflicted on the plan for Montreal. After the Hurons disappeared, the Algonquins were also driven away and

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* Near today's Midland, Ontario.

* Lake Nipissing, Ontario.

[1] *1650 Relation*, 98.

disappeared that same year from the whole surrounding area. From Montreal to Manitoulin Island on Lake Huron, for the next fifteen years, no one was to be found in this region except the Iroquois hunters.

This situation was to have an equally sad effect on the apostolate and on trade. The plan to start a native Reduction around the fort of Montreal was no longer feasible from 1650 to 1665. Thus, the tiny population was now decreasing rather than increasing:

> "This place would be an earthly paradise for the native people and the French were it not for the fear of the Iroquois, who were continually showing up and rendering the place practically uninhabitable. That is why the natives have withdrawn from it and why only about fifty Frenchmen are still there".[2]

Moreover, this depopulation left the French colony wide open to direct attacks, not only from the Mohawks who were the easternmost Iroquois canton, but also from the other Iroquois nations, namely the Onondagas and the Senecas, who were already busy with their work of destruction in the northwestern regions.

Unless peace could be re-established, the Iroquois could not be considered as peoples to be evangelized. Besides, Ville-Marie could not develop as a center of the fur trade at that same time. Trading was still the monopoly of the Habitant Community, which used all its profits to finance public administration.

To the west, the land was stripped of all population. Native convoys from Lake Superior came to the French on the St. Lawrence by lengthy and irregular intervals, at times taking the route through Lake Abitibi to avoid Montreal. To call Montreal a center of the fur trade prior to 1668 is a pure anachronism. Trois-Rivières was in a better situation, and Quebec even more so. The Montreal colony could only count on the store at Trois-Rivières and office at Tadoussac.

In these circumstances, all that the Montreal seigneurs could do was to continue to build a French colony while insisting particularly on an intense concern for religious life. In January of 1648, Maisonneuve had inaugurated the application of this new policy -- colonization -- while presiding over the organization of the territory. The first concession of land was made, as we have seen, to Pierre Gadois on January 4, 1648. It was an important event because it shows the principles adopted by the Governor in this kind of transaction.

The reference point for the concession was the bridge, already built on posts, that crossed the little Saint-Martin creek and connected the present-day rue de Callières with the rue Saint-François-Xavier; the road leading to the hospital began there as well. From the center of the bridge on the left bank, Maisonneuve

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[2] *1651 Relation*, 4.

measured 23 *perches* or about 135 meters, in a straight line going back up the river to the south-west-quarter-west (236 deg. 15 min.). This was the property's frontage, placed one *arpent* (58.5 m.) back from the river. At this distance from the bridge, the Governor planted a post on some pile-work. Then in a north-west-quarter-north (326 deg. 15 min.) direction from the first stake he planted a second. This was the rhumb-line for the lands in depth, as it still appears on the street drawings.

From the first of these stakes he drew a frontage of two *arpents* up-stream for Gadois' land, parallel to the river, but one *arpent* from it. From the line formed by these two stakes, according to the rhumb-line indicated, he made the slope 20 *arpents* in length in the direction of the mountain. The *arpent* remaining along the little river would be granted later as a commons. There we have described the rectangular form, the extent and the precise orientation of the Ville-Marie concessions.

Maisonneuve imagined an urban space as early as at that time but without yet defining it. He retained the right to reclaim land for roads, and also on the two *arpents* of parallel width at the front of each land which will be divided into parcels. He allowed the tenant two *arpents* of land around the buildings which he would build on this part of his land to pay for the clearing that would be needed, to compensate for the space taken away by another equal space at the end of his land towards the mountain.

A lot-holder building a house on his land would not be allowed to sell it to go and live away from the island of Montreal without a written permission from the Governor, under pain of losing both his property and his work. It would then be sold by the syndic of the Habitants for the profit of the local community.

The tax was fixed at three deniers per arpent of frontage, without revenues, but with consent and sales, defects and fines pertaining to the seigneur, according to the custom of the provost of Paris. This precious document of Gadois' concession was composed and signed by Maisonneuve in his own handwriting, but it is also the Act of deposition with the registry and the notary of Ville-Marie established at that very moment. Jean de Saint-Père was the title-holder. The two witnesses were Louis Goudeau, master-surgeon, and César Léger. Léger and Gadois also appended their signatures, along with the governor.

Gadois' land was situated a little above the Ville-Marie fort, on the opposite bank. His land was the model for his neighbors, except for that of Jamet Bourguignon, bordering on Gadois' land immediately above it, already cultivated and built on the date of Gadois' concession. Bourguignon's land, with a frontage of four *arpents*, would be divided into two, making them same size as the other

concessions. Augustin Hébert received one just like it at about the same time but the Deed has not been preserved. Jean Desroches obtained a similar title on January 10, 1648. On the 13th, Simon Richeome acquired a lot of the same size, above Léonard Lucaut's, who himself acquired half of Bourguignon's land and on which a house had already been built. He was formerly Bourguignon's land-clearer.

Here are the first occupants, listed from up-stream: Simon Richeome, Léonard Lucaut, Jamet Bourguignon, Pierre Gadois, Augustin Hébert, Jean Desroches. The common road was built naturally on the frontage of these lands: rue Saint-Paul, which did not yet exist in 1648, but nevertheless it was already drawn in principle. It would extend to the future concessions above with its riverside remaining common property. In time, it would replace the road to the hospital, running parallel to it, but a little higher up on the slope.

There we have the well-identified Habitants of Ville-Marie. We can assume that they immediately started clearing their lands and building on them if they had not already begun to do so. This first establishment would extend to rue Côté at the level of today's McGill College Avenue. Proximity to the fort was a determining factor in the choice of the site.

In 1650, Maisonneuve granted four more lots: to Blaise Juillet on March 30, to Michel Gauvin, date unknown, to Louis Prud'homme on October 22, and to Gilbert Barbier on November 7. These lots extended upwards from that of Simon Richeosme. They were all contained in the loop formed by the Saint-Martin stream which flowed at first in a south-westerly direction on the present rue Saint-Antoine, then it made a half-circle to flow in the opposite direction to empty into the St. Lawrence at Pointe à Callières. They all had their frontage on one *arpent* of the little river but the last ones did not have any more than 15 *arpents* in depth, five less than Gadois' land. Another lot, granted to Jean Descarries on November 18, was adjacent to the river, without any level land in front of it.

Maisonneuve tried, therefore, to keep the population close to the seigniorial domain which occupied the other bank of the little river and he forced it to go back up the waterway. The houses could be better protected from this side by the fort and the clearings of the domain than if they had been strung out along the St. Lawrence, where it would have been easier for the Iroquois to attack. There was nothing else there on the river except the Hôtel-Dieu, the property of which extended over two hundred square arpents.

The generous spirit that prevailed in this small population is very well exemplified by a declaration from Jean de Saint-Père, Gilbert Barbier and Lambert Closse, signed on August 3, 1650. Several men whose commitments had come to

an end remained in the service of the Montreal Society. It was quite common in this French milieu to postpone payment for services as long as no claim and definitive regulation was enacted. Maisonneuve, in his distress, did not have any money to pay his men for their work. He seems to have proposed to them, by way of compensation, to become members of the Montreal Society. On this date, all three made the following statement:

> "Since we are united with the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society to contribute as much as we can to the conversion of the native people, we felt that it was necessary, in view of this end, for each one of us to make an individual investment of some sort. And M. de Maisonneuve, our Governor, who deemed that, as far as he was concerned, our plan would be useful and helpful to the natives, turned over, this very day, some land-concessions for this purpose; we declare that we do not claim any recompense for the services which we have rendered up until now to the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society".[3]

These text proves very clearly that the plan for a native Reduction was still uppermost in people's minds. But, at the end of his mandate in 1648, Montmagny saw all too clearly that his fears for Montreal were justified. He no longer permitted, according to Dollier, the Habitants of other posts to move there.[4] In the Act of Concession of the island, the Company of New France had laid down the condition that the development of Ville-Marie would not be at the expense of the other St. Lawrence River posts.

Despite this proviso, however, there had been some such re-locations of people. Without counting Madame de La Peltrie and Puiseaux, we can recall in these first years the names of Bourguignon, Gadois, and Étienne Dumais, who would also be followed by the Archambault family. Montreal was still drawing on the reserves of hired men and soldiers who had come for other purposes: Charles Lemoyne, Gabriel Celle, Augustin Hébert, Adrien Léger, André Charly, Honoré Langlois, Pierre Richeome, and Antoine Roos.

Nobody could any longer harbor the illusion that the Iroquois would allow the Montreal community to enjoy peace after they had turned the Great Lakes region into a desert. Ville-Marie was now a frontline outpost: "There was not even one month during this summer (1651) in which our registry of the dead was not marked in red letters by the hand of the Iroquois".[5]

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[3] Faillon, *op. cit.*.

[4] Flenley, *op. cit.*, 138-140.

[5] Flenley, *op. cit.*, 154.

The most tragic event occurred in May 1651, mentioned both by Dollier and Fr. Ragueneau.[6] Jean Boudart and Jean Sicotte were together at the edge of the woods when they were ambushed by eight or ten Iroquois wanting to seize them. Sicotte took flight and burrowed into a hole under a tree. Boudart ran for home as fast as he could and encountered his wife Catherine Mercier on the trail. In their flight the woman fell behind and was captured.

On hearing her screams, the husband turned around and attacked her captors with such force that they could not get rid of him except by murdering him. They kept his wife for their tortures. Charles Lemoyne, Jacques Archambault and another man rushed to the rescue, but forty more Iroquois, who were lying in ambush behind the hospital, rushed out to intercept them.

The Frenchmen fell back to the hospital under the sustained fire of the enemy, but nobody was hit. Jeanne was all alone in the hospital, the door of which was open. The French barricaded themselves inside and began to return fire. The Iroquois, who could do nothing because of the walls, seized their prisoner and took her with them, looking for Sicotte whom they had seen trying to hide. They eventually dragged him out from his hole but the courageous man fought fiercely with his feet and fists. His attackers were frightened by other Frenchmen who were rushing to help him, and the Iroquois had only enough time to tear off his scalp. Sicotte survived this adventure and lived for another fourteen years.

On June 18, 1651, another combat turned out better for the French. It took place on the area between the fort and Pointe Sainte-Charles, close to the river. Four Frenchmen who were working there were attacked by a large number of enemy. They barricaded themselves in a "wretched little hole called a redoubt",[7] probably the windmill built at that place in 1648. From there they fired on the enemy. Urbain Tessier was close by. Running at full speed across the barricade, he passed by four ambushes and dodged sixty or eighty shots without a scratch and, without stopping, reached the besieged. Since the Iroquois had all fired their weapons simultaneously, they were not ready to return the more controlled fire of the French from the fort who were coming to the rescue.

The enemy began to retire, but as soon as they rose from their hiding places they were struck with bullets from the French. They left twenty-five or thirty of their men dead on the battlefield, not counting the injured who managed to escape. It is important to note that the Iroquois, armed with their guns, were very superior to their native adversaries possessing no guns. But without any leadership, without

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[6] Flenley, *ibid.*, 154-156; *1651 Relation*, 4-5.

[7] Flenley, *ibid.*, 156-158.

any discipline, and without any systematic practice, they were very poor shots compared with the French on the few occasions that they were able to use their firearms. The Montrealers, on this occasion, lost an outstanding settler, Léonard Lucaut. He died of his wounds on June 20.

Later on, word reached them about the fate of Catherine Mercier, the wife of Jean Boudart. The Iroquois tortured her according to their custom, tearing away her breasts and cutting off her nose and ears. They then burned her alive. During these torments, she prayed to God, repeating the name of Jesus to her last breath.

On July 26, two hundred Mohawks, who had been lying in ambush in a hollow formed by a stream flowing towards the river on the land that the Congregation would occupy later beside the Hôtel-Dieu, attacked the hospital hoping to burn it down. Lambert Closse was entrenched there with sixteen men. The siege lasted the whole day from six in the morning until six in the evening. The French did not give the Iroquois any chance to rise from their hiding place to make a run for the palisade. Thus, a large number of the Iroquois were felled by gun-fire. The French would have all escaped unharmed if a cannon, manned by Denis Archambault, Jacques Archambault's son, had not exploded and cut the young artillery man to pieces.[8]

The attacks continued without interruption. On August 13, Jean Hébert was killed. Maisonneuve gathered together in the fort the families who had built their dwellings on the clearings. Even though the formal Deeds of concession were not yet very numerous, a number of households had already built homes. Jean Boudart had one between the fort and the Hôtel-Dieu. Jeanne Mance had to abandon her hospital and return to the fort like all the families. The Hôtel-Dieu in the meantime became a redoubt occupied by a squadron of soldiers.

We should not think that Montreal was the only post to be under that kind of siege. Trois-Rivières and even Quebec were kept just as much on the alert. The former was incomparably more severely attacked than Montreal. In fact on August 19, 1652, Trois-Rivières lost its Governor and fourteen colonists or soldiers in one blundering enterprise. Four others were captured or killed the day before at Cap-de-la-Madeleine. Dollier would go on to create the thesis that Ville-Marie was the protective boulevard of New France, but nothing is more ridiculous than this claim. In a war of this sort and in a country like this, there are no boulevards -- everything is wide open.

It is well known that Fort Richelieu, as early as 1642, the very year of its construction, would not be able -- despite its better location -- to prevent the

[8] Laverdière, *op. cit.* , p. 159.

Mohawks from over-running the whole country, and that is exactly what happened. Montreal was simply the most advanced post that had been established, not to protect others, but in spite of the certainty of danger and its own weakness. It was the most advanced outpost but not the one most readily accessible to the Iroquois, because they had an easier approach to Trois-Rivières by way of the Richelieu River.

The Mohawks, about to perpetrate massacres on Île d'Orléans under the very eyes of the French at Quebec, at Tadoussac, at Nekoubau,[*] and on Allumette Island, could surely not be paralyzed or contained by the tiny fort at Montreal. It is sufficient for us to admire the courage of these colonists, but not to indulge in outrageous boastfulness.

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[*] *JR* **46** 253 has: "… Nekouba, 100 leagues from Tadoussac, in the forest, on the way to the North Sea {Hudson Bay}…"

Chapter 13
Rescue by Jeanne Mance

Hoping that the Algonquins would come and settle around the tiny French group which had been formed by the personnel of an envisaged Reduction, the promoters of Montreal did not at first have any intention of creating a profit-making seigneurie in the manner envisaged by the earlier seigneurs. Maintaining that their gifts and contributions had been provided solely for alms, they did not expect to derive any profits for themselves. It took them some time to realize that the Iroquois war prevented the realization of their generous plan to have a native Reduction.

It was only in 1647 that the promoters of the project allowed their former employees to become land-owning citizens. They still did not think that they had to undertake any special expenditures in 1648, except for a windmill, to assure the success of an enterprise that was becoming too much like a business venture for their taste.

The result was a stagnation of demographic development that in 1651 threatened to put an end to the whole enterprise. The nucleus of 44 people who started Ville-Marie in 1641 had only increased in numbers to about 50 by that year according to Fr. Ragueneau. Still to be found there, however, were entire families who had come from Quebec, like the Gadois and the Archambaults especially. We find this tenacity almost incredible.

Under increasing pressure from the Iroquois, who had thoroughly vanquished the Hurons in Huronia, Maisonneuve finally realized the impossibility of maintaining a post which had survived until that time only through superior European military skill, clever tactics, and the courage of his men. In a weakened state of affairs like this, they were all at the mercy of any accident or the slightest mistake.

Jeanne Mance came to his rescue. As was her custom, she began with prayer, and the inspiration that came to her filled her soul with peace and seemed to have come down from heaven. She remembered the 22,000 *L* for the foundation of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu; this fund was still in the hands of Madame de Renty. The Baroness de Renty was holding it to use its income to promote the hospital project in Montreal. Jeanne was certain that the good lady would re-assign this investment to a more effective use.

As administrator of this foundation, the Baroness could not dispose of this sum because a foundation is untouchable and because her own mandate made it her responsibility to preserve it intact for the benefit of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu. But,

Madame de Bullion had full power to do whatever she wanted with it. Jeanne was convinced that Madame de Bullion would gladly re-direct this sum of money to strengthening Montreal with a large contingent of new soldiers.

Dollier, who was well informed in this matter, excelled, nevertheless, in muddling the story. This is how he presents it:

> "Mlle. Mance, considering and weighing all this, told M. de Maisonneuve that she advised him to go to France; that the Foundress had given her 22,000 *L* for the hospital, and that this money was in a certain place which she would indicate to him; that she would give the money to him to be used for defense, provided that, in return for this sum, 100 *arpents* of the seigneury's domain would be granted to her, along with half the buildings; that, furthermore, even though all this did not equal the value of the 22,000 *L*, she did not believe that Madame de Bullion would refuse because if this were not done, everything would be lost and the country would be very much at risk".[1]

The Sulpician is careful not to say that the sum was a part – one-third -- of the Hôtel-Dieu foundation, but leaves us with the impression that it was a gift from Madame de Bullion to Jeanne, who would therefore be free to dispose of it as she wished. We now know perfectly well what was involved in this business -- we must keep it in mind.[*]

Jeanne had given people to understand on many occasions that she intended to sacrifice the entire sum, that is to say the annual revenue of 1,100 *L* which this one-third produced, to save both the Ville-Marie project and the two-thirds which remained of the foundation for her hospital. This was the understanding on which she proceeded to act. She went to visit Maisonneuve and made her proposal to him, contingent, of course, on her benefactress's consent.

