THE INDIANS AND THE HEROIC AGE OF NEW FRANCE

(Revised Edition: 1989)

Bruce G. Trigger

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
HISTORICAL BOOKLET No. 30

Series Editors:

Terry Cook
(National Archives of Canada)

Gabrielle Blais
(National Archives of Canada)

Note: The editors of the original 1977 version of this booklet were Peter Gillis and A. Desilets.

Cover: "Battle of the Richelieu River, 19 June 1610," from Samuel de Champlain's *Voyages* (1613), as reproduced in Bruce G. Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic I: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal, 1976), p. 259.

THE INDIANS AND THE HEROIC AGE OF NEW FRANCE

(Revised Edition: 1989)

Bruce G. Trigger

ISBN 0-88798-148-8 *Historical Booklets*
ISSN 0068-886X *Historical Booklets* (Print)
ISSN 1715-8621 *Historical Booklets* (Online)

Ottawa, 1977, 1989

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
HISTORICAL BOOKLET No. 30

Bruce G. Trigger was educated at the University of Toronto and Yale University from which he received his doctorate in anthropology in 1964. He has written extensively on the history of the Indians of eastern Canada and is the author of *The Huron: Farmers of the North, The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660,* and *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered.* Dr. Trigger is Professor of Anthropology at McGill University and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. In 1985 he received the latter's Innis-Gérin medal for his "distinguished and sustained contribution to the literature of the social sciences."

THE INDIANS AND THE HEROIC AGE OF NEW FRANCE

History is usually written with at least one eye to the future, historians are limited to those data which as a result of circumstances beyond their control manage to survive the ravages of time, and their interpretations may be influenced by racial or cultural prejudices of which they are often unaware. All three of these problems have bedevilled the study of New France prior to the Royal Regime of 1663. Historians have been anxious to trace the origins of New France and, because they view the Indians as a lost cause, have tended to dismiss or underrate their role in the early historical period. The data for this period are mainly the self-laudatory accounts of explorers, such as Jacques Cartier or Samuel de Champlain, or the missionary propaganda of the Recollet and Jesuit orders. Finally, it is often assumed that the Indians had no history of their own or that what history they did have consisted solely of their reactions to European colonization. The latter view has been espoused even by historians primarily concerned with the Indians, such as George T. Hunt in his influential *The Wars of the Iroquois*.

Contrary to conventional interpretations, the history of New France prior to 1665 was overwhelmingly shaped by the Indians. Throughout that period, they far outnumbered the Europeans and were militarily superior to them. They also knew Canada and its resources and had long interacted with each other, both as friends and as foes. It was therefore the Indians' reactions to what they perceived Europeans and each other to be doing, rather than the initiatives of Europeans, that were crucial at that time. We must begin to understand the early history of Canada by understanding the ways of life of the Indian groups that inhabited the northeastern part of North America in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Relations between Indians and Europeans at that time can be interpreted largely as a confrontation between the egalitarian values of the Indians and the very different ones of a technologically more complex society that was in a process of transition from feudal to capitalistic organization.

The Possessors

The first human beings to inhabit North America were big-game hunters who may have crossed the Bering Strait from Siberia over 40,000 years ago. Yet they were only able to enter eastern Canada from the south and west following the retreat of the glaciers about 10,000 B.C. It was not until around 5,000 B.C. that climatic conditions and patterns of vegetation resembling those of today came to prevail over southern Ontario and Quebec. Most Canadian Indians remained hunters and gatherers, but developed a more complex technology and learned to exploit a more diversified range of plants and animals. The result was a population that adjusted with increasing

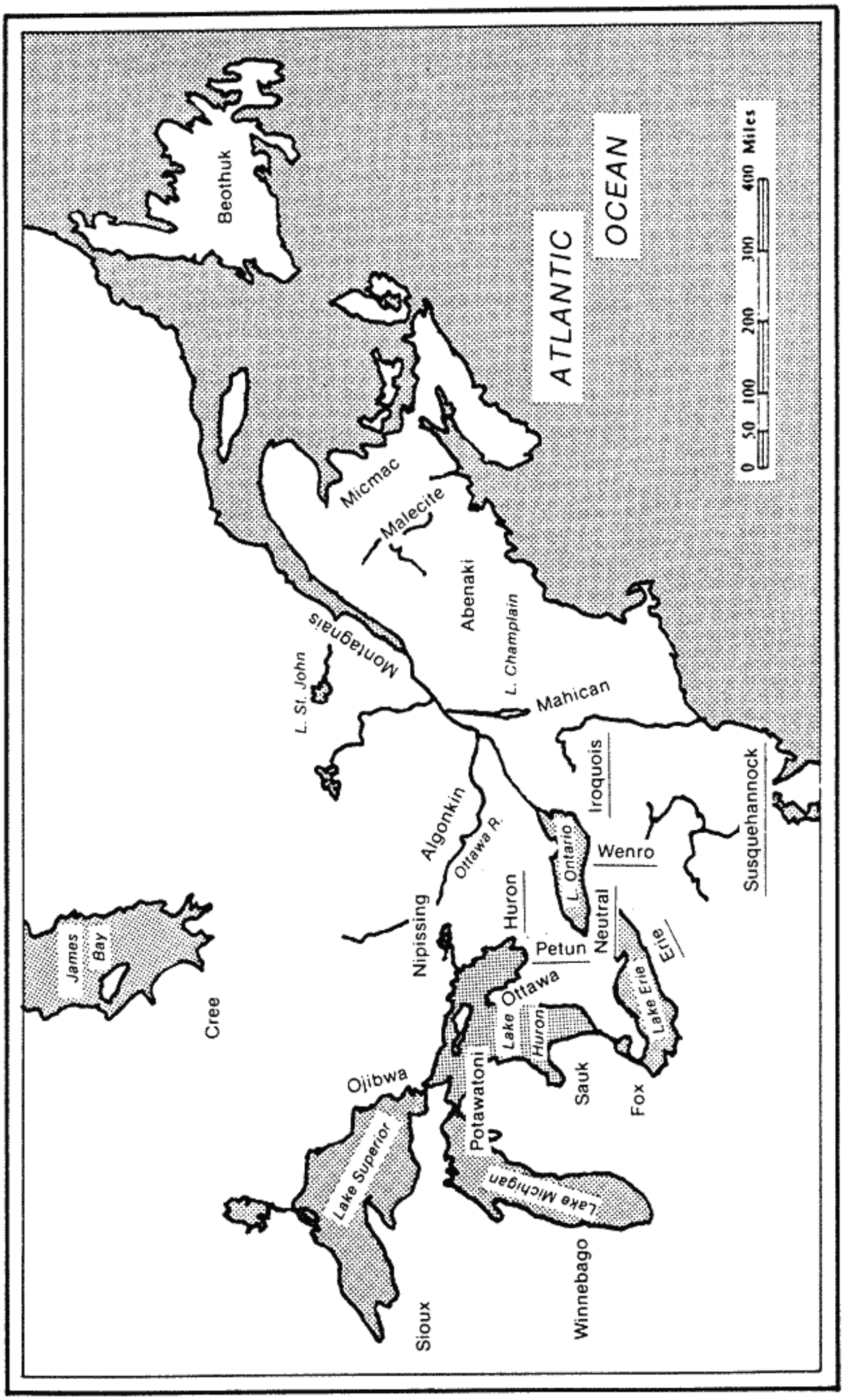
sophistication and precision to various types of environments over many millennia. So long as the population remained relatively small by modern standards, it was able to live comfortably off the land without permanently altering it.

