

Biases and Limitations of Historians: Different Perspectives on the Early Colonial Decades of Québec

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Historians are often believed to be slaves to the environment surrounding them, such as nationality, social strata, occupations, mother tongues, the periods they belong to, and so forth. The historical interpretations of the French colonisation of America are not exceptions to this slavery. When one focusses on the interpretation of the French regime, one finds various outcomes of an interethnic conflict.

Eastern Canada has produced a bilingual society. After the French-Indian War of 1756-1763, France finally abandoned its claim on North America while Britain expanded its colony there. In what is now Northern Ontario and Québec, residents of the former French regime—except those who fled to France—had to live under the British administration. Ever since, the conflict between Francophones and Anglophones has been one of the major political issues for Canada. In the 1990s as well, the province of Québec formed a major issue for the Canadian constitution and confederation. Québec leaders' attempts for political independence of Canada were repeatedly ended in insufficient success.

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for instance, produced many works on the early colonial age of New France, not only in France but also in North America. They were written by a wider assortment of authors, including secular French Canadians, Jesuit and other priests, as well as English-speaking North Americans. It is

in that era that one can find interpretations bound to the peculiar situation of Québec.

A. Francophone Historians

The most influential secular French Canadian writers include François Xavier Garneau and Benjamin Sulte. François Xavier Garneau (1809-66)¹ was a Québec-born Canadian historian, poet and notary. He was not raised under a direct Jesuit influence. He finished his school education before the age of fifteen and did not proceed to the Jesuit Seminary of Québec (Gagnon 1982, 1-2). Unlike many French Canadians, he had experience outside Québec, having travelled to the United States and Upper Canada in 1828, then to England and France during the early 1830s. In 1845-52, he published his *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours*,² and his anti-clerical descriptions provoked pro-clerical reproaches among the traditional Francophone audience. His first edition, comprised of three volumes, ended its coverage in 1792, but was supplemented in 1852 with a description of events till 1840. The supplementary text of 1852 was published as the second edition. Those four volumes dealt with the political growth of the French and British nations in Canada, including the former French territory in what is now the United States. As well, Garneau was the author of *Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833*³ and *Abrégé de*

*l'histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à 1840, à l'usage des maisons d'éducation*⁴.

In his *Histoire du Canada*, Garneau portrayed the native Huron nation as the weak allies of the French in contrast with the native Iroquois, who were the strong enemies of the French population in Québec. He regarded the Iroquois as more treacherous than the Hurons (1862, 145). To Garneau, the Iroquois warriors were superior to the Hurons in discipline (1862, 145-46). As this comparison suggests, Garneau constructed his interpretation of native groups in terms of their relationship with the French.

Garneau's French-Canadian national—and anti-clerical—view can be found more obviously in his attitude towards the Jesuit missions. His stance is clearest in his third edition published in 1859.⁵ The third edition begins with a new preface, which includes an evaluation of the eighteenth-century Jesuit author and historian Father Charlevoix. He regarded Charlevoix as the best early historian of Canada in terms of his exact and minute description and his simple and natural style (1862, xx; 1882, vi-vii). Garneau, however, also considered Charlevoix's ecclesiastical view of the colony to be no longer applicable or interesting to the readers of nineteenth-century Canada under the British regime (1862, xx-xxi; 1882, vii-viii). For Garneau, missionary enterprises and experiences no longer deserved the interest of his contemporary audience, although he did not shift attention to the Indian population (*ibid.*).

With such an attitude, it is not surprising that Garneau viewed the Jesuit missions mainly from the vantage points of the growth of New France and of nineteenth-century liberalism. For instance, he connected the Jesuits with the slow progress of the French colonisation. He noted that, when the missionaries were 'erecting monasteries' in Québec, the English settlers of Massachusetts were already constructing ships for trading with other countries (1862, 1: 95; 1882, 1: 69).

Moreover, he referred to Champlain's condemnation of the Jesuits in the mid-1620s and suggested that they were indifferent to the material profits of the French (1862, 1: 98; 1882, 1: 72).

Along the same lines, Garneau recounted the intercourse between the Jesuits and the Hurons without emphasising the religious side of the relationship. His first reference to the missionary activities had little to do with preaching or with conversion. He believed that the Jesuits made an effort to persuade the natives not to kill war captives (1862, 1: 126; 1882, 1: 104). The method the priests decided to take was to induce captors to either keep their prisoners as slaves or sell them to the missionaries (*ibid.*). During the Huron-Iroquois war in the 1640s, he stated in another passage, the missionaries did their best to comfort and baptise the wounded before death (1862, 1: 157-58; 1882, 1: 142). In spite of such service, however, many Hurons swore at the priests or mistreated them in anger as though they were their enemies (1862, 1: 157-58).⁶ To support his affirmation, he quoted a passage from *Les relations des Jésuites*, the Jesuit missionary correspondence to France, which reported the native distrust of the Christian belief in face of their defeat and their pagan enemies' prosperity.⁷

Moreover, Garneau's less than appreciative attitude to the Jesuits is conspicuous when one compares his reference to Champlain to his accounts of the Jesuit fathers. While he devoted five paragraphs to Champlain's memoirs, he simply touched on the martyrdom of Fathers Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant (1862, 142-44, 155-56; 1882, 127-30, 142). In the third edition, he stated that the two fathers were subjected to such torments as 'devils alone' were 'capable of inflicting' and that they endured all the sufferings 'with an unfaltering reliance on their Saviour' like the primitive martyrs (1862, 155-6).⁸ For Garneau, Champlain was a great leader who contributed to the growth of New France, but the Jesuits could only be appreciated inside the spiritual realm.

