

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

General Introduction

One of the most intractable problems facing historians in a particular period of both British and French history, concerns the clash of the two Empires in North America. In fact, during almost three centuries France seized the territory North to the Thirteen British Colonies. She invested money, sent troops, settlers and she built forts, villages and towns. This territory named 'Canada' witnessed the French standard of life, it was even named 'New France' proving that it would enter into the strategy of competing 'New England'. New France was designed as a testimony that France could have territories in North America.

However, one has to bear in mind that the nature, the weather conditions, the absence of precious metals or minerals, the lack of valuable goods and products (silk or species), made officials, intellectuals, and even public opinion in France skeptical about Canada. Moreover, a hateful attitude had been developed vis-à-vis this "Some acres of snow" as described by Voltaire¹.

¹ Cited by Donald Creighton , *A History of Canada :Dominion of the North*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1958,p.6.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Yet, little by little an embryonic economy started being developed articulated around fishery and fur trade. It started to contribute in non-neglected part of the income of the French Empire a period comprised from the late of the Seventeenth century until 1763. This Imperial connection was the result of spontaneous activities of fishermen and merchants but also the directive activity of the French state. All could agree on the importance of Fur Trade and fishery in that time. It was, in effect, part of the official ideology of foreign policy as well as maritime superiority and national security. This importance was the theme of royal and ministerial speeches and of diplomatic and military instructions. It had been undertaken by historians eager to explain the contours of French British foreign policy especially the one concerning North America in the mid-Eighteenth Century.

As far as Canada is concerned, statesmen, businessmen, theoreticians and men of action, all assumed that Canada existed for the benefit of France and not for its own self-achievement. The relevant economic theory was mercantilism. The economy was one of primary production, and the engine that drove that economy was imperial trade. Thus any supremacy could not be achieved without strong mercantilism basement and military control, in a period characterized in both France and Great Britain by a high degree of competition in all fields.

It is unquestionable that the period suited (1754-1776) comprises the Enlightenment and Expansion, two watershed movements in the history of geopolitical changes for the sake of world control by western countries especially France and Great Britain. The eighteenth century Expansionism has recently undergone scrutiny from scholars. In fact, it occurred in a period full of progress in all domains in Europe. This period is referred to nowadays as the post-Renaissance renewal. Expansionism originated in the Sixteenth Century in both England and Spain

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Nowadays, it has been taken for granted that Canada is the biggest British territory, furthermore Canadians are 'Her Majesty's subjects ' because the British Monarch is *di facto* the sovereign of Canada since 1763. In fact, the second half of the Eighteenth Century witnessed the final collapse of the French Empire in North America; meanwhile the British Empire reached its peak in the same continent.

Moreover, the link between the British conquest of Canada and the American Revolution has been shadowed for decades. Historians, among whom D. Creighton and S. Schama, agree with the fact that one cannot be studied without referring to the other because of their mutual connections. The extent to which the British conquest of Canada served and contributed in the American Revolution is of major interest today, as Canada's role in the rise of British power in North America. The decline of the French Empire is also subject of academic consideration.

A debate has been raised among historians. On the one hand , some consider that the British conquest of Canada was the ultimate phase of the first British Empire and by its expansion sought to make more benefit for the whole Empire². The acquisition of this huge territory meant nothing but supremacy in mercantilism, military superiority and better geostrategic control of the world since no other empire could threaten the American Colonies. On the other hand, another version is sustained by those historians who argue that the so-called supremacy and hegemony were too expensive for the British treasury.

² Expansionism and Imperialism can be used here interchangeably. Imperialism, as defined, is the imposition of the power of one state over the territories of another, normally by military means, in order to exploit subjugated populations and extract economic and political advantages. Nicholas Abercrombie, *the Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, Fourth Edition, Penguin Books, England, 2000, pp.173-74.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

In fact, the clash between both occurred, the Eighteenth century witnessed many wars in which France and Great Britain were the principal antagonists . Those wars were perceived as being useless and direct factor of bankruptcy. Furthermore, it has been proved that the taxation imposed to the American Thirteen Colonies had direct link with the wars, especially the Seven Years War³. The taxes represented a contributing factor in the American Revolution.

The aim of this dissertation is to depict and scrutinize how Canada was taken from the French realm and a decade later the British Empire lost the Thirteen Colonies. In other terms, in two decades the British Empire witnessed an expansion and a regression. Moreover, the debate attracting anyone interested in the North American history deals with the fact that how the French military conception of expansionism lost Canada or did she simply abandon it? The other important question concerns the post-conquest period in Canada and the difficulties met by the Britons who had to understand the French standard of life, there.

The First Chapter will focus on the historical background of the creation and settlement of Canada by the French. It will make an attempt to depict all aspects of life, trade, political system and the first settlers' conditions of life. A section will be devoted to the relation between the European colonists and the Natives.

³ Also called the French Indian War due to the fact that both (French & Indian) made alliance to defeat Britons. It started in 1754 in North America, two years earlier than the rest of the world. It is also viewed, by many historians as global war or a 'world war'. Collin G. Calloway, *The Scratch of Pen, 1763 and the Transformation of North America*, Oxford University Press ,New York, 2006, pp. XI-XIII.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

The second chapter discusses the Anglo-French rivalry in Canada. It will give an accurate vision about the successive wars that had been led between France and her foes in North America. It will also stress on the North American turning-point. In fact, it is an historical evidence that the post Seven Years War witnessed the final collapse of the French North American Empire.

The post conquest period witnessed many changes, and in every walk of life, being brought by the British. Hence, the task of the third Chapter will be devoted to analyzing the impact of the conquest of Canada not only on the French settlers but also the Natives and the immediate neighbours represented by the American Colonies; since years following the apex of the British expansionism, the time of contraction⁴would come with the American Revolution.

⁴ The term means the process of acquiring independence from overseas Empires. The term here concerns the American Revolution and Independence . The contraction (decolonization) in the late Eighteen Century followed an active period of colonization especially the acquisition of Northern part of North America. David Strang, "Imperialism, Colonialism and Decolonization", *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, Second Edition, Vol.1, Macmillan Reference, USA, 2000, pp.1264-1270.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Chapter One

It is worth mentioning, before dealing with any European settlement in North America ,that there is a debate about who first discovered the 'American' continent. It is obvious that Christopher Columbus' discovery is, nowadays, largely accepted, but some scholars raise the point that he was not 'the first'. Besides, there were several attempts to settle in it from the early times, the 'Natives' 'Amerindians' were present thousands of years there; they had built great civilizations, cities and strong economic, social and political societies. In the region studied in this research the name "First Nations" is given to the early settlers of North America . Thus, one cannot say that this huge continent was unsettled or vacant but the contact with the old world was not evident due to the fact that sailing was impossible on dangerous ocean. We should lean on in this first chapter on the conditions and circumstances of 'discovering and conquering' what would be called 'America'.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

I) : The Discoveries and the European Contact

1.Pre-colombus Discoveries:

One of the theories assumes that the Chinese navigator made a voyage to the East and many Chinese writers, 1500 years ago, were narrating stories of wonderful lands called Fusang and Tahan⁵. In an article published in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, John L. Allen says that Herodotus (the Greek geographer, historians and Philosopher) had reported that in the sixth century B.C. ships from Carthage led by Hanno, who circumnavigated Africa, were blown westward across the Ocean Sea (the Atlantic) and they made landfall on 'large islands or mainland thousands of leagues northwest of the Pillars of Hercules, nowadays called Straits of Gibraltar'⁶.

However, as asserted by historians that have relied on recorded documents, it is believed that the Scandinavian people had reached the North American shores via Iceland and Greenland⁷. All the historians, who agree with such assertion, say that North America was discovered by Leif Eriksson⁸ in 1000 A.D.

⁵ Arnold Rockman, *A Source –Book of the Canadian History: Selected Documents and Personal Papers*, Langmans, Toronto, 1959, p.3.

⁶ John Allen, "The Early Exploration of Eastern North America, 1497-1543" in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 82, No.3, 1992, p.502.

⁷ Donald Creighton, op., cit., p.6.

⁸ Leif Eriksson was the son of Erik the Red, he from Iceland; in 999 he visited Norway, where he was converted to Christianity and commissioned by King Olaf I to carry the faith to Greenland. On the return voyage from Norway to Greenland in 1000 he discovered the unknown lands. He set out from there c.1002 on a voyage to western lands, he settled for a winter in Vinland (from Newfoundland to Virginia). Abstract from *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, Sixth Edition, Columbia University Press, New York, 2007. p.28059.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

They rely on recorded events in the 'SAGAS'⁹ that Norsemen used as historical supports. According to the Sagas, Leif Eriksson's lieutenant called Thorfinn Karlsefni sailed with two ships from Greenland to the coast of Labrador in 1003, there he and his followers established a settlement, but they abandoned it the following year and they came back home because of the bad conditions of life combined with the natives' attacks¹⁰. The pre-Columbian discoveries can be viewed just as aimless because no real dynamic of settlement or trade control had been made.

2.Post-Columbus Discoveries:

It was nearly 500 years after the Norsemen voyages that new masters of the seas entered the scene of the 'New World'. In fact Columbus had awakened the interest about the route to the west, believing to reach the Far East's wealth, for many European merchants in a period characterized by high degree of competition. The general conditions that prevailed in Europe, in the end of fifteenth century, made, quickly, European countries struggling hard in order to have a hand over the geographical discoveries, among them Spain, Portugal, France, Netherland and England.

Accordingly, like Columbus, John Cabot (1450-1498)¹¹ and his son, Sebastian, expected to sail direct to the Far East via the high latitudes. They were commissioned by the Tudor king Henry VII who wished to control the Seven Cities'

⁹Sagas are from Icelandic and Norwegian origins, narrative in prose or verse, centering on a legendary or historical figures. Sagas were composed from about the early 11th to the mid-14th cent. and were first written down c.1200. Scholars disagree as to the extent to which written versions borrowed from earlier oral compositions. D.Creighton,op.cit.,p.6.

¹⁰ A. Rockman, op.cit.,pp.6-7.

¹¹ John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto) was an Italian sailor, lived inVince than he moved to Bristol. He was commissioned by the King Henry VII to sail from Bristol (1497) in order to discover the route to the far East, but he discovered the North American coast. The English claims in North America were based on his discovery. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, CD.ROM. 2008.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

richness¹², however, it was another source of wealth which had been discovered 'Fishing'. Donald Creighton assumes that:

"In 1497, when Cabot sailed home from the discovery of Newfoundland, reports began to circulate that the sea here is swarming with fish; and in fact, a combination of circumstances had made the region perhaps the greatest fishing ground in the world."¹³

Before dealing with the fishing industry, which would be paramount of the economic interest in the region, as asserts Creighton's quotation, the research of a supposed Northwest Route to Asia attracted both discoverers and European politicians' attention among them the French. In fact, they were the last comers and expressed, beside the Britons and the Spaniards, the willing to find the 'passage'. Between 1492, the year in which Columbus had discovered Americas, and the mid-sixteenth century, when the three kingdoms were fighting furiously to have the best portion of the 'New World', several geographic expeditions had been made; this intensive period of discoveries can be explained by the fact that, in both France and England, two monarchs with typical Renaissance mind, had come to power in their countries¹⁴.

3.The European Competition in the Region:

In fact, under the auspice of king Francis I of France (1494-1547) an expedition was sent for the 'new world'. Francis I commissioned Giovanni Verrazano¹⁵, in 1523, who, the following year, sailed up the coast of North America and claimed the territory as 'Nova Francia' (New France)¹⁶. One decade later, a first expedition –among

¹² The Seven Cities in the Banda Islands where gold and species were brought from, G. M. Trevelyan, *A Shortened History of England*, Penguin Books, London, 1987, p.215.

¹³ D. Creighton (1958), op.cit., p.7.

¹⁴ Donald Creighton, *The Story of Canada*, Farber & Farber, London, 1959, p.11.

¹⁵ G. Verrazano was an Italian explorer and navigator.

¹⁶ David Creighton (1958), op.cit., p.3.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

two others later-was led by Jacques Cartier¹⁷ in the spring of 1534¹⁸ . He sailed from Saint Malo (France) to continue the French enterprise for searching the sea route to the Far East¹⁹. On May of the same year, Cartier reached Cape Bonavista in the east coast of Newfoundland (see map 01).

According to M. Quayle Innis , Verrazano and Cartier had discovered nothing since they had just relied on Cabot's' expeditions from 1497 to 1505²⁰. Donald Creighton corroborates the same version by sustaining that the path between Europe and Newfoundland had been, frequently, used by the fishermen of France, England and Portugal since Cabot (some forty years ago)²¹. Yet, the significant discovery made by Cartier was the Gulf of St. Lawrence but he missed the estuary and the river that drained to it²². It is a fact that North America was populated by Natives called Indians²³. Some historians say that the first who had given the name to Canada was Cartier as a result of the contact that he made with the Natives²⁴- we shall discuss later on the Natives' responses to the European presence.

¹⁷ Jacque Cartier 1491–1557, French navigator, first explorer of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and discoverer of the St. Lawrence River. He made three voyages during which he discovered the major parts of western nowadays Canada .*Encyclopedia Britannica* ,CD. ROM 2008

¹⁸ Donald Creighton (1959), .op.cit.,p.11.

¹⁹ Mary Quayle Innis, *An Economic History of Canada*, The Ryerson Press , Toronto, 1935, p.2.

²⁰ Ibid., p.3

²¹ D. Creighton (1959), op.cit.,12.

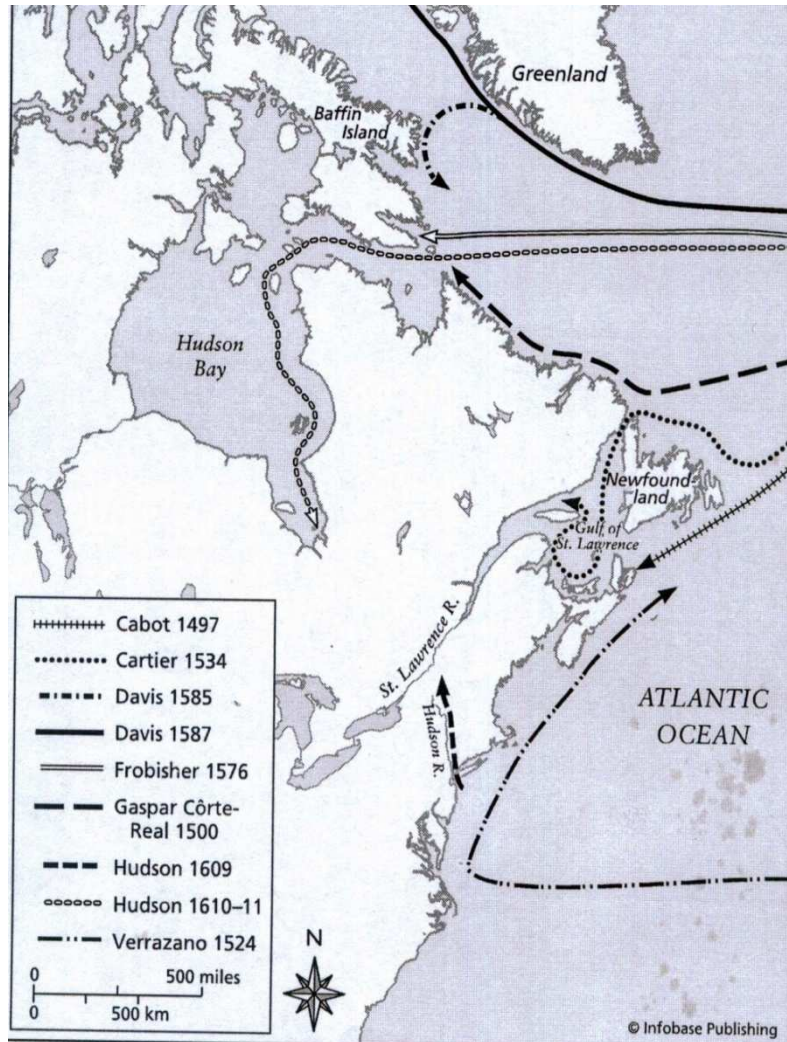
²² Ibid,p.13.

²³ Christopher Columbus was the first to call them as such believing that he had reached the Indian Subcontinent .

²⁴ When Cartier met natives along the Newfoundland coast they greeted him with the only European words they knew –aca- nada, "nothing is here" in Spanish , thinking it was the name of the place he called it Canada. Robert V. Hims & J.M. Fargher , *The American West a New Interpretative History*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2000, p.41.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Map 1: Discovery of Canada; Routes of Explorers



Source: Riendeau, Roger, *A Brief History of Canada*, Facts on File, United States of America, 2007, p.19.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Before moving to the European's interests and settlement in North America, it must be noted that such enterprise (discoveries) could not take place without political impulse; this is why we should, briefly, look into the political conditions in the different protagonists countries *i.e.* , France , England and Spain in that period.

First, France was witnessing a reign of a zealous monarch king Francis I, who promoted sciences, arts and private enterprises²⁵. Furthermore, he showed a far more interest than his own descendants in terms of discoveries²⁶. In England, it was the Tudor Dynasty who started promoting the "Nation-State" which was articulated around an education system dedicated to the service of the state, not to religion²⁷. Then, the Tudor monarchs put forward the sense of national unity and increased the use of English language at all levels of the state instead of "Latin" or "French"²⁸.

Moreover , the most important shift was the establishment , by the Tudor monarch Henry VIII, the Anglican Church by which it was possible to get rid of the catholic Pope and the foreign interference in the internal political affairs. More than that they started having national proud of their Englishness ²⁹. Military speaking ,it is historical orthodoxy , that the reign of Elisabeth I was synonymous of strong army which expressed all its magnificence in the victory against the Spanish Armada in 1588³⁰.All

²⁵ Encyclopedia Britannica , CD.Rom.2008.

²⁶ G.M. Trevelyan , op. cit.,p.216.

²⁷ Lacey B. Smith, *This Realm of England 1399 to 1688*, D . C. Heath Company, Lexington , 1988, pp.78-80.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., pp.186-92.

³⁰ Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

these events contributed in the establishment of imperial mind. Accordingly, with the Spaniards ' defeat, France and England entered in a new phase since the second half of the sixteenth century, which was expansionism by which North American territory would be soon a battle field of the two Empires.

II. Part Two: European Settlement and the Economic Interest:

After having mentioned, quickly, the general conditions that prevailed in both France and England, we should move to the expansion and the first settlement in North America focusing in Canada.

1. Fishing and Fur Trade:

One may say that Fishing was by far the first step in terms of economic development, by which, during the three following centuries, it would have a direct effect on social development by giving an impulse to settlement³¹. It is assumed that since Cabot's expedition to North America, and his accounts about how prolific the sea was, the major fishing industry was led by the French³². This assumption is the fruit of the fact that the sailors –who accompanied Cartier- were mostly natives of the western French Atlantic shores *i.e.* they were fishermen. Mary Quayle Innis noted the following:

" The Channel ports were the early fishing ports of France ;from one of them –St. Malo- Jacques Cartier had directed his voyages which opened the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the other fishermen. The French fishery was carried on along the coast of southern Newfoundland Belle Isle and probably after 1540 on the Grand Banks." ³³

³¹ S. D. Clark, *The Social Development of Canada : An Introductory Study with Select Documents*, Toronto, 1942, pp.1-2.

³² Mary Quayle Innis, *op.cit.*, pp.3-4.

³³ *Ibid.*

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

From that one may clearly understand that Cartier himself came from a region (Brittany) which had a profound fishing tradition; this fact can explain why the French were so eager about fishing industry in New France. Besides this, the French could secure the salt which was needed to dry fish before exporting it to France³⁴.

Accordingly, the shores of Canada started to be viewed as source of endless profit since fish represents, in Christian tradition, the Fridays' dish and it is largely consumed during feasting period. One species of fish was demanded a lot "cod"³⁵ which was considered as being 'the beef of the ocean'³⁶. This embryonic economy articulated around fish was the starting-point of the European competition in the North America since the mid-sixteenth century³⁷.

However, according to S.D. Clark, the fishery industry did not encourage settlement in Canada and represented a real impediment for it, since most of the product was exported to Europe and did not take time and hand to be dried and packed for export³⁸. Fishing industry was the first English French rivalry since for exploiting the fish salt was needed for conservation; this salt was produced in huge quantity in France, but was lacked in England. Thus, the Britons developed the technique of 'Dry fish' which consisted of putting fish to sun above rocks and sand by adding a small quantity of the precious salt³⁹. These two facts can explain the need to open new fields for economy which the alternative tended to be the fur. Moreover, M.Q. Innis argues that fishing was not suitable for creating companies to control the industry:

³⁴ Salt was produce in huge quantity in south of France, Mary Quayle Innis, op.cit., p.5.

³⁵ Donald Creighton (1958), op. cit. p.3.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.,p.10.

³⁸ S.D. Clark, op.cit. , pp.3-9.

³⁹ D. Creighton (1959) , op. cit. ,p14.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

"In the sixteenth century, as later centuries, companies failed in promoting the fishery. Fishing was by its nature an individualistic, competitive industry, geographically ill-suited to regulation and impossible to fix within the iron bounds of monopoly."⁴⁰

The Innis' quotation puts forward that fishing industry did not encourage neither settlement nor the companies that could support its dynamic in opposition of agriculture or the Fur Trade.

The origins of the fur trade can be traced back, ironically, to the dry fish and what this process evolved because Europeans had to stay for weeks and even for months in the Newfoundland shores. Thus, inevitably, it pushed the European fishermen to have a contact with the Indians and barter with the only one thing of value they possessed the fur⁴¹. One has to bear in mind that since the first contact made with the natives; the Europeans observed that those people were dressed with valuable fur. This fur was present in the first account given by Cartier who wrote on July, 1534:

"The savage showed a marvelous great pleasure in possessing and obtaining these iron wares and other commoditiesThey bartered all they had to such an extent that all went back without anything on them."⁴²

2. First Attempts of Settlement:

In 1535 ,Cartier made another voyage under Francis I auspice , with that France was the last of the maritime powers(England , Portugal , Spain) to take an active role in North America⁴³. The same year Cartier was welcomed by the natives of the

⁴⁰ M. Q. Innis , op. cit. , p.4.