Already by 7,000 B.C., plants were being domesticated in tropical America. By the first millennium B.C., a series of plants unrelated to those domesticated in the Old World were to provide the basis for the civilizations that developed in Mexico and Peru. After experimenting with local plants, the Indians of the eastern United States adopted the Mexican triad of corn, beans, and squash as the basis of their subsistence. These plants were gradually adapted to a shorter growing season and, by about A.D. 1,000, were being cultivated in southern Ontario and Quebec and on the southern margins of the Canadian Shield.

When the Europeans arrived in North America, they found it occupied by hundreds of what anthropologists call bands and tribal groups. These differed in customs and dialects and many spoke languages that were wholly unrelated to one another. In eastern Canada there were two such separate language stocks: Algonkian and Iroquoian. It was once believed that in late prehistoric times the Iroquoians had pressed northward, occupying upper New York State, southern Ontario, and the St. Lawrence Valley. In so doing, they were thought to have forcibly displaced the indigenous Algonkians to the east, north, and west, thus accounting for the hostility that characterized relations between the Five Nations Iroquois and their Algonkian neighbours in historic times. It is now clear from archaeological evidence that Iroquoian- and Algonkian-speaking peoples had lived side by side for a long time in the lower Great Lakes region and that the Iroquoian way of life had developed locally. There was no "typical" relationship between Algonkians as a whole and Iroquoian speakers as a whole; rather there were various relationships between individual peoples. The friendship between the Iroquoian-speaking Huron and their Algonkian neighbours (long viewed by historians as an act of treason on the part of the Huron) was as normal a relationship between Iroquoians and Algonkians as was the hostility between the Iroquois and their neighbours.

Yet, while the individual Indian societies across Canada differed from each other, all of them were based on similar principles, which in general resembled those of egalitarian societies in other parts of the world.

Southern Ontario, southern Quebec, and the Maritimes were areas of mixed deciduous and coniferous forest, rich in fish and game, and producing many kinds of fruits, nuts, herbs, and berries. The most important plant nutritionally was wild rice. The areas of densest human occupation were along the lakes, rivers, and sea coasts. In many parts of this region, during



Approximate location of Indian peoples c. 1600
(Iroquoian-speaking peoples underlined)

the warm weather, bands of several hundred Indians would gather by major bodies of water and live off fish, eels, and shellfish. In the lean winter months, the members of these bands were obliged to scatter in small family groups in the surrounding forest, where they sought to catch enough game to survive the winter. Indians following this pattern in the early historic period included the Micmac and Malecite of the Maritimes, the Montagnais of Quebec, and the Ojibwa of northern Ontario.

By contrast, the Iroquoians who lived in the vicinity of the lower Great Lakes relied upon their crops for up to 80 per cent of the food they consumed. They occupied settlements that had up to 1,500 inhabitants, and in exceptional instances were even larger. Such a community remained at a single site for a decade or longer until the exhaustion of the soil forced its relocation. Women planted, tended, and harvested the crops and left the vicinity of their settlements only to visit nearby fishing spots or to help haul meat home from communal hunts. The men cleared the fields of trees, but lived in their community only during the winter months. During the rest of the year, they spent long periods away from their settlements hunting, fishing, trading, and waging war. The Iroquoian peoples living in southern Ontario were the Petun and two confederacies or groupings of allied nations that the French called the Huron and the Neutral. In addition there were the Erie, the Wenro, and the five nations of the Iroquois confederacy (the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk) in New York State, the Susquehannock in Pennsylvania, and, in the sixteenth century, a scattering of peoples in the Saint Lawrence Valley now known collectively as the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians. Some Algonkian groups, such as the Nipissing and Algonkin who lived to the north and east of the Huron, grew corn around their summer campsites, but because of poor soil and an uncertain growing season were unable to depend on horticulture. They followed a seasonal cycle similar to that of the Montagnais and Ojibwa. Other groups, including the Ottawa, depended more heavily on their crops. Some of them had their main settlements south of Georgian Bay, but each year both sexes spent long periods away from those settlements hunting, fishing, and collecting berries.

Hunting and fishing provided the principal source of food for all of the Algonkian peoples in Canada (although many Algonkian groups farther south depended on horticulture). This was predominantly men's work and was normally a cooperative enterprise. Even in winter, the danger of sickness or accidents made it unsafe for a man to hunt alone. The normal small winter hunting group consisted of a man and his sons or several brothers, together with their dependents. The larger, summer fishing band seems to have been made up of a number of such groups, whose members shared a more remote genealogical relationship in the male line. Each band had a name, its own hunting territory, and a chief whose office tended to be inherited by a

qualified candidate belonging to a specific family. Wives normally were obtained from neighbouring bands, thus maintaining friendly ties between them. Adjacent bands sharing a common language and customs constituted a nation or people; however, the unity of hunting and gathering groups of this kind was more cultural than political.

Unlike the male-centered Algonkian hunting band, the Iroquoian community was female-centered. While men were away much of the time, the women remained in their settlements and worked together. The basic unit of cooperation was a woman and her adult daughters, or a group of sisters, who lived in a single longhouse. A number of these matrilineally-related extended families constituted a clan. Each clan had its own chiefs (one for peaceful affairs and one for war), was named after a particular animal or bird, and its members were forbidden by rules of incest to marry one another. A married man usually went to live with and work for his wife's family. A number of clans together formed a community of up to 1,500 inhabitants and adjacent communities a people or nation which had up to 5,000 members. There were community and national councils made up of clan chiefs; the nation in this case being a political as well as a cultural unit. The solidarity of the people was reinforced by the grouping of local clans into various associations which cooperated for ritual purposes.

Indians highly valued politeness and good manners in their dealings with one another. It was considered immoral to coerce anyone into acting against his or her own will, but from an early age individuals were encouraged to feel a sense of shame if they did not work hard for their family and learn to suffer without complaint. These attitudes were extremely important, since kinship and family life constituted the model upon which the Indians based their broader social and political institutions. Both hunting and gathering and horticultural groups had chiefs, and these offices tended to be hereditary in specific families. Yet, while a particular chief might be respected for his talent as a hunter, warrior, trader, or mediator of disputes, none had the right to order his people to do anything. Every person prized his or her independence and would have resented being given orders. Chiefs had to rely on public opinion for carrying out general policy and even that did not always win universal support. Chiefs therefore were careful to consider the wishes of their people before proposing a particular course of action. The main function of a chief in dealing with other groups was to act as a spokesman for his clanspeople.

