The History of

The Holy Bible

In The United States of America

Volume 2

The Roman Catholic Church
In The Great Lakes Region
And The Mississippi Valley
1523-1724

James W. Knox

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All scripture quotations are from the Authorized (King James) Version. Where portions of a verse are set forth in block capital letters, it is for the purpose of the author's emphasis and does not represent a revision of the text.

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PREFACE

(Reprinted from Volume 1)

This booklet will eventually serve as the second chapter of a work to be titled *The History of the Holy Bible in the United States of America*. The purpose of this undertaking will be fivefold:

1. To show what people settled the diverse regions of the land now known as the United States;
2. To show what religious beliefs they held and what translations or versions of the Bible they brought with them;
3. To show how these beliefs and Bibles affected their settlements;
4. To show how these beliefs and Bibles affected the other settlements round about them;
5. To show how these beliefs affected these regions throughout the course of American history.

There are two schools of thought regarding American history and its relationship to Christianity. The first is that America was founded as a Christian nation by people who loved God and sought to establish a nation where all men could freely worship God, each in his own way. The second group believes that America has no more Biblical foundation than any other country. Both of these views are false.

Rather than uphold either of these party lines, through the course of this work we shall explore:

1. The actual statements of the founders of this land *in their context*.
2. The religious background in which America's founders and leaders were nurtured.
3. What these people put into practice, for what a man does is the true reflection of what he really believes.

Because this study is for the purpose of setting forth the belief systems of men such as Christopher Columbus, George Washington, Daniel Boone, Thomas Edison and Douglas McArthur, we shall view these men not as explorers, inventors, politicians, or generals, but in light of their relationship to the word of God and Biblical Christianity.

Though at first one may think this statement blasphemous, the study of history is far more difficult than the study of the word of God. The Christian has, in the pages of the Authorized Holy Bible, an absolute standard of truth against which all sermons, tracts, books, ideas, etc. can be measured. For the student of history, there is no such final court of appeals.

However, there are many points of comparison between the way one should seek Biblical truth and the way one should seek historical truth.

First, the honest student is willing to stand corrected on any point at any time should the facts contradict his beliefs.

Second, one must have enough stability and integrity to consider the writings and views of those who lie outside his circle of associates.

Third, one must consider all things in their context.

Fourth, the outworking of a principle will often give us the greatest evidence of its truth or falsehood.

Let us consider each of these points as related to the study of scripture and of history.

As to the first, suppose you were taught from your youth up that Jesus was a good man, and a great teacher, but that He was not God. Then, you actually searched the Bible and found that John 10:30; 14:7-9; 1:1-14, and a host of other passages, declared with certainty that Jesus was and is God manifest in the flesh. If you are an honest student then you henceforth hold to the deity of Jesus Christ.

Now, in like manner, suppose you had been taught that a company of Christians came to the New World on the Mayflower to escape religious persecution. However, in time you expanded your reading and came to understand that a small

group of Christians joined company with merchants and land speculators on the Mayflower and that many of the troubles these saints knew in the Old World came with them to the new. If you were an honest student you would adjust your view of history to match the facts.

As to the second, cultists are made quite easily. They are kept with some difficulty. It is not hard to turn a life-long Baptist who knows nothing of the word of God into a Jehovah's Witness. It only takes a little persistence. Such people know they should study the Bible, but their church does not. Along come a couple of caring souls who engage them in Bible study and soon the ranks of Watchtower peddlers has grown.

But to keep these converts, the cult must then see to it that no literature is read, no church attended, and no sermon listened to but that which promotes the J.W. interpretation. One will never find the whole truth in such a system of thought.

In like manner, there are many excellent histories that omit every unsavory truth about American's past and seek to make demigods out of mortals. On the other hand, there are an increasing number of writers who seem intent on making every page of American history some sort of debased scandal or national disgrace. In order to get to the full truth one must be willing to wade through all of this material, sort it out, keep what holds true and discard what does not.

Third, remember to check the context. The Bible says of God, "He maketh me to lie." The fact that it goes on to say "down in green pastures" makes a great deal of difference.

That we can find Bill Clinton or Benjamin Franklin saying something wonderful about God or the Bible means nothing apart from the context of the remarks and the context of the lives they lived.

What "born again" means to a Mormon, Catholic, Hindu and Christian is quite different. So the same words used when speaking of The Constitution in 1776, 1864, 1941 and 1968 may mean vastly different things and must be considered in their context.

As to the fourth, actions outweigh words. A minister may declare himself "the man of God" and set himself forth as the way, the truth and the life. Yet, if he is deceitful or dishonest or lazy or double-tongued, one shouldn't follow him across the street (Hebrews 13:7).

So, too, in the study of history. We care not what Abraham Lincoln *said* about the Union, we want to know what he *did* to the Bill of Rights. We aren't interested in how JFK stirred our emotions. We want to know if he could control his.

The reader will be asked to lay aside all prejudice, whether gathered from right-wing fundamentalists or left-wing liberals, and examine the facts of history in light of the word of God. When great men are examined, not in light of conquest, accumulated wealth, reputation and temporal achievement, but under the searchlight of the Holy Bible, things will look very different than they do in the public school textbook, New York Times, or People magazine.

Had the fifty states grown from one root they would have borne one fruit. The fact is that what now constitutes The United States is a union of people from a diversity of belief systems – which govern their lives. One cannot hope to understand his heritage by following but one group or "faith". In this work, we want to look honestly at where *we* came from. Only in this way can we understand the journey we have taken, the place where we now find ourselves, and the eventual end of American history.

THE FIRST FRENCH IN THE NEW WORLD

The Roman Catholic Church would make its second attempt at gaining a foothold in North America through the noble and often heroic efforts of Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries. These bold servants of the papacy sought to found colonies and convert Indians from Acadia to New Orleans. Blazing a trail from Montreal to Quebec through the Great Lakes region and down the Mississippi River these men brought the doctrines of Rome and the adoration of Mary to the interior of North America. Long before the rocky coast at Plymouth heard the psalms of the pilgrims, the solitude of Western New York and the stern wilderness of Lake Huron were trodden by the iron heel of the trapper and the foot of the Franciscan friar and the Jesuit priest. France was the true pioneer of the Midwest.

There is probably no period of American history more difficult to document than that of the French entry into the Great Lakes region. Because exploration there produced little lasting colonization, or because it hinders the writing of a neat narrative moving from the Atlantic coast westward, this era is ignored by the vast majority of historians. Samuel E. Morrison's *The Oxford History of the American People* is a prime example. In chapter two of his work he mentions the French explorers (one page), the failed colonies (half a page) and then hastens to Jamestown. Ten chapters later he writes of wars between the French and English in North America. What French?

In 1608, a year after the founding of Jamestown, Samuel de Champlain raised the French flag on the headland of Quebec and laid the foundations of the town given that name. From Quebec Champlain pushed his explorations in every direction. Before he died in 1635 he had established French influence throughout Canada and had planted the French flag even in the wilds of Michigan and Wisconsin.

French power was spread over a vast territory, but was spread very thinly. French dominion in America was never firmly rooted. Most of the historians who do chronicle this period blame French failure on the fur trade, which yielded large profits but was not conducive to the establishment of a strong populous empire. This is too superficial a conclusion.

Why was it that twenty years after its founding Quebec had only two permanently settled families? Why did the sacrificial labors of some of history's most dedicated missionaries come to naught? These are the questions we hope to answer in this volume.

Were it not for the writing of Francis Parkman we would know very little about this important era. When one reads the many volumes written by this man two things come into focus: why his works are largely ignored and why this period is often excluded from the study of American history. First, his works are very anti-Catholic, and, second, the record gives ample reason for his convictions.

The French work in the Great Lakes region from 1523 to 1724 was not the work of colonizers, merchants or explorers per se, it was the missionary work of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) and their arch rivals the Franciscans. The story of these remarkable men, their methods and motives, and their impact on the history of the United States is worthy of our consideration.

The beginnings of New France were humble. There is no one like Leif Eriksson, Sabastian Cabot or Christopher Columbus in the French history books. Fishermen and traders were the heralds of empire for that nation. For 100 years after the first fishermen arrived in New World waters the story of New France is one of small things. It is the tale of petty expeditions ill-equipped by small merchants of the seaport towns, harassed by the fluctuating policy of successive kings, abandoned as soon as hope of finding gold or other quick assets was lost. Throughout her French period, Canada was a trading post and fringe colony in which the tasty codfish and luxurious pelts played the same

role as spices that brought wealth to Portugal, and the precious metals stolen from Mexico and Peru that enriched Spanish treasuries.

French fishermen sailing the wake of John Cabot and the Corte Real began to frequent the Grand Bank as early as 1504. They found that the Indians craved any old pieces of metal with which to improve their stone weapons and lord it over "old-fashioned" tribes. In exchange for metal, the Indians offered generous packs of fur. Europe's own supply of fur had long been running thin, and since Europeans valued the skins both as a means of warmth and a mark of worth, the fur trade with the Indians flourished. The less domesticated of the fishermen forsook their ships to set up temporary New World trading posts. Their experiences eventually formed the basis of Champlain's calculations for a permanent colony, and work like theirs assured its ultimate success.

The first French voyage of discovery came twenty years later when the French became the first to trouble the Spanish in the New World. In 1523 Jean Fleury, a corsair in the employ of the merchant-pirate Jean D'Ango of Dieppe, caught some of Cortez's first treasure ships off the Azores and carried Montezuma's hoard home to his King, Francis I. When Charles V learned of Fleury's adventure, he protested mightily. Francis disdainfully replied, "Show me the clause in Adam's will by which he divided the world between my brothers of Spain and Portugal." This was a slap in the face of the pope, who had decreed that North and South America belonged to the Spaniards and the Portuguese.

Francis I, an admirer of Italy and Spain, decided that he needed a Genoese navigator to do what Columbus and Cabot had failed to do – find a strait leading to the Indies. So he engaged Giovanni (John) Verrazano, an Italian sea rover and gentleman pirate to search for the new route to India. The silk merchants of Lyons, who wanted such a route, were persuaded to finance the voyage.

Verrazano explored the Atlantic coast from Cape Fear River to Newfoundland. His first port of call after the West Indies was

the site of New York. He looked up the great river, later named Hudson, in April 1524 and decided that it was no strait. He then tried Narragansett Bay with the same result. Rounding Cape Cod, he ranged the coasts of Maine, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland to the Strait of Belle Isle. Dutch mapmakers henceforth popularized the region as "New France" to vent their own derision on Spain's claims.

Owing to a lack of provisions, he sailed away to France (1524), where he was received with great honor. With him were a handful of natives whom he had kidnapped.

Here is Verrazzano's account of one kidnapping. "That we might have some knowledge thereof, we sent twenty men to land, which entering into the country about two leagues, they found that the people were fled to the woods for fear. They saw only one old woman with a young maid of 18 or 20 years old, which, seeing our company, hid themselves in the grass. The old woman carried two infants on her shoulders and behind her neck a child of 8 years old; the young woman was laden likewise with as many. But when our men came unto them, the women cried out; the old woman made signs that the men were fled unto the woods as soon as they saw us. To quiet them and to win their favor, our men gave them such victuals as they had with them to eat, which the old woman received thankfully; but the young woman disdained them all, and threw them disdainfully on the ground. They took a child from the old woman to bring into France, and, going about to take the young woman (which was very beautiful and of tall stature), they could not possibly, for the great outcries that she made, bring her to the sea, and especially having great woods to pass through, and being far from the ship. We purposed to leave her behind, bearing away the child only."

The results of this voyage were negative, from the viewpoint of the French court; but Verrazano founded a new geographical delusion. The map of North America that his brother drafted was a narrow-waisted isthmus at the site of Virginia, with the legend "Indian Ocean" on the other side. This northern isthmus concept persisted into the 18th century, when Governor Spotswood of

Virginia expected to play the role of Balboa by viewing two oceans from the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Verrazano had plans for founding colonies and doing missionary work among the Indians, but his career was brought to a close three years after his return from America, when he was hanged as a pirate.

Ten years after Verrazano, Jacques Cartier (1491-1557) of St. Malo in Brittan was selected by Francis I to lead an expedition to discover the Northwest Passage to China. In April 1534 he departed from St. Malo on the first of a series of voyages to America. Sailing with two ships, he sighted Newfoundland after 20 days, and sailing through the Strait of Belle Isle, between Newfoundland and Labrador, he proceeded southward along the western coast of Newfoundland and rounded the entire Gulf of Saint Lawrence. On this voyage he saw Prince Edward Island and the New Brunswick mainland, sailed into Chaleur Bay, which he named, landed on the Gaspé Peninsula, and crossed the St. Lawrence River estuary.

Upon reaching the broad mouth of the St. Lawrence River, in the presence of a band of Indians his men set up a wooden cross, thirty feet in height. The Indians had never seen such men and marveled at them. The red men crowded about the strangers crying in delight, caressing their beards, feeling of their clothing, rubbing their rough faces and looking with awe at their armor and firearms. The sick and the maimed came to Cartier and asked him to cure them by his miraculous power. He read prayers over them and then the Indian women made a great feast but the Frenchmen would not eat, the food not being clean enough for their tastes. When the colder weather and the autumn storms came on he kidnapped a few Indians and sailed back to France.

In the following spring Cartier received another commission from King Francis and prepared for his second voyage. On Whitsunday, May 16, the captain and every crew member confessed and received the mass in the cathedral of Saint Malo,

and the bishop blessed all hands, their ships and their mission. They then set out for the New World.

Cartier crossed Belle Isle for the second time and then sailed up the St. Lawrence River, which he named on this occasion, as far as the Indian village of Stadacona, where modern Quebec stands. He later proceeded up the river to the Indian village of Hochelaga and climbed the hill behind the village to observe the Ottawa River and Lachine Rapids (the name means China, and was so given because the explorer was absolutely sure he was on the high road to the East). Cartier called the hill Mont Réal (Mount Royal), from which the name of the city of Montreal is derived. After spending the winter in Stadacona, Cartier sailed for France on a course south of Newfoundland, and for the first time passed through what is now called Cabot Strait.

On this trip friendly and humorous Hurons beguiled the Frenchmen with tall tales of a Kingdom of Saguenay inhabited by white men who had mines of gold, silver and rubies, and even spices. Chief Donnaconna declared that among them were men who had only one leg, flew like bats, and never ate.

Donnaconna was the cunning leader of a Huron band. He thought that making an ally of the French explorer would give him sway with other Hurons and boost his power within the tribe. Cartier not only believed the whole tale but sought to take advantage of their relationship in another way. He planned to kidnap the Indian.

With no sense of inconsistency, the Frenchman set Holyrood Day (May 3), the feast of the Holy Cross, for the treacherous act. After raising a wooden cross with a Latin inscription and the arms of France as an excuse for important tribesmen to attend, a band of well-rehearsed sailors seized and bound the chief, his two sons, and two leading subjects, and whisked them on board ship. The others, alarmed by gunshots, fled into the woods. That night they came down to the river bank and cried and howled like wolves for their beloved chief, but Cartier was not to be moved. In all he carried to France ten natives, including little boys and girls which had been given him as gifts.

Thus, the Indians of the region learned from their first European visitor that the sign of the cross and misery went hand in hand.[1]

Cartier's third voyage in 1541 was born of strange politics. Francis I thought he had the opportunity to acquire a Mexico of his own and run the king of Spain out of business. A royal commission was granted Roberval, which made Cartier his subordinate.

Up to this time no one had said much or done anything about converting the Canadian Indians. Only three of the ten natives Cartier had kidnapped were baptized. But his new commission put conversion of the heathen on par with finding riches. The aim, at least on paper, was to compel "the savages to embrace the Catholic faith."

The obvious reason for all this beating the drum was to placate the new pope, Paul III. Pope Clement VII paid little attention to affairs in New France, but no one knew how the new pope would handle these matters. The French rulers thought that if they made great noise about adding thousands of souls to the Catholic fold their adventures would not be interfered with.

So he sent Cartier on a third voyage in 1541, with ten ships and so many people and such rich equipment that the King of Spain seriously thought of sending a fleet to break it up. This expedition pushed up the St. Lawrence, but the wealthy kingdom was always beyond the next rapid. Cartier's partner, Roberval, explored in boats the river now called Saguenay but found only the walls of the northern wilderness closing in on him. They returned to France with a heap of iron pyrites (fool's gold) and quartz crystals that they hoped were diamonds.

With this embarrassment, French efforts to colonize Canada were suspended. Cartier settled in St. Malo and wrote an account of his expeditions that was published in 1545. Despite his failures in morality and judgment, it can be said that much of the French claim to Canada is based on Cartier's explorations.

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[1] It is worth noting that the histories I have that were written in the 20th century say that Cartier "persuaded" the chief to go to France.

Thereafter, until 1603, when Henry IV sponsored the capitalists who employed the great Samuel de Champlain, France bled with brothers' blood in the wars between Calvinist and Roman Catholic forces, and official French exploration ceased.

Cartier's work strengthened French claims to the sites of Quebec and Montreal and the neighboring northern country. The account he published of his explorations, twelve years before his death in France in 1557 encouraged succeeding waves of French explorers and colonizers who built the French empire in Canada.

In the interval, free-lance Frenchmen, most of them Huguenots, kept the pressure on Spain. It was French corsairs who forced Spain after 1543 to assign more and more warships to convoy her treasure fleets. In 1565, as a base of operations against French marauders, Spain established St. Augustine.

Far to the north, meanwhile, French fishermen continued to visit Newfoundland, where they eventually established the real foundations of French power and wealth in the New World.

In 1562 the first really serious attempt on the part of the French to found a colony in the New World was made by Admiral Coligny. He was the able leader of a band of Huguenots. They thought that America might provide a safe haven. Coligny sent out a company of his people under the command of Jean Ribaut. These colonists avoided the frozen north where Cartier and his men had such unpleasant experiences and turned their prows towards the milder south. On May Day, Ribaut entered the mouth of the St. John's River in Florida.

They sailed northward along the coast before choosing a site for settlement on Port Royal Island and named the whole country Carolina in honor of Charles the King of France. The colony was a failure and was abandoned within a year. The handful of people still alive at the end of that time were only too glad to get back to France.

SAMUEL de CHAMPLAIN

One of the eager listeners to the exciting tales of New World exploration told in the French port city of Brouage in the late 16th century was Samuel de Champlain (1567?-1635).