⁴¹ D. Creighton (1958) , op.cit.,p.10.

⁴² M. Q. Innis , op. cit. , p.5

⁴³ J. L. Allen , op. cit. , pp.513-14.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

village of Staddonaca⁴⁴ (near Quebec) where he and his crew spent a winter which they noticed its coldness and freezing condition. The following year, Cartier came back to France with more details about 'New France'. The last voyage (1541-1543) Cartier did it with an associate called Jean François de Roberval with the firm will to colonize the region, but it was a failure⁴⁵ because of the shortage of food and the weather conditions.

According to Creighton, during almost fifty years the region was left to fishery which expanded vigorously with an atmosphere full of rivalries, especially between France and England. Meanwhile, the old continent entered in the sixteenth century in period of religious troubles which put the discoveries between parentheses. That was particularly noticed in France where the Reformation was not accepted by the French Catholic Clergy (massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day August 24th, 1572). Henceforth, France was witnessing a state of turmoil which obliged her to put her imperial aspirations in North America between brackets for a while. On the other side of the Channel, in the same period England enjoyed a period of stability and continuous growing number of emigrants to the New World particularly to New England. These two facts are perceived by historians as being the roots of what would be North America in the following centuries.

⁴⁴ R. V. Hims & J. M. Fargher, op. cit. ,p.43.

⁴⁵ D. Creighton (1959) op.cit. ,p.14.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

3. Canada's Fathers

New France had to wait till stability in France was recovered in all domains during the reign of Henry IV (1553-1610)⁴⁶, to receive another attempt for settlement. In fact, in 1603, Henry IV granted a monopoly for fur trade to Pierre Chauvin who wanted to bring fifty colonists per annum⁴⁷ in Tadoussac, 150 km in north of Quebec. However, the winter was disastrous for Chauvin and his companions⁴⁸. In 1604, another monopoly was granted to a group of traders, one of them, Samuel Champlain⁴⁹ is still called the father of the country. Since that moment, settlement and fur trade were going hand by hand to give a new economic and social dynamic in Canada.

During the four following years Champlain tried to establish a permanent settlement but he failed. Champlain who was a man of wide vision, had also an '*immense energy*'⁵⁰, in 1607 Mont⁵¹'s charter expired Champlain convinced him to seek a year's extension in order to have more time for looking for the mythic passage, gold or greater abundance of fur trade⁵². The following year, Champlain founded the city of Quebec where Cartier seventy years earlier had anchored, the natives called that place

⁴⁶ He instituted the political stability and guaranteed the religious freedom to the Protestants in a royal proclamation called Edict of Nantes (1598). Ibid., p.25.

⁴⁷ D. Creighton (1959) op.cit., p. 17.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Samuel de Champlain was born in 1567, he was a soldier, navigator and cartographer he had already made to the West Indies and Central America. He described this three-year tour to the French king in *Bref Discours*. He died in 1635. He is called by the Canadians 'The Father's Nation'. *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, Sixth Edition, Columbia University Press, New York, 2007.

⁵⁰ D. Creighton(1958), op. cit., p.18.

⁵¹ Pierre de Gua, Sieur de Mont was an associate and a friend of Champlain. He was granted a chart from Henry IV, Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

'Stadacona'. Champlain gave the following account to make it clear that he wanted to establish more than a settlement; he wished a 'colony':

"I arrived there [Quebec] on July the third .On arrival I looked for a place suitable for our settlement , but I could not find any more suitable or better situated than the point of Quebec , so called by the natives , which was covered with nut –trees .I at once employed a part of our workmen in cutting them down to make a site for our settlement.....I set all the rest to work clearing the land about our settlement in order to make gardens in which to sow grains and seed , for the purpose of seeing how the whole thing would succeed,....."⁵³

From that quote one may perceive that there was a shift from the search of the legendary passage to the Far East to a real interest for North America as a source of wealth for Europeans. This can be explained by the fact that in Virginia, south of New France, a real dynamic of colonisation was seized for Great Britain under the leadership of Sir Raleigh who established big plantations⁵⁴, a time when Spain ceased to be a super-power because she was defeated and she was occupied with the South American colonies, where she had found great quantities of gold⁵⁵. Thus, the New World was worth enough to be annexed and exploited.

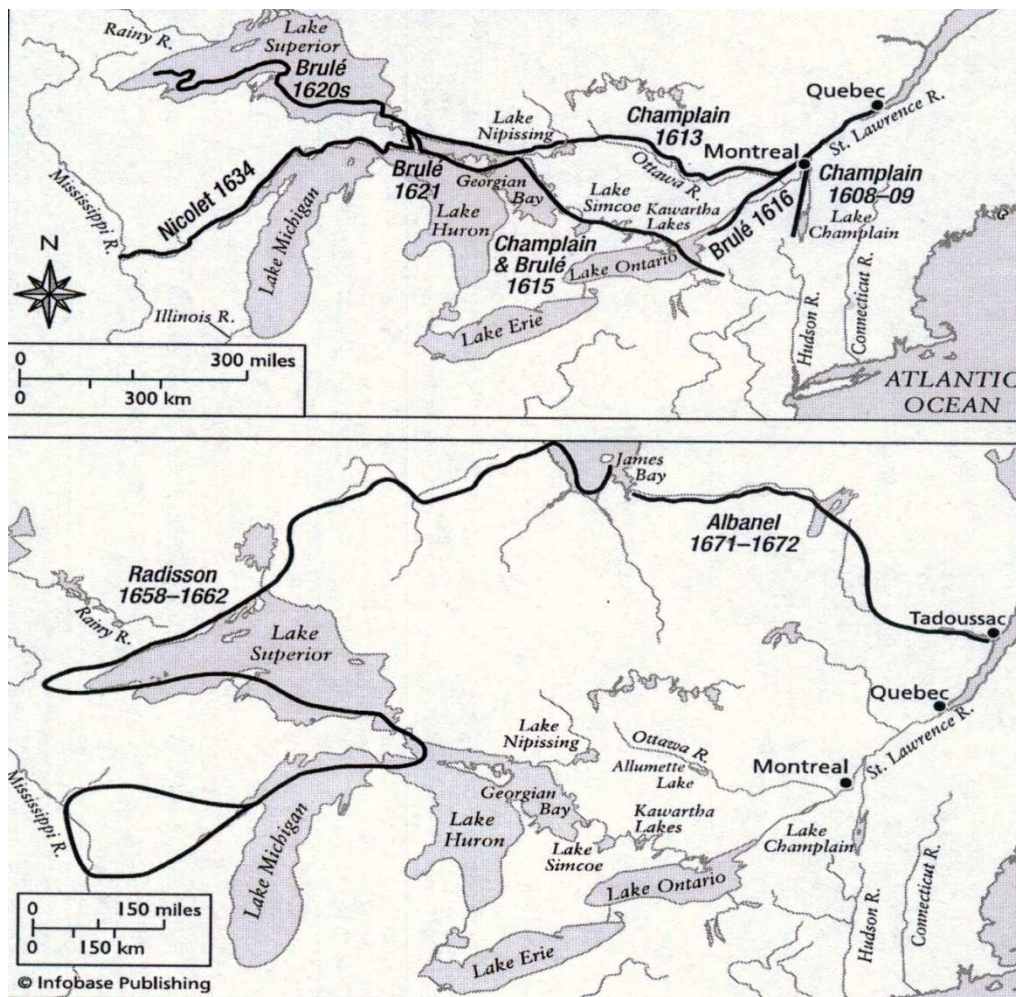
⁵³ A. Rockman , op. cit.,p.16.

⁵⁴ Hugh Brogan , *The Penguin History of the United States of America* ,Penguin Books , England, 1985, pp.6-8.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Map 2: French Exploration of the Great Lakes in the Seventeenth Century



Source: Riendeau, Roger, *A Brief History of Canada*, Facts on File, United States of America, 2007, p.16.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

4. The Natives' Responses to the French settlement:

Henceforth, for the interest of trade Champlain formed, in 1610, an alliance with two Indian tribes, the Huron and Algonquin, against the strong tribe of the Iroquois⁵⁶. The latter were described as being warlike tribe and they constituted a true impediment for Champlain's scheme in New France⁵⁷. In Cartier's time the Natives of eastern part of Canada were living around the St .Lawrence some by hunting and fishing and some others by farming but no conflict was reported from that period⁵⁸. Meanwhile, Champlain's arrival coincided with a great struggle between the two groups ; this can be explained by the fact that both tribes were looking for the control of hunting in the region. The Huron – Algonquin were armed by guns that they obtained from the French, the Iroquois were armless and they had to obtained them from the Dutch –who were living in New Amsterdam⁵⁹. The apple of discord was about controlling the beaver hunting and the rivers and lakes around the St. Lawrence where it lived.

According to M. Innis, the best furs were to be found in north of St .Lawrence where the Iroquois were expelled that was the reason why the Dutch had to provide them with huge quantity of arms and ammunition in order to reverse the situation . Moreover, according to G. Wrong, the fight between the two tribes Huron and Iroquois was just a king of chest game between two European powers who both wanted to control the fruitful fur trade and the great profit that was generated by it⁶⁰.

⁵⁶ These were names of three Indian tribes among others. George Catlin , *North American Indians*, Penguin Books, England ,1989, pp.375-77.

⁵⁷ George M. Wrong , *The Canadians ; The Story of a People*, The Macmillan Company, New York ,1938, pp.44-48.

⁵⁸ M. Q. Innis , op. cit., p.07.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.08

⁶⁰ G. M . Wrong , op. cit. pp.67-69.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

However, a totally opposed version is given by D. Creighton who says that the Iroquois in Cartier's time were agricultural and their empire stretched from the Far North East (future Quebec and Montreal) to the south (New England and Pennsylvania). It was an upheaval that had broke out between the Huron and the Iroquois, during the interlude of the French presence (from Cartier to Champlain), which made the formers victorious and expelled the latters southward⁶¹.

5. The Gospel the Business and the British Opposition

5.1. The Jesuits:

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was clearly established that America was seen by Europeans as a continent that had to be settled, since it was introduced as a vacuum land. The fact was the Spaniards in the south made huge profits by exporting the gold and they increased their presence in Hispaniola⁶² military, economically, socially and religiously. To copy down this model, when Champlain came back to Paris , after Henry VI's assassination (1610), he decided to call for missionaries assistance in New France. It was the Jesuits ⁶³who entered the North American scene. What was curios, according to F. Parkman, in his introduction , is that the order (the Jesuits) went hand by hand with the great period of discovering and he

⁶¹ D. Creighton , op. cit. p23.

⁶² Hispaniola was the name given by the Spaniards to New Spain , nowadays all the Latin America except Brazil (Portuguese).*Encyclopedia Britannica* 2008.

⁶³ The Jesuits are Roman Catholic religious order (The Society of Jesus), founded in 1535 by Ignatius of Loyola and a group formed by French and Spaniards Catholics among them François Xavier de Navarre . In 1537 they traveled to Rome where he had the benediction of Pope Paul III who, three years later, ordained them as priests. The Jesuits took vows of poverty and chaste and an extreme devotion to the precepts of Jesus and to preach the Bible in the less unknown regions of the globe. Abstract from *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, Sixth Edition.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

sustains that the Jesuits served more the imperial ambition of Spain and France (two Catholic kingdoms), than it served the 'noble causes' that it was designated for⁶⁴. The main duty of the Jesuits in North America was to make the 'savages' perfect Catholics who would spouse the French living style⁶⁵.

Furthermore, according to S. D. Clark, the Jesuit sought to seize the Huron as good middlemen, serving the Church, the king and the trade⁶⁶; according to Creighton, those ultra-religious Catholics brought a change, since their presence meant the gradual disappearance of the Protestants Huguenot fur traders⁶⁷.

5.2. The One Hundred Associates Company:

In spite of all the efforts in terms of making a permanent settlement in Canada, only one hundred residents were living in Quebec, twenty years after its founding. The 'Canada's Father', who did not accept the fact to see his dream over, returned to France ,in 1628, and appealed to Cardinal de Richelieu⁶⁸ (he had an imperial

⁶⁴ Francis Parkman , *The Jesuits in North American in the Seventeenth Century*, University of Nebraska Press , Lincoln , 1997, pp. I-XII.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ S.D. Clark , op. cit. p.22.

⁶⁷ D. Creighton , op. cit. , p.30.

⁶⁸ Arnaud de Plessis , Duc de Richelieu (1585–1642), French prelate and statesman, chief minister of King Louis XIII . Richelieu became a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, in 1622, and he became chief minister in 1624. His domestic policy aimed at consolidating and centralising Royal Authority, by the destruction of the power of the Huguenots (Protestants merchants and land owners) and the great nobles. He ended their special political privileges—without, however, denying them religious toleration. He strengthened the army and the navy, made alliances with the Netherlands and the German Protestant states to encounter the Habsburgs' power. Overseas, he encouraged commercial capitalism, organising companies to trade in the Indies and Canada. He was a the founder of the French Academy. Among his literary

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

vision for France) for help by securing and providing New France with Roman Catholic settlers and materials. To achieve such purpose, Richelieu formed a new company called The Company of New France or the Hundred Associates⁶⁹ which guaranteed the country with Roman Catholics, settled them and provided them with all commodities of life (education, health etcetera ad infimum)⁷⁰.

It must be mentioned here that in the same year of the foundation of the company war broke out between France and England under King Charles I's reign who was in search of some prestige under the pretext of helping the protestant Huguenots of La Rochelle against Cardinal De Richelieu⁷¹. The pretext of war might be true in Europe, but in North America it was clear that the English did not want to see the French Catholics in their immediate neighbouring. This fact can explain why the British Captain Samuel Agrall (from New England) invaded several times (five time in total) the posts in Acadia.

5.3.The Kirks Brother Invasion of Quebec:

In Addition to that, the Kirks brother were sent by the British navy, in 1628, in three ships to seize the French fleet and to capture the French new settlers and the supplies sent by the Company⁷². Champlain and the few settlers had to live without any goods during the winter of 1628-1629. On July, 21st 1629 Kirke Lewis occupied Quebec⁷³; thereafter, the English were a constant menace and by this occupation a new

works are his memoirs (1650) and the '*Testament politique*' (1688). *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, Sixth Edition.

⁶⁹ The Company was established in 1627 with a capital of 300,000 Pounds divided among one hundred shareholders. D . Creighton , op.cit. , pp.33-4.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ G. M. Trevelyan ,op.cit.pp.283-84.

⁷² D. Creighton , op. cit., pp.35-36.

⁷³ Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

phase in the history of Canada started which consisted in the French British rivalry in North America.

Britons took control in New France for more than three years. Internal political quarrel between the English parliament and Charles I obliged the latter to sign a peace treaty at St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632, by which the English withdrew from New France, on the other side, France accepted the marriage of Charles I with Princess Henrietta Marie de Bourbon and to help him financially to face the parliament⁷⁴.

5.4. The British Retreat from Quebec :

After those English parentheses were shut, things could restart again with a total change in the colony. In 1633, Champlain was back in Quebec as a governor bringing with him some two hundred colonists to whom he established a post at Three Rivers (Ref. Map03) in 1634⁷⁵. In fact , the Company of New France was bankrupted, which obliged the French authority to limit the sum given to it to ten thousand Pounds per year⁷⁶. As far as the Society of Jesus was concerned, it redefined the religious shape of New France. Coinciding with the same year of the English withdrawal, Richelieu sent in Acadia Lieutenant General Isaac de Razilly⁷⁷ in a command of three hundred settlers from Brittany and La Touraine, besides, the Jesuits came back also with the zealous father le Jeune⁷⁸.

⁷⁴ G. M. Trevelyan , op.cit. , p283.

⁷⁵ D. Creighton , op.cit.,p.36.

⁷⁶ Ibid. , p.37.

⁷⁷ Isaac de Razilly was born in 1587 from a French nobility . He served in the French navy and was appointed by the king as Lieutenant General . He died in 1635. *Columbus Encyclopedia* , 2007.

⁷⁸ Father Le Jeune was a extremist Catholic priest, D. Creighton (1959) , op.cit. , pp.64-65.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Besides of all what have been said, after Champlain s' death in 1635 both the Jesuits and the Company combined their efforts in order to establish the new order(French Regime) that New France would follow for a couple of centuries. One may list the three characteristics of the system that the historians call "*Ancient Regime*"⁷⁹ which was articulated around the seigniorial organization of the land (feudalism), Catholicism, and the fur trade. Moreover, the governor was appointed by both the crown and the company. The new dynamic brought its fruits by summer 1633 when the Huron (Indian allies of the French) provided the Company with huge quantity of fur. Yet, the foundations of the colony seemed to be very weak since the fur trade was totally based on, Indians efforts as asserted by Creighton.

5.5.The Dutch Threaten:

On the other hand, it must be noted that the Dutch were well established in the Hudson River (the future state of New York) where they traded with the Iroquois. The new colony had to face, besides the English menace, the Iroquois who did not accept to 'share' the fur beaver with others and they were in need to bring to the Dutch more and more fur to guarantee the new standard of life .W . J. Eccles notes the following:

" At Fort Orange the Iroquois could obtain European goods, including firearms.by 1633 they were bringing nearly 30,000 pelts a year to the Dutch. This exhausted the supply of fur in Iroquois territory. The attempts of the Iroquois to obtain furs through trade from the Huron and Algonkin tribes came to naught. There was, then, no alternative, now that they were

⁷⁹ 'Ancient Régime' is the historical term given to the feudal system and the omnipresence of the Roman Catholic Church in the daily life of the peasants in France. W J. Eccels, *The Canadian Frontier 1534-1760*, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1999, p.III.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

dependent on European manufactured goods to maintain their recently improved standard of living, but to wage war to divert the flow of northwestern furs from the French at Quebec to the Dutch on the Hudson, with themselves reaping the middleman's profit. As early as 1633 they attacked a party of Champlain's men on the St. Lawrence above Quebec, killing two and wounding four others. For the next sixty years and more the French were to have little respite from the attacks of this relentless foe."⁸⁰

Accordingly, the fur trade became a source of wealth and competition between not only the Europeans but also the Natives. In New France the annual returns of pelts increased from twelve thousand in 1620's to twenty thousand in 1645⁸¹. Fur and the evangelism were going to form a perfect symbiosis in order to push the expansion westward.

Whereas, according to G. W. Brown the fur traders became explorers for the Company and they were soon followed by the missionaries⁸². In fact, the period between 1634 -1660 the Jesuits went for preaching the Gospel and by the way they successively discovered Lake Michigan (Jean Nicolet 1634), Lake Superior and the Upper Mississippi region and pushed north to the Hudson Bay (Radisson and Groseilliers 1654-60)⁸³. According to W.J. Eccles the *Ursulines* (for education) and the *Soeures Hospitalières* (medicine) sent in 1639 did not succeed to Christianize Natives⁸⁴, besides the European population grew painfully from 359 in 1640 to 675 in 1650⁸⁵.

⁸⁰ W .J. Eccles , op.cit., p.36.

⁸¹ D. Creighton (1958) , op. cit. , p.41.

⁸² G. W. Brown , *Canada* , University of California Press , Berkeley , 1950, p.61.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ The "*Ursulines*" were Catholics sisters who were mainly concerned with girls education , the "*Soeures Hospitalières*" were from the French town of Dieppe and they had as a mission to assist people facing their health problems .W .J. Eccles , op.cit. , p.38.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

5.6. The Natives Attitudes towards the European Traders:

It is crucial, however, that one has to ask about the Natives' attitude towards the French fur traders. In this particular point two opposed views were expressed; the first one was the Huron's' attitude who considered themselves, par excellence, the middlemen to trade with the French. The second was the Iroquois who from the beginning were hostile vis-à-vis the French. Their hostility was expressed by a series of bloody attacks of the Huron villages between 1648- 50 in which three missionaries were killed⁸⁶ . Those attacks constituted real impediments for both the trade and the colony.

It is important to point out that between 1650 – 1652, commercial treaty was signed between the French and the Dutch; in fact the two European powers combined their efforts in order to stop the Iroquois ' raids. Thus, in 1653 a peace was instituted, but four year later the Iroquois returned to violence by killing seventeen French at the Long Sault by an army constituted of seven hundred warriors⁸⁷. Furthermore, the Iroquois' menace , political religious quarrel started between the clergy and the governor about the alcohol sales to the Natives ; briefly speaking the clergy was opposed to such commerce because Indians tended to lose any' respect'. The governor, however, was in favour because it secured money for the colony⁸⁸. In the beginning of 1660's the climax of the problems reached such degree of tension that it was nearly caused the end of New France. This assertion is largely shared by historians. M.Q .Innis notes that:

⁸⁵W .J. Eccles , op.cit. , p.38.

⁸⁶ The missionaries who were killed (Daniel , Brébeuf , Lalemant) are ,till now , considered as being martyrs in Canada and they are venerated as saints . G. W. Brown , op. cit. , p.61.

⁸⁷ It was a famous attack on the Ottawa river (the heart of beaver hunting) led by Adam Dollard Sieur des Ormeaux who resisted with his French and Hurons companions to death . D. Creighton (1959) op.cit., pp.25-26.

⁸⁸ G. W. Brown , op. , cit. , p.62.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

*"...trade was in collapse , the St. Lawrence was closed, and the Hurons exterminated . Until about 1661 the Iroquois held the St. Lawrence Valley and the French could carry on the fur trade , if at all , only with great difficulty by devious waterways ,settlement in Canada up to 1663 grew with difficulty."*⁸⁹

One may understand that all the economy and the social dynamic were articulated around Fur Trade.