The Indians considered it wrong that anyone should go hungry or lack necessities while others had more than they needed. Visitors were made welcome and families or individuals who had suffered misfortunes were never allowed to go hungry. The principal reason for accumulating surplus

food and rare goods from other groups was to be able to give them away to other members of one's community, with prestige accruing to the donor. Chiefs and their families worked especially hard to collect furs and other valuable items so that their clan could win prestige by giving them away. Stinginess, by contrast, was strongly disapproved of and could lead to accusations of witchcraft which eventually might put the life of a miser in extreme danger. The Indians did not lack an incentive for working hard and producing surpluses; prestige, however, was not derived from owning property but from giving it away.

Evidence for intergroup trade in eastern Canada goes back to at least 4,000 B.C. Native copper mined in the vicinity of Lake Superior was traded from one people to another as far as the southeastern United States, while marine shells from the latter area were traded north into Canada. Most of the material that was traded in this fashion was used to make luxury items, some of which were of religious importance. With the development of horticulture in southern Ontario, a trade in utilitarian items grew up across the southern margin of the Canadian Shield. Corn, nets, and tobacco from southern Ontario were exchanged for furs, dried fish, and meat from farther north. Trade routes generally were controlled by the heads of particular families or clans, who would grant permission to other traders to use them only in return for presents. Traders were not allowed to cross the territory of other peoples without first receiving permission to do so from local chiefs, who normally collected tolls for the privilege. Most intergroup trade was between specific trading partners, who had adopted one another as ritual kinsmen and who often exchanged children as evidence of trust and good will. The value of goods traded was related to scarcity and Indian traders sought favourable rates of exchange for their own wares. They were not unknown to manipulate factors of supply and demand in their own favour. In spite of this, Indians scorned to haggle over the price of individual items; instead, trading partners established overall rates of exchange for their goods at each trading session. The idiom of such bargaining was friendship and alliance rather than economic considerations.

The Indians had no police force or judiciary that could bring a murderer to justice. Every man was responsible for protecting his kinsmen. The relatives of a murdered person were required to avenge the victim by slaying the suspected killer or someone related to him. At the same time, the family of the murderer was honour-bound to protect him. This frequently led to prolonged blood feuds or warfare between the groups involved. Indeed, avenging murders was the reason given by the Indians for all of their wars. Within nations or between peoples that traded with each other there was a strong desire to avoid the destructive consequences of such behaviour. Among such groups, an effort was made to replace blood feud with compen-

sation paid by the clan to which the murderer belonged to that of his victim. Although the settlement had to satisfy the family of the murdered person, the leading men of the groups involved worked hard to arrange terms that were satisfactory, while public opinion unanimously supported such a settlement in place of blood revenge.

The Indians viewed most aspects of nature, such as the sun, moon, stars, rivers, hills, lightning, and disease, as animate and therefore as responsive to human behaviour. They also attributed souls to man-made objects, such as nets. The Indians sought to invoke these forces through ritual and to win their support or avert their anger. Charms were employed to bring luck in hunting, fishing, and related activities. Men who went hunting and fishing observed numerous taboos, such as not burning the bones of their catch, so as not to anger the souls of animals. Rituals were also performed to ensure the success of crops or the increase of wild plants. Among the Iroquoians, the torturing and killing of male prisoners was a ritual sacrifice in honour of the sun, who was also the patron spirit of war. Warfare and its associated rituals were a major source of male prestige. Finally, much ritual was concerned with curing disease and alleviating psychological distress. Feasts and gift-giving were important aspects of ritual; generosity serving as a prophylactic against witchcraft. Shamans were employed as part-time specialists to deal with the spirit world. Among horticultural peoples they were assisted by curing societies, the membership of which cut across clan and even national boundaries. The Indians had no formal creeds, priests, or community ritual centres. Yet, religion permeated every aspect of Indian life. It provided them with a sense of cosmic security, sanctioned the economic redistribution that was the basis of their economy, and helped to regulate healthy relations between the Indians and their environment.

Indian societies were not merely superficially different from those of seventeenth-century Europe or our own; they were based on wholly different principles. They embraced small populations, which their economy permitted them to live in harmony with their environment. All of their political and social institutions were modelled on family relations and shared in the values assigned to such relationships. The Indians strongly valued generosity and sharing, as well as self-reliance and individual integrity. They loathed acquisitiveness, admired personal fortitude, and fiercely resented even the appearance of coercion. They maintained law and order without law courts, prisons, or capital punishment, and their chiefs did not give orders but managed everything on the basis of consensus.

The Intruders

The European discovery of North America late in the fifteenth century was not the result of a chance individual act. The merchants of Bristol were

seeking new cod fisheries in the western Atlantic at the same time that Christopher Columbus was promoting plans to find a more direct route to the riches of the Indies. These motives and a desire to exploit the riches of the New World continued to spur the exploration of eastern Canada during most of the sixteenth century. Early in that century, fishermen from France, Spain, and Portugal were landing each summer to dry cod fish along the coasts of Newfoundland, southern Labrador, and Nova Scotia. In the mainland areas, their annual return to the same fishing stations facilitated the transformation of casual trade with local bands of Indians into habitual trading alliances. The Indians were able to supply the fishermen with a wide variety of furs that fetched high prices in Europe. Only later in the century was this trade predominantly for beaver fur, which was felted in Europe to make hats. Initially, the Indians sought beads, strips of cloth, and other European trinkets as novelties or even as objects having supernatural power. Yet they soon came to appreciate the utility of iron knives and axes, metal kettles, and other utilitarian items and were anxious to obtain these goods in larger quantities. To secure more furs, they spent longer portions of each year hunting in the forests, thereby reducing their exploitation of coastal food resources. To compensate for this, they purchased biscuits, dried peas, and other foodstuffs from the Europeans and began to barter European goods in exchange for cornmeal with the horticultural tribes of New England, whose coasts were visited only infrequently by Europeans. European goods from the Maritimes eventually were reported to be traded from group to group as far south as Virginia. In the Maritimes, new material riches enhanced traditional forms of ceremonialism, particularly the entombment of an Indian's personal possessions with his body.

Professional fur traders began to operate in eastern Canada about 1580 and some of them soon sought legal monopolies to control the trade of the region. Yet the indented coastline and many small watersheds of the Maritimes made it extremely difficult for either Indian or European traders to enforce monopolies. A growing demand for furs led to warfare between different Indian groups, which enhanced the power of those chiefs who were successful traders. By the 1620s, some of the less well-armed Malecite were compelled to cede their hunting territories to their eastern neighbours and flee north of the Saint Lawrence. European traders relied increasingly upon alcoholic beverages to attract and hold Indian trade. At first, intoxication was valued by the Indians as a potent means of achieving communion with their traditional spirits. Trade was little affected by the limited and sporadic European settlement in the Maritimes in the early part of the seventeenth century. Its main advantage was to allow some Indians to trade with Europeans throughout the year.