Champlain was born in Brouage, France, but little is known of his early years. His parents may have been members of the lower nobility. Like his father before him, he served as a naval captain. He thus acquired the training that made him a very competent navigator and geographer, and an excellent cartographer.

Swept into the vortex of France's religious wars, Champlain fought both as a soldier and a sailor before travelling on a Spanish ship to the West Indies and Mexico in 1599. Champlain made his first visit to North America in 1603 as a royal geographer on a fur trading expedition sent by Henry IV of France. The expedition sailed to Tadoussac, at the mouth of the Saguenay River, which had long been a trading center for the indigenous peoples living along the Saint Lawrence. Here the French were accustomed to meeting the Montagnais people bringing furs to trade for French cloth and metal wares.

Champlain made good use of his time there. He ventured far up the Saguenay, up the Saint Lawrence River to Montreal Island, and up the river that would be named the Richelius. He gathered information from the Montagnais on the geography of the northeastern section of the continent. He used this information to draw a remarkably accurate map showing a large bay to the north (Hudson Bay) and water to the west, which he later discovered was the Great Lakes. This western body of water was so large that he believed it must connect with the Pacific Ocean, thus forming the fabled Northwest Passage through the continent. He also noted the areas along the St. Lawrence that were suitable for settlement.

During Champlain's first visit to North America, he had learned about a pleasant land to the south, with a mild winter climate. He had also been shown a metal, which he thought

might be silver. This southern area became Champlain's destination on his second trip, in 1604, which was undertaken to establish a settlement in that region. The French named the area Acadie (in English, Acadia). A permanent settlement was required in exchange for the commission to govern Acadia. One was obtained by French explorer Pierre du Gua, sieur de Monts.

A site along the Saint Croix River on the Atlantic Coast was chosen for the settlement, but 35 of the 79 men who stayed there during the winter of 1604 to 1605 died of scurvy. The base was then moved, in the spring of 1605, to the south side of the Bay of Fundy and named Port Royal. Champlain remained there for three years, during which he charted the coast as far south as Cape Cod. He explored a river flowing from the north that he named the Saint Jean (now the St. John River) and learned from its inhabitants, the Maliseet, that it was their route to the Saint Lawrence.

In 1607 De Monts lost his commission to govern Acadia. The following year Champlain made a third voyage to the New World and decided to establish a trading post far up the Saint Lawrence, at a point where it narrows to less than a mile wide. There his traders could greet indigenous people bringing furs from the west and take away business that would otherwise go to Tadoussac. This trading post, established by Champlain on July 3, 1608, became Quebec. Scurvy again took its toll, claiming 16 of the 25 men; but they were replaced, and Quebec survived. This was the first permanent white settlement in the region called Canada, and today it is the oldest city in the Western Hemisphere north of Saint Augustine, Florida. (Port Royal remained a small town.) Also in 1608, Champlain reached the lake in New York to which he gave his name.

Because of his many labors, it was not until June 18, 1609 – six years after his first visit to Canada – that he was able to start for the Great Lakes and the country of the Iroquois, which had about the same boundaries as our present New York State.

Champlain's aims in life had become grand. He wanted to explore and map the continent, to find a water route to the Pacific, and to convert the indigenous peoples to Catholic

Christianity. Such aims were costly, and the money could come only from the fur trade. He therefore made a commercial alliance with the northern and western nations, the Montagnais, Algonquin and Huron. The alliance included military aid.

In 1609 he met a band of two or three hundred Indians from the aforementioned tribes. Rashly, Champlain promised to help them against their powerful enemies, the Five Nations of the Iroquois. He could not foresee that he was making permanent enemies for France. In June, Champlain and two of his men joined these nations when they invaded the hunting grounds of their longtime enemy. They met 200 Iroquois by the lake now known as Lake Champlain. This marked the beginning of warfare between the French and the Iroquois that lasted off and on for 90 years.

This simple union was to doom the Jesuit missionary efforts, which had not yet begun. This single battle, involving less than 500 men changed the entire course of North American history. One hundred and fifty years later, at the time of the American Revolution, the Iroquois, still hostile to the French, would ally with the American rebels. There is not a more momentous union to be found in the annals of our nation's history. This all but forgotten clash of men and arms sowed the seeds that would spring forth again and again over the next 100 years to choke out Roman Catholic efforts to gain a foothold in the Great Lakes Region.

In 1610, while in France, Champlain was married to Helene Boulle. It appears to have been a marriage of convenience: he was then in his forties, and she was 12 years old. She brought a handsome dowry of 6000 livres, money that he urgently needed to keep the Quebec post in operation. Helene accompanied Champlain to Quebec in 1620 and stayed there with him for four years. She then went back to France and never returned.

Champlain was given the title of lieutenant of the viceroy of New France in 1612 and was granted a monopoly on the fur trade by the French government, on condition that he push exploration westward. Shrewdly, he cultivated friendly relations

with the Indians, instructing his men to live with them, learn their languages, and explore their trails and waterways.

For most of the remainder of his life, he would spend a few months of the year at Quebec, then go to France to secure support. He spent far more time in France and in crossing the ocean, than he did in Quebec. When he returned to Quebec, he spent most of his time prodding lazy workers to do building and repairing they had neglected. He also renewed alliances with his indigenous allies and strove to resolve their complaints.

In 1613 Champlain explored the Ottawa, the river that would become the main highway to the west, as far as Allumette Island. He then returned to France and persuaded the Recollet order of Roman Catholic priests to send four missionaries to Canada. Two years went by before he returned with the Recollets. He then set out on a major voyage of discovery to the country of the Huron and his party explored Georgian Bay and Lake Ontario and the land between them.

He spent the winter of 1615 in the Huron country, where he learned much about the land and its inhabitants. He was particularly interested in knowledge of the area farther west, beyond Lake Huron. He learned that this area contained other vast lakes, but the Huron people would not allow him to go there. They were at war with the nations to the west and were afraid that the French might establish relations with their enemies. Thus Champlain had to rely on scanty information for the map that he eventually produced of the region. As a result, the map was flawed, but his account of his stay with the Huron is a mine of information about these people, their customs and religion, and the geography of the country.

From 1616 to 1620 Champlain spent most of each year in France, with brief summer visits to Quebec. In France he had to struggle to keep the Canadian enterprise alive, raise capital, and enlist workers. He also had to fight to keep his command over Quebec. In 1618 he presented reports on the future of the French colonies in America to the king and to the French Chamber of Commerce. In these reports he proposed that 300 settler families and 15 Recollets be established at Quebec, with 300 soldiers to

protect them. He claimed that this would give France the ability to control the interior of the continent and to convert the pagans to Christianity. Wealth would pour into France from the land's resources of fish, timber, copper, iron, silver, and precious stones. However, he believed that the major benefit would be the revenue from the short water route to the western ocean and China, once this route was discovered. Then all the maritime nations of Europe would have to use it and pay whatever tolls France chose to levy. Though no such passage would ever be found, the colonial and economic instincts and insights of the man were remarkable.

Champlain's struggles to maintain the infant colony took a turn for the better in 1627 when the king's first minister, Cardinal Richelieu[2], took charge of the overseas colonies. He

[2] Richelieu (1585-1642) was the French cardinal and statesman who, more than anyone, promoted absolutism in France and laid the foundations of the country's 17th-century grandeur.

Richelieu was born in Paris on September 9, 1585, and set out on a military career. However, in order to retain the bishopric of Lucon (near Rochelle) in the family he switched to theology and at age 22 was ordained a bishop. As a representative to the Estates General in 1614, he found a footing in political life and soon won the favor of the queen mother of France, Marie de Medici. He became secretary of state in 1616 but fell into political disfavor the following year and, along with the queen mother, was banished from court. Reconciliation in 1622 brought him a cardinal's hat, and in 1624 he became King Louis XIII's chief minister. After 1630, when Marie de Medici unsuccessfully intrigued to have her former protégé removed from his position, Richelieu was the virtual ruler of France.

To assure friendly relations with England, Richelieu's first important measure was to arrange a marriage between the king's sister, Henrietta Maria, and the Prince of Wales, afterward Charles I of England. To restore the prestige of France in the affairs of Europe and to limit the further growth of Habsburg power, already entrenched in Spain and Austria, Richelieu next made alliances with and gave encouragement to the Dutch and German enemies of the dynasty. To gain strategic strongholds in Italy and thwart the Habsburgs there Richelieu involved France in a fight with

founded the Company of One Hundred Associates and required each associate to invest a large sum of money. Champlain became one of the associates and remained in charge of New France.

But two years later disaster struck as he began to reap the first fruits of his alliance. His siding with the Hurons against the Iroquois brought his infant colony into a larger conflict, for the Iroquois obtained aid from the Dutch and British. Anglo-Scot privateers, the Kirke brothers, drew up their ships at Quebec in 1629 and demanded its surrender. Champlain had to comply because he did not have the manpower to resist. In all of New France – Canada and Acadia together – there were only 107 settlers at that time. The Kirkes also seized the company's convoy of ships bringing reinforcements and supplies up the Saint Lawrence. That loss exhausted the company's capital, and it never recovered. Champlain was taken prisoner and held in England until 1632. In 1633 he returned to New France and tried to repair the damage done by the Kirkes and reestablish good relations with his old allies. However, his health began to fail and he died at Quebec on December 25, 1635. Toward the end,

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Austria and Spain when the succession to the throne in Mantua was in question (1628-31). In 1631 he subsidized the invasion of Germany by the champion of the Lutheran cause, Gustav II Adolph, king of Sweden. Still later, Richelieu made France an active ally of the German Protestants by committing French troops to fight in the Thirty Years' War.

Meanwhile, viewing the power of the French Huguenots as a threat to the absolute power of the king, Richelieu laid siege to the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle in 1628. The Huguenots thus were broken militarily and politically, although they were assured religious freedom.

Richelieu, by vigorous and effective measures, succeeded in breaking the political power of the great families of France – making the king an absolute ruler – and in establishing France as the first military power of Europe. He encouraged French exploration and colonization in Canada and the Indies. A liberal patron of literature, Richelieu was the founder of the French Academy. He died in Paris on December 4, 1642.

his mind bewildered, he dictated a new will leaving all his possessions to the Virgin Mary. Two years later his wife succeeded in having the will annulled.

Champlain accomplished much during his relatively long life. He produced the first accurate chart of the Atlantic coast from Newfoundland to Cape Cod and maps of the Saint Lawrence Valley and Great Lakes Basin. Many of his observations were published in the large body of writing he left behind, which eventually was printed in six volumes. Champlain's accounts of the habits and characteristics of indigenous peoples, although flawed by his lack of understanding of their cultures, have been of great value to historians.

Champlain established the commercial and military alliances that endured to the end of the French regime in Canada but which were also the cause of its end. He created and maintained a base for the future French empire in North America in the face of great difficulties. He was probably one of the greatest men who ever lived. How sad that he lost his soul!

In 1634 Jean Nicolet was sent by Champlain to explore the West. He extended French claims as far as Wisconsin. Nicolet fully expected to encounter Asian dignitaries when he reached the western shore of Lake Michigan. Accordingly he donned a fine Chinese damask robe, heavily embroidered with colorful birds and flowers, before stepping ashore. Instead of Orientals, he met a delegation of dazzled Winnebago Indians and learned from them of a "great water" to the west. They meant the Mississippi River, but he thought they were speaking of the long-sought passage to Asia and returned to Quebec to tell Champlain of his discovery. In the process of this journey Nicolet, accompanied by seven Hurons, became the first white man to visit Lake Michigan and what are today the states of Wisconsin and Michigan. Maps drawn during his exploration – along the Ottawas River, then across Georgian Bay, Lake Huron and Lake Michigan – provided guidance for French fur traders who followed in his steps.

THE JESUITS AND THE FRANCISCANS

In 1628 Cardinal Richelieu placed Canada under control of the Company of New France, and Jesuit missionaries became the chief instruments of French expansion. It is important that we digress to learn the who, what and why of the Jesuit order.

The Jesuits or Society of Jesus is a religious order of men in the Roman Catholic Church, founded by Ignatius of Loyola in 1534 and confirmed by Pope Paul III in 1540. The motto of the order is *Ad majorem Dei gloriam* (Latin, “to the greater glory of God”). Its object is the spread of the Roman church by preaching and teaching or the fulfillment of whatever else is judged the most urgent need of the church at the time (assassination, education, overthrow of a government, social reform, etc).

It was an evil day for new-born Protestantism when a French artillery-man fired the shot that struck down Ignatius Loyola in the breach of Pampeluna. A proud noble, an aspiring soldier, a graceful courtier, an ardent and daring gallant was metamorphosed by that stroke into the zealot whose brain engendered and brought forth the mighty Society of Jesus. His story is a familiar one, how, in the solitude of his sick-room a change came over him, unleashing all the forces of his nature. Supposedly, in the cave of Manresa, the mysteries of heaven were revealed to him and he passed from agonies to transports to calm and determined purpose. The soldier gave himself to a new warfare. In the forge of his great intellect, heated, but not disturbed by the intense fires of his zeal, was wrought the machinery whose power has been felt to the uttermost confines of the world.

Loyola’s training had been in courts and camps. Of books he knew little or nothing. He had lived in the unquestioning faith of one born and bred in the very focus of Romanism; and thus, at the age of about 30 his conversion found him. It was a change of life and purpose, not of belief. He presumed not to inquire into

the doctrines of the church. It was for him to enforce these doctrines; and to this end he turned all the faculties of his potent intellect, and all his deep knowledge of mankind. He did not aim to build up barren communities of secluded monks, aspiring to heaven through prayer, penance, and meditation, but to subdue the world to the dominion of the dogmas that had subdued him. He set out to organize and discipline a mighty host, controlled by one purpose and one mind, fired by a quenchless zeal or nerved by a fixed resolve, yet impelled, restrained and directed by a single master hand. The Jesuit is no dreamer. He is emphatically a man of action. Action is the end of his existence.

It was an arduous problem that Loyola undertook to solve: how to rob a man of volition, yet to preserve in him, nay, to stimulate those energies that would make him the most efficient instrument of a great design. To this end the Jesuit novitiate and the constitutions of the Order are directed. The enthusiasm of the novice is urged to its most intense pitch; then, in the name of religion, he is summoned to the utter abnegation of intellect and will in favor of the Superior, whom he is commanded to recognize as the representative of God on earth. Thus the young zealot makes no slavish sacrifice of intellect and will, at least, so he is taught, for he sacrifices them, not to man, but to his Maker. No limit is set to his submission: if the Superior declares night to be day, he is bound to agree.

Loyola's book of *Spiritual Exercises* is well known. In these exercises lies the hard and narrow path that is the only entrance to the Society of Jesus. The book is a dry and superstitious formulary; but in the hands of a skillful director of consciences it has terrible efficacy. The novice, in solitude and darkness, day after day and night after night, ponders its images of perdition and despair. He is taught to hear in his imagination the howling of the damned, to see their convulsive agonies, to feel the flames that burn without consuming, to smell the corruption of the tomb and the fumes of the infernal pit. He must picture to himself an array of adverse armies, one commanded by Satan on the plains of Babylon and one encamped under Christ about the walls of Jerusalem. The perturbed mind, humbled by

long contemplation of its own vileness, is ordered to enroll itself under one or the other banner. Then, the choice made, he is led to a region of serenity and celestial peace, and soothed with images of divine grace.

These meditations last, without intermission, about a month; and, under an astute and experienced directorship, they have been found of such power that the *Manual of Spiritual Exercises* boasts to have saved souls more in number than the letters it contains.

The Jesuit training is a masterpiece of brainwashing techniques, rendered all the more powerful because there is a willing submission on the part of men who think they are serving God.

To this is added two years of discipline and preparation, intended to perfect the virtues of humility and obedience. The novice is obliged to perform the lowest menial offices and the most repulsive duties. He is sent forth, for weeks at a time, to beg for bread like a common mendicant. He is required to reveal to his confessor not only his sins but all those hidden tendencies, instincts, and impulses which form the distinctive traits of character. He is made to watch his comrades, and they are made to watch him. Each must report what he observes of the acts and dispositions of the others. This mutual espionage extends to the close of life. The characteristics of every member of the Order are minutely analyzed, and methodically put on record.

This horrible violence to the noblest qualities of manhood, joined to the very strict system of morality required by the Order must produce deplorable effects upon the characters of those under its influence. That this has been the case, the reader of history may determine. It is certain however that the Society of Jesus has numbered among its membership men whose fervent and exalted natures have been intensified, without being abased, by the pressure to which they have been subjected.

The reason the Society studies the character of its members so intently and by methods so startling is to weed out those it discovers to be dull, feeble, or unwilling instruments of its purpose. It assigns to every one the task to which his talents or

his disposition may best adapt him. To one is given the care of a royal conscience, whereby, unseen, his whispered word may guide the destiny of nations. To another is given the instruction of children, to another a career of letters and science. To the fervent and the self-sacrificing are given the distant missions to the heathen.

The Jesuit was, and is, everywhere, – in the school room, in the library, in the cabinets of princes and ministers, in the huts of savages, in the tropics, in the frozen North, in India, China, Japan, Africa and America. Now he is a 'Christian' priest, then a soldier, a mathematician, an astrologer, a Brahmin, a mandarin, – under countless disguises, by a thousand arts, luring, persuading, or compelling souls into the fold of Rome.

The Society of Jesus is a vast mechanism for guiding and governing the minds of men, a mighty engine for subduing the earth to the dominion of an idea, and a bizarre harmony of contradictions. No religious Order has ever united in itself so much to be admired and so much to be detested.

The original aim of Ignatius of Loyola in forming his band was to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to convert the Muslims; but all access to the region was barred by the outbreak of war with the Ottoman Turks. Thus, the members of the order submitted to the pope a constitution that bound them to go as missionaries to any place he might direct. After the constitution was approved, Loyola was elected the first superior general of the order.

The development of the order was rapid. Its members took leading parts in the Counter Reformation, establishing schools and colleges throughout Europe. For 150 years they were the leaders in European education; by 1640 they had more than 500 colleges; a century later the number had increased to more than 650 and, in addition, the order had total or partial charge of two dozen universities. More than 200 seminaries and houses of study for Jesuits had also been established. The education of Jesuits in the period of the Counter Reformation was designed to strengthen Roman Catholicism against Protestant expansion. Among the laity the Jesuits were concerned chiefly with the

education of the nobility and those of wealth, although they did conduct trade schools and, in mission countries, schools for the poor.