On the whole, the aim of Garneau's work was to describe the development of the European nation in Canada from a national and anti-clerical standpoint. Garneau thus found little positive in the Jesuit missions.

Another secular Francophone author was Benjamin Sulte (1841-1923).⁹ He became a journalist of the newspaper *Les Canada* in 1866 and a translator in the House of Commons in the following year (Gagnon 1982, 68). After he started to work as the chief clerk of the militia in 1870, he published many works. His writings cover a broad field of French Canada, such as Trois-Rivières,¹⁰ the Red River Rebellion in 1869-70,¹¹ the French-Canadian militia,¹² the Iroquois leagues,¹³ literature and language.¹⁴

In 1882-84, Sulte's extensive description of French Canada appeared to the Canadian audience under the title of *Histoire des Canadiens-français, 1608-1880*.¹⁵ The work deals with the experiences of the French Canadians from the early French settlement in North America till 1880. While Garneau had shown indifference to the Jesuits, Sulte gave them considerable, if negative, attention. In his work of 1882-84, in recounting the history of seventeenth-century Canada, Sulte often referred to the Jesuits. His target of criticism was, above all, the Society of Jesus in New France. In Sulte's description, one can note his reproach of the Jesuit fathers, his evaluation of the missionary enterprises and his national views of the natives.

Sulte's condemnations of the Jesuits were aimed at both *Les relations* and their activities. First, he contradicted the authenticity of the story written in the Jesuit correspondence (3: 60; 4: 107-10). He was of the opinion that the Jesuits had always maintained the privilege of intimidating the people in Québec and suppressing the historical truth in Canada (4: 110).¹⁶ He also claimed that the Jesuit priests glorified the martyrs of their brethren and used them in their propaganda for over two centuries (3: 144). At the same

time, he pointed to the far larger number of 'martyrs' among lay Canadians who were not recorded by the missionary correspondents (*ibid.*). Moreover, as if the Récollets could counter the accuracy of *Les relations*, he quoted fifteen continuous pages, from the Récollet Father Chrétien le Clercq, which bitterly criticised the Jesuits (3: 28-31).¹⁷ Also, when referring to the Jesuit activities in the colony, Sulte did not hesitate to condemn the black-robos. The Jesuits, he stated, neither cared about the lay French settlers nor worked for the development of the colony (3: 27, 137-9). He reported that, although the French colony consisting of poor and helpless farmers in the 1650, they were still obliged to support the philanthropic missions to the Iroquois leagues—the enemies—whom the French should rather have defeated (3: 60-61).

As for the missionary achievements, Sulte demonstrated a secular national view. It is true, on the one hand, that he admired the missionaries who were martyred among the natives. He allowed the glory of the priests who 'sacrificed themselves for the salvation' of the native souls (3: 21). He named Brébeuf, Gabriel Lalemant and Daniel as those who were 'surrounded by glory of greatness that time would not diminish' (3: 23). He wrote that the twenty-five years of the Huron mission produced 'more than repercussion and also more than success' despite the catastrophe in the end, although he was not very precise in his assessment (3: 63). On the other hand, however, he did not simply stay within such appreciation. Sulte denied the spiritual authenticity of the native conversions. He asserted that the Hurons, at first, thought the Jesuits to be the 'chiefs' of the French and sought baptism 'to please the *black-robos*' (3: 21). Also he claimed that the missionary enterprise served only to counterpoise the English influence among the natives (3: 21). He believed that it was the misery, the epidemics and the wars that brought the natives into accepting Christianity in the hope

of acquiring security from the French (4: 109). The natives among the French were, in his opinion, fugitives, but not genuine converts (3: 63).

Seeing all the natives through the eyes of the French interests, Sulte had a particularly negative view towards the Hurons. He considered them to be rarely faithful to the French (2: 124). The Huron nation, according to Sulte, 'improvidently and arrogantly jeopardised their allies [the French]' using their gestures, words and caprice during the Huron-Iroquois wars in the 1640s, in which the Iroquois destroyed the Huron confederacy (2: 134).¹⁸ Had the Hurons not experienced such misfortunes, according to Sulte, they would not have been regarded as 'the heroes of gentleness and the friends of the French' (3: 21). He maintained that an image of 'good Hurons' was mistakenly formed and promulgated by Champlain and the missionaries, who actually experienced the Iroquois' incursions (*ibid.*). Sulte insisted that those natives, especially in the early days, 'did everything from their [selfish] calculation' but nothing for the sake of the French (*ibid.*). To summarise his standpoint, Sulte saw the Jesuit enterprise mainly through the eyes of French immigrants in North America. Like Garneau, his concerns consisted in recounting what the Jesuits and the natives had done for the French settlers. He recognised that the Jesuit missions could be appreciated only in their impossible enterprise to preach the gospel to those who did not know 'the true God', but he doubted their success (3: 63).

Although a few secular historians, such as Garneau and Sulte,¹⁹ discussed the Jesuit missions, the majority of students were still priests. Such clerical historians included Jean Baptiste Antoine Ferland, Étienne Michel Faillon, Camille de Rochemonteix and Thomas J. Campbell.²⁰ Jean Baptiste Antoine Ferland (1805-65) was a Catholic priest, but not a Jesuit.²¹ He published his *Cours d'histoire du Canada*²² in 1861-65. The chronicle describes the efforts of the French to

establish a colony in Canada in the first three centuries. In the account of the first three quarters of the seventeenth century, Ferland discussed the development of New France through the negotiations between the French and the natives. In his treatment of the Jesuit missions, he dealt with such topics as native culture and the missionary efforts for evangelisation.

