

## French-Canadian Exploration, Missionary Work, and Fur Trading in Hudson Bay, the Great Lakes, and Mississippi Valley During the 17<sup>th</sup> Century – Part 4 – July 1663 to November 1668<sup>1</sup>

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### François de Laval appointed Claude Allouez, S.J., Vicar General of the *pays d'en haut*:

21 July 1663 – Laval named Claude Allouez, S.J., Vicar General of what is today the central United States.<sup>2</sup>

### The population of New France was 2,500:

1663 – The population of New France was approximately 2,500, including 800 who lived in Québec.<sup>3</sup>

### The *Conseil Souverain* was formally established:

18 September 1663 – The *Conseil Souverain* was formally established. Augustin Saffray de Mésy and Laval automatically became members of the *Conseil* as Governor and Bishop elect. Saffray de Mésy and Laval selected the following additional members: Louis Rouer de Villeray, Jean Juchereau de LaFerté, Denis Joseph Ruelle d'Auteuil, Charles Legardeur de Tilly, and Mathieu Damours des Chauffours as councilors, along with Jean Bourdon as attorney-general, and Jean Baptiste Peuvret du Mesnu as recording clerk and secretary.<sup>4</sup>

### The first *Filles du Roi* arrived in New France:

22 September 1663 – As noted above, the population in New France in 1663 was approximately 2,500; however men outnumbered females by at least six to one. Many of the men, who had been recruited to settle in New France, returned to France because they could not find women to marry. When Louis XIV took over control of the government, he began a systematic system of recruiting and transporting marriageable women to New France. The women were known as the *Filles du Roi*. In addition to arranging for their transportation, each of the women were given a dowry of 50 *livres* for commoners and 100 *livres* for *demoiselles* after they married. On 22 September 1663, thirty-six women arrived in Québec as *Filles du Roi*. Twenty-six women remained in Québec, two went to Trois-Rivières, and eight went to Montréal. The last *Filles du Roi* arrived in 1673.<sup>5</sup>



17<sup>th</sup> century ships and the apparel the *Filles du Roi* would have worn  
Courtesy of Maison Saint-Gabriel Museum and Historic Site<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Events occurring in the St. Lawrence settlements of New France have been included in the timeline to add perspective.

<sup>2</sup> University of Toronto and Université Laval, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, (<http://www.biographi.ca/index-e.html>), hereafter *DCB*, Allouez' biography.

<sup>3</sup> Statistics Canada, *Early French Settlements (1605-1691)* (<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/98-187-x/4064812-eng.htm>).

<sup>4</sup> *DCB*, Augustin Saffray sieur de Mésy's biography. Although I have named the initial members of the *Conseil Souverain* in this timeline, subsequent changes are not listed in the timeline. Most members are found in the *DCB*.

<sup>5</sup> Peter J. Gagné, *King's Daughters and Founding Mothers: The Filles du Roi, 1663-1673* (Pawtucket, Rhode Island, Quintin Publications, 2001), pp. 41-42. *PRDH's* list of the *Filles du Roi* can be accessed at: <http://www.genealogie.umontreal.ca/fr/fillesDuRoi.htm>; *La Societé des Filles du roi et Soldats du Carignan, Inc's* list of the *Filles du Roi* can be accessed at: [http://www.fillesduroi.org/src/Filles\\_list.htm](http://www.fillesduroi.org/src/Filles_list.htm).

<sup>6</sup> Maison Saint-Gabriel Museum and Historic Site:

**The *Conseil Souverain* prohibited the sale or trading of liquor with Native Americans:**

28 September 1663 – The *Conseil Souverain* issued an edict which forbade anyone to, directly or indirectly, trade liquor with the **Native Americans**. The penalties for violations of the edict were heavy fines or banishment.<sup>7</sup>

**Governor Augustin Saffray de Mézy raised funds for the colony's administration:**

Fall 1663 – **Governor Augustin Saffray de Mézy** raised funds for the colony's administration by auctioning off the right to collect the 25% export tax on furs along with a monopoly on the fur trade in Tadoussac for 46,500 *livres* per year. The term of the contract was three years and replaced the one made by **Governor d'Avaugour** the previous March.<sup>8</sup>

**Louis XIV commissioned Alexandre (de) Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, Lieutenant General of North and South America:**

19 November 1663 – **Louis XIV** commissioned **Alexandre (de) Prouville, Marquis de Tracy**, Lieutenant General of **North and South America** and entrusted him with a double mission: drive the **Dutch** out of the **West Indies** and once he arrived in **New France**, to carry the war to the **Iroquois** in order to exterminate them completely. He arrived in **New France** on 30 June 1665.<sup>9</sup>

**Charles II of England gave his brother, James Duke of York, a grant that gave him authority over all of North America between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers:**

12 March 1664 – **James Stuart**, brother of **Charles II of England**, and **Duke of York**, received a grant that gave him the authority over all **North-American** lands between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers. This grant included all of the **Dutch** holdings in North America. On 2 April, the **Duke of York** commissioned Colonel **Richard Nichols** to conquer **New Netherland**.<sup>10</sup>

**The *Conseil Souverain* prohibited the sale or trade of liquor to the Native Americans:**

17 April 1664 – The *Conseil Souverain* issued a proclamation prohibiting anyone from bartering, selling, or giving intoxicating drinks to the **Native Americans**.<sup>11</sup>

**Louis XIV formed the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* (West India Company):**

May 1664 – Following the ruin of the *Communauté des Habitants*, **Louis XIV** formed the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* (West India Company) and granted it all rights of ownership, and justice over **New France** and the monopoly of trade and navigation in North America, large areas of South America and parts of the West Coast of Africa. Although the company theoretically chose the Governor, Intendant and *Conseil Souverain* members, the **King** reserved the privilege to deliver their commissions.<sup>12</sup>

**Algonquin and Montagnais Warriors defeated 33 Upper Iroquois ambassadors:**

May 1664 – Approximately 100 **Algonquin** and **Montagnais** warriors defeated 33 ambassadors of the **Upper Iroquois** (**Seneca**, **Cayuga**, **Oneida**, and **Onondaga**).<sup>13</sup>

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<http://www.maisonsaint-gabriel.qc.ca/en/programmation/350e.php>. Most of the paintings commonly used to depict the *Filles du Roi* such as Eleanor Fortesque Brickdale's late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century painting are unrealistic and romantic images; her painting is available from *Library and Archives Canada*, ([http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/lac-bac/search/arch\\_adv](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/lac-bac/search/arch_adv)), hereafter *LAC*, Mikan #2896937.

<sup>7</sup> *DCB*, Augustin Saffray, *sieur de Mézy's*, biography.

<sup>8</sup> *DCB*, Augustin Saffray, *sieur de Mézy's*, biography.

<sup>9</sup> *DCB*, Prouville de Tracy's biography; John Romeyn Brodhead (agent) and E.B. O'Callaghan, M.D. (editor) *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York* (Albany, New York: Weed, Parsons and Co, 1855), hereafter *NYCD* Vol. 9, pp. 17-19.

<sup>10</sup> Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Almanac of American History* (New York, NY: Barnes and Nobles Books, 1993), p. 55.

<sup>11</sup> Public Archives of Canada, Edouard Richard, Archivist, *Supplement to Dr. Brymner's Report on Canadian Archives 1899* (Ottawa, Ontario: S.E. Dawson, 1901), hereafter *PAC1900-1900*, p. 54.

<sup>12</sup> *DCB*, biographies of Chomedey de Maisonneuve and Talon; Trudel, p. 61.

<sup>13</sup> Ruben Gold Thwaites, editor, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers. Available online at: (<http://puffin.creighton.edu/jesuit/relations/>), hereafter *JR*, Vol. 48, p. 234.

**The second contingent of *Filles du Roi* arrived in New France:**

25 May 1664 – Fifteen *Filles du Roi* arrived in New France. Thirteen women remained in Québec and two went to Montréal.<sup>14</sup>

**Claude Allouez, S.J., planned to travel to the Great Lakes:**

July 1664 – Approximately 220 **Ottawa** and **Cree** traders arrived in Montréal and “greatly enriched it.” The 80 **Cree** who accompanied the traders asked for a missionary. **Claude Allouez, S.J.**, left Trois-Rivières on 26<sup>th</sup> of July for Montréal; he planned to leave for the Great Lakes if the opportunity presented itself on 19 or 20 August, but the **Ottawa** returned to the Great Lakes prior to **Allouez**’ arrival in Montréal.<sup>15</sup>

**Iroquois peace ambassadors visited New France:**

Summer 1664 – **Iroquois** peace ambassadors set out for **New France** during the summer. Some of the ambassadors met with **Governor de Mésey**. Many officials distrusted the ambassadors and the **French Canadians** discussed the timing of the peace embassy. Some believed that the **Mohawk** were no longer in a condition to make war due to famine, disease, and deaths suffered in a battle with the **Mohican**. Others believed that the **Seneca** wanted peace so that they could make war on the **Susquehanna**. The **Seneca** had requested that the **French Canadians** surround their villages with palisades and provide them with arms, and they could no longer obtain arms from the **Dutch** because the **Mohican** rendered the roads very dangerous. The French sent the ambassadors back to Montréal with friendly words. While they were *en route*, chief **Garakontie** joined the **Seneca** ambassadors with two captive **French Canadians**. A group of **Algonquin** Warriors overtook them and defeated them in a battle.<sup>16</sup>

**Peter Stuyvesant surrendered New Netherland to the English:**

27 August 1664 (7 September 1664) – **English Colonel Richard Nicholls** forced Governor **Peter Stuyvesant** to surrender **New Netherlands** to the **English** because **Stuyvesant** lacked the support of the colonists. **Nicholls** granted the **Dutch** colonists religious freedom, property rights, and trade privileges. **Nicholls** changed the name of **New Amsterdam** to **New York** in honor of the **Duke of York**. On 24 September after the annexation of Fort Orange, whose name was changed to Albany, the **English** became the allies of the **Iroquois League**.<sup>17</sup>

**Cayuga peace ambassadors arrived in New France:**

18 September 1664 – **Cayuga** peace ambassadors arrived in **New France** representing all of the **Iroquois** except the **Oneida** to request peace, missionaries and care from the Nuns when they were ill. During the meetings, they expressed their desire for peace with the **Algonquin**. The **French Canadians** distrusted their peace overtures and believed that they only sought peace because of recent battles and defeats by the **Mohican**, **Abenaki**, and **Susquehanna Nations**, and the potential for attacks by the **French Canadians**.<sup>18</sup>

**Richard Nicholls ordered the annexation of all property that belonged to the Dutch West India Company:**

23 February 1665 (O.S.) – On 23 February 1665 **Richard Nicholls** ordered the annexation of all property that belonged to the **Dutch West India Company** in the former **New Netherlands**. The Second Dutch War between **England** and the **Dutch Republic** broke out after the **English** seized **Dutch** possessions in **North America** and **Africa**.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Gagne, pp. 41-42.

<sup>15</sup> *JR*, Vol. 48, p. 236.

<sup>16</sup> *JR*, Vol. 49, pp. 135-148.

<sup>17</sup> Schlesinger, p. 55 (dates the surrender as 7 September); William L. Langer, *An Encyclopedia of World History* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, Fifth Edition, 1972), pp. 476, 552 (dates the surrender on 27 August). The difference in dates is due to the dates that the European countries adopted the Gregorian calendar which took 10 days off the Julian calendar. France and the Netherlands adopted the calendar in December 1582. England and the North American colonies did not adopt the calendar until 1752, by that time, 11 days were removed from the Julian calendar.

<sup>18</sup> *JR*, Vol. 48, pp. 236-237; *JR*, Vol. 49, pp. 148-152.

<sup>19</sup> Langer, pp. 461-462, 476; Schlesinger, p. 56.

**Louis XIV appointed Rémy de Courcelle Governor of New France and Talon Intendant:**

23 March 1665 – **Louis XIV** appointed **Daniel de Rémy, sieur de Courcelle**, Governor of New France and **Jean Talon** Intendant. Prior to his appointment, **Jean Baptiste Colbert** informed **Talon** that **Louis XIV** was sending the *Carignan-Salières* Regiment to New France to destroy the **Iroquois**. **Louis XIV** hoped that the destruction of the **Iroquois** would mean that the Ottawa could travel to Montréal and Québec free of harassment from the **Iroquois**.<sup>20</sup>

**Louis XIV provided Courcelle with specific instructions regards the rights of Native Americans:**

*Circa* March 1665 – **Colbert** pointed out that **Louis XIV** had two principal objectives regarding the **Native Americans**. The instructions are worth quoting in their entirety because as Jaenen, the editor and translator, points out, the instructions should lay to rest the false assertion that the **French** did not recognize **Native** rights and that they imposed all the obligations of French sovereignty on the **Native Americans**.

The first [objective] is to procure their conversion to the Christian and Catholic faith as soon as possible, and to achieve that, besides the instructions that will be given them by the missionaries whom His Majesty supports for this purpose, under the direction of *Monseigneur de Petraea* [François de Laval] his intention is that the officers, soldiers, and all his other subjects treat the Indians with gentleness, justice, and equity, without ever causing them any hurt or violence; that the lands which they inhabit never be usurped under pretext that they are better or more suited to the French.

The second objective of His Majesty is, in time, to make these Indians his subjects, working gainfully for the increase of commerce which will become established little by little in Canada, once it has been well brought under cultivation; but his intention is that all this be carried out in goodwill and that these Indians take it up out of their own interest.

His Majesty knows that the males among these peoples do not want to devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil, but only to the hunting of animals whose hides they sell to the Europeans, in exchange for material and some small wares, but His Majesty also knows that the Indian females are very hard working especially in the growing of maize which is their staple food.