In the mission field the expansion of the order was equally great. Missions were established by Francis Xavier in India and Japan, and the order spread to the interior of China and the coast of Africa. Letters from the Jesuit missionaries in Canada, containing ethnological, historical, and scientific information, were published as the *Jesuit Relations* and form a unique and valuable source of information about the native tribes of that country. The most famous work of the Jesuit missionaries in the New World, however, was the establishment in the order's South American provinces of reductions. Reductions were village communities of native peoples under the spiritual and temporal domination of the priests. The most successful were the reductions of Paraguay. In that country for over 350 years the Jesuits have governed a communal nation of Native Americans. Originally founding 32 villages with a total population of about 160,000, they taught the people agriculture, mechanical arts, and commerce and trained a small army for defense of the settlements. In return they enjoyed a master-slave relationship with the people.

The history of the Jesuit order has been marked by a steadily increasing prejudice against it, especially in Roman Catholic countries. Their vow of poverty can be endured as they claim all possessions of the subjected peoples as their own. Their devotion to the papacy called forth opposition from nationalistic rulers and leaders, and their zeal for ecclesiastical reform antagonized the clergy. At one time or another the order has been expelled from every country in Europe, and in 1773 a coalition of powers under Bourbon influence induced Pope Clement XIV to issue a brief suppressing the order. Frederick II, King of Prussia, and Catherine II, empress of Russia, both admirers of Jesuit education and scholarship, refused to give the brief the publication necessary to make it effective. In those countries the order survived in local organizations until 1814, when Pope Pius VII reestablished the Jesuits on a worldwide

basis. Political and religious opposition also revived. Since the reestablishment of the order, it has been free from attack only in Denmark, Sweden, Great Britain, and the United States.

The order is governed by a superior general, residing in Rome, who is elected for life by the general congregation of the order, which consists of representatives of the various provinces. There are now some 65 regional provinces in the world, each under its own "father provincial."

In New France, spiritual and temporal interests were inseparably blended. The conversion of the Indians was used as a means of commercial and political growth.

While the want of funds and the indifference of his merchant associates were threatening to wreck Champlain's schemes, he found a kindred spirit in his friend Houel. The latter was secretary to the king, and comptroller-general of the salt-works of Brouage. Near this town was a convent of Recollet friars, some of whom were well known to Houel. To them he addressed himself; and several of the brotherhood, "inflamed," we are told, "with charity," were eager to undertake the mission. But the Recollets, beggars by profession, were as weak in resources as Champlain. He went to Paris, which was filled with bishops, cardinals, and nobles who were assembled for the States-General. Responding to his appeal, they subscribed fifteen hundred livre for the purchase of vestments, candles, and ornaments for altars. The king gave letters patent in favor of the mission, and the pope gave it his formal authorization.

By this instrument the papacy in the person of Paul V virtually repudiated the action of the papacy in the person of Alexander VI, who had proclaimed all North America the exclusive property of Spain.

The Recollets form a branch of the great Franciscan order founded early in the thirteenth century by Francis of Assisi. Saint, hero, or madman, according to the point of view from which he is regarded, Assisi belonged to an era of Catholicism when the tumult of invading doctrines awakened in her defense a

band of impassioned champions, widely different from the placid leaders of an earlier age.

Francis was very young when dreams and voices began to reveal to him his vocation. Self-respect, natural affection, and decency became, in his eyes, stumbling blocks and snares. He robbed his father to build a church; and, like so many of the Roman Catholic 'saints', confounded filth with humility. He exchanged clothes with bums, and walked the streets of Assisi in rags amid the jeers of his townsmen. He vowed perpetual poverty and perpetual beggary, and, in token of his renunciation of the world, stripped himself naked before the Bishop of Assisi, and then begged of him in charity for a peasant's mantle.

Crowds were drawn to his fervid and dramatic eloquence. From them Francis gathered around him a band of twelve disciples. He led them from Assisi to Rome in 1209 to ask for the blessing of the pope, who expressed doubt about the practicability of the way of life that the group proposed to adopt. Pope Innocent III gave them his blessing, however, on condition that they become clerics and elect a superior. Francis was elected superior and the group returned to Assisi, where they obtained from the Benedictine abbey on Mount Subasio the use of the little chapel of Santa Maria degli Angeli, around which they constructed huts of branches. Then, in supposed imitation of Christ, they began a life of itinerant preaching and voluntary poverty.

His handful of disciples multiplied, until Europe became thickly dotted with their convents. At this time the brotherhood lacked formal organization and a novitiate, but as the disciples increased and their teaching spread, it became obvious that the example of Francis would not suffice to enforce discipline among the friars. In 1223 Pope Honorius III issued a bull that constituted the Friars Minor a formal order and instituted a one-year novitiate.

Following the death of Francis in 1226, the convent and basilica at Assisi were built. Their magnificence disturbed some that believed it inconsistent with Francis's ideals of poverty. After much dissension, Pope Gregory IX decreed that moneys

could be held by elected trustees of the order and that the building of convents was not contrary to the intentions of the founder.

As time passed the order grew until the only body of equal power was the Dominicans. The Franciscans, however, became fractionalized, and in 1517 Pope Leo X divided the order into two bodies, the Conventuals, who were allowed corporate property, as were other monastic orders, and the Observants, who sought to follow the precepts of Francis as closely as possible.

The Observants have ever since been the larger branch, and early in the 16th century a third body, the Capuchins, was organized out of it and made independent. At the end of the 19th century Leo XIII grouped these three bodies together as the First Order of Friars Minor, designating the nuns known as Poor Clares as the Second Order, and the tertiaries (men and women living in secular society without celibacy) as the Third Order.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the three Orders of St. Francis numbered 115,000 friars and 28,000 nuns. To say that all these people were devoted servants of God or the church would be to say that the millions on government aid in America today are patriots. There were certainly many devoted souls among the friars and nuns, but far more saw in a vow of poverty free room and board at the expense of hard working church members.

Four popes, forty-five cardinals, and forty-six canonized martyrs were enrolled on their record, besides about two thousand more who had shed their blood for their faith. On his first voyage to the New World, Christopher Columbus was accompanied by a group of Franciscans. The first convents in America were established by Franciscans at Santo Domingo and La Vega in what is now the Dominican Republic. Their missions embraced nearly all the known world. In 1621 there were five hundred Franciscan convents in Spanish America.

In process of time the Franciscans had relaxed their ancient rigor; but much of their pristine spirit still subsisted in the Recollets, a reformed branch of the order, sometimes known as Franciscans of the Strict Observance.

ACADIA: THE JESUITS, THEIR PATRONESS, AND POUTRINCOURT

Acadia was the original name of the parts of Canada now known as Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. The region was first colonized by the French in 1604, but the English claimed it by right of the explorations of the English navigator John Cabot in 1497 and 1498. Control of the region changed hands several times during the subsequent Anglo-French struggle for supremacy in North America but any hopes of permanent French colonization of the area were dashed early on. Here is the account of their failure.

Baron Poutrincourt owned Port Royal by virtue of a grant from De Monts. He had a burning zeal: Acadia must become a New France and he must be its father.

The king confirmed his grant, and, to supply the lack of his own weakened resources Poutrincourt took a wealthy man named Robin to be his associate. This did not save him from a host of delays and vexations and it was not until the spring of 1610 that he embarked.

Meanwhile a sinister influence had begun to act. The Jesuits were strong at court. One of them, the famous "father" Coton, was confessor to Henry IV, and, as such, had the ear of the monarch.

New France offered a fresh field of action to the Society of Jesus, and Coton urged the king to send some of its members to the proposed enterprise. The king, profoundly indifferent in matters of religion, saw no evil in a proposal that promised to place the Atlantic between him and some of the Jesuits, for he deeply mistrusted them all.

Other influences, too, seconded the confessor. Devout ladies of the court, and the queen herself, burned with a holy zeal for snatching the tribes of the West from the bondage of Satan. Therefore it was insisted that the projected colony should

combine the spiritual with the temporal character, or, in other words, that Poutrincourt should take Jesuits with him. Pierre Biard, Professor of Theology at Lyons, was named for the mission.

That Poutrincourt was a good Catholic was evidenced by a letter he wrote to the pope, asking a blessing on his enterprise and assuring the pontiff that one of his grand objects was the saving of souls.[3] But, like other good citizens, he belonged to the national party in the church, those liberal Catholics, who placed Henry IV upon the throne.

The Jesuits were an order Spanish in origin and policy. They were the sword and shield of the papacy in its broadest pretensions to spiritual and temporal sway. They were to the king objects of deep dislike. He feared them in his colony.

Loyal to the king, Poutrincourt left Biard waiting in solitude at Bordeaux for nearly a year. He sought to leave without him by assuring Coton that Port Royal was at present in no state to receive the missionaries. Early in February 1610, he set out in a boat loaded to the gunwales with provisions, furniture, goods, and munitions for Port Royal, descended the rivers Aube and Seine, and reached Dieppe. Here his ship was awaiting him; and on February 26 he set sail, giving the slip to the indignant Jesuit at Bordeaux.

The tedium of a long passage was unpleasantly broken by a mutiny among the crew. It was suppressed, however, and Poutrincourt reached Port Royal. The buildings were still standing, save a partial falling in of the roofs. Even furniture was found untouched in the deserted chambers. Membertou, the old native and friend of the French, was still alive.

Poutrincourt set himself without delay to the task of "Christianizing" New France. He wanted nothing more than to beat the Jesuits to the punch. He had a priest with him, one La Fleche. No time was lost. Membertou first was catechised, confessed his sins, and renounced the devil, whom we are told he

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[3] Quotes from letters like this one are taken out of context and used by some authors to prove the USA was founded as a Christian nation.

had faithfully served during his 110 years. His squaws, his children, his grandchildren, and his entire clan were next won over. It was in June, the day of St. John the Baptist, when the naked proselytes, twenty-one in number, were gathered on the shore at Port Royal. Here was the priest in the vestments of his office; here were gentlemen in gay attire, soldiers, laborers, and lackeys: the whole infant colony. The converts knelt, the sacred rite was finished, *Te Deum* was sung, and the roar of cannon proclaimed this triumph over the powers of darkness.

Membertou was named Henri, after the king. His principal squaw became Marie, after the queen. One of his sons received the name of the pope, and, in like manner, the rest of the squalid company exchanged their given names for those of princes, nobles, and ladies of rank.

The fame of "this *chef-d'oeuvre* of Christian piety," as Lescarbot gravely calls it, spread far and wide through the forest. Soon others, partly out of a notion that the rite would bring good luck, partly to please the French, and partly to share in the good cheer, came flocking to enroll themselves under the banners of the faith. The new converts instinctively learned the ways of their teachers and called for war on all that would not convert.

A living skeleton was seen crawling from hut to hut in search of the priest and his saving waters. Another neophyte, at the point of death, asked anxiously whether, in the realms of bliss to which he was bound, pies were to be had comparable to those with which the French regaled him.

A formal register of baptisms was drawn up to be carried to France. The returning ship was captained by Pourtrincourt's son, Biencourt, a spirited youth of eighteen.

At this same time the political tide turned in France with the assassination of Henry IV. The omens were sinister for Old France and for New. Marie de Medici, a coarse scion of a bad stock, false wife and faithless queen, paramour of an intriguing foreigner, tool of the Jesuits and of Spain, was Regent in the minority of her imbecile son. The Huguenots drooped, the national party collapsed, and the treasure gathered for a vast and beneficent enterprise became the instrument of despotism and the

prey of corruption. Under such dark auspices, young Biencourt entered the thronged chambers of the Louvre.

He gained audience of the queen and displayed his list of baptisms. But the ever present Jesuits seized him and assured him, not only that the late king had deeply at heart the establishment of *their* Society in Acadia, but that to this end he had made them a grant of two thousand livres a year. The Jesuits had found an ally and the intended mission had a friend at court, whose story and whose character are too striking to pass unnoticed.

Antoinette de Pons was a lady of honor to the queen. Henry had sought to seduce her. Rarely was a king rebuffed in his debauchery, but she replied: “Sire, my rank perhaps is not high enough to permit me to be your wife, but my heart is too high to permit me to be your mistress.”

She left the court and retired to her chateau of La Roche-Guyon, on the Seine, ten leagues below Paris, where, fond of magnificence, she is said to have lived in much expense and splendor.

Let the following suffice to show the strength of her will and character. Haunted by her memory, the king made a hunting party in the forests near her estate. As evening drew near, separating himself from his courtiers, he sent a gentleman of his train to ask the shelter of her roof. The reply conveyed a dutiful acknowledgment of the honor, and an offer of the best entertainment within her power.

It was night when Henry, with his little band of horsemen, approached the chateau, where lights were burning in every window (a fashion of the day on occasions of welcome to an honored guest). Pages stood in the gateway, each with a blazing torch; and here, too, were gentlemen of the neighborhood, gathered to greet their sovereign. Antoinette came forth, followed by the women of her household. When the King, unprepared for so benign a welcome, giddy with lust and hope, saw her radiant in pearls and more radiant yet in a beauty enhanced by the wavy torchlight and the surrounding shadows, he scarcely dared trust his senses.

He gave her his hand, and she led him within the chateau, where, at the door of the apartment destined for him, she left him, with a graceful reverence. The king was soon dismayed to find she had descended to the courtyard and called for her coach.

He hastened to the yard in alarm:

"What! Am I driving you from your house?"

"Sire," was the reply, "where a king is, he should be the sole master; but, for my part, I like to preserve some little authority wherever I may be."

With a deep curtsey, she entered her coach and disappeared.

Henry could admire the virtue that he could not vanquish; and, long after, on his marriage, he acknowledged his sense of her worth by begging her to accept an honorable post near the person of the queen.

Now, twenty years had passed, and she held much power in the palace. Her virtue had been reinforced by devotion to her faith. A rosary in her hand and a Jesuit at her side, she realized the utmost wishes of the subtle fathers who had molded and who guided her. She readily took fire when they told her of the benighted souls of New France, and the wrongs done Biard kindled her utmost indignation. She declared herself the protectress of the American missions, and the only difficulty, as a Jesuit writer tells us, "was to restrain her zeal within reasonable bounds."

She had two illustrious coadjutors: the jealous queen, whose unbridled rage and vulgar clamor had made the Louvre a hell, and the crafty Henriette d'Entragues. Young Biencourt saw it vain to resist. Biard must go with him in the returning ship, and also another Jesuit, Encemond Masse. The two priests went to Dieppe never doubting their goal would be reached. But Poutrincourt and his associates, in the dearth of their own resources, had bargained with two Huguenot merchants of Dieppe, Du Jardin and Du Quesne, to equip and load the vessel, in consideration of their becoming partners in the expected profits. These men declared that they would not aid in building up a colony for the profit of the king of Spain, nor risk their money in a venture where Jesuits were allowed to intermeddle.

They closed with a flat refusal to receive them on board, unless, they added with patriotic sarcasm, the queen would direct them to transport the whole order beyond sea.

Biard and Masse insisted, on which the merchants demanded reimbursement for their outlay, as they would have no further concern in the business.

Biard communicated with "father" Coton; Coton with Antoinette. No more was needed. The zealous lady of honor, "indignant," says Biard, "to see the efforts of hell prevail," and resolved "that Satan should not remain master of the field," taxed the French people and raised the money. Biard, "in the name of the Province of France of the Order of Jesus," bought out the interest of the two merchants, thus constituting the Jesuits equal partners in business with their enemies.

Well pleased, the triumphant priests now embarked, and friend and foe set sail together on January 26, 1611.

Their attempt at colonization was miserable. A company of men united in purpose could scarce have put down roots in so hostile a place. But men divided, distrustful of one another, and each despisers of the others' faith could not hope to build anything permanent. As the dark months wore slowly on, the half-famished men gathered about the huge fires of their barn-like hall, moody, sullen, and quarrelsome. Discord was here in the black robe of the Jesuit and the brown capote of the rival trader. The enterprise was doomed from the start.

The Jesuits at home did not wax idle. Bent on ridding themselves of Poutrincourt, they seized, in satisfaction of debts due them, all the cargo of his returning vessel, and involved him in a network of litigation. If we accept his own statements in a letter to his friend Lescarbot, he was outrageously misused, and indeed defrauded, by his clerical copartners, who at length had him thrown into prison.

Here, exasperated, weary, sick of Acadia, and anxious for the wretched exiles that looked to him for succor, the unfortunate man fell ill.

Regaining his liberty, he again addressed himself with what strength remained to the forlorn task of sending relief to his son and his comrades.

During this time, Antoinette and her Jesuits prepared to take possession of their empire beyond the sea. The priests used the power of the confessional to mine wealth from the French nobility, raising funds to send a company to Acadia.

On March 12, 1613, the "Mayflower" of the Jesuits sailed from Honfleur for the shores of New England. She was the "Jonas," formerly in the service of De Monts, a small craft bearing forty-eight sailors and colonists, including two Jesuits, "father" Quentin and "brother" Du Thet. She carried horses and goats, and was abundantly stored. A courtier named La Saussaye was chief of the colony. Captain Charles Fleury commanded the ship.

Six years before, in 1607, the ships of Captain Newport had brought the beginning of English colonization to the continent. Like the French effort in Acadia, the Jamestown enterprise was in dire straits. Depleted by famine, disease, and an Indian war, they were at last being reinforced by a second wave of emigration.

At this time Samuel Argall arrived at Jamestown, captain of an illicit trading-vessel. He was a man of ability and force. Like many that earned fame in that (or any) era he was brilliant, daring, unscrupulous and grasping. Though his "claim to fame" is the spring 1613 abduction of Pocahontas, his other deed that year had a far greater bearing on the history of America.

With a ship of one hundred and thirty tons, carrying fourteen guns and sixty men, Argall sailed in May for islands off the coast of Maine, supposedly to fish for cod. He had a more important errand. Sir Thomas Dale, Governor of Virginia, had commissioned him to expel the French from any settlement they might have made within the limits of King James' patents.

