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SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEW  
ENGLAND AND NEW FRANCE IN  
COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: NOTRE  
DAME DES ANGES---A CASE STUDY

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**Seventeenth century New England and New France in  
comparative perspective: Notre Dame Des Anges: A case study**

La Fleur, Mary Ann, Ph.D.

University of New Hampshire, 1987

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SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NEW ENGLAND AND NEW FRANCE IN  
COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: NOTRE DAME DES ANGES A CASE STUDY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire  
in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
History

September, 1987



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**Mary Ann La Fleur**

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**ANQ**            **Archives Nationale du Québec**

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ABSTRACT

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NEW ENGLAND AND NEW FRANCE IN COMPARATIVE  
PERSPECTIVE: NOTRE DAME DES ANGES A CASE STUDY

Mary Ann La Fleur

University of New Hampshire, September, 1987

This work is a comparison of New England and New France in northeast North America in the seventeenth century. The study of New England relies on secondary works while the study of New France uses primary material. The seigneurie of Notre Dame des Anges, located north of Quebec City, was used as the basis of this study.

The European powers came first to exploit the continent. The resources of the continent in respect to the economic needs of each country, however, shaped and determined the location of each colony. Later in an attempt to strengthen their claims immigrants came with the expectation of creating a New England and a New France. The composition of those who came from both countries was similar. Many who came and stayed were mature adults, often artisans, from the urban centers of Europe. They attempted to reproduce the settlement patterns of Europe. In New England these settlement patterns were transmitted and then modified as necessary. In New France only some of these forms were transferred.

The enclosed farm was a settlement pattern seen in both colonies. The proprietors of New England and the seigneurs of New France were responsible for the settlement of the towns and seigneuries of these respective colonies.

While both cultures attempted to reproduce the European society that they had left behind North America was not Europe. Instead, the North American environment shaped and transformed those fragments of European cultures that crossed the Atlantic.

In North America these immigrants shared a new reality which would mark the transition from a European culture to the creation of a North American culture. The abundance of land, the potential of a dangerous indigenous population, a relative small immigrant population, and a subsequent labor shortage were in direct contrast to the dense, continuous European communities where land was scarce and unemployment was common. This shift in the relationship between the land and the people led to a change in the relationship between people in both New England and New France.

Land speculation was a significant factor in the settlement of both colonies. The land, moreover, fostered a concern for the perpetuation of the lineage in both colonies. Those who persisted in New England/Andover and New France/Notre Dame des Anges were similar in character. They married at about the same age and had about the same number of children.

In both colonies fathers attempted to establish their sons on the land. In New England the first generation had abundant land to pass on to the next generation and it was only in the third and fourth generation that migration occurred. In New France migration took place during the second generation because of the shortage of desirable land. Fathers in both colonies, however, when they could not provide land for their children within the community attempted to still provide for their children by giving them a trade, education, money, or land in another community. Thus, while the cultures that were transmitted to northeast North America varied these cultures were molded by the environment and took on a North American character which had similar qualities in each colony.

## INTRODUCTION

The colonization of North America was a European venture. The Age of Discovery led to competition among the European powers for domination of the continent. Spain, France, England, Sweden, and the Netherlands all attempted to imprint their respective character on the American environment by establishing settlements. The migration of settlers to America was a product of the outward expansion of a domestic mobility pattern in Europe.<sup>1</sup> This work is a comparison of the colonization experience of two of these countries in North America--France and England.

In an attempt to understand the experience of France in America, primary research was completed on the seigneurie of Notre Dame des Anges in New France. Research was completed on New France because there are no community studies on New France which are in the tradition of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. Secondary works on New England, influenced by the Cambridge Group, were used to complete the comparison. Using both primary and secondary sources, the lives of the habitants of New France were examined and compared with the lives of the colonists of New England. The questions asked of this research were: What was the

composition of those first settlers? What institutions and values did they attempt to bring to North America? And, finally, what was the character of each settlement by the end of the seventeenth century? The projected result of this work is a greater understanding of the experience and adaptation of each culture to North America. Implicit in such a work is an attempt to explain the relative success experienced by New England in comparison to New France.

Five countries competed for control of the North American continent but only three, Spain, France, and England, had the power to maintain possession. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, however, left only France and England as viable competitors for domination of North America in the seventeenth century. Moreover, in the sixteenth century, France and England, unlike Spain, had each developed a mercantile class with strong capitalistic interests. This class fostered and supported the rise of two empires which endured into the mid-eighteenth century.

The boundaries of these two empires were as expansive as they were unique in character. New France began in 1608 with the establishment of a permanent settlement at Québec, Canada, and later expanded along the great water routes of North America. Its boundaries formed a crescent stretching from Cape Breton along the St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi Basin to New Orleans,

and then extended to the Antilles in the West Indies. Essentially it was an empire linked by water. This study will focus on the agricultural settlements of New France which stretched for more than 350 miles along both sides of the St. Lawrence centers of population at Québec, Trois Rivières, and Montréal. The other areas claimed by France, except for the West Indian Sugar Islands, were mostly unsettled land relegated to the explorers or voyageurs and fur traders, or coureurs de bois.

England's empire spanned the East Coast from Maine to Georgia and included parts of the West Indies. She formalized her claim to the New World in 1607, by establishing a permanent colony at Jamestown, Virginia. While New France faced inward along the fresh water routes, England's empire, with its backbone molded by the Appalachian Mountains, faced outward to the sea. In the seventeenth century, the English empire in North America centered on two main areas of settlement, one on the shores of the Chesapeake, the other around the Merrimack in Massachusetts. New England for all practical purposes in the seventeenth century was Massachusetts. The selection of New England and New France for comparative study is based on their similar geographic character, that their expansion was centered around fresh water routes, the relative proximity of their respective settlements,

the continual exchange between these two cultures, and the fact that both competed and shared the occupation of the North American continent in the same time--the seventeenth century.

Conflict arose between these two countries for the domination of the North American continent. The conflict resulted in four wars which spanned two continents and lasted for nearly a century, 1680-1760, of intermittent fighting. England prevailed in these wars for North American domination. The French were defeated at Quebec in 1759 and the Treaty of Paris in 1763 ended French control in North America. Later, the defeat of England in the American Revolution led to the creation of a body of literature which began in 1787 with Hector St. John de Crevecoeur and evolved into the community studies of the 1970's which attempted to identify and explain the American experience. This body of literature, national in scope, ignored the existence and impact of other European nations and attempted to describe and interpret only the Anglo-American experience.

Another nationalistic body of work, examined the transfer of English customs to the colonies. Two works, one by Sumner Clinton Powell, *Puritan Village*, and the other by David Grayson Allen, *In English Ways*, contain opposing themes. Powell's asserts that Englishmen attempted to create a 'new' England when they moved to the



New World. Allen in his study of seventeenth century Rowley, Hingham, Newbury, Ipswich, and Watertown, Massachusetts, maintains that English immigrants continued their various local English customs in New England: "Massachusetts was more a new 'England' than a 'new' England."<sup>2</sup> It was only when the towns began to interact with each other and with the General Court that they began to lose their identity and experience change. A recent work by T. H. Breen, Puritans and Adventurers: Change and Persistence in Early America, also rested on the premise that English localism was transferred to the New World.<sup>3</sup> While supporting Allen's position, Breen also stresses the influence of the American environment. All three historical perspectives delineate the American experience as being synonymous with the English experience in what is now the United States, and ignore the rightful application of the term "American" to all the inhabitants of the Americas.

In the 1970's the interest in the North American English experience was reflected in the development of the new social history and in the study of communities and the family. It also paralleled a commitment to quantification and historical demography. English and French historical demographers, utilizing family reconstitution and aggregative analysis, provided the techniques to study

history "from the bottom up." Research followed two thematic and methodological waves. Scholars of the first wave drew their methodology almost exclusively from historical demography and, until the mid-1970's, focused chiefly on New England. Their studies were an interweaving of family and community history.

The research and findings of the early 1970's demonstrated that historical demography is a powerful tool. It remains, however, a methodology with important limitations. Critics have observed that demographic analysis creates an artificially static picture of family size and structure. Since a family's structure was in flux, one cannot rely on a single set of vital records to describe it. It is evident that demographic factors are crucial in shaping the structures of societies. It is also evident that methodological problems arise if such factors are applied to cultural values or to an economic base. The historical demographer can make vital records speak about various statistical limits of the family, but values, beliefs, and personal relationships cannot be entirely reconstructed from data on fertility or mortality.

A second wave came in the mid-1970's. The focus shifted to the southern and middle colonies and a conscious effort was made to incorporate literary sources which the first wave of historians had to some extent

ignored. This second wave of historians was concerned with the inner life of the family, *la vie intime* and *mentalités*. These latter studies stressed parent-child relationships and sex-role patterns. This research, based on demographic patterns and literary sources, resulted in a clearer typology of life in the middle and southern colonies. The results of this research led to comparative statements regarding seventeenth century life in the New England and Chesapeake colonies. Similar figures for the middle colonies are available only for the eighteenth century. These initial demographic comparisons of the seventeenth century Chesapeake and New England colonies will inevitably lead to a broader explanation of differences in these societies.

Philip Greven, Kenneth A. Lockridge and John Demos were the leaders of the first wave. These historians challenged Bernard Bailyn's influential thesis, prevalent in the 1960's, that the New World fostered a spirit of individualism, which created a new man, free from the patriarchal and authoritarian customs of Europe. Andover, Dedham, and Plymouth were depicted as being hierarchical, familial and patriarchal.

Today, the quantitative flaws in these groundbreaking works are obvious. One can criticize their fragmentary data and inadequate sample size. Other problems include

an almost exclusive focus on New England, particularly Massachusetts, and a tendency to make broad generalizations based on a single community. The absence of a common method or time-frame for analyzing demographic patterns, and a wide disparity in the quality and quantity of source materials available for different towns also present difficulties. Yet, despite these flaws, the first wave provided a clear outline of basic trends in population growth, fertility, life expectancy, and family size in colonial New England and overturned misconceptions about the family and community structure.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, while it is valid to criticize the methodology of these earlier works, the fact remains that, after sixteen years, no other methodology has been universally accepted by historians. Also, most of their findings concerning the family have yet to be challenged.

In an effort to avoid these methodological problems, historians moved away from the study of individual communities and concentrated on comparing communities. Yet, like Narcissus pondering his own reflection, these comparative studies still reflected the experience of a single culture or a culture's interpretation of its own experience. In this sense, the English interpretation of the colonial experience remains culture-bound, restrained to a single culture in a particular period of time. This insures that history will never repeat itself and that,

the Anglo-American experience will remain unique. Unless a measure is adopted to test this premise, such conclusions are open to criticism and further speculation. Understanding the experience of other North American cultures can only lead to a better understanding of those factors which are truly unique to the Anglo-American experience. More important, by understanding the similarities in our North American experiences the foundation is laid for cooperative, responsible action with those countries which share the same continent.

While historians have been reluctant to move away from a national interpretation of history, other academic fields have considered the larger picture. Sociologists and anthropologists have long accepted testing hypotheses by comparison. Historical geography and Indian history have also lent themselves to comparative study. Our physical isolation from Europe and our somewhat chauvinistic attitude towards foreign cultures and languages has hindered this approach, both in history and in other fields. This study incorporates some of the concepts employed by historians in the area of family and community studies, and also uses some of the concepts and approaches long employed in other fields, such as cultural anthropology and historical geography. It is also a comparison of some characteristics between cultures

to see how they were shaped by their North American environment.

Although the fields of sociology and anthropology do not offer one specific model for colonial cross-cultural comparison, the principle for such a model has been developed. Cross-cultural comparisons rest on the premise that all human cultures, throughout history and despite their diversity, are constructed according to a single fundamental plan known as the "universal culture pattern."<sup>5</sup> Consequently, all cultures can be compared because they contain a uniform system of classification. Thus, comparisons are made based on classification, and not through a search for identical cultural elements. Sociologists have identified the following as a partial list of constant variables found in all cultures: community organization, courtship, education, family, government, housing, inheritance, kinship groups, language, marriage, and property rights. The variables examined in this work will be those of the family, inheritance, community organization, and property rights.<sup>6</sup> Those variables, in conjunction with historical geography and historical demography, will be used to develop a picture of family life and of the relationship of the family to the land in northeastern North America in the seventeenth century.

Some previous attempts have been made to compare New

England and New France. Francis Parkman was the first historian to consider such a comparative history. His work, France and England in North America, a seven part history published under individual titles between 1865 and 1892 is suggestive of a comparative work, although it is actually an unbalanced presentation of the "history of France in the New World." The scope of Parkman's work and his readable prose, however, do add an important dimension to a field which had been virtually unknown until its publication.

A second work, New France and New England, was published by John Fiske in 1902. Four Chapters examine exploration and settlement and two chapters analyze witchcraft and the Great Awakening. The remaining sections discuss the wars for domination of the continent. Only one page<sup>7</sup> attempts to contrast New France and New England, and this is only in terms of varying settlement objectives and their influence on the population. Although the title of Fisk's work may suggest a comparative work, it is, both in objective and product, a descriptive work which delineates arbitrarily chosen historical events in New France and New England.

In 1913 James Douglas published a short study entitled New England and New France. The objective of Douglas' work was "to...describe the spirit of two groups

of colonists who were contending for the control of North America," and to use "extracts from...documents...to illustrate the points of resemblance and differences..."<sup>8</sup> Thus, Douglas completed the first truly comparative study of New England and New France. His study is interesting in its scope, for it examines such subjects as education and the status of women. His attempts at direct comparisons, however, are few and follow at the end of only some sections. There is moreover, no conclusion to link his interesting and valid observations. Consequently, Douglas's work remains principally descriptive. Like the others, it focuses on the political elite of the time.

Collectively, these works are innovative but descriptive studies which provide the basis for future cross-cultural comparison. The work of these three historians came before such an approach was considered an appropriate area of study. It would be some years later, in 1932, when Herbert E. Bolton, President of the American Historical Association, would call for historians to consider an "Epic of Greater America," to consider the history of the Western Hemisphere beyond national lines. His suggestion, for the most part, went unheeded.

It was not until 1981, with the publication of John G. Reid's Acadia, Maine and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, that a new attempt



was made at a cross-cultural comparison of these two nations. His work looks at France, England, and Scotland in northeastern North America in the seventeenth century, the only attempt to do so since Douglas's. Reid considers the reasons why these colonies failed, and concludes that they were unsuccessful for three reasons: First, the concepts of the promoters did not fit the American reality; second, none of the colonies established a firm political base, thus remaining dependent on European support; and third, none developed a viable local economy. Lack of a solid economic foundation caused European interest to wane and colonists to return to Europe or to migrate elsewhere.

Another shorter work, an article by Ronald Cohen, attempts to consider the attitudes of each colony towards the other. Although it focuses on the d'Aulnay-La Tour controversy, it also discusses relations between New England and New France between 1632-1651. Cohen concluded that, while there were certain economic and political factions which supported contact between the two colonies, relations during the first half of the seventeenth century were marked by the Puritans' general unwillingness to become involved with the northern colony.<sup>9</sup>

Although the term "historical geography" does not necessarily imply a comparative approach, the field does

readily adapt to one. Two such geographical works, Richard Colebrook Harris's The Seigneurial System in Early Canada: A Geographical Study and Douglas R. McManis's, Colonial New England: A Historical Geography, are good sources for understanding North America's geographic impact on its first emigrants. Carl Sauer, in Seventeenth Century North America, however, has come the closest to presenting a cross-cultural approach.

Canadian scholarship on New France followed the same evolution as that in the United States. The works of Gustave Lanctot, W. J. Eccles, and Marcel Trudel depict the French in North America. Interpretations of the early history of Canada represent only a small fraction of the works that exist. John C. Rule's review article on the historiography of New France provides a good treatment of the material up to 1963.<sup>10</sup> Louise Dechêne, in a subsequent article entitled "The Historiography of New France" reviewed works to 1974.<sup>11</sup> Canadian historians have produced one cross-cultural comparison by Deny Delage. This work considers New York in comparison with Canada in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>12</sup>

Cole Harris, a historical geographer, in an 1984 article entitled "European Beginnings in the Northwest Atlantic: A Comparative View," called for a comparison of the European experience in North America. He suggests that both the English and the French may have experienced

a similar process of adaptation to North America.<sup>13</sup>

Harris, as Breen, suggests that the environment influenced the European development of eastern North America.

Yet when seventeenth-century Europeans settled in eastern North America, their context was drastically altered. There was forest where there had been dense, continuous settlement; and beginnings in strange places where there had been continuity in familiar ones. There were unknown, neolithic people, missing European ways...The context of life was different, and perhaps the most basic assertions that can be made about this pervasive change are that the relationships between people and property had changed and following therefrom, the relationships between people as well.<sup>14</sup>

In the 1960's American historians were influenced by two schools of thought which entered the continent from Europe. One was centered on the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure in England; the other, from France, is known as the Annales School after the influential journal Annales. While both crossed the Atlantic the Cambridge School was most influential in the United States and the Annales School in Québec.

The two approaches, however, were never fully synthesized. This may be due to a bond between Quebec and France, and the respect given in French Canada to all areas of French research.

One of the most significant works on New France to come out of the Annales School is Louise Dechêne's work on Montreal, Habitants et Marchands de Montréal au XVII<sup>e</sup>

Siècle. Trained in Paris, Dechéne was the first historian to successfully apply the Annales School's ideas to the study of New France.<sup>15</sup> In addition, Dechéne was the first to use the notarial records, which were virtually untouched until her work. Yet, while this work has the same status in Québec academic circles as Greven, Lockridge, or Demos have in American scholarship, it is virtually unknown by most United States historians.

Perhaps the reason the approach of the Cambridge Group was not adopted by New France historians has to do with the size of New France compared to New England. At the end of the seventeenth century the population of New France was 6,000<sup>16</sup> compared to 90,000-100,000<sup>17</sup> in New England. And by the end of the French Regime the population was only 55,000<sup>18</sup> compared to 500,000<sup>19</sup> in New England. As such, it is possible to study the entire French Regime.

It is in this perspective that that demographic studies have emerged in Québec under Hubert Chabonneau, at the University of Montréal. He is working on a project which when completed will produce a demographic profile of all recorded habitants who emigrated to New France. The research possibilities of this data base are many. The result of this work is that New France historians are beginning to study communities as well as the entire population of New France by incorporating Charbonneau's

data.

While the potential of the documentation of New France is great, one area of difficulty in understanding the French experience in America is the challenge of the language. While most Québec scholars are bilingual in English and French, few Anglo-Americans are fluent in French. The majority of works on New France have been, and are being, done in French by historians in Quebec. The difference in language, the insular character of the province, and the hesitancy of the predominantly English population on both sides of the border, to learn a second language causes the field to remain hidden from the general population beyond the boundaries of Québec. Only a few of the works of these French historians, such as Marcel Trudel, have been translated into English.

The objective of this present work, then, is to provide a community study of New France as well as a comparison of the first permanent white inhabitants of northeastern North America. This wider interpretation of history will result in a greater understanding of the North American experience and a clarification of our experience by comparing it with that of others.

## INTRODUCTION

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Bernard Bailyn, The Peopling of British North America, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> David Grayson Allen, In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> T. H. Breen, Puritans and Adventurers: Change and Persistence in Early America, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Blake Smith, "The Study of the Family in Early America: Trends, Problems and Prospects," William and Mary Quarterly 39 (January 1982):3-28.

<sup>5</sup> George Peter Murdock, "The Common Denominator of Cultures," Culture and Society, (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1965), p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> John Fiske, New France and New England, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1902), p. 104.

<sup>8</sup> James Douglas, New England and New France: Contrasts and Parallels in Colonial History, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913), p. iii.

<sup>9</sup> Ronald Cohen, "New England and New France, 1632-1651: External Relations and Internal Disagreements Among the Puritans" Essex Historical Collection 108 (1972):252-271.

<sup>10</sup> John C. Rule, "The Old Regime in America: A Review of Recent Interpretations of France in America," William and Mary Quarterly 19 (October 1962):515-600. Also see Serge Gagnon, "The Historiography of New France, 1960-1974: Jean Hamelin to Louise Dechene," Revue d'Études Canadiennes 13 (Spring 1978): 80-99.

<sup>11</sup> Louise Dechêne, "The Historiography of New France," Journal of Canadian Studies 13 (1978):80-99.

12 Deny Delage, "Canada et New York, 1608-1750," (M. A. Thesis, University of Montréal, 1970). Also see by the same author, "Le Structure Economic de la Nouvelle France et Nouvelle York," *L'Actualite Economique*, 46 (Spring 1970):67-118.

Canada was chosen in this study as oppose to New France because while New France consisted of Acadia, Newfoundland, Labrador, Louisiana and Canada, 90% of the population of New France was located in Canada.

Delage chose New York and Canada for comparison because of the similarities between the colonies. Both had similar geography, climate, and both were located on a river. New York had the Hudson, Canada the St. Lawrence. The major difference, however, between these two river colonies is that the port of Québec is closed six months per year because of ice while the port of New York is never closed. Both colonies possessed fur trade centers. New York's center was Albany. While Montréal was the center for Québec. Moreover, both societies adopted similar systems for the distribution of land, that is, the seigneurial system. Also both colonies were conquered by the English. New France was taken over by the English in 1759 and New Holland in 1664. And finally, New Holland has been studied extensively, ("mais cependant que le Massachusetts et la Virginie") and there are also several extensive collections of primary documents dealing with this colony.

Delage did not chose to compare Canada with the English colonies because of the inequality in population of the two colonies. The population of New France was 85,000 compared to 1,200,000 in the English colonies in 1760. In Delage's estimation these two colonies had little in common in terms of not only population, but also in agriculture, industry, geography and natural resources. Delage, however, states that New York was not the only American colony which could be compared to Canada. New France as represented by that area bordering the St. Lawrence was considered in this study. New Netherlands was not considered as a basis of comparison with New France because it existed a relatively short period of time before it was conquered by the English and because compared to New England the relationship between New Holland and New France was of less historic consequence than New England to New France because of the similarities. New England, and in particular Massachusetts, was chosen for comparative study with New France/Canada because of the availability of existing research on New England, the long-term interaction of these colonies, their proximity, and similar geography.

13 R. Colebrook Harris, "European Beginnings in the Northwest Atlantic: A Comparative View," in David D. Hall and David Grayson Allen (eds.), Seventeenth-Century New England, (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1984), p. 119-152.

14 Ibid., p. 121.

15 Jean Hamelin in 1960 was the first to attempt to incorporate the Annales School with his Economie et Société en Nouvelle France, however, he did not succeed.

16 William Monro, Documents Relating to the Seigneurial Tenure in Canada, 1598-1854, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908), p. xlii.

17 Bailyn, p. 18.

18 David Hawke, The Colonial Experience, (New York: The Bobbs Merrill Company, Inc., 1966), p. 395.

19 Bailyn, p. 18.



## CHAPTER I

### METHODOLOGY

The objective of this study is a cross-cultural comparison of the land and the family in seventeenth century New England and New France. Essentially it is a study of New France made in the context of the existing scholarship on New England. Consequently, while the data on New England is based on existing community studies, comparable data on Notre Dame Des Anges, a community in New France, was extracted from the primary documents at the Archives Nationales du Québec in Ste. Foy, Québec, Canada. This study was motivated, in part, by the lack of comparative community studies on New France.

Notre Dame des Anges, the geographic unit chosen for comparative study, was a Jesuit seigneurie located north of Québec city.<sup>1</sup> See Figure 1. This choice was made because of the continued existence of Notre Dame des Anges throughout the French Regime and the availability and completeness of the records. These two criteria ensured a representation of family life and land tenancy during the seventeenth century.

The success of Notre Dame des Anges is attributed to its proximity to Québec and to the persistence of the

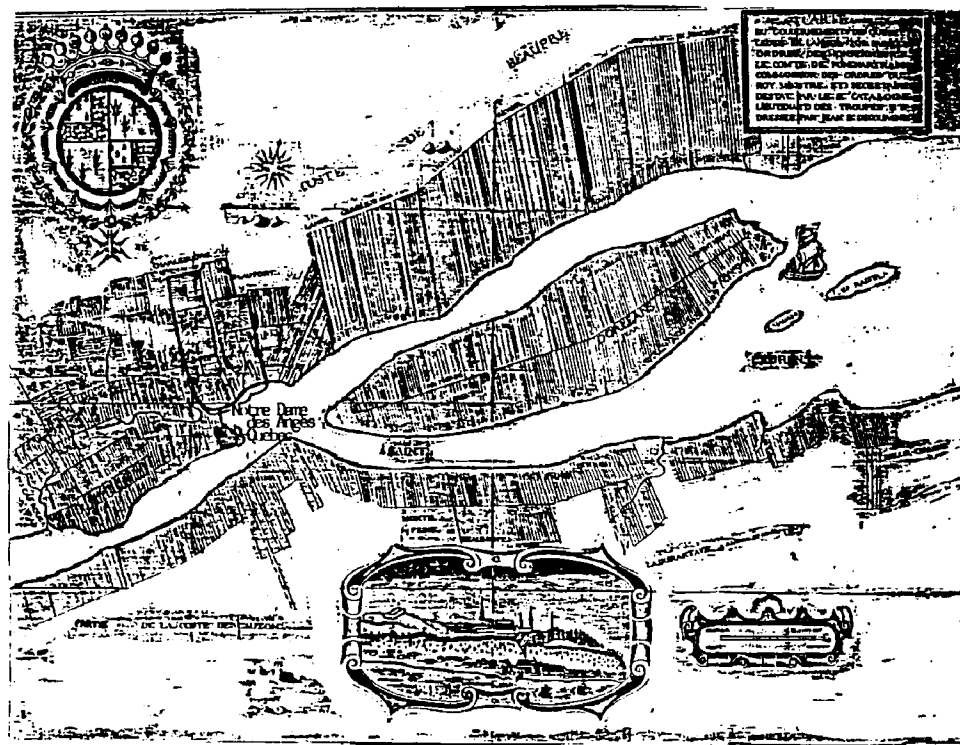


Figure 1. The Seigneurial System of New France in 1709.  
Map is by Catalogue.

Jesuits as seigneurs. In this sense, Notre Dame des Anges represents the exception more than the rule, since most seigneuries were unsuccessful. In this study, success refers to the ability of a seigneurie to continue throughout the French Regime.

This comparative study uses two units of analysis-- the "land" and the family. Land, in the form of the town in New England and the seigneurie in New France are comparable because each is a legally recognized political unit with the power to distribute land. While the land provided the political and economic basis of a community, the family served as the social and economic unit that functioned on the land. Thus, considered together, the land and the family can provide a comprehensive picture of each culture. This study considers the demographic character of the first two generations in Notre Dame des Anges, their relationship to the land and to each other. In this study, members of the first generation were individuals who had reached the age of majority by 1666, heads of independent households or minors who were married. While this is primarily a study of the seventeenth century, the second generation was followed into the eighteenth century in order to compare the completed life cycles of each generation. One family, the Bédard family, was traced throughout the French Regime as

a means of studying the various strategies employed by families who continued on the land in Notre Dame des Anges.

In this work, the demographic data on New England derive primarily from three cardinal works produced in the 1960's. A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony by John Demos;<sup>2</sup> Four Generations: Population, Land, and the Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts by Philip J. Greven, Jr.;<sup>3</sup> and A New England Town: The First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts by Kenneth A. Lockridge.<sup>4</sup> Demos and Greven are most useful because of their focus on family structure and the relationship of the family to the land. These two pieces address these analytical units specifically while Lockridge's work focuses instead on town structure.

The works of Demos, Greven, and Lockridge were groundbreaking studies in the fields of historical demography and social history. Although these works are limited in scope and suffer from the inexperience of a new methodology, their intent and findings have not been replaced.