In order to conform to the inclinations of these Indians, and especially of those who inhabit the lands of Acadia, it is appropriate that the French put themselves in a posture to be able to obtain by barter everything that the Indian hunters will bring them giving them the same price as the English do.<sup>21</sup>

**Louis XIV provided Talon with instructions:**

27 March 1665 – **Louis XIV** provided **Talon** with instructions. The instructions included orders to assist in all the War Councils for the expedition against the **Iroquois**, as well as make all the arrangements necessary for the expedition. The **King** also ordered **Talon** to take the most appropriate steps for the “expansion” of the colony so that it could supply its own needs, as well as supply certain products necessary for the expansion of industry in **France**. In order to accomplish these goals, the **King** felt that it was necessary to settle **New France**, develop agriculture and trade, and set up industries. **Louis XIV** also told **Talon** that the **French-Canadian** officials might deem it necessary to construct some forts to protect the lands occupied by the **French Canadians**.<sup>22</sup>

**The *Communauté des Habitants* was liquidated:**

31 March 1665 to 7 July 1666 – **Louis XIV** or **Colbert** issued a decree which ordered the liquidation of the debts of the *Communauté des Habitants*. The debts were liquidated on 7 July 1666. The following creditors filed securities<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *DCB*, Rémy de Courcelle’s, and Talon’s biographies; *NYCD*, Vol. 9, 22-28 (Talon’s instructions); Verney, p. 22 (Louis XIV’s hopes regarding the fur trade).

<sup>21</sup> Cornelius Jaenen, editor, *The French Regime in the Upper Country of Canada During the Seventeenth Century* (Toronto, Ontario: The Champlain Society in Cooperation with The Government of Ontario, 1996), pp. 58-59. Jaenen points out that subsequent instructions would emphasize that the Native Americans were “independent nations,” and allies, and not subjects of the French Crown.

<sup>22</sup> *DCB*, Talon’s biography; *NYCD*, Vol. 9, pp. 22-28 (Talon’s appointment and excerpts from his instructions; due to space considerations, I have only listed the instructions most relevant to the timeline); Richard A. Preston, *Royal Fort Frontenac* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1958), p. 17.

statements: the heirs of **Pierre Legardeur de Repentigny** and **Blaise Juillet**, the widows of **Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonges (Barbe de Boulogne)**, **Bertrand Fafard (Marie Sédilot)**, **Jean Gloria (Marie Bourdon)**, **Christophe Crevier (Jeanne Evard)**, **Jean Normand (Romaine Boudet)**, **Léger Hagenier (Marie Frit)**, **Claude Fezeret (Suzanne Guilbault)**, and *Sieurs Jacques de LaMotte, Pierre Boucher, Jacques LeNeuf, sieur La Poterie; Jean Bourdon, Poirier, Jacques Sevestre, Le Wallon, Godin (possibly Élie), Vincent Renaud, Antoine Brossard, Jolliet (possibly Adrien), Pouperin, Pierre Miville, Joseph Gravel dit Brindelière, Jacques Beauvais dit Saint-Jemme, Antoine Leboesme, Guillaume Fournier, Latour, Lachaussée, Guymoran, François Bissot, Mazier (possibly Michel Messier dit Saint-Michel), Férion, Robert Giguère, Nicolas Hébert, Jean Chappleau, Pierre Gadois, Louis Prudhomme*, the parish of Québec, and the **Hospitalières of Montréal and Québec**.<sup>23</sup>

**Alexandre de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, departed from Guadeloupe for Québec:**

25 April 1665 – **Alexandre de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy**, Lieutenant General of **New France**, departed from Guadeloupe for Québec with four companies of soldiers, having captured the principal West-Indies Islands from the **Dutch**.<sup>24</sup>

**Governor Saffray de Mésy died:**

5 May 1665 – Governor **Saffray de Mésy** died in Québec.<sup>25</sup>

**One hundred-fifty Native Americans left Trois-Rivières to go to war:**

5 May 1665 – One hundred-fifty **Native Americans** left Trois-Rivières to go to war. On the same day, the residents of Québec learned of several massacres in Montréal.<sup>26</sup>

**The Montagnais defeated 30 Iroquois at Lac St. Jean:**

*Circa* spring 1665 – The **Montagnais** defeated 30 **Iroquois** at Lac St. Jean (Lake Piagouagami, the Porcupine Tribe's name for Lac St. Jean).<sup>27</sup>

**Ninety Filles du Roi arrived in New France:**

*Circa* 18 June and 2 October 1665 – During the third year of the *Filles du Roi* program, 90 marriageable women arrived in New France. Sixty-three women remained in Québec, thirteen went to Trois-Rivières, and fourteen went to Montréal.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> *Library and Archives Canada (LAC)* ([http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/lac-bac/search/arch\\_adv](http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/lac-bac/search/arch_adv)),

LAC, Mikan #3037235; Public Archives of Canada, Douglas Brymner, Archivist, *Report on Canadian Archives 1885* (Ottawa, Ontario: Maclean, Roger and Co., 1886), hereafter *PAC1885-1886*, xxxii. Some of these individuals are not found in Jetté (René Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec des origines à 1730* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal: 1983); many are listed by their *dit* or *sieur* name; in some cases too many people used these names to positively identify the individual.

<sup>24</sup> *DCB*, Tracy's, Morel LaDurantaye's biographies; *JR*, Vol. 49, pp. 217-219; Michel Langlois, *Carignan-Salière 1665-1668* (Drummondville, La Maison Des Ancêtres: 2004), pp. 65, 515-517 ; Jack Verney, *The Good Regiment – The Carignan-Salières Regiment in Canada 1665-1668* (Montréal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press: 1991), 145-185 (Nominal Roll). *La Sociétié des Filles du roi et Soldats du Carignan, Inc's* list of the members of the Carignan Salières Regiment can be accessed at: <http://www.fillesduroi.org/src/soldiers.htm>. The identification of the soldiers who were members of the Carignan-Salières Regiment and those who accompanied Tracy on the expedition to the West Indies are not known with absolute certainty because most of the soldiers were identified by their *dit* names. Verney, Langlois and Jetté (René Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec des origines à 1730* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal: 1983) agree about the identities of some of the soldiers; they disagree on the identities of others. Readers, therefore, should use caution when they identify their ancestors as belonging to a certain company. The most conclusive proof would be the notation that an individual was a member of a particular company in a parish record, marriage contract, their confirmation in New France, or a land grant. See Library and Archives Canada, Mikan # 2460033 for a list of the soldiers and officers who remained in New France in 1668. Most are listed by their *dit* names.

<sup>25</sup> *JR*, Vol. 49, p. 157.

<sup>26</sup> *JR*, Vol. 49, pp. 157-159.

<sup>27</sup> *JR*, Vol. 50, pp. 35-43.

<sup>28</sup> Gagné, pp. 41-42.

**Four companies of the Carignan-Salières regiment arrived in New France:**

19 June 1665 – Four companies of the *Carignan-Salières* Regiment, commanded by **Henri de Chatelard, marquis de Salières**, arrived in New France aboard the *San Siméon* on 19 June. **Jacques de Chambly** commanded the Chambly Company; **Pierre Salvaye de Froment** commanded the Froment Company; **Captain de La Tour** commanded the La Tour Company; and **Louis Petit** commanded the Petit Company.<sup>29</sup>



Francis Beck's Illustration of two soldiers and an officer of the Carignan Salières Regiment  
Courtesy of Canadian Military Heritage<sup>30</sup>

The soldiers on the right and left carry muskets; the powder flasks known as the "Twelve Apostles" hang from their shoulders belts. The officer in the center carries a half-pike and wears a white sash signifying that he is an officer

**Alexandre de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, arrived in Quebec from the West Indies:**

30 June 1665 – **Alexandre de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy**, Lieutenant General of New France, arrived in Québec on 30 June 1665 with four companies of soldiers. **Alexandre Berthier** commanded the Berthier Company which had been detached from the L'Allier Regiment. **Olivier Morel, sieur de LaDurantaye**, commanded the LaDurantaye Company which had been detached from the Chambellé Regiment. **François Tapie de Monteil** commanded the Monteil Company which had been detached from the Poitou Regiment. **Vincent de La Brisandière/La Brisardière** commanded the La Brisandière/La Brisardière Company which had been detached from the d'Orléans Regiment. The Berthier, Monteil, and La Brisandière/La Brisardière Companies were headquartered in Québec.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *DCB*, Chomedey de Maisonneuve's and Prouville de Tracy's biographies; *JR*, Vol. 49, pp. 159, 163, 165 (arrival of soldiers), 215-224 (Tracy's campaigns in the West Indies and his arrival in Québec), 225-238 (Tracy's reception by New France's Native America allies); *JR*, Vol. 50, pp. 79-81 (Arrival of Tracy, Salières and the regiments); Jack Verney, *The Good Regiment – The Carignan-Salières Regiment in Canada 1665-1668* (Montréal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press: 1991), p. 18; Langlois, pp. 65, 170-191, 516-517. Latour's first name is not known.

<sup>30</sup> Canadian Military Heritage, [http://www.cmhg.gc.ca/cmh/image-65-eng.asp?page\\_id=51](http://www.cmhg.gc.ca/cmh/image-65-eng.asp?page_id=51).

<sup>31</sup> *DCB*, Chomedey de Maisonneuve's, Prouville de Tracy's and Berthier's biographies; *JR*, Vol. 49, pp. 159 (arrival of soldiers), 215-224 (Tracy's campaigns in the West Indies and his arrival in Québec), 225-238 (Tracy's reception by New France's Native America allies); *JR*, Vol. 50, pp. 79-81 (Arrival of Tracy, Salières and the regiments); Verney, pp. 18-19; Langlois, pp. 65, 515-517 (the Labrisadière Company and the Monteil Company were headquartered in Québec). As was mentioned in the entry for the arrival of the *Filles du Roi*, a number of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century painters painted inaccurate and romanticized scenes from New France's history. A totally unrealistic illustration by Frank Craig (*LAC*, Mikan #2837214) depicts *Msg. Laval's* reception of Prouville de Tracy and Talon, but the timing is impossible as Tracy arrived in June and Talon in September. We know from Verney, p. 19 that Tracy "declined all formal welcomes and, attended by his considerable retinue, immediately set about lumbering up the hill to the church."

**The population of New France was about 3,215; the arrival of the soldiers strained accommodations:**

1665 – The population of New France was about 3,215, including 547 in Québec, 455 in Trois-Rivières, and 625 in Montréal. Although Québec was the largest community in New France, its buildings consisted of several governmental and institutional buildings, and only about seventy houses; therefore, the arrival of the soldiers created problems; the most immediate was where the soldiers would live while they were in New France. Compounding the problem, an additional 800 soldiers were expected during the summer.<sup>32</sup>

**Tracy decided to build forts to deny the Mohawk access to New France's settlements:**

July 1665 – Having determined from the leaders of New France such as **Paul Ragueneau, S.J.**, that the **Mohawk** used Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River as their main route to New France's settlements, **Tracy** decided to build forts along this route to deny the **Mohawk** access to the St. Lawrence. In addition to defensive purposes, **Tracy** intended that the forts would serve offensive objectives: (1) they allowed the troops to be deployed closer to offensive operations; (2) they provided bases to patrol the surrounding areas for **Mohawk** movements; and (3) they could serve as forward bases and supply depots for expeditions against the enemy.<sup>33</sup>

**The Sioux attacked the Ottawa; the Iroquois attacked the Nipissing and Ottawa when they were en route to New France:**

20 July 1665 to August 1665 – Sixty **Nipissing** arrived in **New France** as the first part of the convoy from the Great Lakes and met with **Claude Allouez, S.J.** They reported that the **Iroquois** had attacked the **Nipissing** and the **Ottawa** convoys on their way to **New France**. A convoy of more than 400 **Ottawa**, "well loaded with furs" arrived in August, with an unnamed **French Canadian** who had followed them in 1664. The **French Canadian** reported that the **Sioux** had attacked the **Ottawa**. He also reported what he had learned about the **Sioux**.<sup>34</sup>

**The Chambly, Froment, La Tour, and Petit Companies departed from Québec with about 100 French-Canadian volunteers, Native Allies, and two Jesuits to begin the construction of forts on the Richelieu River:**

23 July 1665 – The Chambly, Froment, La Tour, and Petit Companies departed from Québec to begin the construction of forts on the Richelieu River, the traditional **Iroquois** invasion route. **Jean Baptiste Legardeur, sieur de Repentigny**, commanded approximately 100 **French-Canadian** volunteers and **Native-American Allies**. **Charles Albanel, S.J.**, and **Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot, S.J.**, also accompanied the contingent. While they travelled on the Richelieu River, they travelled in canoes and shallops.<sup>35</sup>

**Fort Saint Louis/Fort Chambly was constructed:**

August to September 1665 – **Jacques de Chambly** and the Chambly Company began construction of Fort Saint Louis/Chambly at present-day Chambly. A number of **French-Canadian** volunteers helped construct the fort. Construction was more difficult than one would expect because the commissioners of supply in France did not anticipate that the soldiers would be required to build forts in the wilderness; therefore, they did not ship adequate tools to New France. As the map below indicates, the Fort was roughly star shaped and measured about 50 meters (164.50 feet) from side to side. Verney estimates that the palisade measured between four and five meters (about 13 to 16 feet) high. The **French Canadians** and soldiers built the fort by setting large logs in a trench and then filling in the trench. Within the palisade, the men built crude huts and lean-to sheds. The following additional Companies helped construct Fort Saint Louis/Chambly: Froment, La Tour, and Petit. Following construction of the Fort, the following Companies were garrisoned at the Fort: Chambly Company, Froment, and La Tour.<sup>36</sup>

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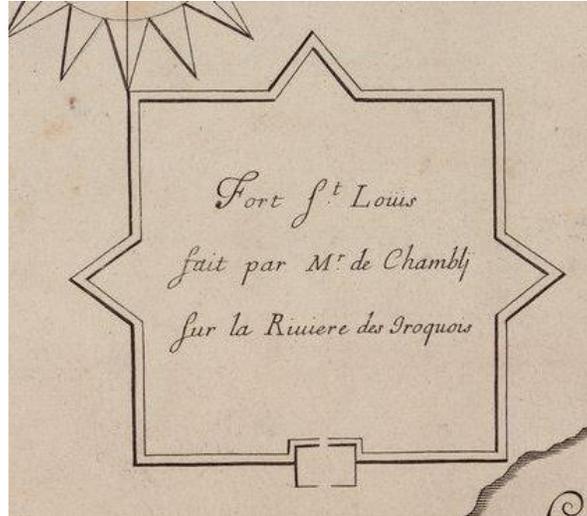
<sup>32</sup> Statistics Canada (census figures); Verney, p. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Verney, pp. 20-21; *JR*, Vol. 49, p. 251.

<sup>34</sup> Verney, p. 22; *JR*, Vol. 49, pp. 161 (arrival and departure with Allouez), 239-251 (arrival of the Ottawa, information received from a French-Canadian about the Sioux, Iroquois attacks on the Nipissing and Ottawa). The French Canadian was not named in the *JR*.