Thick fogs involved him; and, when the weather cleared, he found himself not far from the Bay of Penobscot. Canoes came out from shore; the Indians climbed the ship's side, and as they

gained the deck, greeted the astonished English with bows and flourishes, which Argall believed could have been learned from none but Frenchmen. By signs, too, and by often repeating the word *Norman*, by which they always designated the French, they betrayed the presence of the latter.

Argall questioned them as well as his total ignorance of their language would permit, and learned, by signs, the position and numbers of the colonists. Clearly they were no match for him. Assuring the Indians that the "Normans" were his friends, and that he longed to see them, he retained one of the visitors as a guide, dismissed the rest with presents, and set his course for Mount Desert.

As the wild heights rose in view the English could see the masts of a small ship anchored in the sound. As they rounded the island, four white tents were visible on the grassy slope between the water and the woods. They were a gift from the queen to Antoinette's missionaries.

Argall's men prepared for a fight, while their Indian guide, amazed, broke into a howl of lamentation.

On shore all was confusion. Bailleul, the pilot, went to reconnoiter, and ended by hiding among the islands. La Saussaye lost presence of mind, and did nothing for defense. La Motte, his lieutenant, with Captain Fleury, an ensign, a sergeant, the Jesuit Du Thet, and a few of the bravest men, hastened on board the vessel, but had no time to cast loose her cables.

Argall bore down on them, with a furious din of drums and trumpets, showed his broadside, and replied to their hail with a volley of cannon and musket shot.

"Fire! Fire!" screamed Fleury. But there was no gunner to obey, till Du Thet seized and applied the match. "The cannon made as much noise as the enemy's," writes Biard; but, as the inexperienced artillerist forgot to aim the piece, no other result ensued.

Another storm of musketry, and Gilbert du Thet rolled helpless on the deck. The French ship was mute. The English plied her for a time with shot, then lowered a boat and boarded. Dead and wounded men lay strewn about her deck, among them

the young priest, smothering in his blood. He had his wish; for, on leaving France, he had prayed with uplifted hands that he might not return, but perish in that holy enterprise. La Motte, sword in hand, showed fight to the last and won the esteem of his captors.

The English landed without meeting any show of resistance, and ranged at will among the tents, the piles of baggage and stores, and the newly begun buildings and defenses. Argall asked for the commander, but La Saussaye had fled to the wood.

The crafty Englishman seized his chests, caused the locks to be picked, searched till he found the royal letters and commissions, withdrew them, replaced everything else as he found it, and again closed the lids. In the morning, La Saussaye, between the English and starvation, preferred the former and came from his hiding-place. Argall received him with studious courtesy. That country, he said, belonged to his master, King James. Doubtless they had authority from their own sovereign for thus encroaching upon it; and, for his part, he was prepared to yield all respect to the commissions of the king of France, that the peace between the two nations might not be disturbed. Therefore he prayed that the commissions might be shown to him. La Saussaye opened his chests and, of course, the royal signature was nowhere to be found. At this, Argall's courtesy was changed to wrath. He denounced the Frenchmen as robbers and pirates who deserved the gallows, removed their property on board his ship, and spent the afternoon in dividing it among his followers.

The disconsolate French remained on the scene of their woes, where the greedy sailors stole everything, even to the men's outer garments and flogged two of them.

Fifteen prisoners, including La Saussaye and the Jesuit Masse, were turned adrift in an open boat, at the mercy of the wilderness and the sea. Nearly all were landsmen; but while they were struggling with the oars they were joined among the islands by the fugitive pilot and his boat's crew. Worn and half-starved, the united bands made their perilous way eastward, stopping from time to time to hear mass, make a procession, or catch

codfish. Thus sustained in the spirit and in the flesh, cheered too by the Indians who proved fast friends in need, they crossed the Bay of Fundy, doubled Cape Sable, and followed the southern coast of Nova Scotia, till they happily fell in with two French trading-vessels, which bore them in safety to St. Malo.[4]

CHAMPLAIN AND THE COLONIES OF QUEBEC

Not long after the aforementioned tragedy (which finds little or no mention in the sanitized histories of the Jamestown Colony) the French would try again. Four Recollet priests were named to man the mission of New France – Denis Jamay, Jean Dolbeau, Joseph le Caron, and the lay brother Pacifique du Plessis. "They packed their church ornaments," says Champlain, "and we, our luggage." All confessed their sins, and, embarking at Honfleur, reached Quebec at the end of May 1615.

Great was the perplexity of the Indians as the apostolic mendicants landed beneath the rock. Each wore a rude garment of coarse gray cloth, girt at the waist with the knotted cord of the

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[4] King James I of England granted Acadia to the Scottish poet and statesman Sir William Alexander in 1621, but the British obtained permanent possession of mainland Acadia by the Peace of Utrecht (1713), which ended the War of the Spanish Succession. The Acadians, who attempted to remain neutral in the Anglo-French conflicts, suffered greatly.

In 1755, because of renewed war with France, the Seven Years' War, and doubts about the loyalty of the Acadians, the British colonial authorities removed the Acadians from their lands, dispossessed them of their property, and dispersed them among the other British colonies in America. The ordeal of the Acadian exiles was recounted in the poem "Evangeline" by the American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

The details of this matter must be kept back until our volume on the Louisiana Territory.

We shall meet with the treacherous Argall again in Volume 4.

Franciscan order, and furnished with a peaked hood, to be drawn over the head. Their feet were shod with wooden sandals, more than an inch thick.

Their first care was to choose a site for their convent, near the fortified dwellings and storehouses built by Champlain. This done, they made an altar, and celebrated the first mass ever said in Canada. Dolbeau was the officiating priest. All of New France knelt on the bare earth around him, and cannon from the ship and the ramparts hailed the mystic rite. Then they took counsel together, and assigned to each his province in the vast field of their mission: to Le Caron, the Hurons, to Dolbeau, the Montagnais; while Jamay and Du Plessis were to remain for the present near Quebec.

Full of zeal, Dolbeau set out for his post, and, in the next winter, tried to follow the roving hordes of Tadoussac to their frozen hunting grounds. He was not robust, and his eyes were weak. Lodged in a hut of birch bark, full of abominations, dogs, fleas, stench, and all uncleanness, he succumbed at length to the smoke, which had nearly blinded him, forcing him to remain for several days with his eyes closed. After debating within himself he decided God would not require of him the sacrifice of his sight and he returned to Quebec. The following spring he made a tour so extensive that it brought him in contact with outlying bands of the Esquimo.

Meanwhile Le Caron had long been absent on a more noteworthy mission. While his brethren were building their convent and garnishing their altar at Quebec, the ardent friar had hastened to the site of Montreal where he met a throng of Indians who had come down for the yearly trade. He mingled with them, studied their manners, tried to learn their languages, and, when Champlain and Pontgrave arrived, declared his purpose of wintering in their villages. Dissuasion availed nothing. "What," he demanded, "are privations to him whose life is devoted to perpetual poverty, and who has no ambition but to serve God?"

The assembled Indians were more eager for temporal than for spiritual succor and beset Champlain with clamors for aid against the Iroquois. He and Pontgrave agreed that aid must be

given. This was a deliberate policy decision. It was a choice that seemed wise. The innumerable tribes of New France, otherwise divided, were united in a common fear and hate of these formidable bands, which, in the strength of their fivefold league, spread havoc and desolation through all the surrounding wilds. It was the aim of Champlain, as of his successors, to persuade the threatened and endangered hordes to live at peace with each other and to unite in a league to oppose the Iroquois nations. The French would of course rule over this confederacy. As this league killed off the Iroquois its power and dominion would spread to take in their enemies' lands and eventually spread to conquer all Indian territory. With French soldiers to fight their battles, French priests to baptize them and French traders to supply their increasing wants, their dependence would be complete. They would become assured tributaries to the growth of New France. It was a triple alliance of soldier, priest, and trader. The soldier might be a roving knight and the priest a martyr and a saint; but both alike were serving the interests of that commerce which formed the only solid basis of the colony.

The scheme of English colonization made no account of the Indian tribes. In the scheme of French colonization they were all in all.

Yet, this was the very plan that doomed the French to failure. The plan was fatally defective, since it involved the deadly enmity of a race whose character and power were as yet but ill understood. The five nations were the fiercest, boldest, most politic, and most ambitious people to whom the American forest ever gave birth.

The chiefs and warriors of the Algonquins, the Ottawa, and the Hurons met in council. Champlain promised to join them with all the men at his command, while they, on their part, were to muster without delay twenty-five hundred warriors for an inroad into the country of the Iroquois.[5] He descended at once to Quebec for needful preparation; but when, after a short delay, he

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[5] This probably marked the height of native power. Their numbers would be greatly reduced over the next fifty years. See below on "The Huron People."

returned to Montreal, he found, to his chagrin, that the wild concourse had vanished. Nothing remained but the skeleton poles of their huts, the smoke of their fires, and the refuse of their encampments. Impatient at his delay, they had set out for their villages. With them was the priest Joseph le Caron.

As we learned in Volume 1, Spain did not seek to plant groups of citizens in America. To Spain American colonies meant rich revenue with which to support dynasties at home. The native population was enslaved for the exploitation of mines and native products. France followed much the same plan. They sought chiefly profit in trade. No real effort was made to attract settlers to come among them for the purpose of building a new nation. The English method was entirely different, as they planted colonies of men and women with a view to permanent settlements and the building of a new country.

But the French methods of winning Indians to Christianity were different from those of the Spanish. They used kindness, as the Spanish had done in California but in a very different way. The Indians had been subsidized entirely too much in California. The French sought to win the Indian as an ally, to make him a partner, thereby giving him opportunities and responsibilities. They made themselves brothers to those they would win, adapting their lives to those about them. Missionaries followed the explorers and traders wherever they went.

For 150 years the work went forward, until Catholic France held undisputed sway over the basin of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, the basin of the Mississippi and its tributaries. There existed a cordon of posts – military, commercial and religious – with outlying stations in all directions. If one were to divide the continent into twenty-five equal parts, the French held twenty parts, the Spanish four parts, the English one.

Why this work failed so miserably cannot be easily explained. After 150 years of colonization and missionary effort the French Catholics left a thousand converted Indians in Maine and a few thousand elsewhere. Certainly from the first there was some religious motive, but circumstances finally forced the

political to the front. The mission work came finally under the almost exclusive control of the Jesuits, and they lost favor.

Another reason for the failure was due to what they taught the Indian. It was too ceremonial and ritual. The observance of forms and feasts took too much the place of repentance and faith. Faith in a personal Saviour had little place in their teachings. Thus, there was little on which to build character.

Let the following examples, taken from the journals and annual reports of the priests, serve as disgusting evidence of Roman Catholic missionary practice and the obvious reasons for its lack of enduring success.

1633 "The Indians asked if the dove over the altar was the bird that makes the thunder, and, pointing to the images of Loyola and Xavier, inquired if they were spirits. Three images of the virgin next engaged their attention; and, in answer to their questions, they were told this was the mother of Him who made the world. This greatly amused them, and they demanded if he had three mothers."

1635 "At every opportunity, the missionaries gathered together the children of the village at their house. First the priest would chant the Pater Noster, the children chanting in their turn. Next, he taught them the sign of the cross; made them repeat the Ave, the Credo and the ten commandments; questioned them as to past instructions; gave them briefly a few new ones; and sent them home with two or three beads and some raisins."

At times the elders of the people were induced to assemble at the house of the Jesuits, who explained to them the principal points of their doctrine, and invited them to a discussion. The auditors proved pliant to a fault, responding, "Good", or "That is true", to every proposition. When urged to adopt the faith that so readily met their approval, they always had the same reply: "It is good for the French; but we are another people, with different customs."

During the first year or more the Jesuits baptized no converts but did manage to "baptize" a few dying infants. Of such folly

Le Jeune would write, "in a moment they were turned from little Indians into little angels."

The *Relation des Hurons* recounts many tales of the means whereby Jesuits would seek to convert the dying.[6]

On those occasions when an individual had been brought to what seemed to his instructor a fitting frame for baptism, the priest brought water in a cup or in the hollow of his hand and touched the forehead with a single mystic drop. Sadly, the priest actually believed this water snatched the native from an eternity of woe. There is no evidence any Indian ever believed this.

On May 3, 1637, Father Pierre Pijart baptized at Anonatea a little child two months old, who was in manifest danger of death. This was done without consent of the parents. The account allows us to view "conversion" Catholic missionary style. The priest pretended to make the child drink a little sugared water, and at the same time dipped a finger in it. As the father of the infant began to suspect something, and called out to him not to baptize it, he gave the spoon to a woman who was near, and said to her, 'Give it to him yourself.' She approached and found the child asleep; and at the same time, Father Pijart, under pretence of seeing if he was really asleep, touched his face with his wet finger, and baptized him.

In his journal, the priest wrote, "At the end of forty-eight hours he went to Heaven."

Some days before, the missionary had used the same device for baptizing a little boy six or seven years old.

Of these spiritual atrocities, carried out by men who hazarded their lives in an untamed wilderness Francis Parkman wrote with great feeling. "Holy Mother Church, linked in sordid wedlock to governments and thrones, numbered among her servants a host of the worldly and the proud, whose service of God was but the service of self. Earthly pride, interest, and

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[6] It is notable that the Indians would use the same reasons for rejecting the gospel as modern men. "If my friends are in hell I want to go there. My religion is good enough for me. I have not been bad enough to miss heaven," were common replies to priestly appeals for conversion.

passion were the life springs of their zeal. The mighty Church of Rome, in her imposing march along the high road of history, heralded as infallible and divine, astounds the gazing world with prodigies of contradiction. She is the protector of the oppressed and the right arm of tyrants. She breathes charity and love and is dark with the passions of hell. She chants celestial truth from beneath a mask of hypocrisy and lies. She exalts a virgin and plays the harlot. She is an imperial queen, and a tinseled actress. Clearly, she is of earth, not of heaven; and her transcendently dramatic life is a type of the good and ill, the baseness and nobleness, the foulness and purity, the love and hate, the entire contradiction that is fallen man."

The first missionary efforts by French Roman Catholics within the present borders of the United States came in direct answer to a felt challenge. By 1640, the Jesuits had erected five chapels among the Hurons west of Montreal and had baptized more than one hundred of the natives. Their work, however, was rendered extremely hazardous by the frequent raids of the Iroquois and conditions grew steadily worse as the decade progressed. It was quite evident that the conversion of the Iroquois was a prerequisite to further missionary advancement. An impassioned statement, expressing the urgency of this task, was made by Father Paul Le Jeune, Jesuit superior at Quebec, in his *Relation of 1640-1641*.

"I see at the South and at the West a great number of Tribes that cultivate the land and that are entirely sedentary, but have never heard of Jesus Christ; the door to all these people has been shut against us by the Iroquois. In all these vast tracts there are only the Hurons, and some other neighboring Tribes, to whom we have carried the good news of the Gospel; but then we are obliged to approach them by horrible roads and long detours, and in continual danger of being boiled or roasted and then eagerly devoured by the wretched Hiroquois (sic). We do not lose courage on account of this; we believe that God will make a light in this darkness, and that some powerful Spirit will open the door to the Gospel of Jesus Christ in these vast regions, and that old

France will save the life of the New, which is going to be lost, unless it be vigorously and speedily succored."

The goal, however, was not to be reached without terrible sacrifice. In 1642 Isaac Jogues sought to bring Catholicism to the Iroquois in what is now upstate New York. They captured him and subjected him to the tortures of burning and mutilation. Though he escaped in 1643, he returned three years later to suffer a martyr's death. But the work went on. By 1645 Paul Le Jeune was working in northern Maine. A year later De Quen had made his way to the forests north of Three Rivers.

In the year of Isaac Jogues' murder, the Jesuits sent Gabriel Druilletes as a missionary to the Abenakis, who dwelt along the Kennebec River within the present borders of Maine. They received him with kindness and welcomed his ministrations. In 1650, he traveled to Boston, where he caused something of a sensation, until the Puritan fathers forcibly ushered him out of the colony (a tale which cannot be fully told until a later volume). From that time he labored among the Abenakis, finally abandoning his post in 1657 and returning to Quebec.

It was the aim of the founders of New France to make it purely and supremely Catholic. What this involved is plain, for no degree of personal virtue is guaranty against the evils that attach to the temporal rule of ecclesiastics. Burning with love and devotion to Christ and his immaculate mother, the fervent and conscientious priest regards with mixed pity and indignation those who fail in this supreme allegiance. Piety and charity demand that he should bring back the rash wanderer into the fold of his divine Master, and snatch him from the perdition into which his guilt must otherwise plunge him. And while he, the priest, yields reverence and obedience to the Superior, in whom he sees the representative of Deity, it behooves him, in his degree, to require obedience from those who he imagines that God has confided to his guidance. His conscience then acts in perfect accord with the love of power innate in the human heart. These allied forces mingle with a perplexing subtlety; pride, disguised even from itself, walks in the likeness of love and duty; and a thousand times on the pages of history we find hell

beguiling the virtues of heaven to do its work. The instinct of domination is a weed that grows rank in the shadow of the temple, and feeds on its decay. The unchecked sway of priests has always been the most mischievous of tyrannies.

What the historians of a former day referred to as Providence was about to intercede again and dash the hopes of Rome in the New World.

On July 4, 1648 Huron warriors were out in quest of Iroquois scalps while it was business as usual inside the settlements. "Father" Daniel had just finished mass and his flock still knelt at their devotions. Suddenly an uproar of voices, shrill with terror, burst upon the languid silence of the town. The Iroquois raced in and began to massacre one and all. The priest ran through the throngs shaking water from a wet handkerchief seeking to baptize all he could while crying to those upon whom the drops fell, "Brothers, today we shall be in heaven." Wherever they went they went within the hour.

This was but the first wave in a sea of tribal warfare. The wily Iroquois had encountered opposition from other tribes to the south and west and so found it beneficial, in 1653, to sign a treaty with the French and allow a mission to be set up among the Onondagas in central New York. For a time six priests worked with these natives, but their efforts came to naught. Once more the Iroquois turned on the French, and by 1658 the missionaries had to flee for their lives. The war dragged on until 1666 but the conclusion was a foregone one after that first year. By the end of 1660 the Huron nation and the Jesuit works were, for all practical purposes, destroyed.