III. Louis XIV and Canada:

At this critical phase in the Canadian history a question must be asked 'what about official France ? Did she leave all the efforts done for more than one hundred fifty years to vanish without any reaction ? It might be the case if the king was not Louis XIV⁹⁰. After pains endured by New France time of change had come under the influence of the 'Sun King' who after Mazarin's death acceded the throne of France at the age of twenty three .

1. The Reorganizations of the Colony by the French Crown:

Thus, once he took the commands of France, Louis decided to organize the overseas territories and Canada was no exception. According to D. Creighton (1959), the French monarch came to the evidence that those territories were neglected. It was difficult for official France to accept the fact that she had no possessions in the Far East, when Dutch and Britons were building forts and stations. Moreover, it lost Acadia (Nova

⁸⁹ M. Q. Innis , op., cit. p13.

⁹⁰ Louis XIV (Le Roi Soleil) 1638–1715, King of France. After his father's death his mother, Anne of Austria, was regent. Absolute monarchy, based on the theory of Divine Right, reached its height during his reign . Under his minister Jean Batiste Colbert industry and commerce expanded on mercantilist principles and a navy was developed. He imposed religious uniformity and he put an end to Edict of Nantes which obliged the Huguenots to emigrate. He undertook a series of wars against the Dutch , Spain ,Austria and even the Catholic church . *The Columbia Encyclopedia* , Sixth Edition , 2007.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Scotia) which became English, at the same time when Dutch ships were exporting valuable goods from Guadeloupe and Martinique⁹¹.

1.1. The Military Reorganization:

1663 represents the turning-point in the history of Canada, where, only about two thousand settlers were living⁹². This year started witnessing a complete reorganization of the colony⁹³. One may list, among these new features, the direct nomination of the governor by the King which became *de facto* French Province⁹⁴; the same year The Company of New France ceased existence. Colbert⁹⁵, who wished to transform France into commercial power, had created two new companies that should control the whole world; The French East India Company and The French West India Company. The latter's sphere of influence were the west coast of Africa and the East cost of America from the Amazon to the Arctic Ocean. In 1665, the French sent one of the most powerful regiment that existed in Europe at that time "*The Carignan- Salière Regiment*", composed of four hundred soldiers under the command of Lieutenant General M. de Tracy which main role was to consolidate the military presence and to assist governor Courcelle, to instate 'peace' and secure the settlers and Huron from Iroquois' attacks⁹⁶. According to G. Wrong this was the main difference between the French

⁹¹ M. Q. Innis , op. cit. , pp.15-17.

⁹² Ibid..

⁹³ Ibid , p.18.

⁹⁴ G. W. Brown , op. cit. , p.35.

⁹⁵ 1619–83, French statesman, he was trained in business he was hired by Cardinal Mazarin to look after his financial affairs. On his deathbed, Mazarin asked King Louis XIV to make him controller general of finances (1665). Colbert 's aim was to make France economically self-sufficient. He founded the Academy of Sciences and the Paris Observatory and promoted the French Academy. His efforts at economy were soon menaced by the extravagance of the king. *The Columbia Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition, 2007.*

⁹⁶ G. W. Brown , op.cit. , pp.62-63.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

colonial vision, based on military force and the English vision based on mercantilism⁹⁷. The hope was, according to Creighton (1959), to make Canada a solid commercial and agricultural base for the French Empire throughout military presence.

1.2.The Settlement's Reorganization:

Wrong sustains that France did not want to leave Britons alone in North America, because she (France) developed jealousy towards Britain especially when Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) annexed Ireland, Jamaica (1655)⁹⁸ and Acadia⁹⁹(which would become a ping-pong ball). The British expansionism, in America, was continued when monarchy was restored, but Acadia was returned to France¹⁰⁰. In fact Charles II seized the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam (New York), and he offered it as a gift to his brother James, Duke of York in 1664¹⁰¹. In 1669, he gave to Prince Rupert (his cousin) a vast realm which extended from the Hudson Bay, in the North, to the Rocky Mountains, in the South West. It must be noted that Rupert was one associate in the newly created company "Hudson Bay Company"¹⁰². Its main duties could be summarized, as M.Q Innis points out, to explore and exploit the region around the bay. The British expansionism in North America, particularly in Canada will be discussed later on.

As it was mentioned above, the French in the 1660's reorganised the colony in Canada in order to secure a permanent territory to sever their imperial ambition. An

⁹⁷ G. W. Brown , op.cit. , pp.86-88.

⁹⁸ Jamaica was conquered and settled in 1509 by Spaniards. The island remained Spanish until 1655, when it was captured; it was formally ceded to England in 1670, but the local European population obtained a degree of autonomy. *The Columbia Encyclopaedia*, Sixth Edition, 2007.

⁹⁹ G. M. Trevelyan, op. cit. p.324.

¹⁰⁰ George .M . Wrong, op. cit., pp.82-83.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Hudson Bay Company, was chartered by Charles II in 1670. Its main duties were the fur Trade and exploration of the western territories on North America. G. M. Trevelyan, op., cit. p.324.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

active policy of colonization took place, according to Wrong, one thousand eight hundred French entered Canada in eight years; they were encouraged by Royal Financial Aid¹⁰³. Thus, the population rose from three thousand (3,000), in 1665, to nearly six thousand two hundred (6,200), in 1673¹⁰⁴. In addition to that, during eight years nearly one thousand girls called '*les Filles du Roi*'¹⁰⁵ (the King's Daughters) arrived there in order to spouse bachelors (soldiers and farmers) . More than that, Talon¹⁰⁶, who was nominated as *intendant* of Canada in 1665, brought some domestic animals, like horses, cows, pigs and sheep, in addition the usual grains: oats ,barley wheat hemp¹⁰⁷. G.W. Brown sustains the following about Talon:

*"In the three towns , Quebec , Montreal , and Trois Rivers , he installed craftsmen of the essential trades: bakers , carpenters , shoe-makers , masons , bricklayers , blacksmiths and weavers. He opened a shipyard at Quebec , established fisheries along St. Lawrence , and sought to create an export trade in lumber and grain with the West Indies , ...three little towns possessed the essential industries , hospitals , and educational institutions."*¹⁰⁸

Under the auspice of Talon, a political impulse was given to settlement to Canada; so many achievements had been fulfilled. Talon was talented in the management

¹⁰³ The sum given were fifty Pounds for the brides who married with the soldiers of the Carignan Regiment , and it was a present of twenty Pounds for the new married couple , more than that the king gave allowances to families having more than ten children , G.M. Wrong , op. cit. , pp.92-97.

¹⁰⁴ D. Creighton , op.cit., pp.58-60.

¹⁰⁵ Les Filles du Roi "King's daughters" were single women who arrived in France with the intention of being married and they were helped by financially . G. Wrong , op.cit. , p.93.

¹⁰⁶ He was the first intendant of Canada ,his role was to assist and control the conditions of the new settlers,Ibid., p.61.

¹⁰⁷ G.W. Brown , op.cit. pp.63-64.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp.93-94.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

of the colony. The historians agree with the fact that the chief of his tasks was the settling of *seigneurs* on the land ; he recommended the use of the timber in shipbuilding , he built at Quebec a brewery and put forward exportation of beer to West Indies. Talon promoted the triangular trade between New France (exporting maize, timber , beer) to West Indies (importing , rheum ,sugar) ,and the mother country (importing, vegetables , wine and so on)¹⁰⁹ .

In addition, according to George W. Brown, the governor's duties could be summarized in, representing the King, commanding the troops, and supervising the relation with the Natives. Next to him the *intendant* who, more to his control of the finances, he administered justice¹¹⁰ . The political system, at that time, as described by Brown, was based on three figures (the governor, the intendant and the bishop). The governor appointed by the King was chosen among the aristocracy and had to have military merits. The *intendant* also belonged to the aristocracy but he was not obliged to have military experience- similar to the Civil Service in England. The third and the most controversial authority, according to Eccles, was the Bishop "the Moral Guardian". It was this triangular structure who took control in New France.

¹⁰⁹ G.W. Brown , op.cit. pp.63-64.

¹¹⁰ The Judicial system comprised three royal courts (Quebec , Montreal, Three Rivers). I t was free of charge for the common people .The intendant could judge any civil or criminal affairs besides the disputes between seigneurs and their tenants, *ibid.*, p.65.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

1.3 The Catholics Clergy Activities:

Thus a brief study about the clergy in Canada at that time is not useless. According to S.D. Clark , in spite of all Talon's efforts, New France was considerably dependent upon the state and, at the same time, the catholic clergy had a total control over the settlers; the parish organization was unsuited to the needs of the scattered population¹¹¹.

Thus, it was the Church who had a direct contact with the population instead of civil authority. Clark depicts the situation by focusing on some impediments such as 'paternalistic attitude' *i.e.* the colonial administration combined with omnipotent church deprived the colony of any free enterprise and self reliance when in the other side of the frontier English immigrants enjoyed a freedom of work, religion and collegial decisions. This fact provoked a state of 'inertia' in New France which was characterized by extreme poverty, economic dependence, and cultural indifference¹¹². Eccles pushes further by sustaining that New France was witnessing a king of 'autarchy'. Henceforth, it was hard to obtain benefit from such a colony.

One must add that the majority of the historians, who have studied the early French settlement in Canada, agree with the fact that the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries the colonisation was not an easy task, among them Philip Buckner, in an article published in November 1993, makes a pertinent analysis on writing that :

" During the first period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries all of the European colonies of settlement grew painfully slowly but none more painfully and slowly than the French colonies in Canada. Neither Acadia nor New France

¹¹¹ The population was scattered in a wide area that it was impossible in winter to join many villages and forts , the only social structure where the people could meet was the Church (the parish), S.D. Clark , op.cit. , p.25.

¹¹² Ibid. p.26.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

possessed the potential for plantation economies and the only exports that they produced of value to the mother country were fish and furs. The fisheries were of considerable economic importance, but did not require permanent settlements for their exploitation. The fur trade drew France into the interior of North America, but it could not sustain a large population base."¹¹³

2. The Problems met by The French in Canada and the War against Holland:

It is unquestionable that Louis XIV had made great efforts to populate New France, internal problems combined with the war against Holland interrupted the flow in 1672, however. That interruption is explained by Margaret M. Cameron by the fact that Louis XIV needed soldiers and money so he could not sustain colonies in order to face his immediate foes¹¹⁴. Besides this, Creighton (1958) asserts that compared to English America the number of French settlers were insignificant. Meanwhile, the number of the colonists made a spectacular jump, in 1679, Canada numbered 9,400 inhabitants (this number is explained by the fecundity), 8,000 head of cattle and more than 22, 000 acres of land cultivated¹¹⁵. This image had only one negative aspect, according to Brown the French encountered only one failure which consisted in the fact that the Indians were not inclined to be Christianized and "*Frenchified*"¹¹⁶.

¹¹³ Phillip Buckner , " The Peopling of Canada " , *History Today*, Vol. 43. November 1993.

¹¹⁴ Margaret M. Cameron, *A History of Canada ; volume II* , Clark , Irwin , Toronto , 1964 , p.46.

¹¹⁵ G. W. Brown , op.cit. ,p.64.

¹¹⁶ The term is written here as it has been mentioned and it means to spouse the French living style and standards, G. W. Brown , Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

In parallel to the colonization, the discoveries were still going on; it was true that the Mother Country was occupied with her war against Holland (1672-1679), meanwhile the "*Coueurs-de-Bois*"¹¹⁷ like Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette, Daniel Greysolon Du Lhutand and La Salle continued to discover the North American territories¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁷ *Coueurs-de-Boirs* was the French term given to people (mainly men) who travelled in the interior looking for places where beaver and other animals with valuable fur lived(hunters). However , according to Eccles (1983) in the seventeenth century the term meant anyone who voyaged into the wilderness to trade for furs. Until 1681 laws forbade the practice, hence the name had a pejorative sense, meaning an outlaw. W. J. Eccles , op. cit. , p. XVII.

¹¹⁸ Louis Jolliet and Father Marquette set out together from the Strait of Michilimackinac down the river Mississippi . In 1678 , D. Du Luth travelled westward beyond the Lake Superior (contact with the Sioux) . In 1682 La Salle descended the Mississippi river to its delta (New Orleans),D. Creighton (1959) op.cit.,p.36.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

VI.) Conclusion:

One may say, as brief conclusion that from the end of the seventeenth century exactly the fifteen last year , the conflicts in Europe between the main imperialist powers would affect directly the American future and the Canadian one was no exception. Moreover , the political system that the French imposed to their population in Canada was imported as it was from France without any single change i.e. the '*Ancien Regime*' could be adequate for France (in the European soil) but not for America because of the distance. Moreover, a series of factors combined to make no real economic dynamic in New France mainly due to the fact that the weather conditions were particularly hard for the settlers. They could not farm lands during the long winters which lasted from October to April. The temperatures below zero were unbearable for both agriculture and colonists.

Yet, many historians suggest that Catholicism in itself imposed a certain style of a total submission to the Clergy and by extension to the Monarch. This fact explains why the French colony in North America grew painfully whereas the British ones (mainly Protestants) enjoyed a continuous development both in population and wealth. It must be added that Louis XIV, who was more occupied by controlling Europe, in his last ten years, neglected the overseas territories, that was why the English, who were more and more active in North America, tried to put the entire region north to the Great Lakes to Mississippi and Louisiana into their sphere of influence. By the beginning of the eighteenth century Canada had to face the British progression in the region, announcing the French British rivalry.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Chapter Two

After having reviewed, in the first chapter, the conditions of the French conquest and settlement in Canada until the late of the seventeenth century, we should now highlight the British conquest in the region. No doubts that the South Eastern parts of North America were British (New England, New York, Virginia and so on); as it has been previously mentioned, the British were few in number in the north of New England. They were present only in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay , their only interests were limited to fishery (in the Atlantic Shores) and Fur Trade inland -which was mainly dominated by the French. The late Seventeenth century and beginning of the Eighteenth century started witnessing an intensification of what historiographers call "The Franco- British Rivalry", which reached its zenith in Queen Anne's war or The Spanish Succession War.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

1. The Spanish War of Succession (Queen Anne's War) and the Treaty of Utrecht

The beginning of the eighteenth century represented a turning -point in the Canada's destiny since a series of conflicts and events in Europe would affect directly the situation there. France opponents, led by Queen Anne of England¹¹⁹, sought to prevent her from enjoying a monopoly of the Spanish trade in the New World. It was the main reason for England's entrance into the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV¹²⁰. In fact, the danger for the Britons, according to G. Wrong consisted in the point that France would take control over all North America from St. Lawrence in the North to the Gulf of Mexico, in the south, and the English colonies (Virginia, New England ...ect) could be directly threatened by France¹²¹ westward progression.

1.1. Causes and Events of the War in North America :

According to D. Creighton (1958) the Spanish war of succession (1701-1714)¹²² had a direct harmful effect on the North American soil since the two

¹¹⁹ Queen Anne (1665- 1714) reigned from 1702-1714 as queen of Great Britain and Ireland . Her hatred for Catholicism was the main reason ,for her , to fight France and Spain . In 1683 she was married to Prince George of Denmark (1653–1708). Although she had many children ,however none could live ,so she had to choose a successor from her relatives ;she designated one Hanoverian descendants of King James I of England. Her reign was synonymous of the British supremacy over trade and the instauration of the first British Empire. *Encyclopedia Britannica. Ultimate Reference Suite*. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2009.

¹²⁰ D. Creighton (1958), op. cit. , pp.104-108.

¹²¹ S. D. Clark , op. cit. , pp. 100-04.

¹²² The conflict arouse out when three European powers (France , England and Netherlands) tried to impose (separately) their own sovereign on the Spanish throne after the death of the childless Charles II. The Britons and the Dutch formed an alliance against Louis XIV in order to stop his imperial ambition both in Europe and overseas . Louis XIV imposed his grandson(Philip duc d'Anjou) as a monarch of Spain but Britain and Netherlands did not accept this fact because the throne of Spain was also claimed by the Hapsburgs (allied to the Britons and the Dutch) .

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

antagonists' powers (France and England) had possessions there; this duality expressed itself by a series of skirmishes and forays in both camps. The author sustains that the French found an opportunity to acquire more territories in North America. Meanwhile, the French historian Pierre Pluchon argues that the British, in 1702, started, from Massachusetts, invading Quebec in order to enlarge their territories and to develop the fur trade¹²³. Acadia (in the Atlantic shores) was by far the most coveted region since it was very prolific in terms of fishing¹²⁴. In fact, during nine years (1702-1711) successively, the French invaded the British colonies and the latter responded by doing so from their posts in Acadia and Newfoundland¹²⁵.

According to S. D. Clark even though France enjoyed a military superiority in Canada (long presence and better adaptation to the weather conditions), that was not the case in Europe where a large coalition gathered against France and several military defeats were inflicted to her in Europe¹²⁶. Moreover, G. M. Wrong sustains that Louis XIV's long reign was not a benediction to France, since it was marked by an autocracy "*L'état c'est moi*" (I am the state) which contributed largely in the French regression and the emergence of England as both commercial and naval power¹²⁷. G. M. Trevelyan notes that it was the alliance between the Dutch King William III¹²⁸, and Queen Anne of England, two monarchs of Protestant kingdoms opposed to the very Catholic France, which contributed largely to victory.

After a series of battles and defeats in both sides France maintained Spain in her realm but she had to do many concessions. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Ultimate Reference Suite. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2009.

¹²³ Pierre Pluchon, *Histoire de la Colonisation Française; Tome Premier, Le Premier Empire Colonial, Des Origines à la Restauration*, Fayard, Paris, 1991, p.110.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ D. Creighton (1958), op. cit., p.109.

¹²⁶ S. D. Clark, op. cit., p.92.

¹²⁷ G. M. Wong, op. cit., p.138.

¹²⁸ G. M. Trevelyan, op. cit., p.363.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

In North America the balance of strength was equal, the French were ready to defend their posts, and the English were eager to kick them out from their Northern boundaries.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Map3: The French Fortification in North America on the Eve of the Seven Years War.



Source: Chartrand, René, *The Forts of New France in Northeast America 1600-1763*, Osprey Publishing Ltd, Great Britain, 2008, p.6.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

1.2. Some Causes of the French Defeat

Many historians agree with the fact that the French had cumulated errors and misunderstanding of the deals of that moment. One may list among them, as the main cause, the absolute reign of Louis XIV which had deprived another vision of the power to express itself, meanwhile, in the other side of the Channel, the British started enjoying an embryo of democracy¹²⁹(Bill of Rights 1689); that political freedom in the English soil contributed in the emergence of the middle classes, represented by the Whig¹³⁰, whose main interests were centered around making profits through mercantilism and freedom of commerce and, consequently, expansionism was their main credo by which they could make profits¹³¹.

The other reason was the French lack of interest in Canada as pointed out by P. Pluchon, who gives two evidences to his argumentation. First, Louis XIV never showed any attraction for North American territories. This fact had a direct impact on French emigration which was very insignificant compared to the English one. It must be noted, as says Brown, that the French Catholics at that moment in North America, were nearly 18.000 and the British (mainly belonging to reformed churches) were more than 320.000 souls¹³². That represented a real impediments to the New France's future according to D. Creighton (1958).

¹²⁹ G.M. Travelyan, op. cit., pp.364-66.

¹³⁰ Whigs and Tories were two opposed groups of pressure in the English society during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries. The Whigs were in favor in terms of free trade and different kinds of liberties, whereas the Tories were more conservatives mostly represented by landowners. Françoise Grellet, *Contemporary British Institutions & Culture ; A Glossary*, Hachette, Paris, 1998, p.287

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² These statistics is given by P. Pluchon, op. cit., p.112.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

However, the political power was not the only one to blame since the French population in the Hexagon was not attracted by the New World, this can be summarized by what Voltaire (French philosopher) called "some acres of snow" ¹³³ . As an illustration, one may use the following statistics that concern the non Indian population in North America. The French were 23,325 in New France in 1718 , whereas the British were more than 466,000 in the thirteen Colonies (future United States) in 1720¹³⁴. In 1730, the French population represented 34,118 souls (an increase of 11,000 inhabitants in 12 years) when in the English colonies the population rose to more than 629,000 inhabitants (an increase of more than 150,000 in 10 years)¹³⁵.

The third reason is given by G. M. Trevelyan , who argues that the British were more sufficient in military actions especially in naval battles under the impulse of Lord Marlborough¹³⁶. This assertion is contradicted by W. T. Morgan, who says that the French defeat was a sum of both the non interest expressed by Louis XIV to the colonies and the mercantile activism which was more present in the English side. Thus, the military actions were not the only source of success¹³⁷.

¹³³ Cited by Roger Riendeau , *A Brief History of Canada*, Facts on Files , New York , 2007, p. XI

¹³⁴ P. Pluchon , op.cit. ,p.1014.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Lord Marlborough , First Duke , Marquess of , was born in 1650 one of the most prominent English statesmen and soldiers (he reached the rank of general) he was a close adviser to Queen Anne, after having married the Queen 's best friend "Sarah Jennings". He brought a series of military victories to the English forces. He died in 1722 as one of the richest man in England. Abstract from *Encyclopediad Britannica. Ultimate Reference Suite*. Chicago: Encyclopediad Britannica,2009

¹³⁷ W. T. Morgan , "Some Attempts at Imperial Co-Operation during the Reign of Queen Anne" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* , Fourth Series, Vol. 10 (1927), pp. 172-74.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

1.3.The End of the War and the Treaty of Utrecht (1713-1714)

The war was ended by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713-1714)¹³⁸ –which contained many arrangements concerning Europe and overseas territories , but here we should limit ourselves to North America (Canada). Thereupon, under the treaty's terms France lost the Hudson Bay, Acadia (Nova Scotia) and Newfoundland , but her sovereignty over New France was recognized *de jure* by her foes (England and Netherlands)¹³⁹. P. Pluchon notes that for Louis XIV the overseas territories were just a currency of exchange in his foreign policy because no precious metals, minerals , or valuable goods were produced (neither gold nor spices or silk), the French overseas territories, especially Canada, were not valuable. P. Pluchon states it as follows:

".....considérant ses possessions, non comme une partie du territoire national, mais comme la monnaie de sa politique étrangère, le roi va les utiliser pour payer les acquis de sa stratégie continentale..... le roi ne mesure pas l'importance de ses colonies"¹⁴⁰

Consequently, the French withdrawal from Acadia and Newfoundland provoked , according to A. H. Innis , an economic crisis in the fish economy and it contributed to impoverish New France settlers, especially the *coureurs des bois* (see chapter one) who saw the territories where they hunted, limited –mainly the Hudson bay region –by the British control¹⁴¹. French fishermen found themselves confined to Cape Breton¹⁴², that was a victory for the New Englanders since more fish could be caught .