This was a great relief for the Governor. Not to be outdone, he suggested to the nurse to give -- in return -- one half of the cultivated fields, buildings, and livestock in the area of Montreal. Everyone subsequently agreed, and Jeanne was the first to do so. A half of the seigniorial domain at that time, however, was not equal in value or productivity to 22,000 *L*. The agreement, therefore, could not be considered as a purchase, as an equitable exchange between two parties; rather, it was a sacrifice on the part of the Hôtel-Dieu.

Armed with this hope, Maisonneuve prepared to leave for France. Before he left, he distributed several more parcels of land, indicating thereby that he had not lost faith in the future of Ville-Marie. On September 18, Jacques Archambault and his son-in-law, Urbain Tessier, each received one of these lots measuring 30

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[1] Flenley, *op. cit.*, 160.

[*] Perhaps an allusion to the back-dated Letters Patent discussed below.

arpents with a frontage of two and depth of fifteen. On September 23, Nicolas Godé Jr., acquired the same type of lot. These lots extended eastward from the land of Jean Desroches in the direction of the Hôtel-Dieu. That was as far as the Governor wanted to go at that time. The frontages were all one *arpent* from the little Rivière Saint-Martin.

On October 2, 1651 he also granted to the Ville-Marie Habitant Community, as a common property, the one *arpent* width of land reserved from each concession along the shore of the waterway. As we have mentioned, it was a natural prairie for the most part. This common ground stretched from there for 40 *arpents* -- over a mile -- along the Saint Martin creek first of all, and then along the Saint Lawrence. Starting in front of Prud'homme at today's Stanley Street, it extended downward in relation to Côteau Saint-Louis, not far from the chapel of Bonsecours, which would eventually be built there. We must remember, however, that the land belonging to the hospital bordering on the river blocked the extension as late as 1651.

Having attended to these last-minute details, Maisonneuve made ready for the trip to Quebec. He appointed Charles d'Ailleboust, relieved of command of the mobile force, in his place as interim governor. On leaving, he confided to D'Ailleboust and to Jeanne that he would not be returning if he did not obtain two hundred men -- a hundred at the very least -- at which time he would send orders to Montreal to abandon the whole project.

The ships from Europe were late in arriving that year. The new Governor, Lauson, did not land at Quebec until October 14. Maisonneuve, set to leave on November 5, saw Lauson and asked him for some of the soldiers he had brought over with him. Lauson gave him ten out of the thirty. Dollier de Casson, to vilify a Governor whom he had never forgiven for succeeding D'Ailleboust too hastily, cannot resist making the following comment:

> "I do not want to say anything about the conduct of this good Gentleman with reference to this island, especially since I want to believe that he always had good intentions, even though they have been less profitable to himself than if he had given more support to this settlement. The incursions of the Iroquois would not have been able to make their way to Quebec so easily and would not have caused the havoc that ensued, in which they did not even respect his family."
>
> The new Governor promised M. de Maisonneuve, prior to the latter's departure for France, ten soldiers for whose arms he had paid in advance; he sent these ten men to Mont-Royal, as he had promised, but he held up their departure so long and sent them off in a long-boat, and so poorly clothed, that they thought they were going to freeze to death. The people here thought that the soldiers were living ghosts coming to visit them; they all looked like skeletons as they faced the rigors of the winter. It was a rather surprising sight to see them coming in this garb at that season of the year,

> especially since it was December 10. For quite a while people were not sure whether they were even men, until they had a close look at them. Besides, they were very sickly when you took a good look at their physical constitution; two of these ten were still youngsters, but eventually they really became very fine settlers; one of them was known as Saint-Ange, the other as Lachapelle."

Dollier, followed by his confrere[*] Belmont, was the principal creator of the reputation that was given to this Governor in our history books. Actually, these soldiers did not belong to Lauson, but to the Habitant Community, which had outfitted them and paid them. It is very unlikely that Lauson had asked Maisonneuve to pay in advance for the soldiers since their support was included in the budget for Montreal's Governor and administered by the Council, 3,000 *L* as determined by the King. The number ten represented Montreal's share, also specified by the decree. But here they seem to have increased the size of the garrison.

If they were young and poorly clothed, that was to be expected at the time. They would have been recruited in France through agents working on commission, who did so at the lowest possible cost and who knew nothing about the climate of the country. In 1663, even the King's own regiments were not clothed any better. Soldiers were recruited at a very early age, often before they were twenty years old. A special effort had to be made in this case to send them before winter set in because the season for Trans-Atlantic voyages had ended.

The frigate had gone up to Montreal and left from there on November 8 to arrive back in Quebec on the 23rd. As a regular transport ship, it must have carried goods along with the soldiers. It returned to Quebec with furs. Therefore, to lay all this at Lauson's doorstep is unjust, but it is obviously the impression which the recollections of the Montrealers, who had endured much suffering, had made on the Sulpician writing in 1672.

Dollier de Casson was guilty of further injustices against Lauson. He accuses Lauson of having cut back 1,000 *L* from the salaries that had been supposedly given at that time to Maisonneuve by the Hundred Associates.[2] The Hundred Associates, however, are irrelevant since finances were now controlled by the Quebec Council. Moreover, it was precisely the opposite to a cutback that had taken place at that time: of the 3,000 *L* which had been provided since 1648, the salaries for Montreal were raised to 4,600, that is to say, just as much as were awarded to Trois-Rivières, which was a much more populous post.[3]

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[*] Presumably Sulpician is meant.

[2] Flenley, *op. cit.*, 162.

[3] Campeau, *op. cit.*, 114-115.

When he arrived in France, Maisonneuve was not supposed to have even known the name of Madame de Bullion. Hence, he used a ploy to approach the lady. It turned out that his sister, Madame de Chully, had some business to discuss with the Foundress of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu and had an appointment to meet with her. Maisonneuve accompanied his sister on this visit. When the hostess recognized him as the Governor of Montreal, she detained him to obtain information about New France once the original business matters were ended.

She did not divulge her real interest, but she did ask many questions and showed a great interest. This gave Maisonneuve the opportunity to describe to her in detail the needs of Montreal. Hence, when she was asked, on behalf of Jeanne, to use the 22,000 *L* to finance a recruitment, she at least gave her qualified consent.

But things did not go as smoothly as had been expected. As a matter of fact, the plan conceived by Jeanne took a long time to materialize. In the summer of 1652, she made a trip to Trois-Rivières to find an opportunity to sail down to Quebec. It was Guillemot du Plessis, the Governor of Trois-Rivières, who took her there. When the ships from France arrived she did not see Maisonneuve, whom she had been expecting, but she received some news about him, namely, that he was hoping to return the following year with more than a hundred men, that he had seen her benefactress, and that he had every reason to be filled with confidence.

It was not until March 4, 1653, that the papers were drawn up giving a new destination for the 22,000 *L*. It seems that Madame de Bullion had first requested the Associates of the Montreal Society to look for help elsewhere because the Society was not a safe investment. We believe that we can sense an indication of this hesitation by reflecting on the words:

> "... the small amount of help that can be expected at present, because misfortunes of the times and the charitable assistance of devout persons for the support of this establishment, which is so useful for the glory of God and for the propagation of the faith...".[4]

Hence, Madame de Bullion did not intend to undermine the solidity of the foundations she had established in favor of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu when she wrote "… doing as much as they[*] could to satisfy the intentions of the Foundress of the hospital in Montreal, according to the clauses and conditions stated in the contracts of the said foundation, dating from January 2 and March 17, 1648...".[5]

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[4] See the contract for settling the annuity for the Society of Montreal, March 4, 1653 in Mondoux, *op. cit.*, 351-355.

[*] The Montreal Society.

[5] *Ibid*.

Therefore, it was not to be expected that the Foundress would allow any harm come to her great work.

The only possible way in which the Associates could help Montreal was to use the 22,000 *L* of the recovered* funds "for some necessary expenses to provide, along with some other charitable contributions from persons associated with this work, the money for sending some workmen to the said island of Montreal...".[6] That is why the 22,000 *L*, to yield 1,100 *L* as revenue for the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu, would be now be assigned to the Montreal Society itself, having as warranty each and every one of the properties on "the said island and seigneurie; and the said Associates would be responsible, affected, obliged, and mortgaged thereby to furnish and guarantee the said 1,100 *L* of revenue..."

It was therefore a reinvestment of the 22,000 *L* recovered from the Baroness de Renty, now assigned to the Montreal Society with a similar settlement of annuities, guaranteed by a mortgage of the entire domain of their seigneurie. It is very clear that Madame de Bullion -- but after some hesitation -- agreed to this new use of her money, but only on condition that the revenue was to remain the same, without any diminution. And, if it should turn out that the Montreal Society was unable to make its payments of revenue, she would be able to seize for herself the entire domain held by the seigneurs so that she might salvage as much as possible.

In this way, the results envisaged by Jeanne Mance would be attained: there would be enough money to pay for the men who were needed in Montreal. But, contrary to what Jeanne was thinking, the Foundress did not make any of the capital a gift; the revenue from the capital would not be lost; but now the capital would be used by the Montreal Society. By the earlier contracts, the Society had been freed from any responsibility for the fate of the foundation it administered, but now, it was no longer in that role; now, it was both administrator of the fund and its debtor*.

Hence, the compensation that Maisonneuve was offering to Jeanne, that is to say, one half of the domain belonging to the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu no longer had any meaningful purpose*. We can never be convinced that the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society, who signed such an explicit text, could have possibly understood the matter any other way, such as thinking that it was a pure and simple

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* Ostensibly from Baroness de Renty.

[6] *Ibid*.

* In the sense that it was now obligated to pay the annuities.

* Ostensibly because the foundation was already holding those lands as surety – hence those lands were no longer negotiable.

exchange of 22,000 *L* for half the Montreal domain -- because the contract does not make a single reference to any "one half".

It was in the context of these conditions of this document that the Foundress, still remaining anonymous, had given her "explicit consent", certified by La Dauversière. The signatories were: Olier, Le Ragois, Habert, Drouart, Chevrier, La Dauversière, Paul de Chomedey, Louis Séguier, and the notaries Bouret and Chaussière. Jeanne Mance and Louis d'Ailleboust were included by proxy.

Once the objective had been attained, i.e. obtaining help for Montreal, it could not have any influence on a subsequent move that disregarded and undermined Madame de Bullion's provisions: We are referring to the Act of Concession of one half the land belonging to the seigneurs of Montreal. Actually, these Gentlemen seem to have given orders to Maisonneuve to have Jeanne agree to this "purchase", a transaction that Madame de Bullion had earlier blocked by her contractual actions.

In fact, after he had returned to Montreal, the Governor composed, in his own hand, a new agreement, dated August 8, 1654, granting to Jeanne Mance, "the administrator of Saint-Joseph's Hospital on the said island":

> "half the land belonging to the said seigneurs of Montreal ... consisting of two hundred *arpents* of land in one whole section ... together with half the buildings and live-stock of the said land...".[7]

Was this a gift? No!

> "In consideration of this present concession, both the said associated seigneurs and the Ville-Marie habitation will be held quit, not only of the annuities settled in favor of Montreal Island's domain for the new use of the money resulting from the recovery of 1,100 *L* of revenue from[*] Madame de Renty, but also of any and all other debts whatsoever. Promising to have the Gentlemen of Montreal ratify everything."

Maisonneuve composed and signed this paper in his own hand. At the bottom, Jeanne Mance acknowledged and signed in her own hand that:

> "I have accepted for the said hospital the present concession mentioned above and agree to the clauses and obligations contained in it, as being the most advantageous for the good of the said hospital."

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[7] See this agreement in Mondoux, *op. cit.*, 355-357. It is followed by Jeanne's ratification on the same day, August 8, 1654, and then the confirmation by the directors of the Montreal Society in Paris on March 4, 1655, signed by Olier, Le Ragois, Le Royer de La Dauversière, Louis Séguier, and the notaries Vassort and Chaussière.

[*] The French has *deubs*.

This document was sent to France in the autumn of 1654. On March 4, 1655, the anniversary day for settling the annuity, Jean-Jacques Olier, Alexandre Le Ragois de Bretonvilliers, Louis Séguier de Saint-Firmin and Jérôme le Royer de La Dauversière, in their own name, and in the name of their Associates, ratified Maisonneuve's concession, which had been accepted by Jeanne Mance, and thereby annulled the 1653 settlement. It is clearly a question here of a new use of the 22,000 *L*, written and signed in Montreal in a private Act and ratified in Paris by the signature of these Gentlemen before a notary.

If we disregard the strange form it took literally and legally, they had the right to do what they did. The settlement of March 4, 1653[*], gave them permission to do so. They were not responsible for the outcome, that is to say, the eventual loss of this sum; the March 4 settlement also states this clearly. However, they were responsible morally because the revenue was lost as a result of their negligence. They were at one and the same time the authors and the beneficiaries of this withdrawal: it is a flagrant case of conflict of interest. How could all these virtuous persons have justified in their conscience this kind of procedure?

Jeanne Mance is the only one who can be cleared of any moral culpability. As the administrator, she had no legal right to dispose -- in part or in whole -- of an untouchable foundation. She had indicated this fact in 1651 when she made her own initiatives depend on the consent of the Foundress. Nor did she have any more right to do so in 1654. But she had not been present at the negotiations in Paris and she does not seem to have read the contract that distributed the income, the capital of which remained with the Montreal Society.

If, as is very likely, the agreement requested from her in August 1654 was assumed by her to be the natural outcome of the offer made in 1651, she could affix her signature with complete peace of mind. But that is not what the document said, and she probably was not informed about the difference. Madame de Bullion had not agreed to make a gratuitous gift of 22,000 *L*, nor to purchase any land, but only to the transfer of Madame de Renty's annuity to the Montreal Society.

Everything therefore depends on how the case was presented to Jeanne. We will be told that Jeanne did not make any gratuitous transfer, but simply accepted a share of the land by way of compensation. It does not really matter -- it was a re-investment of the capital and she had no right to do so, or to agree to do so, without a new agreement on the part of the Foundress, but there is no trace of any such agreement. The original contract does not include any marginal note indicating this important change.

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[*] The published French text has 1648, at variance with Campeau's typescript.

The only defense which could be advanced to justify the private Deed of August 8, 1654, was the colony's urgent need for soldiers. But this argument does not work because the 22,000 *L* had already been put in the hands of the Montreal Society and had already been spent – there was no capital remaining to produce any revenue. All the men recruited by means of these funds had already arrived in Montreal when Jeanne signed.

The events above show a lack of appreciation for Mme de Bullion's generosity, who, besides the capital of the investment which she had put at the disposition of the Montreal Society, had also given 20,000 *L* through the intermediation of the president, Lamoignon. It seems that this new gift was used to rebuild the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu which had suffered from the neglect that resulted from the occupation by a squadron of soldiers lasting two or three years. The sum probably enabled them to build the chapel which would be used as a parish the next year.

During Maisonneuve's absence, from 1651-1653, Charles d'Ailleboust de Muceaux was the Montreal Commandant. The young commander, who had married Marie Legardeur, the late Pierre Legardeur's daughter, in Quebec on September 16, 1652, does not seem to have been any more brilliant as governor than he had been as the leader of the mobile force from 1648 to 1651. But one name, which until then had remained in obscurity, stands out -- that of Raphaël-Lambert Closse, the quartermaster-sergeant of Montreal. His story follows shortly.

By now, the Mohawks were more eager than ever for war. On March 2, 1652, fifty of them on Lac Saint-Pierre made a sneak attack on twelve Hurons, six Algonquin men and ten Algonquin women, all heading towards Montreal. Only about ten were able to escape. In May 1652, the Mohawks pursued the Attikamègues on the Saint-Maurice River, bringing about the deaths of Jacques Buteux and Pierre Legros, known as Fontarabie. On June 3, Lauson and Ragueneau pursued seven enemy canoes while they were coming down from Montreal. The disaster in which Guillaume Guillemot, the Governor of Trois-Rivières, was killed along with thirteen settlers and soldiers of that post occurred on August 19.

Montreal was constantly in a state of alert. On May 22, 1652, Antoine Roos, a cattleman, was killed on the commons. On July 29, Martine Messier, Antoine Primot's wife, was attacked by the Iroquois who were hiding in the wheat-field, about two rifle shots away from the fort. At her screams three ambushes emerged. Three warriors tried to silence her with blows from their tomahawks. She fell after three or four blows and one of her assailants wanted to scalp her. But she grabbed him "by one of his parts that modesty does not permit us to mention" and held on

until she became unconscious. The warrior did not claim his prize because the French were arriving on the scene.

One of the soldiers bent down over the poor bleeding woman and kissed her forehead. She struck out at him. When she was told that the soldier's intentions were perfectly honorable she said: "I thought Parmanda wanted to kiss me". Parmanda is the only name by which he was known from then on.