<sup>35</sup> Verney, pp. 21-22; *JR*, Vol. 49, pp. 160 (departure on 23 July to build Fort Richelieu); *DCB*, Prouville de Tracy's biography; Langlois, pp. 170, 172, 175, 181, 186.

<sup>36</sup> Verney, p. 29-30 (details regarding construction of the fort); *DCB*, Tracy's biography, Langlois, pp. 170 (Chambly), 175 (Froment – they were garrisoned at Fort Saint Louis/Chambly in 1665 and 1666, thereafter they were garrisoned at Trois-Rivières), 181 (La Tour – the Company remained at the Fort until the regiment departed for France), 186 (Petit).



Plan of Fort Saint Louis/Chambly from  
*Plans des forts faits par le régiment Carignan Salières sur la rivière de Richelieu dicte autrement des Iroquois en la Nouvelle France*<sup>37</sup>

**Claude Allouez, S.J., and six French Canadians departed for the Great Lakes:**

8 August to September 1665 – **Claude Allouez, S.J.**, and six **French Canadians** departed from Trois-Rivières with 400 **Ottawa** for the Great Lakes. They reached Sault Ste. Marie at the beginning of September.<sup>38</sup>

**Henri de Chatelard, marquis de Salières, arrived in Québec with four companies of the Carignan-Salières Regiment:**

18 or 19 August 1665 – **Henri de Chatelard, marquis de Salières**, arrived in Québec on board the *Aigle d'Or* with four companies from the *Carignan-Salières Regiment*. **Chatelard de Salières** commanded the Salières Company; **Hector d'Andigné de Grandfontaine** commanded the Grandfontaine Company; **Balthazar de La Flotte de LaFredière** commanded the LaFredière Company; **Pierre LaMotte de Saint-Paul** commanded the LaMotte Company.<sup>39</sup>

**Four additional companies of the Carignan-Salières Regiment arrived in Québec:**

19 or 20 August 1665 – Four additional companies of the *Carignan-Salières Regiment* arrived in Québec on the *Paix*. **Antoine Pécaudy de Contrecoeur** commanded the Contrecoeur Company; **Abraham de Maximy** commanded the Maximy Company; **Jean Baptiste Dubois, sieur de Saint-Maurice**, commanded the La Colonelle Company; and **Pierre Saurel** commanded the Saurel Company.<sup>40</sup>

**Tracy ordered the habitants to supply wood for the soldiers:**

24 August 1665 – **Tracy** published an order which required the *habitants* to supply 800 cords of wood for the soldiers who would winter in Québec.<sup>41</sup>

**The Saurel Company departed for the Richelieu River:**

25 August 1665 – **Pierre de Saurel** departed with his Company for the Richelieu River.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8595965s.r=carignan.langEN>. The map appeared in Volume 49 of the *JR*, facing p. 265.

<sup>38</sup> *JR*, Vol. 50, pp. 247-263.

<sup>39</sup> *JR*, Vol. 49, 163 (19 August); Langlois, pp. 66 (18 August), 170-191.

<sup>40</sup> *JR*, Vol. 49, 163 (20 August); Langlois, pp. 66 (19 August), 170-191.

<sup>41</sup> *JR*, Vol. 49, p. 165; Verney, p. 25.

<sup>42</sup> Verney, p. 27; *DCB*, Saurel's biography; Langlois, p. 66.

### Construction began on Fort Richelieu/Fort Sorel:

Late August to September 1665 – **Pierre de Saurel** and the Saurel Company began construction of Fort Richelieu/Fort Sorel at the ruins of the 1642 Fort constructed by **Governor Hualt de Montmagny** at present-day Sorel. The Saint-Ours Company helped construct the Fort and were garrisoned there in 1665 and 1666.<sup>43</sup>



Plan of Fort Richelieu from  
*Plans des forts faits par le régiment Carignan Salières sur la rivière de Richelieu dicté autrement des Iroquois en la Nouvelle France*<sup>44</sup>

### Colonel Henri de Chatelard, *marquis de Salières*, and seven companies departed for the Richelieu River:

2 September 1665 – The Salières, Contrecoeur, Grandfontaine, La Colonelle, LaFredière, LaMotte, and Maximy Companies departed from Québec for the Richelieu River.<sup>45</sup>

### Claude Allouez, S.J., and his companions explored the southern shore of Lake Superior:

2 September to October 1665 – **Claude Allouez, S.J.**, and his companions left Sault Ste. Marie on an exploratory voyage around the southern shore of Lake Superior, which the **Native Americans** revered as a divinity and which **Allouez** named Lake Tracy after **Alexandre de Prouville de Tracy**. The lake provided abundant fishes and was very clear, although game was very scarce in the area. **Allouez** saw 20 to 30 pound pieces of copper which the **Native Americans** found in the water and which they worshipped as gods. Twelve to fifteen **Native American** Tribes, living north, south, and west, seasonally gathered on Lake Superior for fishing or trading. When **Allouez** and his companions passed by Bay Ste. Thérèse, they found two Christian women who **René Ménard, S.J.**, had baptized.<sup>46</sup>

### Daniel Rémy de Courcelle and Jean Talon arrived in Québec with four additional companies of the *Carignan-Salières Regiment*:

12 September 1665 – Governor **Daniel Rémy de Courcelle** and Intendant **Jean Talon** arrived in Québec on the *San Sébastien*. The following companies of the *Carignan-Salières Regiment* also travelled in the same ship: **Michel Sidrac Dugué de Boisbriant** commanded the Dugué Company; **Du Prat** commanded the Du Prat Company; **Étienne de Rougemont** commanded the Rougemont Company; and **Roger de Bonneau de LaVarenne** commanded the LaVarenne Company.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *DCB*, Saurel's biography; Tracy's biography mistakenly stated that construction began on 13 August; Langlois, p. 187 (Saint-Ours), 189-190 (Saurel).

<sup>44</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8595965s.r=carignan.langEN>

<sup>45</sup> Verney, p. 28; Langlois, p. 66.

<sup>46</sup> *JR*, Vol. 50, pp. 263-271 (Allouez voyage from Sault Ste. Marie to Chequamegon Bay); Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, pp. 104-107

<sup>47</sup> *DCB*, Rémy de Courcelle's and Talon's biographies; *JR*, Vol. 49, p. 165; *JR*, Vol. 50, pp. 81-84 (arrival of Courcelle and Talon); Langlois, pp. 66, 170-191. Although Talon did not physically participate in the military

**Tracy, Courcelle, and Talon made preparations for the campaign against the Mohawk:**

*Circa* 12 September 1655 – Shortly after their arrival aboard the *San Sébastien*, **Courcelle** and **Talon** assisted **Tracy** in making preparations for the campaign against the **Mohawk**. The timing of the campaign was dependant upon how soon the soldiers could construct the Forts in the Richelieu Valley.<sup>48</sup>

**Four companies of the Carignan-Salières Regiment arrived in Québec:**

14 September 1665 – Four additional companies of the *Carignan-Salières Regiment* arrived in Québec aboard the *Justice*: **Philippe Vernou, sieur de LaFouille**, commanded the LaFouille Company; **Arnoult Tarey de Laubia/Loubias** commanded the Laubia/Loubias Company; **Pierre de LaNoraye/Naurois** commanded the LaNoraye Company; **Roger Bonneau, sieur de LaVarenne**, commanded the LaVarenne Company; and **Pierre de Saint-Ours** commanded the Saint-Ours Company.<sup>49</sup>

**The men from the Saint Sébastien and the Justice who suffered from scurvy strained the resources in Québec:**

September 1665 – As many as 20 men aboard the *San Sébastien* and *Justice* died from scurvy during the voyage. When the two ships arrived in Québec, as many as 130 men were too weak to get off the ships unaided. The sick quickly filled the limited number of beds at Hôtel-Dieu; therefore, the Ursulines set up additional beds in the nave of the Ursuline Church; the remaining soldiers suffering from scurvy were cared for in private homes. By the end of the month, 35 men died, but the remaining soldiers had recovered.<sup>50</sup>

**Louis XIV claimed parts of the Spanish Netherlands following the death of Philip IV of Spain:**

17 September 1665 to 2 May 1668 – **Philip IV of Spain** died. **Louis XIV** immediately claimed parts of the **Spanish Netherlands** on the basis that **Spain** had not paid his wife's (**Maria Theresa of Spain**) dowry; therefore, her renunciation of her inheritance claims under the Treaty of the Pyrenees was void. **Spain** rejected this claim.<sup>51</sup>

**Salières consulted with Chambly and then proceeded to the future site of Fort Sainte Thérèse:**

25 September to 1 October 1665 – When **Colonel Henri Chatelard, Marquis de Salières**, and the seven companies of soldiers who had departed from Québec earlier in the month reached the Richelieu Rapids, they boarded shallows and canoes to navigate the shallower water in the River. **Colonel Salières** spent the night of 28/29 September at Fort Saint Louis/Chambly to consult with **Jacques de Chambly** about the construction and location of the future Fort Sainte Thérèse. Prior to **Salières'** arrival, **Chambly's Native Americans** escorts guided him to the future site of Fort Sainte Thérèse. **Salières** and the **Salières, Contrecoeur, and LaFredrière Companies** departed on 29 September and arrived at the future site of Fort Sainte-Thérèse on 1 October 1665.<sup>52</sup>

**Allouez' mission to the Native Americans of the Great Lakes:**

1 October 1665 to June 1667 – **Claude Allouez, S.J.**, arrived at Chequamegon Bay (near present-day Ashland, Wisconsin) where he found the great **Native-American** villages which housed 800 men of seven different nations. He founded the St. Esprit mission, housed in a bark chapel, and lived in a bark-roofed hut. Shortly after his arrival, ten to twelve **Algonquin** Tribes gathered for a council to try to avert a local chief's planned attack on the **Sioux** because they feared that an attack that might cause the ruin of all the allied nations. **Allouez** attended the council, and told them of **Tracy's** planned attack on the **Iroquois**; he informed them that this attack would force the **Iroquois** to seek peace and make commerce safe between **New France** and all the **Algonquin** and **Huron Nations**. **Allouez** also briefly proclaimed the gospel. In January 1666, he transferred his chapel to the main village which housed 2,000 in 45-50 large cabins. During his two year mission, **Allouez** preached to numerous Tribes, many of whom travelled to Chequamegon Bay on an annual basis, including the **Ottawa, Petun/Huron, Potawatomie, Fox,**

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campaigns against the Iroquois, most of the preparations for the expeditions depended on him. Du Prat's first name is not known.

<sup>48</sup> Verney, p. 29.

<sup>49</sup> Verney, pp. 28-29; *JR*, Vol. 49, p. 165; Langlois, p. 66 (mistakenly states that the ship arrived on 4 September), 185 (La Noraye Company – they were headquartered in Québec in 1665 and 1666; thereafter they were headquartered in Cap-de-la-Madeleine).

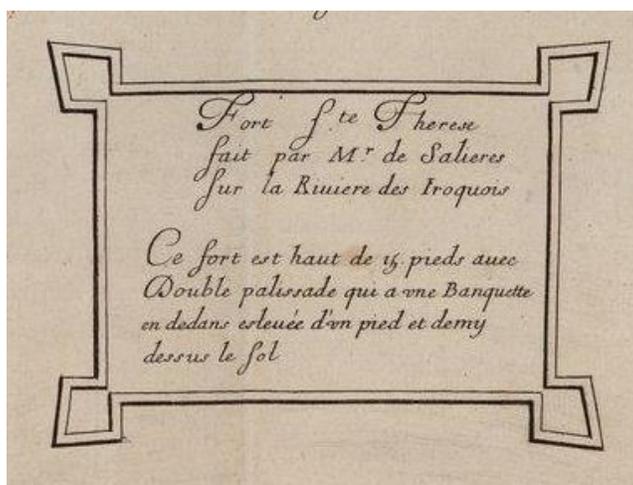
<sup>50</sup> Verney, pp. 28-39.

<sup>51</sup> Langer, pp. 477-479.

<sup>52</sup> Verney, pp. 29-32.



palisade, he ordered others to construct rafts with the cedar trees. Each of the rafts transported 20 men to an island in the Richelieu River where they cut and prepared trees for construction of the palisades. The men assigned to the logging operation started to transport logs to the Fort site by 7 October, stockpiling the logs until the soldiers assigned to the trench completed the trench. On 9 October, thirteen men escorted Colonel **Salières** on a one-day intelligence gathering expedition south of the Fort Sainte Thérèse site. The soldiers completed the trench on 12 October and the outer wall of the palisade three days later. On 15 October **Salières** ordered reserve captain **Desportes** and Lieutenant **Sixte Cherrier dit Mignarde** to explore the area south of the fort with eight additional soldiers. A convoy of ten **Algonquin** canoes who were on a hunting trip escorted the soldiers south into the area around Lake Champlain. By the time the soldiers returned six days later having located potential sites for additional forts, Fort Sainte Thérèse had been completed. The completed fort was about 45 meters long (147.64 feet) by 35 meters (114.83 feet) and had a bastion in each corner. Like the other Forts, the soldiers had cleared trees and brush surrounding the Fort to prevent **Mohawk** war parties from hiding there. The clearance also provided the soldiers with a clear line of fire. The soldiers also built firing steps within the Fort as well as log buildings that would serve as storehouses and barracks. On 21 October Governor **Courcelle** arrived at the Fort with the Desportes/Duprat, La Colonelle, and Rougemont Companies who would garrison Fort Sainte Thérèse with the Petit Company. On 26 October, **Colonel Salières** handed over command of the Fort to Lieutenant Colonel **Duprat/Du Prat**; **Salières** departed for Fort Saint Louis/Chambly with the Contrecoeur, LaFredière, and Salières Companies who wintered at Montréal.<sup>57</sup>



Plan of Fort Sainte Thérèse from  
*Plans des forts faits par le régiment Carignan Salières sur la rivière de Richelieu dite autrement des Iroquois en la Nouvelle France*<sup>58</sup>

#### **Talon criticized the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*:**

4 and 8 October 1665 – When **Talon** reported to **Colbert** on the conditions in Canada, he included in his report his observation that the monopoly held by the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* worked to the disadvantage of the colonists. **Talon** reported that the company's agents prohibited New-France's inhabitants from importing certain articles of merchandise, including merchandise that they used for trading with the **Native Americans**. **Talon** believed that this would ruin most inhabitants. **Talon** pointed out that agriculture did not provide sufficient inducements to make the inhabitants remain in **New France**. He believed that by pushing its powers to the extreme,

<sup>57</sup> Verney, pp. 32-34 (does not discuss a double palisade); *Parks Canada* (<http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/qc/chambly/natcul/fort-sainte-therese/fst01.aspx>) (archeological digs confirmed that the first Fort had a double palisade); Langlois, pp. 66, 172 172 (Contrecoeur), 173 (Desportes/Duprat – although initially garrisoned at the Fort, later the Company was headquartered in Québec), Langlois, pp. 179 (LaFredière), 186 (Petit), 187 (Rougemont), 187 (Salières), (Langlois does not discuss a double palisade).