Ferland's description of the Saint Lawrence region started with his analysis of its native peoples and their culture (1: 89-141). There his discussion of the Huron nation made a clear contrast to Sulte's view which was to appear twenty years later. Ferland described the Huron nation as 'the most intelligent, the most advanced in skills', 'the most capable in receiving education' and having 'good sense in temporal matters' (1: 96). On the negative side, he considered them to have been 'narrow-minded and blind' to spiritual matters (*ibid.*). Their intelligence was, he continued, limited or lowered because of their brutal passions and debased vices (*ibid.*). The above ambivalence between the '*bon sauvage*' and the '*sauvage*' was maintained throughout the work. Fortunately, the Huron knowledge of God was seen in their idea of power beyond humans; God permitted them to join the Christians on the condition of abandoning their own sensual and gross habits (*ibid.*). Ferland thus interpreted the Huron as objects of conversion rather than as a people in their own right.

Ferland also maintained an appreciation of the Jesuit missionary enterprise. The Jesuit fathers were the main characters of his Book Three, which dealt with the years 1635-1663 (1: 278-502). Ferland described them as having experienced enormous sufferings and hardships among the Hurons and other natives. He recounted the rôle for the Jesuits in the intercourse with the natives as the main theme of that third part of his publication. From his viewpoint, the missions among the Hurons were battles 'between the missionaries of the truth and the powers of darkness, between

the light of the Gospel and the brutal ignorance by the men debased by savagery', 'between the Christian civilisation and the barbaric superstitions' (1: 269). In such combats, the Jesuit missionaries fought the obstacles with their 'devotion' and 'courage' (*ibid.*). Because of the many conversions among the Hurons, Ferland concluded that the mission ended with victory for the Jesuits despite much unexpected trouble (*ibid.*). On the whole, he seems to have tried to present the Jesuit missions as the greatest success of the French in the colony. The Jesuits among the natives are treated by the author as French heroes. He interpreted the abandonment of the Huron mission after the Iroquois' raids not as a Jesuit failure but as an effect signalled by God (1: 372-3).²³

Another clerical historian of the same period was Sulpician Father Étienne Michel Faillon (*ca.* 1799-1870) in France.²⁴ Faillon visited Canada three times: in 1849-50, 1854 and 1858-62.²⁵ From the 1840s through the early 1860s he wrote several biographies of the clergy in New France.²⁶ His research in Montréal and Québec also produced, in 1865-66, his uncompleted project *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*.²⁷ It is a descriptive work of the French undertakings in North America from the years of Jacques Cartier's exploration through the seventeenth century. Faillon planned to publish some ten volume of the description of New France, but he passed away in Paris after publishing only three volumes (Gagnon 1976, 247-48). His last publication of 1865-66 discussed the intercourse of the French with the Hurons and other peoples. Father Faillon focussed on the French efforts to bring the natives over to Christianity. He described the Huron nation as one who was to be converted to the Christian faith. Often citing from journals and missionary correspondence of the seventeenth century, he illustrated how difficult converting the native people to Christianity was, as well as how the French established a settlement for new proselytes.

Because of his view of the Hurons as objects of conversion, Faillon did not include much about native culture, although one can find some passages on the Huron customs. They are written chiefly to document obstacles to conversion to be found in Huron society. 'The Hurons', he stated, 'had no usage of letters, no historic monument, or no idea of God-creator of the world-who governs it [the world] with his providence' (trans. fr. 2: 109). He noted that they were 'too independent by nature' that 'the fathers had no power over the children', nor did 'the law of the country' have any restriction over the people (*ibid.*). Also, he wrote that superstitions controlled and corrupted 'almost all the actions of life' such as recreation, fishing, hunting, trades, cultivation, warfare, councils and remedies of diseases; thus totally misunderstanding native religion (2: 109-10). Moreover, the Hurons were described as working neither hard nor patiently (1: 305).

As to the problems which the missionaries encountered among the Hurons, Faillon pointed out three obstacles to Christianisation. They were 'polygamy', 'sorcery' and finally the 'calamity' caused by epidemics (1: 305-09). Concerning polygamy, he recounted that its material advantage made such a custom difficult to uproot among the natives (1: 305-06). He offered three reasons for the polygamy (*ibid.*). First, as the women were regarded as servants and slaves, the men did not want to accept monogamy, which would increase the men's labour. Second, there were more women than men in the country of the Hurons. And finally, their marriage was so unstable that the spouse married somebody else on a trivial excuse (*ibid.*). As for sorcery, Faillon considered it to have been practised by the natives, especially among the Hurons, and to have prevented the people either from seeking baptism or from maintaining the Christian life. The native converts, he stated, were often 'in danger' of returning to native practices through their intercourse with pagan people dominated by sor-

cery (1: 306). He added that the sorcerers, or 'jugglers', made the natives believe that the missionaries would lead them to death and that receiving baptism was the same as 'seeing immediately the end of their life' (*ibid.*). Furthermore, Faillon affirmed that the natives, because of such belief in sorcery, viewed the Jesuits as magicians who had caused the calamity of Huron society. As grounds for such an accusation, he referred to the treatment of the sick by the Jesuits. He stated that the missionaries baptised only ill people, many of whom died after receiving such service (1: 307). Faillon related that, every time either an epidemic or famine occurred among the Hurons, all the accusations revived and increased. The people imputed the misfortunes to the priests, assuming that the missionaries 'were the cause of them' and 'they did not want to cure the disease though they could' (1: 307-08).