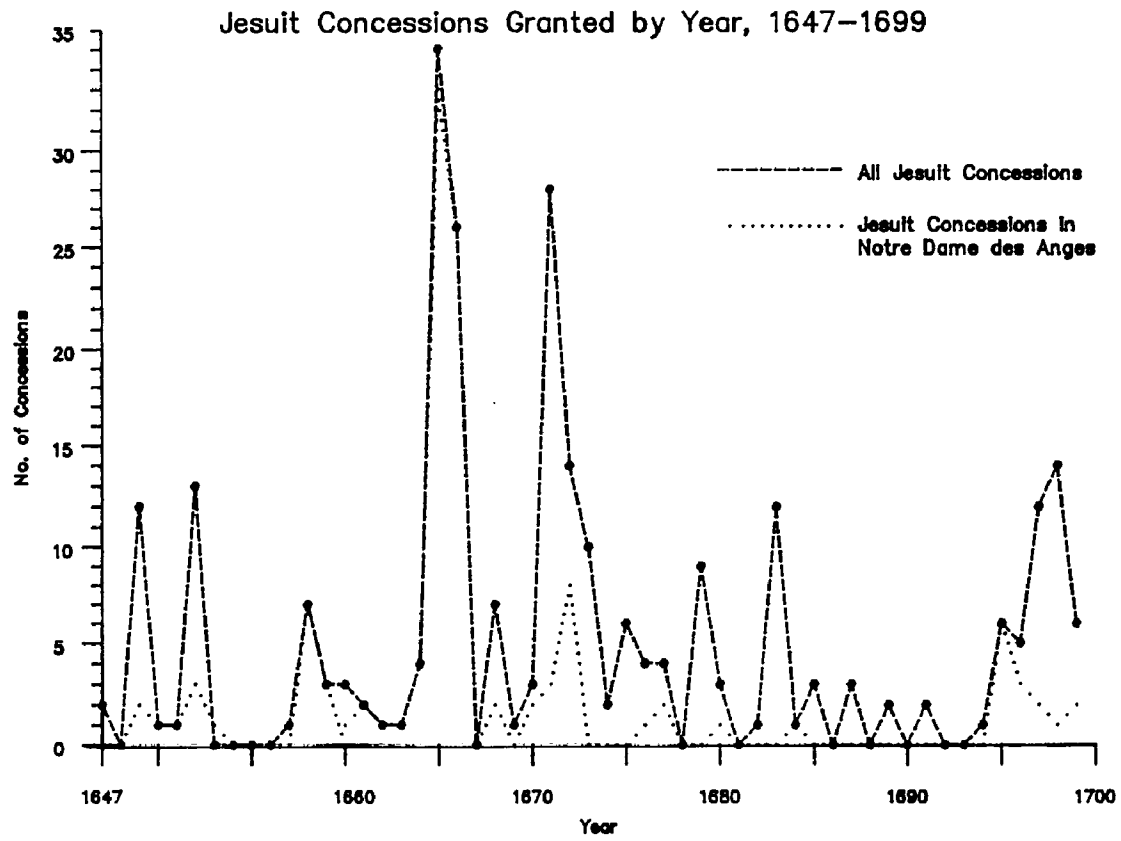
In order to develop a clearer picture of the first generation in New England, this study has incorporated the findings of T. H. Breen in his Puritans and Adventurers: Change and Persistence in Early America.<sup>5</sup> The discussion of settlement patterns in this study relies upon David

Grayson Allen's In English Ways. Allen's work focuses on Massachusetts Bay in the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup>

The purpose of the study of Notre Dames des Anges was to explore the relationship between the family and the land in seventeenth century New France. To that end, a data base was constructed comprising four generations whose habitant-families consistently inhabited the seigneurie from 1666 to the Conquest in 1759. The Recensements of 1666 and 1667, the Papier Terrier of 1754, and the Répertoire of 1757 were used to construct a data base consisting of twenty-four habitant families.<sup>7</sup>

Notre Dame des Anges and the data base were then tested to see if this seigneurie and the population under study were representative of New France in the seventeenth century. Since Jesuits by the end of the French regime were among the largest property owners in all of Canada and Notre Dame des Anges was a Jesuit seigneurie, the test consists first of a review of all 270 concessions, or grants of land, made by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. A positive correlation indicated that what occurred in Notre Dame des Anges was representative of the pattern of development over time in all Jesuit seigneuries in New France. Chart 1 and Table 1 demonstrate the settlement of Jesuit seigneuries in the seventeenth century. Chart 1 shows the number of concessions granted,

Chart 1



by year, by the Jesuits between 1649 to 1699 in all of their seigneuries. The peaks in the graph represent the years in which concessions were granted; and also indicate when settlement took place within the individual seigneuries. Table 1 lists of the seigneuries in which the majority of concessions were granted within a given year. Chart 1 and Table 1 indicate that the Jesuits focused on the development of one seigneurie at a time and that Notre Dame des Anges followed a pattern of development similar to other Jesuit seigneuries in seventeenth century New France.

TABLE 1

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JESUIT SEIGNEURIES IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NEW FRANCE	
NAME OF SEIGNEURIE	YEAR/S OF DEVELOPMENT
CAP DE MADELINE	1649
SILLERY	1652
NOTRE DAME DES ANGES	1658, 1665
LAUZON	1668
ST. GABRIEL	1671, 1675, 1679, 1697-98
SAULT AND MATHELOT	1683

Since the Jesuits were one of the largest land owners in New France during the French Regime, their approach to settlement was significant. The twenty-four original

immigrant families whose descendants remained in Notre Dame des Anges throughout the French Regime were the basis of this study. They are represented by twenty-six household heads. All of the families studied appeared in the records for 1666 and 1667 through 1757 when they were recorded in the Répertoire for that year. The Répertoire of 1757 was chosen because it represents the last record prior to the Conquest of 1759. Excluded from this list are individuals who appear to own a house but not to occupy the property. Such properties are designated in the records as "une habitation a".

For the purposes of understanding land distribution, land tenancy, and inheritance practice, however, all lands which were consistently in the possession of the same families, regardless of actual occupancy, during the French regime have been included. Thus, this study incorporates those lands designated with the term une habitation a", that is those lands owned by those families but not necessarily occupied by them in 1666/1667. There were two families in this category bringing the data base to twenty-six.<sup>8</sup>

One focus of this study is the nature of the demographic and cultural patterns in the seventeenth century which allowed these families to occupy land in Notre Dames des Anges to the Conquest of 1759. This is of



particular interest to historians of New France, since it is now thought that perhaps as many as two-thirds of the original habitants of New France eventually migrated elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> In Notre Dame des Anges nearly 81%<sup>10</sup> of those first families who inhabited the land are not recorded in the Repertoire of 1757. Data was collected into the eighteenth century allowing us to establish the continuity of families on the land and to record the consequences of this continuity.

The reconstruction of families in Notre Dame des Anges was the product of a combination of several primary and genealogical resources. Of particular significance were the censuses of the seventeenth century. The Recensements (censuses) of 1666 and 1667 were ordered by Jean Talon in the spring and autumn of those years. Both contain the name, age, marital status, occupation, and residence of each habitant in Notre Dames des Anges. In 1667 two other categories were added: the number of animals and the number of arpents, or French acres,<sup>11</sup> under cultivation. The census was completed in sequential years because it was believed the first census, taken in 1666, was inaccurate.<sup>12</sup>

The Recensement of 1681 is the last census for the seventeenth century and provides insight into the occupational structure of Notre Dame des Anges. As in the preceding censuses, it contains the age, marital status,

profession and residence of each individual. This census is significant because it occurred shortly after the most important phase of immigration to New France and at a time when the population consisted of nearly 10,000 people.<sup>13</sup>

The Papier Terrier of 1754 and the Aveu et Dénombrements of 1678 and 1733 were used to trace land occupation and development. The Papier Terrier of 1754, produced by the Jesuits, traced the ownership of a piece of land from the owner of 1754 back to the date of the original concession in Notre Dame des Anges. The Aveu et Dénombrement is a list of all concessions in a seigneurie. The owners of each concession were listed, and a description of all buildings, cleared land, and livestock was given. The amount of cens and rente on each property was also recorded. This document was most helpful in tracing not only the ownership, but also the development of the land. The Aveu et Dénombrement was required by the seigneur if the seigneurie changed hands or if the intendant requested it. A combination of these documents provides a reasonably accurate picture of land-holding in Notre Dame des Anges.

Two genealogical reference works were very useful in this work. The first, by Cyprien Tanguay, is entitled Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes. His work is a pioneer effort in family reconstitution. It was

compiled from parish registers and traces families into the nineteenth century. Tanguay, a Jesuit, spent most of his life in this endeavor. Its thoroughness and relative completeness speak of his dedication and persistence in an age prior to the computer. There are errors in the work, but Tanguay's painstaking compilation makes his Dictionnaire a reasonably accurate research tool.

The Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Familles du Québec 1621-1730, published in 1983 by Rene Jetté, is a more recent genealogical work. Jetté expanded on the sources used by Tanguay. In addition to parish registers he incorporated many other documents and manuscripts.<sup>14</sup> His work included another genealogical work, written by Archange Godbout and entitled, "Nos Ancêtres au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle." Godbout's work includes those families from Abancourt through Brassard. Jetté, unlike Tanguay, used a computer as well as the research skills of Hubert Charbonneau and Jacques Légaré at the Programme de Recherches en démographie historique de l'Université de Montréal.

The works of Tanguay and Jetté represent attempts to reconstruct the original ten to sixteen thousand families which settled in Québec in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Jetté's work is limited to the period prior to 1730.<sup>15</sup>

Another work used in this research was a computerized

demographic study of New France, being conducted under Hubert Charbonneau, at the Centre de calcul de l'Université de Montréal. The objective of Charbonneau's study is the demographic reconstruction of Québec families up to 1850. While this project is still in progress, the University of Montréal agreed to publish the complete repertory of information gathered from parish registers and other sources. The result is a twenty-six volume work entitled, Répertoire des Actes de Baptême, Mariage, Sépulture et des Recensements du Québec Ancien. The work is unfinished, covering only up to 1749. The seventeenth century, however, is complete and comprises the first seven volumes of the study.<sup>16</sup>

Volumes one through three were valuable sources for the study of Notre Dame des Anges. Volumes one and two deal with Québec, Ile d'Orléans, and the Côte de Beaupré. Volume three focused on the area around Québec and consequently Notre Dame des Anges, the subject of this research.<sup>17</sup> The methods employed in this research have been published by the Archives Nationales du Québec under the title, Du Manuscrit à l'Ordinateur: Dépouillement des Registres Paroissiaux aux Fins de l'Exploitation Automatique.

In addition to the work mentioned above, Charbonneau has, on several occasions filled requests for certain data

bases. This service, however, is not readily available to the public. Requests may or may not be filled, and there appear to be delays of up to several months. In consideration of the above works, family reconstruction in this study was generally done using the existing works of Tanguay and Jette in conjunction with data collected from the notarial records with reference being made to these secondary sources for varification and collaboration.

Perhaps the most significant documents used in this study were the notarial records of the French regime for the seventeenth century. These records, of which there are about twenty different types, are a collection of various types of documents covering the life cycle of the habitants of New France. These documents were a product of the Coutume de Paris, or Custom of Paris, the codified law of Paris which was transfered to New France. Essentially, these laws pertaining to civil code were the basis for preserving the land of nobles. They also insured that the land of the habitants would be dispersed through the equal division of both real and personal property amongst the heirs, regardless of their sex. Most of the notorial documents concern the division of property prior to the parent's death, so that they could maintain control of the estate. Division of property was not necessarily immediate but could occur in the future.

There are few wills (testaments) in New France.

Where wills do exist, they were usually the means to give money to a parish or parishes, an institution such as the Hôtel Dieu, a hospital in Québec City, or to provide for masses and candles in one's own memory. As such, the Custom of Paris served as a catalyst for prolific record keeping. One notary alone had a collection of approximately four thousand documents. Partly since notaries were paid by the word, documents were a minimum of three pages in length. Set formats meant that notaries often pre-wrote certain types of documents, simply leaving certain spaces empty. In these instances, documents sometimes eliminated some information. These documents depend on the clarity of handwriting for their effectiveness as sources. The preceding documents, in conjunction with the notarial records of the French Regime, were used to reconstruct the families of Notre Dame des Anges and the land they possessed.

From the above material four files were created. The first file consisted of biographical information on all habitants of Notre Dame des Anges in 1666 and 1667.<sup>18</sup>

The second file was extracted from the first file and consisted of those habitants who appeared in the records of both 1666 and 1667 as occupying land in Notre Dame des Anges to compare them to the overall population of the area and to establish the vital statistics for this data

base. An attempt was made to determine if those families who remained in Notre Dame des Anges during the French Regime were different than those who left.<sup>19</sup>

A third file consists of information on the children of the first settlers to determine their vital statistics in comparison with those of their parents. In addition an attempt was made to determine who remained in Notre Dame des Anges, who left and where they went.

A fourth file was created of those families who owned land in Notre Dame des Anges in 1666 and 1667 but did not necessarily occupy the land. These families were designated by the phrase "une habitation de" in the census or Recensements for 1666 and 1667.<sup>20</sup>

The notarial records, in addition to supplying the material for family reconstitution and land tenancy, also provide insight into the social and economic fabric of New France. Two themes are evident in these documents: the bureaucratic control over the daily lives of the habitants and the importance of kinship.

Following the recording of material onto 5 by 8 cards, data was then extracted from these notes for statistical analysis. Data was then analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

## CHAPTER I

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> In 1663 there were approximately 43 seigneuries in New France with other minor seigneuries located on the outskirts of Québec and Trois Rivières. By the end of the seventeenth century this number was at least 131, and by the end of the French regime there were approximately 250 seigneuries in New France.

<sup>2</sup> The study of Plymouth by John Demos is based on three kinds of source materials: physical artifacts, documents and the official records of the Colony. He also includes certain literary materials, namely, The Works of John Robinson and William Bradford's Of Plymouth Plantation. He uses a topical rather than a chronological approach, and divides the study into three sections. The first section attempts to establish the physical setting within the colony, the second discusses the household and the relationship of family members to one another; and the third examines themes in the family life cycle. Demos uses both an impressionistic approach and demographic analysis to interpret seventeenth century Plymouth.

<sup>3</sup> Philip Greven's study of Andover is based on the original manuscripts of the vital records between 1651 and 1799. In conjunction with genealogies these records were used to reconstruct the demographic history of the community as a whole. These sources were then used in aggregate analysis. In addition to studying the community, Greven studied the relationship of men to the land. In this section of his research he used the town records, probate records and deeds to determine patterns of inheritance and property transmission.

<sup>4</sup> Kenneth Lockridge's work on Dedham focuses on the evolution of the town and incorporates certain demographic data on this seventeenth century community. His analysis is based on church, town, and county records, and includes the vital records as well. Lockridge uses demography, mobility analyses, and a statistical analysis of wealth distribution to produce an image of Dedham.

<sup>5</sup> His chapter, "Moving to the New World: The Character of Early Massachusetts Immigration" has been



Character of Early Massachusetts Immigration<sup>6</sup> has been especially useful. Breen used passenger lists, town records, and probate records for his sources.

<sup>6</sup> His work is based on research drawn from county court, probate, parish, town records and genealogical records of five Massachusetts towns, as well as the appropriate British county records.

<sup>7</sup> The data base families in this study are as follows: Bédard/Bédart; Bélanger; Boesmé/Boisme/Baumier/Bohemier; Boissel; Chalifou/Chalifour; Chrétien; Courtois; Dubois; Guilbeau/Guilbaut/Guibaut/Guilbos; Huppé/Hupé/Huppé dit Langroix/Langrois; Lefebvre; Maillou/Mailloux/Maillou-Des-Moulins/DesMoulins; Normand/LeNormand; Pageot/Pageau; Paradise; Parent; Parquet/Pacquet/Pasquet/Pasquier; Pivin/Pivain/Pivain dit Recompense; Regnault, Renaut, Trefflé dit Rotot/Trefflé/Rotot; Roy/LeRoy; Villeneuve, Vivier.

<sup>8</sup> The two other families are Blondeau and Rheume/Reaume.

<sup>9</sup> Marcel Trudel, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, (Montreal: Les Editions Fides, 1983) vol. 3: La Seigneurie des Cent-Associés, 1627-1634, pp. 71-73.

<sup>10</sup> This figure is based on the total number of family names present in 1666/1667 and not on the total number of households heads. Included in this figure is indentured servants over the age of twenty-one.

<sup>11</sup> In recording data from the primary documents, certain measurements and values have been adapted and given English equivalents here for purposes of comparison. Land was measured in square arpents, with one arpent being equal to 5/6 of an acre. An arpent was also equal to 192 feet, while 84 arpents equalled one league. A league is equal to three miles. Agricultural products were measured by minot, which was equalled to 1.05 bushels. See Appendix A for conversion table.

<sup>12</sup> In general, enumeration areas were often vague. Underreporting, moreover, was a consistent problem and several inconsistencies are evident. One inconsistency can be found for children aged one and below. In 1666 one hundred children under age one were recorded, yet there were 178 births recorded in the preceeding year. In the census of 1667, 119 children under one year old are listed, when 206 births were registered in that same year. In another instance men aged 15 to 24 are less numerous in

1667 than in 1666.<sup>8</sup> A letter by Talon, moreover, indicates there were just over one hundred new male immigrants in 1667, adding to the suspicion that these figures are not accurate.

13 Analysis of the Recensement of 1681 was completed by Hubert Charbonneau, Yolande Laroie and Jacques Légaré. "Recensement nominatif du Canada en 1681," Histoire Sociale: Revue Canadienne 7 (1971):77-97.

14 These included the Recensements of 1666, 1667, 1681, the censuses for the Ile Percee in 1686 and 1688, the censuses of Mont-Louis in 1699 and 1700, and the census for Québec taken in 1716. Also included were the dates of marriage contracts, with the notary witnessing the act, the location where the marriage contract was made; lists from the register of the Hotel-Dieu de Quebec which has been preserved since 1689; and data collected from periodicals and general works concerning the clergy.

15 While Jetté's work is valuable, there remain several problems with this work. First, it is compiled in a poorly constructed volume which is too fragile to sustain use as a reference work. Second, although the work is a computerized compilation of data, there appear to have been inadequate training and/or supervision in the collection of data. Whatever the reason, data was sometimes collected inaccurately. In reviewing microfilm of the Recensement of 1667 according to village, it was evident that geographic divisions had sometimes been overlooked. The result is that individuals are sometimes reported in the wrong place. This makes any study of mobility suspect without the collaboration of primary documents.

16 Included in these seven volumes are 250,000 names, and 32,000 acts of baptism, marriage, and burial, as recorded in the fifty-one parishes and missions of the seventeenth century. Volumes one to five cover the parish registers. Volume six contains miscellaneous documents dealing with the seventeenth century. These documents included in volume six are: the Recensements for 1666, 1667, 1681, and 1699, the Actes tirés du Journal des Jésuites, Abjurations, Annulations de Mariage, Confirmations, marriage contracts, lists of migrants (including the soldiers of the Carignan forces), lists of indentured servants from St. Nazaire, and La Rochelle, the passenger lists from the Taureau and St. André, hospital admissions lists from the Hôpital Général de Montréal and the register of the Hôtel-Dieu de Quebec. Volume seven is the index to the first six volumes.

17 The last two volumes, numbers four and five concentrate on Trois Rivières and Montréal respectively. These volumes contain an invaluable amount of primary sources. Several problems, however, arise in its use. The size of the print and the format, while suitable for the computer tapes from which they were extracted, make this reference work difficult to use. Also, while the index is complete, no attempt has been made to correlate different lists into one citation in this multi-volume work. The result is that one individual may be referred to in several different volumes. Moreover, since these tapes were based on the ones used by Jetté, the same problem exists, regarding errors in the collection of data. In addition, while Charbonneau relies on parish registers and censuses, he does not incorporate information recorded in the notarial records. So, while this study is the most extensive work completed in the field to date, it contains errors and remains difficult to use. This, however, is to be expected in this relatively new stage of demographic research on New France.

18 The following variables were identified and coded: name, identification number, gender, generation, country of origin, region of origin, department or seigneurie of origin, province of origin, diocese of origin, parish of origin, city, town, village, description of area in city, class, status, occupation, religion, date of birth, place of birth, date of arrival to New France, marital status upon arrival, number of locations prior to first settlement in seigneurie, number of marriages upon arrival, number of children upon arrival, date of arrival to Notre Dame des Anges, number of locations after leaving Notre Dame des Anges, date of death, age of death, place of death, spouse's name, identification number, generation, country of origin, region of origin, department or seigneurie of origin, province of origin, diocese of origin, parish of origin, city of origin, city, town, village of origin, number of previous marriages, date of marriage, age at marriage of husband, age at marriage of wife, country of marriage, parish of marriage, number of children from previous marriages, date of termination of marriage, length of marriage, date of death, age at death, place of death.

19 Same as above.

20 This file consists of the individual's name, identification number, gender, religion, first record of connection with property, date of record, age, size of

connection with property, date of record, age, size of property, occupation, amount of cens and rente, location (seigneurie), how aquired, cost, date. Subsequent and concurrent acquisitions were recorded in the same manner.

## CHAPTER II

### THE NORTH AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT

England and France both laid claim to portions of northeast North America during the fifteenth century. Initial interest in the continent was purely commercial with first the fisheries and then the fur trade shaping development and subsequent settlement. Competition for resources and markets, nationalism, and a developing economic interdependency between Europe and the New World led England and France to establish distinct territorial identities in North America.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Fisheries

Following discovery, the primary interest in the continent focused on the development of fisheries in the northeast Atlantic. The development of these northeast Atlantic fisheries in the sixteenth century coincided with a rise in Europe's population and in the price of agricultural products, creating a demand for an alternate source of protein.<sup>2</sup> The fishing grounds of the Northeast comprise an area extending from Newfoundland to George's Bank off Cape Cod. These fisheries are a product of the Ice Age which created the continental shelf, the off-shore islands, and the irregular coastline. The continual rich deposits of sediments from rivers along the continental shelf, the shallow depths of the ocean, and the merging of

the cold Labrador current with the Gulf Stream, create an environment in which plankton and fish, in particular cod, flourish.

European interest in the northeast Atlantic fisheries developed when the traditional source of fish and trade from Iceland was threatened by Bergen monopolists, who attempted to exclude foreigners from direct trade. Encouraged by the rumor of rich fishing grounds in the northeast Atlantic, Bristol merchants sent West County fishermen on an expedition into the Atlantic. The expedition located Newfoundland and the Grand Banks where they established a fishing station. The West County fishermen kept the location secret in order to enjoy a monopoly.<sup>3</sup> Thus, when John Cabot in his 1497 voyage to Newfoundland reported "that the sea is covered with fish...which are caught not merely with nets but with baskets..."<sup>4</sup> he was merely exposing a well-kept West Country fishermen's secret. By 1534, the demand for fish had created fisheries extending along the entire Atlantic coastline, from southeastern Labrador to southern Nova Scotia.

While discovery was a state endeavor, the fisheries were a product of private enterprise. England led the way in the discovery of new lands, but the wealth of the fisheries was reaped by the merchants and investors of the continent. Fishing fleets from Europe left between January and April in order to arrive in time for the

summer fishing, and returned home in August arriving within seventeen days to four weeks from departure. Generations of families, within communities, made their living in this manner. The fisheries were dominated by England, France, Portugal and Spain, but the decline of Spanish and Portuguese fleets left France and England as the chief contenders. During the first half of the sixteenth century, however, France dominated the trade, which led Marc Lescarbot, a lawyer and adventurer of the day, to comment that, "from Le Havre de Grâce, Honfleur and elsewhere...[they] make voyages into these countries in search of codfish, wherewith they feed nearly all Europe, and supply all sea-going ships."<sup>5</sup> Richard Hakluyt in The Principal Navigations urged the English to follow the French lead and develop fisheries in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The success of the French in the development of fisheries lay in their readily available supply of salt. The availability of salt determined the type and success of the trade. In the sixteenth century the main producers of salt were France, Spain, and Portugal. England was a major importer. Moreover, French fishing vessels were close to the main production centers of salt, which gave them an advantage over their rivals. Another factor encouraging the development of the fisheries was the French preference for green cod, a factor which led them

to pursue large scale green curing.<sup>6</sup>

Initially, wet or green fisheries predominated. Specifically, wet fisheries processed cod on board the vessel by using large amounts of salt. Fishermen rarely left shipboard. The fish, once gutted, were stored below deck between layers of "Bay" salt. "Bay" salt was produced by solar evaporation. While the method was simple and inexpensive, the process retained impurities which harmed the curing process of the cod. The consequence was spoiled fish if the vessel did not return quickly to port. Wet fisheries were located in the deep water banks where large cod were available in huge quantities. The Grand Banks, in particular, were popular for wet fisheries because of the size of the cod, which could run as large as 200 pounds, and because they were the closest New World fisheries to the ports of Honfleur, St. Malo and Le Havre.<sup>7</sup> Those fishing the banks had no choice about which method to follow; large cod could only be processed green. Moreover, the fishing months on the banks, April to July, were usually the fog months, and since the banks were far from land, it was not economically feasible to try to dry the catch on shore.

The development of a more effective method of curing fish around 1550 led to the growth of dry fisheries. Although both wet and dry fisheries required salt, dry curing required one third less salt. It required a greater number of men, since the curing method was more



complex. Also, the process was effective only with smaller cod, between 5 and 10 pounds, which could be found closer to the shoreline. The fish were caught from small boats off shore and taken to land, where they were dressed, salted, and slowly dried in the air on flakes to reduce the moisture content. The fish were then packed in the ship's hold.<sup>8</sup> While dry fishing entailed more time and labor, it brought a better price. Cod processed in this manner kept for years and could be transported to warm climates, such as the West Indies, without spoiling. Moreover, unlike the wet fisheries, the dry fisheries brought Europeans in contact with the shore and the Indian population, eventually leading to the development of the fur trade.

England, lacking a supply of cheap salt, turned to dry fisheries; the method required no more salt than she could produce or secure from Portugal and Spain and produced suitable fish for the export market. Supporting this shift was the poor English fish market and the decline of the Spanish fisheries, making Spain a viable nearby market. England had difficulty competing with France for the wet fisheries. Between 1520 and 1530, some sixty to ninety ships from Dieppe and Rouen set sail for Newfoundland, but few English vessels are recorded for the same destination.<sup>9</sup>

With the development of dry fisheries, however,

England came to control the east coast of the Newfoundland fisheries during the second half of the sixteenth century. Since dry fisheries could cure only smaller cod, English fisheries focused their attention on Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula where the cod were smaller. The English soon replaced the Portuguese on the peninsula and came to dominate it.<sup>10</sup>

As the fisheries developed, so did the competition for securing suitable locations. Freedom of the seas, a tradition dating back to Rome and Greece, made the fisheries particularly the dry fisheries, a competitive business. The fishermen of England and France followed a similar process in dry curing and therefore had similar needs which led to competition for the same resources. The law of the sea, dating back to Rome, had included the shoreline and had given fishermen equal rights to fish from the shore and worked on a first-come first-serve basis.<sup>11</sup>

The British government instituted a policy in Newfoundland to handle the competition, and it probably extended to New England. In Newfoundland the Admiralty system prevailed. Under it, the first ship to arrive for the season received first choice of location and jurisdiction over all residents of the area. Fishermen actively worked to disrupt or destroy the fishing stations of other fishermen, regardless of national allegiance. It is small wonder that the dry fisheries turned to

permanent, year-round fishing stations in an effort to protect their interests.<sup>12</sup>

English investors, in order to compete in the marketplace, developed a two-pronged strategy involving the establishment of permanent fisheries, or fishing settlements, and the opening up of new fisheries. The investors encouraged fishermen to establish stations on the east coast of Newfoundland, and seasonal fishing sites were soon replaced with permanent settlements. Settlement would extend the fishing season and provide a market resulting in increased profits, while protecting and establishing England's claim to the fisheries.

Previously, good relations with the natives, a by-product of trade, had served as a guarantee that flakes and housing would not be destroyed when Europeans went home following a summer of fishing. The period of prosperity in the English Newfoundland fishery, 1600 to 1625, coincided with the development of permanent settlements, and permanent fishing stations were also first attempted in New England at this time. The French, although they were able to establish some permanent fishing settlement in Gaspé, were unsuccessful in developing permanent sites mainly because of the extreme cold of the mainland and the subsequent lack of interest by fishermen to remain year round.

The French followed the English into the development

of dry fisheries. They were influenced by the expansion of the Mediterranean market toward the end of the sixteenth century, competition with England, and the increased risk of green cod spoilage experienced by the new, more distant southern ports of St. Jean de Luz, Bayonne, and La Rochelle. Since only certain areas were suitable for the development of the dry fisheries, and the English were firmly established in the best places, the French established their fisheries on the mainland. They developed dry fisheries on the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, especially on the southwestern shore, and along the Atlantic coast from Gaspé to Maine. Along the St. Lawrence River the fishermen had the advantage of sunny summers, plenty of wood, sandy beaches and large provisions of plant and animal food, while the narrow straits at Quebec and steep cliffs created a natural fortress.