<sup>58</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8595965s.r=carignan.langEN>

the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* would not only deprive the colony of self-support, but would become a serious obstacle to its settlement.<sup>59</sup>

**Courcelle ordered the Grandfontaine and LaMotte Companies to build a trail between Fort Saint Louis/Chambly and Fort Sainte Thérèse:**

21 October 1665 – The Grandfontaine Company and the LaMotte Company built a trail between Fort Saint Louis/Chambly and Fort Sainte Thérèse, by clearing the brush and few trees between the two forts. After the trail was completed, both Companies returned to Québec.<sup>60</sup>

**Colonel Salières escorted Courcelle on a tour of the area surrounding Fort Saint Louis/Chambly and Fort Sainte Thérèse:**

Late October 1665 – Shortly after the trail between Fort Saint Louis/Chambly and Fort Sainte Thérèse was completed, Governor **Courcelle** ordered Colonel **Salières** to escort him on a tour of the area around the two forts. They stopped short of Lake Champlain before returning to Fort Saint Louis/Chambly.<sup>61</sup>

**Six Officers and thirty-six enlisted men cleared the forest and brush between Fort Saint Louis/Chambly and the south shore of the St. Lawrence opposite Montréal. In Québec, Courcelle mounted his campaign to convince Tracy to approve of a winter campaign against the Mohawk:**

Late October 1665 to late December 1665 – Following his tour of the area south of Fort Sainte Thérèse, Governor **Courcelle** became more enthusiastic about the idea of leading a winter campaign against the **Mohawk**. Therefore, he ordered Colonel **Salières** to assign six officers and thirty-six enlisted men the task of clearing a trail/road between Fort Saint Louis and the south shore of the St. Lawrence opposite Montréal. Although **Salières** protested that his men were tired and ill and that the clearing operation could be completed more readily after the ground was frozen, **Courcelle** adamantly insisted that his orders were executed. **Salières** reluctantly ordered his men to carry out **Courcelle's** orders. With the exception of the men assigned to the clearing duty, the Contrecoeur, LaFredièrre, and Salières Companies accompanied **Salières** to Fort Richelieu where the Companies parted with the Colonel for their journey to Montréal, while **Salières** proceeded separately from **Courcelle** for Québec. **Courcelle** immediately mounted his campaign to convince **Tracy** to approve of a winter campaign against the **Mohawk**.<sup>62</sup>

**The Conseil Souverain set the prices for merchandise recently received on the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales' ships:**

14 November 1665 – The *Conseil Souverain* set the prices for merchandise recently received on the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales'* ships and from La Rochelle. Residents of Québec paid the lowest prices; Montréal, the highest.<sup>63</sup>

**The forts in the Richelieu sent an important message to the Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca:**

Summer and fall 1665 – Prior to the arrival of the Carignan Salières Regiment, epidemics and war had greatly weakened the **Iroquois** Confederacy. Although the forts erected by the Carignan Salières Regiment did not pose an immediate threat to the **Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca**, they realized that New France was now capable of building similar forts along the upper St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, as well as attacking the villages of hostile Nations. Additionally, the Western **Iroquois** had reluctantly agreed to the **Mohawk** control of the trading practices within the Confederacy by preventing the flow of furs to the St. Lawrence settlements and directing them to **Dutch** settlements, thereby controlling the access to **European** trade goods. The recent change of regime from the **Dutch** to the **British** may have threatened the former trading arrangements, however. Based on these considerations, the Western **Iroquois** Nations made the decision to send peace ambassadors to New France.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> *DCB*, Talon's biography; *NYCD*, Vol. 9, pp. 29-36 (excerpts from Talon's report including the preparations for the expedition against the Iroquois).

<sup>60</sup> Verney, p. 34; Langlois, p. 176; *DCB*, Hector d'Andigne de Grandmaison's biography.

<sup>61</sup> Verney, p. 34.

<sup>62</sup> Verney, pp. 34-35, 37-39.

<sup>63</sup> *NYCD*, Vol. 9, pp. 36-37 (Table of prices for various imported items).

<sup>64</sup> Verney, pp. 40-41.

**Soldiers garrisoned in the Forts improved the defenses and began to plant crops:**

Fall 1665 – to 1667 – After the soldiers completed the initial construction of the Forts in the Richelieu Valley, the soldiers were involved in defensive activities such as manning the bastions and patrolling the forests. The soldiers also constructed additional buildings and cleared more of the surrounding forested area. In 1667, the soldiers began to plant crops in the cleared land and imported farm animals to Forts Saint Louis/Chambly and Fort Richelieu/Sorel.  
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**Salières entertained Iroquois ambassadors and provided them with an escort to Québec so they could meet with Tracy:**

19 November to December 1665 – On 19 November 1665, Colonel **Salières** and the soldiers from Montréal greeted a convoy of 65 **Iroquois** ambassadors representing the **Onondaga**, **Oneida**, **Seneca**, and **Cayuga** with great ceremony. **Daniel Garakontié**, an **Onondaga** Chief, led the delegation that included 13 **Onondaga** and **Oneida** Chiefs. Thanks to the intervention and influence of **Daniel Garakontié**, **Charles Lemoine de Longueuil** and **Châteauguay**, who had been captured by an **Iroquois** party while he was hunting during the summer, was part of the convoy. **Salières** entertained the ambassadors for four days before he provided the Chiefs with an escort of 12 soldiers for their voyage to meet with **Tracy**, **Courcelle**, and **Talon** in Québec. **Salières** entertained the remaining ambassadors for an additional 17 days before they departed to return home or to hunt.<sup>66</sup>

**The French negotiated a peace treaty with the Onondaga, Oneida, Seneca, and Cayuga:**

Late November and December 1665 – **Daniel Garakontié** and the other **Onondaga** and **Oneida** Chiefs who represented their own Nations, as well as the **Seneca** and **Cayuga** arrived in Québec to negotiate a peace treaty with New France. Although **Tracy**, **Courcelle**, and **Talon** did not trust the sincerity of the **Iroquois**, they concluded a peace treaty with the ambassadors. **Tracy** realized that only after the **Iroquois** had been soundly defeated would there be an everlasting peace; therefore, he authorized **Courcelle** to attack the **Mohawk** in mid-winter when the **Mohawk** would least expect it.<sup>67</sup>

**The population of New France was 3,418:**

Winter 1665/1666 – The population of New France was 3,418, including 1,344 men capable of bearing arms between the ages of 16-50.<sup>68</sup>

**France entered the Second Dutch War:**

January 1666 – **France** entered the Second Dutch War in support of the **Dutch**.<sup>69</sup>

**Courcelle's poor planning helped doom his winter 1666 campaign:**

Early January 1666 to 29 January 1666 – In early January, **Tracy** and **Courcelle** sent orders to the *commandants* of the Carignan Salières Regiments garrisoned in Quebec, Trois-Rivières, and Montréal to select the officers and enlisted men who would participate in the campaign. The officers and soldier of the Carignan Salières Regiment made up slightly more than half of the expedition. The remainder of the army consisted of about 200 **French Canadians** who volunteered to take part in the expedition. A number of **Native American Allies** also agreed to act as hunters and guides. Poor planning combined with inclement weather plagued the expedition from the start. Other than Colonel **Salières**, none of the officers appeared to have raised any objections to the wisdom or organization of the proposed campaign. For example, Verney believes that the weight of the evidence indicates that the soldiers did not have snowshoes to navigate the snow that exceeded more than three feet for part of the expedition. **Pierre Raffeix, S.J.**, informed Colonel **Salières** that **Courcelle** personally oversaw all the preparations at Quebec, refused to listen to the advice offered by anyone, and refused a Québec merchant's offer to supply 50 pairs of snowshoes for **Courcelle's** soldiers. The **French-Canadian** volunteers, however, would have known that snowshoes were a necessity for a winter expedition. Additional evidence of poor planning was the fact that the soldiers were not supplied with winter clothes, tents, or adequate axes for cutting firewood, although they did supply them with a single blanket and mess tins for preparing food. Rations were kept to a minimum because **Courcelle**

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<sup>65</sup> Verney, p. 54.

<sup>66</sup> Verney, pp. 39-40.

<sup>67</sup> *DCB*, Prouville de Tracy's and Rémy de Courcelle's biographies; *JR*, Vol. 49, 178; *JR*, Vol. 50, 125-129.

<sup>68</sup> *NYCD*, Vol. 9, pp. 57-58 (total population and # of men).

<sup>69</sup> Langer, p. 463.

expected the **Native Allies** to hunt for game to supplement the rations. On 23 January 1666, when Colonel **Salières** received a dispatch from Québec which set back the planned rendezvous at Fort Saint Louis/Chambly to 27 January, **Salières** ordered 40 soldiers equipped with axes to smooth the ice on the St. Lawrence so that the soldiers, volunteers, and supplies from Montréal could travel to Fort Saint Louis/Chambly. The job of opening the trail/road that had been cleared during the fall, however, was beyond the capabilities of the soldiers. **Charles Lemoine de Longueuil and Châteauguay** and 15 snow-shoed volunteers from Montréal cleared the path. Winter storms prevented **Courcelle** and the troops from Québec from arriving at Fort Saint Louis/Chambly until a day after the arrival of **Salières** and the soldiers and volunteers from Montréal. When the rendezvous with **Courcelle** took place, the **Native** guides had not arrived, nor was there any sign that they were *en route*. Although **Courcelle** had probably been advised that **Native Americans** generally did not follow the same sense of promptness or time as **Europeans**, he only remained at Fort Saint Louis one day. In the meantime, **Salières** returned to Montréal so that he could advise **Tracy** of the death of Lieutenant Colonel **DuPrat** at Fort Sainte Thérèse and recommend the promotion of Captain **Balthazar Desportes**. **Courcelle** replaced the soldiers who suffered from frozen hands or arms with men from the Chambly, Petit, Rougemont, and Mignarde Companies.<sup>70</sup>



Claude Charles Bacqueville de La Potherie's illustration of a Canadian soldier on snowshoes.<sup>71</sup>  
The Canadian volunteers who accompanied **Courcelle**'s expedition would have been dressed in a similar fashion

#### **Courcelle's disastrous winter 1666 campaign resulted in the deaths of as many as 400:**

29 January to 13 March 1666 – Rather than waiting for the **Native** Guides to arrive, **Courcelle** decided that the expedition would leave immediately for Fort Sainte Thérèse. They only remained at Fort Sainte Thérèse long enough to replace additional frostbitten men with soldiers garrisoned at the Fort. While **Courcelle** may have felt that he could rely on the **French Canadians** to act as guides, few of them would have been familiar with the area south of Lake Champlain, let alone a route to the **Mohawk** villages. The decision exacerbated the problems that plagued the expedition from the start because the army lost its way, wasting valuable time and provisions as they made their way south through waist-high snow. On 20 February, they sighted **Native** Cabins in a clearing. Thinking that it was a **Mohawk** village, **Courcelle** ordered an immediate attack. During their attack, the soldiers slaughtered a number of old women, took a child prisoner, and completely ravaged the village. Thirty **Mohawk** who had been trading at Corlaer (present-day Schenectady, New York), left the settlement to investigate. The resulting skirmish resulted in a few casualties: four **Mohawk**, one officer, five soldiers, and one volunteer were killed; while six **Mohawk**, three officers, five soldiers, and a volunteer were wounded. The fighting ended when the burgomaster of Corlaer informed **Courcelle** that he had invaded the territory of **James, Duke of York**, and that Corlaer was not defended. Rather than proceeding farther, **Courcelle** began negotiations with the burgomaster for desperately needed provisions and care for his wounded soldiers. A sudden thaw and rain hastened the negotiations because **Courcelle** realized that if they attempted to proceed farther south his greatly reduced army would be vulnerable to

<sup>70</sup> Verney, pp. 37-47.

<sup>71</sup> LAC, Mikan # 2945957.

attacks from the **Mohawk** as well as the **English**. **Courcelle's** decision was ironic considering that **France** and **England** had been at war for a month although that news would not reach North America until much later in the year. Having turned over the child prisoner at 10:00 p.m., on 20 February, **Courcelle** and his army departed. The next morning, the **Algonquin** guides appeared on the trail. During the next two weeks as **Courcelle's** greatly reduced army returned to Fort Saint Louis, the **Native Americans** not only hunted, but showed those on the expedition how to sleep more comfortably by making the best use of the natural habitat. The army reached Fort Saint Louis on 8 March where they parted ways for their garrisons or homes. The Montréal based soldiers and volunteers arrived in Montréal on 11 March, while **Rémy de Courcelle** and his detachment reached Québec on 13 March 1666. As many as 400 men died from exposure or starvation during the expedition. **Courcelle** initially tried to blame the outcome on the **Jesuits**, claiming that they were to blame for the **Algonquin** failure to meet the army, but later changed his mind. Colonel **Salières** placed the entire blame on **Courcelle**. The following individuals are known to have participated in the campaign: **Rémy de Courcelle**, **Monsieur du Gas** (Courcelle's lieutenant), **Monsieur Salampar** (a volunteer), **Jean Maurice Philippe LeVernon**, **sieur de La Fouille**, and 20 soldiers from his Company, **Abraham de Maximy** and 20 soldiers from his Company, and **Arnoult Tarcy de Laubia/Lobias** and 20 men from his Company, **Vincent Basset du Tartre**, the surgeon, **Pierre Raffeix, S.J.**, and **Charles Bocquet**, a Jesuit *donné*, interpreter and guide. **Charles Lemoine de Longueuil** and **Châteauguay** commanded the 70 volunteers from Montréal. **François Hertel** and **Jean Baptiste Legardeur** also participated in the campaign as leaders of the volunteers.<sup>72</sup>



Map showing the relationship of Lake Champlain to Corlaer (present-day Schenectady, New York) (marked as *nouvelle habitation holandoise*) from *Plans des forts faits par le régiment Carignan Salières sur la rivière de Richelieu dicte autrement des Iroquois en la Nouvelle France*<sup>73</sup>

### **The LaMotte and LaDurantaye Companies built Fort Sainte Anne in an island in Lake Champlain:**

Winter to 26 July 1666 – **Pierre LaMotte de Saint Paul** was ordered to build Fort Sainte Anne on present-day LaMotte Island in Lake Champlain in Vermont. **Olivier Morel**, **sieur de LaDurantaye's** Company also helped

<sup>72</sup> Verney, pp. 37-53 (Verney's account of the expedition which was based on the five known contemporary accounts of the expedition, thoroughly analyzes the expedition and the discrepancies about the number who died on the expedition); *DCB*, Tracy's, Courcelle's, Hertel's, Charles Lemoine [Le Moyne] de Longueuil's, and Jean Baptiste Legardeur de Repentigny's biographies; *JR*, Vol. 50, pp. 129-147 (500 including 200 French Canadians; description of the campaign), 179-185 (description of the campaign); Langlois, pp. 177 (La Fouille – after the completion of the campaign, the Company was headquartered in Chateau-Richer), 184 (Maximy – starting in the autumn of 1666, the Company was headquartered on-Île-d'Orléans).