On October 14, the most serious attack of that year took place. Dogs warned the settlers that there were prowlers in the neighborhood. Lambert Closse gathered twenty-four men and marched out against them. He prudently sent Étienne Thibault, a man named Baston, and an unidentified person to reconnoiter. Thibault went farther than he should have to see if the enemy was hiding in some hole hidden by a tree. The Iroquois rose up and cut him down but he had time to kill the first of his attackers.

The other two Frenchmen retreated under the salvo which, however, failed to inflict any harm on them. Closse re-grouped his men. They were close to Prud'homme's house and he shouted to Closse to retreat because the enemy had seen him. The order was then given to enter the house and that is where they organized their resistance. There was only one coward who hid under the flooring and there were not enough kicks to dislodge him.

The Iroquois continued to riddle the house with bullets, one of which killed Laviolette, a courageous soldier. After opening a few slits in the walls, the French unleashed a sustained volley, cutting down several of the enemy and forcing the others to retreat. The first Iroquois venturing to remove a body was met with a volley. The exchange continued as long as the French had gunpowder. Closse sent Baston, a good runner, to fetch some more and the messenger raced into the midst of the enemy. He returned with the powder. In the meantime, D'Ailleboust was sending eight or ten men, all that he could spare.

D'Ailleboust's men struggled along a hidden road with two field pieces of artillery loaded with cartridges. Pushing the guns onto elevated ground, they fired at the Iroquois. Closse had come out of the house with his men to cover Baston's return and the enemy learned from this twofold barrage that it was better for them to withdraw. They carried off practically all their dead, whose number remains unknown, but later on they admitted that thirty-six of their men had been wounded.

Dollier, while describing these misfortunes, did not fail to enrich them with a fine story intended to cheer up his Sulpician confreres:

> "... in the spring (1653)... the Governor sent a boat to Montreal and warned the commandant not to go near the Château if he did not see any sign that there were still Frenchmen there; if he did not see any he was to return for fear that the Iroquois may

> have captured the place and were waiting there in ambush. What he ordered was carried out to the letter. The boat came close to Montreal. It is true that the Château could not be distinguished clearly because of the mist. After it dropped anchor, the Montrealers, who were watching it, began arguing bitterly, some maintaining that it was a boat, and the others denying it. The people in the boat, who remained on board throughout this argument on shore, finally grew tired of waiting and were now convinced that there was no one there any longer because they had not seen or heard anything. They decided to weigh anchor and return to Quebec, since they were certain that there were no longer any Frenchmen at Mont-Royal. Now, once the boat had left and things settled down, our French people who had until then claimed that there had not been any boat began to say to the others: "Come now! Had there been a boat there after all?" Those who had held the affirmative said that it certainly looked like a boat, that it must have been a ghost or some kind of deviltry. That is how the problem was resolved until the first news from Quebec which informed them that it was no illusion but a real boat."

This is the usual way in which Dollier treats Lauson. The fact that there was no outcry concerning this event, reveals the whimsical character of the account. The *Journal des Jésuites*, written by Ragueneau as events were taking place and not twenty years later as is the case with Dollier, gives us the correct version of the circumstances. Along with Lauson, Ragueneau made the trip to Trois-Rivières in May 1653, starting from Quebec on the tenth. Ragueneau, the Jesuit Superior, wanted to go up as far as Montreal, but the Governor did not want to do so.

The *Journal* states in a detailed fashion the Governor's reasons: "(1) the frigate, which belonged to the Community, had to make a much more urgent trip to Tadoussac, and the *Espérance*, which we boarded at Trois-Rivières, was not owned by the Community; (2) the Governor had no business to conduct at Montreal; (3) there was nothing to bring to Montreal, since everything they needed had been transported there in the autumn; (4) the danger involved in a trip to Montreal was considerable, therefore, it was decided that it should not be undertaken unless it was absolutely necessary."

The ambiguity of the first motive can be cleared up thus: there could be no thought of making this trip to Montreal except on a ship -- the frigate -- that belonged to the Community and which had gone up there in November as we already know and was also needed for the trip to Tadoussac. But it seems quite clear that there had not been any trip to Montreal in the spring. The same frigate left Quebec on June 15 for Montreal and returned from there on July 15. The ship would not have gone there with Lauson and Ragueneau if it were known, as Dollier leaves us to believe, that the people of Montreal had been massacred. The same trip brought back from Montreal the recent offers of peace from the Onondagas.

At the beginning of the summer of 1653, the St. Lawrence River was a field of fire and bloodshed. After Lauson had disbanded the mobile force, he had to re-establish it with fifty men under the command of Eustache Lambert. The life of the little Montreal community, huddled in its fort, still remained in a very precarious situation while awaiting the return of its Governor. It lost another man, Michel Noéla, killed on July 20. In the month of August, Fr. Joseph-Antoine Poncet was seized at Cap-Rouge along with Mathurin Franchetot. Trois-Rivières was under siege by the Mohawks in the month of August.

Fr. Claude Pijart, formerly a missionary among the Nipissirinians, had been left at Montreal on his return from the Huron country in July of 1650, very likely to wait for the Algonquins who might take refuge there, following the devastation of their homeland. Fr. Simon Lemoyne was his assistant, and he looked after the Hurons passing through the area. Actually, there were a good number of Algonquins in Montreal from 1650 to 1652, reviving the hope of seeing them settle down there. But, the dangerous situation of the Montreal colony made them stay away once more.

From that period, the Montreal registry is that of the French community only. The pastor consoled his flock, urging "our French people to have recourse to the Blessed Virgin with some extraordinary devotion. There were periods of fasting and almsgiving, and the Forty Hours devotions was started. Many Communions were offered in her honor. A solemn vow was made to celebrate the feast of the Presentation in a public manner, and to ask God through the intercession of His mother of all consolations, or that He might either put an end to the fury of these enemies, or that He might exterminate them if it were clear that they are unwilling to be converted, or to return to a reasonable way of behavior".[8]

This date, February 2, is important; it seems to us to be the first indication in Montreal of Olier's piety. In 1642, on the Feast of the Assumption, that is to say August 15, the Jesuits had begun to celebrate this day as the patronal feast of Montreal and we have reason to think that this feast was being celebrated from that time. In 1653, for the first time, we find some indication of a solemn celebration on February 2, the Feast of the Presentation in the Temple. Could this have been at the suggestion of Olier, director of the Montreal Society, because his principal Marian devotion was the Presentation? It would seem that Maisonneuve brought forth this suggestion on landing with his recruits. If so, we must place its first celebration in 1654.

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[8] *1635 Relation*, 12-13.

Actually, the Governor was to find his whole colony huddled together in the fort "breathing with difficulty" but not entirely without hope. It had been learned in Quebec on July 15 that the Onondagas had come to Montreal to sue for peace. Once again an embassy of sixty Onondagas reappeared there on July 31, accompanied by one Oneida. On August 15, a band of thirty Huron Christians, under the command of a war-captain, Aaoueaté, won an outstanding victory and carried off four prisoners, among whom was a renowned warrior captain. Taking these prisoners to Quebec in the company of the Onondagas who were going there to sue for peace, Aaoueaté fell into the hands of the Mohawks besieging Trois-Rivières at that time. But there was a happy ending to all this, since the Mohawks also decided at this time to begin negotiations for peace.

In the meantime, Maisonneuve arrived in Quebec on September 22, 1653. Prior to his departure from France, he had been given a sealed letter from the King about which we must speak at this point. It bears the date of April 30, 1653.[9] It is not a formal commissioning of a governor. The office is not mentioned except in the address and it refers only to the military power received by the Montreal seigneurs.

But, it certainly contains permission to bring to Montreal the men recruited in France and the order "to work incessantly to gather them all together and to lead them under my authority to the aforementioned island of Montreal on the ships which you find most suitable in my ports, along with provisions, crews, arms and ammunition necessary for their defense, and to have the settlers live there in peace and to promote in those regions, as much as you can, the propagation of the Faith and the establishment of French colonies".[10]

The document looks like a permission to take the 108 men "to fight against the great dangers threatening the inhabitants of the island of Montreal". It remains as a document destined to support a request from Marguerite Bourgeois asking for Letters Patent[11] for her religious community.

Maisonneuve spent more than a month organizing the transportation from Quebec to Montreal. Dollier gives us to understand that Lauson wanted to retain some of these men at Quebec. This would be very strange, given the fact that all these men were hired by the Montreal Society and that their transportation was

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[9] Robert Leblant, "Documents inédits" *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française,* **13** (September 1959), p. 276.

[10] Faillon, *op. cit.*, 276.

[11] Minutier central de la Seine, Archives Nationales, Paris, entries of Mousnier, étude 12, #134

arranged under such solemn royal authority that we are inclined to attribute this accusation to the author's prejudice against Lauson rather than to Lauson's personal intentions.

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Chapter 14
The New Colonists of 1653

Maisonneuve's arrival with more than a hundred men was an immense help for the whole Laurentian* colony. Dollier and Faillon speak of solemn prayers offered at Quebec for their safe arrival. These prayers were those of the Jubilee of 1650, serving as an occasion for the publication in 1653 of the Archbishop of Rouen's jurisdiction over New France. The prayers would have been said in any case. Jeanne Mance must have been present at these prayers, since she had gone to Quebec to wait for Maisonneuve.

This added man-power, earnestly requested and a long time coming, was equivalent to a second foundation of Ville-Marie. Quite naturally, 22,000 *L* had been put into the foundation of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu, then a further 20,000 *L* which the Foundress donated to the Montreal Society on this occasion and also the 33,000 *L* furnished by the Associates of the Montreal Society. We suspect that Olier, and especially Le Ragois de Bretonvilliers, were responsible for the largest part of this last amount. All of it comes to 75,000 *L*. The influence of Olier's confreres, the Sulpicians, would become particularly important in the years to come. De Queylus was also to have a large role to play from 1656 onwards.

The men who had been recruited were drawn for the most part from the provinces of Anjou, Maine, and Poitou. La Flèche and its region also furnished several. One young gentleman, Claude Robutel de Saint-André, who came to Montreal with the others, was in charge of recruiting in France.

A hundred and fifty-three signed the embarkation contract with La Dauversière, but fifty of them failed to appear. Of the hundred and three who remained, eight died during the crossing from France. Thus, ninety-five reached Montreal. Three more young men appeared at Montreal after the arrival of the ninety-five, which brings the number to ninety-eight.

Furthermore, no less precious were the women who formed Marguerite Bourgeois' retinue, all of whom made this crossing. There were fifteen of them. One of the girls, Marie Dumesnil, was only ten years old. Only one was married and she was accompanied by her husband, Julien Daubigeon. The rest of them, except for Marguerite Bourgeois, were between 14 and 24 years old. Therefore, Montreal gained a hundred and thirteen new residents. At least forty-nine of the men would start a family in Montreal. Twenty-four eventually lost their lives in Iroquois massacres and five died accidental deaths in Montreal.

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* Along the St. Lawrence River .

For the most part they represented various trades: "There were surgeons, millers, woodworkers, carpenters, stonemasons, gunsmiths, locksmiths, loggers, coopers, stonecutters, bakers, pastry-cooks, a brew-master, a furrier, chaplains, canvas weavers, cutlers, shoemakers, gardeners, tailors, well-diggers, slate and canvas roofers, woodcutters, diggers and ploughmen".[1] Auger has provided us with some very interesting biographical notes on all these men about whom it was possible to do so.

But, as always happened in the rest of the colony, all the men did not actually practice the trades they had learned. Most of them were "jacks of all trades". Their salaries varied from 60 to 100 *L* a year, except for the two surgeons, who must have received 150 to 200 *L*. Their contracts were for three or five years. On their departure from France, La Dauversière paid a sum amounting to 11,070 *L* to the 103 of them who sailed.

We should not exaggerate, as Faillon does, the importance of this recruitment for the overall immigration to New France. After all, the Hundred Associates had brought more than a hundred and twenty immigrants over to Quebec in 1633 alone and continued to do so in the years that followed. The Habitant Community also had hired men brought over every year. They had hired a hundred from Normandy in 1652.

Nor should we forget that for every four births in Montreal that same year, there were 51 in the whole colony. Actually, the particular trait of the population of Montreal was its sudden increases in the years 1641, 1653 and 1659. Our reservations, however, do not lessen the merit of the effort. Quite suddenly, the population of Ville-Marie was more than doubled. Above all, these new arrivals consisted of young men who were ready to get to work.

Here we would like to mention the names of women who were soon to become mothers of families: besides Périnne Mousnier, Julien Daubigeon's wife, there were Marie-Marthe Pinson, Marie Dumesnil, who was only 10 years old, Jeanne Soldé, Jeanne Roussilier, Catherine Lorion, Catherine Hureau, Jeanne Védié, Jeanne Mairé, Marie Renaudin de La Blanchetière, whom Maisonneuve placed in one of the Ursuline schools at Quebec, Marie Renault, and especially Marguerite Bourgeois, who played the role of mother to this whole group.

Marguerite Bourgeois was surely the most remarkable acquisition. Born at Troyes, April 17, 1620, to Abraham Bourgeois and Guillemette Garnier, she belonged to the middle income class of that mercantile city. She was already very

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[1] Roland Auger, *La grande Recrue de 1653, Publication de la Société Généalogique Canadienne-Française*, #1, Montréal, 1955, p. 15.

devout when, in 1640, as she was standing before a statue of the Virgin in the portal of the Abbey of Notre Dame, she had an illumination that changed the course of her life: she would devote herself to works of charity.

She joined a lay association of religious women, founded by Saint Pierre Fourier, under the name of the Congregation Notre-Dame. Louise de Chomedey, the Montreal Governor's sister and a religious, directed these members of the Congregation. She was filled with great zeal for Ville-Marie and implored her brother to summon her there. Marguerite, the Congregation's prefect, also had as her spiritual director a holy priest, Antoine Gendret, who encouraged her, along with two companions, to form a community devoted to the imitation of "Our Lady in Action",* that is to say to the service of one's neighbor, and one that would not be subject to cloister, at that time considered necessary for contemplatives, teachers, and Hospitalers. She gained some experience teaching children, but her companions left her. Her spirituality was then given its definitive form.

In 1652, Maisonneuve met Marguerite when he went to visit his sister Louise de Chomedey. Marguerite offered to go and serve in Montreal in whatever way God wanted. The Governor accepted her offer. According to what would become her own particular way of doing things, she left for Paris "without a farthing or a cent" with her uncle and another sister of Maisonneuve's, in February 1653. There she divested herself of everything she owned, even her inheritance. Poverty, abandonment to Divine Providence, was the distinctive mark of Marguerite's spirituality.

After declining admission to the Carmelite convent, which she had at one time approached but was refused, she left Paris for Nantes in the month of March, with fifteen écus to pay the fare for the coach, ferry, and hostels and to escort De Maisonneuve's "worn out clothes".* At Nantes she once more felt the call to the Carmelites, but persevered in her decision to go to Montreal. She set sail, June 15, on the *Saint-Nicolas,* with the hundred and three men and the other persons mentioned earlier.

For the first time since the *Notre-Dame-de-Montreal*, the Montreal Society took over an entire ship. The owner of the ship, Lecoq de la Beaussonnière, had rented this "old tub", the *Saint-Nicolas,* to the Montreal Society even though it was not seaworthy. From Nantes, Captain Le Besson made a stop at Saint-Nazaire, then took the usual course to the Grand Banks of Newfoundland by way of the Azores, as did most of the oceanic pilots.

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* The French has *vie voyagère de Notre-Dame*.

* The French has *hardes*.

Yes, the ship leaked, but it was hoped that the pumps could be worked well enough to keep it afloat with the number of men on board. After going some 900 miles[*], they had to return to Saint-Nazaire to obtain another ship. Maisonneuve put his men on an island to hold onto them. The new sailing date was July 20. During the voyage eight of the hired men died. Marguerite Bourgeois devoted her energies to looking after them. The passengers, rough in their ways as were most of the immigrants attempting this crossing, were won over by the good young lady, so generous and modest, and they became "as gentle as true religious".

On arrival at Quebec, the captain accidentally ran the ship up on a rock, opening its side. Everything -- people and goods -- had to make an emergency debarkation and were all crammed into the old store belonging to Montreal, which had hardly ever been used until then. The ship was burned where it stood.

They had arrived in Quebec on September 22, 1653 and Jeanne was there to welcome Maisonneuve. October was spent transporting the men and the goods to Montreal and Jeanne was on the first boat going back up to Montreal. The transportation involved more than one trip by the frigate and the ship's boat, the only two boats available.

On November 4, the ship's long-boat returned to Quebec with Fr. Joseph Poncet, having been released from captivity by the Mohawks and brought to Montreal where he stayed since October 24. On November 23, after another trip to Montreal, the same boat stopped at Trois-Rivières and attempted to leave there on the 25th, but the ice forced it to remain for the rest of the winter. Maisonneuve must have been on that last trip to Montreal, about November 15, as was Marguerite Bourgeois, who had remained at Quebec to the last minute to distribute the provisions to the group of immigrants. She was certainly in Montreal on November 25.