The French had an advantage in the establishment of their fisheries since they had a large domestic market for green fish. Consequently, when French fishermen sought sites for the dry fish, they did so in the knowledge that should conditions be poor for drying they could always find a market for fish put down green. Fish, moreover, was in strong demand in Catholic Europe for fast days. In an attempt to establish legitimate claims to their fisheries, the ships returned season after season to the same landing places and camps. When the English, however, also attempted to establish themselves on the mainland

they were brought into conflict with the French.

The use of dry curing by both England and France led to competition and eventual violence for possession of the shore. Subsequent skirmishes and the capture of Acadia, made it obvious to the French that the location of a colony along the coastline and near New England opened them up to English attacks and limited the potential development of a colony and its prospects for trade. Thus, the French changed their focus from the coast to the Gulf of the St. Lawrence and the St. Lawrence Valley. The southern strait remained open from spring to the end of the fishing season which gave them access to excellent fishing grounds and fur trading areas.

The English, attempting to locate new fisheries, went southward and westward of Newfoundland, testing for new fishing banks with sounding lead and fishing line. They found that the Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Maine is sheltered from Arctic waters and open from May through fall, thus providing good cod fishing and convenient stations on land for curing the catch. The report of Bartholomew Gosnold on his 1602 voyage to New England encouraged the expansion of the English fisheries when he reported sighting a large number of codfish. As a result of Gosnold's reports, Bristol merchants provided Martin Pring with two vessels to explore the cod resources. Pring wrote that "Heere wee found an excellent fishing for

cod which are better than those of New-found-land and withall we saw good and rockie ground fit to drie them upon; also salt may bee made in these parts, a matter of no small importance."<sup>13</sup> Beginning with Gosnold's voyage the promotional literature of the day discussed the New England fisheries. The fishing potential of New England was compared with that of Newfoundland, and the bounty from New England was determined to be greater, both in number and quality. Britons claimed that cod in New England waters were as numerous those off Newfoundland, and could be taken in shallower, less dangerous water.<sup>14</sup>

In New England, by 1630, it was also recognized that the best fishing was in winter and not in summer, and that the climate was well suited to drying. Moreover, while the fishing in Newfoundland did not begin until May, New England fishing began in February, allowing for an earlier return to market while providing two fishing seasons.<sup>15</sup> The fur trade also gave added impetus to developing New England's fisheries. It was not until the second decade of the seventeenth century, however, that the English developed the New England fisheries<sup>16</sup> which served as the forerunner for permanent English settlement in the Northeast. See Figure 2 for Fishing Areas of the Northwest Atlantic.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the position of fishing stations along northeast North America corresponded to the position of their home ports in the

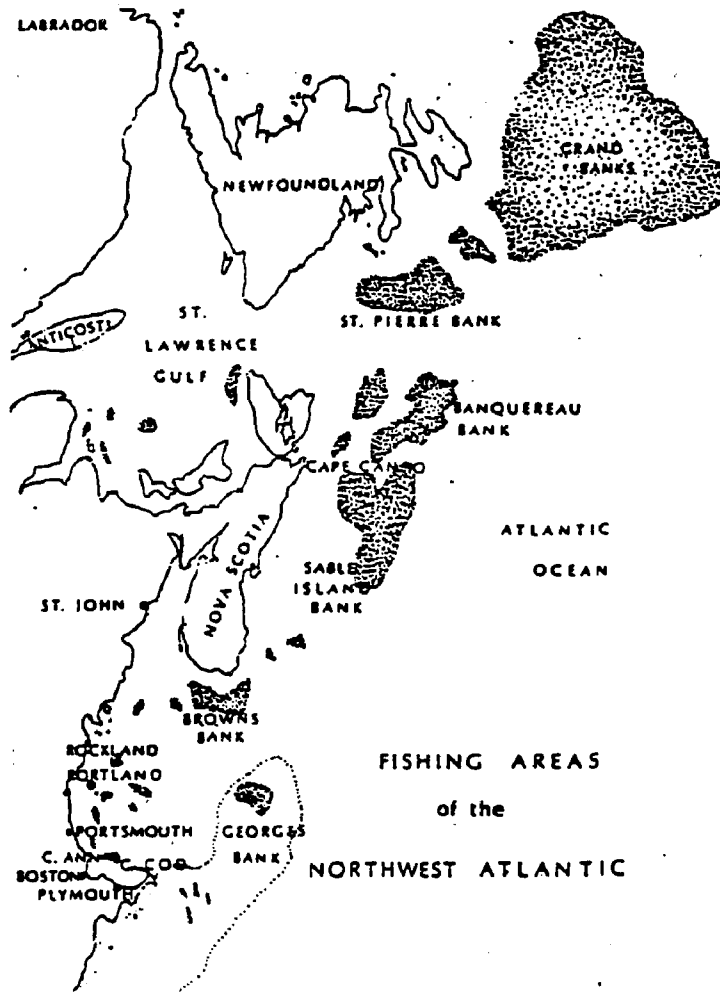


Figure 2. Fishing Areas of the Northwest Atlantic. Source: Harrington, "Sea Tenure in Seventeenth Century New England."

old world. The English fishing ports lay close together in the West Country, and lay in a similar fashion along the coast of Newfoundland to New England. The French ports, which were scattered along the French coast, were scattered in the same manner in the New World, from Maine to the Straits of Belle Isle.

The French, for several reasons, never expanded beyond Maine into New England. Further expansion was limited by several factors: the adaptability of the French to either the wet or dry fisheries; their existing dry fisheries along the Canadian mainland; the potential of conflict with the English; the significant agrarian-based native population; the knowledge of the little potential of the New England fur trade; and the full development of the more profitable fur trade in the second half of the sixteenth century. By the turn of the century, when England was expanding into New England, France had made a conscious decision to develop an economy based on the more lucrative fur trade. This decision led her to concentrate on the area around the Gulf of the St. Lawrence and the interior of the St. Lawrence Valley. England, on the other hand, developed those areas south of the Saco River in New England.

With the development of dry fisheries, territorial domains became established. By the end of the sixteenth century and continuing on into the seventeenth century,



the English and French had begun to define their territorial limits on the basis of their respective fisheries. These boundaries helped to influence the location of European settlements in the Northeast. English and French territorial identification was reinforced later by geography, the fur trade, relations with the Indians, the continuance of the fisheries, and eventually settlement.

#### The Fur Trade

If the fisheries helped to define the territorial boundaries of New England and New France, then the fur trade helped to reinforce those boundaries prior to settlement. The expansion of the fisheries into the northeast Atlantic in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, marked the beginning of the European fur trade in North America. Initial contact between Europeans and the Indians took the form of river mouth trading. The Indians appear to have had experience in the fur trade, as early as 1534, when Jacques Cartier visited Canada, and was met in Chaleur Bay by 50 Indian canoes wanting to trade furs. The Indians "sent on shore part of their people with some of their furs;...They bartered all...to such an extent that they all went back naked..."<sup>17</sup>

Europeans were intrigued by the lavish furs worn by the Indians. Fur, nearly a depleted resource in Europe, was considered a sign of wealth and social status.

Initially, trade with the Indians was considered a sideline to the fisheries, and the coast was the first fur-trading frontier of New England. The fur trade evolved as French and English ships developed a pattern of returning each season to the same landing places and camps. The Indians began to trap during the winter in anticipation of the return of the fishermen in the spring. Pelts from an array of animals were exchanged for knives, axes, pots, brandy, cloth, and inexpensive trinkets.<sup>18</sup>

During the sixteenth century, the support of the French crown led to France's domination of the fur trade in the northeast Atlantic. In addition, the French began to specialize in beaver in response to the growing European demand for its fur. This early dominance of the fur trade was due, in part, to England's lack of interest in developing the trade in North America. The English obtained furs from Russia in exchange for English goods. Moreover, the English may have been unaware of the wealth of fur in the area, since when Hakluyt wrote about the rich resources of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence he failed to mention the fur trade.

The development of the French fur trade in North America was encouraged by the adoption of a policy by Henry IV to place the trade at the cornerstone of a new French empire. This empire was to be centered along the St. Lawrence. The French realized that the profit potential of the fur trade was greater than that of the

high risk, high investment fisheries. The fur trade required a small investment, no special skills, and a minimal labor force, and thus it soon replaced the fisheries as the economic basis of New France. Henry IV's policy called for the expansion of the coastal fur trade into the interior through settlements along the St. Lawrence. In an attempt to subsidize the development of colonies, a monopoly on the fur trade was granted to Pierre Chauvin, a Huguenot and experienced Canadian fur trader. Chauvin's monopoly was to last for twelve years, with the stipulation that fifty colonists must be transported yearly until there were 500 colonists in the colony. The crown issued an order forbidding all other vessels from trading along the St. Lawrence. The settlement of the interior and the issuing of a royal decree were attempts to curtail some of the competition at Tadoussac which the Indians used to their advantage. They were also attempts to establish French dominance of the area.

In New France all trade centered at a point where the Saguenay River enters the St. Lawrence. The site had been an established trading center since prehistoric times for both inland and coastal tribes. Called "Tadoussac", it also became the center for the fur trade.<sup>19</sup> Other seaboard points developed at Miscou and at the mouth of the St. John River.<sup>20</sup> The French northern home ports of the dry cod

fisheries, Normandy, Saint-Malo and La Rochelle, became entrepôts of furs that found their largest market in Paris. Trade, moreover, ensured friendly relations with the natives, thus protecting the use of the shoreline so necessary for the fisheries. Trade at Tadoussac depended on the Indians, as middlemen, to hunt and prepare the furs.

Québec, under the direction of Samuel de Champlain, was founded in 1608 as a base for the fur trade. Primarily, the settlement at Québec established the French on one of the four Atlantic entries into North America, while providing a natural gateway to the fur trade. The decision to focus on the St. Lawrence was based on several factors. The location of Québec among cliffs at the narrowest point along the St. Lawrence made it an ideal natural fortress, and offered an area where competition could be controlled. Trade at Québec followed the pattern established at Tadoussac, that is, the Indians acted as middlemen. The establishment of a settlement at Québec and others later at Trois Rivières and Montréal shifted the trade to the interior.<sup>21</sup>

Supporting the decision to concentrate on this area were the observations made by Samuel de Champlain regarding the potential of the fur trade on the northeast coast of the continent. With the assistance of the Indians, Champlain was able to ascertain the length of rivers and the size of drainage basins along the northeast

coast. He determined that in northern New England the rivers did not extend far into the interior of the continent, indicating limits to the development of the fur trade. It appears that Champlain reached a similar conclusion from his discussions with the Indians regarding the area along the Merrimack River and around Massachusetts Bay. Native guides were standard attachments to French exploring parties, "in the hopes of exploring and learning more particularly by their aid what the character of this country was."<sup>22</sup>

The French observed a significant difference between the Indians north and south of Saco Bay. South of Saco Bay the Indian population increased, and an agrarian-based society was evident. These Indians were more hostile to the French than the semi-nomadic hunter-fishermen north of the bay. A skirmish near Monomy Point, on Cape Cod's southern coast, did little damage to either side, but it served to demonstrate the unsuitability of the southern coast for the French. Evident also in the south was a decline in the number of fur bearing animals in proportion to agrarian development. And while Canada was notably colder than France, Québec was in the same latitude as La Rochelle, causing contemporaries to assume that once the forest was cut back France's temperate climate would prevail. Actually, the reverse was true, since the ground cover acted as insulation against extreme temperatures.

All of these factors, in particular the relatively significant native population of the south, made the French withdraw from New England and focus on the St. Lawrence. The French were also concerned with the English. When they had attempted to settle in Maine they were driven out.<sup>23</sup>

By the end of the sixteenth century the English also looked to the St. Lawrence, but for different reasons. Edward Hayes, who accompanied Sir Humphrey Gilbert on his last voyage to Newfoundland, argued that the St. Lawrence Valley could be built up on profits from the fur trade to provide a base for a river connection with the Pacific. Yet it was not until the early seventeenth century, after the decline of the Russian fur trade along the St. Lawrence led the English to look seriously at the continent and the St. Lawrence in terms of this fur trade.

Thus, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century the French met increasing competition from traders sent by English merchants. Moreover, merchants solicited support from the English government to push the French out of the fur trade and to enhance English control of the Atlantic. To that end, the English crown granted letters of marque and reprisal to harass French commercial interests. The English then attacked and captured the fur outposts at Québec and Acadia in 1629, and claimed New France by right of conquest. An undeclared war followed for three years and subsequent skirmishes all resulted in defeat for the

French, with the exception of the Plymouth on the Penobscot.

During the three years that the English controlled Québec they enjoyed a virtual monopoly over the fur trade on the St. Lawrence. The turmoil caused by the taking of Québec resulted in the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye which was signed in March of 1632. While the treaty returned New France, Canada and Acadia, to France, perhaps more significantly it granted legal recognition to Québec and Acadia as French possessions. The English would not regain this area until 1759. The English dominated the coastal fur trade by 1630 when the French finally resumed control of the fur trade along the St. Lawrence. While the treaty determined occupation, it did not end the conflict. The tension between the English and the French resulted in the creation of the United Colonies of New England in 1643; New England regarded the French as a serious menace to the safety of the colonies.

With the return of Québec, the French embarked on a strategy to ensure their continuance in North America and in the fur trade. First, New France was to become a self-supporting colony. In an effort to defray the expenses of the endeavor, New France was placed under the control of the Hundred Associates, who were given a monopoly on the fur trade in return for bringing in settlers. The French next attempted to make the Indians their allies, that is,

to make them Frenchmen. This policy was consistent with their early attempts at colonizing Canada, a policy based on their failure in Florida in the mid-sixteenth century. La douceur, as the policy was known, stressed cooperation with the indigenous population, but included the presence of a strong leadership along with military and naval forces.<sup>24</sup>

The crown also solicited the aid of the Jesuits in its plan to colonize Canada. The Jesuits' role was to convert the Indians. The relationship between the French and the Indians was based on economics and practicality: The French needed furs and the skills to acquire them, while the Indians became dependent on French goods. The move inland, beyond the St. Lawrence Valley, was due to the depletion of pelts. After the Iroquois League defeated the Hurons in 1649, the fur trade was disrupted for almost twenty years. There emerged following the defeat of the Hurons, independent French traders, known as coureurs de bois who went into the interior. These men changed the pattern of the fur trade established at Tadoussac, as they took their trade goods to the Indians, lived with them, and returned in the spring with a cargo of furs. Even the early fur companies such as the Company of the Hundred Associates, operated along these lines. Specific trade routes did not emerge until later. The coureurs de bois, the fur trade, and the Jesuits formed a link between the two cultures. The French, through their



liason with the Indians, came to dominate the trade, while the English, through their domination of the seas successfully limited the French fur trade to that area.

At the turn of the century, the English began to develop the fur trade in New England. Initially, the crown granted monopolies to English investors, which led to the establishment of the Plymouth Company, and the founding, in 1607, of a trading post at Sagadahoc on the Kennebec River. It was believed that the Indians would bring furs to trade. They did not, and the venture failed. It failed because the French had already established trading relations with the Indians, and because the French simply offered the Indians more in exchange for their pelts.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps consistent, ongoing contact with the land and the Indians on the part of the English would have enabled their initial attempts at the fur trade to succeed.

Subsequently, the English adopted a policy of settlement in New England in an attempt to defray expenses. Self-sufficient settlers could fish, trap, and process other raw materials while providing a market. The early settlements at Plymouth, Salem, Boston, Maine, and New Hampshire were products of this economic premise.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the fur trading frontier in New England advanced irregularly from the coast, up the rivers, and into the interior. To the

dismay of the English, however, the rivers in New England ran north and south, and as such, did not lead westward through the mountains to new supplies of beaver. Also, progress was blocked by the Appalachian Mountains. Unlike the French, the English did not rely on the Indians but rather on their own experiences in evaluating New England's potential for the fur trade. Thus, they did not realize the limitations inherent in the land. So while the English were aware that the pelts of those animals in the north were thicker than those of the south, they believed that the many waterways would lead to the interior and result in a bounty in beaver. Attempting to find new sources of pelts, the English tried to expand but came into conflict with the Dutch and the French. In Maine the Indians were beginning to fall under the influence of French missionaries and posed a new threat. The double obstacle of natural barriers and keen competition halted the advance of the fur trading frontier at the western bounds of Massachusetts and Connecticut.<sup>26</sup>

The geographic constraints of the trade in New England and the diminishing supply of beavers caused by settlement limited the term of the beaver trade, and by 1645 the trade had declined.<sup>27</sup> With the decline of the beaver supply, the fur trade could not maintain its position of prime importance in the economy of New England. The New England fur trade flourished, for approximately twenty-five years, and served along with the

fisheries to sustain the early Massachusetts Bay towns. Paralleling the decline of the fur trade, however, was the rise of the West Indies trade, which helped to ease the decline as venture capital was channeled into this new area. New France, because of distance, did not fully develop the West Indian trade. Exports of fish and lumber to the West Indies soon overshadowed shipments of fur.<sup>28</sup>

In New France the fur trade was first successful and was followed by settlement; in New England settlement preceded success in the fur trade. The French reliance on the Indians and Indian knowledge may have been responsible for the early French success in the fur trade; the English failure to seek out the assistance of the Indians may, in part, have limited their success.

Québec, Trois Rivières and Montréal were established as fur trading centers in New France. Settlement followed gradually but was limited by geographic considerations to the St. Lawrence Valley. The expansion of the fur trade, as well as the policy of *la douceur*, led to an increased knowledge of the interior but did not lead to settlement beyond isolated fur posts.

In New France nodes of settlement, such as Québec, were created by the fur trade. In New England, while the fur trade enjoyed a rather brief period, no nodes of

settlement were created, although a few individual settlements did emerge. The fur trade played a part in the founding of Concord in 1635, the first interior town in the Bay Colony. Lancaster and Chelmsford, founded in 1645 and 1652 respectively, were started as posts to insure a flow of pelts to Boston. By mid-century, Sudbury, Groton, and Cambridge each had a small but active fur trade. Perhaps more significantly, the fur trade played an important role in the expansion of settlement throughout New England. Traders went into the wilderness, including the Connecticut Valley, looking for new sources of pelts well in advance of settlement. They explored and returned with information about the land and topography beyond the English settlements. By bringing the forests and Indians under control, their efforts prepared for the movement of permanent settlers.<sup>29</sup>

#### The Indians

The Indians of northeast North America were divided into two major cultural divisions separated at the Saco River. Their pattern of occupation in these two areas influenced the territorial identification of the English and the French. The French identified with the land north of the river and the English with the land to the south. The natives north of this line were semi-nomadic hunters and fishermen. Adapting to the poor soil and cold climate which limited agrarian development, they fished along the

coast during the summer and in the winter migrated inland to hunt.

South of the Saco River, as the climate became more temperate and as soil conditions improved, the Indians were more numerous, spoke with a different dialect, practiced agriculture, and showed little interest in trapping and hunting. In 1607 Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, who had been given a fur trade monopoly in 1603, came into conflict with the southern natives at Monomy Point on Cape Cod. While little harm was done to either side, it served to demonstrate the unsuitability of the southern coast for the French. These observations were significant to the French, who had decided to make New France self-supporting and to base her economy on the fur trade. Any assessment of a site pivoted on its prospects for the development of the fur trade. This trade demanded a cooperative native population skilled in hunting and trapping, and the south did not fit these requirements. Thus, the character of settlement south of the Saco River led the French to abandon New England to the English at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and to concentrate on the area north of the river.

The English lack of initial success in establishing the fur trade in North America, their focus on the dry fisheries, and their reluctance to rely on the judgement of the Indians led them to adopt a colonial policy aimed at developing a multi-resource, self-sufficient colony.

The French, on the other hand, concentrated on a single resource, self-sufficient colony. Although the apparent fertility of the land near the Banks attracted the English, that attraction was counter-balanced by the harsh climate and the summer fishing season. New England offered a land suitable for agriculture, as witnessed by the success of Indian fields, as well as a two-season fishery and a fur trade. The difference in the objectives of the two countries, based on their observations and initial experiences, forged two very different colonies in North America.

The French, in their initial decision to make the fur trade the economic basis of their colony, created an economy which was in initial harmony with the Indian way of life. The natives had always hunted and processed animal hides in the winter, but now their efforts supported the economy of New France. The French fur trade capitalized on a pre-existing element of native culture which made the natives central to the fur trade. As such, it was in the interest of the French to preserve at least those parts of the Indians' traditional way of life which were in harmony with the trade, that is, their semi-nomadic hunting economy. This dependency on the Indians was a crucial element of the economy. But, the fur trade, the economic basis of New France, did not come into conflict with the basic values of the natives. Central to

the Indian way of life was the concept of land tenure. Land use was territorial and open to change; no permanent land ownership was recongnized.

Initial French efforts at settlement consisted only of a trading post at Quebec. The French never did occupy the area they claimed, with the exception of the area between Québec and Montréal. And while voyageurs and coureurs de bois ventured into the interior to pursue the fur trade, by the end of the century, the Crown had ordered them out, reaffirming the French policy of restricting settlement to the east.<sup>30</sup> Thus, no conflict would arise over land use or ownership which could have resulted in pushing the natives into the interior and eventual confrontation, as it did in New England. While the Iroquois had formed agricultural communities along the St. Lawrence at the time of Cartier's visit, the white man's diseases had weakened them by the settlement of Québec in 1608, and they had been replaced by the Algonquins.

The Jesuits, however, attempted to end the nomadic life of the Indians and concentrate them in a settlement at Sillery. The Indians became farmers.

In the case of the English, the presence of agriculture as practiced by the Indians affected the nature of interaction between the two groups. The English, with their partial dependence on agriculture and

their European concept of land tenure, created an economy which was in direct competition with the native population in New England. The English definition of land tenure recognized only land under cultivation as legitimate Indian property: "landes any of the Indians, within this jurisdiction, have by possession or improvement, by subdueing of the same, they have just right thereunto, accordinge to that Gen:I:28, chap:9:1, Psa:115, 16." New England Indians did not recognize permanent possession of the land. Land belonged to a family until they no longer used it, whereupon it could be inhabited by any other family. The agrarian-based economy of the Indians in the south, the development of a similar economy by the English, and the respective land tenure policies of these two cultures resulted in conflict. The amount of land needed by growing numbers of English was another factor which added to the tension. In an English colonial farming community, a town of approximately 50 families, or 250-300 people, required between 1,700 and 2,400 acres of land. The conflict in values resulted in the gradual migration of the Indians into the interior and eventually erupted into open conflict between the English and the Indians.<sup>31</sup>

The French, because of their military and economic dependence on the Indians, solicited the freindship of the natives and in particular, the Algonquins, who appeared to



be related in customs, language, and friendship to other tribes in the north. The French also tried to maintain the friendship of the Indians through the smoking of the calumet and allying themselves militarily with the various nations. To show respect, and to encourage alliance between their two cultures, the French observed the expected courtesies of the various nations: gifts were exchanged, and they participated in the feasts and rituals of the natives. The alliance with the natives, the Algonquins in particular, enabled the French to travel from the Gulf of the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi Valley with ease.<sup>32</sup>

In New France, the relationship between the French and the Indians was further enhanced with the capture of Québec by the English in 1629, and its return in 1632. The French attempted to make the Indians their allies as a part of their policy of la douceur. The Jesuits had been allowed into Canada so that they could put order in the colony and secure it for the French. The Jesuits' analysis of conditions in the colony during its formative years, helped to shape the attitude of the French towards the Indians. The Jesuits, because of their privileged position as members of the Roman Catholic Church, wielded a great deal of power in New France.

Paul Le Jeune was chosen as Superior of the Jesuits in New France from 1632 to 1639.<sup>33</sup> He devised a four-

pronged strategy for converting the Indians. This strategy involved learning the Indian languages and customs, establishing boarding schools, building a hospital, and encouraging a sedentary mode of life.<sup>34</sup> The strategy hinged on conversion and intermarriage. In an attempt to have the Indian children learn French customs a boarding school for both sexes was started at Notre Dame des Anges. As Le Jeune wrote, "he who knew their language will be all powerful...[and] could manage them [Indians] as he please. Therefore I will apply myself."<sup>35</sup>

The language initially developed between the French and the Indians was a pidgin<sup>36</sup> which was neither French nor Indian. After learning the language, Le Jeune believed:

The means of assisting them...is to build seminaries and to take their children, who are very bright and amiable. The fathers will be taught through their children...As to the children of this section, they must be sent up there [for schooling]. The reason is, that the Savages prevent their instruction; they will not tolerate the chastisement of their children,...they permit only a simple reprimand. Moreover, they think they are doing you some great favor in giving you their children to instruct, to feed, and to dress. Besides, they will ask a great many things in return, and will be very importunate in threatening to withdraw their children...<sup>37</sup>

Altogether, these efforts were not entirely successful. They did, however, help to develop a working, stable relationship with the Indians and to guarantee the continuation of the fur trade. The policy of *la douceur* allowed for flexibility in the relationship between the

French and the Indians. The Indians did not become Frenchmen, that is intermarry or place their children in the boarding school at Notre Dame des Anges, despite the encouragement of the Jesuits. In truth, besides converting a few Indians to Roman Catholicism, the French had little influence over them. Thus, while the French had anticipated an alliance based on their ability to make the Indians Frenchmen, the alliance was actually forged because the French were resigned to accept the Indians and to adopt their ways when necessary.

European culture influenced and dramatically changed the Indians' way of life.<sup>38</sup> The initial introduction of white people into northeast North America had devastating effects on the indigenous population. Measles, typhus, dysentery, smallpox, and syphilis all took their toll on the population. In New England these diseases resulted in a mortality rate of up to 90% for some groups, and caused the total number of Indians to fall from more than 70,000 to less than 12,000. New Hampshire and Vermont were particularly affected, as the western Abenaki declined from 10,000 to less than 500. The literature dealing with this phenomenon, in particular with the causes of mortality, suggests that smallpox did not cause of the 1616 and 1622 epidemics, but rather fulminant hepatic failure.<sup>39</sup>

Whatever the cause, the effect of this disease was

depopulation, territorial abandonment, and changes in the native society without which the settlement of New England would not have been as successful. When the English came to settle, the native population was greatly reduced, and those who remained were greatly weakened by disease. It was only in the second half of the seventeenth century, after the native population had recovered and increased in significant proportions, that conflict erupted between the two cultures. By this time the New England colonies were already entrenched.

French settlement also had a devastating effect on the Indian population. In 1535 when Jacques Cartier explored the St. Lawrence Valley he found it to be inhabited by the Iroquois. During Cartier's stay near the Iroquois village at Québec, Stadocona, an epidemic of measles or smallpox greatly weakened and reduced the numbers of Iroquois, resulting in their abandonment of the St. Lawrence for upper New York State. The Iroquois in the St. Lawrence area had lived in villages and practiced agriculture. Their continued presence could have resulted in conflict with the French. The Iroquois withdrawal from the St. Lawrence Valley thus facilitated later French agrarian settlement and prevented direct conflict between the two groups.

In 1635 a measles epidemic, and in 1659 a smallpox epidemic, broke out in Huronia. The latter epidemic was a

consequence of the nuns' care of the "victims of an outbreak of smallpox supposed to have originated among the English in Virginia."<sup>40</sup> The Huron population, estimated by Father Jean de Brebeuf prior to the epidemics, was thought to be between twenty and thirty thousand, and was reduced to ten thousand. Also contributing to the mortality were tribal feuds which the French, as well as the English, encouraged as a means of forging alliances. The English and the French used the feuds as a means of weakening the position of each nation in North America. The French used the Abanakis in the Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers as a buffer between New France and New England. They also encouraged the Indians to attack English settlement in an effort to prevent attacks from the south. Both the French and the English forged an alliances with the natives--the French with the Algonquins; and the English with the Iroquois.

Moreover, the fur trade encouraged a dependency on the part of the Indians for French goods, so they modified their traditional hunting pattern by increasing their activities and hunting year-round. The market for fur reduced the number of otter, marten, fisher, mink, and black and silver fox close to the St. Lawrence, and the natives were forced to extend their hunting sphere further into the interior.<sup>41</sup> When Paris fashion introduced top hats made of felted beaver fur, beaver became the basis of

the fur trade. By 1678, however, beaver along the St. Lawrence had long been extinct.

The relationship between the Indian and the white settler in North America rested on a varying perception of the concept of free will. While both the French and the English originally viewed the Indian as the "Noble Savage," that idea was modified by their respective world views. Seventeenth century New England was essentially Puritan New England. In the eyes of the Puritan, the world consisted of those individuals who were saved and those who were not. If someone worked hard and succeeded in life this was evidence of God's favor and of salvation. Outward behavior and appearance were indicative of a state of grace. Deviance in behavior and thought were not tolerated. Essentially, the Puritans created a world of "we" and "they". The Indians, because they were not Puritans, remained a part of the "they" world. As such, while an initial motivating factor for colonizing had been to make Christians of the Indians, little effort was actually made to convert them.