Finally, Father Faillon described the endeavours of the French missionaries to establish a native Christian community despite the above obstacles. He gave accounts of some institutions such as the Jesuit college and a hospital, and also of many settlements for the native Christians (1: 309-10 *etc.*). Such native settlements included Saint Joseph and Sainte Marie among the Hurons as well as Sillery and Trois-Rivières for other tribes (1: 290-92, 301-03). He described the efforts of the missionaries to settle the natives down in order to enable them to lead a Christian life in those settlements.

Throughout his *Histoire de la colonie-française en Canada*, Father Faillon—like most nineteenth-century interpreters—viewed the missions in terms of the efforts of the French to proselytise the Hurons and other natives. His interest in the Hurons consisted only in showing how the natives were different from Christians and how they could have been converted to lead a Christian life. The author therefore did not find necessary any reference to aspects of native culture which had

little to do with Christianisation.

The third example of a priest historian is Camille de Rochemonteix (1834-1923). Rochemonteix was a French Jesuit father and the author of *Les Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France au 17^{me} siècle*, which was published in 1895-96.²⁸ His publication is overall a biography of the missionaries among the natives.²⁹ For instance, one can find his biographic touch in his account of Father Brébeuf. The sixth chapter of the Part One, or *Libre premier*, deals with the Jesuit missions among the Hurons before 1639 and the related matters in approximately one hundred and twenty paragraphs.³⁰ The chapter opens with an account of the Huron mission followed by a general description of the Huron nation and their neighbours (1: 319-26). Then it moves on to the life of Father Brébeuf, from his birth till his arrival in Canada (1: 326-32). After Brébeuf's biography, the author gave a chronicle of the 1620s and 1630s in ninety-five paragraphs (1: 332-79). Rochemonteix devoted no less than ten paragraphs to the biography of Brébeuf and then referred to Brébeuf in another twenty-five paragraphs out of ninety-five. His references to Brébeuf occupied roughly thirty percent of the chapter. Throughout the chapter, Brébeuf is treated as if he were the main character of the Jesuit missionary story.

Although the biographical style is dominant in Rochemonteix's description, one can understand his views of the Hurons and of the missionary achievements. First, his attitude towards the Huron Indians was similar to that of Ferland.³¹ Rochemonteix wrote the following passage:

Because of a tall and elegant figure, the Hurons were cheerful, witty, nimble and very brave; and because of proverbial immorality, [they were] excessively superstitious, untruthful and matchlessly thievish. No other nation of seventeenth-century America was more advanced in the skills or more capable of

intellectual culture [than the Hurons] . . . They [the Hurons] liked the French, for these people [the French] took actions and [chose] motives for them against the strong Iroquois confederation. . . . (trans. fr. 1: 322)

Seeing them primarily as objects of conversion, Rochemonteix was clearly favourably disposed to the Hurons despite their superstitions.

Rochemonteix maintained that the Jesuits had achieved a number of successful conversions in Huronia, although many Hurons refused to accept Christianity. Citing Father Joseph Chaumonot,³² Rochemonteix insisted that many natives surrendered to 'the sanctified act of the priest' after they got 'perfectly convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion' (1: 440-41). He noted, however, that a large number of Hurons refused to live as Christians, or to abandon 'the bad tendency and vices' and reach 'the sublime beauty of the Gospel', because their 'conviction' collapsed against their 'passion' (1: 442). The exceptions were, according to Rochemonteix, those who relied on and escaped with the missionaries from the Iroquois' attacks in the late 1640s. He considered such natives to have accepted Christianity sincerely from the heart, and not from self-interest (2: 121-25).

Rochemonteix reconstructed the past of New France through the activities of the Jesuits. His work is a biography of the seventeenth-century Jesuit missionaries as well as a chronicle of the missions in New France. As a Jesuit priest, he focussed on their missions by incorporating the priests' efforts and accomplishments from the Jesuit correspondence into his volumes. He treated the Jesuit missionaries as the main characters of Canada who played an important part for both the evangelisation of the native peoples and the growth of New France. The Hurons were merely secondary players in the drama of New France.

B. Anglophone Historians

While the French and French Canadian people were dominant in studying the French Jesuit missions, one must pay attention also to English-speaking historians in North America. Such figures included William Smith, John Mercier McMullen, Francis Parkman and Thomas J. Campbell. The first three were a secular historians, and Campbell was a Jesuit father. William Smith (1769-1847), the first authority, published his work earlier than any of the above historians.³³ Smith published his *History of Canada* in 1815.³⁴ He should be noted as the historian who totally omitted the Jesuit missionary activities from the work of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Canada. There are several possible reasons for such omission. For one thing, he was not a French Canadian who grew up and received his education in Québec. He was born in New York in 1769, but educated in London, England, until his father took him to Canada in 1786. He lived in Lower Canada until his death in 1847. For another thing, he was an Anglo-Saxon bureaucrat who held offices and had to be careful with the public reaction in French-dominant Lower Canada. He became a clerk of the Legislative Council in 1792, a master in Chancery for the province of Québec in 1803, an honorary member of the Executive Council in 1817, lieutenant-colonel of Québec's Third Militia Battalion in the same year, and a full member of the Executive Council in 1823 (Bumsted 1971, 1988).³⁵

Another English-speaking Canadian to note was John Mercier McMullen (1820-1907). Raised in Ireland, McMullen came to Canada West in 1849. His *The History of Canada from Its First Discovery to the Present Time*³⁶ was published six years after his arrival in Canada.³⁷ From his point of view, Canada had been transferred from 'the rule of the fierce Indian' to the possession of the Anglo-Saxon race' (1855, xiv).

Although he, like Smith, was not much concerned with the first half of the seventeenth century, McMullen at least touched on the Jesuit missions.