The Saint Lawrence Valley offered very different opportunities from the Maritimes. It provided the only entrance to a vast network of lakes and

rivers that penetrated deep into the North American continent and northward across vast areas of the Canadian Shield. The latter areas were rich in beaver, while the waterways made it relatively easy to collect these furs and transport them to trading stations. Whatever European or Indian groups controlled the lower Saint Lawrence were in a position to derive considerable profit from this trade.

It appears that even before 1535 Indians living along the upper Saint Lawrence were collecting furs to trade with European fishermen around the Strait of Belle Isle; however, the first substantial contact between the French and the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians occurred when Jacques Cartier was commissioned to discover a navigable trade route through North America to the Indies. Lured by his misunderstanding of accounts of the native copper trade, Cartier travelled as far up the Saint Lawrence River as the Indian town of Hochelaga, on Montreal Island, searching for gold. When he decided to spend the winter of 1535-36 near Stadacona, on the site of what is now Quebec City, he was welcomed by the local chief, Donnacona, who wished to have him as an ally and trading partner. Donnacona's people taught the French how to cure scurvy and offered to share the meat from their winter hunt with them. In spite of this, Cartier's unwitting failure to respond to Donnacona's offer of an alliance, his general mistrust of the Indians, his unauthorized use of their land, his kidnapping of local people, and his uninformed involvement in disputes among various Indian groups caused his relations with the Indians to go sour. When Cartier attempted to establish a colony near Quebec in 1541, as a base from which to exploit the region, he was attacked by the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians, who harassed the settlement until Cartier abandoned it the following spring. After Roberval's colony at the same location failed in 1543, the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians opposed any further European exploration upriver. Following the collapse of these officially sponsored attempts at colonization, the Indians of the upper Saint Lawrence River continued to trade with European fishermen and whalers at the Strait of Belle Isle and, after 1550, at Tadoussac. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the Indians at Tadoussac were trading to the French furs that had come to them from as far away as James Bay.

By the late sixteenth century, the fur trade had produced extensive changes among the Indians of eastern Canada. Unfortunately, these changes were poorly recorded in contemporary documents and must be inferred from the small amount of historical and archaeological evidence that is available. It appears that the landlocked Iroquois of New York State were anxious for European goods but found it difficult to obtain them from the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians or the Algonkin, with whom they were probably at war. While the Onondaga and Seneca may have obtained some goods from the Chesapeake Bay area, the Mohawk, who were the eastern-most

Iroquois people, raided the Saint Lawrence Valley and seem to have dispersed the Hochelagans and Stadaconans, some of whom journeyed westward to join the Huron. By 1600, the Mohawk were attacking the Montagnais who lived downriver from Quebec. These attacks appear to have greatly strengthened the Iroquois confederacy and may have brought it into existence in the first place. By the late sixteenth century, European goods, mostly obtained as booty, were reaching all of the Iroquois peoples.

European goods also began to reach the Huron in the second half of the sixteenth century. From Tadoussac, these goods were passed from one people to the next along an important prehistoric copper trading route that ran through Lake Nipissing and across central Quebec from the upper Great Lakes. The Nipissing and Algonkin were no doubt pleased to exchange European goods with the Huron in return for the latter's surplus corn. Desire to participate in this trade seems to have motivated all four Huron peoples to settle in close proximity at the southeastern extremity of Georgian Bay. This was a rich agricultural area, ideally located for easy canoe-borne trade with the north and long the home of two of the Huron peoples. The Huron confederacy achieved its full development at this period, while former warfare with the Petun and Neutral gave way to peaceful trade when the Huron began to supply European goods to these groups. It was probably at this time also that the Huron began trading with the far-off Susquehannock of Pennsylvania, who became their chief suppliers of wampum. The small quantities of European goods reaching the Huron and their neighbours in the late sixteenth century were unlikely to have been of great utilitarian value. Nevertheless, they had the effect of stimulating the development of an extensive luxury trade and many realignments of intergroup relations. If the results of this trade seem out of proportion to its practical significance, one must remember the social and ritual significance that intergroup trade enjoyed at many periods in the prehistory of eastern North America.

By 1602, the official French traders on the Saint Lawrence had recognized that more and better quality furs came from north of the river than from south of it. They therefore valued the friendship of the Montagnais and their allies more than they did that of the Iroquois. They were also anxious to increase the volume of their trade by establishing direct contact with Indians living in the northern interior. This conflicted with the desire of the Montagnais to maintain a monopoly over trade between the French and the Indians living farther inland. By refusing to allow these Indians to cross their territory and trade directly with the French, the Montagnais were able to exchange French goods with them at a more favourable rate than they had paid for these goods and to sell the furs they obtained from these groups to the French for additional profit. In this manner, the Montagnais

profited by selling pelts they did not have to trap or cure for European items they did not have to manufacture.

Unfortunately, the Montagnais were threatened by the Iroquois and in need of allies. Hence, while they retained a monopoly over trade with northern Quebec, they allowed the Algonkin from the Ottawa Valley to visit Tadoussac and trade directly with the French in return for the assistance of these groups in war with the Iroquois. The French traders hoped that by providing their Indian allies with metal weapons (but not guns) these allies would be able to drive the Iroquois from the Saint Lawrence Valley and to use the river as a direct trade route in place of the older but more tortuous copper route across central Quebec. In 1608, the Montagnais gave the French permission to found a colony at Quebec in the hope that this would allow the local Montagnais to trade with the French year around and protect them from the Iroquois. In spite of this, the Iroquois continued to raid the upper Saint Lawrence Valley and to prevent Indian traders from using the river.

To drive the Iroquois raiders from the Saint Lawrence and to hold the loyalty of their Indian allies against competition from private traders, in 1608 the French trading company decided to send musketeers to assist their Indian allies against the Iroquois. In the summer of 1609, at a battle on the shore of Lake Champlain and, even more decisively, in 1610, near the mouth of the Richelieu River, Champlain helped his Indian allies to defeat Mohawk war parties. In 1609, the Dutch explored the upper part of the Hudson River and, soon after, they began trading with the Mahican and other tribes who lived along its banks. The Mohawk were now able to plunder European goods from the Mahican or to cross Mahican territory to trade their furs with the Dutch. As a result, the Mohawk abandoned their attacks on the Saint Lawrence Valley, although they continued to raid and plunder the Algonkin in the Ottawa Valley. This permitted the French traders to ascend the Saint Lawrence River each summer as far as Lachine, where they traded with the Algonkin within the latter's own territory. This action eliminated the last controls that the Montagnais exercised over trade between the French and the Algonkin.

