

The Assiniboines had apparently retreated to the area surrounding Lake Winnipeg, and in 1673 they were among the numerous tribes of Indians taking advantage of the opportunity of throwing off the monopoly control of middlemen trading with the French, by resorting to the new posts of the Hudson's Bay Company on James Bay.¹⁸ Trade with the English on Hudson Bay continued, and after the establishment of Fort Nelson in 1682 grew rapidly. In 1683 French traders at Green Bay had met Indians who had traded for hatchets at the mouth of the "Assiniboie" River (Ft. Nelson).¹⁹ In a letter dated Quebec, November 10, 1686, it was pointed out that:

We know comparatively little about the routes which could be followed to the bottom of the Bay by land but we have proved that the route by Temiskaming and Abitibi is a terrible road and of such great difficulty that it would only be possible to carry provisions for going and returning. It is believed that the route from Nemisco by Tadoussac is less difficult but in truth it is also too long and very difficult . . . these Monseigneur are the only two known routes to the bottom of the bay. . . . All the commerce of the Bay in a word is of no value except as it could be carried on by sea since it saves the infinite expense of carrying provisions and merchandise by land. But our merchants are in no position to compete with the English in this way since they have good seagoing boats well armed and well equipped. It is much to be feared that our company could not be successful in saving the best furs of Canada since certainly the greater part of "castor gras" comes from the North and besides the fur there is very much finer.²⁰

Competition from Hudson Bay tapped the sources of the best beaver of the French,²¹ and the effectiveness of competition was greatly enhanced by the location of the posts at the mouths of the rivers flowing into James Bay. James Bay and the territory north of the tree line were of strategic importance to the fur trade, since from these areas the French had drawn large quantities of the best northern furs, and the length and

¹⁸Beckles Willson, *The Great Company*, I, 133.

¹⁹E. H. Blair, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, I, 364.

²⁰Can. Arch., C11A, VIII, 258-259; see also petition against the *fermier* of Tadoussac regarding the inability to meet English competition, *ibid.*, VII, 323; also a statement to the effect that the French could compete effectively with tobacco and hatchets, November 5, 1683, *ibid.*, p. 270.

²¹"There are many beavers in this country better than those which come from Canada," Jérémie, *Relation du Détroit et de la baie d'Hudson*, p. 22; *Recueil d'arrests et autres pièces pour l'établissement de la Compagnie d'Occident*, pp. 38-39; see also E. A. Preble, *A Biological Investigation of the Hudson Bay Region*.

difficulty of the rivers of these regions gave the Hudson's Bay Company an advantage.

Immediate steps were taken to check competition. Father Albanel was dispatched in 1674 to go to Hudson Bay by way of the Saguenay,²² and to attempt to win back Groseilliers²³ and Radisson whose co-operation was so important to the English, and he was in part successful. Northwest of Lake Superior, measures were also taken. Crees adjacent to Hudson Bay posts secured commodities, especially guns, and carried on war with the neighbouring Assiniboines. The Assiniboines were consequently located between the Sioux in the south who obtained European goods from the French, and the Crees on the north who obtained goods from the English. An alliance between the Assiniboines and the Crees favoured the Hudson's Bay Company.²⁴ To offset the effects, Duluth in 1679 arranged a peace at the head of Lake Superior between this alliance and the Sioux,²⁵ which facilitated trade in French goods. Moreover, posts were established north of Lake Superior, and in 1678 a fort was built at the entrance to Lake Nipigon.²⁶ By 1681 French traders were carrying on trade to the north of Lake Superior at Lake Nipigon, Kaministiquia, and toward the head of the lake.²⁷ Fort La Toruette at the mouth of the Ombabika on the north of Lake Nipigon was built in 1684,²⁸ and Fort de Français near the forks of the Kenogami and the Albany in 1685. Finally the French were successful in the capturing of Forts Albany, Moose, and Rupert in 1686. Fort Nelson, however, remained in control of the English, but an attempt was made to dissuade the Assiniboines and the Crees from going to that post by trading through the Kaministiquia route. As early as 1680 traders had apparently crossed the height of land at this point to trade.

²²See John Oldmixon, "The History of Hudson's Bay" in *Documents relating to the Early History of Hudson Bay*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell, p. 393.

²³"Mémoire qui presentent . . . les interressez dans la Compagnie de la Baye d'Hudson établi en conséquence des ordres de Sa Majesté, Paris, 6 fevrier, 1685," Can. Arch., C11A, VII, 315; also for a description of the activities of Father Albanel in luring Radisson and "Groselyer" from the Hudson's Bay Company, see Can. Arch., Colonial Office Records; Hudson Bay state papers 1673-96, pp. 6 ff.