<sup>73</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8595965s.r=carignan.langEN>

construct Fort Sainte Anne. **Pierre LaMotte de Saint Paul** was named *commandant* of the Fort. The LaMotte Company was garrisoned at the Fort until 1668 when the Regiment departed for France.<sup>74</sup>

**Fort Saint Jean or L'Assomption was built:**

*Circa* winter/spring to August 1666 – Members of the Carignan Salières regiment built Fort Saint Jean or L'Assomption south of Fort Chambly/Richelieu at present-day St-Jean-sur-Richelieu.<sup>75</sup>

**Members of the Carignan Salières Regiment who lived with families were assigned non-military duties:**

*Circa* spring 1666 – The members of the Regiment who were not garrisoned in Forts lived with local families. When they were not involved in military duties such as sentry duty, patrols, and drills, they helped their hosts by hauling water, cutting wood, and working in the fields. Unfortunately, **Iroquois** warriors who lurked in the woods killed some soldiers when they wandered too far away from others. This type of guerilla attack was one of the favored methods that the **Iroquois** used to kill or kidnap New France's *habitants*.<sup>76</sup>

**Members of the Carignan Salières Regiment also impacted the economy of New France:**

1666 – 1668 – Prior to the arrival of the Carignan Salières Regiment, very little currency was available in New France, causing many transactions to be executed using a barter system or promissory notes. When the Regiment arrived in New France however, they paid for all goods and services with cash, thereby injecting currency into the economy. The payroll for 1666 alone amounted to 150,000 *livres*. Although the currency had a positive impact on the economy, the actions of some of the officers and soldiers negatively impacted the economy. Some of the officers began to purchase furs directly from the **Native Americans**. Their actions diverted the trade from the normal channels causing poverty among the *habitants* who had depended on the fur trade to supplement their income. Some junior officers and soldiers also began a black market in goods available to them as members of the Regiment by selling brandy, knives, small tools, and guns to the *habitants*.<sup>77</sup>

**Louis XIV granted trade rights in New France to the settlers:**

6 April 1666 – **Colbert** replied to **Talon's** October 1665 report on Canada. In addition to a number of other issues, **Colbert** reported that **Louis XIV** had decided, on an experimental basis, to have the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* give up its trade rights in favor of the settlers. In addition, he extended freedom of trade to all persons without distinction, for one year.<sup>78</sup>

**French Canadians entered into trading partnerships for voyages to the Great Lakes:**

20 April 1666 – **Adrien Jolliet** and **Denis Guyon** formed a partnership. On 23 April 1666, **Denis Guyon** and **Adrien Jolliet** hired **Benoît Boucher**, **François Colard dit Bataillon**, **Jacques Largillier**, **Jacques Maugras**, **Laurent Philippe**, and **Antoine Serré** for a voyage to trade with the **Ottawa**. On 28 April 1666 **Jeanne Evard**, **Nicolas Dupuis**, and **Sébastien Provencher** hired **François Collard dit Bataillon** for a voyage to the **Ottawa**. He did not return from the voyage. **Dupuis'** designated that his third of the furs would be used for Masses sung on his behalf at Cap-de-la-Madeleine.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Langlois, pp. 180 (LaMotte Company), 516 (LaDurantaye Company); Verney, p. 167 (LaMotte Company).

<sup>75</sup> Verney, p. 91 (does not provide specific dates); René Chartrand and Brian Delf (illustrator), *The Forts of New France in Northeast America 1600-1763* (Oxford, England: 2008), 26.

<sup>76</sup> Verney, pp. 54-55.

<sup>77</sup> Verney, pp. 55-56.

<sup>78</sup> *DCB*, Talon's biography (1 January 1666); *NYCD*, Vol. 9, pp. 39-44 (excerpts from Colbert's 5 April 1666 response to Talon's 1665 report).

<sup>79</sup> Raymond Douville, "Jacques Largillier dit 'le castor', *coureur des bois et 'frère donné'*," *Les Cahiers des Dix*, (Montréal: Société des Dix, 1964), Vol. 29, 48, (hereafter Largillier article) and "Vie et Mort d'Adrien Jolliet," *Les Cahiers des Dix*, (Montréal: Société des Dix, 1979), Vol. 42, 36 (hereafter Jolliet article); Public Archives of Canada, *Report Concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1905* (Ottawa, Ontario: S.E. Dawson, 1906), hereafter *PAC1905-1906*, pp. xxxiv/41; lii-liii/59-60; Marcel Trudel, *La Seigneurie de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* (Québec, Éditions Fides: 1997), p. 578. Both the printed page numbers and the Google page numbers are given to make it easier to navigate. Further references in the timeline to contracts involving French Canadians will be limited to those involving men who spent a significant amount of time in the Great Lakes or who were involved in

#### **The Seneca and Oneida ratified the December 1665 treaty:**

May and July 1666 – The **Seneca** and **Oneida** sent delegates to Québec to ratify the December treaty, but the **French Canadians** continued to fear the **Mohawk** and the **Oneida**. Ten to twelve **Seneca** ambassadors ratified the December 1665 treaty by 22 May 1666; they reached Montréal on 11 June on their journeys to their homes, visited with Colonel **Salières** and assured him that would return at the end of July. On 6 July, a delegation of **Oneida** consisting of twelve chiefs, twelve women, and two prisoners arrived in Québec; the **French** concluded the treaty negotiations in less than a week. The ambassadors agreed to accompany **Thierry Beschefer, S.J., Jacques de Cailhaut de LaTesserie** (the interpreter) and **Charles Bocquet** (a *donné*) to the **Mohawk** and **Onondaga** to try to persuade their chiefs to travel to Québec to conclude a treaty with the **French**. **Tracy** retained three **Oneida** men and one woman as a hostage to ensure the safety of **Beschefer's** party. On 20 July, while the **French-Canadian** delegation was on its way, **Tracy** received word that the **Iroquois** had attacked officers and soldier garrisoned at Fort Sainte Anne, killing seven and capturing four prisoners. **Tracy** immediately ordered **Laubia** and a party of soldiers to intercept the **Oneida** and his ambassadors and to return them to Québec where all of the **Oneida** were imprisoned. At the same time, he began to make preparations for a punitive expedition against the **Mohawk** led by **Pierre de Saurel**.<sup>80</sup>

#### **New York Governor Nichols responded to the news that France had declared war on England:**

Early July 1666 – Having learned that **France** had declared war on **England**, New York Governor **Richard Nichols** encouraged that **Mohawk** to continue their raids on the Richelieu Valley and the St. Lawrence settlements. Verney believes that **Nichols** anticipated that **Tracy** would attack the **Iroquois** and then attack the **New York** colonies of present-day Albany and Schenectady. Therefore, on 6 July, **Nichols** tried to persuade the **Massachusetts** and **Connecticut** Colonies to send 150 soldiers from each Colony to **New York** so that they could attack the Carignan **Salières** Regiment. Fortunately for New France, the officials of **Massachusetts** and **Connecticut** declined **Nichols** invitation to attack the Regiment.<sup>81</sup>

#### **Tracy sent Guillaume Couture as an ambassador to New York Governor Nichols:**

22 July 1666 – **Tracy** released one of the **Oneida** hostages and ordered him to escort **Guillaume Couture** to meet with Governor **Richard Nichols** of **New York**. **Tracy's** letter to **Nichols** explained that he had sent **Couture** to **New York** to obtain custody of the **Native Americans** who attacked Fort Sainte Anne and bring them to Québec. **Nichols** avoided meeting with him, **Couture**, however, obtained custody of the leader of the raid, a member of the **Neutral** Nation who had been absorbed into the **Mohawk** Tribe. **Couture** also persuaded the **Mohawk** Chief known as the **Flemish Bastard**, one of the pro-French members of the Tribe, to accompany him back to Québec.<sup>82</sup>

#### **Pierre de Saurel's punitive expedition against the Mohawk:**

24 July to 28 August 1666 – **Tracy** made the decision that **Pierre de Saurel's** punitive expedition against the **Mohawk** would depart four or five days after **Couture's** departure. **Saurel's** expedition consisted of about 100 soldiers accompanied by 200 **French Canadians** and **Native Allies**. Their mission was to free the **French-Canadian** prisoners. When they were about two days from the **Mohawk** villages, the expedition met the **Flemish Bastard** and three other **Mohawk** who were returning the **French-Canadian** prisoners. On 28 August 1666, **François Pelletier dit Antaya** who had accompanied **Saurel** on the expedition as a volunteer reported to **Tracy** that the expedition, the **Flemish Bastard**, and the prisoners were *en route* to New France.<sup>83</sup>

#### **Tracy ordered additional defenses between Fort Saint Louis/Chambly and Fort Sainte Thérèse:**

Late July – early August 1666 – **Tracy** ordered **Balthazar de La Flotte de LaFredière** and a detachment of soldiers to improve the defenses at Fort Saint Louis/Chambly. Following **Tracy's** orders, the soldiers constructed a

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exploratory voyages. Denis Guyon was the father of Marie-Thérèse Guyon who married Antoine de Lamothe, *sieur de Cadillac*.

<sup>80</sup> Verney, pp. 58-61 (the most descriptive of the sources for these events); *DCB*, Prouville de Tracy and Beschefer's biographies (Beschefer's biography names his companions); *JR*, Vol. 50, pp. 135-139, 191, 197-199; *NYCD*, Vol. 9, pp. 44-45; 45-52 (François Joseph Lemercier, S.J., acted as a witness and Joseph Marie Chaumonot, S.J., translated the negotiations).

<sup>81</sup> Verney, pp. 63-64.

<sup>82</sup> Verney, pp. 61-62; *JR*, Vol. 50, p. 193.

<sup>83</sup> Verney, p. 62 ; *DCB*, Prouville de Tracy's biography; *JR*, Vol. 50, pp. 185-196; *NYCD*, Vol. 9, 44-45; 45-52.

redoubt at the head and foot of the rapids between Fort Saint Louis/Chambly and Fort Sainte Thérèse and cleared a seven meter (22.97 feet) trail between the two forts.<sup>84</sup>

**Tracy learned that France had declared on England:**

2 August 1666 – When the first ship of the year arrived in New France **Tracy** received the news that **France** had declared war on **England**. In addition to the news, **Louis XIV** ordered **Tracy** to seek a military solution to the **Iroquois** problem. **Louis XIV** offered two alternatives regarding the **English** in **New York**: if neutrality was impossible, **Tracy** was to assess the possibility of invading **New York** and establishing the **French** in the Colony.<sup>85</sup>

**The August peace negotiations with the Cayuga, Seneca, Oneida, and Onondaga were futile:**

28 August to early September 1666 – Although two **Cayuga** arrived in Québec on 31 July 1766, the majority of the delegates did not arrive until 28 August when 108 men, women, and children representing the **Cayuga**, **Seneca**, **Oneida**, and **Onondaga**, reached Québec. The **Flemish Bastard** and his companions who were returning the **French-Canadian** prisoners joined the delegates. The formal treaty negotiations began on 31 August. After eight days of inconclusive talks, the **Flemish Bastard** left the conference.<sup>86</sup>

**New France’s officials debated the advantages and disadvantages of a punitive expedition against the Mohawk:**

August and September 1666 – When **Tracy** received the news that **France** had declared war on **England**, he also received **Louis XIV’s** instructions. The **King** ordered **Tracy** to confer with **Courcelle** and the senior officers of the Carignan Salières Regiment. In addition to obtaining input from **Courcelle** and the senior officers, **Tracy** decided to involve **Jean Talon** in the discussion. As the Intendant, **Talon’s** duties kept him in close contact with the general public. **Tracy** and **Talon** knew that a punitive expedition against the **Mohawk** would need substantial numbers of volunteers from the civilian population; therefore, they realized that a proposed expedition must meet with the approval of the general population. On 1 September **Talon** sent a long memo to **Tracy** which outlined the advantages and disadvantages of war on the **Mohawk** versus making peace with them; **Talon’s** memo recommended a punitive expedition into **Mohawk** territory. **Tracy** adopted this position on 6 September.<sup>87</sup>

**Twenty-four Filles du Roi arrived in New France:**

*Circa* 11 August 1666 – During the fourth year of the *Filles du Roi* program, twenty-four marriageable women arrived in New France. Fourteen women remained in Québec, four went Trois-Rivières, and six went to Montréal.<sup>88</sup>

**Tracy displayed his military might before the Flemish Bastard prior to departing on punitive expedition against the Mohawk:**

*Circa* 14 September 1666 – Prior to departing from Québec on their expedition against the **Mohawk**, **Tracy** ordered the army to parade before the heavily guarded **Flemish Bastard**. According to **Marie de l’Incarnation**, when the **Flemish Bastard** was asked his opinion of the expedition, tears fell from his eyes and he replied, “Onontio, I clearly see that we are lost, but our destruction will cost you dear. Our nation will be no more, but I warn you that many of your fine young men will remain behind, for ours will fight to the end. I beg you only to save my wife and children.” **Tracy** promised to do so if they were found and to bring them back to Québec.<sup>89</sup>

**Tracy’s punitive expedition against the Mohawk:**

14 September to November 1666 – On 14 September 1666, **Tracy** and **Courcelle** left Québec with the soldiers and volunteers from Quebec. The army rendezvoused at Fort Ste. Anne on 28 September. **Courcelle** and an army of about 400 left shortly thereafter. **Tracy**, **Salières**, and the main body of the army left Fort Ste. Anne on 4 October. **Jacques de Chambly**, *commandant* of Fort St. Louis and **Alexander Berthier**, *commandant* of Fort L’Assomption/Saint Jean brought up the rear guard on 8 October. **Andigné de Grandfontaine** also accompanied

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<sup>84</sup> Verney, p. 63.