The Huron also wanted to trade directly with the French. In 1609, a small group of them secured an invitation from their Algonkin trading partners to accompany them on Champlain's expedition against the Iroquois. The Algonkin were opposed to direct trade between the Huron and the French, but depended heavily on Huron corn and military assistance against the Iroquois; hence they did not feel able to oppose the Huron openly. The Algonkin knew that the Huron wished Champlain to visit their country so that their chiefs could conclude an alliance with him. The Algonkin chiefs

therefore employed a series of ruses and deceptions which prevented Champlain from travelling up the Ottawa River until 1615. That year, the Huron invited both the French and the Algonkin to join them in a retaliatory raid against the Oneida (the Iroquois nation living next to the Mohawk) that was to be launched from the Huron country. In this manner, Champlain was able to visit the Huron country where he concluded a series of alliances with the Huron chiefs. Hereafter, the Huron were able to trade directly with the French on the Saint Lawrence River, although they still had to pay tolls to the Algonkin for using the Ottawa River.

The Huron soon became the principal trading partners of the French. They were now able to exchange both their corn and European goods for furs with the Nipissing, Ottawa, and Algonkin. The Nipissing traded as far north as James Bay, while the Ottawa traded along the shores of Lakes Superior and Michigan. The Huron thus were able to acquire furs from as far away as central Quebec, James Bay, and the upper Great Lakes. They also retained their monopoly of supplying European goods to the Petun and shared with the Iroquois the supplying of such goods to the Neutral. Each year they carried the furs they had amassed across Lake Nipissing and down the Ottawa River (gathering more along the way) to the French trading stations. In this manner, they supplied well over half of the 12,000 to 22,000 pelts that were traded to the French along the Saint Lawrence annually.

In order to obtain these furs, the Huron seem to have grown more corn and traded the surpluses they had formerly produced to tide them over lean years. More time was also spent grinding corn and producing nets to trade with the northern hunters, while traders were away from their communities for longer periods. The riches derived from trade stimulated the Huron way of life even more than they did that of hunting and gathering groups such as the Micmac. Iron knives were used to produce more elaborate bone carving, and the abundant metal from broken kettles was worked using the same methods that had been used to work the formerly scarce native copper. All of these developments marked the florescence of crafts that the Huron had previously practised in a more limited fashion. As the Huron confederacy came to embrace all four Huron peoples, ritualism and redistribution occurred on a more elaborate scale. Large amounts of trade goods came to be interred or given away at the Feast of the Dead, a ceremony that occurred each time a major settlement moved to a new location and involved the reburial of the bones of its dead in a common grave. While this ceremony had long been practised by the Huron, the simple interments of prehistoric times form a striking contrast with the elaborate burials of the historic period. Yet, because trade continued to be controlled by traditional chiefs, it tended to confirm rather than to challenge the basic social order. The main impact of the early fur trade was to make a relatively simple and isolated

way of life more dramatic. It had allowed the Huron to realize a potential for development that was inherent in their society, but which otherwise might never have been realized.

Yet, because the Huron were so numerous and lived several hundred miles from the French trading stations, their extensive trade did not yield enough European goods to undermine most native crafts. Cloth was regarded as a luxury and glass beads remained scarce and highly valued in the Huron country. Metal kettles were not sufficiently numerous to diminish appreciably the production of clay cooking pots. Being able to transport only a limited amount of goods, the Huron traded mainly for iron knives, axes, and other cutting tools, which allowed men and women to work more quickly, and metal arrowheads which could pierce the wooden armour of their enemies. Yet the Huron continued to manufacture even stone tools until long after 1650. The result was that, while the Huron believed they needed metal weapons, the French remained more dependent on them than they were on the French. In particular, the French feared that the Huron might begin to trade with the Dutch; hence they took special steps to maintain their good will. Armed Frenchmen were paid to live among the Huron to encourage them to trade and to protect Huron communities and traders from attack by the Iroquois. A few missionaries lived among the Huron prior to the capture of Quebec by the English in 1629, but they were interested mainly in learning the Huron language. The Huron's contacts with the French on the Saint Lawrence were limited principally to traders who understood them and catered to their ways.

By contrast, the Montagnais who lived along the Saint Lawrence were exposed to a wider range of European influences and became more dependent on the French. By the 1620s, they were wearing large amounts of European clothing, eating food and smoking tobacco imported from France, and no longer manufacturing birch-bark containers and dishes. Champlain, acting as a lieutenant for the Viceroy of New France, was anxious to develop a prosperous colony along the Saint Lawrence over which he could be governor. He was unable, however, to compel the trading companies to provide the financial support required to realize his grandiose dreams. In alliance with the Recollet missionaries, he sought to create colonists by forcing the Montagnais to settle among the French, take up horticulture, and learn to speak and live like Frenchmen. This policy was justified by the Recollets' claim that it was necessary to make Indians "human" (i.e., European) before they could be turned into true Christians. It was also argued that it was a Christian duty to provide French settlers who could set an example for these Indians to follow and also supply the coercion necessary to compel them to live as Christians. Yet Champlain and the Recollets lacked the means to force the Montagnais to settle down and this

policy was opposed by the traders who wanted the Indians to continue hunting. Even Champlain's efforts to have the Indians recognize themselves as French subjects foundered, not least because the Indians did not understand the necessary concept of subordination.

The Montagnais keenly resented the high prices that the French charged for their goods after a trading monopoly was effectively re-established in 1614. Bad feelings led to quarrels between individual Indians and Frenchmen and on three occasions Frenchmen were killed by the Indians. Champlain refused to accept the reparations payments that were offered by the Montagnais. This led to more trouble, following which he had to make humiliating concessions to the Indians to make sure that trading was not broken off. Champlain was probably correct when he described the Montagnais as his worst enemies; what he did not admit was that his own dealings had made them so. In 1628 and 1629, the Montagnais helped the English to seize New France, believing the English to be free traders and that it was in their economic interest to do so.

The Dutch traders on the Hudson River at first encouraged the Mohawk to trade with them but to do this the Mohawk had to cross Mahican territory. The Dutch soon learned that more and better quality furs could be obtained from the north than were available from the Hudson Valley. They therefore sought to obtain a portion of the furs that were being traded to the French by luring the Montagnais and Algonkin to trade at Fort Orange, near Albany. Their control of major sources of wampum beads, which were produced in New Jersey and on Long Island and were much desired by the northern Indians, made such a manoeuvre seem possible.

The Mohawk feared that an alliance between the Dutch and the Algonkin would result in their being cut off from European trade goods if warfare between the Algonkin and Iroquois forced the Dutch to choose between trading with one group or the other. To prevent this, in 1624 the Mohawk declared war on the Mahican and after four years of hard-fought campaigns succeeded in dispersing those who lived around Fort Orange. This gave the Mohawk control over access to the trading post and they soon made it clear that they would not let any native people from the north or west cross Mohawk land to trade there. The Dutch, who at one stage in the war had ineffectually assisted the Mahican against the Mohawk, deeply resented this dictate but were too few in number to do anything about it. They therefore decided that until they were strong enough to oppose the Iroquois they would trade with any Indians who could reach their fort, but not interfere with native relations outside its gates. This, in effect, amounted to an acceptance of Mohawk policy. The Dutch traders thereafter were to treat the Iroquois with the utmost tact and forbearance, not offering resistance even when angry Mohawk killed their cattle and burned the company yacht.