The world view of Roman Catholicism rests on the premise that everyone has the potential for being saved. There is no separation of the world into "we" and "they," but only a world of "we" or potential "we". All people can be saved by their baptism, and the state of grace can be renewed through confession. Thus, salvation was

insured to anyone who desired it. Success for the Roman Catholic was measured by the ability of a person to live a good life. A person's suffering or economic trials were a test of faith and not a reflection of the state of soul. In fact, they may be the means through which one redeems one's soul and achieves salvation. Thus the Indians, despite their cultural uniqueness, was acceptable to the French as an ally because they were also potential Catholics and capable of being saved.<sup>44</sup> This French acceptance of the Indians led the French to seek their counsel and learn their customs and language. The fur trade cemented the relationship between the two cultures.

#### **The Land**

The dry fisheries, the fur trade, and the character of native settlement all contributed to the territorial identification and bonding of France and England in northeast North America. However, geography and climate also defined the development and character of settlement for these two nations in what was to become New England and New France.

The area claimed and colonized by New France was the oldest area of the North American continent, that is, the Canadian Shield and the areas nearby. Created some 140 million years ago, the Shield is comprised of 80% granite gneiss, while the remainder is volcanic and sedimentary

rock which has been downfolded into the granite. The Shield extends over one-half of the Canadian mainland and overflows into the United States. During the Pleistocene period the Laurentide ice sheet passed over the Shield, taking with it most of the soil and making the land rocky and sterile. As the ice sheet melted, it created some major bodies of water and determined the course of rivers. The Great Lakes, Hudson's Bay, the headwaters of the Mississippi River, and the Ohio and Missouri rivers were created in this fashion. The ice sheet was responsible for the character of the Shield as a low, flat, glaciated peneplain with innumerable lakes, forests, and rocky mountains.

As the glacial retreat continued, the fault line followed by the St. Lawrence River was exposed, leaving Lake Ontario free to drain eastward beyond Montreal; but because ice still filled the basin immediately below the city of Quebec, the high level of water in Lake Ontario forced the lake to drain southward into the Mississippi Basin. When the ice had melted sufficiently in the St. Lawrence, a new drainage path was created for the Great Lakes, allowing the waters of Lake Ontario to flow into the Atlantic.<sup>43</sup>

This new path, aided by its relative steepness and the tilting effect of the Shield, started a domino effect. One Great Lake overflowed into the next in an eastward



direction, reducing the flow to the Mississippi drainage basin and allowing the lakes to assume their present leaf outline. Eventually no connection remained between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi basin, and the St. Lawrence became the main outlet for the Great Lakes system. As a result of the creation of these bodies of water, and others on and near the Shield, Canada has half of the world's fresh water. This water system is characterized by its navigability, its extensive drainage system, and the relative closeness of these bodies of water to one another. The existence of this closely connected and extensive waterway system made it possible for a portable craft to be transported easily through a trade route, allowing the French access to the interior and the expansion of the fur trade. Moreover, the colder climate of the Shield resulted in thicker pelts.

While the Shield was conducive to the fur trade, it was unsuited for agriculture. The granite rock and poor soil, combined with the varied climate of the Shield, made it of little value for farming. The coldest temperature recorded in North America was recorded in the northern part of the Shield at -81F.

Located east and southeast of the Canadian Shield are the St. Lawrence Lowlands, consisting of a narrow valley through which flows the St. Lawrence River. In the Pleistocene era the lowlands and thus the soils of the St.

Lawrence Valley, were formed. When the waters of the St. Lawrence receded fertile deposits were left behind. Thus, the soils of the St. Lawrence Valley were formed of the clays, sands, and shoreline gravel of the Champlain Sea, forming a fertile base for agricultural settlement.<sup>44</sup> Consequently, while the Shield was suitable for the fur trade, the valley through which the St. Lawrence had provided a natural corridor was suitable, though a bit rocky, for agriculture and settlement. Settlement, however, was done only on a limited basis. The St. Lawrence Valley at its widest point at Montréal, is 120 miles wide; at its narrowest point at Québec, it is only 20 miles wide; while its length from Québec to Montréal is only about 200 miles.

Bordering the St. Lawrence Valley to the east is the Appalachian Mountain System. While the valley is fertile, it is located along with part of the Canadian Shield, the Atlantic Provinces, and New England in the Humid Continental region. In the interior, the climate is characterized by a short summer and cold winters. Winters in Canada are more severe than in France. The January mean temperature in Québec and Montréal, 10° F, is 25 degrees lower than in Paris. Snowfall is more than eight feet per year, with snow remaining on the ground from mid-December to Mid-April. Temperature fluctuation is as much as 70°, creating extreme climatic conditions which affect

the length of the growing season and the severity and length of the winter.<sup>45</sup> The severity of the climate placed certain limitations on agriculture. The soil, too, placed another important limitation on production. The soils near Québec City are slightly acidic, deficient in some nutrients, heavy in texture, and poorly drained. The best soils are near Montréal. As such, corn became marginal near Québec and wheat, which matured near Montréal, was often frost damaged in other areas. Below Québec, pasture tended to replace grains. French pear, peach, and walnut trees did not survive anywhere in Canada, but other plants were successfully transferred from western France. Consequently, the habitants found it necessary to modify their pattern of agriculture, while these conditions made it difficult, and sometimes impossible, for the colony to support itself in the seventeenth century.

By establishing agricultural settlements on the St Lawrence, the habitants were able to use the river as a means of transportation for human cargo and goods. Meanwhile, the location of Québec at the entrance to New France provided protection for the colony from threats by sea. The narrowing of the river at Québec, and the presence of a steep escarpment of sedimentary rock on the north side of the river near the shore, created a strategic site for the military defense of the colony.

And while the St. Lawrence was frozen for more than three months, guaranteeing protection of the colony during this period, it also ensured that the colony could be cut off from France for approximately six months out of each year.

While the settlements of New France were bounded in the northwest and west by the Canadian Shield, these settlements also faced the Appalachian Mountain System. The Appalachian Mountains stretch 3000 km down the eastern North American continent from Newfoundland to Alabama, serving as a 200-mile natural boundary between interior New France and coastal New England. The position of New France between the Canadian Shield and the Appalachian Mountains limited agricultural expansion to the St. Lawrence Valley, while preventing the south and southeastern expansion of the French into New England.

In New England, settlement began along the coast and rivers. Upon seeing the plant growth along the shore, settlers believed it to be fertile and suitable for agriculture. The first settlers of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, upon viewing strawberries growing on the shore, called their settlement "Strawbery Banke." However, these settlers soon acknowledged the limited prospect of agricultural development when they changed the name to Portsmouth. "...the land wee live upon...soe badd its incredible to believe except those who have seen it."<sup>46</sup>

Glaciation in New England had produced a rugged

topography covered with crystalline rocks. The lack of calcareous rock, that is, soil-producing rock, resulted in thin, patchy tills interspersed with the harder glacial boulders. Moreover, glaciation deposited one of the major drumlin belts of the United States in Massachusetts and southeastern New Hampshire; 3000 drumlinoid features marked this belt. While the soil was arable, the boulders made the fields difficult to cultivate, and the drumlins made cultivation nearly impossible. The stones left by the glacier were used by the settlers to create the stone fences which characterized the area.

In the west stands the backbone of New England, the Appalachian Mountains. From the sea the land rises gradually inland into a plateau-like upland, and is surmounted at numerous places by the Appalachian Mountains. The principal mountain ranges are the Oree, Taconic, and White Mountains. Other notable ranges are the Hoosac Mountains and Berkshire Hills in western Massachusetts, Mount Monadnock in New Hampshire, and Mount Katahdin in Maine. In New England, the Appalachians prevented the English from expanding west in the seventeenth century. This allowed the French Canadians to be the first to explore the great interior valley, by means of the Great Lakes and the headwaters of the Mississippi River.<sup>47</sup>

Interspersed between the ranges and hills of the

Appalachian range are lakes and rivers. The coastline and rivers served as a roadway, bypassing the forest, to connect the various English settlements in the seventeenth century, much as the St. Lawrence and its tributaries did in New France.

New England, like New France, is a part of the Humid Continental Region. The effects of these same climatic conditions, however, are greatly modified along the seaboard by the effects of the ocean. Portland, Maine, has an annual range of temperature of 46° F, compared to 70° F in the interior along the St. Lawrence.<sup>48</sup> Winters, while harsh, are not as severe as those in New France. And, although New England is somewhat colder than England, the length of the growing season, the range of soil types, and the amount of annual rainfall are similar. Crops familiar to Englishmen could be successfully grown, and experienced farmers prospered in New England. The movement to Massachusetts Bay did not require a major readjustment in the patterns of cultivation, and Englishmen did not experience a great cultural disorientation. Although few men became wealthy before 1650, famine was unknown beyond the initial starving period. New England, unlike seventeenth century New France, was self-sufficient.

The decision on the part of the English to develop a multi-resource economy solidified communities. Before

the Puritan migration into Massachusetts, the limitations and bounties of New England were fairly well-known. While New France was protected by the twenty-mile narrowing at Québec, the spaciousness of New England insured that other countries would not view her as a tempting target. Consequently, New England was allowed to develop internally without placing time and man-power demands on defense and fortification.

The expansion of Europe into North America was first to exploit the bounty of the ocean along the coast. Only after dry fishing developed, and the fur trade emerged did Europeans become interested in the land. Where the Europeans settled was largely determined by economic policy and their interpretation of the land. The decision of the French to make the fur trade the basis of their economy led them to settle along the St. Lawrence while the decision to diversify their economy led the English to the New England coast. The Canadian Shield and the Appalachian Mountains served to define the boundaries of each colony. See Figure 3 for a map of New England and New France.





## CHAPTER II

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> John and Sebastien Cabot visited the western coast of Newfoundland and claimed the northern coast of North America for England. In 1524 Giovanni da Verrazano, sailing for Francis I of France, sailed from New York to Maine. Jacques Cartier, in 1534, sailed past Labrador and up the St. Lawrence. Gaspard de Coligny, a Huguenot, persuaded the French to build a refugee colony of French Huguenots in the New World on the coast of Brazil. The colony was initiated in 1558. Jean Rilaut, a Huguenot captain, built a garrison at Port Royal, S.C., in 1562. In 1564, the French attempted another settlement on the St. Johns River in Florida. Brazil, 1555; Port Royal, S. C., 1562; St. Johns, Florida, 1564; all three efforts failed.

<sup>2</sup> David Macmillian, Canadian Business History. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972), p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> James A. Williamson, The Voyages of the Cabots and the Discovery of North America, (New York: Plenum Publishing Corporation, 1970), p. 169.

<sup>5</sup> Macmillian, p. 12. See also W. L. Grant and H. P. Biggar, eds. The History of New France. 3 vols. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1907-14) 2:22.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-13.

<sup>7</sup> Carl O. Sauer, Seventeenth Century North America. (Berkeley: Turtle Island, 1980), p. 73.

<sup>8</sup> Harold Innis, The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954), p 4.

<sup>9</sup> Macmillian, pp. 12-13.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 22-23.

<sup>11</sup> Faith Harrington, "Sea Tenure in Seventeenth

Century New England: Native Americans and Englishmen in the Sphere of Marine Resources, 1600-1630," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Berkely, 1985) p. 36. This excellent dissertation was the basis of much of the work in the section of this chapter on the fisheries.

12 Ibid., pp. 85-88.

13 Henry S. Burrage, Early English and French Voyages, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), p. 345.

14 Douglas M. McManis Colonial New England: A Historical Geography (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975). pp. 12-13.

15 Ibid., p. 103.

16 Ibid., p. 66 See also Innis, p. 4.

17 Harold Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977) p. 10.

18 W. J. Eccles, The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), p. 18.

19 Olive Patricia Dickason, The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas, (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984) p. 236.

20 Ibid., p. 243.

21 Innis, pp. 21-22.

22 McManis, p. 17.

23 Ibid., pp. 17-19.

24 Dickason, p. 202.

25 Francis X. Moloney, The Fur Trade in New England, 1620-1676, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 18. See Also Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 4-5.

26 Bailyn pp. 28-29.

27 Maloney, p. 116

28 Ibid., pp. 116-117.

- 29 Ibid., p. 117.
- 30 Sauer, p. 252.
- 31 Harrington, p. 26.
- 32 Sauer, p. 252.
- 33 Dickason, p. 251.
- 34 Ibid., p. 254.
- 35 Thwaites, 5:35.
- 36 Ibid., pp. 113-115.
- 37 Ibid., p. 197.
- 38 Harrington p. 29.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Sauer, pp. 113-116.
- 41 Ibid. p. 241.
- 42 Conrad E. Heidenreich and Arthur J. Ray The Early Fur Trades: A Study in Cultural Interaction, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976) p. 7.
- 43 Rod Redfern, The Making of a Continent, (New York: Times Book Co., 1983), pp. 144-145.
- 44 A. Ferriday, North America: A Regional Geography, (New York: St. Marten Press, 1965), pp. 53-54.
- 45 Richard Colebrook Harris, The Seignorial System in Early Canada: A Geographical Study, (Quebec: Les Presses de L'Universite Laval, 1968), p. 15.
- 46 Nathaniel Bouton (ed), Provincial and State Papers, 1 (Concord: The New Hampshire State Legislature, 1799-1878):207.
- 47 Redfern, p. 136.
- 48 Ferriday, p. 23.

## CHAPTER III

### SETTLEMENT AND LAND DISTRIBUTION

Permanent settlement in northeast North America was initiated by the French with the establishment of a year-round trading post at Québec in 1608. More than a decade later, the English established their first permanent colony in New England with the settling of the Separatists and others at Plymouth, Massachusetts. The Great Migration of the Puritans in the 1630's insured the English a firm foothold when, during a ten-year period, some 20,000 colonists immigrated into New England. No similar movement occurred between France and New France. Thus, by the end of the sixteenth century, the population of New England was 90,000,000-100,000,000 and that of New France, 6,000. The establishment of these two colonies in North America, while they differed in initial purpose and size, resulted in more than a century of conflict over two continents to determine who would rule in Europe and North America.

The settlement of the northeast by the French and the English was first initiated by individuals. When it became evident that the financial resources of individuals were inadequate for such an enormous undertaking, alternate methods of colonization were considered. In

France, the crown turned first to private trading companies and later, with the private companies' failure to successfully populate New France, to public trading companies. England employed only public trading companies. The decision of France to use private companies until 1627 created a conflict between private and state interests, because it encouraged the development of the fur trade the expense of settlement.

The first French private trading company to attempt settlement was owned by Pierre Chauvin, Sieur de Tonnetuit, a Huguenot. He was given a ten-year fur monopoly at the turn of the century with the stipulation that fifty settlers be brought to New France each year. Chauvin's efforts proved half-hearted and unsuccessful. Upon his death, the monopoly was given to Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, also a Huguenot. In all, de Monts was given two monopolies: one which ran for only three years, between 1604-1607, and the other which ran for one year, 1607-1608. Under the terms of the agreement the company enjoyed the trade of both the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic coast. This trade included fishing, timber, minerals, and fur. Only in the fur trade, however, did the company enjoy a monopoly. In return, sixty colonists per year would be settled in New France. De Monts' efforts proved unsuccessful, and, by the end of 1607, his entire company returned to France. In the following year,

however, he chose Champlain as his lieutenant and sent him to explore the St. Lawrence River. Champlain's efforts led to the establishment of a trading post at Quebec in the summer of 1608.

With the demise of de Monts' company, Champlain attempted to form a new one. He was able to secure the support of Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, who became governor of the new company. Champlain became his lieutenant. The company's stated objectives were trade and the christianization of the Indians. In 1622, when the company was founded, the population of New France was recorded as fifty. By 1627 nothing had changed substantially. It became obvious to the crown that the private trading companies had not made a concerted effort to settle the colony and had used the monopoly to serve their own interests. France then turned to public trading companies in 1627, an approach England had employed since 1606.

In England, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice, created the vehicle by which settlement and land distribution proceeded. The settlement of English North America was delegated to two public trading companies, thereby eliminating any cost to the English government. This arrangement had the additional consequence of limiting the direct involvement of the government in the development and control of English colonization. The

long-range consequence was of course the rebellion of the English colonies in North America and their eventual independence from the Empire.

The Charter of 1606 divided America between the Plymouth and London trading companies. The former received the land between the Potomac River and Bangor, Maine, and consequently the responsibility for the initial stages of New England settlement. The latter received the land between Cape Fear, North Carolina, and New York City. Governing these colonies was a royal council chosen by the crown. Since the royal council consisted of company leaders, the companies were assured of direct control over any colony they might choose to establish.

The first successful settlement in New England was carried out under the auspices of the London Company. In 1620, a group of Separatists petitioned the London Company for permission to settle in the New World. The separatists were a dissenting sect led by William Brewster, a member of the gentry. Influenced by the Leyden Agreement, which portrayed the Separatists as loyal, orthodox Englishmen, King James I granted them permission to establish a plantation, and the London Company issued the patent on February 20, 1620.

The financing of the Separatist endeavor was assumed by the London Company. John Carver, a wealthy Separatist, and by Thomas Weston, a man of questionable reputation

gave £300 to the endeavor. Under Weston's terms, a joint-stock company was formed to last for seven years, after which time the company would be dissolved and dividends distributed. In essence, a commune or a sharing of responsibilities and resources was created. This method, however, had already proved unworkable in at least one previous colonization attempt, that of Jamestown. Control of the colony during this period was divided between London and America, another operational procedure which had created problems at Jamestown. Added to these potential problems was Weston's failure to provide adequate vessels or supplies for the operation of the plantation. The result was that only 102 ill-equipped individuals finally made the crossing, in one vessel, the Mayflower. Known as the Pilgrims<sup>1</sup>, they were the first to establish a permanent English settlement in New England. Their success may have been due to the unification of purpose, direction, and organization provided by their religion, the Mayflower Compact, and the use of the family, rather than the individual as the unit for immigration.

Since the Separatists had originally petitioned for a settlement in Virginia, it was necessary to obtain a patent from the Council of New England, legalizing their presence. That patent was received in 1621, but Plymouth was never able to receive a royal charter which would have



placed her under the direct control and protection of the crown. Consequently, the colony was eventually absorbed by the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The second permanent settlement in New England was established by the Puritans, also a dissenting sect, under the leadership of John Winthrop. The Puritans wanted to establish an English colony away from the corrupt Anglican Church and English society. Massachusetts became their objective, and in a well laid out scheme, they planned a mass migration to New England. To this end, Puritan merchants applied for, and received, a patent from the Council of New England, giving them land between the Merrimack and Charles Rivers. In June, 1628, forty settlers under the leadership of John Endicott established Salem as a beachhead and laid the foundation for the migration to New England. Concurrently, Puritan leaders in England were able to change their original patent into a royal charter, and the New England Company into the Massachusetts Bay Company. In addition to confirming the original land grant, the charter gave the Company the right to govern the colony. Initially, Charles I had refused to allow trading companies to govern their colonies, believing merchants to be self-serving and a threat to the royal prerogative. It is unknown why Massachusetts Bay was allowed this privilege, but it is thought that sympathetic support at court may have swayed

the king.

The charter granted to the Puritans formed the twenty-six investors into a single corporation, possessing the right to control all company property and the power to administer its own affairs. Members would meet quarterly in a General Court to decide important matters. This court could pass all necessary laws and ordinances as long as they remained consistent with the laws of England. Yet the charter failed to include a provision specifying the location of the charter and company headquarters.<sup>2</sup> Government intervention was possible, if the charter, like the others, remained in England.

The Massachusetts Bay Company was unlike other trading companies in that this was not entirely a commercial venture. The company also provided the vehicle for achieving another objective, that of establishing a "City on a Hill." This shared sense of mission, in conjunction with a distaste for the corruption of English society, led the Puritans to take their charter and company's headquarters to New England.

In April, 1629, a month after receiving their royal charter, a contingent of nearly four hundred Puritan settlers set out for Salem. This group served as the vanguard of an even larger migration, the so-called "Great Migration" of the 1630's. During a ten-year period, approximately twenty thousand Puritans would migrate to

New England, thereby insuring the continuity and success of the colony. Thus a public trading company had been the force behind settlement in New England by providing the financial and human resources for success.

In France, Cardinal Richelieu, chief minister to Louis XIII, observing conditions in the colony, suggested that the crown cancel all private trading companies and that a public colonizing company, one to rival the English and Dutch, be formed under the auspices of the Company of One Hundred Associates in 1627. The company was given rights to all of New France, including the right to govern the land, levy taxes, establish courts, appoint officials, and grant titles of nobility. The company was given total control of all trade, with the exception of cod fishing and whaling, for fifteen years and a monopoly over the fur trade. The crown, noting the lack of inhabitants and the lack of development of agriculture, agreed with the company to transport two to three hundred French Catholic settlers of all trades by 1628 and a total of 4,000 settlers in the following fifteen years.

Policies were adopted in an effort to make the venture attractive to the French population. The company agreed to provide food, clothing, and shelter for a period of three years. Those individuals and their families who were settled in the country and not maintained by the company would be allowed to engage in

the fur trade, as long as the pelts were sold to the company. Moreover, all artisans who practiced their trade in New France would be granted a master's certificate after six years. To encourage manufacturing, goods produced in New France would be exempt from duties in France. The crown offered protection in the form of two warships. Crown protection however, was not able to prevent the English capture of Québec for three years. The companies' success at settling New France after thirty-five years was unimpressive. Only two thousand five hundred had immigrated to New France.

By 1663, the war and the subsequent hampering of the company's activities led to serious financial difficulties for the company. The use of public trading companies had different results in each colony. In New England, where the interests of the company were compatible with settlement, settlement was successful. In New France, however, where private interests dominated, settlement lagged. The French willingness to allow private companies to control and assume the responsibility of settlement allowed New England to gain an early foothold in New England. While the French eventually turned to public trading companies, the transition proved to be too little too late.

The year 1663 marked the turning point in the approach of both England and France to their North

American colonies. The Age of Enlightenment had resulted in a new focus on order and a heightened consciousness of empire, which arose simultaneously with the economic principles of mercantilism. In France, these interests translated into an attempt to develop the colony along the St. Lawrence, that is, to populate the colony; in England this interest was demonstrated by attempts to manage the relatively extensive population already in New England.

In England, this new awareness came on the heels of the Restoration of 1660. England, up to this point, had adopted a laissez-faire attitude towards the New England colonies, even though technically they were administered directly by the crown. Under Charles II, the Charter of 1663 laid the foundation for the third and last stage of colonization in New England. The Charter of 1663 reintroduced the proprietary colony, that is, the granting of a colony to an individual or a group of individuals. Although proprietary colonies had proven unsuccessful in the past, Charles II chose to promote them on the basis of expediency. First, they were seen as an alternative to the trading companies, which were more interested in commerce than colonization. Second, because Charles was indebted to a large number of nobles for political and financial support, the offering of land would help to solidify his precarious position. The Charter of 1663, while consistent with conditions laid down in previous

proprietary grants, also included several new provisions. Most important, religious toleration was introduced as a means of attracting colonists to the English colonies, but only in the Carolinas, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Yet some degree of religious toleration, in the sense of toleration of non-Anglican sects, had always been part of the unwritten policy regarding the settlement of New England, as demonstrated by the presence of the Pilgrims and Puritans.

In 1675, the Lords of Trade and Plantation were created to oversee the colonies, that is, to enforce the acts of trade and to centralize the administration of the empire. Believing that proprietary colonies undermined the power of the crown, by placing too much power in a proprietor rather than in the crown, the body recommended that such colonies no longer be granted.

In an attempt to strengthen royal control over New England, and especially over Massachusetts Bay, the Dominion of New England<sup>3</sup> was created. Sir Edmund Andros became governor of the Dominion with the power to make laws, levy taxes, and administer justice with the consent of a representative council. In addition to producing a revenue act and establishing a judicial system, Andros attempted to align the land system of New England with that of England. In the General Court, Massachusetts Bay Company leaders, had inaugurated a system by which land

was allocated to town leaders who, in turn, distributed the lots to individuals. Andros initially made changes only in the distribution of new or vacant lands on which a quitrent<sup>4</sup> was demanded. In 1688 Andros began to question the legitimacy of all landholdings in the colony, recommending that all landowners obtain new patents at a quitrent of 2s 6d per hundred acres. It was not until 1696, with the creation of the Board of Trade under William III, that a reformation was attempted. After a study of the American colonies, the board recommended that the existing proprietary colonies be converted to royal colonies, that is, colonies under the direct control of the crown. This recommendation led to the Reunification Bill which failed to pass in the Parliament by a narrow margin, and with it was lost England's attempt to unify the colonies under royal control in the seventeenth century.

In France, paralleling the administration of Jean Colbert, the chief minister of state, there developed an awareness of empire and its corresponding relationship with mercantilism. During the initial development of her North American colony, France's involvement in its administration was marginal. France delegated the control of her colony to whomever held the fur monopoly; they appointed a governor to rule the colony. The Company of One Hundred, like the trading companies before her, was

not successful in populating the colony. As a result, in 1663, Colbert, persuaded King Louis XIV to revoke the company's charter. The revocation was due, in part, to the company's inability to populate the colony. The small population was ineffective in protecting itself from the Iroquois, as expressed by the crown in its acceptance of the surrender of the company's rights in March 1663.

But instead of learning that this country was populated, as it ought [to have been], given the long time that our subjects have been in possession of it, we will have learned with regret that not only was the number of [inhabitants] very small, but even that they were in daily danger of being chased from it by the Iroquois.<sup>5</sup>

The colony of New France became a royal domaine under the Constitution of 1663. This shift in policy had, as its objective, the active settlement of New France under the control of the crown. Colbert envisioned a crown-appointed governor to administer the colony.

In 1663, however, Louis XIV, noted the damage caused by the fur trade to the colony's agricultural development and attempted to find a compromise between the two. This proved a futile task, since the fur trade was the main source of revenue for the colony. Thus, trading companies continued to receive monopolies for the fur trade in New France. When the Company of One Hundred lost its charter, the West Indian Company assumed the fur trade monopoly in May of 1664. While the crown agreed that the development of agriculture and settlement were important to the



survival of the colony, the easy wealth of the fur trade could not be ignored. Consequently, a two-pronged economy developed; one side focused on the fur trade and the other on agrarian-based communities on the St. Lawrence. This fragmentation of focus lessened the effect of the crown upon colonization. While Colbert actively sought settlers and envisioned compact settlements similar to those in New England, the crown, after its initial efforts around 1663, never developed the commitment necessary for successful colonization. In an attempt to make the colony independent, Talon and the crown encouraged both the immigration of individuals and family units, in the hope of establishing compact settlements. Talon, moreover, planned to develop agriculture, shipbuilding, and codfishing in the colony. Rivalry within the administration, however, and the crown's unwillingness to send settlers, limited the effectiveness of Colbert's plan. Also, the French became involved with European wars and saw the loss of their human resources as weakening the State.

Moreover, the charter of the One Hundred Associates stipulated that settlers must be Catholics, thus eliminating a potential pool of Huguenot colonists. This decision, more than any other, severely limited immigration into New France. With the renewed closing of the city of La Rochelle to Protestants in November, 1661,<sup>6</sup>

and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the Huguenots would have made willing colonists to the St. Lawrence. Instead, most of the Huguenots who immigrated to North America went to New England. A few of them, however, were allowed to enter New France as merchants.<sup>7</sup> An estimated 500,000 French Huguenots left France between 1660 and 1770. If the crown had adopted a more accepting policy towards Protestants they could have provided a pool of emigrants as they did in New England.

The crown tried to encourage the development of the colony by attempting to control the development of the land. Colbert observed that many of the seigneuries which had been granted by the Company of One Hundred were never occupied by their respective seigneurs, and thus remained undeveloped, or uncleared. Uncleared land increased the distance between settlements, made it difficult for soldiers to protect the settlers, and perpetuated the danger of the Iroquois for the existing population. Consequently, the crown issued a royal arret repossessing all grants of remaining uncleared land during that same month because:

...one of the principle causes that the said country has not been populated as would have been desirable, and even that several habitations have been destroyed by the Iroquois, come from the concessions of a great quantity of lands which have been granted to all the individuals of the said country who never having been and not being able to clear the land, and having established their home in the midst of the said lands: they have found themselves by this means very distant

from one another and in no state to help and assist each other and to be helped by the officers and soldiers of the Québec garrisons...and it even transpires by this means that in a very great stretch of country, the little land that is around the homes of the concessioners being cleared, the rest is in no state to ever be cleared.