<sup>85</sup> Verney, p. 62, 63, 64, 67.

<sup>86</sup> Verney, p. 66.

<sup>87</sup> Verney, pp. 66-70; *DCB*, Prouville de Tracy’s biography; *NYCD*, Vol. 9, 52-54 (Talon’s memo); *JR*, Vol. 50, 197-199.

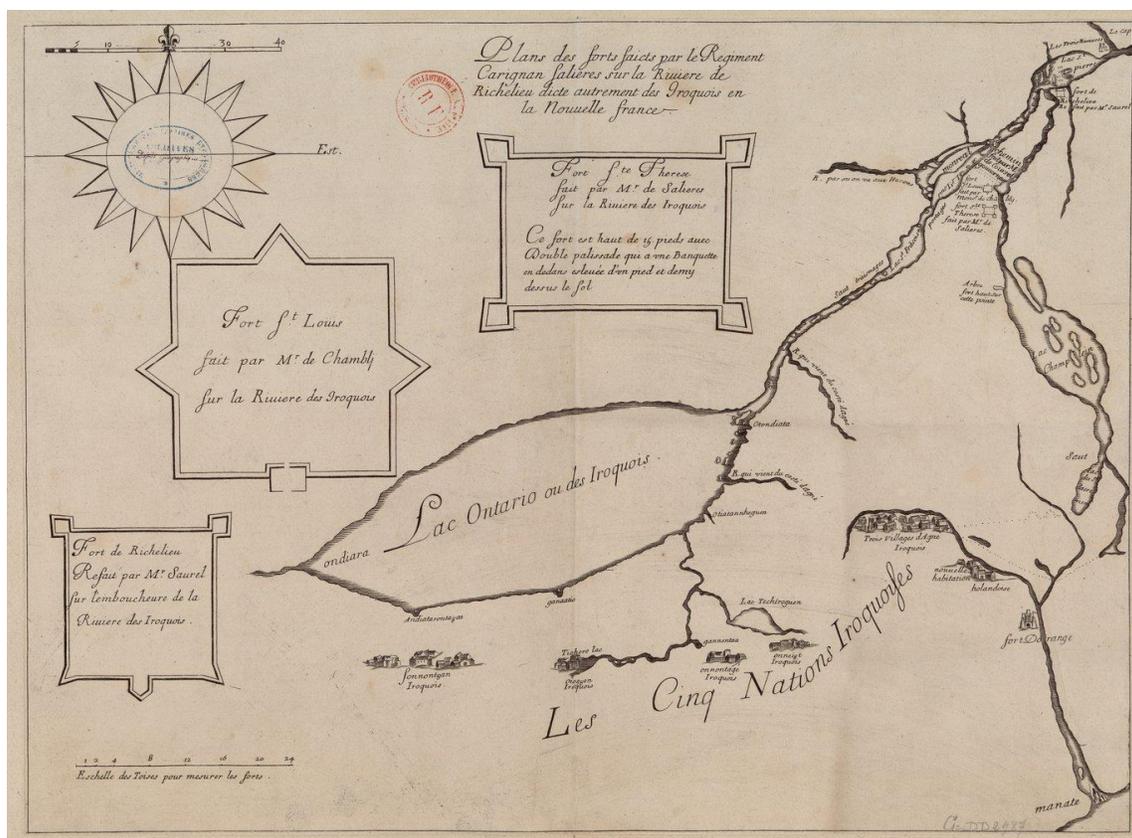
<sup>88</sup> Gagné, p. 41.

<sup>89</sup> Verney, p. 72.

the campaign. The volunteers from Montréal met them *en route*. The following **French Canadians** accompanied the expedition as *commandants* or officers: **Pierre Boucher**, **François Hertel**, and **Noël Juchereau de Saint Denis**. **Charles Lemoine de Longueuil**, commanded the volunteers from Montréal, **Pierre Picoté de Belestre** acted as his Lemoine's lieutenant, and **Jean Baptiste Legardeur** commanded the volunteers raised in Québec. **Jacques du Bois**, *sieur d'Egriseilles*, **François Dollier de Casson**, **Charles Albanel, S.J.**, and **Pierre Raffeix, S.J.**, accompanied the troops as chaplains; *donnés* **Guillaume Boivin** and **Charles Bocquet** and two others also accompanied the troops and chaplains. The total army consisted of about 600 soldiers drawn from the 24 Companies of the Carignan Salières Regiment, approximately 600 **French-Canadian** volunteers, and about 100 **Native-American** Allies. In contrast, historians estimate that the **Mohawk** only had approximately 300 – 400 warriors. The **Native Americans** acted as guides, although the exact route taken is unknown. Although **Tracy** and **Courcelle** expected the **Native Americans** to hunt to supplement the rations for the army, they were not able to find sufficient game to feed the army. The army began to weaken from insufficient food when they were some distance from the **Mohawk** Villages, but they were able to find wild chestnuts that helped sustain them on the remainder of the march. When they reached the **Mohawk** villages, they found that the **Mohawk** had deserted their homes. Verney believes that the **Mohawk** chose to desert their villages because they realized that their villages were indefensible with so few warriors. Verney also believes that it may have been possible for the **Mohawk** to have used guerilla warfare to defend their homes because the **French**, **French Canadian**, and **Native** army was out of food, they were far from their forts, and the inclement weather was likely to get worse. When they reached the fourth village, they found two old women, an old man, and a child. On 17 October, **Jean Baptiste Dubois**, *commandant* of the La Colonelle Company, and **Talon's** personal representative, formally took possession of the **Mohawk** villages, their contents, and any crops remaining at Andaraqué by placing a cross and marker post bearing the French Royal arms at the entrance to the village. **Dubois** did not take possession of the **Mohawk** "land" because **Louis XIV** had made it known that he was more interested in the **English** colonies than **Native** lands. After commandeering all of the food, tools, and utensils that the army could carry, **Tracy** ordered the army to completely destroy the villages and made the decision to return to New France because his army needed to find and destroy the **Mohawk** in battle prior to marching on Albany and the Hudson Valley. The army found and destroyed three additional **Mohawk** villages on the return march. The army reached their bases by the first week in November; **Tracy** arrived in Québec on 5 November.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Verney, pp. 71 – 84; *DCB*, biographies of Tracy, Andigné de Grandfontaine (date for taking possession of the Mohawk territory), Jacques Chambly, Pierre Boucher, François Hertel, Noël Juchereau de Saint Denis, Charles Lemoine de Longueuil, Pierre Picoté de Belestre, Jean Baptiste Legardeur, François Dollier de Casson, Charles Albanel, S.J., Pierre Raffeix, S.J., Guillaume Boivin, and Charles Bocquet; *JR*, Vol. 50, pp. 138-146 (description of the campaign) 199-204 (campaign against the Mohawk).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

*Plans des forts faits par le régiment Carignan Salières sur la rivière de Richelieu dicte autrement des Iroquois en la Nouvelle France*<sup>91</sup>

**Talon recommended that Louis XIV purchase New Netherlands and reported on the conditions in New France:**

13 November 1666 – **Talon** recommended to **Colbert** that **Louis XIV** purchase **New Netherlands** (present-day New York State) in order to provide a second access to **New France** as well as to prevent furs from being traded with the **Dutch** or **English** at Orange or Manhattan. **Talon** believed that this would put the **Iroquois** at the mercy of the **French Canadians** and would confine the **English** to their colonies. During his first term as Intendant, **Talon** also confided his fear to **Prouville de Tracy** and **Rémy de Courcelle** that in the event of war with **England**, the **English** would attack **New France** from both the upper and lower reaches of the St. Lawrence. The **American Colonies** adopted this plan in 1690. As Intendant, **Talon** informed **Colbert** that he had supplied **Tracy** and **Courcelle** with 152 *bateaux*; each *bateaux* was capable of transporting 15 men, the munitions of war, and their provisions; the freight alone cost 12,000 *livres* per year. **Talon** also informed **Colbert** that he hoped that he could overcome the prohibition about selling liquor to the **Native Americans**. Additionally, **Talon** informed **Colbert** that he intended to make a journey to investigate the timber supplies in **New France**. He intended to experiment with the pitch, resin, and tar derived from pine and fur trees, as well as the manufacture of ship's masts. Finally, in compliance with a previous request that all weapons be returned to La Rochelle, **Talon** informed **Colbert** that he was returning the flintlocks from Québec and Trois-Rivières to France, but he was retaining those in the Richelieu Valley forts because he felt they may be of use. Talon's decision regarding the weapons implied that he had doubts about the peace.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gallica, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8595965s.r=carignan.langEN>

<sup>92</sup> *DCB*, Talon's biography; *NYCD*, Vol. 9, pp. 55-57 (extracts from Talon's memo).

**Tracy executed a Mohawk prisoner:**

*Circa* November 1666 – After **Tracy** returned to Québec from the expedition to the **Mohawk**, he lined up all of the **Iroquois** hostages and prisoners and informed them of the destruction of the **Mohawk** villages. He also ordered the execution of one of the **Mohawk** prisoners, possibly **Agariata**, to intimidate the **Iroquois** into urging their chiefs to make a durable peace with New France. The **Flemish Bastard** left shortly after the execution to find the dispersed **Mohawk** and **Tracy** sent some of the hostages back to the other **Iroquois** villages to urge their chiefs to come to New France to make their peace. Prior to their departure, **Tracy** informed them that the fate of the remaining hostages depended on whether they accomplished their mission.<sup>93</sup>

**The Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Oneida made peace with New France:**

13 December 1666 – Six **Onondaga** ambassadors (**Garakontié**, **Ahomonhouraton**, **Gatiennonties**, **Hotreouti**, **Hasendaientak**, and **Te Gannotie**) representing their own Nation as well as the **Cayuga**, and **Seneca**, and **Achinnhara** representing the **Oneida**, concluded a peace treaty with New France and their **Native Allies**, the **Huron** and **Algonquin**. **François Lemercier, S.J.**, **Joseph Marie Chaumonot, S.J.**, and **Charles Lemoine de Longueuil** acted as interpreters and witnesses to the treaty, while the **Iroquois** signed with the marks of their families, the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle.<sup>94</sup>

**The soldiers garrisoned in Fort Sainte Anne suffered from famine and scurvy:**

Winter 1666 – The 60 soldiers garrisoned in Fort Sainte Anne from the LaMotte and LaDurantaye Companies lived in extremely vulnerable conditions. As one of the last two forts constructed, the soldiers had not had adequate time to clear the surrounding area and plant crops to supply their basic food supplies. Fort Sainte Anne's position as the southernmost Fort also made it more vulnerable to attacks from the **Mohawk**. Its location on an island in Lake Champlain made it the most difficult to supply with food and other provisions. **Tracy** planned to abandon the fort after the fall campaign. The failure of the campaign to subdue the **Mohawk** meant that the soldiers and officers needed to remain at the Fort. By the time the decision was made to keep the fort open, only a minimum amount of food had been supplied to the garrison. Therefore, the only food available for the garrison during the winter was a little bacon, spoiled flour, and a keg of brandy that the crew aboard one of the ship had adulterated by sea-water to conceal the fact that they had consumed part of the contents. Scurvy broke out as a result of the restricted diet. Shortly after his men began to succumb to scurvy, Captain **Pierre LaMotte de Saint-Paul** requested additional food and a priest to help minister to the sick and dying soldiers. **François Dollier de Casson**, who had just returned from the expedition against the **Mohawk**, was asked to go to the Fort, but the soldiers who knew that peace was not assured, were reluctant to provide him with an escort and the officers from Montréal did not want to risk the safety of their soldiers unless they received direct orders from **Tracy**. Therefore, **Dollier de Casson** made his own arrangements and attached himself to two soldiers who were returning to Fort Saint Louis/Chambly. After insistent pleas, the *commandant* finally provided him with an escort of an ensign and ten enlisted men.

**François Dollier's efforts saved the soldiers garrisoned at Fort Sainte Anne from almost certain death:**

Winter 1666/1667 – When **Dollier de Casson** arrived at Fort Sainte Anne, he found that two men had died and two thirds of the garrison had succumbed to scurvy. The living quarters were extremely primitive because the officers believed that the Fort would only remain open for a short time. The soldiers lived in simple huts divided into cell-like rooms with ceilings that were so low that the soldiers could not stand erect in them. Open fires on dirt floors heated the huts. **Dollier de Casson** implored **LaMotte** to send men to Montréal to get wholesome food for the garrison. Although **LaMotte** was initially reluctant to weaken the defense of the fort by sending healthy men to Montréal, eventually the priest convinced him that the entire garrison would probably succumb to scurvy if they didn't get the wholesome food. When the sleighs loaded with food arrived, the food supplies were consigned to **Dollier de Casson** who made sure that the food was evenly distributed to the sick. Although the priest did not know how to cure scurvy, the supplies included prunes and purslane which provided the Vitamin C necessary for recovery. After the patients recovered sufficiently enough to travel, they were loaded on sleighs and taken to the hospitals in Montréal. The sleighs then returned to Fort Sainte Anne with additional food for the garrison. The scurvy was

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<sup>93</sup> Verney, p. 86.