McMullen referred to the mass proselytisation among the Hurons and Algonquins in the 1640s (31). He viewed the Hurons as 'the most tractable and docile' among those natives in the Saint Lawrence region. On the other hand, the Algonquins were considered to have been far 'less tractable' and fierce. McMullen related that the Hurons were especially trained into agricultural pursuits by the missionaries. He stated that ten thousand Hurons followed the Christian instruction of the missionaries, citing Sillery as the place where two thousand natives were converted to Christianity. Nevertheless, he added that the French missionaries more easily offered baptism to the natives than Protestant priests generally did.³⁸

Unlike the above English-speaking Canadians of the nineteenth century, who treated the Jesuit missions tangentially, several Americans made the Jesuit missions the direct subject of their study. Francis Parkman (1823-93),³⁹ a secular historian of Protestant background, studied the colonial period of North America.⁴⁰ He was also interested in plants and literature.⁴¹ Among his works, he published *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* in 1867, at about the same time as the publications of Ferland in Québec and of Faillon in France.⁴² Parkman's work of 1867 is a pioneer study, in English, of the Jesuit influence among the Hurons. It focusses on the missionary undertakings among the Huron and other native peoples until the dispersion of the Huron nation. The author discussed the missionary approach towards the natives through the biographies of the Jesuit priests. He also analysed the aspects of the Huron missions.

Parkman was the historian who first applied a biographical approach to the description of the French missions. Such a style would be followed by Rochemonteix and Campbell. For many

chapters, Parkman set up one or a few Jesuit missionaries as the main protagonists.⁴³ Father Paul le Jeune, for instance, was used in that way in Chapters I, III and IV (88-94, 101-28). Father Brébeuf was featured in the sixth chapter, and Father Isaac Jogues in the sixteenth and twentieth chapters (146-58, 305-34, 394-403). The ninth chapter was almost entirely devoted to the lives of a number of missionaries before their arrival in North America.⁴⁴

Through the biographies of the priests, Parkman characterised the Jesuit presence in Canada (188-99). He maintained that the missionaries had a vision of 'supernaturalism' ruled by divine power (196). In face of sickness, he insisted, the priests relied on the miracles of God through their prayers and vows rather than on medical cures (*ibid.*). Parkman considered the Jesuit conversion of 'obstinate heathens' to have demonstrated their supernatural approach (197). Although Parkman characterised the Jesuit view of life as 'one of the morbid forces of human nature', he praised the 'self-abnegation' of the missionaries as form of true Christianity and of heroism (199). Indeed, as flawed heroes, the Jesuits dominated the his book.

Parkman also discussed the missions among the Hurons. First, he described the natives in terms of their land, industry, society and customs, chiefly employing the observations of Champlain and the missionaries (03-31). Since he was neither a priest nor a French Canadian, however, he did not view the Hurons simply through either the French or the Jesuit interests. He described the natives from the standpoint of the outsider. He did not condemn the natives and was not concerned with their qualifications for becoming Christians, as were many of his contemporaries.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, Parkman had a perspective on the rise of the missionary church. He praised the achievements of the Jesuits among the Hurons. He rated highly their efforts to convert the natives, in terms of the number of converts as well

as of the sincerity and fervour of the proselytes (449-61). He noted that the Christian natives outnumbered pagans in some settlements in the 1640s. He mentioned, after Ragueneau, the villages of Ossossané, Saint Joseph, Saint Ignace, Saint Michel and Saint Jean Baptiste as possessing many converts (449-50).⁴⁶ Ossossané was referred to as the most Christianised village (*ibid.*). He emphasised the Christian services in each town and pointed out that many proselytes had abandoned native customs inappropriate for Christians (*ibid.*).

As the third part of his analysis, Parkman examined the fall of the Huron mission. For Parkman, the epidemic diseases among the natives in the 1630s were disasters which, rather than hindering the missionary work, further motivated the Jesuits to proselytise Indians (173-87). He viewed the Iroquois' acquisition of firearms from the Dutch as the main cause of the failure of the Jesuit missions among the Hurons (550-53). He insisted that, without the menace of foreign guns, the Jesuits would have expanded their Christendom of New France further west (*ibid.*).

On the whole, Francis Parkman applauded the Jesuits for their achievements among the Hurons. He praised the native converts in terms of both their number and spirituality. At the same time, he did not agree with the Jesuits' view of life, which was totally dominated by God, instead criticising them from the perspective of secular humanism tinged with Protestantism. Such a critical attitude could be explained by his background. He had nothing to do with Canadian society, nor was he a priest. It was only his academic interest in colonial North America that connected him with New France.

In 1896-1901, thirty years after Parkman, the English translation of *Les relations des Jésuites* was produced by Reuben Gold Thwaites and others.⁴⁷ Consequently English-speaking historians such as Thomas J. Campbell (1848-1925)

had easy access to the Jesuit correspondence. Thomas J. Campbell was a Jesuit father, in the United States, who wrote *Pioneer Priests of North America, 1642-1710*.⁴⁸ He was not only an American like Parkman, but also a priest like Ferland or Rochemonteix. His publication was a collective biography of the North American Jesuit missionaries among the natives who lived in the Saint Lawrence region, including the Huron, Iroquois and Algonquin peoples.

Although Campbell's work is biographic, he also reconstructed the missionary activities among the natives in order to trace the efforts of the Jesuit fathers. Though Campbell's admiration of the priests usually dominates the biographies, one can also find the author's views on many aspects of the missions. He seems to have maintained both positive and negative images of the Hurons. He wrote about the epidemics and related matters, as well as the Iroquois' attacks on the Hurons.