The Governor was astonished at the tragic state of the colony as soon as he arrived because the boat had brought the news to Quebec of the death, capture, or shipwreck of Augustin Hébert, the former Duchesse d'Aiguillon's handyman for the Quebec Hôtel-Dieu, and of Jacques Lépine, both of whom lived at Ville-Marie; the former was a married man, the latter a bachelor. Hébert is not mentioned any more and his widow Adrienne Duvivier would marry Robert Cavelier. Lépine, known also as Darras, would disappear at this time.

The land concessions granted by Maisonneuve prior to his departure the previous year for France had resulted in a clearing of land and some new houses, not only on the Saint-Martin River beginning at its mouth, but also close to the

[*] *350 lieues*.

hospital. The families remained in the shelter of the fort. Jeanne Mance had left the hospital in 1651 to take refuge there while her house, guarded by soldiers, served as an advanced redoubt. Claude Pijart, assisted by Simon Lemoyne -- both Jesuits -- provided religious services for the besieged colony. The chapel was one of the fort's buildings; the Jesuits lived in it and offered religious services on Sundays and feast days. The arrival of the new recruits in November 1653 freed everybody from this confined captivity.

The primitive Montreal Hôtel-Dieu – now serving as a billet for the soldiers -- was subjected to attacks from the Iroquois and badly damaged. Prior to 1651, it already had a little stone chapel in the form of a square, but it was hardly sufficient for the hospital. Dollier mentions the beginnings of the church and the enlargement of the hospital in the autumn of 1653. Trudel puts the building of the church at the beginning of 1656.[2] However, it seems that Dollier was right because it was in January 1654 that the fort's cemetery was abandoned. Flooding forced Pijart to bury Pierre Nepveu on January 10 in a newly blessed place in the "garden", still perhaps within the fort.

A second burial took place on January 15 in the same place and for the same reason. In October and November two more burials took place, apparently in the old cemetery. There would have been 39 bodies buried at Pointe-à-Callière; most of them were adult Frenchmen, victims of the Iroquois. The register does not mention the dead whose bodies were never recovered, except for Catherine Mercier. There were a number of baptized native people and the rest were children born in Montreal.

On December 11, 1654, François Lochet was buried "in the new cemetery of the hospital building". If the cemetery was moved in this way, then possession of the church was expected shortly. It would also be used from then on by the people in the hospital. The inhabitants organized a subscription for the church and put their alms in the hands of Jean de Saint-Père. Most of the funds, however, certainly came from Madame de Bullion's generosity.

As early as the spring thaw of 1654, Jeanne Mance had left the fort for her new lodging. Rebuilt in wood, the hospital must have included the old section, 60 by 24 feet, plus a main building 80 by 30, and 20 feet high; a part of it was reserved for the Jesuits. The church measured 50 by 24 feet. It was dedicated to Saint Joseph, chosen as the patron saint of the hospital as early as l644. The cemetery, as we

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[2] Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France…,* p. 357.

believe,[3] extended along the present-day rue Saint-Sulpice, at that time rue Saint-Joseph, about forty feet below rue Notre-Dame, a street which did not yet exist.

Maisonneuve had two redoubts built for defense: one to the south-west on Nicolas Godé's land which would become part of the site where the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice would be built; the other to the north, on the Saint-Louis slope a little farther than the present rue Bonsecours. They were built about fifteen or sixteen *arpents,* about a half mile, from each other. These fortifications, the maintenance of which was assured by the Habitants, pretty well marked the extremities of the space that Maisonneuve ear-marked for the city. In 1648, the Governor envisaged the future city as extending along the left bank of the little creek, opposite the fort and the seigniorial domain; the Hôtel-Dieu property would have been at the extreme north-east.

In 1654, however, it was on the river[*] that Maisonneuve extended the ramparts, from the bridge on rue de Callières as far as the Saint-Louis hill, leaving a space of 1 *arpent* for the commons. In depth, the present day rue Saint-Antoine, coinciding with the upper part of the Saint-Martin stream, was its limit. From then on, the Hôtel-Dieu occupied practically the center of the future city.

It was at that time that Jeanne gave back the two hundred *arpents* to Maisonneuve of the Hôtel-Dieu that were bordered to the south west by the rue Saint-Joseph (*alias* Saint-Sulpice) and extended over four *arpents* of frontage down the St. Lawrence River. She thereby freed the meadowland of the shore which could then be added to the commons and thus left considerable space for separate buildings. The Hôtel-Dieu retained only an area of seven or eight *arpents,* and its official title to the property would be drawn up in 1682.

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[3] For an old history of the Montreal cemetery, see the notes by E. Z. Massicotte, "Les anciens cimetières…" 341-345. In our view, it is unlikely that the two men were buried in the hospital's cemetery while it was flooded. Pijart mentions the burial in a "garden", probably that of the fort. The next two following deceased of the same year seem to have been buried in the usual cemetery. But, François Lochet, December 11, 1654 was certainly the first to be buried in the Hôtel-Dieu's cemetery. If the church of the Hôtel-Dieu, as Massicotte has noted, was built at the intersection of Saint Paul and Saint Sulpice streets, the cemetery must have been somewhere else. We see it between la rue de Bresoles and la rue Saint-Joseph (Saint Sulpice) on the side of the hill, but we do not know any more about it than does Massicotte.

[*] Ostensibly, the St. Lawrence River

Maisonneuve spent much time deciding on the distribution of the urban area, because after the return of land by Jeanne, he granted Lambert Closse a piece of land, four *arpents* in width to the north-west, adjacent to the Hôtel-Dieu's new land. Its frontage joined it at what is now rue Sainte-Thérèse, behind a few buildings on rue Saint-Paul, and it occupies an important part of the city bordering on it toward the mountain to a depth of 45 *arpents*, over a mile and a half.

It was agreed at that time that the new land-holders around the city would also have a city location on which to build. As early as 1648, Maisonneuve took care to take back two *arpents* in width from the frontage of the first lands that were granted, and was ready to compensate the affected owners with a similar area at the other end. Some lots were created in this way on Pierre Richeome's lands and on those of Gabriel Celle (formerly known as Lucaut), of Pierre Gadois, and of Robert Cavelier. The others were taken from the space reserved for the city.

To the south-west of the Hôtel-Dieu, Nicolas Godé and Charles Lemoyne owned some small lots since 1651. These were divided into lots or granted to seigneurs. To the north-east there were a few lots aligned with the commons, while waiting for the rue Saint-Paul to determine their frontage. A straight line along the south-west-north-east also indicates, at this early period, the future rue Notre-Dame and some lots connected with it on the opposite side of the river. All this took place in 1654 and 1655, the glorious years of urban organization and that was when the city of Montreal was really established.

Returning from France in 1653, Maisonneuve brought back an ambitious and generous program of colonization. Despite the five-year contract that bound most of the hired men, he offered to free them from their contract if they were willing to settle on the lands which he would grant them along with a site in the city. He also offered each one a sum of money that would enable them to build for themselves and to buy implements and livestock. All that he imposed on them, as he had done with the early Habitants, was that they were not to leave the land without his permission to settle outside the island of Montreal. If they did so, the properties would revert to the syndic of Montreal Island, who in turn would liquidate them to the profit of the Montreal Community.

The Governor did not restrict his generosity to the new Habitants only; the earlier Habitants who had borne the burden and heat of the day also benefited from it. They were even the first to take advantage of it: André Dumets, Jean Descarries, Jean Leduc, Antoine Primot, Charles Lemoyne, who were followed by Sébastien Hodiau, Nicolas Godé, Jean Aubuchon, Jean de Saint-Père, Jean Desroches, Jacques Archambault, Urbain Tessier, Louis Loisel, Pierre Villain. The new men were Jean Lemercher, Mathurin Langevin, Yves Bastard, Simon Galbrun, Toussaint Hunault, Jacques Mousseaux, Bertrand Derennes, Simon Després,

Jacques Picot, René Bondy, Pierre Gaudin, Marin Janot, Michel Talmi, Julien Daubigeon, Louis Guertin, Etienne Lert, Jean Frénot, Pierre Chauvin, Gilles Lauzon, Jean Olivier, André and Marin Hurtubise, Louis de la Saudraye, Olivier Martin, Fiacre Ducharne, Jean Vallets, Pierre Piron, all 1653 arrivals. In 1655 the list became even longer: Paul Benoît, Simon Leroy, Pierre Bruzé, Pierre Papin, Mathurin Jousset, Nicolas Duval, Zacharie Desorsons, Jean Gasteau, Pierre Hardy; all these people also had arrived in 1653.

The amount of money distributed varied, very likely according to individual circumstances. Louis Loisel received 1,000 *L*, the largest sum. Sébastien Hodiau and Nicolas Godé each received 600 *L*. Most of the others received 500 *L*, and the smallest gift was 400 *L*. The amount of money paid out easily came to 25,000 *L*. There is no other example of this kind of generosity in the whole history of colonization of New France. The settlers in Montreal were therefore better treated than were Carignan's officers by Louis XIV, for the best rewarded of them was given only 600 *L*.

The lands recently granted were usually 30 *arpents* in area with a frontage of two *arpents*[*]. They bordered, at first, on the upper part of the Saint-Martin stream, the present-day rue Saint-Antoine, the city limits towards the back. Then, beyond the Saint-Louis hill, they fronted on the St. Lawrence river flowing to the north-east.

The concessions granted in 1654 and in 1655 began with the one granted to Etienne Bouchard, the surgeon, which bordered on the Closse fief; that is to say, on the rue Hôtel-de-Ville right up to Nicolas Hubert's land, where it borders on today's rue Papineau. It is clear that the colony was growing for the most part towards the north-east. The fort -- eventually to be called the Château -- where Maisonneuve, with his servant Louis Fin, Marguerite Bourgeois, the garrison and the hired workmen of the seigneurs continued to live, became more and more remote from the city's center.

This important development took place during a period of peace with the Mohawks. But, since they continued to be a threat, Maisonneuve was forced to give his colony the appearance of an entrenched camp. Besides the redoubts, the houses were built room above room, closer and closer together, and were provided with firing-holes to protect one another in case of an Iroquois attack. An initial organization of the Montreal militia, mentioned by Sister Morin, goes back to this era. The Hospitaler named it The Virgin's Soldiers. The were sixty-three of them,

[*] About 120 meters or 400 feet.

to honor the number of years which were said to be the length of the life of the Mother of God.

Men took turns in groups to guard the buildings. Every day, the soldiers on duty readied themselves for death by making their Confession and receiving Holy Communion at the morning Mass, celebrated in the church of the Hôtel-Dieu. They then patrolled, with muskets on their shoulders, the remote areas and the wheat fields on the lookout for any traces or hiding places of the enemy. Sister Morin calls this troop a "confraternity" and a "cult"[*].[4] It was still going in 1662 when little Marie Morin arrived in Montreal. Of these defenders, a large number proved their dedication to the service of the Montreal colony at the cost of their life.

Dollier speaks of several battles taking place in 1654 and 1655 against the Mohawks. Let us recall the principal skirmish which created further difficulties. At the time, the Mohawks were competing with the Onondagas to trick the French into handing over the Christian Hurons living on Île d'Orléans. Also, they pursued the Algonquins wherever they happened to be, nor did they spare any Hurons they found. However, their tactics hardly enabled them to attack French outposts. The skirmish in question took place in the autumn of 1654.

Hiding behind stumps and lurking in a ravine, the enemy kept watch on the workmen going to the barricades in military file, and putting a sentry on duty. One of these sentries had placed himself on top of a huge stump and from there he could keep an eye on the whole area, but was especially attentive to the edge of the woods, from which an attacker could emerge. As he was gazing over the whole area, an Iroquois crept up behind him, profiting from the brief intervals when the sentry was looking in the other direction. When he reached the stump he grabbed the sentinel by his legs and dragged him towards the woods like a sheep.

The captive's cries alerted the workmen, who rushed to rescue him, but a Mohawk captain, known as Barrique -- the Hogshead -- stopped them and kept them at bay. Lambert Closse, the garrison's major, rushed out with a squad of soldiers. Choosing his best marksman, Closse ordered the man to shoot the Iroquois "beer-barrel"; the marksman did just that, after carefully creeping up on his prey under cover. Barrique began to bleed and fell from the tree trunk from which he was commanding his men. He was pierced right through by the large lead bullet delivered by the French musket. His fall triggered the flight of all the enemy.

The French picked up the wounded enemy captain and brought him to the hospital, where Jeanne Mance looked after him. He remained crippled, but

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[*] The French has "devotion".

[4] Legendre, *Histoire simple et véritable,…* 67-68.

recovered his strength and also became friendly with his enemies. Dollier had him intervening in other Mohawk attacks in an attempt to pacify them, and attributes to Montreal the merit of effecting the peaceful period that began at that time between the Mohawks and the French.

All this year of 1654 was marked by negotiations for peace between the French on the one hand, and the Mohawks and the Onondagas separately on the other. These two nations were both claiming possession of the surviving Hurons living on Île d'Orléans at the time. They tried everything to deceive the French, the Huron colony's protectors, but their treachery was apparent in the very first months of 1654.

However, Governor Lauzon was not willing to break off relations with his treacherous interlocutors nor to revive a conflict that the French colony could not maintain. Hence, he was trying to find a way of saving the Hurons, while also preventing their enemies from forming an alliance among themselves against the French and their native wards. The Gannentaha enterprise, a mission undertaken by the Jesuits among the Onondagas, was to be the result of Lauzon's effort.[5]

The time therefore was not suitable for the Mohawks to launch the attack against Montreal. As Le Mercier, the Jesuit Superior, reports in the *1654 Relation,* "All through the winter nothing has happened to disturb our joy; everything was peaceful, especially in Montreal..." However, the *Journal des Jésuites* contains a gap that begins after February 1654 and extends over this whole period. The action reported above by Dollier, which would have taken place in the autumn of 1654, might have left some trace in the *1655 Relation*, but that was seized by the English who captured the ship carrying it.

On the other hand, Dollier entirely omitted another important event that took place at Montreal: the capture of Etienne Bouchard, one of the two surgeons of the post. It occurred in the spring of 1654 and it was the work of the Oneidas, usually the allies of the Mohawks but continuing their war independently against the Algonquins at this time. While the Mohawks were speaking about peace with the French, Etienne Bouchard was hunting alone on the island of Montreal. A band of twelve Oneidas seized him and led him off to their canton. A Huron captive with these Oneidas escaped and brought the news of the doctor's capture to Maisonneuve, who then informed Trois-Rivières and Quebec, thinking that the war had broken out again.

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[5] Campeau, *Gannentaha, première mission iroquoise (1653-1665), Bellarmin, Montreal, 1983.* See the Bibliography for an English translation.

At the beginning of May, however, a band of Onondagas arrived at Montreal led by the supreme Grand Chieftain of the Iroquois League, Sagochiendagehte. They were told of Etienne's capture. Completely surprised, the Grand Chieftain offered himself as a hostage, while his men went to Onontagué to work for the release of the surgeon. The Onondagas put together many presents, brought them to the Oneidas, and obtained the prisoner's release. The doctor was brought back to Montreal in June or July, thus enabling the peace negotiations between Maisonneuve and Sagochiendagehte to continue.[6]

Maisonneuve wanted, indeed, to take the initiative in these transactions. When a similar native embassy was passing by on its way to visit Governor Lauson the preceding December, Maisonneuve wanted to have it halt in Montreal, "telling them that Onontio[*] was everywhere". When unable to prevent them from continuing on their way, he still succeeded in sending them a canoe full of presents to take back to their own country, "to assure their compatriots of the friendship of the Montrealers, no matter what might happen to those who went farther down the river".[7] This looked very much like an effort to sign a separate peace. Lauson yielded to Maisonneuve's wishes once he learned of this initiative, and he decided that, in future, Montreal would be the site for negotiations with the Onondagas.[8]

The Mohawks left the French alone throughout that whole year, but continued their attacks on the Algonquins. They were also angry at the Onondagas and were threatening to take Fr. Simon Lemoyne as a hostage when they saw him in an Onondagan canoe going up the St. Lawrence to their own canton. Threats succeeded, however, in letting the Onondagan canoe go and in allowing the Jesuit to continue on his voyage.

The Mohawks were also bringing back two Frenchmen from Trois-Rivières, Pierre Couc and a man named Des Mares, who had been sent as a guarantee. The Mohawks became bolder the following year, continuing their attacks against the native peoples allied to the French, and they did not even spare Frenchmen when caught in some exposed area. Thus, after they came down river as far as Île aux Oies, they massacred Jean Moyen des Granges and his wife and led their three children into captivity, as well as the two little Macart girls, Marie and Geneviève. On May 29, 1655, they killed Brother Jean Liégeois close to Sillery when they found him working in the woods. The register at Montreal mentions only one

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[6] *1654 Relation*, 32-43.

[*] Native name for the Governor.)

[7] Laverdière, *op. cit.*, January 30, 1654, p. 193.

[8] *1654 Relation*, 30-31.

person killed in 1655, Julien Daubigeon; the circumstances of his death are not known.

The Gentlemen of the Montreal Society, by sending the recruits of 1653, now finally justified the decision La Dauversière had made for Montreal at the beginning. We recall that this decision to continue colonization had been imposed in 1641 on the Governor General and the Jesuit Superior despite the solid reasons which their prudence suggested to the contrary. First, the recently declared Mohawk hostility against the French themselves. Second, the fact that the Mohawks were now in possession of European weapons. Third, the little hope the French had of settling the Algonquins on the territory that was being attacked by their enemies. Fourth, the dispersion of forces the plan for Montreal imposed on a colony that was demographically weak and that Montmagny and D'Ailleboust were striving to concentrate around Quebec and Trois-Rivières.