In preparation for their war with the Mahican, the Mohawk had exchanged prisoners and made a truce with the Algonkin, Montagnais, and French, so that they might continue to obtain European goods if they were cut off from or by the Dutch. After the war, they repeatedly urged the French to adopt the same policy of neutrality in relations with native groups that the Dutch had enunciated. The general truce came to an end when the Mohawk refused to renew it after they had been attacked without provocation by some Montagnais. Although Champlain tried to preserve the peace, once it had ended he decided to conquer the Iroquois or to destroy them, so that they might no longer interfere with French trade or exploration into the interior. Champlain never possessed the military force to attempt such a venture. Moreover, his hatred of the Iroquois was not shared by the French traders who feared that, without the Iroquois to hold them in check, the Algonkin and Montagnais would play French and Dutch traders off against one another to demand more goods in exchange for their furs. In 1634, the French traders took advantage of a dispute between the Iroquois and the Dutch to visit the Oneida and promote trade with them. Yet, the furs that the Montagnais, Algonkin, and Huron supplied were so vital to the economy of New France that neither French traders nor French officials dared to risk their alliance with these groups by agreeing to the Iroquois' demand that they observe neutrality in disputes between native groups.

After Henri de Lévis, Duc de Ventadour, became Viceroy of New France in 1625, the Jesuits replaced the Recollets as the dominant missionaries there. Unlike the Recollets, the Jesuits did not seek to turn Indians into Frenchmen. Many Frenchmen, and in particular many sailors and traders, did not live up to Jesuit standards for model Christians, while the missionaries regarded many Indian customs, such as their generosity and good nature, as being more Christian than those of Europeans. The Jesuits therefore proposed to deal with the Indians in their native languages and to have them retain as many of their old ways as were compatible with Christianity. They promoted the development of Quebec as a missionary base but their demands did not strain the financial resources of the trading company. The Jesuits realized that, if they were to work effectively among the Indians, they had to be accepted by them as part of the Indians' trading alliance with the French. The safety of the missionaries in their conflict with the traditional religions would be assured only if the Indians were convinced that the French would refuse to trade with any group that harmed a missionary. In return, the Jesuits were prepared to cooperate with the trading company and to support its interests. As the hunting grounds of the Montagnais who lived in the vicinity of Quebec City became exhausted, the Jesuits undertook to look after these Indians at what became Canada's first Indian reserve, which they established at Sillery. The claims for assistance that these impoverished Indians were making on their former French

trading partners had been vexing the latter and they were pleased to have the work of succouring these Indians taken over as a charity by a religious order.

In 1634, two years after Quebec had been retroceded to the French, the Huron accepted the return of the Jesuits to their country as part of a renewed French-Huron trading alliance. Their arrival coincided with the beginning of a series of epidemics that wiped out more than half of the population of eastern Canada and adjacent parts of the United States over a six-year period and culminated in the smallpox epidemic of 1639. Although there had been epidemics along the east coast earlier in the century and smallpox and other communicable diseases were to continue to reduce the number of Indians thereafter, the effects of this series of epidemics on the Indians of the lower Great Lakes region were particularly severe. Among the dead were a high proportion of children and old people. The latter included many of the Indian's most skilled craftsmen, chiefs, and ritual specialists. Their loss left the Huron more dependent on European goods and more vulnerable to missionary propaganda.

The Huron did not understand why the Jesuits wished to live among them and during the epidemics, when the Jesuits did not die as they did, they suspected them of practising witchcraft on a massive scale. Yet they did not harm them for fear of rupturing their trading alliance with the French. The Jesuits were regarded as members of a ritual curing society and baptism as the ritual that admitted Huron to membership. While sick Huron initially requested baptism in the hope that it would cure them, the Huron as a whole came to fear the ritual when they observed that most of those who were baptised died. The Huron were also worried by Jesuit claims that the souls of those who were baptised would go to heaven and not be able to join those of relatives in the traditional Huron villages of the dead. This claim caused some Huron to seek baptism so that their souls might join those of baptised relatives, while others refused baptism so that they would not be separated from the souls of non-Christians.

Huron traders and warriors sought the good will of the Jesuits in order to enjoy the material benefits that flowed from their favour. These included numerous presents, the right of Christian Indians to barter for trade goods at the lower rate that they were sold to Frenchmen, and later the right to buy guns, which were sold only to Christians. After making some initial errors, the Jesuits refused to baptise adult males until they had been carefully instructed and their faith tested. It was observed that when a man of importance was converted his relatives often sought baptism also. The Jesuits insisted that converts abandon all of their traditional charms, avoid all Huron feasts and rituals, and be buried in a Christian fashion. After 1640, this led to the development of distinct Christian and traditionalist factions

within each Huron village and nation. The Christians withdrew from their community obligations, refusing to participate in vital healing rituals and the redistribution of goods. Such behaviour appeared to other Huron as evidence of witchcraft. They also refused to fight alongside non-Christian countrymen, although they fought the Iroquois separately. In spite of their small numbers, Christian leaders remained influential because of their connections with the French. Few converts seem to have been able to understand much of Jesuit teachings. Deprived of most of their social pleasures and of the charms and rituals that formerly had supported every aspect of their lives, Christian converts became psychologically very insecure.

In spite of their declining population, by the late 1630s the Iroquois desired so many European goods that they were no longer able to purchase all they wanted with furs taken from their own hunting territories. The Iroquois were unable to barter for additional furs with their neighbours, since most of these were horticultural tribes who were already trading furs on their own account. The Huron funnelled the furs from Ontario and the upper Great Lakes eastward to the French trading posts, while the Erie seem to have been carrying the furs from the Ohio Valley southward to the Susquehannock and New Sweden. The Iroquois were able to obtain only a small number of furs from the Neutral, whose main trade appears to have been with the Huron. The Mohawk and Oneida, who formerly had plundered European goods from the Algonkin and Montagnais, now sought additional furs by robbing them from these groups. Some furs were obtained in traditional summer raids; others in winter raids, in which small bands of Mohawk and Oneida attacked dispersed Algonkin and Montagnais hunting groups and at the same time poached in their hunting territory.