Law and order were also transferred to New France under the terms of the West Indian charter. The Coutume de Paris, which consisted of the codified laws for the area around Paris, became the law of the land.

The Superior Council of Québec was created to administer the Coutume. The Council received the right to hear all civil and criminal cases, and to regulate all commerce, including the fur trade. Meanwhile, a systematic evaluation of the colony was ordered and troops were brought in to protect it from the Iroquois. The implementation of Colbert's program was to be carried out by Jean Talon, the first Intendant. The land confiscated by Talon and used for the development of his model villagers was located in the seigneurie of Notre Dame des Anges.

The relative failure of Colbert's and Talon's efforts at settling the colony are evident in the relatively insignificant population growth during this period. In 1663, the population of New France was 3,035; in 1666 it was 3,418,<sup>9</sup> indicating, after a three-year period, a net increase of 13% or 385 individuals.

England had embarked on colonization by first using

commercial interests and then proprietary colonies. Each had proven unsatisfactory: The former because of conflict between colonization and commercial interests; the latter because of conflicting loyalties between proprietors and the crown. Yet, when England attempted to gain control of her colonies, she was unsuccessful because of her own internal political turmoil and because her measures proved to be too little, too late. The attempt to put most of the English colonists under the Dominion of New England was inept, given the effects of the Glorious Revolution in England. The failure of this attempt meant that the English colonies remained virtually independent of England until 1763 when, after the French and Indian War, England once again tried unsuccessfully to regain control.

France initiated colonization by building up trading companies and then by attempting to integrate the colony into its empire after 1663. The use of trading companies proved ineffective because of the conflict between colonization and commercial interests. The commercial interests of these companies were based on the fur trade. Thus, populating the colony with families, as opposed to single men, was not cost effective especially since the company was responsible for supporting all settlers for up to three years. Yet, when France attempted to gain control of her colonies her success proved marginal for several reasons. First, the crown never resolved the

conflict between her interest in colonization and the fur trade. When the trading company failed in 1674, the trading monopoly was picked up by subsequent trading companies. By refusing to give up the fur trade, the crown crystallized the economic polarization of the colony. Moreover, because the crown was unable to make the establishment of a strong agricultural base in Québec a priority, it never sent a significant number of habitant families into the colony, or enough soldiers to protect them. Finally, the petty conflicts within the administration of New France undermined the effectiveness of the government. In summary, French domination of her colony after 1663 was inept, given the Conquest of 1759. After laying the theoretical and administrative foundation for an empire, France never followed through with the most important aspect of its program--the populating of its colony. Thus, near the end of the seventeenth century, New France had a population of approximately 6000, as compared to 200,000 in New England. By sheer numbers the battle for the domination of the North American continent was being determined.

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The land grants and patents that established the New England colonies, and the seigneurial system which was transplanted to New France, provided for the legal distribution of land by proprietors or trading companies.

Initially, the New England settlements followed the coastline and moved along the bays, inlets, and harbors, as well as along the Connecticut River. As expansion occurred, the Massachusetts General Court granted permission for the settlement of towns. Groups of individuals, usually from a congregation within the colony or from England, petitioned the General Court for permission to establish a town. If the petitioners were considered "orthodox," and consequently loyal, they were granted a piece of land usually consisting of twenty-five square miles. "Unorthodox" groups, such as that of John Wheelwright, which settled Exeter, New Hampshire, became squatters and settled at will. Their actions eventually resulted in court disputes over the legality of their claims to the land. The township pattern established by Massachusetts Bay was eventually adopted by other New England colonies.

The role of the Massachusetts Bay Company in the formation of the colony was that of providing a legal vehicle through the General Court for the creation and recognition of towns and, through the township pattern, a uniform size to each town. Given only legal recognition, every town was left to develop its own unique character, based on the experiences of the first inhabitants. The founding fathers, the leaders within a group, thus assumed the role of determining the settlement patterns that the

towns assumed.

The settlement patterns or land systems which emerged in New England mirrored those of England. Previous works, such as Sumner Chilton Powell's Puritan Village and Frederick Jackson Turner 's frontier thesis, argued that New England provided an environment which encouraged the modification of existing customs or the creation of new institutions. T. H. Breen's Puritans and Adventurers: Change and Persistence in Early America, however, suggests that the English did not so much adapt their existing land systems, as simplify them in a land where there was plenty of land and fewer legal constraints than in old England. David Grayson Allen's work, In English Ways, is a study of five Massachusetts communities established in the seventeenth century: Rowley, Hingham, Newbury, Ispwich and Watertown. Allen argues that the first English settlers merely attempted to transfer the customs and practices of old England to New England. He presents three settlement patterns or land systems, the open field manorial village, the incorporated borough, and the enclosed farm. Variations on these systems were the products of the specific geographic and economic demands of an area.

The traditional open-field manorial village system was characterized by individual, noncontiguous strips of land in large fields, as seen in Holme, East Riding, and Yorkshire. The strips were about the size of one days's

plowing. The intermixture of strips among different types of soil theoretically ensured some equality in the distribution of land. In practice, however, lots in the village were assigned on the basis of wealth and status, which also dictated the location and amount of land one held in nearby fields. Other features characteristic of the common field system, were the exercise of grazing rights over the arable field during the winter months and fallow years, and the common consent of the strip holder to keep a certain field fallow every second or third year.

The control and use of the fields were discussed in manor courts or in village meetings, and in some instances, consolidation by enclosure took place. It was this system that the emigrants from Holme successfully transferred to Rowley, and continued in Rowley for more than a generation, due to a reluctance to consolidate holdings. The same pattern was also seen in Dedham, with similar consequences.

The enclosed farm was a settlement pattern seen in Suffolk and Essex counties, East Anglia. Holdings were enclosures of land, rather than strips in fields, and were purchased for the purpose of consolidating land into individual farmsteads. This same pattern was transferred to Watertown by the immigrants from these two counties. Together, they formed a community with a more egalitarian system of land distribution, and one in which the buying



and selling of land was an obsession.

Yet another land system, that of the incorporated borough, was also brought over from this same area in England, and was transferred to Ipswich, Massachusetts. Although similar to Watertown in origin, the enclosed family farm and an emphasis on commercial trading characterized this landholding system. The forces of a commercial marketplace led to a highly stratified society.

A pattern of open-field settlement with some modifications can be observed among the first generations in Newbury, and Andover, Massachusetts. The first inhabitants of Newbury came from Wiltshire and Hampshire. Those of Andover, from Hampshire, Lincolnshire, and Wiltshire counties. Both groups adopted a traditional pattern of agricultural life when they continued the open field system of England. Simultaneously, however, nearly all of the inhabitants were actively engaged in the consolidation of holdings, a pursuit common in western England. As in the open-field system, the size of lots within the town reflected the initial economic and social standing of settlers. The limit of the largest lot was twenty acres, while the smallest was four acres. In essence, the policy followed by the proprietors was to distribute land on the basis of rank and wealth rather than on the basis of equality. This system was characterized by the presence in each town of two parallel

streets, which were separated by open land and house lots. Farms were side by side as opposed to being separated over long distances.

The settlers of Hingham were from Norfolk, England, an area of transition between the open fields of the Midlands and the enclosed farms of Suffolk and Essex. Hingham thus incorporated both landholding systems. Elements of the open-field system, particularly the size of holdings in various divisions, existed alongside irregularly shaped enclosed lands.

Thus, New England towns varied because their relative independence from authority allowed them to reproduce the regional patterns characteristic of England, thereby reinforcing stability and preserving diversity. It has been suggested that certain conditions existed in the English colonies which encouraged the smooth transition of old England to New England. Perhaps the most obvious factor contributing to the perpetuation of English customs was the homogeneity of those individuals who came and inhabited New England. Anyone who disagreed with the norms of the community was either banished or left of his or her own free will. Those who remained lived in an atmosphere of mutual trust and autonomy. These immigrants, moreover, came to New England as family units and not as individuals. Other factors, however, also contributed to persistence, foremost among them the

environment.

In New France, the monopolies given to the trading companies, beginning with the Company of One Hundred, provided for the legal distribution of land, and the seigneurial system provided for the continuation of a modified form of feudalism. New France included those lands surrounding the St. Lawrence, Great Lakes, and Mississippi Rivers, but its agrarian settlements were restricted to an approximately three hundred mile strip along the St. Lawrence, which included Montréal, Trois Rivières, and Québec. It was along this strip that the company decided on a policy of subinfeudation, that is, on the division of the land into proprietary holdings. Land was given to a proprietor, or a group of proprietors, who then granted the land to habitants in the form of concessions or habitations. These concessions were then grouped by côtes.<sup>10</sup> The côte was a geographical unit containing similar physical features, which provided natural divisions of the land. The first concessions to be settled were those surrounding Montréal, Trois-Rivières, and Québec. The size, shape, and title of the grants, and the choice of the grantees were left to the company's discretion. By the 1630's, however, a characteristic settlement pattern emerged, that of the trapezoid, with a ratio of width to length of one to two, three or four. A rhumb de vent, or survey line

perpendicular to the St. Lawrence, was fixed as the axis for most concessions.

With the seigneurial system was transmitted a series of feudal fees which were due the seignuer from the habitants, who settled on his land. The cens, which was a token cash payment on a roture, indicated that the land was held en censive and could not be subgranted. The rente, a heavier charge, was intended as a major source of revenue for the seigneur. In the seventeenth century, the rente was a money payment in addition to a specified number of capons. Neither rentes nor cens were fixed, although in the eighteenth century measures were taken in that direction. Other charges might also be due to the seigneur for corvée, wood rights, commons, the banalités, lods and ventes, and the interest on borrowed money.

By the end of the French regime there were approximately two hundred and fifty seigneuries in Canada, and the system was perpetuated until 1854. Under it, the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits, became one of the largest property holders in Canada. Founded along military lines, the Jesuit order possessed the wealth and power necessary for colonization.

The transfer of settlement patterns from France to New France was based on three factors: the adaptability of a particular system to the geography of Canada, the sanction of the government of New France, and the will of

the proprietor. Therefore, the transfer of the seigneurial system to New France did not include all of the land systems or settlement patterns found in France, only that of the enclosed farms of the côte and the village or bourg. The former system dominated settlement in New France, while the latter proved more the exception than the rule. The enclosed farm was similar in form and function to the open field system, but with one major difference, namely, that the land was owned by one individual. Since both systems were characterized by the use of the wheeled-plow or charrue, poor soil, sparse settlement, and triennial rotation, the enclosed farm system was well suited for the agrarian community along the St. Lawrence. The resulting settlement patterns from this land system were the côte, and the village.

The village was a compact settlement of varying size, which provided commercial and service functions. The establishment of compact settlements was an objective of the crown and Talon after 1663. The compact village, however, was more the exception than the rule along the St. Lawrence. By the end of the sixteenth century New France had only one village, Charlesbourg, which was located in the seigneurie of Notre Dame des Anges. By the end of the French regime, New France had a total of only six villages. The inability of the crown to enforce the building of villages by the seigneurs or the habitants

points to its limited influence and effectiveness in establishing a distinct type of settlement pattern in New France. What is evident is that the seigneur, in some instances, may have determined the settlement patterns adopted within a seigneurie. Notre Dame des Anges contained both settlement patterns, and is unique in that it is the only seigneurie in New France in which both existed side by side in the seventeenth century.

In summary, while both England and France utilized land systems from their respective European experiences, England was more successful than France in introducing these various European systems into America. And yet, while the experiences of England and France were different in the northeast, they shared some common elements. The English enclosed farms that emerged in part of New England were similar to the enclosed farms of the côtes of New France.

## CHAPTER III

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The term Pilgrims is often equated with the Separatists however, this term actually pertains to all who made the voyage on the Mayflower--both the Separatists (saints) and the non-separatists (strangers).

<sup>2</sup> It is unknown if the absence of this clause was by accident or design. However, no precedent had been established for the location of a trading company outside of England.

<sup>3</sup> The Dominion of New England stretched from Nova Scotia to the Delaware River and included over half the settlers in the colony.

<sup>4</sup> A quitrent was a fixed rent payable to a feudal superior in the place of rendering services.

<sup>5</sup> The French text reads as follows; "Mais au lieu d'apprendre que ce pays étoit peuplé, comme il devoit l'être, vu le lon tems qu'il y a que nos sujets en sont en possession, nous aurions appris avec regret que non seulement le nombre des [habitants] étoit fort petit, mais même qu'ils étoient tous les jours en danger d'en être chassés par les Iroquois." William Munro, Documents Relating to the Seigneurial Tenure in Canada. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908) pp. 10-11. Also: French Crown, Edits et Ordonnances 1:31-32.

<sup>6</sup> The original siege of La Rochelle was in 1628. Richelieu was already there when he signed the charter of the One Hundred Associates in 1627.

<sup>7</sup> Lucien Campeau and Marcel Trudel both dismiss the significance of the Huguenots in New France.

<sup>8</sup> The French text reads as follows: "...que l'une des principales causes que le dit pays ne s'est pas peuplé comme il auroit été à désirer, et même que plusieurs habitations ont été détruites par les Iroquois, provient des concessions de grande quantité de terres qui ont été accordées à tous les particuliers du dit pays qui n'ayant jamais été et n'étant pas en pouvoir de défricher, et

ayant établi leur demeure dans le milieu des dites terres; ils se sont par ce moyen trouvés fort éloignés les uns des autres et hors d'état de se secourir et s'assister et d'être secourus par les officiers et soldats des garnisons de Québec...et même il se trouve par ce moyen que dans une fort grande étendue de pays, le peu de terre qui se trouvent aux environs des demeures des donataires se trouvant défrichées, le reste est hors d'état de le pouvoir jamais être." Munro, pp. 12-13.

<sup>9</sup> Marcel Trudel, La Population du Canada en 1663, (Montreal: les Editions Fides, 1973), p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Louise Dechene, Habitants et Marchands de Montréal au XVIIe Siècle, (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1974) p. 259.



## CHAPTER IV

### ERRAND INTO THE WILDERNESS

The trading companies of England and France provided the legal vehicle for the creation and recognition of the towns and seigneuries of the Northeast. These companies distributed land to individuals and groups of individuals who became the "founding fathers" and in some cases the "founding mothers". Founding mothers, unknown in New England, were a significant force in seventeenth century New France. In 1663 women owned 54.5%<sup>1</sup> of all seigneurial lands in the colony. Under the Coutume de Paris women could own, inherit, and transmit property independently of their fathers, husbands, or sons.

In New England these owners were called proprietors; in New France they were called seigneurs. The character of these founding fathers and their purpose or errand into the wilderness set the tone for settlement.

#### 1. The Founding Fathers

In New England the right to settle and to distribute land was derived from the initial charters granted by the crown to trading companies. These charters led to the settlements at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. The Massachusetts Bay trading company established the colony at Massachusetts which evolved into its governing body.

Plymouth was eventually absorbed into the colony. Subsequent permission to establish towns in Massachusetts Bay, was granted by the General Court of Massachusetts Bay.

In New France permission to settle and distribute land was granted by the crown to the viceroy of New France and to trading companies until 1663, when this right was restored to the crown. Feudalism, however, was transported from France as part of the seigneurial system, and continued to determine the character of land distribution. Land was distributed in the form of seigneuries, fiefs and baronies . It was in the seigneuries and the fiefs of New France that settlements emerged.

The trading companies in the Northeast attempted to give geographic uniformity to the political units created by the distribution of land. In New England, the township pattern established by the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Company gave a theoretically uniform size to the New England town.

In New France a similar attempt was made to give uniformity to land distribution. About 1638, the Company of One Hundred established the trapezoid which ran a rhumb de vent, or perpendicular survey line, north-west to south-east along both sides of the St. Lawrence River.<sup>2</sup> While this regulated the direction of growth, it did not control the

size of the concessions granted, and in New France there was no consistent size to these concessions. In 1663, the size of the sixty-two seigneuries given to individuals ranged from ten arpents to five and one-half million arpents.<sup>3</sup> Beyond granting legal recognition to political units and attempting to establish geographic uniformity, little was done to control the development of settlement. The towns and seigneuries of Northeast North America were left to develop their unique characters based on the cultural baggage of their respective founders.

Who were the founding fathers of the Northeast? In New England they were aspiring merchants and husbandmen, as well as clergymen concerned for their flocks. The English gentry, traditional leaders of society, seldom immigrated to America. Those gentry who did come often lacked the willingness to work. And, attempts to replicate the hierarchial society of England failed as did the attempts of Lord Say and Seal in Connecticut and Edmund Andros in New England. Their absence created a vacuum in the power structure which was quickly filled. While some of these colonial leaders, particularly clergymen, came directly from England to establish communities, others emerged from existing Massachusetts Bay towns. These new leaders became the founding fathers of subsequent communities. In essence, Massachusetts Bay provided a training school and a pool from which

experienced community leaders could be drawn. In the seventeenth century the number of new communities that emerged from existing communities was approximately 17%. In the eighteenth century this number rose to 64%.

In New England, new communities were founded by petitioning the General Court of Massachusetts. These petitioners, always male, shaped the character of settlement. The petitioners cultural baggage determined how the community would evolve. While religious or secular organizations may have been part of the cultural baggage transported into a community it did not play a primary role in establishing the new communities. These new communities were independent of each other, but each shared a common root, Massachusetts Bay.

The individual character of these communities developed because of the distance between England and the colonies, and because of the laissez-faire attitude of the Massachusetts Bay General Court. These communities, vulnerable at their conception, could have been brought under the control of England in the seventeenth century but for the preoccupations of the Civil War and Interregnum. As part of Restoration policy in 1685, the restored crown attempted to unify the colonies under the Dominion of New England. The Dominion failed, however, because of the Glorious Revolution in England. This failure to gain control of the colonies guaranteed that

the independent character of each community would continue, until it found expression in the American Revolution.

The Bay Colony was initially ruled by the Governor of Massachusetts and the General Court, in which the executive and legislative powers of the Commonwealth respectively rested. A Court of Assistants was also created. The Assistants were originally an advisory body to the Governor, but quickly evolved into a body of magistrates and a court system to hear violations of the code of laws passed in 1648.<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that initially all governmental powers--executive, legislative, and judicial--were in the hands of the Governor and the Court of Assistants. By 1634, however, demands from the populace had resulted in the direct election of the governor and legislative body.

The creation of new towns were "hivings out"<sup>5</sup> from Massachusetts Bay. The creation of several towns within a geographic area, however, eventually evolved into a new political unit--a colony. These new political units became independent of Massachusetts Bay but developed a similar pattern of rule, that is, each colony had a Governor and a law-making body. New England town generally was between twenty-five to thirty-six square miles in size.

The founding fathers of New France, in contrast, were

drawn from all three estates of France--clergy, nobility, and commoners. In France land ownership went with all estates, but land was scarce and some nobles had little more than a title. In New France, land was abundant and possession was possible without membership in the Church hierarchy or the nobility. In 1645 nobles in New France possessed 94.3% of the seigneuries belonging to individuals, but by 1663 they possessed only 84.3% of such lands.<sup>6</sup> The gradual decline in the number of nobles in possession of land continued until the turn of the century. By then, nearly one quarter of all the land in New France was in the possession of the third estate, that is, in the hands of merchants, husbandmen, and river masters.<sup>7</sup>

The clergy and the Roman Catholic Church did not experience a decline in land ownership similar to that of the aristocracy. The lands under the control of the Church represented 10.6% of the conceded lands in New France. The success of the Catholic-Reformation had insured the Church's privileged position in France. While the Church owned a relatively small proportion of the land in 1663, it owned some of the best land in New France--the land along the St. Lawrence. Of the land possessed by the church, 29.5% was along the St. Lawrence, and over a quarter of that land was cleared.<sup>8</sup> Possession of the land gave the Church an advantage in its attempts to

attract settlers to the area, since most new settlers entered the colony from the St. Lawrence and uncleared land was virtually worthless. In addition, the law allowed only loyal Roman Catholic Frenchmen to emigrate and remain in the colony, thus insuring the Church's control over the population. The purpose of this ordinance was to secure stability in the colony, but it also had the effect of limiting the immigration of a prospective stable element into New France--Huguenot families.

Of the three estates in New France, the first estate was the most successful. The Church's success rested on its organization, power, money, prestige, experience, and access to human resources. The Church and its orders, moreover, had the power to unify and direct the activities of their members. While the Church owned only 10.6% of the land in the initial stages of settlement, it was one of the largest land owners in Canada by the end of the French Regime.<sup>9</sup> The Jesuits, through their critical assessment and cooperative effort, brought this distinction to the Church.

The failure of the aristocracy and commoners in New France resulted both from their inability to perceive the realities of the colony, and from a lack of experience. Noel Langlois, a commoner and carpenter, arrived in New France sometime before 1634. His success as a carpenter

brought him wealth and enabled him to influence the granting of a concession to him on May 25, 1677. The concession was the seigneurie of Port Joli, which was situated on two square leagues along the south shore of the St. Lawrence. Upon receiving the seigneurie, the once industrious carpenter began to view himself as a gentleman and stopped working. He and his family fell into poverty and became public charges.<sup>10</sup> There were also a number of success stories such as the Gagnons of Beauport.

The nobility in New France fared equally poorly. Governor Denonville wrote in 1685:

"Above all things, monseigneur, permit me to say that the nobles of this new country are every thing that is most beggarly, and that to increase their number is to increase the number of do-nothings. A new country requires hard workers, who will handle the axe and mattox."<sup>11</sup>

The inexperience of the founding fathers affected their success in New France. Many lacked the experience of creating a settlement out of a wilderness, and many never made the attempt. Some seigneurs remained in France, and their Canadian lands went undeveloped. Thus, some settlements existed only on paper. This condition existed in the face of the official crown policy which was "no land without a seigneur."<sup>12</sup> The effect of non-enforcement of this policy was not considered until around 1663, when the control of the colony returned to the Crown.

In 1663 Louis XIV and his minister, Jean Colbert,



called for an assessment of the state of the colony. The assessment revealed that non-enforcement of the policy requiring occupancy was undermining the colony's security and development. An ordinance was then passed reclaiming all unoccupied and underdeveloped lands for redistribution to individuals who would live on the land, that is, tenir feu et lieu.

The French Crown was able to regain control of New France during its formative years in the seventeenth century. The French duplicated their governing institutions or adapted them to a colonial environment. The absolute rule of the French monarchy was executed in the colony by the Governor and the Indendant, two nobles appointed by the king. Local rule remained in the hands of the seigneur. The Governor served as the official head and military leader of the colony. The Indendant, however, by virtue of his legislative and judicial powers, actually governed the colony. The Governor, although the military head of the colony, was drawn from the military in only two of six instances.

The third political body in New France was the Superior Council or Court. The Superior Court was created by the king and consisted of nobles and members of the bourgeoisie. The principal function of the court, unlike the case of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, was to serve as a judiciary. The Superior Court issued:

decrees for the civil commercial and financial government and gave judgment in civil and criminal cause according to the royal ordinances and the Coutume de Paris.<sup>13</sup>

Commoners held only a few minor posts in the Council<sup>14</sup> and political control of the colony remained in the hands of the first two estates.

The Court, in theory, had the power to control the Governor and Intendant through its power to register all edicts, ordinances, or declarations relating to Canada that were issued by Louis XIV. All acts had to be recorded before they went into effect and became enforceable. In reality, however, the Court recorded all acts and did not exercise this power. <sup>15</sup>

Thus, the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV was effectively transmitted to New France. The right to rule was placed into the hands of the nobility and bourgeoisie, thus ensuring the perpetuation of those forms already in place. As such, class stratification, the privileged position of the Church, and the feudal land-system, all established during this period, were perpetuated. As already mentioned, the land tenure system continued until 1854.

Once in control, however, the French failed to provide the continuity in people and supplies necessary for adequate support. The colony suffered from periodic food shortages which threatened its survival. The

continued immigrant presence in the colony, moreover, prevented the development of a politically sophisticated class of native Canadians and inhibited the autonomy of Québec. In both New England and New France, however, local control was maintained in the towns and seigneuries of the Northeast.

Settlement in the Northeast was not evenly distributed. Government policy, in addition to climatic conditions, greatly influenced the influx of settlers into the European colonies. In New England, settlement required little effort beyond the initial success of the Puritan creation of the vehicle for settlement--the Massachusetts Bay Trading Company. Established as a means of creating a new Puritan utopia in the New World, the Company was responsible for the transportation of some twenty thousand Puritans to New England during the Great Migration of the 1630's. Groups consisting of families, and often entire congregations, were the cornerstone of migration and settlement in New England.

The seigneurs of New France, however, faced a more difficult task. Seigneurs, for the most part, were responsible for the settlement of their lands. Yet restrictions placed on immigration severely limited the pool from which settlers could be drawn. Transportation of settlers to Canada, moreover, was taken over by the trading companies, who were very cautious about whom they

brought. The agreement between the Crown and each trading company also provided for the support of immigrants for upwards of three years. Thus, the immigration of families and others incapable of self-sufficiency was not encouraged. The immigrant population consisted mainly of single young men who were more interested in the fur trade than in farming--an objective more consistent with those of the trading companies. This society, based on single men and the fur trade, became highly mobile, and was marked by instability. Trudel estimates that of the 5,440 immigrants who came to Canada between before 1660, 66.9% returned to France.<sup>16</sup> Thus, settlement progressed slowly in early seventeenth century New France.

In 1663, when the crown assessed the colony along the St. Lawrence, a decision was made to introduce a stabilizing force into the colony--farming families. While the plan never received the continued support of the Crown, it did successfully engineer the emigration of the "filles du roi," or daughters of the king. As such, New France was unable to achieve some sense of social and economic stability during its initial stages of settlement--a stability which the steady migration of groups of Puritan families supplied in New England's initial settlement period.

Once settled, the seigneuries and the towns of the Northeast required a means of supporting themselves. The

seigneuries of New France relied on feudal dues and the resources of the seigneur; the towns of New England relied on taxes.

The possession of land in Europe, in some cases, had carried certain privileges in the form of feudal dues. Ownership of land, however, was not synonymous with lordship and most land owners paid feudal dues. In North America, feudal dues were initially adopted both in New England and New France. In New England, however, the system was never successfully adopted, although some of the ideas and principles of feudalism were transmitted.

The absence of all feudal dues at the settlements of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and Rhode Island represent a unique feature of the colonial land system in New England.<sup>17</sup> The absence of feudal dues was due, in part, to both the Puritan idea of free ownership of land and to the wavering and inconsistent policy of the New England Council.<sup>18</sup> The Council sought to secure settlement through private agents and never clearly defined the conditions of tenure. In 1628, when the Council transferred to William Bradford and the people of Plymouth all rights to the land, the death knell was sounded for the quitrent system in New England. In Massachusetts Bay the question of quitrents was settled by the passing of the Bodies of Liberties in 1641, which explicitly forbade the quitrent except by execution of the

General Court.<sup>19</sup> Connecticut and Rhode Island, which were offshoots of Massachusetts Bay, followed the lead of the mother colony and established land tenure free of all feudal control.

In New Hampshire and Maine quitrents continued to be an issue, as both Captain John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who had received rights to their land from the New England Council, attempted to enforce a quitrent. When Maine became part of Massachusetts in 1678 the issue of quitrents disappeared in that colony. In New Hampshire the issue of quitrents was resisted by the people, and resulted in the overthrow of Governor Cranfield, who had supported Mason's claims. Attempts by the Dominion of New England, under Edmund Andros, to re-establish the quitrent in New England also failed. Following Andros' departure from the colonies, Massachusetts confirmed the original title of the land to its inhabitants in the Charter of 1691, thus putting the question of quitrents to rest.<sup>20</sup> The competition for settlers in New England and the lure of free land, moreover, insured the quitrent's demise. Thus, the quitrent virtually disappeared from New Hampshire during this period, although Governor Wentworth, in the mid-eighteenth century, continued to collect some feudal dues for land on the frontier.

The New England proprietors, after dividing the land among freeholders, did have the right to "levy taxes, to

sue and to be sued, to make by-laws and orders, and to annex penalties.<sup>21</sup> The ability to collect taxes aided the proprietors in improving and settling the land. The collection of taxes, however, often resulted in controversy, and some communities sold land in order to raise revenue.

In New France, by way of contrast, the settlement of the land was motivated by the desire to make the land profitable through the implementation of feudal dues. The amount of these dues was determined by the seigneur, whose land was an investment for her or himself and for succeeding generations of his family. Feudal dues were in perpetuity and were passed on from generation to generation and from owner to owner. The prospects for an income from the land, however, were limited by the ability of the seigneur to secure habitants.