<sup>94</sup> Cornelius Jaenen, editor, *The French Regime in the Upper Country of Canada During the Seventeenth Century* (Toronto, Ontario: The Champlain Society in Cooperation with The Government of Ontario, 1996), pp. 59-65 (translation of the treaty); Verney, pp. 89-90.

eventually brought under control thanks to **Dollier de Casson** and **Antoine Forestier**, the surgeon from the LaMotte Company.<sup>95</sup>

**Colbert forwarded to Talon the King's instruction regarding the Iroquois and other issues:**

6 April 1667 – **Colbert** informed **Talon** of **Louis XIV's** instructions on a number of issues. Although the **King** was satisfied with **Talon's** actions to supply the troops, he did not believe that the 1666 expeditions against the **Iroquois** were sufficient to guarantee the colony's safety from future invasions because the **Iroquois** had not been destroyed. **Louis XIV** believed that they would return to New France in the future. Therefore, the **King** ordered **Talon** to use whatever means possible to induce **Courcelle** to undertake a new expedition against them during the summer. The objective would be to utterly destroy them if possible, or at least increase their terror of **French** forces so that they would not attack New France in the future. In addition, **Louis XIV** ordered that **Talon** place all of the forts, including Québec in a state of defense, by constructing regular fortifications and stocking the forts with sufficient artillery and all sorts of war munitions. The **King** also ordered **Talon** to investigate whether any saltpeter was available so that powder could be manufactured in New France.<sup>96</sup>

**Claude Allouez, S. J., ministered to the Nipissing at Lake Nipigon:**

6 May 1667 – **Allouez** set out with two guides to visit the **Nipissing** Tribe who had not seen a missionary since the **Iroquois** attacks on Huronia and the neighboring area. The **Nipissing** settled on Lake Nipigon (north of Lake Superior in present-day Ontario). They traveled in a frail canoe across the western end of Lake Superior to the northern shore and then north to Lake Nipigon. While *en route*, he met 40 **Native Americans** from the North Sea (Hudson Bay) and was able to instruct them briefly. **Allouez** and his guide passed from island to island, as they passing by Isle Royale on 23 May, **Allouez** noted the copper found on the island. On 25 May, they left Lake Superior and entered a river that was so full of rapids and falls that even the **Native Americans** could not proceed farther north. They learned from wandering **Nipissing** that the lake was still frozen; this allowed **Allouez** to celebrate Mass on 29 May. He learned from two Christian women that **Iroquois** bands had recently been in the area. **Allouez** and his companions spent six days travelling from island to island, finally reaching the **Nipissing** village on 3 June. During his two week mission, he found about 20 Christians and was able to instruct the **Natives**.<sup>97</sup>

**The French invaded the Spanish Netherlands:**

24 May 1667 to 2 May 1668 – Following **Spain's** rejection of **Maria Theresa** of Spain's (wife of **Louis XIV**) claim to the Spanish Netherlands, the **French** army invaded the Spanish Netherlands in the war known as the War of Devolution.<sup>98</sup>

**Ninety one Filles du Roi arrived in New France:**

*Circa* 10 June and 25 September 1667 – Ninety one *Filles du Roi* arrived in New France. Sixty-six women remained in Québec, thirteen went to Trois-Rivières, and twelve went to Montréal.<sup>99</sup>

**New France's population was 3,818:**

1667 – The population of New France was 3,818 including 444 in Québec, 213 in Trois-Rivières, and 760 in Montreal.<sup>100</sup>

**New France and its Native Allies concluded a peace treaty with the Mohawk:**

20 April to July 1667 – The **Flemish Bastard** arrived in New France with two **Oneida** in April, but he failed to bring the **Huron** and **Algonquin** captives that **Tracy** had demanded. On 27 April, **Tracy** ordered that two **Iroquois** ambassadors and all the women remain in New France as hostages; he sent the rest back to Iroquoia with **Tracy's** declaration that if they didn't return within two moons having fulfilled the proposed peace conditions, **Tracy** would

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<sup>95</sup> Verney, pp. 86-89.

<sup>96</sup> *NYCD*, Vol. 9, pp. 58-59 (extracts from Colbert's memo).

<sup>97</sup> *JR*, Vol. 51, pp. 63-69.

<sup>98</sup> Langer, p. 479 (Maria Theresa's claim to the Spanish Netherlands was based on the fact that Spain did not pay her dowry to France).

<sup>99</sup> Gagné, pp. 41-42.

<sup>100</sup> Statistics Canada.

lead an expedition to Iroquoia to destroy them. The **Mohawk** and **Oneida** arrived on 5 July, and the **French** concluded the final peace on 10 July 1667. The treaty contained an important provision designed to help ensure that the peace would endure and that would help create the stability in the area north and south of Lake Ontario so that the fur trade could expand. The treaty recognized that all of the **Native Nations** had specific areas that they regarded as their traditional grounds for trading and hunting; the treaty called for all the Nations to respect these grounds as being firm and inviolable by other Nations. In response to requests from the delegates, the **French** agreed to provide them with **Jesuit** missionaries and **French** traders who would trade with the **Iroquois**, thereby diverting trade from the **Dutch** or **English** in Schenectady or Albany to New France. In order to guarantee the compliance with the treaty provisions, each Nation of the **Iroquois** Confederacy was required to send two of its leading families to live in Québec, Trois-Rivières, and Montreal.<sup>101</sup>

#### **Jesuit missionaries departed to establish the missions to the Mohawk and Oneida:**

14 July 1667 – **Jacques Fremin, S.J., Jean Pierron, S.J., Jacques Bruyas, S.J., François Poisson, and Charles Bocquet** departed for Iroquoia with the **Oneida** and **Mohawk** ambassadors to establish the missions to the **Mohawk** and **Oneida**. The families of the ambassadors remained in New France as hostages. They stopped at Fort Ste. Anne in August because they learned that 60 **Mohican** were lying in wait for the **Iroquois** ambassadors. After deliberation, the **Jesuits** decided that soldiers would not escort the missionaries and **Iroquois**, lest war break out with the **Mohican** “our near and powerful allies.” The missionaries and Iroquois left Fort Ste. Anne on 22 August. **Fremin** and **Pierron** ministered to the **Mohawk**, while Bruyas ministered to the **Oneida**.<sup>102</sup>

#### **The Peace of Breda ended the Second Dutch War:**

21 July 1667 – The Peace of Breda ended the Second Dutch War between **England, Holland, France, and Denmark**. Under the terms of the agreement, **England** received Antigua, Montserrat, and St. Kitts from **France**. **France** received Acadia. **England** and **Holland** adopted the status quo as of 21 May 1667; **England** retained New Amsterdam, which the **Dutch** surrendered in September 1664, and **Holland** received Surinam.<sup>103</sup>

#### **Tracy decided to base the Richelieu Valley defenses on Fort Richelieu and Fort Saint Louis/Chambly:**

Summer 1667 – Following the execution of the treaty with the **Mohawk**, **Tracy** proposed to augment the garrisons at Fort Richelieu and Fort Saint Louis/Chambly, which were self-sufficient, with additional soldiers. He also encouraged civilians to settle around the forts. After the garrisons were increased, he also proposed that New France abandon the three southern forts (Fort Sainte Thérèse, Fort Saint Jean, and Fort Sainte Anne) because they were so difficult to supply.<sup>104</sup>

#### **Allouez briefly returned to the St. Lawrence settlements:**

4 and 6 August 1667 – When **Claude Allouez, S.J.**, arrived in New France from the St. Esprit mission among the **Ottawa**, he reported that he had baptized about 340 **Ottawa**, and told his superiors all that he learned about the Tribes living around Lake Superior. **Allouez** informed his superiors that there was work for many missionaries, but that there was little for them to live on. During part of the year, the Tribes lived on tree bark, other times on ground fish bones. During certain periods, however, there were abundant supplies of fish and corn. **Allouez** advocated that *donnés* who would work for the maintenance of the Jesuits by tilling the soil, fishing, or hunting, accompany the missionaries to the Great Lakes missions. The men would also erect lodgings and chapels to inspire veneration in the **Native Americans**. **Allouez** also brought **Talon** a piece of very pure copper from Lake Superior. He departed on 6 August with **Louis Leboesme**, a lay brother, three worthy men, and a young lad to return to the Great Lakes. **Allouez** picked up **Louis Nicolas, S.J.**, who was *en route* to the mission, in Montréal. The **Ottawa**, however, refused to take all of their proposed passengers; therefore, only **Allouez** and one of the unnamed men returned to the Great Lakes.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Verney, pp. 90-91; *JR*, Vol. 50, pp. 209-211.

<sup>102</sup> *JR*, Vol. pp. 50, pp. 211-213.

<sup>103</sup> Langer, p. 463; Schlesinger, p. 57.

<sup>104</sup> Verney, p. 91.

<sup>105</sup> *JR*, Vol. 50, p. 212; *JR*, Vol. 51, pp. 71-73; *DCB*, Talon’s biography.

### **Talon investigated and promoted new industries for New France:**

1667 – Following the peace conferences with the Iroquois, **Talon** investigated all the resources which could be used to make New France prosperous; he also proposed exporting goods to the Antilles, Madeira, European countries, as well as other countries in the Americas. A number of fisheries for herring and cod were established. He also reported that seal fishing was also profitable, yielding **Louis Couillard sieur L'Espinay** a profit of over 800 *livres* for his share of the business. **Talon** also proposed the establishment of a fishery for white whales because the whale oil would provide higher grades of oil that could be used for manufacturing. **Talon** proposed setting up a company to establish permanent fisheries. He also directed a careful search for mines throughout New France. Trees were cut that could be used for staves and masts. Other trees were used to build ships and *barques*. A number of other products were exported. Shoe and hat manufacturing businesses were established and plans were made to establish linen and leather manufacturing. A brewery was also built.<sup>106</sup>

### **Nicolas Perrot and Toussaint Beaudry travelled to the Great Lakes:**

12 August 1667 – **Nicolas Perrot**, **Toussaint Beaudry**, **Jean Desroches**, and **Isaac Nafrechou** formed a trading company that would take **Perrot** and **Beaudry** to the area of Lake Superior and present-day Green Bay, Wisconsin. Two other expeditions formed in 1667 met with disaster. **Jeanne Evard**, widow of **Christophe Crevier**, hired four men on 30 June (**Louis Beaudry**, **Arnaud Darbas**, **Antoine Dubuisson** and **Nicolas Jeunne Homme**), none of whom returned from the voyage. **Armand Rochelais**, a La Rochelle merchant, and **Jean Péré** hired eight men for a voyage to Lake Superior. Two men drowned, and with the exception of the three who sued in 1670 for an equitable division of the trading association, the fate of the others is unknown. The three who survived were **Thècle Cornelius Aubry dit Thècle**, **Robert Cachetière/Cachelivière**, and **Mathurin Normandin**.<sup>107</sup>

### **Nicolas Perrot made peace with the Tribes who had gathered near Baie du Puants:**

*Circa* 1667 – **Nicolas Perrot** visited and made peace with the **Tribes** who had gathered around present-day Green Bay, Wisconsin. He also acted as a mediator in quarrels among the **Tribes**. Members of the **Potawatomi** Tribe, who had gone to Montréal for trade, were so impressed by their reception from the **French**, that they sent word of their treatment and an invitation to bring beavers to Green Bay to the **Illinois**, **Miami**, **Fox** (Outagami), **Mascoutin** and **Kickapoo**. The **Potawatomi** settled in the southern part of the bay; the **Sauk** settled in the northern part; and the **Winnebago** (Puans) settled in the woods because they did not fish; the **Fox** village which was probably located in present-day Waupaca County, had about 600 cabins. The following summer, the **Miami**, **Mascoutin**, **Kickapoo**, and **Illinois** joined the other **Tribes** in the area and settled near the **Fox**. Having planted their fields, a number of the **Tribes** went to hunt buffalo so that they could entertain the other **Tribes** and **Perrot**. Following the hunt, **Perrot** went to meet with the new **Tribes** who had settled in the summer. The **Miami** village consisted of 3,000 warriors. The **Native Americans** held several councils in which they discussed whether they should go to Montréal to trade. Initially, they hesitated to make the journey because they had so few beavers, preferring to concentrate their hunting on food, rather than trade. In the end, they decided to make the trip rather than have the **French** ally with other **Tribes** or be insulted because the **Native Americans** did not escort **Perrot** to Montréal. Thirty canoes left Green Bay for the trip to Montréal; an additional 70 canoes joined the convoy at Sault Ste. Marie.<sup>108</sup>

### **Tracy left New France:**

28 August 1667 – **Prouville de Tracy** departed for France.<sup>109</sup>

### **The Jesuits founded the missions to the Mohawk:**

Fall 1667 to March 1668 – **Jacques Fremin, S.J.**, and **Jean Pierron, S.J.**, founded the St. Pierre mission in Gandaouagué and Ste. Marie, a mission serving the **Mohawk** in the largest village at Tionontoguen, New York.

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<sup>106</sup> *JR*, Vol. 50, pp. 237-245; *JR*, Vol. 51, pp. 173-175.

<sup>107</sup> *DCB*, Perrot's biography; Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin*, pp. 121-131. Much of this material comes from Blair, Vol. 1.

<sup>108</sup> Ruben Gold Thwaites (editor), *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1902), hereafter *WiHC*, Vol. 16, pp. 33-50 (from La Potherie); *DCB*, Perrot's biography; Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, pp. 67-92 (La Potherie's account of Perrot's voyage to Wisconsin).

<sup>109</sup> *DCB*, Prouville de Tracy's biography.