Dutch officials opposed the sale of guns to the Indians, but beginning around 1640 traders from New England who were operating in the Connecticut Valley began to sell guns to the Mohawk. To stop losing trade to the English and to enable the Iroquois to obtain more furs, Dutch private traders began to sell large numbers of guns to the Iroquois. To pay for these guns and for the powder and shot needed to operate them, the Iroquois had to obtain still more furs. Already by 1638, either the Seneca, which was the western-most of the Iroquois peoples, or the Neutral appear to have expanded their hunting territory by dispersing the intervening Wenro. Soon after, the western Iroquois increased their attacks on the Huron, seeking, in the short term, to plunder the furs accumulated in their settlements and, in the long run, to disperse them. The elimination of the Huron would permit the western Iroquois to rob the relatively defenceless hunting peoples who lived to the north and west of them and to hunt in their territories with impunity, as the Mohawk already did in Quebec and eastern Ontario. There

is no evidence to support George T. Hunt's assertion that the Iroquois sought to disperse the Huron so that they could take over their role as middlemen in the Ontario fur trade. Nor were the Iroquois alone in attacking their neighbours. In the early 1640s, the Neutral took advantage of their superiority in iron weapons to attack the Algonkian-speaking peoples of southeastern Michigan, apparently to win control of the rich beaver grounds in the vicinity of Lake Saint Clair.

The Huron Christians looked to the Jesuits to protect their confederacy and derived some confidence from the Jesuits' strongly fortified mission headquarters of Sainte Marie. Yet, because the Jesuits feared that if guns fell into the hands of Huron traditionalists they might be used against them, the Huron were able to obtain far fewer guns than were the Iroquois. As the Jesuits won more converts, Huron society grew increasingly crisis-ridden. Many non-Christians came to prefer an alliance with the Iroquois to maintaining their alliance with the French. Although the Iroquois had long been the Huron's chief enemies, an alliance with them was viewed as reinforcing the traditional values that were being eroded by the Jesuits. While the Huron as a confederacy were too suspicious of the Iroquois to entrust their fate to them, as Iroquois military pressure increased many Huron did so as individuals.

During the 1640s, the Iroquois sought unsuccessfully to persuade the French to adopt a neutral role in native politics. In 1645, the Mohawk concluded a truce with the French and their Indian allies in order to recover some of their warriors who had been taken prisoner. For two years, while negotiations continued, there was peace along the Saint Lawrence River, although the western Iroquois continued to attack the Huron country. Yet the French hoped for more from this truce than the Mohawk had intended and, once the multilateral exchange of prisoners was over, war resumed. In 1649, a force made up of warriors from all the Iroquois nations dispersed the Huron and Petun, while a similar force dispersed the Neutral by 1651. In 1653, the western Iroquois declared war on the Erie. The successful conclusion of these wars opened central Ontario, Michigan, and the Ohio Valley to Iroquois hunting and raiding. In the winter of 1651-52, the Mohawk attacked the Susquehannock but were unable to disperse these trading rivals. In the course of these wars, the Iroquois adopted large numbers of captives and refugees apparently including the ancestors of the great eighteenth-century Mohawk leader, Joseph Brant. Their descendants became wholly Iroquois in language, culture, and identity. In spite of this, the death rate from warfare and contagious diseases stood so high that the total Iroquois population continued to remain no more than half of what it had been in 1630. In addition to the many Huron who were adopted by the Iroquois, a small number fled with the Petun to the upper Great Lakes, while about six hundred Christian ones joined the French at Quebec.

The military successes of the Iroquois did not produce harmony within their confederacy. Even before the dispersal of the Huron, the Onondaga and Seneca peoples had been annoyed by the arrogance of the Mohawk, who lived nearest to the Dutch and tried to monopolize relations with Europeans. In 1653, in an effort to curb the Mohawk and gain additional support against the Erie, the four western Iroquois nations made peace with the French. In doing this, they were helped by some of the Huron who had joined them. The Mohawk were divided along clan lines into a larger faction favouring war and a smaller faction favouring peace with the French. Rather than see the confederacy shattered, the Mohawk reluctantly joined in making peace with the French. This peace, which seemed a miracle to the beleaguered French, was made on the same terms that the Mohawk had been proposing for over twenty years; it excluded the Indian allies of the French. Before long, the French were to witness their allies being killed and captured by the Iroquois in the vicinity of French settlements and, like the Dutch, had to remain silent while angry Iroquois slaughtered their domestic animals.

The Iroquois invited the Jesuits to establish missions in their towns so they might have hostages to assure the continuing neutrality of the French. They also sought, by means of threats and intimidation, to compel the Huron who had fled to the Saint Lawrence to join them instead. This would deprive the French of allies experienced in forest warfare and eliminate the possibility that Huron captives among the Iroquois would seek to join relatives living with the French. The Jesuits were anxious to establish missions among the Iroquois and encouraged the Huron Christians at Quebec to follow them to the Iroquois country. The missionaries were led to believe that the Iroquois would accept them only if they regarded it as a way to lure the Huron Christians to their country and the priests hoped that the Huron would constitute the nucleus of a Christian church there. Nevertheless, the Jesuits were unable to protect these Huron and some men were slain for former injuries that they were held accountable for by the Iroquois. As the Erie war ended and the Iroquois realized that no more Huron were to be lured from Quebec, the Mohawk were able to arouse the anti-French factions among the other Iroquois tribes. In 1658, the Jesuits fled from the Onondaga country and war resumed between the French and the Iroquois.

Iroquois raids against the peoples of southeastern Michigan in the 1650s completed their dispersal. Peoples such as the Sauk and Fox fled across Lake Michigan to Wisconsin. The sedentary Winnebago, who had been the original inhabitants of that region, had already been much reduced by warfare with the better-armed Ottawa and then by the epidemics of the 1630s. Huron, Petun, and Ottawa from southern Ontario also fled to the

upper Great Lakes. The short growing season of that region made it impossible for these groups to rely on horticulture as the basis of their subsistence and they were often forced by their enemies to move from one place to another. Under these circumstances, the Huron and Petun became primarily hunters and trappers, whose way of life was not unlike that of groups that were native to the area. These refugees continued to need French trade goods, particularly as their encroachments on the hunting territories of the Sioux led to conflict with those groups. In 1654, the Huron led the first large convoy of Ottawa and Petun fur traders down the Ottawa River to trade with the French. For several decades, because of their greater numbers, the Ottawa were to dominate the trade between the French and the Indians of the upper Great Lakes. Although the Ottawa did not produce surplus corn to trade with their neighbours, the upper Great Lakes area was rich in game, which the Ottawa could either trap themselves or obtain in return for French goods. Many historians have viewed the Ottawa replacing the Huron as middlemen in the fur trade as a major defeat for the Iroquois. Yet it is doubtful that the Iroquois viewed it that way. They were able to raid the Ottawa fur convoys and, with all the sedentary peoples to the north and west of them dispersed, the western Iroquois were able to raid northern Ontario, the upper Great Lakes, and the Ohio Valley as easily as the Mohawk could raid Quebec and northern New England. The Ottawa's role as middlemen in the fur trade continued until the French established their own trading posts in the upper Great Lakes beginning in the late 1660s.

In 1665, Alexandre de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, arrived in New France with over 1,200 seasoned French veterans. Learning of this army, the three western Iroquois peoples, who were then involved in a difficult war with the Susquehannock, hastened to discuss peace with the French. In 1666, Tracy led his troops against the Mohawk villages and finding them abandoned set fire to the houses and crops. His victory resulted in a general peace with the Iroquois that lasted for ten years and allowed the Ottawa to use the Ottawa River unmolested. This was the first time that the French had been able to impose their will upon Indians by force. Yet, even this was a Pyrrhic victory. Until the fall of New France, the Iroquois were to play off French against English in order to preserve their independence, while their preference for the English was important in ensuring the latter's mastery of North America.