These politically prudent objections – taken to be hostile by those promoting Montreal -- had been corroborated by the events up to 1653. But, the new effort undertaken that year turned the situation around. The rapid and generous development given to the population and the clearing of land, the dauntless courage of the new settlers that turned them into the most skillful and well-disciplined defenders of New France, and finally, the advantage of this outpost occupying the most fertile land of the St. Lawrence -- all these factors began to coalesce in 1653.

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Chapter 15
Peace Negotiations: 1653-1665

Montreal was involved at the center of this strange reconciliation that was starting to develop between the Iroquois and the French from 1653 onwards. The peaceful period that resulted from it greatly favored the development we have just described. Two series of documents have come down to us on these events. One version is found in the *Histoire de Montréal*, composed in 1672 by Dollier de Casson. The other was a "watered down" version in the Jesuit *Relations* of that same period.

This time the testimonies to the event are contemporary and they come from persons involved in the drama. The first version bluntly attributes this peace initiative to the bravery of the Montrealers. The second version presents quite a different picture. It is important for us, in this special chapter, both to reconcile these divergent testimonies and to indicate, on the basis of critical analysis, what should be retained. We begin with Dollier de Casson's testimony.

The first armed combat of which he speaks took place on August 15, 1653:

> "There were several Hurons in Montreal at that time and they were waging war against the Iroquois from the shelter of the fort. Among others, there was the bravest of all, Annontaha, who displayed extraordinary courage on one occasion about which we will speak.[1] Now, these Hurons, in their reconnoitering, found traces of the enemy coming to attempt an attack in that area. As soon as they had learned this, the Hurons came to sound the alarm. Immediately, the French and the Hurons formed two groups in the area from which the enemy was approaching. The enemy soon found itself between the two groups and was thus forced to fight at close quarters. The truth is that the Iroquois paid a high price for their life and freedom, because even though they were few in numbers, they lost the bravest men of their nation and what is more, all this happened while they had the advantage of a thick forest. But finally, when most of them had been killed, the rest surrendered, except for a few who escaped".[2]

The *Journal des Jésuites,* in its version, arranges the items of information in chronological order, from the moment news reached Quebec. On July 15, 1653, the frigate coming down from Montreal announced the arrival at that post of some Onondagas who had come to sue for peace; among them there was a Huron,

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[1] The episode at Long-Sault in 1660 {The Dollard des Ormeaux expedition, described in Campeau's *Gannentaha* ... See the Bibliography for an English translation} .

[2] Flenley, *op. cit.*, 178-180.

Aaoueaté, and Fr. Lemoyne; both were acting as interpreters.[3] On August 9 a long-boat arrived from Montreal bearing the news that Michel Noéla had been killed by the Mohawks on July 20, and also that an Oneida and an Onondaga appeared there on July 31, to sue for peace. It was on August 21 that a canoe came from Montreal to report the battle described by Dollier:

> "On the 21st a canoe from Montreal brought us the news that 30 Hurons had made a successful attack on a band of 17 Mohawk Iroquois lying in ambush behind Saint Helen's Island against some Frenchmen planting a field. The Hurons put the Iroquois to flight, killed one of them then and there, captured five of them alive, four of whom were Mohawks and the fifth being a Huron who once lived at Saint-François-Xavier. Two Hurons were killed and two seriously wounded".[4]

The *Journal* then gives some information gleaned from prisoners, confirming the fact that the Onondagas were serious in their desire for peace. The *1653 Relation* mentions, in great detail, the events which preceded the siege of Trois-Rivières, beginning on August 20 of that year. The Mohawks sent squads of their men to Quebec and Montreal to divert the attention of those two posts, concentrating their main force at Trois-Rivières because they had decided to capture that settlement.

The force that was beaten at Montreal on August 15 was one of these diversionary squads. The Jesuit testimony does not mention any participation of the French in the victory of that day. Moreover the encounter purportedly took place on the south shore of Montreal Island, but French soldiers did not venture very far from the fort – situated on the north shore -- prior to Maisonneuve's return from France.

Furthermore, the prisoners would always be considered as captives of the Hurons. Dollier is mistaken about Annaotaha, who does not, in fact, appear in this episode. The victorious Huron captain was called Aaoueaté, according to Jesuit testimony.

However, this did not prevent Dollier from going on in the same vein:

> "When the prisoners were led to the fort, they claimed that the Iroquois had a very large army that was ravaging the whole country down the river and setting fire to everything. Des Muceaux, who was in command, knew about these claims and also that there were a large number of prisoners. He consulted the best informed people about the course of action that he should take.
>
> The consensus was that Lemoine should persuade Annontaha to go and parley with the Iroquois and save the country, if he could, namely Trois-Rivières, which they had

[3] Laverdière, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[4] Laverdière, *op. cit.*, 187-188.

> heard to be in serious danger. At this suggestion, this brave native decided to risk his life for the good of the country. He went down the river slowly in an elegantly decorated canoe and entered Trois-Rivières. He then shouted to the Iroquois to come closer and listen to him, giving them time to come quite close so that they could hear what he had to say. This is what he said in a loud voice: 'Do not even think about doing any harm to the French. I have just come from Montreal. We have captured such and such men, your captains, who went there, as you know. Their life is in our hands. If you want to save their lives you must make peace'." [5]

In the Jesuit version, there is no mention of Annaotaha, and the outcome of these events is totally different. Thus, the people at Montreal are said have heard about the siege of Trois-Rivières as early as August 15, whereas the siege actually began on August 20! It was August 21 when Fr. Dequen in Quebec learned, from Fr. Le Mercier, about the capture of Fr. Poncet and Franchetot close to Cap-Rouge. A long-boat full of Frenchmen was immediately organized and set out in pursuit of the murderers. It reached Trois-Rivières on the night of August 22 and found the post being besieged by the Mohawks. But it was only on the 30th that the Hurons appeared leading their prisoners, accompanied by four Onondagas who had arrived in Montreal prior to their departure. They were carrying a large cargo of beaver pelts and necklaces to be used in suing for peace.[6]

It was on August 21, still at the beginning of the Mohawk siege, that news reached Quebec about the auspicious Huron victory of August 15 at Montreal. This news therefore had somehow reached Trois-Rivières before the siege! Thus, on the 23rd, when the Mohawks began to parley concerning peace at this location they could be promised that the lives of the prisoners captured in the same combat would be spared. But in Montreal, at the departure of the Hurons, people still did not know that Trois-Rivières was under siege. Dollier, however, states that they did, as we have seen above. It was after August 24 that the Mohawks, who had failed in their assault on the French settlement, began to sue for peace with the Hurons of Trois-Rivières. When a Huron girl had been brought to them :

> "... they obtained much information from her lips both good and bad. She informed them that we had received some reinforcements, that a company of Hurons had captured some Iroquois at Montreal, and that they were waiting, from one day to the next, for the return of the conquerors and the conquered. This was what caused their delay, because when we exchanged presents with them, they had given us their word that they would soon be going back home, but that they wanted to wait for the Hurons who were taking along some of their people as prisoners. In this truce or delay, they spoke of a simple exchange of prisoners. They promised to bring back Fr. Poncet and

[5] Flenley, *op. cit.*, 180.

[6] Laverdière, *op. cit.*, 188-190.

> the Frenchman who had been captured with him.[7] On the 30th of August, some of the Hurons returning from Montreal with their Iroquois prisoners fell into the hands of the waiting Iroquois."

It is only in another chapter, after recounting the release of Poncet, that Le Mercier continues his account of the siege of Trois-Rivières:

> "A Huron captain setting off to war was warned by the French in Montreal that there were some enemy forces on their island. This captain, as we have mentioned already, looked for them, pursued them, and attacked them. After defeating them, he captured their captain and four of his most valorous warriors. Since he did not know that there was an Iroquois army attacking Trois-Rivières, but needing to pass through that region on his way to Quebec where he wanted to take his prisoners, the Huron captain fell right into the trap, as they say. Completely unsuspecting and quietly sailing down the Saint Lawrence, chatting about peace and war with his prisoners, he suddenly spotted the Iroquois army in the distance. In the twinkling of an eye he saw himself as a vanquished conqueror and a triumphant prisoner."

This Huron captain was not Annaotaha, but Aaoueaté. The Mohawk captain whom he had captured was Aronhieirha. They were in the company of four Onondagas going to Quebec to continue negotiations for peace on behalf of their nation, and they all found themselves surrounded by the Iroquois besieging Trois-Rivières. The Onondagas were stripped of their presents, or at least of most of them. But, through the intervention of a Mohawk prisoner, everything was settled amicably enough and the dispositions of the besiegers, who had already begun to discuss peace with the French, did not change the course of events. Someone was sent to have Poncet released, who had been captured by the Mohawks; he was back at Quebec on November 4, 1653.

The peace initiative therefore did not come from Montreal, despite what Dollier de Casson has written. The Onondagas should be given the credit. The Mohawk about-face -- right in the middle of a military operation against Trois-Rivières -- to now sue for peace, came as a surprise. It can be explained by the fact that at that moment they learned not only about the Mohawk defeat near Montreal at the hands of the Hurons, but also about the steps which the Onondagas had been taking for some time towards obtaining a separate peace with the French to obtain possession of the Hurons being sheltered near Quebec.

The Mohawks were not slow in discerning very clearly what their Onondagan allies were up to. The Hurons, defeated several years earlier in Huronia and given refuge by the French[*], were the particular enemies of the Onondagas, who

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[7] *1653 Relation*, 42-43.

[*] 1649, etc.

therefore considered the refugees at Quebec as belonging to themselves. By dealing with the French, the Onondagan objective was to get their hands on the Hurons without any loss to themselves. On the other hand, the Mohawks looked upon the refugees as their own property now that these Huron refugees were on the St. Lawrence, a region they looked upon as their own territory.

It was not because of any love for the Hurons that either the Mohawks or the Onondagas wanted to gain possession of them, but rather to subjugate them, to make them prisoners -- vanquished slaves -- as had been done to all the Huron captives earlier. Their intentions would become more and more evident in the course of the negotiations then beginning, with the result that the French, not in a position to break off these negotiations because they could not risk a war against so many Iroquois, had to delay and resort to clever maneuvers to save the Huron refugees without offending the Iroquois at the same time. That was the reason for creating the establishment at Gannentaha, the mission among the Onondagas, despite the enormous expense that the venture involved.

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Chapter 16
Maisonneuve's New Voyage

The peace -- but not without some setbacks -- won a period of tranquility for Montreal so advantageous that Dollier felt obliged to mention it:

> "So little has happened during this year (1655-1656) between the Iroquois and ourselves that there is not much news to report on this matter. What can be mentioned is that construction of houses has wondrously increased this year. For, even though there is still some fear of treachery on the part of the Iroquois, we knew that we would not be attacked no matter how careless we were about security, and that they would never begin to break the peace as long as they saw that they could not think of making any attack without putting themselves in danger. That is why, once we felt somewhat more secure, we ventured to do things that we would not have dared to do without a large number of men."

Since the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu occupied a location in the very midst of the dwellings that were increasing in number, Jeanne Mance began to think of expansion. Thirty-three children had been born in the parish prior to 1655, and in that year alone thirteen were born. There were only three marriages that same year; the shortage of women was obviously the reason because there had been fourteen the year before. Besides Julien Daubigeon, who was killed by the Iroquois, there were four adults who had died, two of whom, Pierre Vilain and Simon Richeome, had been crushed to death by falling trees. Four of the fatalities were among the immigrants of 1653; Richeome had arrived in 1644.

Jeanne foresaw that some religious personnel were needed for the hospital. As we know, Madame de Bullion had decided that the Sisters who would come over to Montreal would require funding because they were forbidden by the terms of their foundation to support themselves from the revenue for the Poor.

It is certain that Jeanne, with Maisonneuve's approval, was thinking of calling upon the Quebec Hospitalers to help her. We know this from a letter that Paul Le Jeune wrote from Paris to Mère de Saint-Bonaventure, the Mother Superior in Quebec, on March 10, 1656.[1] The latter had spoken about this matter in her correspondence of 1655. Le Jeune mentions one of Jeanne's letters concerning this subject which Mother Superior sent to him in Paris. It is clear therefore that Maisonneuve and Jeanne Mance had not heard of any previous choice of the of La Flèche Hospitalers for the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu.

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[1] Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations...* **41** 236-242.

Since the foundation funds for the Quebec Hôtel-Dieu could not be used in Montreal, the Duchess of Aiguillon was approached to obtain similar help for Montreal. In the month of March 1656, Le Jeune was looking ahead. Maisonneuve was in Paris at that time, and Le Jeune, the mission-procurator, had not yet spoken to him on this subject, but he had written to Fr. Charles Lalemant, the Rector at La Flèche, to see whether the Hospitalers of that city could be interested in Ville-Marie. He had heard that the Montreal Society wanted to have some of Monsieur de La Dauversière's "daughters". At the end of the same letter, Le Jeune became quite insistent:

> "Since the above was written, I have spoken to Monsieur de Maisonneuve. There is nothing for you in Montreal. He told me that, if you had a good foundation fund, you would be able to go there, but that you could not rely on anything there. That is as far as his approval went."

It was in 1656 that the Montreal Society chose De La Dauversière's "daughters". The contract with Pierre Blondel, their procurator, and the Montreal Society was signed in Paris on March 31.[2] The power of attorney granted to Blondel dated from March 13 of the preceding year. De La Dauversière also transferred, for the same Sisters, a credit of 7,120 *L* to Maisonneuve which he had in New France, the unpaid balance of the loan at a high interest rate that had been made in 1649. This commitment to the La Flèche Hospitalers appears to result from a vague idea which the people in Montreal had at first about calling upon the Quebec Hospitalers.

When Maisonneuve sailed for France in 1655, he had some other problems to settle. It is claimed that he went to ask Olier to send over his priests. This is not certain, but it was an opportunity for the Sulpicians to come. Ville-Marie was beginning to look like an organized and homogeneous French parish and was therefore becoming less suitable for the mission-oriented Jesuits. While not neglecting to minister to the French - they had always kept two priests in Montreal – the Jesuits looked on themselves as dedicated, first and foremost, to the evangelization of the native peoples.

In 1655, the Jesuit Superior of Quebec intended to assign those of his men who were already familiar with the Huron language -- a language the Iroquois understood -- to missions among the Onondagas and the Mohawks. Also, possibilities were opening up in the West for the missionaries who had mastered the Algonquin language. Thus, Frs. Garreau and Druillètes were selected in 1656 to go there.

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[2] Mondoux, *op. cit.*, 358-363.

Le Mercier was also asking for new missionaries from France. The transfer of Ville-Marie to the Sulpicians could therefore be envisaged as taking place without any jealousy. The initiative for drawing up an index of Baptisms and marriages was undertaken by Claude Pijart in 1655, apparently in expectation of Sulpician successors.

The Jesuits had all the more freedom to leave because even after fifteen years in the area, they did not have a house or even a little plot of land in Montreal. This is somewhat astonishing in an age when the first concern of religious institutions was to make sure that they had a place to live. It does not seem that this was due to any opposition on the part of Maisonneuve; he always had a high regard for the Jesuit missionaries.

Maisonneuve's principle purpose for this new trip, however, was economic. It was a question of adjusting Ville-Marie to the new conditions of the French colony. In 1645, when the Montreal Society integrated Montreal with the Habitant Community, it had intended to retain all its freedom to carry out its apostolic mandate. Historical experience, however, had already modified their original plan although Ville-Marie was to remain a religious enterprise, a feature that Louis XIII had recognized and approved in his letter to Montmagny in February 1643.

The public financing of New France rested on a monopoly in perpetuity over the fur trade and of commerce in general. The Company of New France had obliged the Habitant Community to preserve the first item -- monopoly of the fur-trade -- intact. Even though the King had granted the privilege of private enterprise to private individuals in 1648, it had not been adopted by ordinary citizens because capital funds were lacking. Ordinary citizens continued to provide for their needs from the imported goods sold in the public stores of Quebec, Trois-Rivières and Montreal.

This arrangement changed, however, in 1653. Lauson, acting on Ragueneau's advice, leased the fur trade to some extent to individuals who would be willing to undertake it. The price of this lease, at first, was one half of the beaver pelts for the public treasury; this was soon reduced to one quarter. That meant that the "general store" in Quebec was now transformed into a warehouse for the beaver pelts coming into the Council's possession, whereas the other three-quarters would finance the purchases made by individuals of merchandise brought over from France. This also meant that the stores at Quebec, Trois-Rivières, and Montreal divested themselves of everything that they formerly supplied for the population, thus yielding the role of purveyors to private entrepreneurs.[3]

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[3] See Campeau, *Les Finances publiques … , passim.*

In Montreal especially, there were no residents able to start up a private business. Somebody had to start thinking about a way of replacing the store that had been managed until then by Charles Lemoyne, the Community's representative. Only the Montreal Society was financially capable of undertaking this kind of enterprise on its own. That involved considerable changes in the procedures from those adopted in previous years. Maisonneuve was going to discuss this matter with the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society.