¹³⁸ Also called the Peace of Utrecht, town in the Netherlands, by which the European Powers, ended the war of the Spanish succession . According to many historians – among them G. Wrong S. D. Clarck and Creighton- . the treaty tired to regulate all the colonial problems not only in Europe but in the overseas territories as well.

¹³⁹ A. Rockman , op.cit. , pp.27-28

¹⁴⁰ P. Pluchon , op. cit. , p.111.

¹⁴¹ M. Q . Innis , op. cit. , pp28-30.

¹⁴² Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Accordingly, Post- Utrecht Treaty period brought a new atmosphere in north America, Acadia was renamed Nova Scotia and the former strategic French strong positions were definitely under British control. D. Creighton notes that when the French abandoned Acadia it meant that the rest of New France would follow soon. More than that, Louis XIV miscalculations in North America contributed to strengthen the internal French opposition to him, according to P. Pluchon, the Catholic clergymen accused the king of abandoning thousands of Catholics in North America to their own destiny.

As conclusion about the Spanish War of Succession and its aftermath , as far as North America is concerned , one should say that the supremacy of the British had been instituted on solid basis, whereas the French presence seemed to decline and threatened . According to D .Creighton as an immediate result of this setback, France founded the powerful Fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island. It was to serve as a permanent military and naval base for France's remaining North American presence (the French troops) and also to protect the entrance to the St. Lawrence River. Louisburg was developed into the most heavily fortified bastion in North America (Ref. map04) during the next 25 years¹⁴³. That was the only 'protection' against the British progression in the Canadian territories .

2. The Decline of the French Empire in North America 1713-1763:

It is unquestionable that after Queen Anne's war , France had lost some of her prestige. This situation was more stressed after King' Louis XIV's death (1715), besides this Great Britain emerged as a super-power . Both countries' position in North America would be clearer with the Eighteenth century progression. The development of events that affected Europe would bring a new situation. In North America , the century was synonymous of growing number of crisis between the French and the British. This can be explained by the fact that the two antagonists 'monarchs (Queen Anne and Louis

¹⁴³ D. Creighton , op. cit.,p.113.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

XIV) had died and each country was occupied with her own political affairs¹⁴⁴. To reinstate some of the French prestige a decision had been made to build fortifications in order to defend the rest of the French acquisitions in North America- Louisburg¹⁴⁵ (*see map04*).

2.1. The Austrian War of Succession and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle :

In 1740, European Imperial Powers renewed hostilities. The problem of succession arose when the very Catholic Charles VI the Emperor of the Holy Empire of Austria died and left a huge empire without a heir. Briefly speaking, Great Britain and Netherlands supported Charles' daughter, Maria Theresa to sit on her father's throne besides her protestant husband as an Emperor of the Holy Empire, whereas the Vatican considered it as being blasphemous and a menace for the Catholic Kingdoms in Europe. Thus, France with the help of Catholic European kingdoms formed a front against such succession. By ricochet the hostilities extended to North American territories¹⁴⁶. In fact, as far as New France is concerned with, Louisburg the French fortified harbor represented a real danger for the New England colonies 'trade and shipping'¹⁴⁷ were directly threatened by the French troops. The following quotation of the Duke of Newcastle made in 1753 to justify the British reported by Jeremy Black to emphasize

¹⁴⁴ In England the Childless Queen Anne left the throne to her cousin a German prince George (Hanover House) who was even unable to speak English. In France, Louis XIV had no direct heir, the only one was his five year grandson Duc De Bourgogne, but Duc D'Orléans (Louis XIV's nephew) became the regent in spite of having been distrusted by Louis XIV. Abstract from P. Pluchon, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-90.

¹⁴⁵ Louisbourg was founded in 1713 in Ile Royal beside Newfoundland. It was heavily fortified by the French in order to counter-balance the British military superiority through years till becoming a real source of alarm for the Britons in New England and Nova Scotia. It was captured by General J. Amherst in 1760. G.M. Wrong, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-50.

¹⁴⁶ Roger Riendeau, *a Brief History of Canada*, second edition, Facts on File, New York, 2007, p. 72.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

the common interest of the colonists in North America with the Mother Country Great Britain:

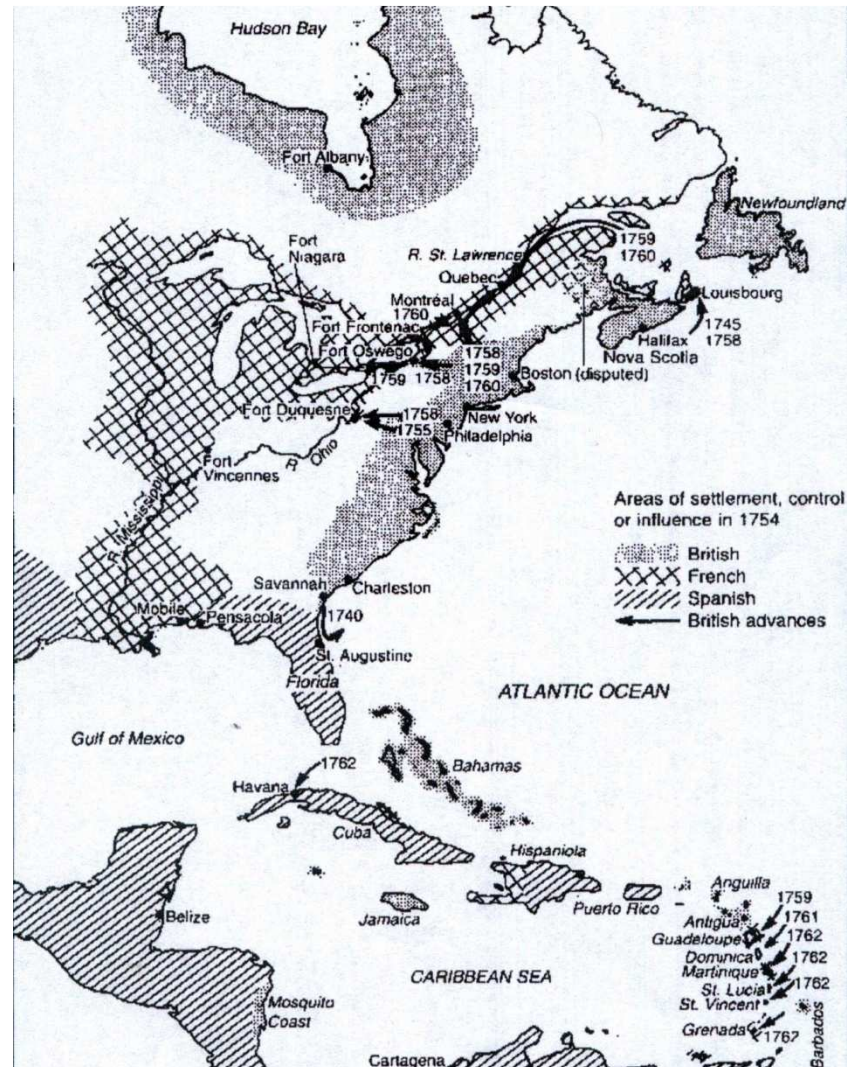
*" The power and influence of this country depends upon the extent of our trade. It is that consideration that engages us in the support of the Continent; and it is for that reason that we are so strictly and I hope ever shall be united to the House of Austria."*¹⁴⁸

From that it can be understood that the interest of Great Britain was to stand besides the Protestants kingdoms of Europe in order to gain more strong position in terms of geostrategic, diplomatic and economic posture and by ricochet to instate her supremacy in all fields.

¹⁴⁸ Duke of Newcastle 1753, cited by Jeremy Black, *Trade Empire and British Foreign Policy, 1689-1815; the Politics of a Commercial State*, Routledge, New York, 2007, p.137.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Map4: Clash of Empires in North America and West Indies on the Eve of the Seven Years War



Source: Black, Jeremy, *America or Europe? British Foreign Policy 1739-63*, UCL Presse, 1998, California, p.80.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Thus, to prove the Transatlantic solidarity with the Mother Country, governor William Shirley of Massachusetts sent, in 1745, a colonial militia composed from more than 4,000 soldiers to destroy the city of Louisburg by a series of bombardments¹⁴⁹. After six week, Louisburg collapsed and with it the French invincible forts in North America¹⁵⁰. To save her prestige France sent 7,000 men to recapture the fortress in 1746, but the fleet was plagued by a storm and did not succeeded in achieving its aim. Louisburg was another French bastion left to the British to regain it France had to cede the city of Madras in India during the treaty negotiations at Aix-la- Chapelle , in 1748¹⁵¹.

2.2.The Birth of the Canadian Identity:

According to historians, in the Eighteenth Century, 'Canadians' considered themselves as being one unique identity independent from the French in France. In fact, the illustration was given by the French officer Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, who came to Quebec in 1757, he noticed the following "*we seem to belong to another, even an enemy nation*"¹⁵². This distinction between the two societies had an impact on the 'Canadians' conception about the French rulers and was another contributing factor to the French collapse in North America-as we shall see later on. Moreover, according to G. M. Wrong, although the seigniorial system was unfair both in France and in 'Canada', however, the 'Canadians' *Censitaires*¹⁵³ did enjoy a better standard of living and more personal freedom than their peasant counterparts did in France.¹⁵⁴

2.3.The Inter-war Period:

As it has been mentioned above, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle by which the Austrian War of Succession ended is seen by historiographers as being more a truce or an 'interlude' between two periods of the same war; war of the world trade domination. In

¹⁴⁹ R. Riendeau, op., cit., p.72.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid

¹⁵¹ Ibid.,p.73.

¹⁵² M. Q. Innis, op.cit.,p.34.

¹⁵³ The term designates the land workers in the *segneiries* . P. Pluchon, op. cit., p90.

¹⁵⁴ G. M. Wrong, op. cit., p.155.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

other terms the treaty had solved nothing; it had added more complex problems, however. In fact this can be explained by the France's willing to reinforce her positions in North America mainly in Louisburg and along the St. Lawrence¹⁵⁵.

On the other hand, the New Englanders felt frustrated when Louisburg returned to the French sphere of influence (see map 03), they considered it as being a sacrifice the Crown did for the sake of saving her empire in India¹⁵⁶. To insure the settlers in New England, the Crown decided, in 1749, to establish Halifax in Nova Scotia to counterbalance Louisburg¹⁵⁷. According to R. Riendeau Halifax had not only to play a military role but also a social one by increasing the number of Protestant settlers in the very Catholic 'Acadia'¹⁵⁸.

2.4.A Brief Overview on the Acadians Deportation:

It must be noted in this chapter that one of the most tragic events, besides the Natives extermination in North America, concerns the Acadians deportation. In fact, during the interwar period a massive Acadians' expulsion occurred. G.M. Wrong notes that the Acadians were less structured and of greater ethnic complexity than in New France mainland. He gives the following description of that population:

".....Settled in the seventeenth century, Acadia developed a unique society that included aspects of French, Scots, and Mi'kmaq cultures."¹⁵⁹

This uniqueness, gave the population a different patterns from that of New France. According to D. Creighton(1958), Acadians developed agriculture based on wheat production and livestock. Furthermore, M Q. Innis sustained that although they

¹⁵⁵ R. Riendeau, op.,cit., p.73.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ G. M. Wrong, op.cit., p.155.8.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

were nominally affected by French governance, they engaged in a fitful trading relationship with New England, especially Boston¹⁶⁰. After the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, much of Acadia was under British control (Nova Scotia) , till the 1750's a neutral status was maintained. The number of Acadians, in 1755, was estimated to 12, 500 souls¹⁶¹ . Furthermore they enjoyed much better living conditions than their counterparts in Quebec.

However, once the Seven Years War broke out, an English governor named Charles Lawrence pressured the Acadians to take a stronger oath to support the British Crown¹⁶², Acadians refused and a decision had been taken to expulse them from Nova Scotia¹⁶³. The expulsion was brutal and disorganized, in fact, soldiers forced the Acadians from their homes, and held them captive until they could be herded into ships¹⁶⁴.

Yet, according to recent investigation led by R. Riendeau, the British at that time had discovered that more than 400 men were fighting under the French flag instead of serving the British one, this act was viewed by C. Lawrence as treachery committed by Acadians vis-à-vis Britain, thus this population had to chose either to be totally British and live peacefully or to leave the territory for the French ones¹⁶⁵. Nowadays, historians and Canadians refer to this period as '*le Grand Dérangement*' .

¹⁶⁰ M. Q. Innis, op.cit., p.35.

¹⁶¹ R. Riendeau, op. cit., p.74.

¹⁶² Acadians were asked total allegiance (the Oath of Allegiance)to Britain and to fight for the Crown, even to be incorporated into military service.G. M. Wrong,op. cit. , pp.172-73.

¹⁶³ More than 7,000 Acadians were forcibly rooted out and placed on ships. They majority of them settled in New France, Louisiana and the American colonies .Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ R. Riendeau ,op.cit.,p. 74.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

3. **The Seven Years' War Causes and Events :**

By 1754, the tension between the French and the British in North America reached such a point that a war was declared. Many scholars have given the term of Seven Years war or the 'The First Global World War'¹⁶⁶. Once the war broke out, the label 'French Indian War' was given to it . This is explained by the fact that the French and Indians made union for controlling the vast system of transport provided by the Ohio River ¹⁶⁷. In other terms, the boundaries of that geographical region were neither defined nor drawn; the British living in Pennsylvania and Virginia considered it as being a part of the British Empire. It meant to them that it might be settled and exploited¹⁶⁸. On the other hand, the French with their Indian allies coveted it as a part of the French Empire¹⁶⁹. To symbolize imperial domination the French built a series of forts from Lake Erie to the forks of the Ohio River¹⁷⁰.

3.1.The Major War Causes and Events in North America:

Henceforth, the apple of discord was the Ohio country. A militia from Virginia, led by George Washington, clashed in 1754 with French forces for controlling it. The Britons captured the French Fort Duquesne(on the Ohio River), which was renamed Pittsburgh¹⁷¹. Two years later the North American skirmishes merged into the European Seven Years War (1756-1763)¹⁷². Although two great wars had been conducted in Europe during the Eighteenth century –Spanish and Austrian wars of succession-yet they had been ended by treaties proved to be more truces than a lasting peace, and all

¹⁶⁶ Tim Todish, *British Light Infantryman of the Seven Years War: North America 1757-63*, Osprey, UK, 2004, p.4.

¹⁶⁷ Michael Johnson, *Indian Tribes of the New England Frontier*, Osprey, G. Britain, 2006, p.18.

¹⁶⁸ D. Creighton, (1958) op. cit. , pp.-135-36.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ R. Riendeau, op. cit., p.73.

¹⁷¹ D. Creighton op.cit., p.136.

¹⁷² Ibid. ,pp. 137-39.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

imperial powers strengthened themselves for renewing hostilities¹⁷³. S. Sacham sees appropriate to use a more recent term to designate this war by 'The Nine Years War ' because it had started in North America two years earlier than it did in the rest of the world.

In a recent article, Mary Padley points out the absurdity of the documents used to fix boundaries in the Treaties before the Seven Years War, especially maps used by both Empires, she argues that such documents were a source of future troubles than documents establishing peace and harmony. She puts it as follows:

"The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed in 1748, concluded the War of the Austrian Succession. The treaty returned Europe and North America to the status quo ante bellum, which was defined by terms set out in the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713. The 1713 treaty had returned to England from French control a body of land whose bounds were unclear and whose European claims were ambiguous: Nova Scotia or Acadia, a region in northeastern North America, south of the St. Lawrence River"
¹⁷⁴

What one may understand from that is the inadequacies of the treaties that followed the wars in terms of boundaries which were unclear and ambiguous. Thus, it would have been impossible to avoid misunderstandings and conflicts between different powers.

3.2. The Conflict' s Phases:

As far as the events were concerned, historians divided them into two distinctive phases; at first, the French did their best to resist the British progression with exception of great losses in Acadia¹⁷⁵. The second period was characterized by the British superiority in terms of military power, however.

3.2.1.The First Phase(1754-1757)

In the first phase of the conflict especially in 1755, both France and Britain sent large military expeditions to North America .On the field, the French General

¹⁷³ D. Creighton op.cit., p.136

¹⁷⁴ Mary Padley, "Map Wars: The Role of Maps in the Nova Scotia/Acadia Boundary Disputes of 1750",Source: *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 50 (1998), p. 97.

¹⁷⁵D. Creighton op.cit.,pp.140-42.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

August Dieskau landed in Quebec with a naval force estimated to 3,000 soldiers plus a contingent of 250 militia assisted by 600 native allies ¹⁷⁶. At the same time, the British force of 1,000 regulars under General Edward Braddock joined 1,500 colonial militia¹⁷⁷. The skirmish that had resulted in the meeting of the two armies led to the destruction of the British one and the killing of General Edward Braddock¹⁷⁸.

Moreover, D. Creighton sustained that France made her last serious efforts in 1756 to save her colony, in fact, she sent over, as defined by the historian, considerable reinforcements under the leadership of Marquis de Montcalm ¹⁷⁹who is depicted by D. Creighton as knowledgeable man of great devotion for the crown. Meanwhile de Montcalm looked to New France with suspicious eyes because he thought that there were' too many corrupted people in it¹⁸⁰. This assertion can be explained by the fact that Montcalm found, in 1756, a totally disorganized colony. D. Creighton assumes:

*"New France was an unusual colony, with characteristics which war seemed to exaggerate and distort into the grotesque and horrible.....war brought inflation, profiteering, poverty, and famine.....a country of ever more violent contrasts, where a dissipated corrupt coterie of provincial courtiers faced a mass of halfstarving peasants...."*¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ R.Riendeau, op.cit., pp.73-74.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Grozon, marquis de Montcalm (1712-59), he served as commander in chief of French forces in Canada (1756–59) during the Seven Years War. D. Creighton op.cit.,pp.140-42.

¹⁸⁰D. Creighton, op.cit., p.138

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

It seems to be crystal clear that the social and political environment in New France was characterized by full of misery, corruption and internal problems that undermined the efforts to save the colony.

Although the black picture drawn by de Montcalm, D. Creighton sustains that the French maintained a superior military posture with their Amerindian Allies. They enjoyed several military successes(taking Fort Oswego on lake Ontario, Fort William Henry in the upper Hudson valley , and Fort Carillon in Lake Champlain)¹⁸².

The first four years, according to S Sachama, saw nothing but severe defeats for the British regulars and American colonials. That was true because of the superiority French land forces in the New World. Lack of colonial assistance to the war efforts compounded British problems such as lack adaptation to harsh weather conditions contributed to the British misfortune¹⁸³. The main reason according to G. M. Wrong was that Montcalm had shown a high degree commandment in terms of mastering the art of war, in spite of the limited human resources and supplies that he disposed of. R. Riendeau notes the following about the resources that Montcalm had to rely on:

*"The 3,000 regulars that France had sent out at the outset of hostilities represented an impressive start, but unfortunately he could expect no more than 2,000 reinforcements for the duration of war. Although Montcalm could also rely on a colonial militia estimated at upwards of 10,000 men, they were also needed on the farms to produce food, which was always in short supply."*¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² G. M. Wrong, op. cit., p.155.

¹⁸³ S. Schama, *A History of Britain; The British Wars 1603-1776*, BBC, London,2001 p.443

¹⁸⁴ R. Riendeau, op. cit. ,p.76.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Accordingly, R. Riendeau estimates that the demographic inferiority of the New France settlers represented a real impediment that might undermine Montcalm's efforts in the war's process.

One has to bear in mind that because the shortage of food and manpower, Montcalm had the genius strategy to focus on the defense of the St. Lawrence valley in order to protect the main urban centers (Quebec, Montreal)¹⁸⁵. To achieve his tactic, Montcalm had to rely on the natives mastering of savage land surrounding the St. Lawrence¹⁸⁶. Thus, the stratagem functioned well and the French enjoyed military victories¹⁸⁷.

Yet, according to D. Creighton, the corrupted attitude of both an intendant named François Bigot and the Canadian-born governor the Marquis de Vaudreuil undermined the French efforts. Bigot is described as a selfish man interested in nothing but his own amusement. Whereas, Vaudreuil is depicted as an 'empty man full of malice and incompetence'¹⁸⁸. In fact, Bigot and 'the corrupt gang of Canadian officials' who surrounded him practiced in the bankruptcy of the colony. This is perceived by Creighton as the direct factor of the French collapse in North America.

Furthermore, according to G. M. Wrong, they contributed in splitting the high command and dividing army into hostile factions. Vaudreuil's attitude vis-à-vis Montcalm is explained by S. Sachma who argues that he (Vaudreuil) developed a jealousy towards Montcalm, i.e. the former felt threatened by the latter. D. Creighton

¹⁸⁵ S. Schama, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ D. Creighton, *op., cit.*, p.139.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

sees Vaudreuil as being a man full of contrast , although he had many perversions but he had felling that he belonged to Canada, thus Vaudreuil was manipulated by the group surrounding him. However, R. Riendeau brings a new version about Vaudreuil and Bigot resentment 's vis-à-vis Montcalm, in fact Riendeau sustains that :

"However, Montcalm's refusal to give sufficient attention to defending the western posts raised the ire of Governor Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, and intendant François Bigot, whose primary interest lay in the fur trade. Although Montcalm won this power struggle, the division within the colonial administration would inevitably add to his future military woes."¹⁸⁹

According to that passage, it was the Moncalm's refusal to defend the western posts where the oligarchy obtained wealth from the Fur Trade that provoked the clash between him and Vaudreuil and Bigot. He preferred concentrating the military efforts on the three main towns on New France.