It was not until 1667 that the French military was able to crush the Iroquois, making it possible for the Jesuits to renew their efforts. For twenty years they preached and taught their faith, receiving only the most meager response from the unappreciative natives. However, during this time the English had occupied New York and were stirring up the Iroquois against the French. The Roman Catholic governor of New York, Thomas Dongan, even brought in English Jesuits to impede the progress of their French confreres. So successful were the

English in gaining their purposes that by 1687 the French felt obliged to abandon their permanent posts in Iroquois territory. With that action, local Jesuit missionary activity came to a virtual standstill. With the fall of the Hurons fell the best hope of the Canadian mission. They, and the stable and populous communities around them, had been the rude material from which the Jesuit would have formed his Christian empire in the wilderness. But one by one these kindred peoples were uprooted and swept away, while the neighboring Algonquins were involved with them in a common ruin. The land of promise was turned to solitude and desolation.

The occupation of the Jesuits was gone. Some of them went home resolved to return. About twenty remained, but most fell victim to famine or the Iroquois. A few years more and Canada ceased to be a mission; political and commercial interests gladly became ascendant, and the story of the Jesuits was interwoven with her civil and military annals.

The cause of the failure of the Jesuits is obvious. The guns and tomahawks of the Iroquois were the ruin of their hopes. Could they have curbed or converted those ferocious bands, it is little less than certain that their dream would have become a reality. Warriors, tamed but not civilized, would have been distributed in communities throughout the valleys of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, ruled by priests in the interest of Catholicism and of France. Their habits of agriculture would have been developed and their instincts of mutual slaughter repressed. The swift decline of the Indian population would have been arrested and through the fur trade it would have been made a source of prosperity to New France. Unmolested by Indian enemies, and fed by rich commerce, Romanism would have put forth a vigorous growth. True to her far-reaching and adventurous genius, "the church" would have occupied the west with traders, settlers, and garrisons, and cut up the virgin wilderness into fiefs, while as yet the colonies of England were but a weak and broken line along the shore of the Atlantic. When at last the great conflict came, England would have been

confronted, not by a depleted antagonist, still feeble from the exhaustion of a starved and persecuted infancy, but by a strong champion of the principles of Richelieu and Loyola.

How strange that God used the insensate fury of the Iroquois to bring to naught the plans of the Jesuit legion! They ruined the trade that was the life-blood of New France. They stopped the current of her arteries, and made all her early years a misery and a terror. While the English and the principles of liberty may have eventually triumphed, the victory would have been dearly bought, and our cherished constitutional freedoms may have never been established. Populations formed in the ideas and habits of a feudal monarchy, and controlled by a hierarchy profoundly hostile to freedom of thought, would have remained to cripple America.

The Jesuits saw their hopes struck down. Though their faith may not have been shaken, it was sorely tried. The ways of God seemed in their eyes dark and inexplicable: but, from the standpoint of national liberty His ways are clear as the sun at noon.

THE WORK CHANGES DIRECTION AND LA SALLE ANNOYS THE JESUITS

With their dreams of empire in ruins, the noble priests and hardy merchants continued to press into new regions.

The French greatly extended their sway in America after Louis XIV took the government into his own hands (1661) and, with a program of centralization at home and expansion abroad, proceeded to live up to his supposed remark, “I am the state.” His finance minister and economic planner, Jean Colbert, conceived of an integrated empire consisting of four parts. France itself was to be the center and source of capital and manufactured goods. Her West Indian islands (especially Martinique and Guadeloupe) were to be suppliers of sugar and other exotic products. Posts along the African coast would

support the rest in carrying on the slave trade. The settlements in Canada were to be a market for exports from France and a granary for provisioning the West Indies. The colonies were to be governed directly from Paris, much as if they were local subdivisions of France itself. New France was to have a governor, an intendant, and a bishop, each to be appointed by the King and each to serve as a check upon the others. In practice this arrangement led to jealousies and cross-purposes which often frustrated the colonial administration – except when some individual official in America had the character and will to assert his preeminence.

Such a man was Jean Talon, the first of the intendants, and even more outstanding was Count Frontenac, the greatest of the governors (1672-98). Though Colbert intended to make Canada a compactly settled agricultural province, the aspirations of Talon and Frontenac for the glory of France caused them to expand New France beyond Colbert's limits.

Almost immediately after the 52-year-old Louis de Buade became governor of the French North American holdings in 1672 he incurred the displeasure of King Louis XIV due to his independence of mind and his policy of colonial expansion. But before his recall to the motherland in 1682, Frontenac accomplished much. He strengthened the colony's defenses and obtained peace between the Iroquois on one side and the French, Huron and Ottawa allies on the other. Sent back to New France in 1689 after the Iroquois had resumed their bloody attacks, Frontenac unleashed the fury of his Indian allies on New England, repulsed a British attack on Quebec in 1690 and again pacified the Iroquois.

Other forces also tended to disperse the colonial population. The lure of the forest and its furs drew immigrant peasants into the wilderness, where they often married Indian squaws and adopted tribal ways. The bottom lands of the Mississippi attracted farmers discouraged by the short growing season in Canada.

The nature of the Illinois country had been made known by adventuresome explorers. While the French missions were

facing overwhelming difficulties in the east, new opportunities were opening in the west. For some years the majestic St. Lawrence had been luring French explorers such as Jean Nicolet, Pierre Esprit and Sieur de Radisson into the vast, mysterious interior. Close behind had come the Jesuit missionaries, led by Father Rene Menard in 1660. Within a decade their stations on the Upper Lakes had become dominant centers of Roman Catholic culture.

About this time the French government, under Louis XIV, was adopting a more aggressive policy for colonial expansion. In keeping with this policy, Simon Francois Daumont took formal possession of the entire western territory in 1671. In the ceremony that took place in the presence of the chiefs of all the neighboring tribes of Sault St. Marie, he claimed it in the name of God and the King.

In the spring of 1673 Frontenac sent Louis Joliet and Jacques Marquette to confirm rumors of a great southward-running river.

After years as a trader and trapper around the great lakes, Quebec-born explorer Louis Jolliet was chosen to lead an expedition in search of the great river that was rumored to lead to the Pacific. Jolliet (1645-1700) was probably born in Beaupré, near the city of Quebec, and educated for the priesthood in a Jesuit seminary. He also studied briefly in France, but in 1668, upon his return to New France he abandoned the church to become a trader among the Native Americans. In 1669 he met Jacques Marquette.

He and Marquette, with whom he had earlier explored Lake Erie, set out with two canoes and a crew of five. They followed the Wisconsin River to the Mississippi. The two explorers descended the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the Arkansas. They reported to their sponsor that the great river did not flow westward to the Pacific, as he had hoped, but south to the Gulf of Mexico. Their 2500 mile canoe trip opened up the heart of the American continent for France.

Marquette (1637-75), famous for the university that bears his name, was born of an old and honorable family at Laon, in the

north of France. At seventeen he joined the Jesuits, evidently from purely religious motives. In 1666 he was sent to the missions of Canada. Arriving at Quebec, he passed the next 18 months studying Native American languages. Marquette had been assigned to work with Claude Allouez. The latter had explored the Lake Superior region and had even ventured up the Illinois River before establishing the mission of St. Ignace at the mouth of Lake Michigan in 1670.

As early as 1669, Marquette had been fascinated by reports of a great river to the south but before he could accomplish his plan for exploration he was driven out of his post in Wisconsin by the Sioux.

From 1671 to 1673 Marquette served at St. Ignace. At the end of this term he joined forces with the adventurer Louis Jolliet and together with four others they set out across the north side of Lake Michigan, up Green Bay and the Fox River, through what is now Wisconsin. They then crossed to the Wisconsin River and followed it into the Mississippi River. They entered the Mississippi on June 17 and were the first Europeans to travel on the river, which they explored down to its juncture with the Arkansas. Their return to Green Bay was by way of the Illinois River. Marquette remained at Lake Michigan while Jolliet continued on to Quebec, reaching it in 1674. On the return portion of the voyage Jolliet lost his records in a canoe accident, but he replaced them from memory. Marquette's account of this journey was posthumously published in 1681. (Later Joliet would explore the regions of Labrador and Hudson's Bay.)

According to the *Jesuit Relation of 1672-73*, his motive was "to seek toward the south sea nations new and unknown to us, in order to make them know our great God of whom they have been up to now ignorant."

On a second journey in 1674, he undertook to found a mission at Kaskaskia among the Indians of the Illinois River area. On his way home in 1675, he died of natural causes.

He had great talents as a linguist. Within a few years of his arrival he learned to speak six Indian languages fluently. He was a whole-hearted worshipper of Mary. Some who traveled with

him said his adoration of her pictures and images went beyond worship and was more akin to romance.

A couple of his journal entries will suffice to show the mind of the man.

"The day of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin; whom I had continually invoked since I came to this country of the Ottawas."

"I placed our voyage under the protection of the Holy Virgin Immaculate."

Marquette spent the winter of 1674 and the following summer at the mission of Green Bay, suffering from the malady that would claim his life. In the autumn he grew better, traveled to the principle town of the Illinois tribe, and founded a mission called the "Immaculate Conception."

Urged by a burning desire to establish the foundation of the above-mentioned mission before he died, Marquette begged his two followers to join him in a novena (nine days' devotion to the virgin). With his ebbing strength he then passed from wigwam to wigwam, telling the listening crowds about God and the virgin, paradise and hell, angels and demons; and, when he thought their minds prepared, he summoned them all to a grand council.

It took place near the town, on the great meadow that lies between the river and the modern village of Utica. Here five hundred chiefs and old men were seated in a ring; behind stood fifteen hundred youths and warriors, and behind these were all the women and children of the village. Marquette, standing in the midst, displayed four large pictures of the virgin; harangued the assembly on the mysteries of Romanism, and exhorted them to adopt it. (The numbers in the Jesuit record seem to be exaggerated as the note below will reveal.)

He moved on to an area near present day Ludington, Michigan when he extolled the virtues of Mary-olatry until his death in 1675.

There were, at this time, two principal missions on the Upper Lakes, which were the parents of the rest. One of these

was at Saut St. Marie and the other at La Pointe, near the western extremity of Lake Superior.

At the site of the latter dwelt the Huron fugitives who had fled twenty years earlier from the slaughter of their countrymen. Nine other tribes, including the Ottawas, Illinois and Pottawattamies, came here yearly to trade.

Then came another of those strange quirks of history, which only those who see God standing in the shadows can account for. The Sioux, who had long been at peace with other tribes in the region, became warlike. The greatest historians have not been able to find any cause for this sudden change of heart, no provocative incident, no past indignity revived. As soon as the Jesuit works began to take hold and some Indians began to be "converted" the Sioux became hostile and the Hurons and Ottawas, unwilling to suffer again as they had at the hands of the Iroquois, fled. Once more the Jesuits were left with nothing to show for their ardent labors.

At this time the course of French endeavor in the New World took an obvious turn, and temporal and material considerations began to dominate the ideas of religion and conversion of the Indians. There is also a notable change in the source of opposition. No longer did the wilderness and hostile tribes stand as the great foes of missionary work, but now the competing factions of Franciscan and Jesuit began to strive for the mastery.

By 1669 the Jesuits held the ascendancy over the other ecclesiastics in Canada. They also exercised an inordinate influence on the civil government. The Jesuit was as often as much a fanatic for his order as for his faith. As ardently as he burned for the saving of souls, he would have none saved unless by his company. He claimed a monopoly on conversion, with its attendant monopoly of toil, hardship, and martyrdom. Often disinterested for himself, he was inordinately ambitious for the great corporate power in which he had merged his own personality; and here lies one cause, among many, of the seeming contradictions which abound in the annals of the order.

The seminary priests of Montreal were jealous of these powerful rivals, and eager to emulate their zeal in the saving of souls and conquering of new domains for the faith. Under this impulse they established missions at Quinte and purposed to press into the northwest to reach tribes beyond Lake Ontario.

In the 1670's, after the ruin of their great mission among the Hurons, a perceptible change took place in the Jesuits. They had put forth almost superhuman exertions, set at naught famine, disease and death, lived with self-abnegation, and died with the devotion of martyrs. The result of all this had been disastrous failure. From no shortcoming on their part, but from the force of events beyond their control, havoc had crushed their incipient churches, slaughtered their converts, and uprooted the populous communities on which their hopes had rested. Their flock was scattered in bands of wretched fugitives far and wide through the wilderness.

They had devoted themselves in the fullness of faith to the building up of a Jesuit empire on the conversion of the great stationary tribes of the lakes. Of these none remained but the Iroquois, the destroyers of the rest. While this was a field that might stimulate their zeal by an abundant promise of sufferings and martyrdoms, from its geographical position it was too much exposed to Dutch and English influence to promise great and decisive results.

Their best hopes were now in the North and the West; and thither, in great part, they had turned their energies. They began to work round about Lakes Huron, Superior and Michigan, laboring vigorously as of old, but in a spirit not quite the same. Now, as before, two objects inspired their zeal – the greater glory of God and the credit of the Order of Jesus. If the one motive had somewhat lost in power, the other had gained. The epoch of the saints and martyrs was passing away; and henceforth we find Canadian Jesuits less and less apostles and more and more politicians. The yearly reports of the missions were still, for the edification of the pious reader, filled with stories of baptisms, but increasing space was given to matters of geography, copper mines, explorations in search of profitable trade and speculation.

In fact, beginning in 1670 there are frequent reports of Indians who were baptized but who were not considered good enough Catholics to receive the Eucharist.

The next mission headquarters was established about 1671 by Claude Allouez at Green Bay. From here missionaries traveled into the land of the Winnebagos, Mascoutins and Miamis. The account of these journeys is a strange one. Whenever the Jesuits found an idol, usually rocks hideously painted with the resemblance of a man, they would throw it into the river. In its place they would erect an image or a crucifix. This exchange of one pagan idolatry for another was met with hatred and shouts of derision by the natives.

But the priests were bold and persuasive. Ere long they were rejoicing to report in their journals that "we succeeded so well, that when we showed them the crucifix they would throw tobacco on it as an offering; and, on another visit…(we) taught the whole village to make the sign of the cross."

Dablon, one of the Jesuits wrote, "thus it is that our holy faith is established among these people."

Parkman's comment is excellent: "most things human have their phases of the ludicrous; and the heroism of these untiring priests is no exception to the rule." It is incredible that men would hazard their lives to convince men to bow to wood rather than stone.

More enterprising even than Jesuit missionaries were the fabulous coureurs de bois, the first American backwoodsmen. Often wellborn, these French youths came to America for adventure and quickly took on the Indians' nomadic habits, their women, and their work. They more than paid their way by organizing the ever more distant Indian trading into an efficient operation.

Pierre Raddison and his brother-in-law Medard Chouart explored the Hudson Bay country in the 1660s. When the autocratic Governor of New France punished them for this unauthorized venture, they promptly made a deal with England.

In 1670 English capitalists chartered the Hudson's Bay Company to exploit and administer the region.

Coureurs de bois were also among the ablest lieutenants of that most imaginative of Frenchmen, Rene Robert Cavelier de La Salle. In 1682, as a mere preliminary to his grandiose scheme for a comprehensive commercial system on the waters of the West, La Salle completed the exploration of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. He claimed for France "Possession of the river, of all the rivers that enter it and of all the country watered by them."

Only months before the death of Marquette, La Salle, a supremely romantic yet shrewdly practical man, reached New France. This indomitable soldier of fortune won a grant of land and commissions from Louis XIV to advance the cause of empire. He arrived in Canada in 1678. No friend of the Jesuits, he took as his chaplain a Recollet priest, Louis Hennepin, who had already spent two years among the Iroquois at Kente.

Sailing up the Great Lakes from Niagara, they reached the Illinois in 1679, and there founded the fort and mission of Crevacoeur. The two men then parted and Hennepin is said to have explored the Mississippi as far north as the present site of Minneapolis and christened the Falls of St. Anthony.

La Salle soon began the explorations that finally, in 1682, took him to the delta of the Mississippi. There he took possession of the surrounding country for the King of France, naming it Louisiana in the King's honor. Eventually Frenchmen revealed the outline of the whole continental interior and marked its boundaries with the fleur de lis.

To secure their hold upon the territory thus staked out, they founded a string of widely separated communities, strategically located fortresses, and far-flung missions and trading posts. On Cape Breton Island they established Fort Louisbourg, one of the most redoubtable strongholds in all the New World, to guard the approach to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. From both banks of the St. Lawrence River the strips of land ("seigneuries" of would-be feudal lords) stretched away to the edge of the clearings. On a high bluff above the river stood Quebec, the pride of the French

empire in America. Farther up the river was Montreal; even more provincial and less sophisticated than Quebec. Hundreds of miles to the northwest, near the juncture of Lake Superior with Lakes Michigan and Huron, was the tiny outpost of Sault St. Marie. Hundreds of miles to the southwest, at the juncture of Lakes Huron and Erie, was the well-fortified Detroit. Still farther in the same direction, along the Mississippi between the Missouri and the Ohio, was a cluster of hamlets – Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Fort Chartres, Sainte Genevieve – each with its outlying fields of black earth under cultivation. Over the Wabash was the fifth tiny settlement of the Illinois country, Vincennes.

La Salle was trained by the Jesuits, but parted company with them, supposedly on peaceful terms, in or about 1669. In his journals, after mentioning that he is thirty-three or thirty-four years old and that he has been twelve years in America, La Salle gives the following information.

"The Jesuits are masters at Quebec. The bishop is their creature and does nothing but in concert with them. He is not well inclined toward any other French settlers or priests and extends to them little or no credit. In Canada the Jesuits think everybody an enemy to religion who is an enemy to them. Though they refused absolution to all who sold brandy to the Indians, they sold it themselves. The bishop laughs at the orders of the King when they do not agree with the wishes of the Jesuits. The Jesuits built their college from the profits of traffic in brandy and furs while denying such trade. When the trade was proven by some of their servants, the servants were dismissed and the tale was altered to a denial not of the trade but of profits therefrom.

"An Indian testified in council at Quebec that he had prayed to be a Christian and implored the Jesuits to stay and teach him, but since no more beaver were left in his country, the missionaries were gone also.

"The Jesuits will have no priests but themselves in their missions, calling all others Jansenists" (the Calvinists).

La Salle accused the bishop of harshness and intolerance as well as of growing rich by tithes and trade.