Campbell relied upon Father Brébeuf's reports to describe the cultural characteristics of the Hurons. For example, the author described their superstitions based on dreams. The natives, maintained Campbell, were so superstitious that the dreams ruled the whole native activities in their life (2: 129-30). He also cited Brébeuf in writing that the Hurons' vices would lead them to the devil (2: 131). Campbell, however, also praised the system of native political and civil life (2: 131-32).

In the biographies of Fathers Jogues and Brébeuf, Campbell referred to the epidemics of the 1630s as disruptive but ultimately advantageous to the conversion process. In the account of Jogues, Campbell explained the hardship which the Jesuits encountered (1: 6-7). Because of the many native deaths caused by the pestilence, the Hurons imputed their countrymen's misfortunes to the witchcraft of the priests. The Jesuit fathers were almost put to death at the council, held at Ossossané⁴⁹ (*ibid.*). His description of

the epidemics continues in the biography of Brébeuf which follows (2: 112-03). The natives did not kill the fathers and changed their attitude. As the Hurons gradually listened to the priests, the natives segregated the infected and applied the European remedies. To explain that change of feeling, the author pointed to the growing Huron appreciation of the priests' devotion to saving them; they took interest in Christianity in 1637. Such an account was fuelled by an unremitting admiration of the Jesuits. Campbell praised the mission's intensive work and brilliant achievement in converting the natives despite the brevity of their effort (*ibid.*).

Campbell treated the Iroquois attacks in the 1640s as further obstacles to the missions. The author regarded Father Bressani's relations as 'valuable information' on the Iroquois' intention (1: 50). Campbell quoted from Bressani, asserting that the Iroquois hated the Jesuits not because they were Europeans but because they were Christian allies of the Hurons (*ibid.*). In his biography of Paul Ragueneau, the author considered why the Hurons were defeated. Campbell maintained that the more numerous Hurons could have beaten the less numerous Iroquois, except for the epidemics and other misfortunes which had accumulated among the Hurons (1: 155). He did not consider the Jesuits to be responsible for the epidemics, however.

Thomas J. Campbell reconstructed the story of the Jesuit missions through his biographies of the priests. He followed the contents of the missionary reports almost completely and, at most, exercised judgement only to decide which description to take in order to narrate the story. His work, unlike Parkman's, represents almost no change from the seventeenth century in the interpretation of either the natives or the missions.

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries produced many works on the Jesuit missions in New France. There was a wider range of

authors than in the previous century. The origins of the historians were in France, Lower and Upper Canada, and the United States. There were some secular historians, while others were priests.

Those historians involved in the historical debate were typically tied to their cultural background when they discussed the missions. Québec historians tried to analyse the effect of the Jesuit activities on the development of French Canada. Garneau and Sulte had a negative view on the black-robbers, but Ferland maintained a positive attitude, doubtless because he was a Roman Catholic priest. In general, priests tended to praise the endeavours and accomplishments of the missionaries by interpreting the missionary sources favourably. Such clerical historians included Ferland in Québec, Faillon, Rochemonteix in France, and Campbell in the United States. The French Jesuit missions were also studied by a few English-speaking historians, notably McMullen, Parkman and Campbell. William Smith either avoided discussion or was ignorant of them. McMullen, an Irish Canadian, touched on the Jesuit missions but attached little importance to them. Parkman was a secular American Protestant, an exception who was not French, French Canadian or a priest. His perspective was quite different from the others. While Jesuit Father Campbell endeavoured to trace the efforts of the Jesuit missionaries and to applaud them, Parkman did not entirely praise the Jesuit enterprise, and particularly criticised their supernaturalism.

Cultural backgrounds also correspondingly influenced the views of the native peoples. Secular French Canadians saw the Hurons in terms of their contribution to the progress of the French colony. Clerical historians emphasised the spiritual aspects of the Hurons in their descriptions, often discussing whether or not the natives were truly converted to Christianity and deciding that they were. Parkman, however, was free from

religious or national restrictions and did not pay much attention to such interests or qualification.⁵⁰ What none of those historians did, of course, was to look at the missions or the natives from their native perspective; all those studies, whether positive or negative, were totally Eurocentric.

NOTES

¹There are a number of biographies of Garneau. E.g. Henri Raymond Casgrain, *Un contemporain: F. X. Garneau* (1866) and *F. X. Garneau et Francis Parkman* (1885); Pierre J. Olivier Chauveau, *François-Xavier Garneau: sa vie et ses œuvres* (1883); Gustave Lanctôt, *François-Xavier Garneau* (1926), 'Les prédécesseurs de Garneau' (1926) and *Garneau, historien national* (1946); and also Arsène Lauzière, *François-Xavier Garneau* (1965).

²*Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours* (4 vols., Québec, 1845-52). It was as late as 1859 when the work was published as a complete set as third edition. This thesis mainly consults the fourth edition of the French text published in 1882 as well as the text by Andrew Bell, *History of Canada, from the Time of Its Discovery till the Union Year 1840-41* (trans. of rev. 1859 ed., 2 vols., Montreal: John Lovell, 1862).

³*Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833* (Québec, 1854-55). It is based on Garneau's travels in England and France as well as on his later readings. It was first published in *Le journal de Québec* from November 1854 to May 1855. and then compiled in *La littérature canadienne de 1850 à 1860* (2 vols., Québec: Desbarats et Derbishire, 1863-64). Its most recent edition is Paul Wyczynski's text in 1968.

⁴*Abrégé de l'histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à 1840, à l'usage des maisons d'éducation* (Québec: Augustin Côté, 1856). It is an abridged edition of his *Histoire du Canada* to be used as a textbook for history education.