**Pierron** returned to Québec on 19 February with **François Poisson**. **Pierron** also informed **Courcelle** of his visit to the English at New Holland, and took his final vows on 5 March.<sup>110</sup>

**The Jesuits founded a mission to the Oneida:**

September 1667 – **Jacques Bruyas, S.J.**, founded St. François Xavier, a mission serving the **Oneida** near present-day Oneida Lake, New York. During the fall and early winter, he was able to baptize four adults who were near death and about 56 children, including some children of the **Huron** converts.<sup>111</sup>

**Talon reported on conditions in New France:**

27 October 1667 – **Talon** reported to **Colbert** on conditions in New France. In addition to other issues, **Talon** believed that as long as the **Iroquois** enjoyed the benefit of peace granted to them, this would allow the **French-Canadians** to spread themselves out and to cultivate the soil. The **French Canadians** advised against any additional expeditions against the **Iroquois** during the winter. In light of this recommendation **Talon** postponed an additional winter campaign until after he received orders from the **King**. **Talon** continued to believe that the best means of securing New France against the **Europeans** or the **Native Americans** would be to purchase or conquer Manhattan or Orange as he had proposed in November 1666. Based on experiments conducted on fisheries, **Talon** had made arrangements with four of the principal inhabitants to establish permanent fisheries in the spring. **Talon** also reported that he had employed nine inhabitants at cod fisheries and used the cod to feed the troops and for trade with the islands in South America.<sup>112</sup>

**England, Holland, and Sweden entered into an alliance:**

23 January 1668 – **England, Holland,** and **Sweden** negotiated the Triple Alliance to check the aggression of **Louis XIV** in the Spanish Netherlands.<sup>113</sup>

**Colbert appointed Claude de Boutroue d'Aubigny Intendant of New France:**

*Circa* 5 April 1668 – Autumn 1670 – **Colbert** appointed **Claude de Boutroue d'Aubigny** Intendant of New France; he arrived in New France in September 1668 and departed during the autumn of 1670.<sup>114</sup>

**Bocquet returned to New France briefly so that he could escort Julien Garnier, S.J., to the Oneida mission:**

11 April 1668 – **Charles Bocquet** returned to Québec on 11 April, having left 30 **Oneida** near Montréal. On 21 April, **Bocquet** left Québec with **Julien Garnier, S.J.**, who would assist **Bruyas** with the mission to the **Oneida**; they left Montréal on 17 May.<sup>115</sup>

**Jacques Marquette, S.J., and Claude Dablon, S.J., founded Ste. Marie, an Ojibwa mission at Sault Ste. Marie:**

1668 – The **Jesuits** appointed **Claude Dablon, S.J.**, superior of the Western **Jesuit** missions that were headquartered at Sault Ste. Marie. **Dablon** remained in this position until 1671 when he assumed the position of superior of all the **Jesuit** missions and was headquartered in Québec. By 1668, **Louis Nicolas, S.J.**, had joined the mission; while **Jacques Marquette, S.J.**, left for the mission on 20 May 1668. **Dablon** and **Marquette** founded Ste. Marie, an **Ojibwa** mission at Bawating (Sault Ste. Marie) Michigan. **Marquette** estimated that about 2,000 **Native Americans** lived in the area of Sault Ste. Marie. In addition to **Allouez'** mission at Chequamegon, the **Jesuits** planned a third mission at *Baie du Puants*.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> *JR*, Vol. 51, pp. 145-147, 179-219 (Voyage to the Mohawk villages; description and progress of the missions to the Mohawk), Tanner, Chart: French Missions in the Great Lakes.

<sup>111</sup> *JR*, Vol. 51 pp. 119-143 (Bruyas's 21 January 1668 letter from the St. François Xavier mission to the Oneida; this letter describes the mission, the geography in the area, Iroquois' customs, beliefs, etc.), 221-235 (progress of the mission); Tanner, Chart: French Missions in the Great Lakes.

<sup>112</sup> *NYCD*, Vol. 9, p. 60 (extracts of Talon's memo to Colbert)

<sup>113</sup> Langer, p. 476.

<sup>114</sup> *DCB*, Talon's biography; Trudel, p. 152.

<sup>115</sup> *JR*, Vol. 51, p. 149; *JR*, Vol. 52, pp. 143-151.

<sup>116</sup> *DCB*, Dablon's (1669) and Marquette's biography; Tanner, Chart: French Missions in the Great Lakes 1636-1698. *JR*, Vol. 51, pp. 259-266 (Brief description of the mission); *JR*, Vol. 52, pp. 197-213 (description of the missions).

**The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ended the war between France and Spain:**

2 May 1668 – The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ended **Louis XIV's** war with **Spain**. Under the terms of the treaty, **France** restored the fortresses it had seized in Burgundy to **Spain** in exchange for twelve fortified towns on the border of the Spanish Netherlands.<sup>117</sup>

**Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart DesGroseilliers sailed for Hudson Bay:**

3 June 1668 to 1669 – **Pierre Esprit Radisson** and **Médard Chouart DesGroseilliers**, with the support of **King Charles II** of England, departed for Hudson Bay in two ships. One ship, with **Radisson** aboard, was storm damaged and returned to England, but the *Nonsuch*, captained by Zachary Gillam, with **DesGroseilliers** aboard, reached the Rupert River (present-day James Bay on Hudson Bay) on 29 September. They built Charles Fort (later Rupert House, in present-day Wakaganish) at the mouth of the Rupert River. The *Nonsuch* returned to London in 1669 with furs worth £1,380.<sup>118</sup>

**The Jesuits established a mission for the Huron near Québec:**

1668 – The remnants of the **Huron** tribe who had lived in a fort within the city of Québec, withdrew to the woods about a *league* and a half (about four and a half miles) from the city. The **Jesuits** named the mission L'Annonciation de Notre Dame.<sup>119</sup>

**Six-Hundred Native Americans arrived in the St. Lawrence settlements for trading:**

Summer 1668 – Six-hundred **Native Americans** from the Great Lakes travelled to the St. Lawrence settlements for trading.<sup>120</sup>

**New France's population was 6,282:**

1668 – The population of New France was 6,282.<sup>121</sup>

**The Conseil Souverain requested freedom of trade:**

1668 – The *Conseil Souverain* wrote to **Colbert** requesting the freedom of trade that colonists had enjoyed in 1666. They reported that the *Compagnie's* stores were so poorly stocked that the settlers were in danger of not having essentials and that the prices were excessive. The letter, along with **Talon's** efforts, was instrumental in convincing **Louis XIV** to grant freedom of trade in 1669.<sup>122</sup>

**The Sulpicians founded the Quinté/Kenté mission for the Cayuga:**

June 1668 to October 1668 – Some members of the **Cayuga** tribe settled on the Bay of Quinté/Kenté on the northern shore of Lake Ontario because they feared the **Susquehanna**. They went to Montréal in June 1668 to request missionaries for their new home. The **Sulpicians** who were in Montréal did not want to make a decision on their own. When the **Cayuga** made another request in September, **François de Salignac de LaMothe-Fénelon** and **Claude Trouvé** volunteered to establish the mission. After they received permission from their superior, **Gabriel Thubières de Queylus**, who had recently arrived from France, and **Bishop Laval**, they set off from Lachine on 2 October and arrived at the mission on 28 October.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Langer, p. 479.

<sup>118</sup> *DCB*, Radisson and DesGrosselier's biographies; Grace Lee Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseillers and Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1618-1710* (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company Incorporated, reprint 1978), pp. 109-119; Tyrrell, *Hudson Bay*, p. 8.

<sup>119</sup> *JR*, Vol. 52, pp. 227-243.

<sup>120</sup> *JR*, Vol. 51, pp. 263-265.

<sup>121</sup> Statistics Canada.

<sup>122</sup> *DCB*, Talon's biography; *PAC1900-1901*, pp. 245, 246

<sup>123</sup> *JR*, Vol. 51, pp. 177, 257; Preston, pp. 5-8 (narrative material; the exact location of the mission is not known); 85-90 (Laval's letter of authority and instructions; description of the mission through 1669), see pp. 9-16 for the subsequent history of the mission; *DCB*, Trouvé's biography; Tanner, Chart: French Missions in the Great Lakes.

**The French founded a mission for the Seneca at Teiaiagon:**

1668 – The French founded a mission on the north shore of Lake Ontario in Teiaiagon, a **Seneca** village, near present-day Toronto, Ontario.<sup>124</sup>

**Seventy Nine *Filles du Roi* arrived in New France:**

3 July 1668 – Seventy Nine *Filles du Roi* arrived in New France. Fifty women remained in Québec, six went to Trois-Rivières, and twenty-three went to Montréal.<sup>125</sup>

**The Jesuits founded the St. Jean Baptiste mission for the Onondaga:**

Summer 1668 – **Julien Garnier, S.J.**, visited an **Onondaga** village. He believed that his mission would be temporary, but **Garakontié**, the **Onondaga** chief, although not a Christian objected to **Garnier** leaving the village. **Garnier** replied that he needed a companion and a chapel in order to remain. The **Onondaga** built a chapel for the mission in a few days and **Garakontié** left immediately for Québec in order to obtain additional **Jesuits** to serve the St. Jean Baptiste mission. Following **Garakontié's** conference with **Courcelle** in August, **Pierre Millet, S.J.**, and **Étienne Carheil, S.J.**, left Québec to join the other **Jesuits** in *Iroquoia*. **Millet** ministered to the **Onondaga**.<sup>126</sup>

**Marguerite Bourgeoys purchased the *Maison de Saint-Gabriel* for the *Filles du Roi* in Montréal:**

21 September 1668 – **Marguerite Bourgeoys**, founder of the secular religions community the *Congrégation de Notre Dame*, purchased the *Maison de Saint-Gabriel* in Pointe-Saint Charles to house the *Filles du Roi* of Montréal before their marriages.<sup>127</sup>



The *Maison de Saint-Gabriel*<sup>128</sup>

**Talon paid Jean Péré and Adrien Jolliet to Lake Superior to discover the copper mine:**

Autumn 1668 to spring 1669 – **Talon** paid **Jean Péré** 1,000 *livres* and **Adrien Jolliet** 400 *livres* to travel to Lake Superior to “find out whether the copper mine . . . is rich and the ore easily extracted and brought down here.” In addition, they were to look for an “easier route than the usual one” to transport the copper from Lake Superior to Montréal. They could not find the exact location of the copper mine.<sup>129</sup>

**François Dollier de Casson visited the Nipissing:**

Fall 1668 – **François Dollier de Casson**, a Sulpician, who had been **Prouville de Tracy's** chaplain on the 1666 expedition to the **Mohawk**, went to the **Nipissing** Indians to learn the **Algonquin** language<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Tanner, Chart: French Missions in the Great Lakes.

<sup>125</sup> Gagné, pp. 41-42.

<sup>126</sup> *JR*, Vol. 51, pp. 237-254; *JR*, Vol. 52, pp. 151-171.

<sup>127</sup> Gagné, p. 33 ; Maison Saint-Gabriel, <http://www.maisonsaint-gabriel.qc.ca/en/musee/notre-histoire.php>.

<sup>128</sup> Maison Saint-Gabriel, <http://www.maisonsaint-gabriel.qc.ca/en/musee/notre-histoire.php>

<sup>129</sup> *DCB*, Talon's (1668) and Péré's biographies (1669). Almost all sources state that Talon hired them in 1669; however, Talon was not in New France in 1669 and did not return until August 1670. Further, Talon's biography in the *DCB* specifically states that he hired Péré and Adrien Jolliet in 1668. In addition to the conflict about the date, most authors and historians state that Talon hired Louis Jolliet, not Adrien (Louis' older brother). Talon's biography in the *DCB*, states that Talon hired Adrien Jolliet.

<sup>130</sup> Galinée, p. 3; *DCB*, Dollier's biography; Paré, p. 51; Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, pp. 161-209 (Galinée's Journal).

**Four Hundred Forty Six members of the Carignan Salières Regiment decided to remain in New France:**

October 1668 – Thirty officers, twelve non-commissioned officers, and four-hundred-four soldiers decided to remain in New France. Approximately 100 soldiers remained in the army in New France. The remaining members of the regiment returned to France.<sup>131</sup>

**The Seneca requested their own mission:**

October to November 1668 – In October when members of the **Seneca** Tribe visited the **Jesuits** at the **Mohawk** mission, they requested missionaries for their own mission. On 10 October, **Jacques Fremin, S.J.**, departed from the **Mohawk** mission to go to Sonontouan/Sonnontouan/Tsonnontouen, the major town of the **Seneca**. In November, **Seneca** ambassadors arrived in Montréal where they asked the **Jesuits** to send two priests to establish a mission among the Tribe. The **Jesuits** were enthusiastic about the potential for this mission because of the great number of residents, their nature, and the large number of Christian **Huron** who lived among the **Seneca** in the village named St. Michel.<sup>132</sup>

**Jean Pierron, S.J., took over the Jesuit mission to the Mohawk:**

7 October 1668 – **Jean Pierron, S.J.**, arrived at Tionontoguen, the principal **Mohawk** village, to take over the Mohawk mission from **Jacques Fremin, S.J.** **François Boniface, S.J.**, joined the mission in 1669. **Pierron** visited seven large villages on a weekly basis. During 1668 and 1669, the **Jesuits** baptized 151, more than half of whom were children or old people who died shortly after their baptism.<sup>133</sup>

**The Jesuits complained about the liquor sold by the Albany traders to the Native Americans:**

*Circa* 1668 – **Pierron** or **Fremin** complained to **Francis Lovelace**, the governor of Fort James (present-day Manhattan, New York) about the great quantities of liquor the Albany traders sold to the **Native Americans** and the subsequent disorders caused by intoxicated **Native Americans**. **Lovelace** replied on 18 November 1668, stating that he would severely punish traders who sold excess liquor to the **Native Americans**.<sup>134</sup>

**Étienne Carheil, S.J., took over as the missionary to the Cayuga:**

6 November 1668 – **Étienne Carheil, S.J.**, arrived in the **Cayuga** village where **René Ménard, S.J.**, had established the mission in 1656. The mission was located in Oiogouen, the largest **Seneca** village. The St. Joseph mission served three villages, Oiogouen/Goiogouen, named St. Joseph, Thiohero/Kiohero, named St. Étienne, and Onnontare, named St. René. In addition to the **Cayuga**, **Huron** and **Susquehanna** prisoners lived in the three villages.<sup>135</sup>

**The Conseil Souverain adopted an ordinance regarding the liquor trade with the Native Americans:**

10 November 1668 – **Talon** was instrumental in getting the *Conseil Souverain* to adopt an ordinance regarding the liquor trade with the **Native Americans**. The ordinance permitted the colonists to trade, sell, or deliver alcoholic beverages, but forbade them to get drunk. The summary of the decree admitted the “pernicious influence of strong drinks” upon the **Native Americans**, but the *Conseil* believed that freedom of sale would cause less demoralization than a restraint on trade that would be impossible to enforce.<sup>136</sup>

**Talon departed for France:**

10 November 1668 – **Talon** left for France.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> *LAC*, Mikan #2460033; Verney, p. 110

<sup>132</sup> *JR*, Vol. 52, pp. 51-55, 193-197.

<sup>133</sup> *JR*, Vol. 52, pp. 115-143.

<sup>134</sup> *JR*, Vol. 52, pp. 137-139.

<sup>135</sup> *JR*, Vol. 51, pp. 255-257; *JR*, Vol. 52, pp. 171-193; *JR*, Vol. 54, p. 51.

<sup>136</sup> *DCB*, Talon’s biography; *PAC1900-1901*, p. 55.

<sup>137</sup> *DCB*, Talon’s biography.