There also existed, under the auspices of the Jesuits, an association called the Sainte Famille, of which Madame Bourdon was a member. (This woman had married a wealthy engineer out of purely religious motives. Their prenuptial agreement stated they would live together as brother and sister, not husband and wife, that she might care for his motherless children without the shame of abiding under his roof unmarried. For this she was considered quite saintly. When he died soon after, she became quite wealthy, and *then* was befriended by the Jesuits.) The society met in the cathedral every Thursday, with closed doors, where they related to each other, as they were bound by a vow to do, all they had learned concerning other people during the past week's confessions.

La Salle states that Fort Frontenac was built for the sole purpose of keeping the Jesuits from becoming the undisputed masters of the fur trade. La Salle sought to control the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys but met with great opposition from political rivals. Not the least of these foes was the Jesuits.

As we have seen, their avowed purpose of building another Paraguay on the borders of the Great Lakes was never accomplished, and their missions and their converts were swept away in an avalanche of ruin. Still, they would not despair. From the lakes they turned their eyes to the Mississippi Valley, hoping one day it would be the seat of their new empire. But what did this new Paraguay mean? It meant a little nation of converted and domesticated savages, docile as children, under the paternal and absolute rule of Jesuit fathers, and trained by them in industrial pursuits. The results of this kingdom were to inure, not to the profit of the producers, but to the building of Catholic churches, the founding of Catholic colleges, the establishment of warehouses and magazines, and the construction of works of defense. All would be controlled by Jesuits and form a part of the vast possessions of their Order. Such was the old Paraguay: and such, we may suppose, would

have been the new, had the plans of those who designed it been realized.

La Salle knew their ways, saw their desired end, and was determined to prevent it.

Since the middle of the seventeenth century the religious exaltation of the early missions had sensibly declined. In the nature of things, that grand enthusiasm was too intense and fervent to be long sustained. But the vital force of Jesuitism had suffered no diminution. That incredible drive to further the Order was not lessened.

The Jesuits were no longer supreme in Canada in the sense that Canada was no longer a Catholic mission, it had become a colony. Temporal interests and the civil power were constantly gaining ground; and the disciples of Loyola felt that relatively, if not absolutely, they were losing it. They struggled vigorously to maintain the ascendancy of their Order, or, as they would have expressed it, the ascendancy of religion; but in the older and more settled parts of the colony it was clear that the day of their undivided rule was past.

Therefore, they looked with redoubled solicitude to their missions in the West. They had been among its first explorers; and they hoped that here the Catholic faith, as represented by the Jesuits, might reign with undisputed sway. In Paraguay, it was their constant aim to exclude white men from their missions. It was the same in North America. They dreaded fur-traders, partly because they interfered with their teachings and perverted their converts, and partly for other reasons. But La Salle was a fur-trader, and far worse than a fur-trader: he aimed at occupation, fortification, and settlement.

In 1678 the Jesuits procured an ordinance from the Supreme Council prohibiting traders from going into the Indian country, in order that they, the Jesuits, being already established there in their missions, might carry on trade without competition. But La Salle induced a good number of the Iroquois to settle around his fort; thus bringing the trade to his own door, without breaking the ordinance. These Iroquois were fond of La Salle, and aided him in rebuilding his fort with cut stone.

The Jesuits were established on the south side of the lake. In their typical fashion, the missionaries proceeded to tell the Indians favorable to them that La Salle was strengthening his defenses with the view of making war on them. At the same time they were writing to La Salle, flattering him that he was the bulwark of the land, etc. and imploring him to be on guard as the Indians were not true to him and would soon become warlike.

The object of the Jesuits was twofold, either an Indian uprising would drive La Salle from profitable trading lands, or the conflict would cause the king to lose confidence in La Salle and he would be withdrawn or lose trading privileges.

Knowing what rascals these priests were, La Salle called the governor to come investigate. A series of meetings pacified the Indians and proved two Jesuits, Bruyas and Pierron, to be the fathers of the lies that had started the trouble.

Five years later La Salle was murdered by his own men during a fruitless attempt to reach the mouth of the Mississippi by sea.

Had the French been able to maintain political and religious unity, they might have built one gigantic network of influence extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. As it was, incessant quarrels took place between La Salle and the authorities in Canada and there was open division between the Recollet and Jesuit orders. La Salle's murder in 1687 was symbolic of a dissension that would permanently separate Louisiana from Quebec. Not only that, but it signalized the withdrawal of the Recollets from the West and left the missionary cause in the hands of the Jesuits, whose missionaries in the South rarely communicated with their Canadian associates.

THE REMNANTS OF FRENCH DREAMS IN AMERICA

Louis XIV ruled France from 1643 to 1715 and hungered for colonies to glorify his reign. Yet even Louis preferred to concentrate more on his massive army and its employment in furthering his ambitions in Europe than on outposts in New France. French sea power in later years seldom attained the scope and spirit of the mid-sixteenth century, and the French settlements were enfeebled by this weakness. Thus it was left first to the Dutch and ultimately to the British, staunch seafaring Protestant nations both, to give the coup de grace to Catholic Spain's pretensions to exclusive control of the old world and the new world.

By the opening decade of the eighteenth century, it was becoming apparent that the French government was changing its policy in America. More and more it was regarding New France not so much as an enterprise for trade and evangelism but as a base of operations against the English.

Around 1680, the Jesuit fathers revived the work in Maine and established a mission at the falls of St. Francis de Sales, along the Chaudiere River, not far from what is now the Maine border.

So fruitful were their efforts that eight years later a secular priest was sent to found a second mission, this one at Nanransouock, Maine. The Jesuits took it over in 1703. They remained in control until the mission was destroyed by the English and their Indian allies in 1724.

La Salle's dream of establishing a colony in Louisiana was realized in 1699 by the brothers Bienville and Iberville, who founded Old Biloxi on the Gulf Coast.

Recognizing the extreme importance of the Mississippi, the French founded settlements near Mobile in 1702, at New Orleans in 1718 and planted outposts on the Red and Arkansas Rivers.

The lower Mississippi Basin and the Gulf Plains soon became the scene of a bitter contest between the Spanish, French, and English.

There was similar development farther to the north. In western Illinois, where missions had been established at Cahokia in 1699 and Kaskaskia in 1700 permanent settlements and forts were built by 1720. The French were at Detroit in 1701 and at Vincennes on the Wabash by 1732. At each of these places of population, the Roman church continued to carry on its ministrations, sometimes maintaining separate chapels for the Indians. But there was a singular absence of the piety that had characterized the 17th century missionaries. Even the missions reflected the secular interests of the age. Especially difficult was the situation in the Illinois country, which was virtually cut off from Canada because of the hostility of the Fox Indians. Finally, in 1731, the Illinois settlements were formally incorporated with the southern province of Louisiana.

While tension was mounting east of the Mississippi, to the west new explorations were taking place. Starting from Montreal in 1731, the adventurer Pierre de la Verendrye traveled past the Great Lakes and with the help of the Jesuit, Charles Mesaiger, founded a string of fortified settlements from the western end of Lake Superior to the region west of Lake of the Woods. In 1738, he penetrated Dakota Territory in a mission that took him to the Mandan Indians. Four years later, two of his sons crossed the Missouri and explored the country to the southwest as far as the Big Horn Mountains and searched out the Black Hills in South Dakota. Apparently, few, if any, efforts were made on this expedition to evangelize the Indians.

At the outbreak of the French and Indian War, which was precipitated by the English and French contest for the Ohio Valley, there were only one Recollet, eleven Sulpician, and thirty-eight Jesuit priests in all of New France. A minority of these dwelt within the present borders of the United States. When the struggle commenced, they did what they could to aid the French arms. They made bargains with the “converted” Indians, gave directions to raiding parties, said mass in the forts,

and cared for the wounded on the battlefields. But they could not save the French from defeat by overwhelming forces. With the fall of Quebec and Montreal, an English victory in Canada was assured. According to the terms of the Paris treaty of 1763, France ceded to Great Britain, Canada and all her territory east of the Mississippi, while New Orleans went with Louisiana to Spain. With this action the curtain fell upon one of the most colorful chapters in American history.

The English made no attempt to stamp out French Catholicism from the newly won territories, though the immigration of more priests from France was barred by English law. For the Jesuits, rule by the new conquerors proved to be something of a blessing in disguise. Had they remained under French domination, they would have been expelled in 1761 by an edict of Louis XV suppressing the Society of Jesus. Under the circumstances they kept their official recognition until they were banned by order of Pope Clement XIV in 1773. Even then they continued their operations until the old missionaries died at their posts and the work came naturally to a close. In Louisiana, however, thirteen Jesuit priests were expelled as soon as the Spanish took over the territory, their property being turned over to the Capuchin friars.

The French Catholic population in the west never overcame its enmity for the British and when the Revolution broke out, it threw its support to the American side. When George Rogers Clark and his Virginia militiamen captured Kaskaskia in 1778, they received assistance from Pierre Gibault. This same priest helped them to take Cahokia and to win Vincennes. In this way he and others like him made their contribution to the building of a free America.

France's exploration of North America ended after the French and Indian War, but Frenchmen continued to roam the West as trappers and fur traders until the end of the reign of "King Beaver" in the mid 1800s.

Perhaps the one trait that made the work of the French missionaries unique was their ability to blend their lives with

those whom they sought to serve. If the Spanish played the role of mildly indulgent fathers in a family of wayward children, the French acted as brothers who won their status by deeds of kindness and courage. The Hispanic note of benevolent condescension was almost completely lacking among the French. Both came with the open and express purpose of converting the aborigines to Roman Catholic Christianity, though their conduct often revealed as much zeal for the crown as for the cross. The difference was that the French developed their mission with an unrivalled degree of subtlety. They preferred to present their faith in terms of a heroism that smiles at torture and death. Only when complete confidence had been won did they present the doctrinal aspects of their religion. They were no more effective than the Spanish in impressing upon the Indian consciousness the fuller implications of their faith. At best, they were able to apply a thin and impermanent veneer of Christian idealism to a primitive culture, somewhat resentful of their intrusion. Thus the most that can be said for their efforts is that they exposed innumerable thousands to a limited knowledge of God and a more settled way of life.

Their sense of brotherhood proved to be both their strength and their undoing, for their close alliances with one tribe incurred for them the hatred of another. The friendship they held for the Hurons certainly had a direct bearing on the hostility of the Iroquois and had much to do with their inability to thrive in the region south and east of Lake Erie. Yet, while they could be one in their social and political alliances and in their loyalty to the crown, they were torn by habitual quarreling among themselves. This circumstance greatly reduced their effectiveness.

Still, the French missionaries achieved some remarkable feats. The very fact that centuries after the collapse of French power in Northeast America Roman Catholicism has flourished in Quebec is indicative of a powerful and abiding clerical influence. Their record in converting the Indians to a nominal acceptance of Christianity is admittedly less impressive than that of the Spanish, but they were somewhat more successful when it came to planting permanent settlements on the frontier. From the

Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico they left the imprint of their culture and civilization and so contributed significantly to the taming of the American Middle West.

During the 16th and 17th centuries bloody civil wars kept France in constant turmoil. As unholy as this killing over religion was, it kept the balance of power in constant flux. Neither Roman Catholic nor Calvinist forces could ever become strong enough for long enough to establish a stable ruling force.

This so crippled domestic affairs that foreign affairs, especially empire building, could not help but suffer. Had a strong, unified Catholic France been free to devote undivided energies to the New World how different would be our nation's history. Had a strong, unified Calvinist France been free to devote its resources and best men to North America nothing we see or know would be the same.

War is a terrible thing. Religion is far worse. Yet, God, in His power and might oft causes the wrath of man to praise Him.

THE WORD OF GOD IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE

WILLIAM FAREL

The student of Bible history should know something about William Farel. After attending school for some time in Dauphine, he obtained the permission of his parents to finish his education at the university of Paris. He sat under James Lefevre, the most renowned professor of divinity in his day. His genius, piety, and learning greatly attracted the young Farel.

One must remember that the spiritual histories of men written in days when there was little or no Biblical teaching or understanding, are very difficult to interpret to the satisfaction of Christians in our learned age. All we can say for sure is that Lefevre had an awakening. From the center of the Sorbonne he fearlessly proclaimed, “That true religion has but one foundation, one object, one head – Jesus Christ, blessed for evermore. Let us not,” he continued, “call ourselves by St. Paul, Apollos, or St. Peter. The cross of Christ alone openeth the gates of heaven, and shutteth the gates of hell.”

Thus, as early as 1512, the leading doctrines of the Reformation were proclaimed in the presence of the most learned of the Sorbonnists. The university was in turmoil; some applauded, some condemned; and, daily, groups of men met who were anxious to discuss the new doctrines.

There was one amongst the listening crowds in the lecture room whose heart the Lord had prepared for the word of life. This was William Farel. His soul was deeply agitated when he heard that salvation comes through faith of Jesus Christ alone, and that works without faith are futile. He thought of the lessons and the habits of his home, his early associations, his tender recollections, his prayers, his hopes. But the declarations of

scripture had produced convictions, both deeper and firmer. In his search after truth he studied the word of God, light broke in upon his mind and he saw that it was Jesus only who could save his soul.

"Now," he exclaimed, "everything appears to me in a new aspect; scripture is cleared up; prophecy is opened; the apostles shed a strong light upon my soul. A voice, till now unknown, the voice of Jesus, my Shepherd, my Master, my Teacher, speaks to me with power. Instead of the murderous heart of a ravening wolf, He has given me one of meekness and quietness, so great is the change that has come over me. Now my heart is entirely withdrawn from the pope, and given to Jesus Christ."

William Farel, so far as we know, was the first person who professed the Reformed religion in France, and was converted in the university at Paris, so renowned for its Romish orthodoxy. Farel and Lefevre became lifelong friends.

When persecuted in Paris because of their doctrines, William Brissonnet, bishop of Meaux, a pious and pure-minded man, invited them to visit him, and preach the gospel to his people. Numbers came to hear, and when they heard the preachers pressing them to give, not their money to the church, but their hearts to Christ, the surprise and excitement of the inhabitants became extreme. The priests and monks of the diocese, seeing their credit weakening, and their revenues diminishing, aroused persecution, and the preachers had to flee for their lives.

Farel went to preach in Dauphine. Three of his brothers trusted Christ. Encouraged by this success, he went preaching from town to town, and place to place. His appeals agitating the whole country, the priests sought to excite the people against him; but he was neither of an age nor of a character to be stopped by persecution. His ardor increased with the danger. Wherever there was a place to plant his foot – on the border of the rivers, on the points of the rocks, in the bed of the torrents – he would preach the gospel. If he was threatened, he stood firm; if surrounded, he escaped; if thrust from one spot, he reappeared in another. At last, when he saw himself surrounded on all sides, he

retreated by mountain paths into Switzerland, and arrived at Basle in the commencement of the year 1524.

THE BIBLE IN FRENCH AT MEAUX

Like the English Wycliffe, the aged Lefevre greatly desired that every man in France should have the privilege of reading the scriptures in his mother tongue. For this he labored with the assistance of Brissonnet.

The four Gospels in French were published in October 1522. The remaining books of the New Testament soon followed, and in October 1524 a complete edition of the New Testament was published at Meaux. As a result, it was there that France's first Protestant congregation publicly assembled.

The pious bishop greatly furthered this good work by his wealth and his zeal. The word of God was speedily and widely circulated. The Bible was given freely to the poor. Never did a prelate devote his income to nobler purposes, and never did a seed-time promise to bear a more glorious harvest.

The preachers transferred from Paris to Meaux, and finding themselves unfettered, were acting with great liberty, while the word of God was diligently read in the homes and workshops of the people. The effect was sudden and great. Divine light had taken the place of papal darkness. The new book became the theme of their constant conversation. While they handled their spindles and their combs, they could talk to each other of some fresh discovery they had made in the gospels or the epistles. So it was with the villagers in the vineyards, when the meal-hours came, one read aloud, while the others gathered round him.

"There was engendered in many," says a chronicler of that day, "an ardent desire for knowing the way of salvation, so that artisans, fullers, and wool-combers took no other recreation as they worked with their hands, than to talk with each other of the word of God, and to comfort themselves with the same. Sundays and holidays especially were devoted to the reading of scripture, and inquiring into the good pleasure of the Lord."

The following quotation from a Catholic historian, though hostile, bears witness to the positive influence of the word of God on the people. "Lefevre, aided by the renown of his great learning, contrived so to cajole and circumvent Messire Brissonnet with his plausible talk, that he caused him to turn aside grievously, so that it has been impossible to this day to free the city and diocese of Meaux from that pestilent doctrine, where it has so marvellously increased. The misleading of that good bishop was a great injury, as until then he had been so devoted to God and to the Virgin Mary."

THE BLESSED EFFECTS OF THE WORD OF GOD

These simple people soon became better instructed than their former teachers, the Franciscan monks. Christianity had taken the place of superstition, and the word of God had revealed Christ. They saw that praying to the saints was idolatry; that Christ was the only mediator between God and man; and that the throne of grace was open to all. Meaux had thus become a focus of light. Tidings of the great work spread through France, so that it became a proverb with reference to anyone noted for the new opinions that "he had drunk at the well of Meaux."

The preaching of the new ministers was for a time confined to private assemblies; but as the number of their hearers increased, they gained courage and ascended the public pulpits. The bishop entreated his flock to lend no ear to those who would turn them aside from the word of God; even if an angel from heaven were to preach another gospel. Lefevre, energetically expounding the word on one occasion exclaimed, "Kings, princes, nobles, peoples, all nations should think and aspire after Christ alone! Come near, ye pontiffs, come ye kings, come ye generous hearts! Nations awake to the light of the gospel, and inhale the heavenly life. The word of God is all-sufficient!"

And this, henceforth became the motto of that school: THE WORD OF GOD IS ALL-SUFFICIENT.

I have in my library a very old record, written at the time of this awakening. It says: "Thus the ray of light which we have seen shining through the darkness of prejudice about the year 1512, when Lefevre proclaimed from the tribune of the popish Sorbonne the futility of works without faith, declared the one Mediator between God and man; and boldly denounced the idolatry of those who invocated, and offered prayers to the Virgin and the saints. That divine ray was not suffered to become extinct. For nearly twelve years it has been expanding until, like a beacon in the surrounding gloom, it is showing thousands and tens of thousands the way of life and peace, and how to avoid the ways of death and hell."