While the presence or absence of feudalism determined the relationship of men to the land, feudalism also determined the relationship between founding fathers and settlers. In New England the acceptance of land within a town was based on a covenant with other town members. The objective was the creation of an ideal society. This unity of consent, present at the initial stages of settlement, forged a stable, cohesive community.

In New France membership within a community rested upon a contractual feudal agreement between seigneur and

habitant. The objective of the seigneur in creating a community was to extract an income or livelihood from the land. Seigneurial dues, however, were insignificant compared to those collected in France. And in France seigneurs could not live off them. In addition to receiving feudal dues, the seigneur was given yearly recognition of his position as lord, usually on November 11, the feast of St. Martin, or the feast of St. Etienne on December 26. Such a contract was held in perpetuity and freeholding was not possible. The seigneur was the unifying force in the community, which was composed of strangers. The settling of the seigneurie of Beauport is a possible exception since this was settled by immigrants from Perche. This community of strangers without a unified purpose was reluctant to settle in compact villages. The unity, stability, and, consequently, the success of a seigneurie rested on the seigneur's experience, determination, resources, and ability to attract and keep settlers. The seigneur resorted to various means to make his seigneurie attractive to settlers, and even then some seigneuries failed.

While the objectives of the Crown and the founding fathers were similar in both New England and New France, the visions of settlement that each held helped to determine the character and development of these colonies.

## II. The Vision



Dedham - "Of One Heart"

The Puritans' errand into the wilderness was to create a utopian society that would be as a "city on a hill", an example to the world. In 1636 nineteen men attempted to recreate the Puritan vision when they petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for a 200-square-mile tract of land along the Charles River. The General Court granted the land and named the town "Dedham."<sup>22</sup>

Dedham, from its conception, attempted to create a Christian, utopian community consisting of secular saints. The founding fathers applied to the town the same utopian theory on which the Puritan church was founded: autonomy, exclusiveness, and unity. In the Dedham Covenant the founders of the town set down the five basic principles upon which the town would be established. Under the covenant, the community was to be based on Christian love and open only to those who were viewed as being "of one heart" with the community, that is "humble seekers" of the true faith. Those accepted into the community signed the covenant in perpetuity, agreeing for themselves and subsequent generations to mediate disputes peaceably, to pay all assessments, and to obey all laws passed.<sup>23</sup> According to Kenneth Lockridge, "the overriding message of the Covenant ...[was] love. Love, forbearance,

cooperation, peace...these were the essential qualities of the perfect society ..." that the fathers of Dedham envisioned.

Notre Dame des Anges - "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam"

Notre Dame des Anges was established by the Jesuits as an Indian mission for the "Greater Glory of God." The mission served as a foothold for the French into the colony and as a base from which to spread Catholicism throughout New France. Moreover, in the seventeenth century Catholicism was synonymous with the French state and served as an extension of French expansionism.

Notre Dame des Anges was granted to the Jesuits on March 10, 1626, by the Duc de Ventadour, Viceroy of New France. The seigneurie was the third concession granted in the colony and the first to the Jesuits. The concession was granted to the Jesuits because the French Crown wanted to establish Catholicism among the Indians. The Crown recognized the Jesuits' role in converting the Indians of New France, especially the children, in the concession:

As...we have desired on the lands and countries of New France...[that] the Christian, Catholic apostolic and Roman religion be received there, [be] embraced and cultivated by the savages of these places,...the reverend fathers of the Society and Company of Jesus [are] ready to contribute everything that can relate to their piety, industry... and zeal in devoting

[themselves] to the children of the savages.<sup>24</sup>

The establishment of the Roman Catholic faith among the Indians would insure that the French would continue in the Northeast. The Indians served as the necessary allies against the fast-growing number of English and against the Iroquois. The French felt particularly vulnerable after the English take-over of Quebec between 1629 and 1632. The Jesuits were chosen by the French crown because of their para-military organization and discipline. The Jesuits were given the land to enable them to build an institution that would insure their continued presence in the colony and permit them to instruct and "enlist" the Indians:

They can build a habitation, residence, novitiate, at the seminary for themselves and to raise and instruct...in the said country a good number of their priests to catechize, instruct and teach the...savages. 3. For these causes and in order to give...their lands in...the said New France.<sup>25</sup>

The Jesuits purchased land in the upper city of Quebec for the purpose of building a college and left Notre Dame for the more civilized environs of Quebec. With the departure of the Jesuits, the residence was used exclusively as a mission.

By 1634 the Jesuits had already begun to expand their activities along the St. Lawrence. Paul Le Jeune wrote to his Provincial in that year requesting the assistance of another Superior to help shoulder some of his increasing

responsibilities, and for missionaries to aid in the missionary work along the St. Lawrence.<sup>26</sup> Le Jeune wrote that: "we hope for a great harvest in these countries."<sup>27</sup> The Jesuit vision for Notre Dame des Anges had been as a mission. That vision, however, failed. The Jesuits then turned to developing the land for profit. As the Jesuits' vision changed, their role in Notre Dame des Anges also changed, from missionary to seigneur.

The settlement pattern adopted by the Jesuits, in summary, rested on the development of one area within a seigneurie at a time, and its subsequent settlement en masse. This strategy insured compact settlement and an immediate viable income to the Jesuits.

The mission system and the development of Jesuit holdings in New France had their beginnings at Notre Dame des Anges. The development of a mission and of a landholding policy was based on the experience of the Jesuits in the East Indies, South America, and China, with modifications made for the unique character of New France.<sup>28</sup> The early introduction of the Jesuits into New France, when there were only forty-three Frenchmen in the entire colony,<sup>29</sup> insured that they would be instrumental in the colony's development.

From its conception, Notre Dame des Anges was part of a larger scheme. In 1634, when Le Jeune wrote to his Provincial in Paris from the mission at Notre Dame des

Anges: "...behold me altogether in your hands, for Canada, for France, and for all the world, ad majorem Dei gloriam,"<sup>30</sup> he placed Notre Dame des Anges in a larger context. Notre Dame des Anges was a doorway into New France, a vantage point from which to study the colony and to develop a plan for the successful conversion of the Indians and the development of communities. Notre Dame des Anges and New France were to be part of the larger Jesuit community that extended throughout the world--to France, China, South America and the West and East Indies.

### III. Settlement

#### Dedham

The town of Dedham grew rapidly. In 1639 the increased population within the town led to the creation of a body of seven selectmen to manage town affairs, while the proprietors continued to manage the land. In an attempt to preserve and control membership into the community, outsiders were restricted early by an ordinance which forbade the sale or the rental of land for more than a year to any unapproved individual. Violation meant confiscation of one's land. Power in the community soon polarized around the selectmen and the town meeting. Decisions made by the selectmen were seldom discussed. Selectmen were elected by their peers and served without salary. If a selectman passed the test of his first two

terms or so he won the respect of the town and usually served for the remainder of his life. These men were between the ages of 40 and 70, relatively rich, and, for the most part, saints of the Church.<sup>31</sup>

Rule in Dedham was by consensus, which forged unity within the community. Unity was quite possible within the community because of the character of settlement. Dedham was an agricultural community based on subsistence farming and one in which the wealth was relatively equally distributed.

By 1656 seventy-nine men had been carefully reviewed and accepted into the town and the proprietary rights were closed. Periodic divisions of land were limited to these seventy-nine men. The amount of land that a man received was based on the number of persons in a household, his "usefulness"<sup>32</sup> to the Church or Commonwealth, and his "rank and quality."<sup>33</sup> Yet allotments in the last case were few, since "no noblemen or true English gentlemen settled in Dedham."<sup>34</sup> The criteria established for distributing land within the community insured a hierarchical social structure in Dedham. Land distribution in the community progressed slowly and initially followed the traditional open-field manorial village system. Each man received a houselot in the village, with accompanying strips of meadow and woodland. These strips were two to twelve acres<sup>35</sup> and located in a

common field. The open field system and the slow distribution of land insured close contact with other villagers and kept Dedham a closely knit, integrated village. After the common land was divided, however, individual holdings were gradually consolidated into isolated farms through a variety of means. This factor, in addition to population growth, more distant strips of land, led to the disintegration of the village. By 1686 numerous farms had begun to spring up outside the village.<sup>36</sup> The result was the creation of two new towns before the end of the seventeenth century--Medfield in 1651 and Wrentham in 1673. In actuality, after 1686, five societies existed within Dedham.

By 1686 all the "saints" had died and with them went the aura of the utopian community. After 1686 Dedham shifted from a static rural village to a commercial and manufacturing center. This shift in Dedham was a result of three factors: population growth, the subsequent dispersal of the society outside of the community, and the shifting from rule by consensus to rule by majority. In the eighteenth century the new Dedham was based on pluralism, individualism, and democracy.

#### Notre Dame des Anges

The development of settlement in Notre Dame des Anges followed in the wake of the failure of the Indian school.

Yet the settlement of the seigneurie actually had its roots in the Jesuits' arrival in New France in 1625.

The purpose of the Jesuit presence in 1625 was to search for suitable land on which to begin their work on the St. Lawrence. Upon their arrival they lived with the Recollets, or Franciscan brothers, while they searched for a lot on which to build their residence and school. They identified a spot on the St. Lawrence for this purpose, and the land appears to have been carefully selected for several reasons. The area was:

...the landing place of the ships, it ought to be the storehouse, or place of refuge; the advantages for raising cattle here, on account of the meadows, are great. As to the cereals... [they] will be produced here very well. <sup>37</sup>

On April 6, 1626, under the direction of Father Enemond Masse, nicknamed "Father Utility," the residence or cabane as it was called, was completed and ready for occupation. This occurred less than a month following the granting of the concession to the Jesuits.

The concession granted to the Jesuits in 1626 consisted of one league of land on the St. Lawrence by four leagues in depth or thirty-six square miles—a size comparable to a New England town. The land was bordered in the north by the St. Charles river, in the west by a stream known as St. Michel, and in the east by the St. Marie, or the Beauport, River. <sup>38</sup>

The first shelter built by the Jesuits was a crude



structure and, in Le Jeune's words, made "only of planks and small laths, upon which some mud had been plastered."<sup>39</sup> A few months later, Father Noyrot arrived from France with 20 workers to continue building the mission and clearing the land. An entrepôt, or warehouse, and a double palisade were constructed, and about twenty arpents of land cleared for cultivation. By 1627, however, most of the workers had returned to France, and only Fathers Masse and Noue and five workers remained at the convent. In 1628 cultivation was begun, using oxen and ploughshare.

Famine struck in 1629, however, which facilitated the English takeover of Quebec by the Kirke brothers. The Jesuits were forced to return to France and, during their absence, their house fell into ruin. When they returned, in 1632, under Father Le Jeune, they rebuilt the mission at Notre Dame with the aid of several laborers. Again, the Jesuits resided temporarily with the Recollets while they rebuilt their mission. They appear to have been able to use some additional twenty or thirty men for this task, and perhaps would have secured more help, "if there were anything with which to feed and maintain them."<sup>40</sup> When the Jesuits completed the structure they gave it the name of Notre Dame des Anges and described this early dwelling as follows:

We have a house which contains four rooms  
below: the first serves as chapel, the second as

refectory, and in this refectory are our rooms. There are two little square rooms of moderate size,...there are two others, each of which has a dimension of eight feet; but there are two beds in each room. These are...narrow quarters for six persons; the others,...sleep in the garret. The third large room serves as kitchen, and the fourth is the room for our working people; this is our entire lodging...

...There was another building of the same size, opposite this one. The English burned half of it, and the other half is covered only with mud; it serves us as a barn, a stable, and a carpenter's room. Our workingmen this year have made boards, have...placed doors and windows throughout, have made little rooms in the refectory,...furniture, tables, stools...they have enclosed our house with large poles of the fir tree, making for us a fine court. We have placed some gates...which [have been] bound with iron. In addition..., we have cultivated, tilled, and seeded our cleared lands. So these are the...condition of the house.<sup>41</sup>

In 1633 the Indian school for children was opened at Notre Dame des Anges. The mission was to serve wandering families of Montagnais or Algonquin Indians near Québec.

Le Jeune planned to make the mission independent to ensure its success. His long-range plans for the economic growth and development of the seigneurie were linked to the ability of the settlement to gain self-sufficiency, so that, "in time, the country may furnish these things."<sup>42</sup>

There are four staples which make up the greatest expense of this mission: the pork, butter, drinks, and flour, which are sent;...As to pork, if...we had had a building, no more of it, or not much, would have had to be sent next year; we have two fat sows which are each suckling....in a short time we shall be provided with pork, an article which would save us 400 livres. As to butter we have two cows, two little heifers, and a little bull.....For lack of a building they cost us more than they are worth, for our working people are obliged to neglect more necessary things

for them; they spoil what we have sown; and they cannot be tended in the woods, for the insects torment them. They have come three years too soon...In time they will provide butter, and the oxen can be used for plowing, and will occasionally furnish meat.

As to drinks, we shall have to make some beer; but we shall wait until we have built, and until a brewery is erected; these three articles are assured, with time. As to grains, some people are inclined to think that the land where we are is too cold. Let us proceed systematically, and consider the nature of the soil:...

As to the indian corn, it ripened very nicely this past year, but this year it is not so fine...

The rye has succeeded well for two years. We planted some as an experiment, and it is very fine.

Barley succeeds also. There remains the wheat; we sowed some...at different times...We do not yet know..which time it is best ...to put in the seed. So these are the qualities of our soil.<sup>43</sup>

As to the physical expansion of Notre Dame he wrote in 1633,

The following is what must be done in the future: We must erect a small house upon a point of land which is opposite [La pointe aux Lievres, at the mouth of the river Saint Charles]. We need only cross the river to reach it; the water almost surrounds this point forming a peninsula.... We have begun to enclose it with stakes on the land side, and we shall keep there our cattle; that is, our cows and pigs; for this purpose we must build a ...house, for those who will take care of them, and ...good stables.<sup>44</sup>

Regardless of Le Jeune's plans for an Indian school at Notre Dame des Anges, the school was only marginally successful. The Indians could not be persuaded to part with their children. In 1644 the seminary was without students. It remained empty for five years, until the Jesuits closed it and moved to Québec. They then turned

their attention to the development of an Indian settlement at Sillery.

After the failure of the Indian school and the subsequent move to Québec City, the Jesuits attempted to reap some profit from the seigneurie.<sup>45</sup> This decision reflects the ability of the Jesuits to adapt to the realities of the colony, an ability which allowed them to continue and prosper in New France. The location of Notre Dame des Anges on the St. Lawrence, as a "landing place of the ships" and only a short boat trip to Québec City, placed it in a desirable position to attract settlers, and thus, profits.

The first concession in Notre Dame des Anges was granted to Michel Huppé on April 1, 1647.<sup>46</sup> The land was given to him in recognition of his efforts to improve the land. The Jesuits dispersed the land at their discretion, and additional lots could be given if requested. From 1647 to 1663, settlement was by successive waves of habitants who were placed in consecutive strips along the river. Immigration into Notre Dame des Anges occurred in waves, reaching its peak in 1665 as indicated by Chart 2 and Table 2 in Chapter V. Concessions in the southwest of the seigneurie along the St. Charles River, were fairly uniform in size, but smaller than those on the land in the east of the seigneurie. After 1665 immigration into the seigneurie declined. By mid-century, the community of

Notre Dame des Anges consisted of successive farms along the the St. Lawrence, and while this community was in flux, there was a core of families which gave it stability.

In summary, the trading companies, through the founding fathers of New England and New France, provided the vehicle for land distribution in these two colonies. The visions of the founding fathers set the tone for settlement. In New England, particularly in Dedham, the community that the founders created was a closed, corporate, communal society. In New France the Jesuits, established Notre Dame des Anges for the "greater glory of God" and envisioned it in a larger context as part of their world wide missions. When Notre Dame failed as a mission, the Jesuits began to think of it as developing the area for profit. Therefore, Notre Dame lacked a political cohesiveness. The weakness of the political structure encouraged the development of the family and the parish.

## CHAPTER IV

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Marcel Trudel, Les Débuts Du Régime Seigneurial Au Canada (Montréal: Les Editions Fides, 1974), p. 62. Women acquired possession of seigneuries through inheritance. While their husbands lived the land was under his control.

<sup>2</sup> Marcel Trudel, Histoire de la Nouvelle France (Montréal: Les Editions Fides, 1983), vol. 3: La Seigneurie des Cent-Associés, 1627-1634, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> George Lee Haskins, Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts: A Study in Tradition and Design (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1960), p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> David Hawke, The Colonial Experience, (New York: The Bobbs Merrill Company, 1966.), p. 142.

<sup>6</sup> Trudel, Débuts du Régime Seignuerial p. 108.

<sup>7</sup> Francis Parkman, France and England in North America 2 vols. (New York: The Library of America, 1983) 1:1281.

<sup>8</sup> Trudel, Débuts du Régime Seignuerial, p. 108.

<sup>9</sup> Roy C. Dalton, The Jesuits Estates Question, 1760-1888: A Study of the Background for the Agitation of 1889, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 77. The Jesuits owned nearly one million arpents.

<sup>10</sup> William B. Munro, Documents Relating to the Seigneurial Tenure in Canada, 1598-1854 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908) p. xi.

<sup>11</sup> Parkman, p. 1284.

<sup>12</sup> "nulle terre sans seigneur" Beverly W. Bond, The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919) p. 14.

<sup>13</sup> Parkman, 1:1290.

- 14 Trudel, p. 257.
- 15 Parkman, 1:1291.
- 16 Trudel, pp. 71-73.
- 17 Bond, p. 35.
- 18 Roy H. Akagi, Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies: A Study of Their Development, Organization, Activities, and Controversies, 1620-1770. (Glouster: Peter Smith, 1963), p. 116.
- 19 Feudal dues were expressly forbidden by the Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts. Charles Hickey, "Legal Development in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1686," Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1967) 37:2:281.
- 20 Bond, pp. 35-45.
- 21 Akagi, p.77.
- 22 Kenneth Lockridge, A New England Town: The First Hundred Years (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970), p. 4.
- 23 Ibid., pp. 4-7.
- 24 The French text is as follows: "Comme...nous avons désiré sur les terres et pays de la Nouvelle-France...[quel] la religion chrestienne, catholique, apostolique et romaine y fust recevé, embrassée et cultivée par les sauvages de ces lieux,...les révérends Pères de la Société et Compagnie de Jésus soient prestz de contribuer tout ce qui peut dépendre de leur piété, industrie ...et zèle...en vouant `a les enfants des sauvages."
- 25 The French text is as follows: "...ils peuvent bastir...une habitation, demeure, novitiat au seminaire pour eux et pour y eslever et instruire cet effect audict pays un bon nombre de leur Pères pour y catéchiser, instruire et enseigner les...sauvages. 3. Pour ces causes et afin de leur donner...leur terres dans le dicte Nouvelle-France."
- 26 Rueben Gold Thwaites (ed), The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries In New France, 1610-1791, 22 (New

York: Pageant Book Company, 1959) 35-47.

- 27 Ibid., 5:40.
- 28 Ibid., 5:33.
- 29 Parkman, 1:310.
- 30 Thwaites, 6:35.
- 31 Lockrigdge, p. 42.
- 32 Ibid., p. 10.
- 33 Ibid., p. 12.
- 34 Ibid., p. 72.
- 35 Ibid., p. 12.
- 36 Ibid., p. 94.
- 37 Thwaites, 6:79.
- 38 Rene Malouin, La Seigneurie Notre Dame Des Anges. (Quebec: Universite Laval, 1955) p. 10.
- 39 Thwaites, 6:71.
- 40 Ibid. p. 73.
- 41 Ibid. pp. 68-70.
- 42 Ibid. p. 73.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid. p. 71.
- 45 The settlement of Notre Dame des Anges provided a source of income from seigneurial dues and material goods. Goods were a by-product of the payment of cens and rente, the reserve clauses of the concession agreement, reserve lands, and the acquisition of developed lands.

In addition to the payment of seigneurial dues, the Jesuits also lent money to the habitants of Notre Dame des Anges. The most common form of goods given to the Jesuits from these agreements were foodstuffs: capons, "live" (concession par RRPP Jesuits a Francois Trefflé dit Rotot 6/23/1672) and often by the Jesuits' choice to be paid on the feasts of either St. Martin, November 11. (Concession



par les RRPP Jesuits a Noel Boissel, Vachon NR 18 mars 1666) or St. Etienne, on December 26. In their years as seigneurs, the Jesuits also requested payment in wheat or other products. The windmill at Charlebourg was leased by the Jesuits to Jean Joubert, meusner. The mill processed the grain for Charlebourg and Petite Auvergne. In return for his three year lease, Joubert was required to pay the Jesuits thirty minots of froment and an undetermined amount of livre or money. (Rageot, August 11, 1673.)

Reserve clauses in the concession agreements further contributed to the support of the Jesuits. The reservation of wood, woodlots, and commons allowed the Jesuits access to these areas and, in some instances, additional revenue was secured by charging for the use of these resources. The Jesuits reserved five arpents of land, which was not considered good land, for obtaining heating wood in Canardièrre. (Déclaration des Terres que Les Peres Jesuits possedent En La Nouvelle France, 1672) In Petite Auvergne they held five arpents of land on the commons. The Jesuits, however, charged twenty sols for the use of this commons, and one denier for the use of woodlots in Charlebourg.

The Jesuits, moreover, held reserve land in Notre Dame des Anges for their own use. They possessed two domains in Canardièrre-Notre Dame des Bon Secours and Notre Dame des Anges. The former was the site of the first mission and, in 1672, was some 2,352 square arpents in size, and comprised of some 160 arpents of cleared land in gardens, meadows, and cultivated fields. Seven or eight men resided there to work the land.

The second domain contained 100 arpents of cleared land, as well as houses, barns, gardens, meadows, cultivated fields, and a wind mill. Five or six men usually ran the métairie.

In addition to reserving land for their use the Jesuits also purchased developed land on their seigneurie. On October 23, 1696, they bought a farm containing 20 square arpents of land in Petite Auvergne, from Rene Pruneau and his wife for 600 livre. (Genaple 10-23-1696) The land had been conceded to the Pruneaus by the Jesuits on March 18, 1666. (Vachon) This purchase increased the Jesuit presence on the land, while enhancing the amount of land under their direct control.

<sup>46</sup> ANQ, Notaire des Greffes, Henri Bancheron.

## CHAPTER V

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF NOTRE DAME DES ANGES

#### A Settlement Pattern

I have always thought that our forces should not be divided, and that one house should be made successful, which might afterward be the support of the others....<sup>1</sup>

Paul Le Jeune, Superior of the Jesuits in New France, made this observation in 1634 while living at Notre Dame des Anges. Le Jeune, who was instrumental in developing a plan for the conversion of the Indians, also influenced a settlement policy in Notre Dame des Anges and New France. Le Jeune and the Jesuits, as seigneurs, and not the habitant determined the settlement pattern and land distribution policies within the seigneurie of Notre Dame des Anges.

The Jesuits began their role as seigneurs in New France at Notre Dame des Anges. Their importance as seigneurs increased as they acquired land.

The Jesuits employed a consistent settlement policy in the development of each of their seigneuries in New France. A review of all Jesuit concessions in seventeenth century New France indicates that the Jesuits developed one settlement at a time. See Chart 1 and Table 1. This strategy ensured security and a viable income

in the form of feudal dues. The geographic pattern of the Jesuit seigneuries followed the pattern of other seigneuries. They followed a survey line from the river and were distributed in rectangular units along the St. Lawrence. See Figure 1.

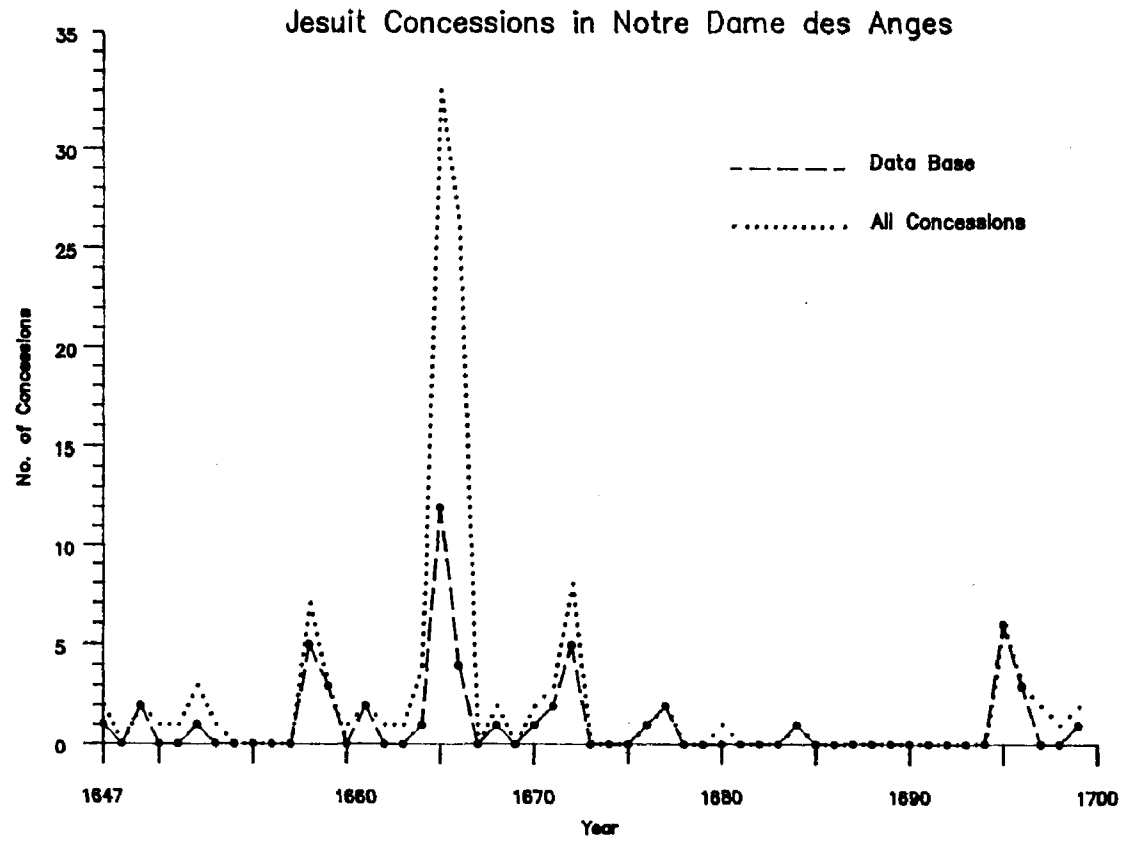
The Jesuits applied a version of this policy in the settlement of Notre Dame des Anges. A review of concessions made in Notre Dame des Anges in the seventeenth century shows that the the Jesuits focused on the development of one section of their seigneurie at a time. Settlement within each section was then made en masse. Chart 2 shows the influx of immigrants into the seigneurie. Each peak in the line graph corresponds to the development of one area within the seigneurie. Table 2 lists sites of major development in Notre Dame des Anges and the corresponding year/s of development.

TABLE 2

MAJOR SECTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN  
NOTRE DAME DES ANGES BY AREA AND DATE

AREA	DATE
Le Canardiere	1647
	1649
	1652
	1658
Charlebourg	1665
Petite Auvergne	1666
Gros Pin	1672
Bourg Royal	1695

Chart 2



### The Development of a Seigneurie

The Jesuits began the transition from missionaries to seigneurs when, in 1647, the Jesuits rented out their mission/"cabane" at Notre Dame to Jean Boisemé,<sup>2</sup> built a windmill on the St. Charles River<sup>3</sup> and granted a concession of land to Michel Huppé<sup>4</sup> in that section of Notre Dame des Anges known as Le Canardière. See Figure 6 for location. Canardière was located on the north bank of the St. Lawrence and St. Charles Rivers and comprised some eighty-four arpents.<sup>5</sup>

The transition to seigneurs was an easy one for the Jesuits since they had chosen their land wisely. Notre Dame des Anges was "the landing place of ships" and had "the advantages for raising cattle ....[and] cereals."<sup>6</sup> These same considerations made the area desirable for settlement.

The development of Canardière occurred in two stages. Settlement during the first stage was characterized by the legal recognition of squatters, the distribution of land into unequal lots, the presence of an upper class, and lots which spanned the depth of the seigneurie, that is, four leagues.<sup>7</sup> During this period the granting of concessions and settlement came in minor waves in 1647, 1649 and 1652.