²⁴P. Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français*, VI, 82.

²⁵L. P. Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin*, p. 330.

²⁶See A. J. McComber, "Some Early History of Thunder Bay and District," pp. 13 ff.

²⁷P. Margry, *Découvertes et établissements*, VI, 5.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

with these Indians.²⁹ In 1688 Noyon wintered at Rainy Lake,³⁰ or the Lake of the Crees, and the country to Lake Winnipeg, or the Lake of the Assiniboines, was known. This route had obvious difficulties, and attempts were made as a result to reach Fort Nelson by sea. The "Compagnie du Nord," including several Quebec merchants, was given a charter on May 20, 1682,³¹ to carry on trade in Hudson Bay, and its success was furthered through an aggressive military policy. M. de Denonville, in a memoir on the state of Canada dated November 12, 1685, wrote:

If not expelled thence [from Hudson Bay] they will get all the fat beaver from an infinite number of nations at the North which are being discovered every day; they will attract the greatest portion of the peltries that reach us at Montreal through the Outaouacs and Assinibois, and other neighboring tribes, for these will derive a double advantage from going in search of the English at Port Nelson—they will not have so far to go, and will find goods at a much lower rate than with us. That is evident from the fact that our Frenchmen have seen recently at Port Nelson some Indians who were known to have traded several years ago at Montreal.

The posts at the head of the Bay, adjoining the rivers Abitibis and Nimisco can be reached through the woods and seized; our Frenchmen are acquainted with the road. But in regard to the posts occupied by the English in the River Bourbon or Port Nelson, it is impossible to hold any post below them, and convey merchandise thither except by sea. Some pretend that it is feasible to go there overland, but the river to reach that quarter remains yet to be discovered and when discovered, could only admit the conveyance of a few men and not of any merchandise. The best informed on this subject agree herein.³²

The capture of Fort Nelson in 1697 by the French led to the partial disappearance of the Kaministiquia routes.³³ The history of the latter part of the period in Hudson Bay is one of charges and countercharges³⁴

²⁹George Bryce, *Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, p. 78.

³⁰P. Margry, VI, 496-497.

³¹B. Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-français, 1608-1880*, V, 97-98; also *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, XXIV, 275-276. It is unfortunate that the documents relating to this company are exceedingly rare. See Sloane MSS, 2716, "Mémoire de la Compagnie Française Hudson Bay," 1689; also 2902, "The French in Hudson Bay," and R. Douglas and J. N. Wallace, eds., *Twenty Years of York Factory, 1694-1714: Jérémie's Account of Hudson Strait and Bay*, Introduction. Chesnaye is said to have subscribed 100,000 francs—see *La Presse*, Montreal, November 18, 1899; also P.-G. Roy, *La Famille Aubert de Gaspé*.

³²"Memoir of M. de Denonville on the State of Canada, November 12, 1685," *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan, IX, 286.

³³See *Twenty Years of York Factory*, ed. R. Douglas and J. N. Wallace.

³⁴See Beckles Willson, *The Great Company*, I, chaps. v ff.

in which, on the whole, the French were most successful. Competition from Hudson Bay was largely eliminated by military aggressions.

The temporary control over the Iroquois permitted an extensive development of the trade. The effectiveness of the Ottawa middlemen organization was enhanced by the assistance of French traders and missionaries who followed the Indians to Chequamegon and to Green Bay, to the head of Lake Superior and to the Mississippi. The French penetrated to the Sioux country and came in contact with the Miamis, the Fox, and neighbouring tribes. Jolliet and Marquette in 1673 explored the Mississippi.³⁵ La Salle extended his activities along the south shore of Lake Michigan and the headwaters of the tributaries of the Mississippi.³⁶ Duluth in 1679 and 1680 explored the area west of Lake Superior to the Mississippi and established posts on the north of Lake Superior, at Kaministiquia and on Lake Nipigon.³⁷

On the other hand, the scarcity of beaver in the Iroquois country and the ever present demand for European goods necessitated constant hunting on the part of Iroquois bands in the territory north of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, and constant attempts to establish trade with northern and western tribes allied to the French. This problem was recognized by the French; in the narrative of Governor de Courcelles' voyage to Lake Ontario in 1671 it was noted:

It is well known that the Iroquois nations, especially the four upper ones, do not hunt any beaver or Elk. They absolutely exhausted the side of Ontario which they inhabit, that is the South side, a long time ago . . . to get any they are obliged to cross to the North of the same lake, formerly inhabited by the Hurons.³⁸

Talon, in a memoir dated November 10, 1670, wrote:

If the observations that I have myself made and caused others to make, be correct, the English of Boston, and the Dutch of Manatte and of Orange, who are subject to them, attract, by means of the Iroquois and other Indian tribes in their neighborhood, over twelve hundred thousand *livres* of Beaver, almost all dry and in the best condition, part of which they use in their trade with the Muscovites, either themselves or through the Dutch.³⁹

³⁵"The Mississippi Voyage of Jolliet and Marquette, 1673," *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, ed. L. P. Kellogg, pp. 226 ff.