As we have seen, Satan arranged a two-headed attack to crush this revival:

1. The political intrigues of the Roman church.
2. The Roman Catholic leaven of fatalism and a church-state being introduced into the meal by John Calvin.

The Bible in both French and German probably came to America at the same time. The Huguenots at Beaufort (now South Carolina) in 1562 would certainly have French Bibles with them. Moreover, in this colony were some Germans, and they would most likely have Bibles in their language.

PROTESTANT BIBLES IN FRENCH

In Volume 1 we considered the Huguenot effort at Beaufort, on Port Royal Harbor, in 1562, under the leadership of Coligny. This was the first attempt at Protestant colonization in America. These Huguenots were Calvinists who fled persecution on account of their religion, and came to America to found a Christian state. They landed and "Kneeling on the ground, they gave thanks to God, who had guided their voyage to an issue full

of promise." They undoubtedly brought Bibles in their native tongue. Those Huguenots who settled at Fort Caroline, in 1564, probably had French Bibles as well.

While they may have carried Olivetian's translation of 1535, the most popular Protestant version, it would be more likely that they carried the revision of that version put out by the ministers of Geneva in 1560.

The first French Protestant Bible was a translation based on Hebrew and Greek sources, though it was built largely on Le Fevre's Bible. It was made by Pierre Robert Olivetian and published at the expense of the Waldensians in 1535. Olivetian was related to John Calvin, who wrote a Latin preface for the work.

To Olivetian is due the introduction of the French term L'Eternel, still in use in French Bibles, as an equivalent of the Ineffable Name of God. (Moffatt adopted this term in his Old Testament translation.)

In 1560 a fresh revision of this version was prepared under the direction of the ministers of Geneva, known later as the "French Geneva Version". It was often reprinted. In 1588, a new revision was published at Geneva under the editorial direction of C. B. Bertram. The work was done by a company of the pastors of Geneva and came to be regarded as the standard text. During the seventeenth century this edition took on the name "The Geneva Bible". A very successful revision of this Bible was made in 1724 by Frederic Ostervald, a Swiss theologian and a man of great influence. It was published at Amsterdam and Rotterdam. He made a final revision in 1744.

Jean Diodati, the author of a well-known Italian translation of 1641, published a French version at Geneva in 1644. This Bible found favor among the Huguenots and was used freely in America.

Most of these Protestant translations and revisions were used in America in the colonial era and later. Many copies of these Bibles are preserved in the libraries of the country, yet it is

difficult to determine with any measure of accuracy the amount of use they had in America.

In 1562 a French Protestant hymnal was completed, containing forty-nine Psalms in meter by Clement Marot, and 101 Psalms rendered into meter by Theodore Beza. From 1562 to 1565 no less than sixty-two editions of this book were published. It was eventually translated into twenty-two languages.

ROMAN CATHOLIC BIBLES IN FRENCH

The beginning of a French Bible may be traced to the early twelfth century. Various parts were translated from time to time. An edition completed by a group of unnamed men was issued by the order of Charles VIII about 1498. It was edited by the king's confessor, Jean De Rely. Published in Paris, it was known as La Grande Bible to distinguish it from an inferior work of 1474.

A complete Bible by the well-known humanist Jacques Le Fevre d'Eaples appeared in 1530, but it was put on the Papal Index (the list of forbidden books) in 1546 because its notes were supposed to favor Protestantism. It was extensively used, however, came to be known as the Bible of Antwerp, and was approved by the doctors of the Louvain.

In 1550, at Louvain, a revision of Le Fevre's Bible by members of the faculty of Louvain was issued with their authority, remaining a Catholic standard for more than a century. It is estimated that no less than two hundred editions were finally published.

There was printed at Mons, in 1667, a New Testament known as the Port Royal Version, De Sacy's version, or the Mons New Testament. This translation was begun by Antoine le Maistre and revised and completed by his brother, Louis Isaac le Maistre, better known by his assumed name De Sacy. The whole was partially revised by others. It is regarded as one of the best translations ever made in French, and had a very wide

circulation. While the hostility of the Sorbonne forced its publication outside of France, it carried the privilege of Charles II of Spain, and was warmly welcomed in France. These translations were all made from the Latin.

Whether the Jesuit priests used translations in French, in their work in America between 1608 and 1763 is unknown. They had access to the Louvain revision of Le Fevre's version and the popular Mons, or De Sacy New Testament of 1667. Other versions were accessible, among which was a New Testament by Dominque Bonhours, a Jesuit, which was published in 1696, and again in 1711 with the Latin Vulgate. This was revised by others and published in 1713, 1748 and again in the latter half of the 19th century.

It is not impossible that Jesuits in America used translations made by Jesuits in France. No matter how much opposition to the use of vernacular translations existed among certain authorities of the Catholic Church, they had a wide use among Catholics at that time. Catholics of various nationalities were determined to have vernacular translations, and many were provided. They became a source of great trouble to Catholic authorities.

NOTES RELATED TO THE PERIOD OF FRENCH COLONIZATION

THE NATIVE-AMERICAN POPULATION AND ITS RELIGION

Some may wonder how the native population of North America was so quickly and easily overrun by European settlers. The reason is simply that the Indian nations were surprisingly small. Estimates of the number of Iroquois warriors were made by Wentworth Greenhalgh in 1660 and 1677 from personal inspection. His report:

	1660	1677
Mohawks	500	300
Oneidas	100	200
Onondagas	300	350
Cayugas	300	300
Senecas	1000	1000
Totals	2200	2150

Thus, one can see that the word “tribe” is much more fitting when referring to these groups of people than “nation” as their populations were very small.

Contrary to the ever-growing myth that the Native Americans were a holy, spiritual people until corrupted by the white man, in no Indian language could the early missionaries find a word to express the idea of God. (This is a theme we hope to explore in depth in a later volume). Manitou and Oki meant anything endowed with supernatural powers, from a snakeskin to an Indian conjurer. The priests were forced to use a circumlocution, – “The Great Chief of Men,” or “He who lives in

the Sky". Yet it should seem that the idea of a supreme controlling spirit might naturally arise from the peculiar character of Indian belief. The idea that each race of animals has its archetype or chief would easily suggest the existence of a supreme chief of the spirits or of the human race, – a conception imperfectly shadowed forth in the native's Manabozho. The Jesuit missionaries seized this advantage.

One Jesuit's journal gives a standard line of approach. "If each sort of animal has its king, so, too, have men; and as man is above all the animals, so is the spirit that rules over men the master of all other spirits."

The Indian mind readily accepted the idea, and tribes in no sense Christian quickly rose to the belief in one controlling spirit. The Great Spirit became a distinct existence, a pervading power in the universe, and a dispenser of justice. Many tribes began to pray to him, though still clinging obstinately to their ancient superstitions.

The primitive Indian believed in the immortality of the soul, but he did not always believe in a state of future reward and punishment. Nor, when such a belief existed, was the good to be rewarded a moral good, or the evil to be punished a moral evil. Skillful hunters, brave warriors, men of influence and consideration, went, after death, to the happy hunting ground; while the slothful, the cowardly, and the weak were doomed to eat serpents and ashes in dreary regions of mist and darkness. In the general belief, however, there was but one land of shades for all. The spirits, in form and feature as they had been in life, wended their way through dark forests to the villages of the dead, subsisting on bark and rotten wood. On arriving, they sat all day in the crouching posture of the sick, and, when night came, hunted the shades of animals with the shades of bows and arrows, among the shades of trees and rocks. All things, animate and inanimate, were alike immortal, and all passed together to the gloomy country of the dead.

The belief respecting the land of souls varied greatly in different tribes and different individuals. Most of the traditions

agree, however, that the spirits, on their journey heavenward, were beset with difficulties and perils.

All of this proved good soil for the Roman heresies of purgatory, different levels of sin, and the mixture of vague truth with superstition.

THE HURON PEOPLE

The Hurons were originally, a confederation of four native North American tribes of the Iroquoian family, living in the region between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario.

Early in the 17th century, when the first French settlers and missionaries arrived in this region, the Huron were at the height of their power. Their main concentration was in about twenty-five villages near Georgian Bay, an arm of Lake Huron. Their population at its peak has been variously estimated at from 10,000 to 30,000. Their numbers, however, were greatly reduced about 1625 by smallpox and other epidemics.

Many Huron towns contained large homes of eastern long-house style. These were communal dwellings between 150 and 180 feet long and were made of slabs of bark over a pole frame. The Huron grew corn, beans, squash, tobacco, and sunflowers. Fishing was a major food source.

The Huron confederacy consisted entirely of Native Americans of the Iroquoian family, and the culture of the tribes was similar to that of the Iroquois, but the Iroquois and the Huron were bitter hereditary enemies. Between 1648 and 1650, Iroquoian invasions decimated the tribes and drove them westward, where they first attempted to settle with a closely related tribe, the Tionontati. In company with this tribe, the Huron continued their westward migration, eventually settling around the present site of Detroit. By the time they were formally admitted to the friendship of the Iroquois in 1723, the Huron were a small, comparatively diffuse group. The most

important descendants of the members of the confederacy, organized in the Wyandot, acquired a certain prominence in the area of what is now Ohio in the early 19th century. The remaining Huron survivors are now found at Jeune Lorette, near Quebec, and at Sandwich, Ontario, in Canada, and at the Wyandot reservation in Oklahoma.

THE NAME “CANADA”

It is a surprising fact that virtually nothing that can be stated with certainty is known about the origin of the name Canada. According to the most widely accepted theory, the name is derived from Huron (Iroquoian) “kanada”, meaning “village, settlement, or collection of huts or cabins.” Some authorities suppose kanada to be the singular form of the Indian word for “hut” and kanata the plural form.

When Jacques Cartier made his second voyage to America in 1535-36 he wintered near the present city of Quebec. He heard the Indians refer to a near-by village by a name that sounded to him like Canada. Although Cartier’s report indicates that he knew that the Indians used the word for a village, for want of a better name he applied the term to the adjacent country. He referred to an Indian chief as “King of Canada.” Later French explorers applied the name “Canadians” to the Algonquian tribes on or near the St. Lawrence River.

Louis Hennepin, the Belgian missionary and explorer who visited Canada in 1675, advanced the theory that the name was derived from the Basque words Cabo-de-Nada, “Cape of Nothing”, and alluded to the barren appearance of the North American coast when first visited by Basque fishermen.

THE CONDITION OF FRANCE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION

The course of the Reformation in France, as in other countries, depended largely upon the political, social, and religious condition of the population.

During the Middle Ages France had been more independent of the papacy than any other European nation. Louis IX, although an earnest Catholic and a crusader, issued what he termed a Pragmatic Sanction against the "intolerable exactions of the Court of Rome" in 1269. This furnished the basis for the "Liberties," of the French church which were rights granted them by the king without the consent of the pope. As if this weren't bold enough in a day when European power dared not resist Rome, Philip IV sent a band of men to capture Pope Boniface VIII and put him on trial. The townspeople freed the "vicar of Christ" but he died three weeks later of his ordeal. Boniface VIII then served for nine months before a Frenchman, Clement V took over and moved the papal throne to Avignon, France in 1305, beginning what Catholic historians call the Babylonian captivity of the church.

In France an ecclesiastical system wherein councils were superior to popes and the rights of national churches were recognized was gradually established. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) confirmed the liberties of the French Catholic church.

By the close of the fifteenth century France had become centralized. In 1439 the troops of the nobles were disbanded and the right of maintaining a regular military force was limited to the king, who was thus enabled to attach to his court the nobles, who were now incapable of private ventures. The common people were disarmed and heavily taxed for the maintenance of mercenary troops – Swiss, German, etc. The Estates General (composed of clergy, nobles and commoners first called in 1302 to win support for royal policy against the papacy) was no longer

convened and the right to assemble almost forgotten. All was now subservient to the king.

In 1516 Francis I signed the Concordat of Bologna with Pope Leo X which essentially nullified the liberties of the French Catholic church. Under this agreement ecclesiastical patronage and spoils were divided between king and pope. The pope was given the right to collect revenues in France. The king was given the right of nominating to the high ecclesiastical offices.

There were in France at this time ten archbishoprics, eighty-three bishoprics, twenty-seven abbacies, and a large number of smaller offices. Most of these were heavily endowed. Appointments to these offices were sold by the king and the highest were commonly purchased by influential nobles or bestowed upon them as a reward for services – past or prospective.

During the time of Francis I, France had thirteen cardinals, who were elected through royal influence, and who held numerous benefices in France. Five of these – the cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine, Chatillon, DuBellay, and Armagnac – were nobles of the highest rank. Most of the higher clergy were non-residents and the lower clergy followed their example in pleasure seeking and idleness. The chief judicial and ecclesiastical offices were sold to the highest bidders.

In spite of this, there were many obstacles to reform. One was the centralized government, whose financial interest lay so decidedly in the maintenance of the hierarchical church. In addition, the French kings believed that a change of religion involved a change of rulers.

The evils of this royal absolutism were enhanced by the fact that, after the death of Henry II (1559) the government fell into the hands of Catharine de Medici. She was one of the most unscrupulous women in history, trained in the ways of Machiavelli, and willing to sacrifice the lives of half her subjects if thereby some object of ambition could be attained.

Just as unscrupulous and much more astute were the Guises (the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Cardinal of Guise, the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Aumales, the Marquis of Elbeuf, and the

Grand Prior of France), who had attained to great influence under Henry II. These men, partly as counselors and military leaders and partly as rivals of Catharine de Medici, controlled the government for a number of years (1559 onward). Possessing princely revenues from ecclesiastical benefices, they were ever rapacious, and their relentless inquisitorial proceedings against Protestants were prompted by the two-fold desire of maintaining the existing ecclesiastical order from which they derived their wealth and of confiscating the property of the persecuted.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (1572) is only an instance of what was going on almost constantly, on a smaller scale, for nearly fifty years.

In addition, the influence of Philip II of Spain, a bigoted Romanist and an earnest supporter of the Inquisition, was baneful to Protestantism. Having married a daughter of Catharine de Medici, he was able to exert much personal influence upon Catharine. He incited Catharine, her royal sons, and the Guises to the carrying out of an exterminating policy against the Protestants by promises of troops and money and by threats of invasion in case Protestantism should be tolerated. He strove persistently to secure the full establishment of the Inquisition in France.

Fourth, the lower classes in France were ignorant and degraded, and were content with their condition. Calvinism did not present to them an attractive and an emancipating front as Lutheranism did to the German peasants; but it seemed rather austere and oppressive. Moreover, Calvinistic preaching was generally too abstruse to be appreciated by the illiterate. The uneducated class in any nation is never won to the support of a cause except by the promise of material gain. Calvin taught people to accept their lot as God's will. Luther challenged them to boldly change their situation. The priests were able, at almost any time, to stir up the populace to deeds of violence against the Protestants.

Finally, The University of Paris, still highly influential, opposed Protestantism with all its might.

On the other hand, reformation was aided by a number of factors.

The extreme corruption of the French clergy, and their scandalous negligence in the performance of the functions assigned them, favored Protestants in two ways. It created in the minds of intelligent people a longing for reform, and made it possible for Protestants to labor unmolested in many places.

Francis I had generously promoted the new learning by founding a school of languages and by patronizing scholars. France contained a large class of intelligent people, and intelligence has generally been found favorable to Protestantism. As a matter of fact the intelligent people of France (belonging chiefly to the middle and upper classes) rapidly embraced Protestantism.

A constant stream of zealous missionaries flowed from Geneva into France. The influence of Calvin, through these men, through his published writings, and through his letters to leading Protestants in France, is incalculable.

Three noblewomen – Margaret, Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I, Jeanne d'Albret, her daughter and successor, and Renee, Duchess of Ferrara, daughter of Louis XII – were of great service to the Protestant cause in protecting its adherents and in winning noblemen to Protestantism.

The Bourbon family was led, partly by conviction and perhaps more by political considerations, to assume the leadership of the persecuted Protestants. Feeling that their rights had been invaded by the Guises, they had the most powerful political motives for striving to overthrow the government whose policy they were dictating. The influence of Jeanne d'Albret on her husband, Antoine de Bourbon, was considerable; but his weakness probably injured as much as aided the Protestant cause.

Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Conde, was far more valiant, and as counselor and military leader did good service for the Protestant cause. Finally, Henry of Navarre, son of Antoine and Jeanne d'Albret, put himself at the head of the Protestant party, and, by rare military genius and political tact, succeeded, after the death of the last of the sons of Catharine de Medici, in

winning the crown of France. He secured for the Protestants most of the rights they had so long struggled and suffered for, but showed his insincerity and his ingratitude in returning to the Roman Catholic Church, and thus making it almost certain that Romanism would regain the ascendancy and crush out the new faith. The chief service of the Bourbons was to give legality to the Protestant revolt.

The Chatillon family rendered very efficient service to Protestantism. Cardinal Chatillon embraced the new faith and though eventually excommunicated by the pope he promoted Protestant preaching while holding high Catholic office.

The greatest military leader of the French Protestants was Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, who has been called "the noblest of all Frenchmen." For military genius, religious earnestness, moral courage, and complete devotion, he stands without a rival among the leaders of the sixteenth century. Francis d'Andelot, younger brother of a cardinal and an admiral, possessed, in a lesser degree, most of the virtues of his siblings, and was a military leader of no mean ability.

The influence of the Chancellor L'Hopital who, without declaring himself openly in favor of Protestantism, did all in his power to prevent illegal persecutions of Protestants, must not be overlooked.

William of Orange, second only to Coligny in military ability and heroism, found time to render some service to French Protestantism.

Elizabeth of England aided the Protestant cause with money and with troops, yet by no means so liberally as might have been expected.

In 1525 a commission was appointed by Parliament to detect and to try Lutherans. Louis de Berquin, a man of high rank who had become a Protestant in 1523, was the first victim of the commission. After repeated imprisonment and horrible tortures he was executed (1529). However, the long-term effect of these proceedings was favorable to Protestantism. The Swiss and

German Protestants, rulers, and theologians interceded for the persecuted brethren, but with no result.

The massacre of the Waldenses (Vaudois) in Provence occurred in 1545. The learned and eloquent Anne du Bourg, a member of Parliament, boldly defended the Protestants in 1559 for which he was imprisoned in the Bastille and later killed. This execution, more than that of Berquin, fueled the Protestant cause. Thousands embraced the new religion in consequence of his death.