The granting of some concessions during the first

period legitimized squatters already on the land. The Jesuits granted concessions in Canardière to habitants "who have resided there for a long time and have made houses, gardens, barns, meadows and fields."<sup>8</sup>

The size of concessions granted in Notre Dame des Anges during this first stage of development ran from sixty to 2280 square arpents.<sup>9</sup> Size depended upon social status or the ability of habitants to develop the land; most concessions, ranged between sixty and one hundred<sup>10</sup> arpents. During this period the Jesuits also gave an arrière-fief to Nicolas Le Vieux de Hauteville,<sup>11</sup> a noble. His land ran 4 arpents along the St. Lawrence and to the depth of the seigneurie.<sup>12</sup> Michel Huppé was not a member of the first two estates but his position as soldier, the "first settler",<sup>13</sup> and the work he had already completed on the land entitled him to more land. By 1678 Huppé owned 200 square arpents of land.<sup>14</sup>

Huppé and Jean Crevier, his neighbor, attempted to reap some quick financial reward from their large holdings by leasing some of their land.<sup>15</sup> Two of the three individuals they leased to were artisans: Pierre Soumandre was a master tailor,<sup>16</sup> and Pierre Paradis, a master cutler.<sup>17</sup> Location on the river gave these artisans access to the market along the river and to Québec. The third man, Pierre Lognon, had been an indentured servant in 1647 to Noel Juchereau;<sup>18</sup> he moved to the Ile d'Orléans

a short time later.<sup>19</sup> The heirs of Pierre Paradis appears to have acquired permanent ownership of the land by 1678.<sup>20</sup> The early presence of renters on the land reflects the entrepreneurship of some of the early habitants and, despite the amount of free land that was available, the desirability of cleared land.

The second phase of development in Canardière occurred around 1658 and is associated with the settlement of the land in the southwest, near the St. Charles River. This area consisted of approximately thirteen arpents of frontage along the St. Charles and St. Lawrence Rivers. The experience of the first period led the Jesuits to modify their policy for land distribution and to exert more control over the development of the land. The Jesuits may have been motivated, in part, by renewed fighting with the Indians. During this second period the Jesuits attempted to standardize land distribution, enforce land management policies and create and define the cote as a settlement pattern. Lots were distributed in sizes between forty and sixty arpents and settlement was made en masse.<sup>21</sup> This period is characterized by a decrease in lot sizes, the narrowing of the frontage along the water and the assigning of cleared house sites.<sup>22</sup> These measures insured manageable development and a tight settlement pattern.

For example, in April of 1658 Pierre Normand, living

in the suburbs of Quebec, received sixty square arpents of land in Canardière. His land consisted of 1 1/2 arpents on the St. Charles River and ran forty arpents in depth.<sup>23</sup> The title of concession contained some of the usual conditions of a land grant: the requirement of feu and lieu, that is, to live on the land or have someone else occupy the land; to bring grain to the seigneurial mill or to the yacherie<sup>24</sup> at St. Ann's until a mill was built on the seigneurie; to work on the road and to "suffer on the land the roads that are judged necessary by the officials."<sup>25</sup> Failure to occupy the land within a specific period of time was grounds for the repossession of land without compensation. The concessions contained some additional conditions for occupancy. In order to create a tight settlement pattern the Jesuits required Normand not only to live on his land but also to live "in the lot assigned to him."<sup>26</sup> To encourage settlement in these lots, the Jesuits cleared that portion of the land on which the houses were to be built prior to conceding the land.

Habitants were also required to fence cleared land or forfeit any claim to damages committed by their neighbor's animals. The Jesuits, moreover, placed a reserve clause in the contract which enabled them to cut four arpents of wood, their choice, from Normand's property.<sup>27</sup> One might suspect that these added contractual conditions for



settlement should have limited interest and thus development of the land since land was abundant and settlers were at a premium. This, however, was not the case.

Habitants accepted concessions in Canardière because the land was on the St. Lawrence and St. Charles Rivers and because the Jesuits offered them cleared land. The concession of land that Pierre Normand received consisted of two square arpents of cleared land which would have allowed him to build a house, barn and to have a small garden--a good start for a new settler. Most seigneurs were not in a position to make such an offer. Normand was required to clear another two arpents of land in one year in return for receiving two arpents of cleared land, thus continuing the process and insuring the desirability of the land in Notre Dame des Anges.<sup>28</sup> Major settlement was completed in Canardière by 1663;<sup>29</sup> By then, the developed area consisted on 960 square arpents.<sup>30</sup> Figure 4 shows Canardière in 1663, Figure 5 shows the area at the end of the seventeenth century.

With the completion of settlement in the western section of Canardière the Jesuits continued their focus in the west, but to the north of the settlement along the shore. This decision to concentrate on the western section may have been an effort by the Jesuits to prevent at least the western section of their underdeveloped lands

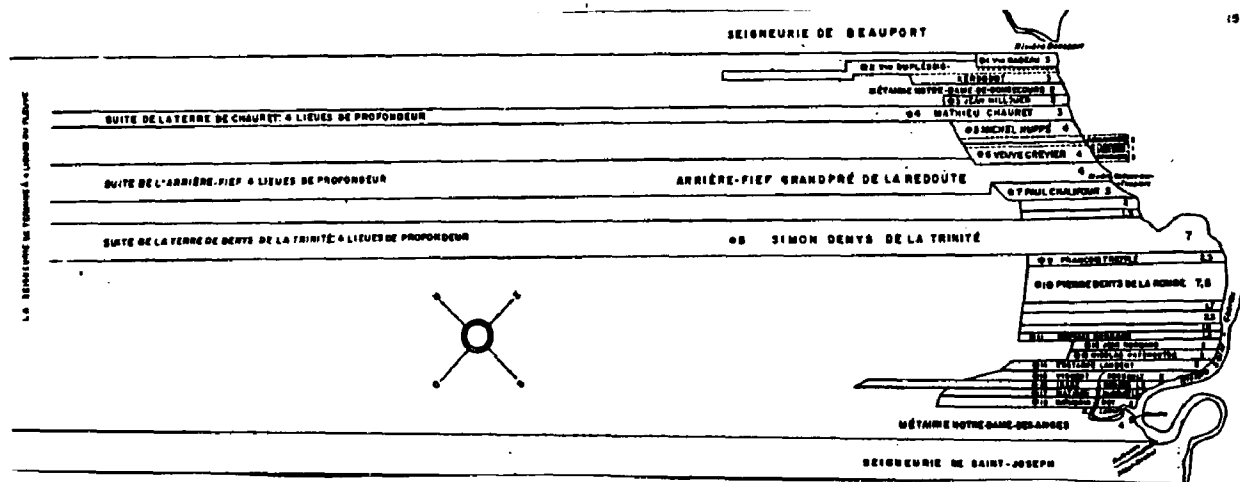


Figure 4. Settlement along the cote of Canardière in 1663. Map is by M. Trudel.

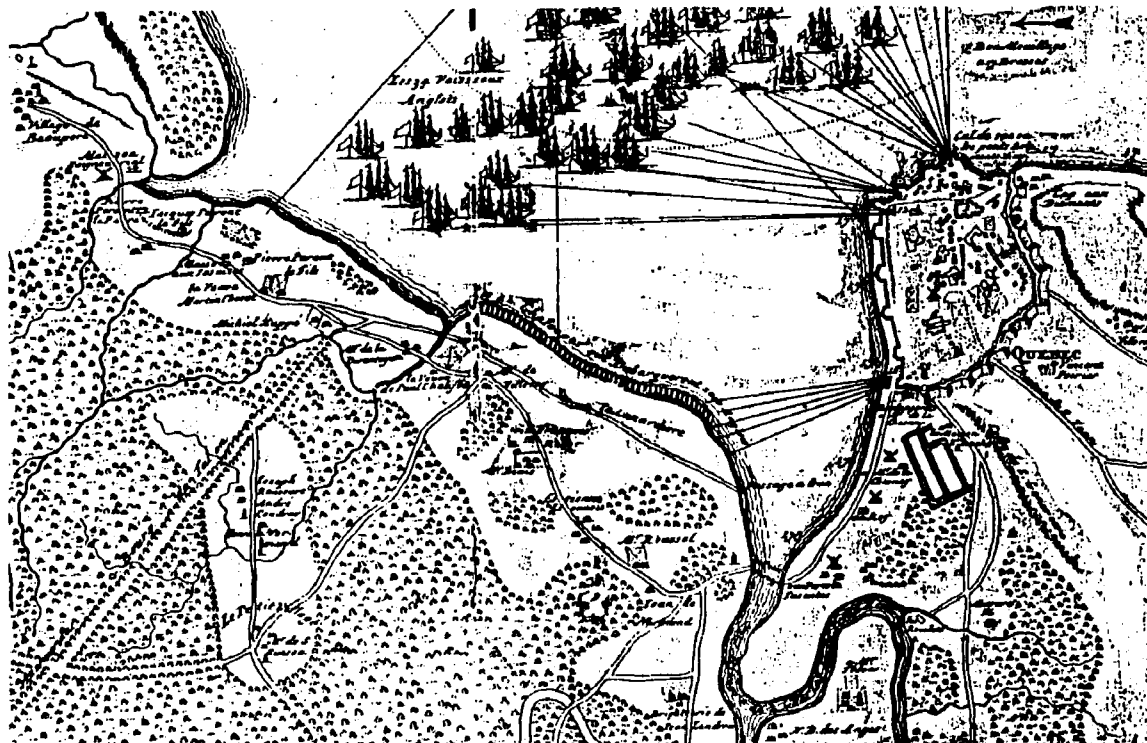


Figure 5. Canardière in 1690. Archives du Seminaire de Quebec.

from being confiscated by Jean Talon and the French crown. After 1666, however, with the confiscation of their underdeveloped lands the Jesuits were then, for the most part, limited to the western section.

Following the development of Canardiè̀re the Jesuits turned their attention inland, to the north. In the western section the Jesuits initially abandoned the côte and established a new settlement pattern, the "étoile" or star pattern. This settlement pattern was unique in that it was not reproduced anywhere outside the seigneurie. Land in Charlebourg<sup>31</sup> was distributed en masse between February 18-28, 1665.<sup>32</sup> Lots were distributed in pie-shaped lots and bordered a twenty-five arpent trait quarre or commons; all lots were forty square arpents.<sup>33</sup> Around this time the Jesuits decided that forty square arpents was a good size for a farm; while sizes continued to vary, forty arpents became the norm. The size of the village created at Charlebourg was 960 square arpents, the same as the settlement at Canardiè̀re.

The Jesuits planned to settle Charlebourg long before granting concessions in February, 1665. By February 1665 they already cleared between five and ten arpents of land in the center of the commons for their own use.<sup>34</sup> Considering that this was virgin forest and that manpower was at a premium, this was not an easy feat. Perhaps the men in the southwest section of Canardiè̀re, in return for

their cleared land, cleared the commons in Charlebourg for the Jesuits. Regardless, however, of who cleared the land the development of this area probably occurred sometime between 1658 and 1664.

The planned community of Charlebourg, as conceived by the Jesuits, placed them at the center of the community. This was a new phenomenon. The location of the community away from Canardièrè, moreover, allowed for expansion if the Jesuits desired. In Canardièrè the Jesuits had two domains, each located near one end of the settlement along the shore. A location in the center of Charlesbourg allowed fewer Jesuits to supervise the village with less effort.

While the Jesuits viewed their location on the commons as ideal, it appears the future habitants of Charlebourg did not. Although no specific reason was given, habitants at the time of receiving their concession of land requested the use of the cleared land on the commons. Could the habitants have objected to losing their traditional grazing rights? Or could they have objected to the possibility of surveillance by the Jesuits. This request, coming prior to the occupation of the land, indicates that the habitants were familiar with the physical layout of the community and, as a group, for whatever reason, did not approve:

...the square [called] a commons and which

contains twenty-five arpents of which none-theless the Reverend Fathers have inhabited the five arpents in the middle with the house that they have had built; and because the said Reverend Fathers have been asked by the said habitants to leave them the commons; to agree to this request they have asked for emoluments...of the said square; on which they [Jesuits] have already had more than 10 acres of land cleared, without having been compensated; for this reason and for the great convenience and utility that the ... villagers will have from it, he will pay to the Reverend Fathers 20 sols per year for six years, beginning on 6 November and ending on 11 November 1671, on which grounds the said commons will be leased.<sup>35</sup>

Why were the Jesuits willing to give up the land they had cleared for themselves?<sup>36</sup> Perhaps they had no choice. The placement of the above clauses regarding the commons in the concession agreement made the right to the commons a condition placed on the Jesuits for occupation. Were the habitants unwilling to accept land in the village without this added condition in the concession agreement?

It is unclear whether the apparent dispute between the habitants and the Jesuits was the right to the commons or the presence of the Jesuits in the center of the commons and village. Since cleared land was a valuable asset, it seems unlikely that the Jesuits would have voluntarily parted with this valuable property. Perhaps the Jesuits gave up the land in order to make settlement more desirable to prospective settlers or because the Jesuits were under pressure to settle the land quickly. In any event, the habitants as a group were able to exert enough pressure to limit the Jesuit presence within their

community. The Jesuits accepted these restrictions in return for money. The Jesuits charged twenty sols per year for the use of the commons and one denier per year for the use of the fir woodlot. In France the use of the village commons and woodlots had been a right; in Charlebourg it became a purchased privilege. Was there developing in Charlebourg a bourgeois conception of property rights?

The Jesuits maintained certain rights to the conceded lands in Charlebourg through the use of reserve clauses in their concession agreements. In each concession the Jesuits reserved rights to the wood lot and the right to take land for the building of a wind mill. All concessions granted to those families in Charlebourg during this period carried these conditions.<sup>37</sup> The concession agreements made for Charlebourg contained many of the clauses found in Canardière but with some modifications. Habitants were required to maintain lieu et feu on the land or have another person live there by March 1, 1666. This clause allowed the habitants to clear the land and ready it for cultivation without requiring them actually to live on the land, thereby minimizing hardship and risk of failure. Other settled areas such as Canardière and Québec could be used as a base for settlement. Seigneurial dues were waived for the first year.

Other parts of the concession contract attempted to prevent conflict between neighbors, especially over boundaries. Habitants were required to indicate the boundaries of their property by clearing land between themselves and their neighbors. Penalties motivated compliance. Anyone who mistakenly cleared another's property was allowed the use of that property he had mistakenly cleared for a period of four years.

In addition to the proper marking of boundaries, the Jesuits required that land be cleared and cultivated. Trees accidentally felled on a neighbor's property must be removed. Habitants, moreover, were required to leave eighteen feet for the "grand road"<sup>38</sup> between the fence of the trait quarre and their houses and to bring their grain to the seigneurial mill. Land not improved would return to the Jesuits without cost.

The conditions for receiving conceded lands in Charlebourg, as drawn up in the concession agreement, made land a good speculative investment. Land ownership was free for a year during which time a man or a family could develop the land without occupying or paying seigneurial dues on it. The land could also be leased after development since owner occupation was not a stipulation of ownership. The presence of a cleared commons, moreover, also contributed to the speculative value of the land.



The grantees of the land, however, were not interested in a long-term investment. The development of Charlebourg was a speculative venture for most habitants, who acquired land in 1665. Of the concessions granted in that year almost 22% were sold before the year was out; an additional 30% of these concessions were sold during the second year of ownership. Within four years of land distribution 78.6% of the land had been transferred to new owners.<sup>39</sup>

Following the development of Charlebourg in 1665, the Jesuits turned to the development of Petite Auvergne, between Charlebourg and Carnardière, also known as St. Jérôme and Gros Pin. The Jesuits repeated their earlier settlement pattern but on a smaller scale in these two areas.

Petite Auvergne, south of Charlebourg, was settled the following year in 1666. In Petite Auvergne a demi-bourg or half village was created. In the demi-bourg lots bordered only half of the commons; the village of Charlebourg bordered the other half. See Figure 6. Interestingly, the size of Petite Auvergne at 936 square arpents was close to the size of the full village pattern of Charlebourg (960 square arpents). There were twenty-four lots distributed as in Charlebourg and these were for the most part (87%) forty arpents in size; only three consisted of thirty-two arpents.<sup>40</sup> The reduction in the

size of these three lots created a village twenty-four arpents smaller than Charlebourg. Settlement was made en masse and 95% of the concessions were given out between March 9-22, 1666. Development of Petite Auvergne was completed by 1671.<sup>41</sup> Thus, by the time of the creation of Petite Auvergne, the Jesuits appear to have developed a clear concept and policy regarding settlement. A village should contain twenty-four concessions of forty arpents and be approximately 960 square arpents in size regardless of the settlement pattern used.

The conditions for settlement found in the concession agreements of Petite Auvergne were similar to those found in Charlebourg, including those characteristics which made the area a good speculative investment. Required occupation of the land in Petite Auvergne was delayed almost a full year or until March 1, 1667, while seigneurial dues were postponed until the feast of St. Martin in the following November.<sup>42</sup>

There was one significant change, however, in the development of Petite Auvergne as compared with Charlebourg. In Petite Auvergne the Jesuits again reserved five square arpents for their use in the center of the twenty-arpents commons. The habitants once again approached the Jesuits for possession of the land on the commons and requested that it be left "in perpetuity" for their use. The Jesuits gave them the commons "for the

grand commodity and use...of the...habitants" but kept the five arpents in the center for themselves. By 1709, however, the Jesuits agreed to distribute the land in the trait quarre to the inhabitants in the village.<sup>43</sup> Thus, by 1709 communal agrarian practices and traditional conceptions of property were virtually extinct.

Why the habitants initially made this request and why this request was refused only to be granted later is unclear. What is apparent is that the Jesuits were not initially under as much pressure to give way to the requests of the habitants in Petite Auvergne as they had been in Charlebourg because they did not acquiesce and relinquish their own portion of the commons until later.

The withholding of the five arpents in the center of the commons did not hinder the initial development of the town. The speculative value of land, however, in comparison with the land in Charlebourg, proved to be virtually nil. Land given to the original settlers of Petite Auvergne stayed in their hands. Perhaps this was due to the general cohesiveness of the original settlers. Most of these settlers were from the same region of Auvergne in France.<sup>44</sup> Only 29.4% of the original land given out in 1666 had switched hands nine years later.<sup>45</sup> If property had been acquired in Petite Auvergne for speculative reasons, then it was not a wise investment. Perhaps the lure of property, readily available in New

France, without the Jesuits presence was found to be more attractive to habitants.

After the settling of Petite Auvergne, the Jesuits abandoned the etoile and half-village pattern of settlement. South of Petite Auvergne, a small côte was created called Gros Pin. Gros Pin comprised an area of four hundred square arpents and seven concessions in contrast to the 960 square arpents and twenty four concessions of Canardière.<sup>46</sup> Gros Pin was settled en masse between June 23-24, 1672. The size of lots varied with forty arpent lots alternating with sixty arpent lots. Farms were not linked together by a shared commons. The Jesuits, moreover, do not appear to have possessed land in this area. Had the Jesuits, because of their earlier attempts at settlement, abandoned the commons? Gros Pin was closed to development by 1674.<sup>47</sup> In the four years following the closing of Gros Pin, 30% of the land changed hands compared to 78.6% within this same period in Charlebourg.<sup>48</sup> While Gros Pin had speculative value, its potential may have been limited by the enormous large pine trees<sup>49</sup> found in this area and its lack of a commons.

While the major development of the seigneurie by the Jesuits occurred in the west, some minor development occurred in the east. The Jesuits began to develop part of the eastern section of their seigneurie, known as Petit Village, sometime around 1672.<sup>50</sup> Petit Village was

located behind the metairie of Notre Dame de Bonsecour. While the area was called a "village" it was actually more similar in structure to the côte of Gros Pin than to Charlebourg. The settlement consisted of only six contiguous rectangular concessions, only two of which depended on the seigneurie in 1672; the remaining four were associated with the arrière-fief of Mr. Mandry, Grand Pre.<sup>51</sup> See Figure 6 for the villages of Notre Dame des Anges. While this is a map from 1754, an earlier map from 1709 indicates that the structure of Notre Dame des Anges had not changed by the end of the French Regime. See Figure 7.

By 1672 the Jesuits described their seigneurie as containing five areas of settlement: Petit Village, Grand Pre, Gros Pin, Petite Auvergne, and Charlebourg.<sup>52</sup> Between 1672 and 1678, however, the Jesuits appear to have clarified their territorial identification. Petite Village, as a separate identifiable political unit, disappeared.<sup>53</sup> The arrière-fief of Mandry was no longer mentioned as part of Notre Dame des Anges, indicating its political identity distinct from the seigneurie.<sup>54</sup>

The Jesuits continued to use the côte as a settlement pattern in Notre Dame des Anges for the remainder of the French Regime. After the settlement at Petite Auvergne the Jesuits abandoned the "étoile" or any derivative of that form in its settlements. Between the Dénombrement of



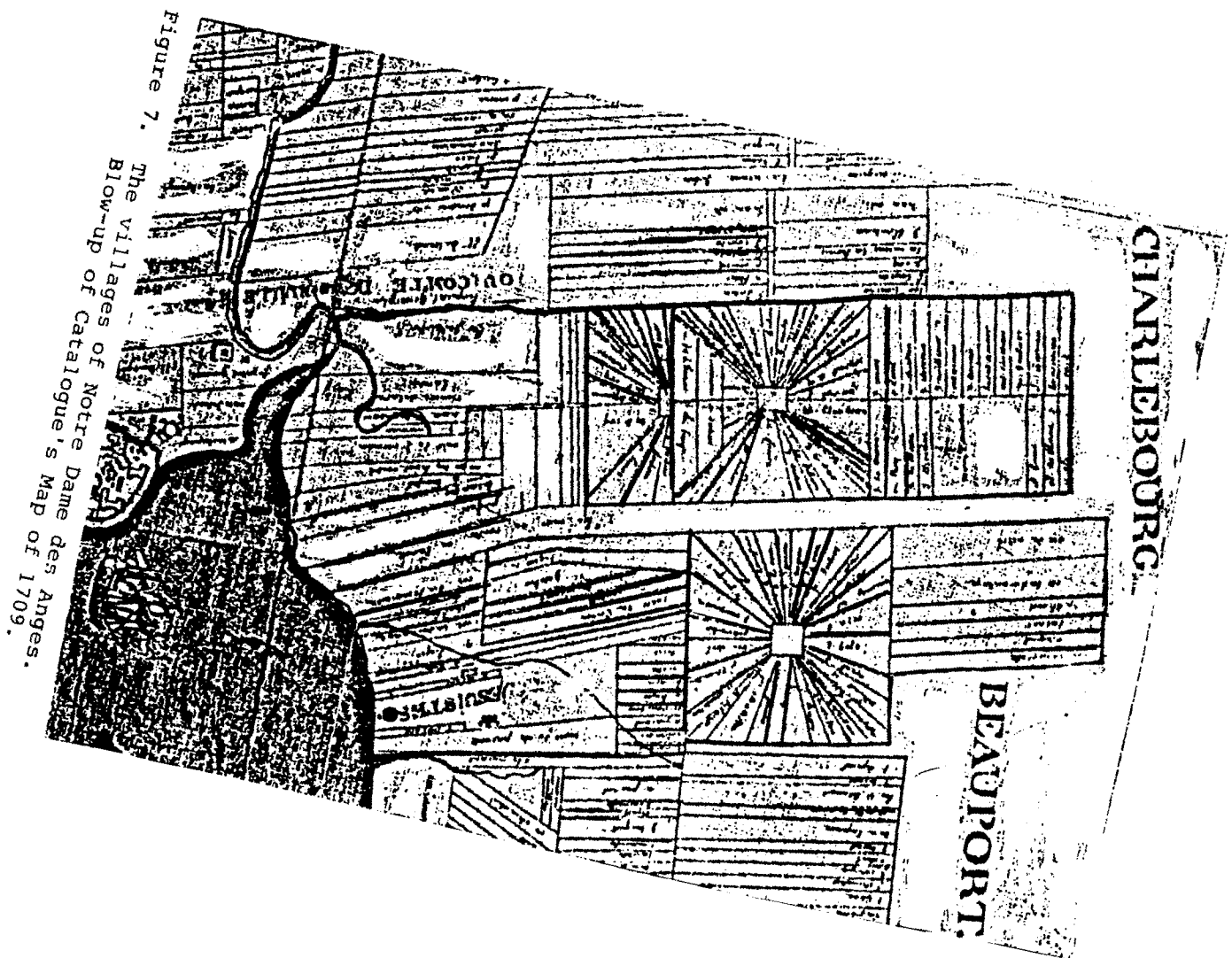


Figure 7. The villages of Notre Dame and a blow-up of Catalogue's Map of 1709.

1678 and the Census of 1681 three new côtes developed in Notre Dame des Anges: St. Claude, St. Bernard and St. Joseph.<sup>55</sup> The French crown confiscated part of the undeveloped lands in the eastern section of Notre Dame des Anges in 1666. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, however, the Jesuits once again received rights to this land and the seigneurie was once again united under the Jesuits.

Three parishes served Notre Dame des Anges: Beauport, Charlebourg and Québec; only Charlebourg was located within the seigneurie. The parish of Beauport included Bourg La Reyne,<sup>56</sup> St. Joseph and part of Canardière. Charlebourg included the village of that name and Petite Auvergne, Gros Pin, St. Claude and parts of Bourg Royal and St. Joseph. A portion of the settlement at Canardière was incorporated in the parish of Québec.

The presence of three parishes divided the community. Only Charlebourg, because of its tight settlement pattern forged by the "étoile", the location of the church, and a windmill, had the cohesiveness which allowed it to remain an identifiable political unit into the twentieth century. Charlebourg in the seventeenth century became a market center for the surrounding communities.

#### The Confiscated Lands of Notre Dame des Anges

In 1663 New France returned to the direct control of



the crown. As a consequence two significant changes occurred in the colony which affected the seigneurie of Notre Dame des Anges. The first involved the taking of land from Notre Dame des Anges, and the second the introduction of the Carignan-Salières regiment into the colony.

The crown attempted to address three problems hindering the development of the colony: the existence of conceded but undeveloped land, sparse settlement, and the Iroquois. As a result, the royal edict of March 21, 1663 and the arrêt of the Sovereign Council of August 6, 1664 were passed. These acts called for the reunion to the royal domain of all undeveloped land grants.<sup>57</sup> The crown planned to redistribute these lands and to populate the colony by introducing families. Jean Talon, the Indendant for the King, was brought into the colony to implement the Crown's new policy. Talon had been ordered by the king to confiscate undeveloped lands and to create villages. While the colony reverted to the direct control of the crown in 1663, Talon did not arrive in the colony until fall 1665.<sup>58</sup>

Sometime between his arrival in September 1665 and November 12, 1666, Talon "borrowed from the Jesuits fathers and from a few private persons, the terrain that I have...occupied."<sup>59</sup> Two of the three villages--Bourg Royal and Bourg La Reine were part of Notre Dame des

Anges; Bourg Talon appears to have been located in Grand Pre, a fief in Notre Dame des Anges.

Talon discussed his progress in settling the area on Notre Dame des Anges in a letter to Colbert dated October 27, 1667:

In conforming with your view I am attaching to the Fort of Saint-Louis of Quebec the jurisdiction of three villages which I have had formed very close to here to fortify this principal post by a greater number of colonists, and the king or at the choice of his majesty, the Company, will remain the proprietary Lord enjoying the useful demesne and the rights that I stipulate in the contracts of the habitations that I am having distributed to soldiers, to newly arrived families, and to volunteers of the country who link themselves in marriage to the girls whom you have sent, to whom I am even giving the land that I have had prepared at the expense of the king on the condition that the possessors will in the space of three years make an equal amount of it available to the families sent from France which my successors will be ordered to establish, on the grounds that the country will thereby have, this term expired, a sure base....<sup>60</sup>

The Jesuits may have anticipated Talon's confiscation and his wish to form:

a small demesne out of these three villages, whose revenue will be applied to the fort as needed, [rather] than to erect them into a seigneurie profiting the said Jesuit fathers.<sup>61</sup>

This may explain the development of the interior of the western section of Notre Dame des Anges. Over the six months prior to Talon's arrival, the Jesuits conceded land in Charlebourg in March 1665;<sup>62</sup> Talon arrived on September 12, 1665.<sup>63</sup> The Jesuits, moreover, cleared part of the commons, built a house and gave out concessions of

land at least six months prior to Talon's arrival in the colony.<sup>64</sup> Did the Jesuits know of Talon's plans to establish villages in New France prior to his arrival in the colony and in anticipation produce a similar pattern consistent with his ideas in order to keep their property intact? Also, did the Jesuits deliberately establish Charlebourg a good distance from Canardière so that they could also claim the land between these two areas that is, Petite Auvergne and Gros Pin? Whatever their reason for establishing the "étoile" settlement pattern and for locating Charlebourg a distance from Canardière, the Jesuits managed to keep possession of this area after Talon's arrival. Land was distributed in these areas beginning in 1666, after Talon's arrival, and into 1672. In 1672, when the Jesuits listed those lands in their possession, Charlebourg, Petite Auvergne and Gros Pin were included. The Jesuits had succeeded in maintaining the integrity of the western sector of their seigneurie. And, Talon in November of 1666 had decided to "leave them the seigneurie and the seigneurial dues that will be required."