³⁶See Francis Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*.

³⁷"Memoir of Duluth on the Sioux Country, 1678-1682," *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, pp. 329 ff. For a description of exploration activities see L. P. Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin*, chap. x.

³⁸*Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IX, 80.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 65.

Finance The 200 community colleges and allied institutions in Canada spent approximately \$3 billion in 1984-85, or 9% of the total educational expenditures in the nation. Of the total budget 8% was generated from tuition fees, which varied from 14% in BC to 0% in the NWT. Full-time students in Québec pay no tuition fees.

National Organization Leading educators in the 1960s felt there was enough common interest among colleges across Canada to warrant the creation of a national association. The Association of Canadian Community Colleges was formed in 1970; by the 1980s, it had 100 institutional members and has added a large international bureau.

Conclusion Canada's financial commitment – provincial and federal – to community colleges is proportionately higher than that of any other advanced industrial society, including the US. Although not united by national policies and overall goals, the network of Canada's community colleges ranks among the most comprehensive in the world. The strengths of the 200 community colleges include their accessibility to all citizens, old and young, and the attention given to the individual student. Their service to communities may be in jeopardy, however, because of increasing provincial centralization of control. The restrictive intervention of provincial governments and the burgeoning bureaucracies within the colleges themselves represent the greatest threat to the continuing and imaginative development of community colleges.

G. CAMPBELL AND JOHN D. DENNISON

Reading: John D. Dennison and P. Gallagher, *Canada's Community Colleges: A Critical Analysis* (1986).

Comox, BC, Town, pop 6873 (1986c), 6607 (1981c), inc 1967, is located on the E coast of Vancouver I, 223 km N of Victoria, overlooking Comox Harbour. The Beaufort Mtn Range and Comox Glacier enhance the town's natural beauty. The adjacent ski slopes of Mt Washington and Forbidden Plateau make it a popular winter sports centre. First inhabited by SALISH, and then by Europeans in the early 1860s, Comox slowly became a service centre and shipment point for the Comox Valley. It has recently become the centre of a rich agricultural area, producing potatoes, fruit and dairy products. (The name, of Indian origin, means "abundance.") The area's mild climate has made it popular with retired people. CFB Lazo, 5 km NE, is important for the local economy. There is a ferry service from the Comox peninsula to POWELL RIVER on the mainland.

ALAN F.J. ARTIBISE

Compact Theory of Confederation, see CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

Compagnie des Cent-Associés (Compagnie de la Nouvelle France) was founded 29 Apr 1627 (royal approbation 6 May 1628) by Cardinal Richelieu, chief minister of Louis XIII, to establish the French empire in N America; it was granted NEW FRANCE from Florida to the Arctic and from the Atlantic to the unknown West, as well as extensive trading privileges. English rivals captured the company's fleet in 1628 and both the fleet and the colony in 1629; the colony was restored to France in Mar 1632, but the company never recovered. In 1645 it sublet its rights and obligations in Canada to the COMMUNAUTÉ DES HABITANTS; on 24 Feb 1663 the Cent-Associés' grant was revoked and Canada became a royal province.

DALE MIQUELON

Compagnie des Indes occidentales, which replaced the COMPAGNIE DES CENT-ASSOCIÉS, was established in May 1664 by Jean-Baptiste Colbert to drive Dutch traders from French colonies in the West Indies and the Americas, and to emulate

Dutch and English commercial success. The company succeeded in the first aim, but failed in the second. It was essentially a state enterprise run by Colbert, and its impressive trade monopoly and seigniorial and governmental rights did not attract private capital. In Dec 1674 Colbert dissolved the ailing company and initiated the regime of direct governmental administration of colonies.

DALE MIQUELON

Compagnie du Nord (Compagnie de la Baie du Nord), fd 1682 by Canadian merchants, led by Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye, to trade into Hudson Bay by sea. The company upheld French claims on the bay by dispatching Pierre-Esprit RADISSON and Médard Chouart DES GROSEILLIÈRES there with 2 ships, and stabilized NEW FRANCE'S Indian alliances N of the Great Lakes. In 1685 King Louis XIV granted the company a monopoly of the Hudson Bay fur trade, but costly military expeditions against the HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY (see TROYES, Pierre de) and ruinous taxation (the *quart*) bankrupted the company. Its monopoly was revoked on 10 Jan 1700 and transferred to the Compagnie de la Colonie.