Maisonneuve left Lambert Closse in Montreal as his lieutenant and went down to Quebec at the beginning of October 1655. As soon as he arrived he looked into the state of the Montreal Society's Quebec properties. The store belonging to Montreal had not been used since 1645, except perhaps in 1653. We know that the principal condition attached to the concessions in the lower town was that buildings be constructed there. It would seem that most of the area contained no constructions at all because Louis Couillard, a Tadoussac fur trader, needed a warehouse and had chosen this area and obtained part of it from the Governor, Jean de Lauson. This land bordered on land belonging to the Jesuits. Maisonneuve expressed his complaint to the Governor who on October 10, issued an order obliging the parties concerned to present their titles. Couillard did so; Maisonneuve failed to do so, and therefore was found in default.

A second injunction, on the 12th, brought once more a default against Maisonneuve, who was about to board ship close to that date. We do not believe that Lauson was a dishonest magistrate: faced with two parties, one of whom could show a title while the other did not, what could he do? He renewed Couillard's concession on November 12 and Couillard would never have his ownership of that land challenged from then on.

There remained a free strip of land adjacent to it, still vacant in 1663. The Sulpician seigneurs of that time claimed it before the Sovereign Council which recorded all the plots of land granted in the past. Even then, the seigneurs of Montreal did not show any title. The Court, however, agreed to accept oral testimony from witnesses. Madame d'Ailleboust and Jeanne Mance testified that they knew about the rights of the seigneurs of Montreal but did not go as far as saying that they had actually seen the title. Hence, the strip of land -- the Normand property -- was awarded to the Sulpicians on the condition that they pay for anything to be built on it.

Faillon has attacked Lauson bitterly on this subject. He repeats some of the expressions by Chartier de Lotbinière which are of no value -- they are but a lawyer's typical pleading. More seriously, Faillon appeals to Jeanne Mance's testimony, who might have said that she had brought the title to the Governor's office, where it may have disappeared. If the Deed existed, it is plausible that at

Maisonneuve's request, Jeanne Mance may have brought it to Lauson. But for our part, while we wait for confirmation of such an intervention by Jeanne Mance, we will continue to believe that Maisonneuve never asked Montmagny for a Deed of concession for this land.

The Hundred Associates had granted two plots of land to La Dauversière and Chevrier, one in Quebec and the other in Trois-Rivières. In a written document, we would expect to see these two places mentioned, but there is no record that Montreal had ever claimed any land in Trois-Rivières. It is possible that the Deed for Quebec may have been lost, in part because of the lack of any written document and lack of any construction.

From the moment Olier became the director of the Montreal Society in 1649, the interest of the Sulpicians in Montreal never ceased to grow. It is partly due to Sulpician generosity that Montreal quickly overcame its demographic lag compared with Trois-Rivières and would even go beyond it in 1658 in the number of births, and has been outdistancing Trois-Rivières ever since. The Sulpicians were all diocesan priests, ordained under the authority of bishops in France who had no official jurisdiction in New France. Therefore the Sulpicians were faced with the problem of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to be exercised in this country.

The so-called "exempt religious",[*] for their part, avoided this difficulty because of special faculties which their Orders possessed directly from the Sovereign Pontiff. In Canada, people had to wait until 1648 for the authority of the Archbishop of Rouen to be recognized. Even then, it was only introduced under a form of a custom, without any public proclamation. The custom must have been confirmed for at least ten years before the authority was upheld. Only on August 15, 1653, did François Le Mercier consider the custom to be sufficiently supported to make it a public Deed, starting with the arrival of the Quebec Hospitalers, who had remained under Rouen's jurisdiction from 1639.

Until then, for a group of priests like the Sulpicians, the natural solution consisted of obtaining the creation of a bishopric in New France. The Montreal Society had, indeed, made an attempt to do just this in 1646. It failed, as we have already seen. The Company of New France tried again in 1650, only to have the General of the Jesuits refuse[*] the candidate whom they suggested, Charles Lalemant, a Jesuit. The Company, however, did not give up the plan but continued to be faced with the problem of finding an Episcopal endowment. In 1653, the participation of secular priests in the apostolate to non-Christians was being

[*] In the sense of not being totally under a local Bishop's jurisdiction .

[*] Jesuit Generals were reluctant to have Jesuits becoming bishops .

discussed in France at the time of the visit by Fr. Alexandre de Rhodes, a Jesuit missionary among the Annamites in Asia.

Olier himself, they say, volunteered to go to Indo-China. However, his interest and that of his congregation was now turned to New France. We mentioned earlier what we think about a note, thought to date from December 1640, "foreseeing" a seminary for priests at Montreal. The note must have been fabricated at the same time that Letters Patent, dated March 13, 1644, were "obtained" in Paris in 1664. Marie-Claire Daveluy recognized that the note was apocryphal, but it at least reflects a concept that the Sulpicians already had in 1655 of their future ministry in Montreal.

At the time when the *Veritable Motifs* -- written at the end of 1643 -- had for its essential thesis that laity as well as priests have the duty of evangelizing non-Christians, the thesis underlies the Sulpician view, namely that secular priests are no less qualified than "exempt religious" for the missionary apostolate.

No one today challenges such a claim, but the question was quite topical at that time. Church customs at that time accorded the secular priests hardly any role in mission work. Coincidentally, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith wanted to find priests who would be totally under its authority, and therefore was interested in missionaries of this kind. This was the thinking that gave rise, for example, to the Missions Etrangères de Paris in 1663. Thus, the Sulpicians would come to Montreal in 1657, not only to direct the parish, but also to establish a mission field for themselves to evangelize.

This concept also explains their numbers, far in excess of the needs of a parish. The difficulties they experienced in getting established, and even more so, the intrigues by their confrere De Queylus in Canada, France, and Rome, delayed the beginnings of evangelization by them until 1668. But the Sulpicians did devote themselves zealously to this work in spite of great cost to themselves.

On August 15, 1653, as we have mentioned, New France was officially recognized as a part of the Rouen Archdiocese, and the Superior of the Jesuits exercised his powers -- but without having the authority -- of Rouen's vicar-general. The Montreal Society wanted something more. In 1646, they had proposed the candidature of Thomas Legauffre for the bishopric of New France. The state of the colony at that time required that Quebec be named as the only reasonable site for a bishopric.

Moreover, at that moment, the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society were more interested in the colony as a whole than in the establishment of Ville-Marie. The suggestion in 1656 envisaged, for its part, making Montreal the center of the new diocesan church. The endowment of a prelate and chapter offered by the Montreal

Society, would consist of half the seigneurie of Montreal, with all seigniorial rights included. Given the financial insufficiency of the seigneurie, the Episcopal up-keep at the beginning would be provided by the candidate himself proposed for the bishopric -- he was already a commendatory abbot with large revenues. The candidate, whose name was omitted at first, was Gabriel de Queylus, a Sulpician. This bishop's clergy would be composed of his Sulpician confreres.[4]

Do not all these circumstances point to Montreal as the new bishop's See? But we can very well understand that this ecclesiastical organization -- the Sulpicians -- emerging like a "fully armed Athena from the thigh of Zeus", composed of new arrivals with no experience of the country, supported from Paris by a seigneurial society and by a congregation of priests who were redirecting -- with very little consultation -- the orientation of New France which had already been shaped in a different way, all this could be very alarming for the Jesuit missionaries. The Jesuits had a lengthy experience of the territory and were now buoyed up with hopes for further expansion. Thus, just a few days before the name of De Queylus was proposed to the Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs, Le Jeune had the name of François de Laval de Montigny accepted for the post, and it was Laval who was sent to Rome.

We do not know what prompted the Jesuits to act so hastily, but we have indications that their fears were well founded. It is hard to believe that the "inspirations" -- considered to be of Divine origin by the Sulpician Leader and Founder -- for his role in New France should not have been evident in the conduct of this new team of men destined for Montreal:

> "During all these last few days, I saw before my eyes what it had pleased God to show me earlier, namely a pillar that served as a base and support for two arches or two churches; one of them was old and ancient, and the other was new. Both of them had just come together and came to rest on this fundamental pillar which is myself, inasmuch as I am filled with the presence of Jesus Christ, the one Foundation of all reform in the Church today and of the establishment of the new Church which must be built in Canada."

The prophesy would not be fulfilled. Although they lost out on an Episcopal title, the Sulpicians in France who had already been chosen for work in Canada by Olier -- who died April 2, 1657 while in Nantes -- did not call off their voyage. Gabriel de Queylus, their leader, asked the Archbishop of Rouen for the required jurisdiction. On April 23, he obtained credentials for himself as vicar-general. His

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[4] Duranthon, *Collection des procès-verbaux des Assemblées du Clergé de France depuis 1560*, 10 vols. Paris Desprez, 1767 and following, **4** 368-370.

companions were Gabriel Souart, Dominique Galinier, both of them priests, and Antoine d'Alet, a deacon and secretary to De Queylus.

It is now time to return to the principal business that brought De Maisonneuve to Paris, namely, the economic reorganization of Ville-Marie. The result of his trip appears especially in a letter that influential friends of Montreal received on March 8, 1653 from Louis XIV. It is addressed to Lauson and it was interpreted as a criticism of Quebec's Governor. But, it was not a criticism because the King first praises highly the work of the Montreal Society. He approves of its religious and apostolic objectives, and he urges the Governor to support the Society with all his influence. Here is the most important part:

> "I have deemed it fitting that there should be a store on this Island, at the expense of the Montreal residents, to be stocked with all the provisions, ammunition, clothing, and other merchandise which they judge to be necessary. I have also deemed it fitting for them to be able to import all these goods from France without anyone being allowed to prevent them from doing so, or to withhold anything from them. Nevertheless they must present to you a receipt of the number of barrels and packages in which the goods were contained, as is customary. In addition, I do not want the said Sieurs de Montreal to be obliged to have a larger number of men come over there from France than they deem to be needed."

The King therefore, permitted the Montreal Society to establish, at its own expense, a community store that would replace the one which the Habitant Community had set up, managed by Charles Lemoyne. This was how it differed from the rest of the colony, where all commercial activity was henceforth to be in the hands of private entrepreneurs.

Lemoyne still remained the store's manager. Of course, it remained true that Lemoyne would be bound by the regulations enacted by the Quebec Council and observed by all individual merchants. Above all he would be subject, like all the others, to the tax of one quarter of the furs, the ordinary form of currency in the country. Profits from this fur trade, from the very beginning, were the only financial resources of the colony's administration.

An important consequence of this royal permission was the revival of navigation on the St. Lawrence under the direction of Ville-Marie, which had been given up earlier because people used the services of the Habitant Community. Montreal could now revive the right it had never renounced. It would now have full ownership of its own ship; Jacques Leber was its first captain. But it did not need to resume the much more burdensome responsibility for oceanic transportation, since this service was now looked after by the merchants in the mother-country who made their profit from transportation as far west as Quebec.

Through them, Montreal could order whatever it needed from France, or could buy it at Quebec as did everyone else. But because of its religious character, once again stressed by the King, the Montreal colony would actually enjoy some of the privileges of a religious institute, a privilege that some subsequent Governors would challenge. For everything else, especially the salaries of Maisonneuve and the garrison, Montreal would remain part of the Habitant Community.

The last sentence, in particular, appeared to be a rebuke for Lauson. It is very likely that this Governor may have urged Maisonneuve to comply with the general practice of annual recruitment of immigrants and hired men. We have seen that, because of a careless financing system, Montreal had conducted itself by fits and starts in the past. The King allowed it freedom to continue the demographic policy according to its ability and its needs.

Once the religious nature of the Montreal Society's work is understood, then this particular statute is explained because it was a type of establishment different from Quebec and Trois-Rivières. Maisonneuve's trip was therefore a success. The *Nantois* left Saint Nazaire on May 17, 1657, carrying the personnel and provisions for Montreal, and reached Quebec on July 29. It was carrying only a few new immigrants, since La Dauversière had informed the Sulpicians that there was an abundance of them in Ville-Marie.

However, besides the four Sulpicians and De Maisonneuve, there was also D'Ailleboust who had left New France in 1655. Pierre de Voyer d'Argenson, the new Governor, had set sail at the same time as the *Nantois*, but on Captain Gagneur's ship, along with Fr. Martin de Lyonne, Charles d'Ailleboust, young Michel Leneuf and René Robineau de Bécancour. Since this ship had to stop twice in Ireland before continuing on its voyage, D'Argenson decided to return to France along with his retinue. Charles de Lauson-Charny took charge in New France in the interim, but he left for France on September 18, yielding his post to Louis d'Ailleboust.

The Jesuit *Relation* for 1657 was lost. That is why the arrival of the Sulpicians is not mentioned in the printed version, which Le Jeune put together in Paris from various letters that had come from New France. Faillon painfully explains that De Maisonneuve and De Queylus, with René Maheu, stopped at Île d'Orléans on July 28 or 29, with the intention of bypassing Quebec and going directly up to Montreal. It was impossible, however, to bypass Quebec where the ocean-going barques dropped anchor. De Maisonneuve took the opportunity to be present, on August 24, for the marriage contract of his lieutenant Lambert Closse. It is more plausible to think that the ecclesiastical dignitary, De Queylus, had stopped on the

island because he wanted to give the capital city time to prepare for an Episcopal reception. Jean Dequen, according to De Belmont,[5] went to meet him at René Maheu's home. We can presume that, from then on, De Queylus claimed to be the only vicar-general of Rouen's Archbishop.

His reception has not been reported. However, the Sulpicians took up lodging at Coulonges with D'Ailleboust, where Dequen and Poncet, the pastor of Quebec, went to speak with the new arrival. Dequen could not lay aside his own status as ex-officio vicar-general in the absence of any abrogation from the Rouen Archbishop, stated either in the Sulpician's credentials or in his own documents. Hence, Dequen agreed not to make any public declaration of his own authority as "vicar-general",[*] but he could not strip himself, either privately or publicly, of his authority over the Jesuits. It is still possible that the Sulpician Superior may have accompanied De Maisonneuve as far as Montreal, where he is found among his men on August 29, but he was not present for Closse's marriage contract. He had spent three whole weeks in Quebec.

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[5] Quoted by Faillon, *Vie de la Soeur Marguerite Bourgeoys, fondatrice de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Villemarie en Canada, suivie de l'histoire de cet Institut jusqu'à ce jour*, 2 tomes, Villemarie, 1853, **1.** 27.

[*] Recall that Dequen was a "vicar-general" by virtue of being the senior ecclesiastical personage in the colony, and he was such by virtue of being the Jesuit Superior.

Chapter 17
Jeanne and Marguerite in France

By July 27, 1657, after a fall on the ice, Jeanne Mance had become almost incapable of carrying on her work as a nurse to which she had added the administration of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu. This setback made her see how necessary it was for her to plan entrusting the hospital to some religious community. Since the Montreal Society was already involved with the La Flèche Hospitalers, who had been founded by Montreal's principal promoter, La Dauversière, it was up to her to ask that community for help. It was not only the right time to make this request, but it was also imperative to find some foundation funding for themselves, because Madame de Bullion's foundation was reserved for the Poor and the support of administrators.

However, De Queylus, who had become the ecclesiastical superior of the Quebec Hôtel-Dieu in virtue of his Letters Patent as vicar-general and of his residence in Quebec, came to admire the Quebec Augustine Hospitalers during that year. Categorical and authoritarian as he was, he decided that one community of Hospitalers in the little colony of New France was enough, and so he persuaded the Quebec Augustine Hospitaler nuns to add the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu to their responsibility. It only remained to assure the survival of the branch to be planted at Montreal.

In the meantime, he was obliged to leave Quebec by orders from the Rouen Archbishop and he did so on August 21, 1658. To keep his plan for the Quebec Hospitalers secret and to avoid stirring up the people who were opposed to it, De Queylus arranged to have some Quebec Hospitalers make a trip to Montreal. Mother Renée Boulic de la Nativité was recovering from a recent illness and the vicar-general suggested to her that the air in Montreal would be better for her complete recovery than that of Quebec. Her designated companion was Mother Jeanne Thomas Agnès de Saint-Paul. De Queylus, who had just recently arrived in Montreal, sent Gabriel Souart, the pastor of Montreal, to escort them from Quebec. They reached Montreal on September 24 and, at the request of the Sulpician Superior, Jeanne Mance lodged them in the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu.

Jeanne was surprised by the visit, but De Queylus dispelled the mystery by commissioning her to intercede with the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society on behalf of the Quebec Augustines and to obtain a foundation for the Montreal branch. For a while, Maisonneuve, who knew very well what the Gentlemen were planning, thought that Jeanne Mance was concurring with De Queylus but an explanation dispelled the misunderstanding. When Jeanne Mance was leaving for

France, she was wise enough not to put the care of the hospital into the hands of these new arrivals but rather in charge of a young widow who had recently arrived in Montreal, Marie Pournin de La Bardillère.

Marguerite Bourgeois offered to accompany Jeanne to France. The humble and courageous young lady had remained in the fort, living in De Maisonneuve's house since her arrival in 1653, but she had not confined herself to domestic chores. The young girls who were to become the wives of many of the men in the colony benefited from her special attention. A few of them arrived in 1657 and in 1658. Marguerite taught them household tasks.