Persecution was raging almost constantly throughout France during the reign of Henry II (1547-1559). Yet in 1559 representatives of about fifty Protestant churches assembled in Paris, the center of persecution, for the purpose of completing the organization of their forces. They adopted a Calvinistic confession of faith and a system of church order based upon that of Calvin but more congregational in character. The first article read: "No church nor church-officer, be he minister, deacon, or elder, shall claim or exercise any jurisdiction over another." A system of synods was inaugurated, beginning with the consistory of each church, the pastor and elders, ascending to the provincial synod assembling twice a year, and finally to the national synod. No minister was to be chosen by less than two or three ministers and their consistories, and to the people was accorded the right to object to the elect minister. Differences between pastors, officers and people were to be referred to the provincial synod. The national synod was the highest court of appeal.

At this time in Normandy there may have been as many as fifty thousand Protestants. In Brittany they were very numerous, and assembled publicly, in large numbers, to hear preaching. Picardy was swarming with Protestants. La Brie had a large Protestant element. Protestants were gaining a foothold in Champagne and Bourgogne. In Poitou, Anjou, and Saintonge the new religion had early become firmly established. Guyenne was Catholic in name but Protestant in fact. Forty pastors were at work in Dauphine, yet it was said that a thousand would not suffice. Quercy, Albegeois, Cevennes, Provence, and Languedoc were ready to embrace Protestantism. Sixty churches were in

process of formation simultaneously in Provence, and many other bands of Protestants were only waiting for pastors to organize them into churches.

The death of Henry II, and the elevation of Catharine and the Guises to power (1559), led the Bourbons to put themselves at the head of the now strong and aggressive Protestant party. Protestants from various parts of France assembled at Nantes and formed a conspiracy for seizing and trying the Guises, and delivering the regency to the Bourbons. The conspiracy was betrayed and the "tumult" resulted in a horrible massacre of Protestants (1560). Louis of Conde was arrested and condemned to death, but the Chancellor L'Hopital refused to sign the death warrant.

When the young King Francis II died on December 5, 1560, Catharine resolved to assume the regency, and, by the aid of Louis and Antoine of Bourbon, to throw off the Guises. For a time she was gracious to the Protestants. A hearing was granted them, and Theodore Beza ably and eloquently defended them and pleaded for toleration. The Huguenot leaders demanded not only toleration in religious matters, but also the abolition of certain religious orders, the exclusion from the king's council of foreigners (the Guises), and the partial confiscation of church property. The numbers of the Huguenots were multiplying, and they were daily becoming more and more aggressive.

Through the defection of Antoine, and the influence of the Guises, the massacring of the Protestants was resumed in 1562. In April of that year the Huguenots assembled at Orleans and resolved to take up arms. Three sanguinary religious wars followed each other in quick succession, the results in each instance were indecisive, and the Protestants made moderate terms of peace only to be betrayed by Catharine and the Guises.

The peace of St. Germain (August 8, 1570) gave the Protestants a limited liberty of worship outside of Paris and the right to challenge a certain number of judges in the Parliaments of Paris, Rouen, Dijon, Aix, Rennes, Grenoble, and Bordeaux. Moreover, four cities of refuge were entrusted to them for two years – La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charite.

Coligny was invited to the royal court and treated with the utmost consideration. He soon gained the ascendancy over the feeble young king, Charles IX. A marriage was arranged between Henry of Navarre and the king's sister Jeanne d'Albret. She, in turn, opposed the marriage of her son to Margaret of Valois, and died suddenly and mysteriously, possibly from poison, on June 8, 1572. The marriage occurred August 18. Catharine, finding that she was losing her influence, formed, with her son Henry and the Guises, a conspiracy for the assassination of Coligny.

A large number of Huguenot nobles were invited to come to Paris on the occasion of the marriage of Henry of Navarre and the Princess Margaret. This was designed to secure the assassination of Coligny. When the shot from the hired assassin (August 22, 1572) was not fatal, alarm seized the conspirators (Catharine, her son Henry, the Duchess of Nemours, her son Henry of Guise, and her brother-in-law, the Duke of Aumale) lest the king should avenge the attempt on the life of his favorite. Visiting the wounded man, in company with his mother and brother, the king had a secret interview with Coligny, in which the latter warned him against the undue influence of Catharine and Henry. Charles, in a fit of passion, blurted out the substance of the conversation.

Catharine and Henry resolved to make sure of Coligny's death. They succeeded, by false representations of the intentions and movements of the Protestants against the king, in working Charles into a desperate and frenzied state of mind. He now entered passionately into their scheme, and a general massacre was agreed upon.

The horrible details of the slaughter that occurred on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572 must be omitted. Coligny was slain, and with him hundreds of the noblest of the Huguenots. The number of victims throughout France was twenty to fifty thousand.

There was great rejoicing in the papal and Spanish courts.

But the Protestants who escaped were soon reorganized and ready to strike another blow for freedom. Years of war and murder followed. Three Henrys filled important places in the history of this period. Henry III was brother and successor of Charles IX. Henry, Duke of Guise was an aspirant to the throne. He belonged to the Spanish League, and through him Philip II of Spain distributed his ducats for the perpetuation of civil war in France. Henry of Navarre after the death of Coligny became the greatest military leader of the Huguenots.

The authority of Henry of Guise became formidable through Spanish gold and the king secured his assassination in December 1588. King Henry III was himself assassinated through the influence of the Spanish League in August 1589.

Henry of Navarre was now the most legitimate claimant of the crown. Yet he had to fight his way to power against the combined powers of Spain and Roman Catholic France. He received some aid from the struggling Netherlanders, from England, and from Germany. Finally he made terms with the pope (1593) and secured the allegiance of the papal party in France. His throne was now secure, but peace had not yet come.

Having secured civil tranquility by 1598, Henry now applied himself to the task of quieting the state ecclesiastic. The "Edict of Nantes" was directed to this end.

This edict, so far as it affected Protestants, contained the following provisions:

1. Complete liberty of conscience.
2. Limited freedom to exercise the Reformed religion, i.e., lords, gentlemen, and others, having the privilege of high justice, were to be permitted to hold religious exercises in their houses for their families, tenants, etc.
3. Protestant worship was to be permitted in all places where it was practiced in 1596-1597, and where Protestants had a right to worship according to the Edict of Pacification (1577), and according to articles, etc., made at Nerac and Felix.

4. And if the royal courts of Parliament gave special permission, they could have one place in the suburbs of one town in each district for public worship.

Yet the Protestants were so hampered by restrictions that anything like peaceable aggressive work was impossible.

As a result of the forty years' struggle for religious liberty the French Protestants had become more a political than a religious party. Partisanship had taken the place of evangelical zeal. The laws, combined with the extreme antagonism of the two parties, put Protestant progress out of the question. The Romanists had all the means of aggression in their own hands. The Protestants could hope, at best, for nothing better than a gradual extinction. The Jesuits were at work here, and their diabolical principles were soon to work the ruin of their defenseless adversaries. Continuance in the enjoyment of the meager provisions of the Edict of Nantes depended almost entirely on the will of the monarch. One by one the privileges of the Protestants were abridged, and their condition became gradually more and more intolerable.

The Edict of Nismes (1629) partially restored the privileges, the withdrawal of which along with the consequent persecutions of the Protestants had led again to civil war.

Persecution and oppression were soon renewed. Protestant children were taken from their parents to be brought up as Catholics. Protestants were made incapable of holding any office or preferment. Spies were sent to their places of worship, and the slightest expression of dissatisfaction with the government was made a ground of imprisonment. Extraordinary taxes were imposed upon Protestants, continually stripping away their means of living.

The revocation of the Edicts of Nantes and Nismes (1685) deprived the Protestants of all privileges and made it necessary for them to renounce their faith, suffer martyrdom, or flee the realm. Large numbers emigrated to England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and America. The number of emigrants has been variously estimated at 500,000 to 800,000. Hundreds of

thousands renounced their faith. Thousands suffered martyrdom. A small number secretly remained and were enabled, after the rigor of the persecution had somewhat abated, to reorganize their forces.

It is important that the reader understand that the French who came to the New World came from this political and religious background. Both Roman Catholic and Calvinist would take up the sword and murder those not of like faith, and do so in God's name. Both Papist and Protestant believed that the church and the state were one, and that it was the duty of the state to exterminate "heretics", i.e., those not a part of the state-church.

SOME ESSENTIAL BACKGROUND ON THE CALVINISTS

John Calvin stressed much more than did Martin Luther the idea that if what a man did on earth could not save him, then, if men were actually saved, their eternal reward must be predestined. Calvin taught that the immorality in which men obviously wallowed on every side meant that only a few choice spirits were preordained by God to participate in the "Covenant of Grace." He also believed that the children of those under the covenant were saved by the sacrament of baptism and that they alone might grow into the "elect," the illuminated vessels of Christ.

It is only through the ignorance of the masses that these doctrines bear the name "Calvinism" for they are the foundational heresies of the Roman Catholic Church. Calvin's confounding of Israel and the church, of the Old Testament and the New, of salvation with infant baptism, are all found in the writings of Jerome and Augustine.

Calvin was also a deep believer in the divine right of civil rule. He was as strongly in favor of a church-state as the Habsburgs themselves. Though his numbers were fewer, and his power more limited, he was no less intolerant of those who

disagreed with him than were those who ran the Inquisition. In the old world and in the new his followers burned at the stake Baptists, Quakers, and heretics who might deny the Trinity, or indulge the carnal passions, or defy the rule of the self-appointed "saints" as Calvin and his followers termed the elect (i.e., those who agreed with him).

The motto of the man and his followers was simple: Calvin's alone was the true religion. Let Calvinists, then, direct church and state. Let them rule life. And let the corrupt fail to profit from the example of the "elect" – and the "elect" from the example of their elders – at their peril.

Calvin did much more than write and preach. Harried from his native France to Switzerland in 1535, a year before he issued the powerful *Institutes*, he soon supplanted the hireling bishop of the Duke of Savoy as ruler of turbulent Geneva. There he promptly established a stern theocracy over which he presided without compromise.

The spreading fame of his regime and his books brought reformers to Calvin from England, Scotland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Hungary and even Spain. From him they returned uplifted and inspired, with a revolutionary mission and a revolutionary model. Unlike Luther's more docile converts, Calvin's disciples were a threat to monarchy and popery.

The failure of the Peace of Augsburg to give them the recognition shared by Lutherans and Catholics only heightened the Calvinists' intransigence and independence. Intolerant themselves, they found intolerance unbearable. Since, in fact, they were often talented, wealthy and energetic Calvinists had the means to make themselves heard.

The Calvinists were more likely to be men of commerce and money capital, men of free cities and free trade, self-governing and ungovernable, practical and proud, taciturn in accounting for their silver and their souls. Calvinism confirmed and enlarged their character; it did not create it. The members of this sect were international in outlook and action to begin with; their new

faith brought a mutuality of sympathy and respect to a mutuality of interest.

Outside of Scotland, Calvinism waxed strongest among the seafaring Dutch and the Flemish capitalists in the great ports of modern Belgium. In Bourbon France the populace generally held to the Church of Rome, but the local capitalists and the nobles with capitalist aspirations turned Calvinist or "Huguenot" as they were called. To many of these cities had fled the Jews who were banished from Spain, bringing their experience, talents, tastes and memories.

It was only a matter of time before two churches, both believing themselves the elect, and both striving for political and monetary dominance of the world, should clash.

In 1545 the Council of Trent was assembled at the call of the chief Roman Catholic monarchs of Europe. Their purpose was to plan the reformation and revitalization of the Roman Empire and to plot the re-conquest of lost lands.

THE ROMAN CHURCH AND "CALVINISM"

Most Christians know little or nothing about the Roman Catholic religion. When Protestant and Fundamental leaders and ministers promote the idea that Romanism is but a different form of Christianity they betray their ignorance. This lack of understanding is aided by the fact that most Roman Catholics, at least in North America, have little or no understanding of the true nature and beliefs of their own church.

The truth is that the Roman Catholic Church teaches:

1. There is no salvation outside her membership.
2. There is no salvation apart from the sacrament of water baptism.
3. Thus, there is no salvation that does not come through the hand of a Roman Catholic priest.

During the same era in which Roman dominance of Europe was being threatened by Protestantism, the papal church was being torn apart internally by the rise of The Society of Jesus.

The Roman Catholic Church evolved into a very strange mixture of doctrines collected from the Bible, traditions adopted from pagan cultures, and fairy tales invented by pious madmen. This resulted in a system that believed:

1. It was God's elect nation of Israel, chosen to establish Christ's kingdom on Earth
2. Everyone else was a heathen
3. One born to a member of this elect nation was made a partaker thereof by the rite of baptism (which, for some reason, supplanted circumcision in this grand theft of the Jewish covenants).

Over time and through the writings of its scholars (Jerome, Augustine, Calvin) these ideas resulted in the five-point-fatalism code-named the "sovereignty of God." This was the official position of the Roman Catholic Church, and thus, the Franciscan and Recollet orders, for centuries. Then along came the Jesuits with a radical, "new" interpretation of the scriptures. They held it wrong to wait for the birth of the elect and a grave error to think that men were doomed to hell or destined to heaven apart from any volition of their own. They saw in the Old Testament prophets and New Testament missionary movements a commandment of God to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. Though they carried with them the errors of Roman interpretation, nevertheless, these men believed it the command of God that they go and tell all men their version of the good news of Jesus Christ.

This was such a radical departure from Roman Catholic practice and doctrine that it shook the papal empire from top to bottom.

It is vital to our study of American history to understand these facts. Two great religious movements – one separate from Rome in name but like Rome in doctrine, one joined to Rome in name but separate in doctrine – rose to the surface at the very time Europeans were making their way to North America. The

weakening of all that was strong gave hope that the weak, the tiny remnant of true, Biblical Christianity, might be established in the New World.

THE NAME "HUGUENOT" AND THE FURTHER HISTORY OF THEIR PRESENCE IN AMERICA

The Huguenots were French Protestants and corresponded to the Calvinists of Switzerland, the Lutherans of Germany and the Presbyterians of Scotland. Exactly why members of the Calvinistic communion of France were called Huguenots is not known for certain.

Some authorities suppose the term was originally political rather than religious and was first applied by the adherents of the Duke of Savoy early in the sixteenth century to the Geneva revolutionists and their Swiss allies. One of the leaders at Geneva was Bezarson Hugues, and some believe Huguenot was derived from his surname. Members of the party who supported the Swiss Confederation in opposition to the Duke of Savoy were known as Eidengois, which is believed to be a popular alteration of German Eidenoss, from Eid, "Oath" and Genoss, "confederate", and literally meaning "oath-companion."

The earliest dialect form of Huguenot in French was eiguenot. Since the Old French name Huguenot is merely a double diminutive of Hugh, the final form of the term may have been influenced by association with Hugues, the name of the Geneva syndic and revolutionist.

A coin of small value issued in the tenth century in the time of Hugh Capet, was known as a huguenot. This has led some to adopt the farfetched theory that the Huguenots were so called because their enemies said they were not worth a huguenot.

In his "Curiosities of Literature" Isaac Disraeli accepted the notion that Huguenot was suggested by the fact that the proscribed Protestants hid themselves in secret places and

appeared at night "like King Hugon, the great hobgoblin of France."

However the word originated, Huguenot probably was introduced into France from Geneva, and undoubtedly it was first applied to the French Protestants by their enemies as a contemptuous and scornful epithet, but later the French Protestants adopted the derisive nickname as a badge of honor.

There were about 400,000 Calvinists in France in 1556, when the Protestant Party became a political power, and the Huguenots, concentrated in certain parts of the country, became a state within a state. Whole sections of France were devastated and an estimated 2,000,000 people lost their lives in the civil wars between the Huguenots and the Roman Catholics that started in 1562 and ended when the Catholic party captured the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle in 1629. At that time the Huguenots in France numbered between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000. Their chief leaders were Prince de Conde, Admiral Coligny and Henry of Navarre.

About 20,000 Huguenots, including Admiral Coligny and many other leaders, were killed in the massacre that began in Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572.

Henry of Navarre ascended the throne as Henry IV in 1580 with the aid of the Huguenots. In 1593 Henry IV abjured Protestantism for the second time, but on April 13, 1598, at Nantes, he signed an edict that gave the Huguenots a considerable measure of religious liberty. This edict was confirmed by Louis XIII in 1610 and by Louis XIV in 1658, but in 1685 Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, with the result that Huguenots were again dealt with as heretics.

Huguenots who remained in France were liable to be put to death unless they abjured their faith. Many yielded to authority and formally accepted Romanism, but several hundred thousand perished rather than renounce their faith, and about 400,000 chose exile and migrated to Switzerland, the low countries, England, the English Colonies in America and other parts of the world.

Small bands of Huguenots had migrated to America before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the great dispersion. Admiral Coligny dreamed of making Florida a French colony and an asylum for Huguenots. The tale of this misadventure was told in Volume 1.

After the slaughter at Matanzas, another attempt to settle Huguenots in America was not made until 1680, when Charles II of England sent a group of Huguenots to Charleston, South Carolina, to foster silk, olive and wine culture.

Soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, several thousand Huguenots migrated to America and many others came over in the next century. Although Huguenot communities were established at New Rochelle, New York, Manakin Town on the south side of the upper James River about twenty miles above Richmond, Virginia and elsewhere, as a general rule the Huguenots intermingled with the people wherever they settled and acted as a sort of racial leaven. They generally became members of other Protestant churches and gradually abandoned their own form of worship and church organization. The result is that there are now only three Huguenot congregations and churches in the United States (The French Protestant Church of Charleston; the National Huguenot Memorial Church at Huguenot Park, Staten Island, and the French Church of the Holy Spirit in New York City. There are several Huguenot societies, but these are entirely secular dealing with history or genealogy.

The phrases "of Huguenot descent" or "of Huguenot stock" occur in the biographical sketches of a remarkably large number of American statesmen, soldiers, ministers, writers, etc. Bowdoin, Delancey, Delano, Doubleday, Fouverneur, LaFollette, Revere, Marion, Sevier and Thoreau are names that dot the maps and histories of America. Alexander Hamilton, James Garfield, Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Patrick Henry and many others were in the Huguenot line through their mothers.

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