DALE MIQUELON

Company of Young Canadians, a short-lived voluntary agency of the government of Canada, established with a mandate to encourage social, economic and community development in Canada. Promised in 1965 and formally established in 1966, the Company of Young Canadians, or CYC, recruited young Canadians, trained them in "social animation" techniques and sent them out to work for a moderate salary on community programs across the country. The idea was to organize the downtrodden of society whom the political process had not touched, and to enable them to demand and bring about improvements in their own lives. Some of the CYC's initiatives were successful, but the volunteers and then the company became caught up in the political ferment that characterized the 1960s. Many of its members embarrassed the government with their separatist and Marxist views. Although the company was intended to operate with a high degree of autonomy, the government felt constrained to impose controls, resulting in friction between volunteers in the field and the head office in Ottawa, and between government-appointed councillors and radical volunteers. The company's autonomy was terminated in 1969, but the organization lingered until abolished during a government economy drive in 1976.

ROBERT BOTHWELL

Company Towns, important in Canada's capital formation and industrialization, urban development, and trade-union movement. Few survive in the sense used by sociologist Rex Lucas: "closed communities owned and administered by the industrial employer," with homes, stores and even the church owned by the firm. The decline of the small firm, the enhanced status of trade unions since WWII, and more liberal interpretations of property and civil rights have combined to render the institution largely obsolete. The paternalism of the traditional company town is no longer acceptable to Canadians, but single-industry communities, especially those on the resource frontier from Newfoundland to the Yukon, still bear similarities to earlier company towns.

Company towns emerged during the colonial period, for the purpose of ensuring a reserve of skilled workers for family-based firms. They were islands of stability in the chaotic preindustrial labour market. The thrust of industrial revolution between the 1850s and 1890s occurred in cities, not company towns. One exception was the cotton industry, which often created new communities such as Valleyfield, Qué, based on British or

American paternalistic principles. Significantly, Valleyfield's cotton workers, many of them women, were among the minority in true factory settings who organized collectively before WWI and used strike and "riot" tactics to advance their claims.

The Canadian company town's development peaked in the post-1890s mining industry. Cape Breton I coal communities, Québec asbestos towns and Ontario gold, silver and nickel towns began as company towns. Often the dominant note of social relations was not paternalism but the hard edge of authoritarianism and naked exploitation. During the 1909-10 strike, members of the United Mine Workers in Cape Breton were thrown out of their homes and locked out of the company stores, where lines of credit formed part of a system of peonage. Clergymen sheltering workers in churches were ordered by the hierarchy to stop. Mine operators in Timmins, Ont, employed "gun thugs" to patrol the town during the 1912-13 gold-mine strike. Only after blood flowed did the provincial government order their removal.

Canadian company towns were generally less violent than their American counterparts, largely because Canadian opinion opposed the use of private armies. But there were exceptions, such as Cape Breton's coal-and-iron police. Once companies lost moral authority, as they almost invariably did, true discipline could be maintained only by force, which politicians often decided not to provide in crises. The Crow's Nest Pass Coal Co at Fernie, BC, for example, failed to evict striking tenants in 1906 because the provincial attorney general heeded local police and maintained a "neutral" stance.

There are examples of attempts to reassert traditional moral authority through "model" community building and social engineering. Coal companies at Brule and Nordegg, Alta, made such attempts during and after WWI. Their position was uniquely favourable, insofar as in NW Alberta companies operated on inalienable crown lands under long-term government leases. The usual challenges to the company town – acquisition of property by individuals, municipal incorporation and incursions by independent merchants – were closed off. But alongside the managers' claims regarding community progress must be placed the long list of residents' petitions and protests. Neither attempt achieved its primary object of avoiding unions and strikes.

Life in the company town could often be fulfilling, but never certain. The fruit of 40 years in Nordegg was destroyed in one day in 1955: Canadian National Railways, increasingly using diesel power, cancelled its Nordegg coal contract, effectively shutting down the mine and consequently the town. It is not the "pluck-me" store or the coal-and-iron police which defines the company town but the basic economic power wielded over the single-industry community by public and private interests that remain unaccountable for decreeing the life or death of the community. Few may remember that Dominion, NS, is a perpetual monument to long-departed DOSCO, or Cadomin, Alta, to Canada & Dominion Mining, but the phrase "company town" still flourishes in the Canadian language. See also RESOURCE TOWN.

ALLEN SEAGER

Reading: R.J. Bowles, *Little Communities and Big Industries* (1982); R. Lucas, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown* (1971).

Comparative Literature is the international or multilingual study of literary history, ie, of broad currents of thought and style and of major schools; of literary genres, forms and modes; of motifs and themes; of the presence of a work of