She was no stranger to pious initiatives. With Maisonneuve's approval, she had restored and raised the Cross that the Governor had planted earlier on the mountain and enclosed it with a fence. She had not lost sight of the work she had most at heart, the education of children, which she had started to do at Troyes. She also retained her liking for an active[*] community life, devoted to the service of the underprivileged, according to the spirituality which her first director, Gendret, had outlined for her back home -- imitation of the "Pilgrim Virgin".[*]

In 1657, with Claude Pijart's approval -- he was still pastor --she had chosen the site for the shrine to Notre-Dame de Bonsecours and with the help of some colonists, laid out the foundation of a chapel. But from Quebec, where he was living the following year, De Queylus ordered her to cease and desist from this undertaking until he returned to Montreal. The work would not resume for several years.

On January 28, 1658, Maisonneuve gave this devout servant everything she needed for the stone stable and granary on Community property, a few hundred feet from the Hôtel-Dieu. It was a building thirty-six feet by eighteen, surrounded by an area of about 9,000 square feet[*]. Marguerite cleaned it up and adapted it to the needs of the school she wanted to open even though there were very few school-age children in Montreal, since births among the French had only begun in 1647.

The first students were Jeanne Loisel and Jean Desroches. In 1657, a Mohawk woman passing through Montreal gave her a little baby girl only nine months old. Maisonneuve adopted the infant and Marguerite brought her up as her own daughter, after having her baptized with the name Marie des Neiges; the child died at the age of six.

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[*] In contrast to a Contemplative form.

[*] The French has *la Vierge voyagère*.

[*] Forty-eight *perches*.

Marguerite Picard arrived and became one of the volunteer workers for Marguerite Bourgeois. She would eventually marry Nicolas Godé Jr., on November 12, 1658. When Marguerite was leaving for the trip to France, Marie des Neiges was entrusted to Marguerite Landreau, Nicolas Hubert's wife, for the duration of the trip.

Jeanne and Marguerite left Montreal on September 29, 1658 on the boat taking Fr. Chaumonot back to Quebec. D'Argenson had appointed him as one of the spokesmen for the peace talks with Garakontié. After reaching Quebec on October 3, the women set sail on October 14 on Captain Tadourneau's ship, out of La Rochelle. Most of the crew were Huguenots.

As often happened on such occasions, the Calvinists held daily public prayer on the bridge, but this was in violation of the regulations set down in the Edict of Nantes. Once they had crossed "the line" perhaps the Line of Tordesillas[*] (about 46 degrees of longitude west of Greenwich), Jeanne asked them to stop this practice and the sailors obeyed.

After reaching La Rochelle, she wanted to see La Dauversière first of all because of De Queylus' plans. She could not tolerate the carriages, however, and traveled to La Flèche on a litter, arriving there on January 6, 1659. The old Founder, La Dauversière, was ill and gave her a cold reception, thinking that she was of the same view as the Sulpician; that is, to install the Quebec Hospitalers in Montreal rather than those from La Flèche. But, he had to admit that it was high time for him to have his "daughters" -- La Flèche Hospitalers -- leave for New France.

In Paris, Jeanne met the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society. They were moved to pity at her poor state of health, and sent her to the best doctors, but the doctors admitted that they could not help her. The ailing woman went with her companion to Saint-Sulpice to pray at Olier's tomb. But, they were put off until the following Sunday, which was Candlemas Day in 1659, the patronal feast of Saint Sulpice and Montreal.

Marguerite Bourgeois left for Troyes, while Jeanne Mance was accorded her meeting on February 2. De Bretonvilliers, the Sulpician Superior, allowed her to place on her arm the reliquary in which Olier's heart was kept. Immediately she felt her withered hand regain life and warmth and become free from pain. Marguerite Bourgeois wrote:

> "I received a letter from her at Troyes in which she declared that she had been cured, and that she was writing this with her own hand. I showed this letter to a doctor and to

[*] Associated with old colonial disputes between Spain and Portugal .

> others, while explaining the way in which her arm had been broken. Every one of them told me that this cure could only have taken place through a miracle."

In Parisian circles, where Olier had a very great following, the cure made quite a stir. Jeanne Mance profited from her sudden notoriety among the distinguished ladies to promote the matter of the Hospitalers. Madame de Bullion once more gave a donation of 20,000 *L* as a foundation for the religious women. The Deed was signed in the presence of Marreau and Lefranc, notaries in Paris, on March 29, 1659.[1] It was transacted between Jeanne Mance, in her own name and in that of the Foundress[*], and of Jérôme La Dauversière, the attorney for the La Flèche Hospitalers.

Jeanne, the administrator, placed the entire foundation for the Hospitalers -- 20,000 *L* -- in the hands of La Dauversière who pledged to invest this sum in such as way as to generate a revenue within three months. He then handed back the document to Jeanne and gave a copy to the secretary of the Montreal Society. The revenue, at the rate of 20 denier, would come to 1,000 *L*. Furthermore, the contract stipulated that Jeanne would remain the administrator of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu for life and that she would be given, as her successors, two Ville-Marie Habitants chosen by the seigneurs; one of the two was to be changed every three years.

Every month, the administrators would receive the list of expenses for the care of the Poor incurred by the Hospitaler Sisters. Every year they would give a similar accounting to the Bishop or to his Vicar-General and to Montreal's Governor. The religious women – La Flèche Hospitalers -- assigned to go to Montreal accepted the foundation fund for themselves and their successors at La Rochelle on June 9, 1659.[2] The Montreal Society, in a general session, determined the departure date for the Hospitalers.

The other Sulpicians -- more attentive to more authoritative voices -- paid no attention to De Queylus' plans. This time, there was a prelate for New France whose opinion was indispensable; Mgr. de Laval had been consecrated bishop on December 8, 1658, and they were careful to invite him to the general meeting of the Montreal Society. It was there that he learned of De Queylus' views regarding the Quebec Hospitalers but he did not find them outrageous. We can see that until he had time to learn the conditions of the country, the Bishop had no intention of allowing himself to be burdened with some new community of religious women.

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[1] Mondoux, *op. cit.*, 364-365.

[*] Madame de Bullion .

[2] *Ibid*., 366.

He therefore suggested to the assembly to delay the departure of the La Flèche Hospitalers to the following year. But, the seigneurs of the Montreal Society did not heed this Episcopal advice, fearing -- quite reasonably -- that the opportunity might not be offered again if the departure did not take place immediately. Mgr. de Laval repeated the same advice in another meeting at which he was present.

At this point we must give the Montreal Society credit for an obscure procedure, but one without which the subsequent actions of De Queylus, now vicar-apostolic, could not be explained. It all concerned Montreal only. Faced with the opposition of the vicar-apostolic, who would precede the religious women to Quebec, the Gentlemen realized that he had all the authority necessary for sending back the little community as soon as it set foot in Quebec. However, they could find some support from the Archbishop of Rouen because the King himself had said that he recognized the Archbishop's jurisdiction over New France and promised to defend it before the Holy See.

In return for this promise, the Archbishop in turn had promised not to oppose Mgr. de Laval's departure from France and the exercise of his authority in New France. Louis XIV, in effect, was to confirm this exclusive authority of the vicar-apostolic by an order given to the Governor to forbid all exercise of authority by Rouen. In its perplexity, the Montreal Society very likely approached the Archbishop, but he was bound by the promise he had given to the King.

Thanks to their powerful friends at court, the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society succeeded in obtaining a letter from Louis XIV addressed to Rouen's Archbishop, Mgr. Harlay-Champvallon, on May 11, 1659, in which the King formally recognizes the Archbishop's early jurisdiction over Canada. Faillon seems to have believed that this letter was addressed to De Queylus[3] but the documentary source on which he relies does not mention anything of the sort. It was to the Archbishop alone that a royal letter of this kind was appropriate, and the King himself clearly indicates the letter was addressed to the Archbishop. When the Archbishop received the unexpected document, he renewed the credentials of De Queylus as vicar-general out of gratitude towards the Montreal Society.

In any event, Louis XIV did not intend thereby to revoke the prohibition imposed on the Archbishop. To prevent any inappropriate use of his letter of May 11, the King wrote another letter, dated May 14, 1659, to the Governor, Voyer d'Argenson, by which he forbade any vicar-general of Rouen to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in New France. Between the two documents there was no trace of the contradiction that Faillon mentions: the King simply wanted to

[3] Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie*…, **2**, 340-341.

recognize explicitly the ordinary jurisdiction of Rouen as long as there was no titular bishop in New France. This tactic assured that the Archbishop would be the Metropolitan* once Quebec was raised to a bishopric. But, the Monarch did not intend that this arrangement would be maintained in New France for ever.

Even before they succeeded in doing this service which they wanted to render to the Archbishop, the Gentlemen of the Montreal Society saw that this service would not obtain any benefice for the religious women. As early as March 27, 1659, Louis XIV had conferred exclusive authority on Mgr. de Laval by Letters Patent.[4] The Society could not enter into conflict with the King; hence, like it or not, they had to accept Laval, the vicar-apostolic. Even on March 29, in the foundation contract, La Dauversière and Jeanne Mance kept the door open, relying on the formula: "The Bishop or Vicar-General of the said place".[5] This formula referred to the Archbishop of Rouen and not to the vicar-apostolic, since the title "vicar-apostolic" had no force in French laws. But on May 25, 1659, while giving his instructions to the Hospitalers, Mgr. Henri Arnauld, Bishop of Angers, evokes very clearly the authority of the bishop of Pétrée and vicar-apostolic.[6]

On June 9, the religious women also recognized Bishop Laval,[7] and the Montreal Society addressed its request to him that same month in favor of the same community.[8] Once again it was to Mgr. Laval, as the Ordinary* of the place, to whom the same Sisters presented themselves upon arrival.[9] In spite of what his own colleagues in religion were thinking, De Queylus was still claiming to be vicar-general when his boat from Montreal arrived in Quebec in September 1659. But, when the Governor showed him the King's letter, De Queylus was forced to abandon claim to that title.

And then Jeanne Mance made a careless mistake that would have very painful consequences and almost endangered the future of the Montreal Hospitalers in Canada: She neglected to insist that La Dauversière give her the documents showing -- and thereby guaranteeing -- the investment portfolio for the religious

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* An Archbishop with some jurisdiction over local Bishops. Presumably, Quebec would have been considered as legally "local".

[4] *Ibid*., 333.

[5] Mondoux, *L'Hôtel-Dieu…*, 365.

[6] Mondoux, *op. cit.*, 366.

[7] Mondoux, *op. cit.*, 366

[8] Mondoux, *op. cit.*, 368.

* A synonym for Bishop .

[9] Mondoux, *op. cit.*, 368-369.

women's foundation funds. It is possible that she had encountered some invincible obstacles.

The contract called for the ratification of the foundation by the religious women within a month. Delayed until April 29, it was not ratified prior to June 9, and then by only three of the Sisters who were about to set sail.[10] La Dauversière was neither present nor was he mentioned. Very likely, it was only at the request of Jeanne Mance, the administrator, that the religious women complied.

The second obligation had to be discharged within three months of the foundation, that is to say before June 29. This was the revenue-yielding investment of 20,000 *L*, and the copy of the Act had to be sent to Jeanne Mance before the date indicated. The nurse had the highest right to ask for it. Perhaps she did so ask, but it would have been necessary to involve the procurator of the La Flèche Hospitalers -- La Dauversière -- whose days were already numbered by this time. Hence, Jeanne Mance set sail on June 19, 1659, without the document! At the end of the day, this carelessness on her part would cost the Montreal Hospitalers the entire foundation fund given by Madame de Bullion. We shall need to return to the fate that was in store for her.

La Dauversière had not intended to found a group of nuns who would in general follow the so-called rule of Saint Augustine in their hospital work, but rather "secular daughters" as they were called in those days. That is how Mgr. Claude de Rueil, the Bishop of Angers, understood and approved them in 1643. However, Mgr. Henri Arnauld, the man who succeeded De Rueil in 1650, did not recognize this new kind of religious life, despite some existing examples. Canon Law considers as nuns only those who make solemn profession, wear the veil, and observe cloister. Civil Law also recognized only this kind of religious women who became, in its eyes, incapable of inheriting and of making wills.[*]

The "secular daughters", on the other hand, made only temporary vows, renewed periodically but without solemnity, and retained possession of their goods and civil rights. They were free to return to the world on the expiration of their vows, or through a dispensation from ecclesiastical authority.

Mgr. Arnauld kept insisting that the La Flèche Mother-house of Hospitalers should adopt the Saint Augustine Rule, and thus have the community of lay-sisters -- "secular daughters" -- change into a community of nuns. But, faithful to the inspiration of La Dauversière, and to the memory of the late Marie de La Ferre, the Hospitaler Community strongly resisted his suggestion.

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[10] Mondoux, *op. cit.*, 366.

[*] An effect of the perpetual Vow of Poverty.

The lay-sister type of institute had already spread to several dioceses. Some bishops supported Mgr. Arnauld in his efforts to change these institutes. In May 1659, the La Flèche Hospitalers held a General Chapter at La Flèche to consider the adoption of solemn vows and "stability", the term used for a state of life extolled by Mgr. Arnauld, the new bishop of Angers. Seventy-six Hospitaler religious assembled; only six voted for solemn vows. But in deference to the new bishop, the majority accepted cloister.

Sister Judith de Brésoles, who would be the first Superior of the La Flèche Hospitalers in Montreal, attended that Chapter and voted against solemn vows. As a result of these decisions, the three Hospitaler Sisters who had been appointed to Ville-Marie, having been taken from the Moulins Hôtel-Dieu, promised that they would conform to the regulation pertaining to cloister and accept, for their house, the decisions of La Flèche.[11]

The three Hospitalers, accompanied by Guillaume Vignal and Jacques Lemaistre, Sulpicians, and probably also by a good number of hired men, set out from La Flèche for La Rochelle, which they reached on May 31 or June 1. They were supposed to take a lay-sister with them, but apparently were not able to get one. At La Rochelle, they hired a young girl named Marie Polo as their servant.

While Jeanne was in Paris preparing for departure, Marguerite Bourgeois was pursuing her own plans at Troyes. She had been living with the Congregation of Notre-Dame in which Maisonneuve's sister was a religious. She was looking for some strong young women capable of facing hard work and wretched conditions. Catherine Crolo, an old friend of hers was the first to respond to her call. She would later render services that were both humble and very valuable. Aimée Chastel, the daughter of an apostolic notary, and a girl from a merchant family of Paris also came and offered themselves to her.

Marguerite also took along a little girl, Marguerite Maclin, who would later be married in Montreal to Jean Sicotte. This was the man who was scalped and whose adventures we have already described. A sixteen year old young man, Pierre Moreau, accompanied the young ladies and devoted himself to assist the ladies' community. He died January 21, 1661 at the Hôtel-Dieu from a disease contracted during the crossing.

In Paris, Anne You also joined Marguerite Bourgeois, whose group of companions now numbered sixteen. Also in Paris, Marguerite was offered a considerable foundation by one of the Associates of the Montreal Society to assure

[11] Mondoux, *op. cit.*, 367.

the future of her work. She, however, refused this offer, convinced that poverty and faith were the most solid foundations of spiritual endeavors.

Marguerite would find herself at odds with transporters in France; to save money, she would hire only those who charged the least. But, from Troyes to Paris and from Paris to La Rochelle, she had to change her plans because of the opposition from the publicly authorized transporters.

The Montreal recruits, whose numbers had risen to 110 persons, 32 of whom were women, made up the majority of the passengers of the *Saint-André* waiting for them at the port. The freight loaded on board was worth about 20,000 *L*. Prior to departure, the passengers had reason to distrust the ship's captain, Guillaume Poulet, a distrust that perhaps was not without cause. Marguerite Bourgeois tells us that after promising to transport the passengers along with their provisions and trunks for 50 *L* each, he now wanted to make them pay 75 *L*. He refused to give any credit at first, even when under-signed by Maisonneuve. Marguerite had to make two promises in this matter; one, to pay in Montreal, the other, payment to be made in Paris by Marie Raisin's father in case of default of the first.

Jeanne and the intrepid Hospitalers found themselves ready to leave without any assurance concerning the status of the 20,000 *L* foundation fund intended for their support. They were somewhat suspicious, if not actually certain, that the money had been already lost. Sister Morin wraps up this affair in a blanket of charitable obscurity, revealing more than she actually says. Here is her somewhat naive account:

> "My sister Maillet, who was the bursar, is losing some of her peace of mind and would have liked very much to do something and to find out the true state of affairs; she was not to be blamed for this, since she would need to administer it afterwards. One day she asked La Dauversière where he had invested their foundation and whom should she approach to get this information. He seemed to be hurt at this request and remained silent, except to say "My daughter, God will provide; trust in Him". This gives one to believe that he already knew that it was lost, and that he did not want to make this known because of prudently personal considerations. This is what Sister Maillet noted very well and thought, from then on, that things were not going well".[12]

The Montreal Hôtel-Dieu chronicler returns to this matter several pages later, recalling the advice to trust in Divine Providence:

> "... as their kind "father" had reassured them while he was saying goodbye to them at La Rochelle; he looked upon their foundation as already lost, as he had informed Sister Maillet, who as bursar had asked him where he had invested it so that she could collect the revenue. This would leave us to think that this money was taken from him shortly

[12] Legendre, *op. cit.*, 89.