Be as it may, the French quarrels about the military leadership started jeopardizing Montcalm's efforts. The attitude of both the intendant and the governor did nothing but weakened Montcalm and the army when the British reinforced their positions and rectified the errors done to counterbalance French superiority.

3.2.2. The Conflict Second Phase:

The second period was defined by swift and definitive defeats of the three main French centers of power in North America. In fact, from 1758 to 1760 the collapse of New France was inevitable. W. Pitt, the British Prime Minster, devoted to the war materials, men, and money to ensure victory. Riendeau gives estimations about the efforts that the British had to engage in the war, so the regular soldiers were 20,000 added to colonial troops of 25,000 men. Furthermore Pitt focused on the Royal Navy

¹⁸⁹ R.Riendeau, op. cit. , p.76.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

reinforcement to control the maritime routes and cut New France from the Mother Country¹⁹⁰.

New France's shortcomings, according to G.M. Wrong, were progressively having an impact. This fact was due to the fact that endless series of wars and conflict that Canadian society had to support during almost its entire existence. In 1758 the strategic fort of Louisburg was captured by more than 14,000 British soldiers, most of them coming from the thirteen colonies¹⁹¹. On the other hand, the French could mobilize no more than 16,000 soldiers¹⁹². However, Quebec represented by far the most important center that had to be taken. James Wolfe¹⁹³ who was clever enough besieged the city of Quebec during seven weeks pounding the town with his artillery. Simon Schama points out that the conquest of Canada was the design of William Pitt who for the total control of the entire North American soil did not hesitate to put money and men in the battle of Canada:

"...By the end of 1757 there were nearly 46,000 British imperial troops committed to the war in Canada, almost two-thirds of the entire population of New France. Almost £5.5 million was spent on the American sector of the war alone, £1 million on fulfilling the promise to pay for colonial troops. Pitt had succeeded in persuading the country that this time war had to be all or nothing."¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ R.Riendeau, op. cit. , p.76.

¹⁹¹ S. Schama, op .cit., p.445.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ James Wolfe (1727-1759) a British General and a commander of the troops in the Seven Years War in Canada. He was killed in the battle field in the ' Plains of Abraham', M. Windrow, op.cit., pp.05-07.

¹⁹⁴ S. Schama op. , cit., p. 445.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

It seems clear for historians' estimate that the demographic inferiority of New France became a leitmotiv and it is nowadays perceived as being a direct contributing factor of the French defeat in North America.

The Year 1759 represented the war's turning-point in North America, the French started retreating from almost all advanced posts to concentrate on the defense of the 'heart of New France', the Quebec Montreal Corridor. Jeremy Black gives us the following description of the situation by asserting:

" In 1759, the British concentrated on the St. Lawrence valley where their naval power could be used most effectively. The navy convoyed a force of 8,600 troops under James Wolfe to near Quebec. Eventually, Wolfe moved his troops past the city, scaled the cliffs from the river, and, on 13 September, defeated the French outside the city. The French advanced in columns, but were hit by British volley fire, and then attacked with a bayonet charge"¹⁹⁵

J. Black depicts how the British concentrated their efforts to destroy the main city of New France. That concentration of British military efforts emphasized the fact that Montcalm was right when he wanted to focus on the main urban French centers to preserve them from British invasion.

According to R. Riendeau the French lost Fort Niagara and preferred to burn the recently built fort Rouillé (present day Toronto) instead of having it fall into enemy's hands¹⁹⁶.

¹⁹⁵ Jeremy Black, *A Military History of Britain: From 1775 to the Present*, Praeger, Westport, 2006, pp.41-43.

¹⁹⁶ R. Riendeau. op. cit., p.77.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

3.2.3. The Final Battle of the Plains of Abraham:

The most eminent episode of that period was the final battle called '*the Battle of Plaines Abrahams*' in September 1759 (see map five) which witnessed the death of both commanders Wolfe and Montcalm in the field. Before that crucial battle Colonel Wolfe issued a proclamation in June, 28th 1759,(ref. appendix two) in which he stated the following :

*"The formidable sea and land armament, which the people of Canada now behold in the heart of their country, is intended by the King, my master, to check the insolence of France, to revenge the insults offered to the British colonies, and totally to deprive the French of their most valuable settlement in North America."*¹⁹⁷

From that quote of Colonel Wolfe's proclamation, one may understand that the British Crown had firm intention to put an end to the French presence in North America. In the same proclamation Colonel Wolfe reassured the French population of the St. Lawrence by assuming that the British Crown would offered them total protection because 'the Acadian Expulsion' was in all minds.

According to Creighton the, the battle sealed definitely the fate of North America whereas Schama sustains that despite the shocking loss of Quebec, the French did not capitulate. As an illustration, Schama argues that in the spring 1760 French troops besieged Quebec and greater casualties was fought and won by the French at Sainte-Foy.

R. Riendeau, in a more recent contribution, testifies that the winter 1759-60 was a sever one; it was marked by a shortage of food and scurvy. To avoid to be frozen the British fleet departed the St. Lawrence but a garrison stayed behind to guard the captured

¹⁹⁷ A.Rockman, op.cit., p.44.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

fortress, under the command of General James Murray¹⁹⁸. According to Riendeau the ultimate victory at Quebec would be determined by the nationality of the first ship to sail up the St. Lawrence, the British sea power in November 1759 had caused a severe defeat to the French ships in the shores of the Normandy¹⁹⁹.

Hence, the English ships arrived first at Quebec in May 1760. Moreover, Pitt did not leave the French time to win more position this is why he sent reinforcement ships-more men and material estimated to 17,000 soldiers, whereas the French troops were constituted of 2,000 men badly equipped²⁰⁰- which helped to capture New France forever in September 1760²⁰¹.

¹⁹⁸ R. Riendeau, op.cit., p.79.

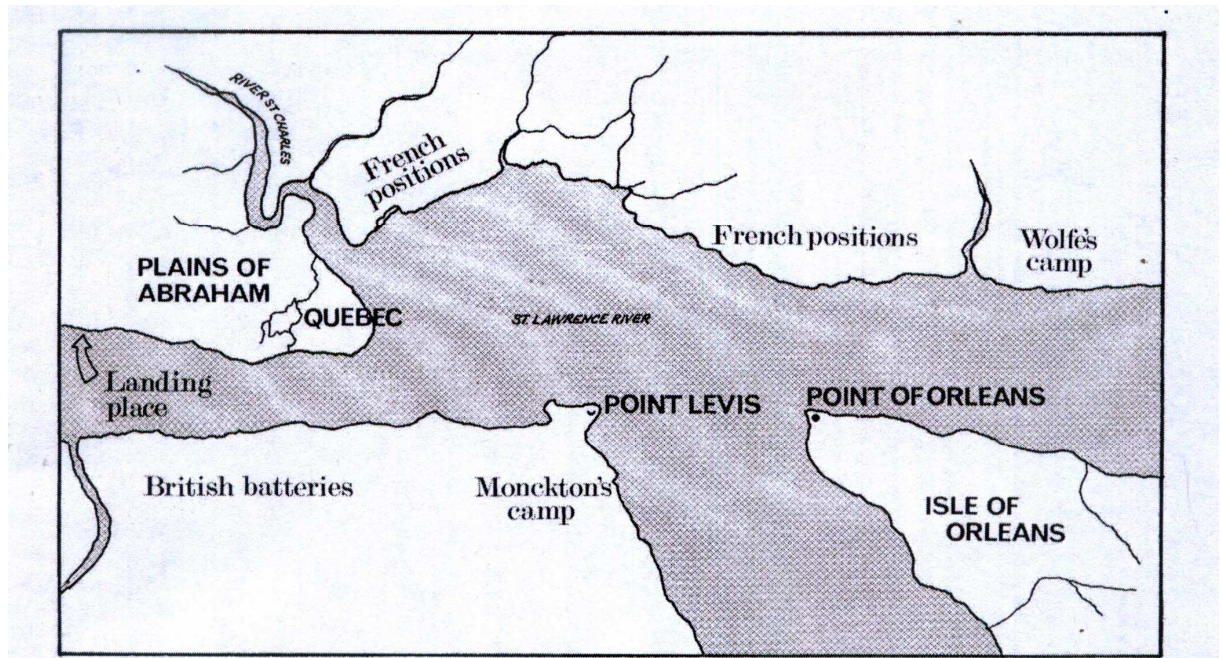
¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ A.Rockman, op.cit., p.44.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

: The battle field of Plains of Abraham; the French and British Positions.



Source : Windrow, Martin, *Men at Arms, Wolfe's Army*, Osprey Military, Great Britain, 1995, p.5.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

II. The End of War and the Treaty of Paris:

1. The Final Collapse of the French North American Empire:

According to G.M. Wrong the French Empire seemed totally precarious for three main reasons that can be listed as follows; first the French Natives allies (the Amerindians) had eroded²⁰². Second reason consisted in the fact that the British North American colonies were by far more developed, unified and better governed than New France. One crucial element that can be added to the superiority of the British Colonies was the political determination illustrated by William Pitt²⁰³, who devoted his attention to remove the French presence in North America, and to seize New France as a part of the British North American Empire. To achieve his goal Pitt focused on the military equipment of both the militia and the British army that had to be more superior than the French one²⁰⁴.

The third reason was concerning the economic aspect; indeed, the British colonies enjoyed more advanced level in terms of agriculture, finances and trade. This can be explained by the fact that the import- export between the mother country and the colonies was more efficient. The economy of New France at that period of time was based uniquely on fur trade and fishing, however. In clearer terms, the incomes of the two regions (the French North America and British North America) was unequally in favor of North America one²⁰⁵.

²⁰² S. Schama op. cit., p. 445.

²⁰³ William Pitt (1708- 1778) byname The Great Commoner British statesman, twice virtual prime minister (1756–61, 1766–68), who secured the transformation of his country into an imperial power. *Encyclopædia Britannica. Ultimate Reference Suite*. Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2010

²⁰⁴ D. Creighton, op.cit.pp.137-39.

²⁰⁵ M. Qinns , op. cit., pp.34-35.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

The war ended in 1763 not only in North America but also all over the globe where the European powers fought fiercely for the imperial expansion. The Treaty of Paris in February 1763 ended that war (Ref. Appendix one) by a political decision made by king George III who sustained that the war was "*too bloody and expensive*" because at that period Britain was on the verge of bankruptcy and ruined by the war ²⁰⁶; yet, in 1763 Britain won territories even greater than the Roman ones. Recently, the historian C. G. Calloway pointed out about the treaty :

"The world war ended with the Treaty of Paris 1763, and we are still living with the consequences. Six men made critical decisions: young king George III of Britain and old King Louis XV of France; their chief ministers the Earl of Bute and Duc de Choiseul ;and their negotiators the Duke of Bedford and Duc de Nivernois. They argued for months over the fate of few small islands. Then, with what Francis Parkman called a 'scratch of a pen' they casually disposed of continents that they had never seen, and could scarcely imagine."²⁰⁷

One may clearly understand that the Treaty of Paris according to Calloway was just a sort of a play's final act; thus the decisions that had been taken are nowadays considered as non-democratic and even unfair to many nations. The treaty enlarged many arrangements about territories in the five continents, we shall here focus on the North American one, especially Canada. The fact was that thousands of square kilometers were shared and many different populations over the world were affected by the political decisions made by politicians who had no idea about the territories and people concerned.

²⁰⁶ G.M. Wrong, op. cit., p.192.

²⁰⁷ C. G. Calloway, op. cit, p. XI

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

It was obvious that France had to retreat from the continent, retaining only the fishing stations of St. Pierre & Miquelon (off the coast of Newfoundland)²⁰⁸. France received also fishing rights on Newfoundland's shore. The second main decision was that she could keep many sugar plantations in the Caribbean (Guadeloupe & Martinique)²⁰⁹. With that the Britons had acquired an immense territory ranging from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, and the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi River system²¹⁰.

²⁰⁸ D. Creighton, *op. cit.* , p.79

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

III.) Conclusion:

It was obvious that once the war was ended a formidable challenge started for the new rulers. In fact the British had to solve the problem of controlling another European population which did not share the same language, origins, religion and cultural values a new form of administrative control had to be designed for them- we shall discuss the British rule later on.

One may say, briefly speaking, that until the middle of the 18th century, British interest in North America focused overwhelmingly on the thirteen colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. Although the fur-trading territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, the fisheries of Newfoundland, the recently captured French colony of Acadia, and the newly established naval base at Halifax, Nova Scotia, were included within the British Empire. One may perceive clearly from what it has been mentioned that the Canadian territory 'New France' was nibbled territory by small parts during almost one century by the Britons till the final collapse of the French Empire in North America . It is ,thus, true that the military conquest of New France in 1759–60, confirmed by France's surrender in the Treaty of Paris in 1763, certainly gave Britain a greater stake in the northerly reaches of the American frontier. But the challenges and complications of governing a people of different language, religion, customs, and culture not only led to resentment between and within the French and English communities of the St. Lawrence colony, renamed the Province of Quebec, but also fanned the flames of rebellion in the thirteen colonies, thus shattering the short-lived imperial unity of North America.

By the Royal Proclamation (Ref. Appendix Three) the entire North American territory became British, the supremacy of the Britons had at that moment surfed from no ambiguity. However, to enrich the British treasury ruined by the series of conflict that had been led during the last sixty years, a series of taxes started being imposed and serious political problems appeared in the British settlers colonies. Canada was very expensive for the crown and colonists had to pay the Britons supremacy.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Chapter Three

As it has been mentioned in the previous chapter, in February of 1763 the major European powers, including France and Britain, agreed on a peace treaty at Paris that brought an end to the Seven Years' War. That conflict, known in Britain's North American colonies as the French and Indian War, was the culmination of a prolonged struggle for imperial mastery between France and Britain which lasted during almost the Eighteenth century. In the North American soil, France had initially enjoyed success during the war, inflicting a series of humiliating defeats on British and colonial forces with the help of her Indian allies. Eventually, the British recovered, capturing Quebec in 1759 and Montreal in 1760, as well as a number of French possessions in the West Indies.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

I. The Conquest of Canada:

Before moving to the aftermath of the conquest on the Canadians daily life, we shall first define the term 'conquest' as it is mention in any dictionary derives from the verb 'conquer' which means 'to overcome and take control of by military force'²¹¹. According to Scott W. See the conquest was not due to the fact that the French were defeated military, but instead they were not interested at it at all. Scott W. See writes it as follows:

*"The Conquest, as its name suggests, represented the defeat of a people. Equally important, many interpret the event as the utter abandonment of most of the French Canadians—many of New France's elite returned to France after the war—to their fate in North America without significant concern. Mindful of a flagging fur industry and limited prospects for colonial development in New France, the French chose "sugar over snow"."*²¹²

To paraphrase this interpretation, the French imperial masters, after being at a disadvantage at the end of the Seven Years' War, chose to retain possession of some Caribbean islands instead of their vast northern holdings. In other terms, the French got rid of Canada without any consideration to the population there.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Paris, France abandoned to Britain all of her territory in North America East of the Mississippi River, with the exception of New Orleans. In return, France retained Fishing Rights on the Newfoundland Banks, as well as the small North Atlantic Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. A historical geographer D. W. Meinig observes:

²¹¹ *Conscice Oxford English Dictionary*, Tenth Edition, New York, 2002.

²¹² Scott W. See, *History of Canada; Greenwood Histories of Modern Nation*, Greenwood Publisher Group, USA, 2001, pp.56-57.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

*" the contrast between niggling negotiations over little islands and harbors and the casualness with which huge continental expanses were transferred from one flag to another is difficult for the modern mind to comprehend."*²¹³

According to this quote, it was not the superficialities of the lands conquered which was important, but to which extent they could be benefit for the conquerors. It was obvious that for France sugar was by far more valuable than the fur. This can be explained by the fact that sugar was (and is) large consumed product. So, controlling the sugar trade proved to be a mean of pressure.

In addition, a debate was raised in Britain about the fact that she returned captured French colonies in the West Indies, including Martinique and Guadeloupe. This transaction was perceived by the British opinion as not lucrative, since it returned to France the sugar plantations island of Guadeloupe. This was pointed out by C. Calloway:

*" In Britain, a long debate and a pamphlet war raged over the wisdom of holding on to snowy Canada, with its annual exports of £14,000, and returning Guadeloupe, which produced more sugar than all the British West Indies combined, with exports of £6,000,000. But the war had been fought for North America: "you must keep Canada, other ways you lay the foundation for another war," argue done pamphleteer. "If we do not exclude [the French] absolutely and entirely from that country we shall soon find we have done nothing."*²¹⁴

Calloway's quotation depicts the situation prevailing in Great Britain after the war. In fact the sugar traders' milieu was furious about the fact of exchanging the wealthy Guadeloupe for the snowy Canada. The British politicians did not take into

²¹³ Cited by C. Calloway, op.cit., p.08.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

consideration the sugar traders' animosity and preferred to secure the British North America from any French presence.

On the other hand, the North American territory was seen by many intellectuals, officials and merchants in the British Isles sides worth enough to be defended, and the security of the American Thirteen Colonies was more important than any sugar island in the Caribbean. This assertion is given by Jack P. Green:

"Every body is agreed", said one observer, that 'our existence as a...commercial and independent Nation' as well as 'a free and happy people' depended upon America: 'by trade we do, and must, if at all, subsist; without it we can have no wealth; and without wealth we can have no power; as without power we can have no liberty. 'our dominions in America' necessarily meant that for Britain America was 'an object of such magnitude as' could never 'be forgot[ten] or neglected'²¹⁵

Green's passage tackles with a clear understanding about the deal of that moment which can be summarized as follows: The chain of logic was inexorable: trade was the very essence of both British greatness and British liberty, and the great extent to which that trade depended upon. Thus, for the Britons the greatness must be expressed in trade and the military power must protect it.

Scholars interested to the subject agree with the fact that King George III and his Prime Minister chose the security of the Thirteen Colonies than the wealthy island of Guadeloupe. In an article, Linda Colley sustains that :

²¹⁵ Jack P. Green, "The Seven Years War and the American Revolution: Causal Relationship Reconsidered", in *The British Atlantic Empire before the American Revolution*, Peter Marshal, Franck Pass, USA, 1980, p.88.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

"the conquest of Canada had reduced the thirteen colonies' strategic significance, just as their profitability to the mother country had had been outstripped by its Indian possessions"²¹⁶.

L. Colley argues that the conquest of Canada deprived the Thirteen Colonies from their traditional strategic position vis-à-vis the French troops.

Besides, Spain, which fought unsuccessfully as an ally of France, gave Florida to Britain but was compensated by France with all French territory west of the Mississippi, and New Orleans. The geopolitical results of this diplomatic settlement were profound. After nearly two centuries, France had been expelled from North America and Britain was nominally the master of all the vast territory of Eastern North America, from the Atlantic West to the Mississippi and from Hudson Bay in the North to Florida in the South. To win this territory at the negotiating table would prove less difficult than governing it. We shall highlight the impact of the Canada conquest through this chapter.

II. Problems of the Conquest:

Now that the entire North American territory was under the British flag, the Crown had to face a series of problems linked to the specification of New France. Moreover, the war exhausted Britain financially as pointed out by Calloway:

"Britain executed global strategies at enormous costs financed by unprecedented levels of taxing and borrowing. In 1763 Britain had won an empire greater than that of

²¹⁶ Linda Colley, "The Politics of Eighteenth-Century British History", *The Journal of British Studies*, University of Chicago Press, Vol.25, No.4, Oct.1986, p.361.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

*imperial Rome but the nation was on the verge of
bankruptcy."*²¹⁷

According to the passage the direct impact of the war was the negative impact on the finance of the Empire. Therefore, the deal for the British rulers was how to reinstate the British treasury. This could not be done unless to levy taxes to a population which was constituted essentially from French and Indians. However, the population in New France was impoverished by the war and it could not live without the Mother Country supports.

1. The Demographic Inferiority of the Anglo-Saxon Population:

It has been taken for granted that the British government took a more active interest in colonizing the Province of Nova Scotia to counterbalance the French population of Acadia. Accompanying the foundation of the naval base at Halifax in 1749 was the first British effort to promote settlement in Canada²¹⁸. Governor Edward Cornwallis brought about 2,000 immigrants from Britain and New England to settle in Halifax. After two years, they were joined by some 1,500 “*foreign Protestants*,” mostly of German origin, who settled in nearby Lunenburg²¹⁹. After the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, imperial authorities launched a special campaign inviting Protestants from New England to claim the French farmland around the Bay of Fundy²²⁰ as another attempt to encourage the Anglo-Saxon settlers.

²¹⁷ C. J. Calloway, op., cit., p.4.

²¹⁸ G. M. Brown, op. cit., pp.139-40.

²¹⁹ S. D. Clark, op. cit., p.107.

²²⁰ Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Accordingly, to attract more New Englanders, Britain granted Nova Scotia an elected assembly in 1758, the first official representative government in Canada. The result was a steady flow of New England farmers and fishermen during the 1760s, with settlement focusing in the Annapolis Valley, the Saint John River valley, and the South Eastern mainland coast²²¹.

Moreover, to counterbalance the French population and to strengthen the colonial power the British soldiers were given lands according to their military statuses. Thus, the government made special offers , it granted 5,000 acres to captains, 2,000 to subalterns, 200 to non-commissioned officers and 50 acres to privates²²². As it was stated by the Royal Proclamation of October 7th, 1763:

*“the following Quantities of Lands, subject, at the Expiration of Ten Years, to the same Quit-Rents as other Lands are subject to in the Province within which they are granted, as also subject to the same Conditions of Cultivation and Improvement ;To every Person having the Rank of a Field Officer--5,000 Acres. To every Captain--3,000 Acres. To every Subaltern or Staff Officer,--2,000 Acres.To every Non-Commission Officer,--200 Acres .To every Private Man--50 Acres.”*²²³

In 1764, the British government allowed Acadians to return, provided that they were dispersed throughout Nova Scotia²²⁴. Among the British immigrants arriving in the 1760s and 1770s were some 2,000 settlers from Ulster (Northern Ireland), and

²²¹ S. D. Clark, op. cit., p.107.