Probably because of the criticisms against his former publication, Garneau avoided any description, in the textbook edition, that might offend the priesthood in Québec.

⁵The third edition is the first complete set of his *Histoire du Canada*.

⁶This statement is replaced, in the fourth edition, with the following sentence: 'In despair, the unfortunate Hurons, not knowing to who to impute the cause of their misfortune, ascribed it to the missionaries' (trans. fr. Garneau 1882, 143).

⁷'The Iroquois, our mortal enemies, neither believe in God nor like prayers at all, they commit all the crimes, and they prosper nonetheless. [And as for] us, since we abandoned our fathers' customs, the Iroquois are killing us, burning us and overturning all our villages. What serves us in listening to the Gospel if the belief and the death go together' (trans. from Garneau's French text, 1882, 1: 143). Garneau indicated, as the source of his citation, the *Relation* of 1643-44 in the fourth edition of his book, but later in the sixth edition Hector Garneau corrected and replaced the citation with the *Relation* of 1650 (1858 ed.), p. 4; which became available after the first publication of his monograph.

⁸In the fourth edition, the passage is shortened (1882, 1: 142).

⁹For a detailed biography of Sulte, see Henry J. Morgan, *The Writings of Benjamin Sulte* (1898).

¹⁰*Histoire de la ville des Trois-Rivières et de ses environs* (Montréal: Eusèbe Sénécal, 1870).

¹¹*L'expédition militaire de Manitoba, 1870* (Montréal: Eusèbe Sénécal, 1871).

¹²*Histoire de la milice canadienne-française, 1760-1897* (Montréal: Desbarats & C^{ie}, 1897).

¹³*La guerre des Iroquois, 1600-1653* (Ottawa: J. Durie; Toronto: Copp-Clark, 1897).

¹⁴For instance, *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature* (Ottawa: Joseph Bureau, 1976) and *La langue française en Canada* (Lévis, Québec: P. G. Roy, 1898).

¹⁵*Histoire des Canadiens-français, 1608-1880* (8 vols., Montréal: Wilson, 1882-84).

¹⁶Also Sulte stated that the historians in Québec did not always cite from those authors who expressed views freely (8: 60). As such examples of authors, he mentioned Father le Clercq, Baron de la Hontan, the colonial French officials and others (*ibid.*).

¹⁷Le Clercq, *Premier établissement de la foi dans la Nouvelle France* (2 vols., Paris: Auroy, 1691), 1: 498-513. In the fourth volume, Sulte again borrowed le Clercq's opinion and denied the mass conversion by the Jesuits; on the ground that the native Christians could not have disappeared immediately after the suppression of *Les relations des Jésuites* in 1673 (4: 108).

¹⁸Sulte probably meant that the Hurons involved the French in their native conflict with the Iroquois and turned the Iroquois' hatred also to the French settlers.

¹⁹Francis Parkman, as well. Parkman is discussed later in this paper.

²⁰Thomas J. Campbell will be discussed in the category of English-speaking American historians.

²¹Ferland left a number of biographical or historical works. His first publication was *Observation sur un ouvrage intitulé Histoire du Canada, etc., par M. l'abbé Breasseur de Bourbonnais*.... (Québec: Augustin Côté, 1853), which formerly appeared in *Le journal de Québec*, 22, 25, 29 Jan. & 1 Feb., 1853. His biographical works dealt with Louis Olivier Gamasche and Joseph Octave Plessis respectively (1861, 1863). Moreover, he wrote about the registers of Notre-Dame de Québec, the Gaspé and the Labrador (1854, 1877a, 1877b). As for the biographies of Ferland himself, see Gérard Bédard Fernando, 'L'Abbé Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Ferland: son œuvre historique et littéraire' (1953).

²²*Cours d'histoire du Canada* (2 vols., Québec: Augustine Côté, 1861-65). This paper refers to the 1882 edition published by N. S. Hardy in

Québec.

²³Ferland claimed that he cited from the relation of Father Francesco Gioseppe, or François Joseph, Bressani in 1649. In Thwaites' edition, which was published thirty years later, Bressani is the author of the relation of 1653 instead.

²⁴The following are biographical studies of Faillon: Adam Charles Gustave Desmazures, *M. Faillon, prêtre de St. Sulpice: Sa vie et ses œuvres* (1879); L. G. Deland, 'Bio-bibliographie de M. Étienne-Michel Faillon, p. s. s'. (1946); Serge Gagnon, 'Étienne-Michel Faillon', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (1976); and F. R. Gamon, *Vie de M. Faillon: prêtre de Saint-Sulpice* (1877).

²⁵Or 1857-62. Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography gives the years of 1858-62 (1978, 249). Serge Gagnon, however, supports the period from November 1857 till June 1862 (1976).

²⁶The following biographies were published: *Vie de M. Olier, fondateur du Séminaire de St. Sulpice* (1841); *Abrégé de la vie de M. Olier, fondateur de Saint-Sulpice et de la colonie de Montréal, en Canada* (1847); *Vie de la Sœur Bourgeoys, fondatrice de la congrégation de Notre-Dame de Villemarie en Canada* (1852); *Vie de M^{me} d'Youville, fondatrice de Sœurs de la Charité de Villemarie en Canada* (1852); *Vie de Mademoiselle Mance et histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Villemarie en Canada* (1854); *L'héroïne chrétienne du Canada ou vie de M^{lle} le Ber* (1860); *The Christian Heroine of Canada; or, Life of Miss Le Ber* (Eng. trans., 1861); and *Vie d'Adèle Coulombe, religieuse hospitalière de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal en Canada* (1863).

²⁷*Histoire de la colonie française en Canada* (3 vols., Villemarie: Bibliothèque Paroissiale, 1865-66).