> after he had received it personally from Mademoiselle Mance to invest it at interest. However, he did not do so, for reasons we shall learn only in eternity".[13]
>
> Would eternity be interested in history? It is fortunate that religious women of today have been forced to be less secretive about their finances. Even then, Sister Morin did raise a corner of the curtain by stating that the Founder should have invested the foundation for the support of the Sisters: "Monsieur de La Dauversière took 2,000 *L* tournois from their foundation to outfit, to provide food, and to furnish the costs of their voyage; that is all they got from the foundation, since it was lost shortly afterwards".[14]

Actually, a foundation fund was legally untouchable, and had to be used in its entirety to produce revenue. We have already seen that La Dauversière had used similarly careless procedures in the past. Here, he seems to us to be more pardonable because the fund had been established by the contract to yield only a 1,000 *L*, so that the new balance -- 18,400 *L* -- would have still have remained sufficient at the 18 *denier* rate to generate this amount.

What finally became of this remaining fund? The day arrived when, impelled by their abject poverty, the Montreal Hospitalers would be forced to reveal the truth, all the while being as circumspect as they could. We find the truth in a report by Governor Denonville and the Intendant Champigny, dated November 3, 1687:

> "The religious who serve the said hospital are still complaining aloud that Madame de Bullion had left 20,000 *L* tournois for their upkeep, and that the sum had been put into the hands of Sieur de La Dauversière, the receiver-general of finances for Anjou, to be used to provide a revenue of 1,000 *L* tournois. But the said Dauversière gave it to the Royal Treasury to recover a receipt, with the intention of replacing the money when he had an opportunity to do so. The said 20,000 *L* tournois remained in His Majesty's coffers. The receiver-general thereupon found himself owing the King more than all the goods that he had at the time of his death."

The only ones who could have given this testimony were the Hospitalers whose discretion is already well-known, and the testimony was given before the appropriate magistrates. The legal process was occasioned by their request for help addressed to the King. It would be the object of a judicial inquiry at Court, because the King himself had become involved and in part was responsible for the welfare of the Hospitalers. The Montreal Hospitalers were obliged to tell what they knew and their testimony had great weight. We already know the easy-going manner in which La Dauversière handled money placed in his keeping. His actions were all the more serious, given the fact that he was ill and would not have time to reimburse anyone.

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[13] Legendre, *op. cit.*, 107.

[14] Legendre, *op. cit.*, 86.

Perhaps these dealings were premeditated because on this occasion, La Dauversière the receiver-general avoided getting the Montreal Society involved with him, in whose name nevertheless he was drawing up all the acts concerning Montreal. He also promised that he would leave it a copy of the investment portfolio. La Dauversière thus put the future of his “daughters” in serious danger. They suffered unspeakably because of this action. Even in our own day, when manipulation of money is not always regulated by religious or moral considerations, his was a very bad administration indeed.

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Chapter 18
The New Colonists of 1659 and Conclusion

We have already mentioned the fact that the Montreal Society had notified Lauson in 1657, through the King, not to force it to send any further contingents of immigrants to Montreal other than those it wanted to enlist. From this we concluded that the Governor urged Maisonneuve to adopt a system of recruiting similar to the one practiced by the Habitant Community. The Montreal Society had seriously neglected this article prior to 1653.

The Habitant Community had been bringing over a varying number of hired men, often more than a hundred at a time; these men were shared out between Quebec and Trois-Rivières. Requests for the men were made by the colony itself. The Quebec Council was the largest employer because of its need for soldiers, sailors, professional persons and craftsmen. Second to the Council came the Jesuits, who needed farmers or servants in their various houses and missions. Religious women also asked for workmen for their lands and construction projects. Usually, individuals were hired, but a number of families were also enlisted in this way.

Finally, a large number of individual Habitants, not only the leaders but also ordinary workmen -- each according to his wealth and his needs -- asked for one or more hired men from France who thereby contributed to the annual immigration. Even though women were always fewer in number than the men, they were also in demand, especially a few young widows who came, in that way, to find a husband in the colony.

Immigration increased from year to year after 1650. But it remained for the most part, an immigration of celibates, whereas households were started in the colony itself. Hiring became such an important operation for the La Rochelle merchants that they finally made it a kind of business from 1655 onwards; they lined up recruits and offered them to buyers in the Port of Quebec.

Montreal was not involved in this enterprise. In 1653, the large recruitment was undertaken by the Montreal Society which was the sole hirer and the sole employer. We saw that in 1657 very few people came over. The number increased in 1658. The *Journal des Jésuites* mentions the departure of sixty persons from Quebec for Montreal in August and Trudel has identified thirty-four of them. There were at least four families -- rare for Montreal -- and at least twenty-one women.

The Sulpicians in Montreal played the dominant role in recruiting this group. They had a seminary to build and they wanted to develop two important properties:

Saint-Gabriel and Sainte-Marie, at both the eastern and western ends of the Montreal colony. The recruitment of 1659 renewed the effort of 1653 with its close to 110 arrivals. The employers were now private persons, not the seigneurial Montreal Society.

The Sulpicians hired twenty-one of these people along with a family. Jeanne hired eight men, in addition to Marie Polo, for the Hospitalers; she also brought over eight families. Claude Robutel and Jacques Mousnier both had two men. Marguerite Bourgeois led a contingent of thirty-two women, probably those whose contracts were signed outside La Rochelle by La Dauversière. The little Ville-Marie society was much less differentiated, economically and socially, than were Quebec and Trois-Rivières, because the new inhabitants were not in any condition to summon hired men. To claim that Montreal, at this time, was a center of economic, and above all of commercial activity, is an anachronism.

In France, Marguerite Bourgeois was the first to reach La Rochelle with the majority of the young women whom she was bringing over. Jeanne followed her shortly afterwards and arrived at the port with the Hospitalers. The two Sulpicians, Guillaume Vignal and Jacques Lemaistre, traveled via La Flèche with Claude Robutel and his wife, to accompany the La Flèche Hospitalers bound for Montreal. The Bishop of Angers was very hesitant about permitting the departure of the religious women, but he eventually did so; those going were Judith Moreau de Brésoles, Catherine Macé, and Marie Maillet.

When the people of La Flèche heard about this departure, they tried to stop it, but the travelers cleared a way through the midst of the crowd, went by way of Baugé and reached La Rochelle on May 31, or the next day, Pentecost Sunday. Jeanne had gone on ahead of the Hospitalers in a carriage. She met the religious women who had traveled that far on horseback, and brought them to the church, then to an inn where she was staying, belonging to a Monsieur Meunier.

The *Sainte-André* was, as we have mentioned, under the command of Guillaume Poulet. Mgr. de Laval had taken a different ship at La Rochelle and had arrived at Quebec on June 16. On the way, he stopped at Percé* where he conferred the first Confirmations in the country. Faillon writes that the "leaders of the Great Company" refused to let La Dauversière delay the fleet to wait for the Montreal ship. Blaming the Hundred Associates became, for him, a kind of reflex reaction. But the Hundred Associates, for ever so long, no longer had anything to do with navigation. They did not even have a fleet any more because the merchants were outfitting the ships for Quebec at their own convenience. The *Saint-André* was one

* On the Gaspé Peninsula in Quebec .

of their ships and was not reserved for Montreal, even though this colony owned most of its cargo. The same author also states that the flagship of the fleet sank several miles* out to sea. Without a fleet there is no admiral, and we do not have any other record about any such shipwreck.

He also claims that the crew of the Montreal-bound ship waited at La Rochelle for three months. The Hospitalers did not reach the port of La Rochelle until the first of June or the day before, and embarked on the 29th, setting sail on July 2. Faillon here follows a source which has very little historical value: La Dauversière's grandson's report on his grandfather.

It has been said that the ship had served as a hospital ship for two years and had not been disinfected. A highly contagious disease broke out, called purple fever, and it began among the passengers. It afflicted a large number of people, especially among the recruits for Montreal. The two Sulpicians, along with Jeanne Mance and the religious women were sick from it. According to Dollier, there were eight or ten deaths. Pierre Guiberge, who was crossing to Montreal with his wife and a child, was one of the dead. The whole Thibodeau family, father, mother, and four children were lying on their pallets. Three of the children died at sea. The baby survived but its back was accidentally burned at the Quebec encampment while its parents were hospitalized shortly after their arrival.

At the beginning of the epidemic, the captain forbade the Hospitalers to devote themselves to the care of the sick because he feared they also might catch the disease. Marguerite Bourgeois, who was still in good health, devoted herself without reserve to their care. However, when the disease began spreading, the Sisters were given permission to do their work. There were also several people who were still sick on arrival at Quebec, and they were taken to the Quebec Hôtel-Dieu. The rest of the passengers were probably lodged in the Lower Town.

The disease then spread among the residents of Quebec. The best known victim was Fr. Jean Dequen. His term as Jesuit Superior ended on September 8, when Fr. Jérôme Lalemant took his place. He then spent himself in caring for the sick during the rest of September but he had to take to his bed at the College on the first of October and died seven days later. Jeanne Mance was detained in Quebec because of the disease and was not able to go up to Montreal with the others.

It was therefore on September 8 when the *Saint-André* dropped anchor at Quebec. The three Montreal-bound Hospitalers feared this moment because they had been told that Mgr. de Laval might well send them back to France. De Queylus was also there. Although De Queylus, the Sulpician Superior and vicar-apostolic,

* One league.

would never pardon them for having thwarted his plan to establish the Quebec Augustines in Montreal, he always demonstrated his affectionate charity towards them, despite the misgivings he had about the opportuneness of their coming over to Canada.

While people were bringing the sick to the Quebec Hôtel-Dieu and providing a shelter for the invalids, the religious sisters made a visit* first of all to the Blessed Sacrament in the parish church and then went to meet Bishop Laval. He welcomed them warmly and congratulated them on their courage. He urged them to visit also the Governor and the Quebec Hospitalers, but assigned them the Ursuline Convent as their residence. The Quebec Hôtel-Dieu had invited them but the Bishop judged it more fitting to grant this favor to the Ursulines. That was also where Jeanne Mance had stayed when she arrived in Quebec. The Sisters stayed there for about a month.[1]

After reflecting on the situation with De Queylus and the Jesuits, and realizing that Quebec's Augustine Hospitalers could not settle in Montreal because they did not have any foundation funding for this, Mgr. de Laval decided to graciously welcome the new arrivals: the La Flèche Hospitalers. At their request he replied on October 2, giving them his full permission to take possession of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu and also gave them Rev. Vignal as their chaplain and confessor. He sent Jean Lesueur to Montreal to bring back to Quebec the two Augustine Hospitalers who were still there. The Hospitaler Sisters for Montreal must have left Quebec before October 6. They took fifteen or sixteen days to complete their trip.

In Montreal, De Maisonneuve welcomed them at the dock and took them to Jeanne Mance's lodgings. The colonists hastened to come and welcome the Sisters, and they, on advice from Mgr. de Laval, returned the visits. On November 20, 1659, Maisonneuve ordered the Deed of ownership of the Montreal Hôtel-Dieu to be drawn up by the Montreal Registrar, Bénigne Basset.[2] Louis d'Ailleboust, who was residing in Montreal at the time, signed it along with the Governor, since both of them were Associates of the Montreal Society. In accordance with the resolution taken at their last Chapter in France during the preceding spring,[3] the Sisters then retired into their cloister. Jeanne had not yet arrived, but Marie Pournin immediately gave them permission to begin looking after the sick.

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* An act of piety in the Catholic Church.

[1] See the request they addressed to De Queylus the vicar-apostolic and the instructions he gave them, in Mondoux, *op. cit.*, 368-371.

[2] Mondoux, *op. cit.*, 371-372.

[3] Mondoux, *op. cit.*, 367.

Prior to her departure for France, Jeanne had started building a lodging for the Sisters and had entrusted this work to De Maisonneuve and D'Ailleboust. But, these men did not have at their disposition the workmen needed for the job, because the construction of the Saint-Sulpice Seminary monopolized the personnel, not to mention the need of clearing and cultivating land that was indispensable for the survival of the families.

The Montreal Hôtel-Dieu buildings were in a pitiable state. They were wooden buildings, that is to say, timber-frame constructions, the interstices of which were filled with light masonry. The church, serving as a community and parochial center, measured fifty feet by twenty-five inside. At right angles with the church on the western side, the men's hall, forty by twenty-four feet, ended at a fireplace; it was extended by the women's hall, fifteen by fifteen feet. Above these halls were the Sisters' living quarters; a 15 foot square room beside it contained a fireplace, the Mother Superior's cell, a small dormitory with four beds in small cubicles, and a small closet serving as a trunk-room. The fireplace was used for all purposes: heating, cooking, washing, etc.

As soon as she returned to Montreal in November, Jeanne got busy making this poor lodging more habitable. But the walls were decrepit and full of holes which allowed free passage to the wind and rain. Above the apartment was an attic, which the Sisters turned into a linen room for the hospital, a drying-room for the laundry, and a storehouse for various grains.[4] Jeanne continued to live in the house which had served as the first Montreal Hôtel-Dieu. From then on the Sulpicians lived in their seminary.

Sister de Brésoles, The Mother Superior, took charge personally of the pharmacy, soon acquiring a great reputation because of the remedies it possessed. Sister Maillet was nurse, cook, bursar and wardrobe keeper for the sick; the laundry was entrusted to a woman from outside. Sister Macé replaced Sister Maillet as bursar, cook, pharmacist and wardrobe keeper and laundress for the community. The choir was a little gallery above the sanctuary, under which was a dark closet, six by nine feet, where the sisters made their Confession, received Communion and made their Retreats.

The new arrivals of 1659 had to complete the time of their contract before qualifying as Habitants. Their arrival added twelve families containing thirty-two members. That same year, before the arrival of the newcomers, there had been only one marriage, but now nine new marriages were celebrated between October and December. The total number of households rose to eighty-five. The nineteen

[4] Legendre, *op. cit.*, 95-97.

marriageable girls who had been brought over by Marguerite Bourgeois accounted for this increase; some additional marriages would take place in 1660. Four hired men of this new group would eventually take part in Dollard's expedition[*].

Conclusion

Ville-Marie at this time was still only an establishment closely dependent on its promoters in Paris. The umbilical cord had not yet been cut. There were practically no social or economic distinctions. A few young gentlemen: Claude Robutel, Adam Dollard, Claude de Brigeac, came to join the colonists in these last few years. Two notable citizens, Louis Artus and his father-in-law, Médéric Bourduceau brought over their families to Ville-Marie. But that did not constitute a social or economic hierarchy.

In ending our story, we note that Montreal was nothing but a trading post at that time and its location accounted for that fact. The south shore of the St. Lawrence remained a "no man's land" where only Mohawk warriors could be found. The whole West, as far as Lake Superior, was nothing but a desert frequented only by Iroquois hunters from the upper Iroquois Cantons. At irregular intervals -- in 1654, in 1656, nine canoes in 1658 -- a flotilla of Ottawas may have reached the Montreal area, but it is not certain that they stopped. They sometimes deliberately avoided the place by taking the Lake Abitibi route to come down to Trois-Rivières, or even Tadoussac. Most of the fur trade was conducted at Quebec and Trois-Rivières. With the resumption of Iroquois attacks, starting especially in 1659, the Montrealers did not even dare to hunt on their own island, where game was peacefully becoming abundant.

Like the other Habitants in New France, the Montrealers were legally free to trade in furs with the native peoples, but the natives were avoiding Montreal because it was far too exposed to attacks. Even though there were some craftsmen in the village of Ville-Marie, they were usually employed by the institutions, the seigneurs, the Hôtel-Dieu, the Sulpicians, and there was not yet any exercise of private enterprise.

The only store remained in charge of the Community, and the Sulpicians seem to have been the ones who supplied it with the necessary funds. Charles Lemoyne was its manager and his family was preparing itself for the important role that it would play in the future. A brother and two sisters came to join the family from Dieppe in 1657. Jacques Leber, who had arrived in Quebec in 1654, had moved, in

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[*] See Campeau, *Gannentaha.…*, second part.

the meantime, to Montreal where his brother François Leber, a widower, came to join him, along with an infant girl and his sister.[5]

In 1658, he married Jeanne Lemoyne. Leber did not play any important commercial role in 1659, but he was the captain of the Montreal ferry boat, a means of transportation that belonged to the Montreal Community and which the *Journal des Jésuites* then mentions for the first time. The two brothers-in-law seem to have carried on their business together from that time, but again -- very likely -- as employees of the Community.

Thus ends a story of the Jesuit mission in early Montreal up to the end of the 1650's in the context of the establishment of the Hôtel-Dieu hospital in that community. In this context, the names Jeanne Mance, Marguerite Bourgeois, La Dauversière, Chevrier, Olier, De Maisonneuve, etc. -- rather than Jesuit names -- dominate the pages of the story.[*]

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[5] Our ancestor, Étienne Campeau, seems to have arrived with him. For several years, Étienne is linked with the Lemoyne and Leber families.

[*] This concluding paragraph was added by WL, the final translator and publisher.

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