²²² Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America; the First Hundred Years*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1961, p.4.

²²³ The Royal Proclamation of October 7th, 1763.

²²⁴ S. D. Clark, op.cit., p.107.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

several hundred Scottish Highlanders who, displaced by the enclosure movement at home, acquired land on Cape Breton Island²²⁵. By the end of the war, the non-Anglo-Saxon population of Canada was estimated according to G. Wrong to 300,000 souls divided between 100,000 French and about 200,000 Natives from different tribes. It was the latter who became a source of trouble to the Britons, as we will see later on; it is useful here to mention that the British population in Canada represented 600 souls²²⁶.

2. The Native Response to the British Conquest: the Pontiac Uprising of 1763:

One of the most intractable episode of that period was the Native's uprising in the region of the Great Lakes led by the chief Pontiac²²⁷. The uprising can be traced back to the French Indian alliance during the Seven Years War. Furthermore, according to D. Creighton the uprising occurred as a result of the British refusal to allow the Natives of hunting in territories that they had used to. The British forbade the Natives hunting around the Great Lakes for security reasons to avoid any alliance or connection between themselves. The decision was economically disastrous for the Natives who had no solution but to revolt.

However, according to R. Riendeau the British arrogance and superiority pushed Pontiac and his men to rebel .The rebellion broke out in the spring of 1763 by

²²⁵ S. D. Clark, op.cit., p.107.

²²⁶ Howard Robinson, *The Development of the British Empire*, Houghton Muffin Company, Boston,1922, p.212.

²²⁷ Pontiac Indian chief born in 1720, he became a great intertribal leader when he organized a combined resistance to British power in the Great Lakes area. He soon came to realize that under the British rule his people would no longer be welcome in the forts and that they would ultimately be deprived of their hunting grounds by aggressive settlers encroaching upon their ancestral lands. Thus, in 1762 Pontiac enlisted support from practically every Indian tribe from Lake Superior to the lower Mississippi for a joint campaign to expel the British. *Encyclopedia Britannica* , 2008.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

attacking the British positions and forts . Other historians, among whom S. Schama, argue that Pontiac and his confederates were in a large measure tools in the hands of French officials and traders, particularly those of the Mississippi to counterbalance the English traders supported by the British Army. To support this assertion R. Riendeau testifies with the following letter from William Johnson a military commander in the Great Lakes region:

*" It now appears from the very best authorities, and can be proved by the oaths of several respectable persons, prisoners at the Illinois and amongst the Indians, as also from the accounts of the Indians themselves, that not only many French traders, but also French officers came amongst the Indians, as they said, fully authorized to assure them that the French King was determined to support them to the utmost, and not only invited them to the Illinois, where they were plentifully supplied with ammunition and other necessaries That in an especial manner the French promoted the interests of Pontiac . "*²²⁸

From that passage, one can abstract that the Natives were under French control, and they were still loyal to the '*Ancien Regime*'(old rule). Thus, the challenge for the British authority was how to produce a shift in this allegiance, and to ensure the Natives' loyalty after defeating them on the ground. Another point of view is given by Cecil Fairefield Lavell who argues that the Natives feared that their rights would be affected adversely now that England controlled the entire Northern half of the continent and that, consequently, they could not use the alliance of one European power to counterbalance the others²²⁹. Furthermore the Indians noticed that their counterparts living in the Thirteen Colonies were segregated and exterminated by the Anglo-Saxon whereas they felt more secure and less humiliated with the French who considered them as full partners in the Fur Trade.

²²⁸ R. Riendeau , op. cit. , p. 88.

²²⁹ Cecil Fairefield Lavell, *Imperial England*, the Macmillan Company, New York, 1918, p.197.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

To understand this particular episode in the history of Canada, a portrait of Pontiac is not useless; he, as depicted by Schama, was a man of great military knowledge that was the reason he enjoyed a great respect among his followers. The war spread for a months throughout the Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley, with a series of victories that made the Britons surprised ; Schama notes the following about him:

*"At the beginning of 1763 Pontiac was ready to commence his work of destruction. His war-belts had been effective. It has been computed that fully fifty-six thousand warriors were ready to answer his call to arms."*²³⁰

Two pieces of information attract the reader's attention ; the first one concerns the Natives number which was about 56,000 warriors which can be viewed as very important compared to the Native population (200,000) . The second point concerns the tactic used called the war-belts which consisted on a rapid strikes of the enemies' positions.

3. The French Response to the British Conquest:

One of the most important problems facing historians about that period concerns the passivity of the French Canadians (absence of uprising) vis-à-vis the British occupation. Many reasons are given to explain this historical fact . According to G.M. Wrong one of the biggest impact was the end of contact between the French living in North America and their cousins in France which, consequently deprived the former from an important source of support external to Canada. Thus, the people found themselves insolated ethnically without any foreign diplomatic support . This can be explained by the fact that the French in Canada became a minority compared to the

²³⁰ S. Schama, op.cit. , p.452.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

whole population in North America mostly British. Secondly the French in Canada felt abandoned by the Mother Country, as Voltaire said "*some acres of snow*"²³¹. Both facts represent, according to Creighton, the real reason of the French North American passivity vis-à-vis the new rulers.

Yet, according to G.M. Wrong the French Canadians obedience can be traced back to the Catholicism which requires the total submission to God via the monarch, he sustains the following :

*" To the French, submission was the law of life. The powers that be are ordained of God, render obedience unto the power: these were the great texts upon which Catholic political thought had always been based and still isRender therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's. Obedience had been preached from every pulpit, obedience political as well as religious."*²³²

Hence, according to this passage the Catholic doctrine insists on the fact of obeying to the monarch whoever he is, that precept was religiously followed by French Canadians. Yet the debate is still going on as sustained by Rowan Strong who thinks that religion is a part of national identity and thus it is an adequacy to be ruled for a catholic by a protestant and vice-versa ²³³.

More than that, in "*Fathers of British Canada*" a chronicle by William Wood, the author elaborates a theory in which he explains that after three years of conquest the British Army established a good relationships with population. Furthermore, many soldiers were Scots sharing the same Catholicism with the locals. Wood depicts the situation as follows:

²³¹ S. Schama, op.cit. , p.452

²³² G.M. Wrong , op. cit., p.101.

²³³ Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire 1700-1850*, New York, 2007,p.22.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

"The relations between the British garrison and the French Canadians were so excellent that what Gage reported from Montreal might be taken as equally true of the rest of the country: 'The Soldiers live peaceably with the Inhabitants and they reciprocally acquire an affection for each other.' The French Canadians numbered sixty-five thousand altogether, exclusive of the fur traders and 'coureurs de bois'. Barely fifteen thousand lived in the three little towns of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers; while over fifty thousand lived in the country. Nearly all the officials had gone back to France. The three classes of greatest importance were the seigneurs, the clergy, and the habitants."²³⁴

The passage above summarizes the general atmosphere prevailing in New France between the French population and the new rulers symbolized by peace and affection but the reason is not clear.

In a total contradiction with this assertion, another version is given by George Rawlyk, who argues that, the French population of New France did accept, without any resistance, the new rulers because of the sentiment of fear that was generated after the Acadians' deportation²³⁵. This can be explained by the fact that they were less numerous than the rest of the Anglo-Saxon population in North American. Their number was estimated in 1763 approximately to more than 95,000. He, also, insists on the fact that the Canadians, basically Catholics, represented a sort of non political engaged population, thus no difficulty for the British Crown to rule them; this situation was totally in the antipodes in the thirteen colonies where there was an advanced conception of political Rights²³⁶. Furthermore Canadians were in large portion dependent upon the Mother Country in their

²³⁴ William Wood, *The Fathers of British Canada"; a Chronicle*, Project Gutenberg Ebook,2008,p.15

²³⁵ George Rawlyk, "Religion in Canada", *the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol.538, p.132.

²³⁶ Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

economic exchange, therefore adopting friendly attitude towards the British was benefic to both sides. The last element that must not be neglected concerns the fact that the population was exhausted by the Eighteen Century wars.

III. The Royal Proclamation of 1763:

1. Some Clauses of the Proclamation:

In order to ensure the French population, the British Crown issued a royal proclamation to preserve them from any conflict or uprising. This document had to be the 'Road's sheet' for ruling what came to be the French minority in North America. Henceforth, to respond to the problems that might be raised by the British Conquest of Canada the new master, King George III issued The Royal Proclamation of 1763 which was the first constitution granted to Quebec by the British Crown following the Treaty of Paris of 1763. In the same year, a new governor was appointed General Murray²³⁷. The Proclamation, issued on October 7th, 1763, gave Quebec its first civil government since the Conquest of 1760²³⁸ (Ref. Appendix three 10). The constitution defined the new territory of the colony - essentially the St. Lawrence Valley, and renamed it Province of Quebec. The inhabitants of the province were forbidden from entering the western territories without first obtaining a permit to be issued by the Governor²³⁹.

More than that, French civil and criminal laws were abolished; however, the Test Oath was established in the British Empire to prevent Roman Catholics from participating in the government. The Government was composed of a Governor assisted

²³⁷ James Murray (1721-1794), British soldier and governor of Quebec in 1760-68. He was accused to be partial and too repressive vis-à-vis the French population.

Encyclopedia Britannica, 2008.

²³⁸ D. Creighton, op.cit ., p.147.

²³⁹ Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

by a Council²⁴⁰. According the Proclamation, as soon as circumstances would be favorable, the Governor was to call for the formation of an elected Assembly which would be empowered to make laws and levy taxes. In issuing this constitution, the objectives of the British Rulers were many and can be summarized as follows:

1. They wanted to create conditions in this colony to attract British immigrants. To do so, it was essential to lay the foundations of a British type of institutions and laws. Indeed, Quebec received the same constitution as several other colonies with the Royal Proclamation²⁴¹.
2. They also took for granted that the “Canadians” would wish to assimilate once confronted with the British institutions. They believed that the Canadians would wish to become British²⁴².
3. In 1763, the British Government was confronted to an open rebellion -the Pontiac Rebellion- as it was mentioned previously. It was thus imperative for Britain to show good faith on this point. As a result, Britain guaranteed the natives their territory and endeavoured to keep Europeans (from Quebec or elsewhere) out of the Great Lakes region²⁴³. Thus, the aim of the British was to avoid any alliance between the Natives and French population²⁴⁴.
4. The Indians were also not forgotten in a 'special solicitude' in the royal Proclamation. To calm down Pontiac and his followers the Royal Proclamation stated the following:

*'The Indians who live under our Protection should not be molested in the possession of such parts of our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them.'*²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ D. Creighton, op.cit ., p.148.

²⁴¹ G.M. Wrong, op.cit., pp. 195-98.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ W. Wood, op.cit., p.17

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Moreover, according to R. Riendeau, by abolishing French civil laws, The Royal Proclamation put the '*seigneurial system*' (see chapter one) in jeopardy, and eliminated the legal requirement to pay the tithe to the Roman Catholic Church²⁴⁶.

2. Inadequacy of the Proclamation:

Thus, two important social institutions of Quebec were threatened by that proclamation²⁴⁷. The introduction of a legal system foreign to the people of Quebec constituted a major attack on their culture. As legal systems inevitably are reflecting a vision of the world peculiar to the new culture²⁴⁸. The Reduction or limitation of the territory to the St. Lawrence Valley also showed a lack of understanding of local conditions as economy rested on fur trade which required a large territory to operate efficiently, and the control of the Great Lakes' and St. Lawrence system was essential to its proper functioning²⁴⁹.

Besides this, the introduction of the Test Oath, and the resulting exclusion of the Canadians from all positions connected to the government of the colony, rendered efficient government impossible as the Canadians (the French) remained the vast majority of the population for decades. Both Murray and after him Carlton were clever enough to point out that The Proclamation was not suitable and inadequate for the French population, and it contributed in enlarging the gap between the Rulers and 'His Majesty's New Subjects' .

²⁴⁶ R. Riendeau, op.cit., p.90.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ C. Calloway, op. cit., p.11

²⁴⁹ Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire, The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain & France*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2005, p.11.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Henceforth, as pointed out by G. M. Wrong, what was wrong with the Royal Proclamation was that it was designed for a 'British' colony which was not the case in Quebec. General Murray (first governor in 1763) understood that, this was the reason why Murray sympathized with the conditions and difficulties of the French and ignored the demands of the recently arrived Protestants (about 600 souls) for an assembly. The result was that an agitation by the Protestants led to his recall. He was replaced in 1766 by General Guy Carleton²⁵⁰ (later 1st Baron Dorchester), who was expected in Quebec to carry out the policy of the proclamation. However, Carleton soon came to see that the colony was certain to be permanently French. He decided that Britain's best course was to forge an alliance with the elites of the former French colony—the seigneurs²⁵¹ and the Roman Catholic church.

One has to bear in mind that British immigrants did not come into the colony massively, until the Loyalists were to escape the American Revolution- we shall discuss later on this historical event- and the Canadians did not assimilate, entering instead in a phase that historian D. Creighton called: '*passive resistance*'²⁵². The British governors sent to Quebec (James Murray and Guy Carleton) understood rapidly that the constitution

²⁵⁰ Guy Carleton (1724-1808) soldier and statesman who, as governor of Quebec before and during the American Revolutionary War, succeeded in reconciling the British and French and in repulsing the invasion attempts of Continental forces. His reconciliatory policy toward the French landowners in Quebec and the Catholic clergy contributed in making the French population there in favor of the British Crown. Carleton had just followed Murray's recommendations about the fact how dealing with the French population in Canada. William Wood, op.cit., pp.4-7.

²⁵¹ The French term of the landowners (see first chapter)

²⁵² 'The Passive Resistance' means, according to Creighton, the fact of not interacting socially, economically with the British new comers. D. Creighton, op.cit.,p.195.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

did not make much sense in the context of Quebec. They simply refused to apply parts of it (for example, the Assembly was never called, much to the displeasure of the British merchants who had come to Quebec)²⁵³. Moreover, they urged the British Government to make changes, especially as trouble in the American colonies made British power more and more tenuous and uncertain on this continent²⁵⁴. Ultimately, according to Riendeau, the Proclamation was a failure because it failed to properly take into account the distinctiveness of Quebec.

At first New France was to be governed by the Royal Proclamation of October 7th, 1763, (see appendix three) which declared the territory between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi(see map six) to be Indian territory and closed to settlement until the Indians there could be subdued. New France became known as the Province of Quebec²⁵⁵, which was to have a royal governor who had the authority to call an assembly²⁵⁶.

However, the 95,000 French inhabitants of Quebec could neither vote nor sit in the assembly by virtue of their Roman Catholicism²⁵⁷. Few British Americans moved

²⁵³ George M. Wrong, *op.cit.*, p.198.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ Province, according to the terms of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, meant clearly a principal administrative division of the Empire. The uniqueness of Quebec (New France) consisted in what the historians qualifies as Roman Catholic Province (The inhabitants were totally Catholics) within Protestant Empire. See the terms of the Royal Proclamation in Appendix Three.

²⁵⁶ Ref. to the Royal Proclamation 1763.

²⁵⁷ G. M. Wrong, *op. cit.*, p.199.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

to Quebec (there were perhaps 600 migrants in all), they were attracted primarily by the prospect of taking control of the fur trade²⁵⁸. S. D. Clark sustains that their bourgeois mentality and repeated demands for the “rights of Englishmen” tended to alienate the conservative British officers who administered the colony²⁵⁹. Among the latter was General James Murray, as it has been mentioned, who was appointed the colony's first governor in 1763. Murray sympathized with the condition and difficulties of the French and ignored the demands of the recently arrived Protestants for an assembly, with the result that an agitation by the Protestants led to his recall²⁶⁰. Furthermore, an act was passed to put an end to prevent any rebellion in Canada in 1774.

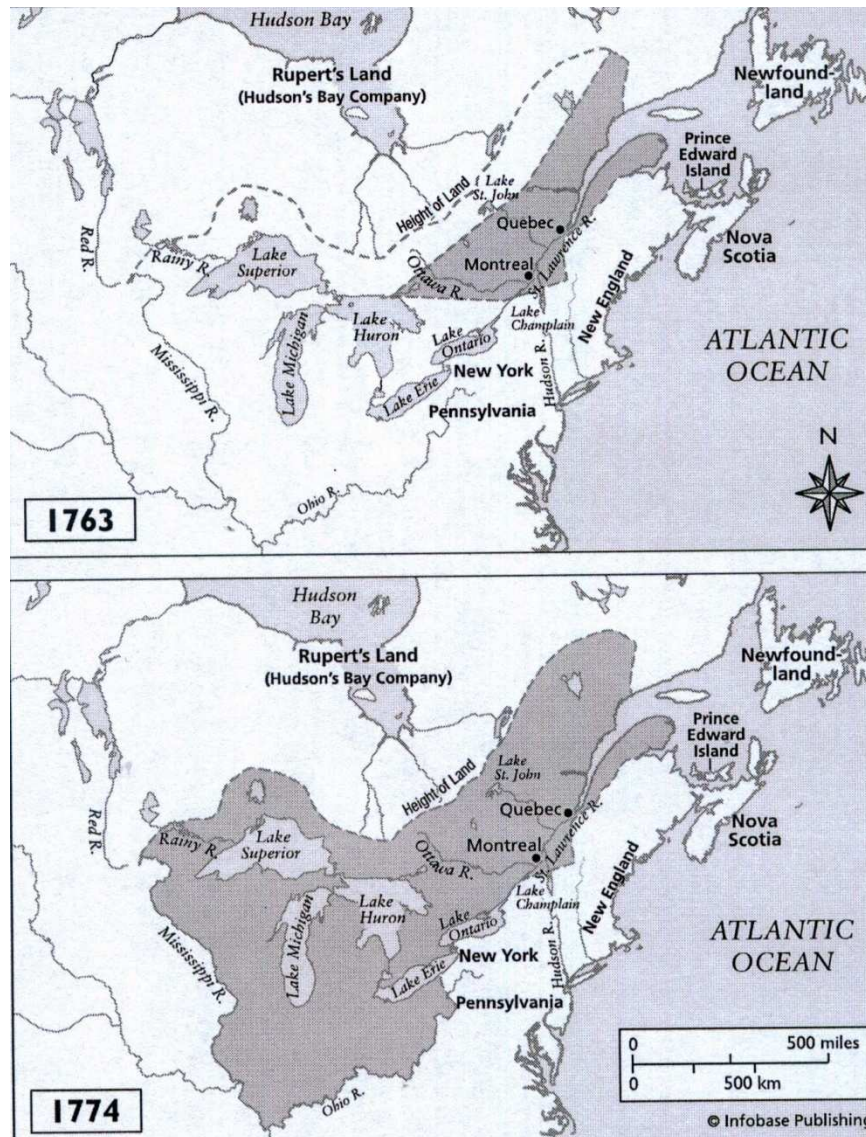
²⁵⁸ S. D. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ Scott W. See, *op. cit.*, p.57.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Map06: Expansion of Quebec from 1763 to 1774



Source: Riendeau, Roger, *A Brief History of Canada, Facts on File*, United States of America, 2007, p. 89.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

IV. The Quebec Act 1774:

1. Some Clauses of the Quebec Act:

In 1770, Carleton returned to England to press his new policy for Quebec on the government of Lord North²⁶¹. The troubles that the imperial government continued to have with the Thirteen Colonies to the south secured official acceptance of Carleton's policy²⁶². The result was the Quebec Act of 1774, which marked a radical new departure from the manner by which the British newly acquired colony in America was governed (see appendix four). It granted permission for Roman Catholics in Quebec to hold public office. It stipulated that an appointed council, rather than an elected assembly which would advise the governor had to be instated²⁶³. It legitimized French civil law, though English criminal law was to be in force (Ref. appendix four).

Moreover, the Quebec Act also recognized the legitimacy of the French language and the Roman Catholic Church. It gave the church power to enforce the collection of tithes. It, also, formalized the authority of the seigneurs (landowners) to collect *cens et rentes*²⁶⁴. In addition, Quebec's territory was greatly expanded, its western borders henceforth stretching to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers (see map 06)²⁶⁵.

²⁶¹ Lord North (1732-1792) British statesman and Prime Minister from 1770 to 1782 . He is viewed by many historians as one responsible of the American Revolution . G. W. Brown, op. cit., p.80.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ The French terms for the due paid by the inhabitants living in the lands of the seigneurs (see chapter one)

²⁶⁵ G. M. Wrong, op. cit., p.81.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

2. Inadequacy of the Quebec Act:

Scholars come to the evidence that Carleton had sought to cement French loyalty to Britain²⁶⁶ via the Quebec Act. As the American Revolution would demonstrate, however, the Quebec Act did not do that. Instead, it brought about a virtual revolution in Quebec society. In fact, the Quebec Act gave the seigneurs, the church, and the clergy a degree of authority and influence they had never enjoyed even under the French regime²⁶⁷. Before 1763 many of the clergy's edicts had been ignored by the larger society, while the political power of the bishop had been compared with that of the governor and intendant. The latter two officials often circumscribed church authority in matters such as relations with the Indians²⁶⁸, selling alcohol to Natives for instance that was forbidden by the Church but permitted by the political authority during the French Regime.

After 1774, however, the bishop and the church reigned supreme in their own sphere, especially since British governing authorities were indisposed to interfere in religious matters²⁶⁹. The Quebec Act also enhanced the status of the seigneurs by giving them unchallenged legal authority to set the terms and conditions of settlement on their lands²⁷⁰. Overwhelmed by the important changes, some seigneurs sold their holdings to members of the newly arrived English-speaking merchant class²⁷¹. These new seigneurs, with no understanding of the informal habitant-seigneur relationship under French rule, frequently thought of themselves, and acted, as landed gentry in their dealings with the

²⁶⁶ S. D. Clarck, op.cit., p.129.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ D. Creighton (1959), op., cit., p.98.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p.99.