²⁸*Les Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France au 17^{me} siècle* (3 vols., Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1895-96).

²⁹The biographic style of historical description of the French Jesuit missions appeared for the

first time in Francis Parkman's works published in the 1860s, thirty years before Rochemonteix's book. See Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World* (Boston, Massachusetts, 1865) and *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (Boston, Massachusetts, 1867).

³⁰Rochemonteix's monograph consists of two parts, or of *Libre premier* and *Libre second*.

³¹Ferland's description was made thirty years before, in 1861-65.

³²The letter to Philippe Napi, *supérieur de la maison professe* in Rome. *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Douniol, 1861), XII, 200. Chaumonot worked among the Hurons.

³³There are some biographic studies of Smith. E.g. J. M. Bumsted, 'William Smith and *The history of Canada*' (1971) and 'William Smith' (1988); and P. G. Roy, 'William Smith, pluraliste renforcé' (1938).

³⁴*History of Canada; from Its First Discovery till the Year 1791* (2 vols., Québec: John Neilson, 1815). The first volume has the title of *History of Canada; from Its First Discovery till the Peace of 1763*, but it is altered as above in the second volume. His copies became available as late as 1826. Bruce G. Trigger ascribes such delay to his debt to the publisher, while J. M. Bumsted finds the main reason in Smith's own decision based on the political situation of Britain and the United States after the war of 1812-14 (Trigger 1985, 28; Bumsted, 1988).

³⁵Martin Brook Taylor explains that Smith's anxiety for his office made him avoid causing offence to anyone also when he wrote his *History of Canada*. Taylor calls Smith a 'timid author' who 'squeezed out all contentious judgements' (1989, 91-92).

³⁶John M'Mullen [McMullen], *The History of Canada from Its First Discovery to the Present* (Brockville, C. W.: J. M'Mullen [McMullen], 1855). It was revised and enlarged in 1867 and 1892.

³⁷McMullen also wrote a legal guidebook and a

biblical study as follows: *Every Man His Own Lawyer, and General Legal from Book* (Brockville: McMullen, 1881) and *The Supremacy of the Bible and Its Relations to Speculative Science, Remote Ancient History, and the Higher Criticism* (Toronto: W. Brigg; Ogdensburg & Brockville: McMullen, 1905).

³⁸In McMullen's opinion, the French missionaries baptised the natives after a simple assent to Christianity though Protestants generally fully instructed people before baptism (31, note).

³⁹The following are the works concerning Parkman: Henri Raymond Casgrain, *Francis Parkman* (1872) and *F. X. Garneau et Francis Parkman* (1885); Howard Doughty, *Francis Parkman* (1962); William J. Eccles, 'The History of New France according to Francis Parkman' (1961); Charles Haight Farnham, *A Life of Francis Parkman* (1900); Robert L. Gale, *Francis Parkman* (1973); Otis A. Pease, *Parkman's History: The Historian as Literary Artist* (1953); and Mason Wade, *Francis Parkman: Heroic Historian* (1942).

⁴⁰Parkman's first historical study was *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac and the War of the North American Tribes against the English Colonies after the Conquest of Canada* (1851), which was later enlarged and titled *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada* (1870). He also produced the seven-part series of *France and England in North America*, which was published in Boston by Parkman. It contains the following works: *Pioneers of France in the New World* (1865), *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (1867), *Discovery of the Great West* (1869), *The Old Regime in Canada* (1874), *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV* (1877), *A Half a Century of Conflict* (2 vols, 1892) and *Montcalm and Wolfe* (2 vols., 1884). In 1968, his other pieces were edited by W. J. Noxon under title of *The Acadian Tragedy*. As well, his journals and letters were compiled in the twentieth century as

follows: Mason Wade (ed.), *The Journals of Francis Parkman* (2 vols., 1947); W. R. Jacobs (ed.), *Letters of Francis Parkman* (2 vols., 1960); and John Buechler (ed.), *The Correspondence of Francis Parkman and Henry Stevens, 1845-1885* (1968).

⁴¹E.g. *The Book of Roses* (1866), *The California and Oregon Trail: Sketches of Prairie and Rocky-Mountain Life* (1849) and *Vassal Morton: A Novel* (1856).

⁴²*The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (1867, Williamstown, Massachusetts: Corner House, 1980).

⁴³*The Jesuits in North America* consists of thirty-four chapters.

⁴⁴The priests referred to in the chapter include Brébeuf, Charles Garnier, Chaumonot, Noël Chabanel and Isaac Jogues (188-97).

⁴⁵E.g. Ferland, Sulte, Faillon or Rochemonteix.

⁴⁶Ragueneau's Huron report of 1646. See also *Les relations*, 39: 240 ff.

⁴⁷Reuben Gold Thwaites et al (eds.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791* (73 vols., Cleveland, Burrows Brothers, 1896-1901).

⁴⁸*Pioneer Priests of North America, 1642-1710* (3 vols., New York: The America Press, 1908-11). As a sequel, *Pioneer Laymen of North America* was published in 1915. As a Jesuit, Campbell's continuous interest of Jesuit missionary activities produced the following books: *Out of the Grave: The Discovery of Fort St. Charles in 1908* (1915), *The Jesuits, 1534-1921: A History of the Society of Jesus from Its Foundation to the Present Time* (1921) and *The Martyrs of the Mohawk* (1926).

⁴⁹Jogues was supposed to attend the council but was unable to because he had to stay in the village assigned to him.

⁵⁰In other words, Parkman did not consider whether or not the natives were able to believe in

Christianity and lead a Christian life; or whether or not they deserved baptism.

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