Conclusions

Throughout the Heroic Age of New France, furs were the most valuable product of Canada, and trade with the Indians was the cheapest method of obtaining them. Most of eastern Canada was unsuitable for European settlement at that time; hence conflicts between Indians and Whites over

land were minimal. Prior to 1665, neither the French nor the Dutch had the power to make Indians do as they wished. In general, Indian ways were understood best by the fur traders and the most successful cross-cultural relations were between these traders and their Indian suppliers. Both French and Dutch traders tried to conduct themselves in a manner that would please the Indians and encourage the Indians to trade with them. The etiquette of the fur trade conformed to Indian usages that had been established in prehistoric times. Attempts by French officials, such as Cartier or Champlain, to impose their will on the Indians were ineffectual, while the Jesuits' efforts to manipulate the Huron produced very different results from what they had expected.

The fur trade at first enriched traditional Indian life, but later increasing competition for pelts generated conflicts that led to the dispersal of many Indian groups. While European traders encouraged some of these conflicts in order to secure more furs, they do not appear to have had the sagacity or influence to initiate them. Instead, Indian wars grew out of long standing rivalries or developed as a result of Indian disputes over furs. The greatest impact that the Europeans had on the Indians at this time was the epidemics they introduced, which destroyed over 50 per cent of the native population of eastern North America. This, however, was a wholly unintended result.

The Indians did not always understand the intentions of the Europeans and were as prone to ascribe what they did not understand to witchcraft as Europeans were to regard what they did not like about the Indians as being the work of the Devil. Nevertheless, at this time, the Indians' numbers, military strength, economic power, and knowledge of how to cope with the North American environment gave them a decisive voice in what happened in eastern Canada and upper New York State. Their wishes had to be taken account of by any Europeans hoping to have successful dealings in the region. This suggests that the central focus of Canadian history prior to 1665 ought not to be its European colonisers but its native peoples.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The documentation on which this essay is based and more detailed explanations are provided in B.G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (2 volumes, Montreal, 1976). Theoretical problems are covered in B.G. Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic Age' Reconsidered* (Montreal, 1985).

For a discussion of the salient features of "tribal" society, see M.D. Sahlins, *Tribesmen* (Englewood Cliffs, 1968). A general anthropological survey of North American Indian ways of life and prehistory is found in R.F. Spencer, J.D. Jennings, *et al., The Native Americans: Prehistory and Ethnology of the North American Indians* (New York, 1965). Their cultural patterns are examined in H.E. Driver, *Indians of North America* (2nd ed., rev., Chicago, 1969). The best description of the traditional cultures of the Canadian Indian tribes is D. Jenness' classic *The Indians of Canada* (Ottawa, 1932; 7th ed., 1967); see also, A.D. McMillan, *Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada* (Toronto, 1989). The traditional cultures of the tribes of the upper Great Lakes are described in W.V. Kinietz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760* (Ann Arbor, 1940).

The image of the Indian in Canadian historical writing is discussed in J. Walker, "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing," Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers (*1971), pp. 21-51; D.B. Smith, *Le Sauvage: The Native People in Quebec Historical Writing on the Heroic Period (1534-1663) of New France* (Ottawa, 1974); and B.G. Trigger, "The Historians' Indian: Native Americans in Canadian Historical Writing from Charlevoix to the Present," *Canadian Historical Review 67* (1986), pp. 315-42. The first attempt to survey Canadian Indian history was E.P. Patterson, *The Canadian Indian: A History since 1500* (Don Mills, 1972). Early French-Indian relations are discussed by A.G. Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700* (2nd ed., Toronto, 1969); L.-P. Desrosiers, *Iroquoisie* (Montreal, 1947); O.P. Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton, 1984); C.J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1976); G.T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations* (Madison, 1940); and L.F.S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: White-Indian Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867* (Vancouver, 1979). Many of Hunt's interpretations now appear to be erroneous. Many of these studies reflect the influence of H.A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada* (1930; 2nd ed., rev., Toronto, 1956); however, Innis' specific history is now outmoded for the early period. To understand the very different relations between European settlers and Indians in New

England, the reader should consult F. Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill, 1975).

Relations between missionaries and Indians are discussed in P.G. Leblanc, "Indian-Missionary Contact in Huronia, 1615-1649," *Ontario History*, 40 (1968), pp. 133-46; F.M. Gagnon, *La Conversion par l'image* (Montreal, 1975); and J.W. Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534* (Toronto, 1984). Views of native conversion that differ markedly from my own are found in James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York, 1985); and Lucien Campeau, *La Mission des Jésuites chez les Hurons, 1634-1650* (Montreal, 1987).

For a general coverage of the traditional cultures, archaeology, linguistics, history, and current state of the native peoples of southeastern Canada and adjacent regions of the United States, see B.G. Trigger (vol. ed.), *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. XV, *Northeast* (Washington, 1978); and R.C. Harris (ed.), *Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol. I* (Toronto, 1987).

A comprehensive study of Micmac culture is W. and R. Wallis, *The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada* (Minneapolis, 1955). Certain important effects of the fur trade upon the Montagnais are analysed in E.B. Leacock, *The Montagnais 'Hunting Territory' and the Fur Trade*, American Anthropological Association, *Memoir* 78 (1954). A critical summary of information on Huron traditional culture is presented in E. Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649* (Washington, 1964). This material is analysed further in B.G. Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North* (New York, 1969); and by a human geographer in C.E. Heidenreich, *Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650* (Toronto, 1971). Huron prehistory is covered in J.V. Wright, *The Ontario Iroquois Tradition* (Ottawa, 1966). The impact of the fur trade on the Indians of the upper Great Lakes is discussed in two books by H. Hickerson: *The Southwestern Chippewa: An Ethnohistorical Study*, American Anthropological Association, *Memoir* 92 (1962); and *The Chippewa and Their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory* (New York, 1970); and by G.I. Quimby, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods* (Madison, 1966). Chippewa is the American term for Ojibwa.

General models of early Indian-White interaction are provided by E.R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley, 1982); and Denys Delâge, *Le pays renversé* (Montreal, 1985). Controversial discussions of native American perceptions of history are found in Calvin Martin (ed.), *The American Indian and the Problem of History* (Oxford, 1987). Studies of early post-Columbian demographic decline include H.F. Dobyns, *Their*

Number Become Thinned (Knoxville, 1983); A.W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge, 1986); and A.F. Ramenofsky, *Vectors of Death* (Albuquerque, 1987). On the meaning of early European goods to Indians, see C.L. Miller and G.R. Hamell, "A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade," *Journal of American History*, 73 (1986), pp. 311-28.