²⁷¹ S. D. Clark, op. cit., p. 130.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

habitants²⁷², S. D. Clark compared them to the gentry in England during the Elizabethan period. So, such attitude provoked tension between the two communities.

Carleton, according to Wrong and Creighton, had miscalculated, either by misunderstanding or ignorance of the underlying realities of the social structure and class relations he found when he arrived in Quebec²⁷³. According to Riendeau, Carlton imposed his own vision of what Quebec ought to be, an action that earned Britons the support of the Church and the seigneurs (landowners), but the distinct dislike of the habitants who soon realized just how much their position in society had been deteriorated and therefore created a 'social gap'²⁷⁴. As the years went by, that gap between the two communities would have a dramatic impact on their lives.

It must be added, according to Jennifer Pitts, that the strongest opposition to the Act came from England itself. In fact, the most eminent opponent to this Act was Edmund Burke²⁷⁵. He deployed a great energy in terms of imperial positions, in fact, according to Burke, the Act sustained by Lord North²⁷⁶ against the Whigs parliamentary opposition, granted religious freedom to the Catholic minority in Canada (Ref. appendix three). It, also, increased the king's power over the colony, and preserved many French laws and judicial procedures i.e. the French civil law had no jury trials.

²⁷² S. D. Clark, op. cit., p. 130

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ R. Riendeau, op. cit., p. 93.

²⁷⁵ British Statesman and thinker he belonged to the Whigs (1729-1797). Famous orator in the Parliament. Jennifer Pitts, op.cit., p.258.

²⁷⁶ British Prime Minister from 1770-1782(Tory), R. Riendeau, op.cit., p.78

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Likewise, according to Burke the act was , it its religious provisions, a gesture of imperial inclusiveness that contrasted with the proscriptions against Catholics in Britain and Ireland²⁷⁷. In addition to that, the Act tended to the exclusion of French settlers and Natives by the American settlers²⁷⁸. Burke opposed the Act- as did all the Whigs- on the ground that its political clauses increased the power of the Crown and were destructive of English liberties. He argued: *'the crown has a power at a storke to turn them into slavery .'*²⁷⁹ Besides this, he saw with suspicion eyes the motives of the "Quebecois Noblesse" , who had petitioned for these protections.²⁸⁰ He argued that by sustaining that: *' They wished to have the poor under their control.'*²⁸¹

J. Pitts assumes that it is doubtless that Burke always firmly supported the provisions for religious freedom. Indeed, the author sees that Burke used the Act debate as an occasion to make a broader pretext for Catholics emancipation. In his support for Catholics toleration in Canada, Burke was at odds with many of the other opponents of the Act, several whom made virulently anti- Catholic statements in the debates²⁸². It has been clearly proved that Burke invoked it as a model for Ireland. The 1774 Act announced emancipation of Canada's Catholics.

Moreover, the Quebec Act had not incited Catholics disloyalty to Britain, as the opponents of toleration in 1774 had warned it would. On the contrary, Canadians alone among Britain's North American subjects had not revolted. The peaceful cohabitation

²⁷⁷ Jennifer Pitts, op.cit., p.258.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

under British rule of Catholics and Protestants in Canada was evidence that toleration was not only just, but also feasible elsewhere (Ref. to Ireland with its Catholics majority). This attitude is till nowadays a source of proud expressed by Canadians to justify their contrast vis-à-vis their biggest –and the only one- neighbour, United States.

V. The American Revolution & its Impact on Canada

Needless to remain that in the other side of the boundaries, in the American Thirteen Colonies, the situation between the population and the British Crown had degenerated due to the fact of heavy taxation or "The Intolerable Acts" which were direct effect of the Eighteen Century British wars. The historians agree with the fact that to the American colonies, the Quebec Act was menacing because it reestablished to the north and west an area despotically ruled, predominantly French and Roman Catholic, with an alien form of land tenure²⁸³. Instead of intimidating the American colonies, the act helped push the Americans to open revolt²⁸⁴. Indeed, the first act of the American Continental Congress in 1775 was not to declare independence but to invade Canada²⁸⁵. The failure of that invasion ensured that the continent north of the Rio Grande would, on the recognition of American independence, be divided between the Americans and the British²⁸⁶.

However, according to Hugh Keenleyside, in February 1775 leaders of American patriots sent an invitation to Canadian merchants to join the struggle against Great Britain . The letter written by Samuel Adams proposed to Canadians to meet in Philadelphia on May 10th, 1775. The American invitation was simply refused that event

²⁸³ R. Riendeau, op. cit., p. 93.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 94

²⁸⁵ Francis D. Cogliano, *Revolutionary America 1763-1815*, Routledge, New York, 2009, p.78.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

provoked an American resentment vis-à-vis their Northern neighbours and a suspicious atmosphere reigned²⁸⁷ .

That there was a causal connection between the Seven Years War and the American Revolution has been so widely assumed as to become a scholarly orthodoxy²⁸⁸ . The close temporal relationship between the formal conclusion of the war in 1763 and the Stamp Act crisis in 1764–1766, the first dramatic episode in the chain of events that would, a decade later, lead to separation, immediately raises the question of whether either the experience or the aftermath of the war affected the events of the mid-1760s and beyond. The purpose of this work is not to go deeper in the circumstances, events and the aftermath of the American Revolution in general but rather to analyze its effect on the Canadian course of events .

One must note that not all American colonists had supported the cause of independence, and many had resisted it in arms. At the conclusion of hostilities, these loyalists²⁸⁹ had to make their peace with the new republic, though many went into exile. Howard Robinson gave the following image of those people:

²⁸⁷Hugh Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States: Some Aspects of their Historical Relations*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York , 1952, pp.14-16.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ also called Tory colonist loyal to Great Britain during the American Revolution. They were not confined to any particular group or class, but their numbers were strongest among the following groups: officeholders and others who served the British crown and Anglican clergymen and their parishioners in the North, who had likewise taken allegiance and obedience to the king. Quakers, members of German religious sects, and large landholders, especially in the North, and wealthy merchant groups in the cities

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

*"love for the British connection and a natural conservatism among official and properties classes helped to make the number of Loyalists large .In New England they were minority, but in the Middle States probably a majority of people were Loyalistes or "pacifists" in the South, also, Loyalism was strong"*²⁹⁰

Robinson's quotation describes some of the Loyalists characteristics and the geographical zones from where they were originated. Furthermore, their political commitment is described here as 'conservatism' and 'loyal' to the British Crown. It is obvious that they were so loyal that they proffered living with the French (their Natural Foes) under British royal rule, instead of being ruled by the American Republic.

Accordingly, the refugees, known as United Empire Loyalists, were the object of considerable concern to the British government, which sought to compensate them for their losses and to assist them in establishing new homes²⁹¹. Some went to the United Kingdom, others to the British West Indies, but the majority emigrated to Nova Scotia or Quebec²⁹². This can be explained by the fact that Nova Scotia could easily be reached by sea from New York. Henceforth, Nova Scotia became the chief refuge of the loyalists²⁹³. Some settled in the peninsula itself, some in Cape Breton and in the separate colony of Prince Edward Island²⁹⁴. A large number, however, settled along the St. John

whose businesses and property were affected by the war. The most common trait among all loyalists was conservatism coupled with a deep devotion to the mother country and the crown. Encyclopedia Britannica, Ultimate Reference Suite, 2010.

²⁹⁰ Howard Robinson, *The Development of the British Empire*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1922, p. 218.

²⁹¹ Francis D. Cogliano, op.cit., 79.

²⁹² R. Riendeau, op.cit., p. 99.

²⁹³ Philip Buckner, op. cit.p.01.

²⁹⁴ R. Riendeau, op. cit., 99.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

River, north of the Bay of Fundy. Philip Buckner gives the following statistics about the Loyalists who moved to Canada:

" Between 1763 and 1775, 125,000 emigrants from the British Isles sailed for British America, but virtually all of them went to the Thirteen Colonies. Indeed, the Thirteen Colonies, not the British Isles, was responsible for most of settlers who came to Canada. Americans came in three waves. The first consisted of some 7-8,000 New Englanders who occupied the lands forcibly vacated by the Acadians in Nova Scotia, and a few hundred Americans who went to Quebec. The second and largest wave were Loyalists, compelled to leave the newly established United States after 1783. Around 60,000 came to build new homes in the remnants of the first British Empire in North America. In the 1790s a third wave of American immigrants (erroneously described as Late Loyalists) came in search of land."²⁹⁵

In Quebec the loyalists simply crossed the new frontier and settled along the St. Lawrence River to the west of the old French settlements²⁹⁶. The loyalists who settled in Central Canada were for the most part quite different from those who went to what to be called the Maritime colonies (later the Maritime Provinces)²⁹⁷. The Central Canadian loyalists, however, were largely from upper New York, especially the Mohawk valley country, and from Pennsylvania ²⁹⁸. They were almost recent immigrants, driven from their homes by neighbours who often used the Revolution to dispossess them of their lands²⁹⁹.

²⁹⁵ Philip Buckner, op. cit.p.01.

²⁹⁶ R. Riendeau, op.cit., p.100.

²⁹⁷ Maritime Provinces are all the territories boarding the Atlantic shores, Reginald C. Stuart, *United States Expansionism and British North America, 1775-1871*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1988, p.28.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Reginald C. Stuart, op., cit., p.29.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

According to G.M. Wrong, their arrival transformed the character of the population of Quebec³⁰⁰. That province had been given a government much like that of New France, except for the important office of intendant, and the province was in population almost wholly French, as it was in civil law³⁰¹. Most Loyalists had one desire, to hold the land granted them in simple ownership, something the civil law of Quebec did not allow. Some of them also wanted representative government, which was denied by the Quebec Act³⁰². Their representations reached London and were listened to with respect³⁰³.

One may consider here that what happened was in total opposition of the first days of the Conquest. What is meant by that Murray and Carleton called for a mixture between the British rule and the French Civil Law for French population; after the American Revolution the increasing number of loyalists made the Quebec Act inadequate and even obsolete for English speakers new comers. According to S.D . Clark the appeals of the loyalists caused a great problem for the British government³⁰⁴. He argues that the measures taken in the Quebec Act to conciliate the French could not in honor or policy be withdrawn. Yet the loyalists could not be required to live under French civil law and without a representative assembly to which they were accustomed.

³⁰⁰ G. M. Wrong, *op.cit.*, p.238.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

³⁰² R. Riendeau, *op.cit.*, p.100.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁴ S. D. Clark, *op. cit.*, p.130.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

One obvious answer was to divide Quebec into separate French and English provinces³⁰⁵. The English province would have, of course, English common law and an assembly³⁰⁶. The French province might have been left with the forms of government provided by the Quebec Act³⁰⁷. It is largely assumed that British statesmen felt that the American Revolution had occurred partly because Americans had not been granted the British constitution in its proper forms (absence of representation). From this view, the thing to do was to give both the new provinces and Quebec the British constitution. The result would be, it was hoped, to assimilate the French population³⁰⁸.

³⁰⁵ R. Riendeau, *op. cit.*, p.101.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸ S. D. Clark, *op.cit.*, p.131.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

CONCLUSION:

As a brief conclusion, one may perceive that the post conquest era can be divided into two main periods. First ante- American Revolution period, the French were the majority and the need to find out an adequate method to rule them. Secondly the Post- American Revolution characterized by the challenge of ruling two distinctive communities accustomed to two different manners of government. Thereupon, by the arrival of the loyalists to Canada, new challenge started for the British rulers which was constituted in the fact that how to govern two distinct population sharing nothing but their European origins. The deal for London was complex since the Crown did not want to lose the remaining territory in North America. The British politicians had to find a Modus Vivendi to cohabit different groups of people in peace avoiding to copy the American model and by that to witness more regression.

Henceforth, after a debate in the British House of Commons, the Constitutional Act of 1791 gave the same constitution to the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada (now Ontario and Quebec, respectively). In terms of religion the 1791 Canada Act took into consideration Burke's suggestions in fact, the Parliament established the Church of England jointly with the Catholic Church , and at the same time it further ensured Catholics ' political rights . This is explained by granting political representation to Canadians without any religious limitation³⁰⁹ . Besides, nothing that had been given the French in 1774 was revoked, but the form of government was changed to the familiar one of governor with his executive council, a legislative council, and an assembly elected on what was for the time a wide franchise. The result of this last provision was that the first assembly in 1792 had a majority of French members.

³⁰⁹ J. Pitts, op.cit., p.259.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The British Conquest of Canada marked once and for all the British supremacy in North America. By that acquisition the Britons proved that they had taken big advance in matter of expansionism. Whether France wanted to get rid of that useless territory or did she lost it military, the British found in both cases the opportunity to kick their enemies out the North American continent.

After having reviewed in the first chapter the hard conditions in which New France came to life. One may say, that from the end of the Eighteenth Century exactly the fifteen last year , the conflicts in Europe between the main imperialist powers would affect directly the American future and the Canadian one was no exception .

Thereupon, the French Empire grew rapidly at the time under review and became Britain's main competitor, clearly replacing the United Provinces (Netherlands), with which England had fought three wars. Traditional interpretations stress the French reliance on state-controlled colonial expansion, in contrast to British

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

commercially driven *laissez-faire*. This is an approach conducive to Eighteenth Century notions of British exception.

Moreover, the political system that the French imposed to their population in Canada was imported as it was from France without any single change i.e. the '*Old Regime*'. It could be adequate for France (in the European soil) but not for America because of distance. Yet many historians suggest that Catholicism in itself imposed a certain style of a total submission to the Clergy and by extension to the Monarch. This fact explains why the French colony in North America grew painfully whereas the British ones (mainly Protestants) enjoyed a continuous development both in population and wealth.

It must be added that Louis XIV, who was more occupied by controlling Europe in his last ten years, neglected the overseas territories. That was why the English ,who were more and more active in North America , tried to put the entire region North to the Great Lakes to Mississippi and Louisiana into their sphere of influence . By the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, Canada had to face the British progression in the region, announcing the French British rivalry.

Until the mid- Eighteenth Century the Britons were interested in North America and focused overwhelmingly on the Thirteen Colonies . One may notice that the French territories in North America were nibbled by small portion during almost one century by the Britons till the final collapse of the French Empire in North America. It is , thus, that that the military conquest of New France in 1759-60, confirmed by France's surrender in the Treaty of Paris in 1763, certainly gave Britain

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

stake in the northerly reaches of the American Frontier. But the challenges and complications of governing a people of different language, religion, customs, and culture not only led to resentment between and within the French and English communities of the St. Lawrence colony, renamed the Province of Quebec but also fanned the flames of rebellion in the Thirteen Colonies, consequently shattering the short-lived imperial unity of North America.

It was obvious that once the war (The Seven Years War) was ended a formidable challenge started for the New rulers. In fact the Britons had to solve the problem of controlling another European population which did not share the same language, origins, religion and cultural values a new form of administrative control had to be designed for them.

By the Royal Proclamation the entire North American territory became British, the British supremacy had, at that moment, surfed from no ambiguity . However, to enrich the British treasury ruined by the series of conflicts that had been led during the last sixty years, a series of taxes started being imposed and serious political problems appeared in the British settlers colonies. Canada was very expensive for the crown and colonists had to pay the Britons supremacy . Ironically, Canada was conquered for the sake of securing the Thirteen Colonies but it was a contributing factor of their separation from the mother country. Scarifying the rich plantations of sugar in Guadeloupe for Canada was perceived as a political and economical mistake by the British merchants and politicians in 1763, however, once the American Revolution ended the Canadian Territory proved to be a salvation for the British Loyalists and a real oxygen bowl for the Empire to maintain its presence in North America.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

In the last chapter, an attempt had been made to depict the post-conquest period which sought a series a change. However, the British rulers were clever enough to maintain the French civil system whereas the rest was the resort of the British law system. It must be noted that at this particular stage the impact of expansionism was costly and it had contributed directly in the final divorce between the British Crown and the thirteen North American Colonies.

More than that, the historian William Wood summarizes on his own way the concern of the British Rulers vis-à-vis the three decades which followed the British conquest of Canada. He sustains that in the 1760's the general idea was to kill 'refractory' old French ways with a double dose of British liberty and freedom of trade (*laissez faire*), so that Canada might gradually become the loyal fourteenth colony of the Empire. But the fates were against this benevolent scheme since a state of turmoil jeopardized the British Empire in the Thirteen Colonies.

Moreover, it must be asserted that in the 1770' s the idea was to restore the French- Canadian life so as not only to make Canada proof against the disaffection of the Thirteen Colonies but also to make her safe base of operations against rebellious Americans. In the 1780's the great concern of the government was to make a harmonious whole out of two very widely differing parts of the long settled French Canadians and the newly arrived United Empire Loyalists.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Henceforth, in less than thirty years from the Conquest to the Canada Act (1791) the British Crown faced a real triple challenge in North America. The first one consisted in the control of the entire territory of North America, once achieved the second challenge was about ruling different population and the third challenge was the fact of facing rebellious Americans and the aftermath of the American Independence. From that it can be noticed that two nations were born in North America and their future would ironically be dependent on each other.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

APPENDIX 1

The Treaty of Paris 1763³¹⁰

The definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between his Britannick Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris the 10thday of February, 1763. To which the King of Portugal acceded on the same day.

*In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity,
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.*

Be it known to all those whom it shall, or may, in any manner, belong, It has pleased the Most High to diffuse the spirit of union and concord among the Princes, whose divisions had spread troubles in the four parts of the world, and to inspire them with the inclination to cause the comforts of peace to succeed to the misfortunes of a long and bloody war, which having arisen between England and France during the reign of the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, George the Second, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, of glorious memory, continued under the reign of the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, George the Third, his successor, and, in its progress, communicated itself to Spain and Portugal:

Consequently, the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, Arch Treasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire; the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, Lewis the Fifteenth, by the grace of God, Most Christian King; and the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, Charles the Third, by the grace of God, King of Spain and of the Indies, after having laid the foundations of peace in the preliminaries signed at Fontainebleau the third of November last; and the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, Don Joseph the First, by the grace of God, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, after having acceded thereto, determined to compleat, without delay, this great and important work. For this purpose, the high contracting parties have named and appointed their respective Ambassadors Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary,

³¹⁰ Thomas Benjamin, *Encyclopedia of Colonialism since 1460*, First Edition, Thomson Gale, Detroit, 2007, p.1207-14.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

viz. his Sacred Majesty the King of Great Britain, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, John Duke and Earl of Bedford, Marquis of Tavistock, c. his Minister of State, Lieutenant General of his Armies, Keeper of his Privy Seal, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty; his Sacred Majesty the Most Christian King, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, Csar Gabriel de Choiseul, Duke of Praslin, Peer of France, Knight of his Orders, Lieutenant General of his Armies and of the province of Brittany, Counsellor of all his Counsils, and Minister and Secretary of State, and of his Commands and Finances: his Sacred Majesty the Catholick King, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, Don Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, Knight of the Most Christian King's Orders, Gentleman of his Catholick Majesty's Bedchamber in Employment, and his Ambassador Extraordinary to his Most Christian Majesty; his Sacred Majesty the Most Faithful King, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, Martin de Mello and Castro, Knight professed of the Order of Christ, of his Most Faithful Majesty's Council, and his Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty. Who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, copies whereof are transcribed at the end of the present treaty of peace, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows:

Article I. *There shall be a Christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re established between their Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what quality or condition so ever they be, without exception of places or of persons: So that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their said dominions and subjects this reciprocal friendship and correspondence, without permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or by land, to be committed from henceforth, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever, and every thing shall be carefully avoided which might hereafter prejudice the union happily reestablished, applying themselves, on the contrary, on every occasion, to*

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would cause any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties: there shall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

II. *The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; those of Madrid between the Crowns of Great Britain and Spain of 1661, and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679; of Ryswick of 1697; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; the treaty of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; and that of Madrid, between the Crowns of Great Britain and Spain of 1750: as well as the treaties between the Crowns of Spain and Portugal of the 13th of February, 1668; of the 6th of February, 1715; and of the 12th of February, 1761; and that of the 11th of April, 1713, between France and Portugal with the guaranties of Great Britain, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty: and for this purpose they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the general, which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inserted here word for word, so that they are to be exactly observed, for the future, in their whole tenor, and religiously executed on all sides, in all their points, which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty, notwithstanding all that may have been stipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties: and all the said parties declare, that they will not suffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence to subsist, contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what shall have been agreed and stipulated by the present treaty.*

III. *All the prisoners made, on all sides, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, six weeks, at least, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, each crown respectively paying the advances which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners by the Sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the attested receipts and estimates and*

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

other authentic vouchers which shall be furnished on one side and the other. And securities shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners shall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained until their entire liberty. And all the ships of war and merchant vessels Which shall have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea shall likewise be restored, bon fide, with all their

crews and cargoes: and the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

IV. His Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed or might have formed to Nova Scotia or Acadia in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: Moreover, his Most Christian Majesty cedes and guaranties to his said Britannick Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, and in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty, or otherwise, which the Most Christian King and the Crown of France have had till now over the said countries, lands, islands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the Most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned. His Britannick Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholick religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, in consequence, give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannick Majesty farther agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Most Christian King in Canada, may retire with all safety and freedom wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to the subjects of his Britannick Majesty, and bring away their effects as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration,

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: The term limited for this emigration shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, such as it is specified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the present treaty, (except what relates to the island of Cape Breton, as well as to the other islands and coasts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Lawrence:.) And his Britannick Majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the Most Christian King the liberty of fishing in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts elonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent as those of the islands situated in the said gulph of St. Lawrence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coasts of the island of Cape Breton, out of the said gulph, the subjects of the Most Christian King shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where else out of the said gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

VI. The King of Great Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Macquelon, in full right, to his Most Christian Majesty, to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen; and his said Most Christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said islands; to erect no buildings upon them but merely for the conveniency of the fishery; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

VII. In order to reestablish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannick Majesty and those of his Most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the River Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea; and for this purpose, the Most Christian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannick

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Majesty the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France, provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth: It is farther stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations inserted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

VIII. *The King of Great Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadeloupe, of Mariegalante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and of Belleisle; and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by the British arms, provided that his Britannick Majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said islands, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there or in other places restored to France by the present treaty, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said islands and other places restored as above, and which shall serve for this use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; but, as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannick Majesty and his Most Christian Majesty, that the number of English vessels which have leave to go to the said islands and places restored to France, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast;*

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time. It has been farther agreed, that his Most Christian Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two French clerks or guards in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said islands and places restored to France, and that the merchandize which shall be found t herein shall be confiscated.

IX. The Most Christian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inserted in the IVth article for those of Canada: And the partition of the islands called neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominico, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right, and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition so stipulated.

X. His Britannick Majesty shall restore to France the island of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: and his Most Christian Majesty cedes, in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great Britain the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam, and with all the rights and dependencies of the said river Senegal.

XI. In the East Indies Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that Crown possessed, as well as on the coast of Coromandel and Orixia as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretension to the acquisitions which he has made on the coast of Coromandel and Orixia since the said beginning of the year 1749. His Most Christian Majesty shall restore, on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain in the East Indies during the present war; and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapanouilly, in the island of Sumatra, to be restored; he engages farther, not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixia, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

for lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parties shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredations or pillage committed on the one side or on the other during the war.

XII. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannick Majesty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in when conquered by the arms of the Most Christian King; and with the artillery which was there when the said island and the said fort were taken.

XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the last treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and by former treaties. The Cunette shall be destroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the side of the sea; and provision shall be made at the same time for the wholesomeness of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by some other means, to the satisfaction of the King of Great Britain.

XIV. France shall restore all the countries belonging to the Electorate of Hanover, to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Count of La Lippe Buckebourg, which are or shall be occupied by his Most Christian Majesty's arms: the fortresses of these different countries shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by the French arms; and the pieces of artillery, which shall have been carried elsewhere, shall be replaced by the same number, of the same bore, weight and metal.

XV. In case the stipulations contained in the XIIIth article of the preliminaries should not be compleated at the time of the signature of the present treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortresses of Cleves, Wezel, Guelders, and of all the countries belonging to the King of Prussia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the British and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and in all the empire; and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their respective Sovereigns: their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties promise to proceed, bon fide, with all the dispatch the case will permit of to the said evacuations, the entire completion

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

whereof they stipulate before the 15th of March next, or sooner if it can be done; and their Britannick and Most Christian Majesties farther engage and promise to each other, not to furnish any succours of any kind to their respective allies who shall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

XVI. The decision of the prizes made in time of peace by the subjects of Great Britain, on the Spaniards, shall be referred to the Courts of Justice of the Admiralty of Great Britain, conformably to the rules established among all nations, so that the validity of the said prizes, between the British and Spanish nations, shall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to treaties, in the Courts of Justice of the nation who shall have made the capture.

XVII. His Britannick Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty; and his Catholick Majesty shall not permit his Britannick Majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed or molested under any pretence whatsoever in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood; and for this purpose, they may build, without indrance, and occupy, without interruption, the houses and magazines necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects; and his Catholick Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages and powers on the Spanish coasts and territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

XVIII. His Catholick Majesty desists, as well for himself as for his successors, from all pretension which he may have formed in favour of the Guipuscoans, and other his subjects, to the right of fishing in the neighbourhood of the island of Newfoundland.

XIX. The King of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortress of the Havannah; and this fortress, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannick Majesty's arms, provided that his Britannick Majesty's subjects who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels which they shall be permitted to send to the said island restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: And for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannick Majesty and his Catholick Majesty, that the number of English vessels which shall have leave to go to the said island restored to Spain shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time: it has been farther agreed, that his Catholick Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two Spanish clerks or guards in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said island restored to Spain, and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.

XX. *In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article, his Catholick Majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick Majesty, Florida, with Fort St. Augustin, and the Bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the East or to the South East of the river Mississippi. And, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholick King and the Crown of Spain have had till now over the said countries, lands, places, and their inhabitants; so that the Catholick King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form. His Britannick Majesty agrees, on his side, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries above ceded, the liberty of the Catholick religion; he will, consequently,*

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

give the most express and the most effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannick Majesty farther agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Catholick King in the said countries, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: the term limited for this emigration being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. It is moreover stipulated, that his Catholick Majesty shall have power to cause all the effects that may belong to him, to be brought away, whether it be artillery or other things.

XXI. The French and Spanish troops shall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and castles, of his Most faithful Majesty in Europe, without any reserve, which shall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and shall restore them in the same condition they were in when conquered, with the same artillery and ammunition, which were found there: And with regard to the Portuguese Colonies in America, Africa, or in the East Indies, if any change shall have happened there, all things shall be restored on the same footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties which subsisted between the Courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the present war.

XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns and places that are restored, and those belonging to the countries ceded, shall be, respectively and bon fide, delivered, or furnished at the same time, if possible, that possession is taken, or, at latest, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, in whatever places the said papers or documents may be found.

XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatsoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannick and Most Faithful Majesties, as well as by those of their Most Christian and Catholick Majesties, which are not included in the

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

present treaty, either under the title of cessions, or under the title of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensations.

XXIV. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the British and French troops shall compleat, before the 15th of March next, all that shall remain to be executed of the XIIth and XIIIth articles of the preliminaries, signed the 3d day of November last, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the Empire, or elsewhere. The island of Belleisle shall be evacuated six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Guadeloupe, Desirade, Mariegalante Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Great Britain shall likewise, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great Britain, on the side of the river Mississippi, as they are specified in the VIIth article. The island of Goree shall be evacuated by Great Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the island of Minorca by France, at the same epoch, or sooner if it can be done: And according to the conditions of the VIth article, France shall likewise enter into possession of the islands of St Peter, and of Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The Factories in the East Indies shall be restored six months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. The fortress of the Havannah, with all that has been conquered in the island of Cuba, shall be restored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done: And, at the same time, Great Britain shall enter into possession of the country ceded by Spain according to the XXth article. All the places and countries of his most Faithful Majesty, in Europe, shall be restored immediately after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty: And the Portuguese colonies, which may have been conquered, shall be restored in the space of three months in the West Indies, and of six months in the East Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. All the

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

fortresses, the restitution whereof is stipulated above, shall be restored with the artillery and ammunition, which were found there at the time of the conquest. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships that shall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

XXV. His Britannick Majesty, as Elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, as well for himself as for his heirs and successors, and all the dominions and possessions of his said Majesty in Germany, are included and guarantied by the present treaty of peace.

XXVI. Their sacred Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, promise to observe sincerely and bon fide, all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXVII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty. In witness whereof, we the under written their Ambassadors Extraordinary, and Ministers Plenipotentiary, have signed with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present definitive treaty, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the tenth day of February, 1763. Bedford, C.P.S. Choiseul, Duc de Praslin. El Marq. de Grimaldi.

His Britannick Majesty's full Power.

GEORGE R.

GEORGE the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, ArchTreasurer, and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, c. To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas, in order to perfect the peace between Us and our good Brother the Most Faithful King, on the one part, and our good Brothers the Most Christian and Catholick Kings, on the other, which has been happily begun by the Preliminary Articles already signed at Fontainebleau the third of this month; and to bring the same to the desired end, We have thought proper to invest some fit person with

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

full authority, on our part; Know ye, that We, having most entire confidence in the fidelity, judgment, skill, and ability in managing affairs of the greatest consequence, of our right trusty, and right entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, John Duke and Earl of Bedford, Marquis of Tavistock, Baron Russel of Cheneys, Baron Russel of Thornhaugh, and Baron Howland of Streatham, Lieutenant general of our forces, Keeper of our Privy Seal, Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the counties of Bedford and Devon, Knight of our most noble order of the Garter, and our Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to our good Brother the Most Christian King, have nominated, made, constituted and appointed, as by these presents, we do nominate, make, constitute, and appoint him, our true, certain, and undoubted Minister, Commissary, Deputy, Procurator and Plenipotentiary, giving to him all and all manner of power, faculty and authority, as well as our general and special command (yet so as that the general do not derogate from the special, or on the contrary) for Us and in our name, to meet and confer, as well singly and separately, as jointly, and in a body, with the Ambassadors, Commissaries, Deputies, and Plenipotentiaries of the Princes, whom it may concern, vested with sufficient power.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

APPENDIX:2

Wolfe's Proclamation to the Canadians June, 28, 1759³¹¹

By His Excellency James Wolfe, Esq; Colonel of a Regiment of Infantry, Major-General and Commander In Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces in the River St. Lawrence, &c. &c.

"The Formidable sea and land armament, which the people Canada now behold in the heart of their country, is intended by the king, my master, to check the insolence of France, to revenge the insults offered to the British colonies, and totally to deprive the French of their most valuable settlement in North America. For these purposes is the formidable army under my command intended .

The King of Great Britain wages no war with the industrious peasant, the sacred orders of religion, or the defenseless women and children: to these, in their distressful circumstances, his Royal clemency offers protection. The people may remain unmolested on their lands, inhabit their houses, enjoy their religion in security; for these inestimable blessings, I expect the Canadians will take no part in the great contest between the two crowns.

But if, by a vain obstinacy and misguided valour, they presume to appear in arms, they must expect the most fatal consequences; their harvest utterly ruined, and the only passage for stopped up by a most formidable fleet. In this unhappy situation,

³¹¹ Arnold Rockman, op., cit., p.45.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

and closely attacked by another great army, what can the wretched natives expect from opposition?

The unparalleled barbarities exerted by the French against our settlements in America might justify the bitterest revenge in the army under my command. But Britons breathe higher sentiments of humanity, and listen to the merciful dictates of the Christian religion. Yet, should you suffer yourselves to be deluded by any imaginary prospect of our want of success, should you refuse those terms, and persist in opposition, then surely will the law of nations justify the waste of war, so necessary to crush an ungenerous enemy; and then the miserable Canadians must in the winter have the mortification of seeing the very families, for whom they have been exerting but a fruitless and indiscreet bravery, perish by the most dismal want and famine. In this great dilemma let the wisdom of the people of Canada shew itself; Britain stretches out powerful, yet merciful, hand: faithful to her engagements, support Canada, deserts her cause at this important crisis, and, during the whole war, has assisted her with troops who have been maintained only by making the natives feel all the weight of grievous and lawless oppression".

Given at Laurent in the island of Orleans, this 28th day of June 1759.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

APPENDIX : 3

The Royal Proclamation³¹²

October 7, 1763

Whereas We have taken into Our Royal Consideration the extensive and valuable Acquisitions in America, secured to our Crown by the late Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris. the 10th Day of February last; and being desirous that all Our loving Subjects, as well of our Kingdom as of our Colonies in America, may avail themselves with all convenient Speed, of the great Benefits and Advantages which must accrue therefrom to their Commerce, Manufactures, and Navigation, We have thought fit, with the Advice of our Privy Council. to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all our loving Subjects, that we have, with the Advice of our Said Privy Council, granted our Letters Patent, under our Great Seal of Great Britain, to erect, within the Countries and Islands ceded and confirmed to Us by the said Treaty, Four distinct and separate Governments, styled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz.

First--The Government of Quebec bounded on the Labrador Coast by the River St. John, and from thence by a Line drawn from the Head of that River through the Lake St. John, to the South end of the Lake Nipissim; from whence the said Line, crossing the River St. Lawrence, and the Lake Champlain, in 45. Degrees of North Latitude, passes along the High Lands which divide the Rivers that empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Sea; and also along the North Coast of the Baye des Chaleurs, and the Coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the Mouth of the River St. Lawrence by the West End of the Island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid River of St. John.

Secondly--The Government of East Florida. bounded to the Westward by the Gulph of Mexico and the Apalachicola River; to the Northward by a Line drawn from that part of the said River where the Chatahouchee and Flint Rivers meet, to the source of St. Mary's River. and by the course of the said River to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the Eastward and Southward by the

³¹² Arnold Rockman, op.cit., p. 47-9.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Atlantic Ocean and the Gulph of Florida, including all Islands within Six Leagues of the Sea Coast.

Thirdly--The Government of West Florida. bounded to the Southward by the Gulph of Mexico. including all Islands within Six Leagues of the Coast. from the River Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the Westward by the said Lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the River Mississippi; to the Northward by a Line drawn due East from that part of the River Mississippi which lies in 31 Degrees North Latitude. to the River Apalachicola or Chatahouchee; and to the Eastward by the said River.

Fourthly--The Government of Grenada, comprehending the Island of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the Islands of Dominico, St. Vincent's and Tobago. And to the end that the open and free Fishery of our Subjects may be extended to and carried on upon the Coast of Labrador, and the adjacent Islands. We have thought fit. with the advice of our said Privy Council to put all that Coast, from the River St. John's to Hudson's Streights, together with the Islands of Anticosti and Madelaine, and all other smaller Islands lying upon the said Coast, under the care and Inspection of our Governor of Newfoundland.

We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council. thought fit to annex the Islands of St. John's and Cape Breton, or Isle Royale, with the lesser Islands adjacent thereto, to our Government of Nova Scotia.

We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council aforesaid, annexed to our Province of Georgia all the Lands lying between the Rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary's.

And whereas it will greatly contribute to the speedy settling of our said new Governments, that our loving Subjects should be infomed of our Paternal care, for the security of the Liberties and Properties of those who are and shall become Inhabitants thereof, We have thought fit to publish and declare, by this Our Proclamation, that We have, in the Letters Patent under our Great Seal of Great Britain, by which the said Governments are constituted. given express Power and Direction to our Governors of our Said Colonies respectively, that so soon as the state and circumstances of the said Colonies will admit thereof, they shall, with the Advice and Consent of the Members of our Council, summon and call General Assemblies within the said Governments respectively, in such Manner and Form as is used and directed in those Colonies and Provinces

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

in America which are under our immediate Government: And We have also given Power to the said Governors, with the consent of our Said Councils, and the Representatives of the People so to be summoned as aforesaid, to make, constitute, and ordain Laws. Statutes, and Ordinances for the Public Peace, Welfare, and good Government of our said Colonies, and of the People and Inhabitants thereof, as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England, and under such Regulations and Restrictions as are used in other Colonies; and in the mean Time, and until such Assemblies can be called as aforesaid, all Persons Inhabiting in or resorting to our Said Colonies may confide in our Royal Protection for the Enjoyment of the Benefit of the Laws of our Realm of England; for which Purpose We have given Power under our Great Seal to the Governors of our said Colonies respectively to erect and constitute, with the Advice of our said Councils respectively, Courts of Judicature and public Justice within our Said Colonies for hearing and determining all Causes, as well Criminal as Civil, according to Law and Equity, and as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England, with Liberty to all Persons who may think themselves aggrieved by the Sentences of such Courts, in all Civil Cases. to appeal, under the usual Limitations and Restrictions, to Us in our Privy Council.

We have also thought fit, with the advice of our Privy Council as aforesaid, to give unto the Governors and Councils of our said Three new Colonies, upon the Continent full Power and Authority to settle and agree with the Inhabitants of our said new Colonies or with any other Persons who shall resort thereto, for such Lands. Tenements and Hereditaments, as are now or hereafter shall be in our Power to dispose of; and them to grant to any such Person or Persons upon such Terms, and under such moderate Quit-Rents, Services and Acknowledgments, as have been appointed and settled in our other Colonies, and under such other Conditions as shall appear to us to be necessary and expedient for the Advantage of the Grantees, and the Improvement and settlement of our said Colonies.

And Whereas, We are desirous, upon all occasions, to testify our Royal Sense and Approbation of the Conduct and bravery of the Officers and Soldiers of our Armies, and to reward the same, We do hereby command and empower our Governors of our said Three new Colonies, and all other our Governors of our several Provinces on the Continent of North America, to grant without Fee or Reward, to such reduced Officers as have served in North America during the late War, and to such Private Soldiers as have been or shall be disbanded in America, and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same, the following Quantities of Lands, subject, at the

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

Expiration of Ten Years, to the same Quit-Rents as other Lands are subject to in the Province within which they are granted, as also subject to the same Conditions of Cultivation and Improvement; viz.

To every Person having the Rank of a Field Officer--5,000 Acres.

To every Captain--3,000 Acres.

To every Subaltern or Staff Officer,--2,000 Acres.

To every Non-Commission Officer,--200 Acres .

To every Private Man--50 Acres.

We do likewise authorize and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all our said Colonies upon the Continent of North America to grant the like Quantities of Land, and upon the same conditions, to such reduced Officers of our Navy of like Rank as served on board our Ships of War in North America at the times of the Reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec in the late War, and who shall personally apply to our respective Governors for such Grants.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our Interest, and the Security of our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them. or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds.--We do therefore, with the Advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our Royal Will and Pleasure. that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our Colonies of Quebec, East Florida. or West Florida, do presume, upon any Pretence whatever, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass any Patents for Lands beyond the Bounds of their respective Governments. as described in their Commissions: as also that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our other Colonies or Plantations in America do presume for the present, and until our further Pleasure be known, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass Patents for any Lands beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the West and North West, or upon any Lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

And We do further declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the Lands and Territories not included within the Limits of Our said Three new Governments, or within the Limits of the Territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, as also all the Lands and Territories lying to the Westward of the Sources of the Rivers which fall into the Sea from the West and North West as aforesaid.

And We do hereby strictly forbid, on Pain of our Displeasure, all our loving Subjects from making any Purchases or Settlements whatever, or taking Possession of any of the Lands above reserved. without our especial leave and Licence for that Purpose first obtained.

And. We do further strictly enjoin and require all Persons whatever who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any Lands within the Countries above described. or upon any other Lands which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such Settlements.

And whereas great Frauds and Abuses have been committed in purchasing Lands of the Indians, to the great Prejudice of our Interests. and to the great Dissatisfaction of the said Indians: In order, therefore, to prevent such Irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our Justice and determined Resolution to remove all reasonable Cause of Discontent, We do. with the Advice of our Privy Council strictly enjoin and require. that no private Person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any Lands reserved to the said Indians, within those parts of our Colonies where, We have thought proper to allow Settlement: but that. if at any Time any of the Said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said Lands, the same shall be Purchased only for Us, in our Name, at some public Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that Purpose by the Governor or Commander in Chief of our Colony respectively within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any Proprietary Government. they shall be purchased only for the Use and in the name of such Proprietaries, conformable to such Directions and Instructions as We or they shall think proper to give for that Purpose: And we do. by the Advice of our Privy Council, declare and enjoin, that the Trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our Subjects whatever. provided that every Person who may incline to Trade with the said Indians do take out a Licence for carrying on such Trade from the Governor or Commander in Chief of any of our Colonies

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

respectively where such Person shall reside. and also give Security to observe such Regulations as We shall at any Time think fit. by ourselves or by our Commissaries to be appointed for this Purpose, to direct and appoint for the Benefit of the said Trade:

And we do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all our Colonies respectively, as well those under Our immediate Government as those under the Government and Direction of Proprietaries, to grant such Licences without Fee or Reward, taking especial Care to insert therein a Condition, that such Licence shall be void, and the Security forfeited in case the Person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such Regulations as We shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And we do further expressly conjoin and require all Officers whatever, as well Military as those Employed in the Management and Direction of Indian Affairs, within the Territories reserved as aforesaid for the use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all Persons whatever. who standing charged with Treason. Misprisions of Treason. Murders, or other Felonies or Misdemeanors. shall fly from Justice and take Refuge in the said Territory. and to send them under a proper guard to the Colony where the Crime was committed of which they, stand accused. in order to take their Trial for the same.

Given at our Court at St. James's the 7th Day of October 1763. in the Third Year of our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada
from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution
(1754-1776)

APPENDIX :4

Canada's First Constitution
The Quebec Act
Anno Decimo Quarto
Georgii III. Regis.
Cap. LXXXIII.³¹³

An Act for making more effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec in North merica. . . .

And, for the more perfect Security and Ease of the Minds of the Inhabitants of the said Province, it is hereby declared, That His Majesty's Subjects, professing the Religion of the Church of Rome of and in the Said Province of Quebec, may have, hold, and enjoy, the free Exercise of the Religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King's Supremacy, declared and established by an Act, made in the First Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, over all the Dominions and Countries which then did, or thereafter should belong, to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and that the Clergy of the said Church may hold, receive, and enjoy, their accustomed Dues and Rights, with respect to such Persons only

as shall profess the said Religion. . . .

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all His Majesty's Canadian Subjects, within the Province of Quebec, the religious Orders and Communities only excepted, may also hold and enjoy their Property and Possessions, together with all Customs and Usages relative thereto, and all other their Civil Rights, in as large, ample, and beneficial Manner, as if the said Proclamation, Commissions, Ordinances, and other Acts and Instruments, had not been made . . .

and that in all Matters of Controversy, relative to Property and Civil Rights, Resort shall be had to the Laws of Canada, as the Rule for the Decision of the same; and all Causes that shall hereafter be instituted in any of the Courts of Justice, to be

³¹³ R. Riendeau, op. cit., pp.88-9.

The British Settlement in North America : Case Study Canada from the Seven Years War to the American Revolution (1754-1776)

appointed within and for the said Province, by His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, shall, with respect to such Property and Rights, be determined agreeably to the said Laws and Customs of Canada, until they shall be varied or altered by any Ordinances that shall, from Time to Time, be passed in the said Province by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Commander in Chief, for the Time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Legislative Council of the same, to be appointed in Manner hereinafter mentioned.

Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any Lands that have been granted by His Majesty, or shall hereafter be granted by His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to be holden in free and common Soccage. . . .

Source: Shortt and Doughty 1918, 1: 570–76.

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