In 1672 the Jesuits also mentioned Bourg Royal as one of the areas in the eastern section taken by Jean Talon, but only as a reference point to delineate the boundaries between the Jesuit land and those lands confiscated by the crown in the seigneurie.<sup>65</sup>

The Jesuits fought vigorously against the takeover of their lands by the French crown, but lost.<sup>66</sup> The crown was aware of the Jesuits' displeasure and Talon attempted to strike a bargain with the Jesuits--the eastern section of Notre Dame des Anges for the seigneurie of La Prairie de la Magdelaine.

I do not know how I stand with the Jesuit Fathers since I destroyed the hope that they had that the Lordship of the lands that I used to form these villagers, would profit them, but I know that I am assured that they are heart-sick about it. However they have the prudence not to let it show. They had among their papers an old concession contract for two Leagues of width by four Leagues of depth to the south and vis-a-vis the island of Montréal. They have asked me for permission to cultivate this land, and to create an establishment for themselves there. I have accorded it to them....<sup>67</sup>

Talon created three villages: Bourg Royal, Bourg Talon and Bourg La Reine. Bourg Royal and Bourg La Reine are clearly marked on Figure 6 remained viable villages throughout the French regime.

Talon described his plan for these villages as follows:

to set an example of cloase [nucleated] settlements, I have undertaken to form three villages in the environs of Québec which are already well advanced; I am reserving two of them for the families whom you intend to send this year and for whom the instructions that I have received order me to prepare forty habitations. The third is being formed by eighteen of the most noteworthy people from the troops. <sup>68</sup>

In 1667 the Jesuits spoke of the villages on the seigneurie. These were the villages

... built in the neighborhood of Québec, as much to fortify it by peopling its vicinity, as to receive families which have come from France and wrote of their existence as being "for the good of New France."<sup>69</sup>

The Jesuit documents also mention the method of settlement employed by Talon, which was similar to that used in the development of the western sector by the Jesuits.

To these [families] are assigned lands already brought under cultivation, some of which were this year covered by grain, to serve as a first store for the settlers' sustenance. This practice will be followed in the future, with all the care given to it at the beginning.<sup>70</sup>

The étoile and côte settlement patterns were repeated in the eastern sector of the seigneurie. Bourg Royal reproduced the "étoile" pattern seen at Charlebourg. Bourg Le Reine was formed as a côte, north of Bourg Royal. The location of the third village is uncertain.<sup>71</sup> In any event the Jesuits introduced the étoile settlement pattern and established an approach to settlement which Talon later adopted. Settlement in the eastern sector of the seigneurie under Talon's control mirrored those under the Jesuit control in the west. Figure 5 shows Canardière in 1690 after the confiscation of the backlands.

In 1672, the three non-Jesuit villages were incorporated into the baronie of Islet under the personal ownership of Talon. In 1675 this land became the comté d'Orsainville. Following the death of Talon the Jesuits

brought action against his heirs in the person of his nephew Jean Francois Talon in Paris on October 24, 1695. The land was then sold by the family to Monseigneur Saint-Vallier, who in turn gave it on the same day as an endowment to the Hôpital-Général, which he founded on March 24, 1696. The rights to the confiscated land, however, appear to have been given to the Jesuits by 1695 when the Jesuits begin to distribute land in Bourg Royal. On March 24, 1698 the Jesuits were able to purchase the eastern section of their seigneurie from the General Hospital for L2000 and the seigneurie was once again united.<sup>72</sup>

The arrival of the Carignan-Salières regiment on June 17 and 19th, 1665<sup>73</sup> allowed for the development and expansion of agriculture in the colony and Notre Dame des Anges. A year after the arrival of the regiment the Jesuits wrote:

Since the King has had the kindness to extend his protection over this country, by sending ...the Regiment of Carignan-Salières....We can assert that it is no longer that forbidding...land ...but a veritable New France. The Iroquois used to keep us so closely confined that we did not even dare till the lands that were under the cannon of the forts....But now ...his Majesty's arms has ...compelled them to seek our friendship....Indeed, peace being concluded...the Settlers of the Colonies...spread abroad, and could till their lands in perfect quiet and great safety. They can do so, not only on account of this peace but because of the continued care...to guard and increase the frontier forts....<sup>74</sup>

Two years later in 1668 the results of the peace

continued to be seen.

Fear of the enemy no longer prevents our Laborers from causing the forest to recede and from sowing their fields with all sorts of grains.<sup>75</sup>

The Jesuits credited Talon and the King of France for the changes in the colony:

Monsieur Talon,...has not ceased to exert every effort for the general good of this country, for the cultivation of its fields...and for...the establishment and enlargement of this colony.<sup>76</sup>

And the accomplishment of all this at his majesty's expense obliges us to acknowledge all the results of his Royal kindness...To him alone is due the whole glory of having put this country in such a condition... [in] the past two years, we shall fail to recognize Canada,...which may...be not unlike...France.<sup>77</sup>

The bringing of peace and security to the colony and the development of the eastern section of Notre Dame des Anges by the crown enabled the Jesuits to continue with their roles as missionaries in New France.

But, although all this that we have said. [regarding Talon's accomplishments in New France]...it is yet little in comparison with the advantages afforded by it for the conversion of all the Savages in these regions...This may be seen in this Relation the reestablishment of the Missions whose progress had been interrupted by the war.<sup>78</sup>

Notre Dame des Anges was developed in stages by the Jesuits. The Jesuits consciously created communities from preconceived principles of settlement. They were able to mold these communities through their right to distribute land. The Jesuits created three different settlement patterns: côte, étoile, and demi-étoile. Their choice of

the last two patterns may have been influenced by the pending presence of the French crown and compensation of their lands.

While the Jesuits used the côte, étoile, and demi-étoile as settlement patterns, the development of their lands up to 1672 shared some common characteristics. All development occurred in the western-half of the seigneurie. The ideal community for the Jesuits was about 960 square arpents in size, and consisted of about twenty-four lots of approximately forty arpents. Settlement was made en masse, and focused on the development of one community at a time.

By the end of the seventeenth century, experimentation with settlement patterns in Notre Dame des Anges had come full circle. The étoile and demi-étoile were abandoned. The côte, which consisted of independant farmsteads established first on the eastern section of Canadiere by squatters, reappeared in 1672. The creation of Gros Pin marked the return to the côte as a settlement pattern--a pattern they continued to use for the remainder of the century in Notre Dame des Anges. With the development of Notre Dame des Anges the Jesuits moved from missionaries to seigneurs to speculators.

The development of northern New England was similar to New France. Settlement in northern New England in the seventeenth century followed the coast and then the rivers



and streams. The inland towns of Dover, Exeter, Durham and Berwick were all built on the Piscatqua River system during the seventeenth century.<sup>79</sup> In southern New England, Connecticut developed along the Connecticut River from Windsor to Middletown. The river was the choice of settlers because of its fertile shores, its suitability for trade and the abundance of fish.<sup>80</sup>

In the eighteenth century the rivers and streams proved a means to the development of the interior. The stream and rivers shaped the arrangement of the towns in a way not previously seen. Land was distributed in rectangular units along the river<sup>81</sup> in a pattern similar to that along the St. Lawrence. See Figure 8. In both New England and New France, the rivers played a significant role in the development and arrangement of settlement.

The development of the towns was controlled by the proprietors. Proprietors were also faced with time limits for settling their lands. While many failed to settle their towns within the time allotted, few New England townships were ever repossessed. In seventeenth century New France, the repossession of part of Notre Dame des Anges was the exception to the rule. Its proximity to Quebec made it desirable to Talon.

Very early on restrictions were placed on those individuals given land by the proprietors. Absentee

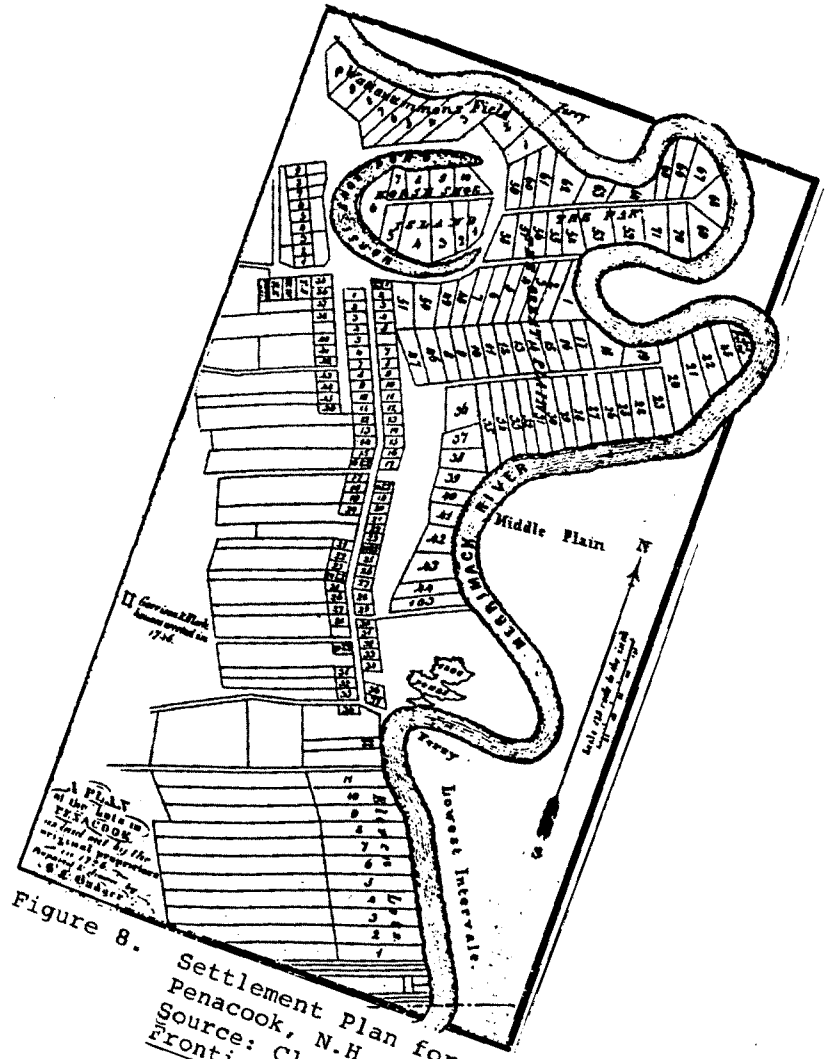


Figure 8. Settlement Plan for Penacook, N.H. Source: Clark; Eastern Frontier.

ownership was grounds for repossession of property. Absentee ownership, however, was not a problem in seventeenth century New England as it was in New France.<sup>82</sup>

The proprietors of New England controlled the towns in very much in the same way as the Jesuits did in Notre Dame des Anges. Proprietors controlled the number of families within a town, lot size, determined house size and insured that the house lot was cleared, cultivated and fenced.<sup>83</sup> Rules for controlling usage of the land were laid down by the town by ordinance.<sup>84</sup> Thus, Boston passed several laws regarding the building and repairing of fences, damages by animals, and the building and maintaining of boundaries between neighbors.<sup>85</sup>

Town proprietors, like the Jesuits of Notre Dame des Anges, experimented with lot sizes. Lots varied from town to town and sometimes within towns, and varied between one-quarter to twenty-two acres. In some towns the lots were standardized, while wealth and status, the cost of starting up the town, and family size were sometimes factors determining the amount of land an individual received. Meadows, pastures, and arable lands were distributed in a similar fashion.<sup>86</sup>

In Andover land was distributed on the basis of wealth and status. House lots ranged between four to thirty-one acres.<sup>87</sup> Other land in the town was

distributed gradually. Land was distributed on the basis of one acre in the field for each acre of house lot. With the fourth and last division of land within the town in 1662 settlers possessed a minimum of eighty-four acres, with the average amount being 129 acres. By the late 1660's Andover began to sell ownership into the town with the sale of twenty acre lots.<sup>88</sup> In Dedham the average holding of the first settlers was about 210 acres. Kenneth Lockridge believes that the average landholding per settler in an eastern Massachusetts town was about 150 acres.<sup>89</sup>

The availability of land and the prospect of growth in New England, as in Notre Dame des Anges, led to land speculation among proprietors and settlers alike. The strategy used by the proprietors of New England was similar to that used by the Jesuits in Notre Dame des Anges. Bailyn explains this strategy in the The Peopling of British North America as follows:

The simplest approach was to locate one's claim where settlers seemed likely to appear, and then to encourage them to settle by attractive offers...The careful guidance of land speculators of people already in motion or easily moved accounts for the settlement of whole regions of the back-country, generation after generation.<sup>90</sup>

Land speculation, however, was not open just to the proprietors, but also to the settlers of New England and North America. Bailyn suggests that:

Every farmer with an extra acre of land became a land speculator...[as did] every scrambling

tradesmen who could scrape together a modest sum for investment.<sup>91</sup>

The habitants of Notre Dame des Anges had responded in like manner to the abundance of land. Thus, while New England and New France retained their cultural identity, their response to parallel environments was similar.

## CHAPTER V

## NOTES

- 1 Reuben Gold Thwaites, The Jesuit Relations, (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 6:77.
- 2 The Jesuits leased their "cabane", chapel, barn and stable for three years to Jean Boisemé in November, 1647. Boisemé was given the right to cultivate only two-thirds of the land; one-third of the land remained in the hands of the Jesuits. The cost was 300L for each year. Archives Nationales du Quebec, Notaires des Greffes, Paul Vachon.
- 3 Marcel Trudel, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, vol. 3: La Seigneurie des Cent-Associés 1627-1663, (Montréal: Les Editions Fides, 1983), p. 181.
- 4 ANQ, Notairies des Greffes. Henri Bancheron.
- 5 Trudel found only 74 arpents along the shore of Canardière. Canardière ran the width of the seigneurie which was one league or 84 arpents based on the land grant given by the crown. I am assuming then that Canardière was 84 arpents. See Figure 4 which is Marcel Trudel's map.
- 6 Thwaites, 6:79.
- 7 One league is equal to 3 miles or 4.828 kilometers. See Appendix B for conversion tables.
- 8 The French text is as follows: "...qui y résident depuis long temps et y ont fait maisons, jardins, granges, prairies et champs..." Jesuites, "Déclaration Des Terres que Les Pères Jesuites possèdent En La Nouvelle France, Fait le 15<sup>e</sup> Jour D'Octobre, 1672", p. 1. There is some speculation that the settlers may not have been squatters, but rather settled on the land with the Jesuit's permission.
- 9 ANQ, Aveu et Dénombrement De La Seigneurie De Notre Dame Des Anges Fait Le 15<sup>e</sup> Jour D'Octobre 1673, pp. 2-11.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 His father was a counselor and secretary to the French Council in France. Nicolas arrived in New France

on October 13, 1651. He was the lieutenant general to the Senechaussee of Quebec between 1651 and 1656. He returned to France in June of 1656.

<sup>12</sup> Marcel Trudel, Le Terrier du Saint-Laurent en 1663, (Ottawa: les Editions de l'Universite d'Ottawa, 1973), p. 101.

<sup>13</sup> ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Paul Vachon, July 27, 1653. The French text reads "le premier habitant."

<sup>14</sup> ANQ, Aveu et Dénombrement.

<sup>15</sup> Trudel, Le Terrier du St. Laurent en 1663, pp. 103-104.

<sup>16</sup> Rene Jette, Dictionnaire Généalogiques des Familles du Québec des Origines a 1730, (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983), p. 1056.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 871.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 738.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> ANQ, Aveu et Dénombrement.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> This is based on a review of the concessions notary records of members of the data base Mathuwin Roy, Issac Bedard, Vincent Regnault, and Jean Normand. See also Figure 4 for Trudel's map of Le Canardiere and settlements along the St. Charles River.

<sup>23</sup> ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Paul Vachon, April 22, 1658.

<sup>24</sup> The vacherie was the name given to Pointe aux Lievres. Lucien Campeau, Monumenta Novae Franciae. Vol II: Establishment a Québec (Québec: Les Presses De L'Université Laval, 1979), p. 122.

<sup>25</sup> The French text is as follows: "soussara (souffira) sur les terres les chemins qui seront juges necessaires par les officcials."

<sup>26</sup> The French text is as follows: "dans l'emplacement qui lui assigne." ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Vachon, April 22, 1658.

27 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Vachon, April 22, 1650.

28 Ibid.

29 This is based on a review of the concessions notary records of members of the data base Mathuwin Roy, Issac Bédard, Vincent Regnault, and Jean Normand. See also Figure 4 for location of individuals on the land.

30 ANQ, Aveu et Dénombrement.

31 Charlebourg is today spelled Charlesbourg.

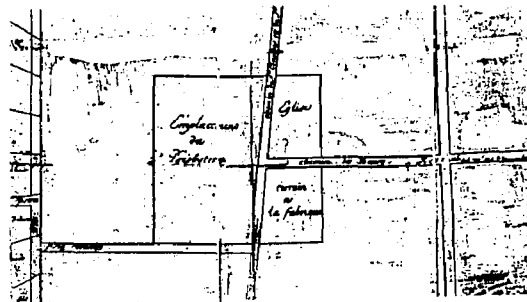
32 ANQ, Aveu et Dénombrement, pp 19-25.

33 Ibid.

34 See note below.

35 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Paul Vachon, February 18, 1665. The French text reads as follows: "...le quarré qu'il dit de commune et qui contient vingt-cinq arpents, dont néanmoins les dits RR Pères sont habitués les cinq arpents du milieu avec la maison qu'ils y ont fait bâtir; et parce que les dits RR Pères ont été priés par les dits habitants de leur laisser pour commune; pour condescendre à cette demande; ils se sont priés des emoluments qu'ils partissent des terres de ce dit quarré; sur lequel ils auraient déjà fait abattre plus de dix arpents de bois, sans en avoir été de dommages; pour cette cause et pour la grande commodité et utilité qu'en auraient le dit Dubois et les autres dits habitants, il payera aux dits RR Père vingt sols pour chaque année six ans durant à commencer le 6<sup>e</sup> de Novembre 1666 pour finir le onzième de Novembre 1671 auquel titre le dit quarré ou commune se louera."

36 There is some indication that the Jesuits may have continued to reserve five arpents of land in the trait quarré of Charlesbourg as indicated by the map below. Map is from the ANQ.





37 This is based on a review of the following concession contracts at ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Paul Vachon: Jacques Bédard 2-23-1665; Michel Chrétien 2-27-1665 Paul Dubois 2-28-1665; Etienne Roy 2-25-1665, Jean Boesmé 2-22-1665, Robert Lefebvre, 2-26-1665, Mathieu Roy 2-26-1665;

38 The French text is as follows: "grand chemin."

39 ANQ, Aveu et Dénombrement.

40 ANQ, Aveu et Dénombrement, pp. 19-24.

41 Twenty-three out of twenty-four concessions in this area or 95% of the land were given out between March 9-22, 1666. Bertrand Courtois also settled in 1671, however, it is not clear in which month he settled.

42 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Paul Vachon.  
"Concession par les RR PP Jesuits a Noel Boissel, 18 Mars 1666.

43 Ibid. The French text is as follows: "...de commune et qui contient vingt-cinq arpents dont néanmoins Les Pères se sont réservés les Cinq arpents du milieu et parce que les dit Pères ont esté priés par dits habitants de leur laisser a perpetuite le dit Quare pour commune pour condecendre à cette demande ils ne sont privés des emoulments...le donnant à Perpétuité aux ...habitants du dit village les Cinq arpents du milieu excepté que le dit Pères se réservent..."

44 Raymond Douville, L'Apport de l'Auvergne aet du Massif-Central dans le Peuplement de la Nouvelle France, Cahiers des Dix, (Québec: La Société Historique de Québec, 1968) 33:246.

45 ANQ, Aveu et Dénombrement, pp. 13-19.

46 Ibid., pp. 11-13.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., based on data pp. 11-13 and pp. 19-25.

49 The name gros pin means "large pine," and refers to the largest pine trees located there. Reference was made to these trees in the concession agreements. ANQ, Notaire des Greffes: Jean de Launay, Vachon, June 24, 1672; Jean Laroue, Vachon, June 23, 1672; Toussaint Dubois, Vachon June 23, 1672, Jacques Boissel, Vachon, June 23,

1672; Mathurin Villeneuve, Vachon June 23, 1672; Jean Chauvet dit Lageine, Vachon, June 23, 1672; Nicolas Ledeve, Vachon June 23, 1672; Nicolas Ledesue, Vachon, June 23, 1672.

50 Petit Village is not listed in the Recensement for 1666 or 1667, but is listed in 1672 in the "Déclaration des Terres."

51 Jesuits, "Déclaration Des Terres," p. 2.

52 Ibid., pp 1-4.

53 In the Aveu et Dénombrement de 1678, Petit Village is not mentioned. Petite Village, however, appears in Figure 5. The map is thought to have been done around 1690.

54 ANQ, Aveu et Dénombrement.

55 Three additional small côtes may have also begun in the seventeenth century: Petite and Grand Antoine and St. Andre. The côtes of St. Pierre and St. Rene came into existence sometime around 1710 and 1730 respectively.

56 Bourg La Reyne was one of the villages created from the land taken by Talon from the Jesuits.

57 William Bennett Munro, Documents Relating to the Seigniorial Tenure in Canada, 1598-1854 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908), p. 30.

58 Thwaites, 50:83.

59 ANQ, General Correspondence, II, Talon à Colbert, November 12, 1666. The French text is as follows: "Comme j'ai emprunté aux R.P. Jesuites et de quelques particuliers le terrain que j'ai fait occuper...."

60 Munro, p. 29. The French text is as follows: "Conformément à vostre sentiment j'attache au fort de St. Louis de Québec la mouvance des trois villages que j'ay fait former fort près d'icy, pour fortifier ce poste principal, par un plus grand nombre de colons et le Roy, ou au choix de Sa Majesté, la Compagnie en demeurera seigneur propriétaire jouissant du domaine utile, et des droits que je stipule dans les contracts des habitations que je fais distribuer aux soldats, aux familles nouvellement venues, et aux volontaires du pays qui se lient par mariage aux filles que vous m'avez envoyées auxquels je fais mesme donner la terre que j'ay fait préparer aux despens du Roy à condition que les

possesseurs en rendront autant dans l'espace de trois ans, au profit des familles envoyées de France que mes successeurs auront ordre d'établir, prétendant que par la le pays aura, ce terme expiré, un fond certain, et perpétuel pour la meilleure partie de la subsistance des familles dont il sera chargé."

61 Talon à Colbert, April 5, 1667 in Mme. Reine Malouin, La Seigneurie of Notre Dame des Anges (Quebec: Université Laval, 1955), p. 16.

62 ANO, Aveu et Dénombrement.

63 Thomas Chapais, Jean Talon: Intendant De La Nouvelle France, 1665-1672, (Quebec: S. S. Demers, 1904) p. 62.

64 ANO, Aveu et Dénombrement.

65 Jesuits, "Déclaration des Terres."

66 Letters between the Jesuits and the crown can be viewed in Champais, pp. 409-494.

67 Monro, p. 29-30. The French text is as follows: Je ne sais pas comme je suis avec les Pères Jesuites depuis que je leur ay fait perdre l'espérance, qu'ils avoient que la Seigneurie des terres que j'ay employées à former ces villages, tourneraient à leur profit mais je scay qu'on m'assure qu'ils en ont mal au coeur. Cependant ils ont la prudence de n'en rien témoigner. Ils avoient en leurs papiers un ancien contract de concession de deux lieues de front sur quatre lieues de profondeur au sud, et vis-a-vis de l'Isle de Montréal. Ils m'ont demandé permission de cultiver cette terre, et d'y former un établissement pour eux. "Je la leur ay accordée...."

68 ANO, General Correspondence, II, Talon à Colbert November 12, 1666. The French text is as follows: Pour donner l'exemple des habitations rapprochées, j'ai entrepris de former trois villages dans le voisinage de Québec qui sont déjà bien avancés; j'en destine ceux pour les familles que vous avez besoin d'envoyer cette année et pour lesquelles instruction que j'ai reçue m'ordonne de préparer quarante habitations. Le troisieme se forme par dix-huit personnes des plus considérables des troupes....

69 Thwaites, 50:245.

70 Ibid.

71 Petite Village was originally located in the

eastern sector of Notre Dame des Anges. It disappears from the Jesuit list of holdings in the Notre Dame as listed in the Aveu et Dénombrement de 1678. There is some possibility that this was Bourg Talon.

72 Reine Malouine, La Seigneurie Notre-Dame Des Anges, (Québec: Université Laval, 1955), p.19.

73 Thwaites, 50:81.

74 Ibid., 51:237-239.

75 Ibid., p. 169.

76 Ibid., p. 171.

77 Ibid., p. 247.

78 Ibid., p. 175.

79 Charles Clark, Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England, 1610-1763 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. 199.

80 Dorothy Deming and C. A. Andrews, The Settlement of Connecticut Towns, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933)-pp. 10-11.

81 Clark, p. 200.

82 Deming and Andrews, pp. 9-10.

83 Clark, pp. 182-188.

84 Marshal Harris, Origin of the Land Tenure System in Early Canada: A Geographical Study, (Ames: The Iowa State College Press, 1953), pp. 314-319.

85 Whitmore, William H. (Record Commissioner), The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts: Reprint from the Edition of 1672 with suppliments through 1686, (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, City Printers, 1887), pp. 17-20.

86 Melville Egleston, "The Land System of the New England Colonies," John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 4 (1886) pp. 552-3.

87 Philip Greven, Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts, (Ithica: Cornell, 1970) p. 43.

88 Ibid., p. 62.

89 Ibid., p. 59.

90 Bernard Bailyn, The Peopling of British North America, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 68.

91 Ibid., p.67.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE FIRST GENERATION

The majority of the first habitants of New France came to participate in the fur trade. Consequently in 1663 the population was largely male (69%). The first generation of habitants was young; the average age was 22.2 for men and 18.2 for women. One-half of the population was under twenty, more than one-third between twenty and forty, and a mere two percent sixty or older. The relatively young age of the population and the imbalance between the sexes is reflected in the average age of marriage for those arriving before 1660 which was 27.8 for males and 15.4 for women. These averages became 27.6 for men and 19.7--considerably higher--for women when broadened to include the years 1640 to 1679. In 69% of the marriages the death of a spouse resulted in remarriage. The average number of children within the family was 7.7. And if a child lived to age 20, regardless of sex, he or she would probably live to the age of 53.9.<sup>1</sup>

These figures represent the character of the entire population of seventeenth century New France, and do not distinguish between those who stayed and those who left. Trudel estimates that as many as 66.9% of the population emigrated elsewhere. Did the composition of these two

groups, the "Migrants" and the "Persisters,"<sup>2</sup> differ? And, if so, did the differences between these two groups contribute to the failure of the emigrants to continue on the land? The research on the first generation of Notre Dame des Anges was undertaken not only to understand the composition of the first generation but to compare those whose families stayed on the land to the overall population, most (81%) of whom failed in this respect.

\* \* \*

Isaac Bédard and Pierre Godin came from France to New France in the seventeenth century, both settling in the seigneurie of Notre Dame des Anges by 1666-1667. Isaac and his descendants would remain in Notre Dame des Anges throughout the French regime while Pierre Godin and his family would stay only a few years and then move on. They thus represent two types of settlers in Notre Dame in the seventeenth century: The Persisters--that is, those families who lived or owned land in Notre Dame des Anges from 1666-1667 to the end of the French regime in 1759, and the Migrants-residents in 1666-1667 who for whatever reason did not remain in the seigneurie.

Isaac Bédard was born in 1616 or 1617 and baptized at the Calvinist temple at LaRochelle, France; in 1644 he married Marie Girard at the temple. A timber-framer, Isaac left LaRochelle for New France at age 35, with his eldest son, Jacques.<sup>3</sup> Isaac's migration was perhaps

influenced by the closing of La Rochelle to Protestants in November of 1661. Shortly after he arrived in 1661, he purchased and moved onto land in Notre Dame des Anges. By 1663, he was joined by his wife and the rest of his children. Isaac remained on the seigneurie, except for a brief period, until his death in 1689 at the age of 75.<sup>4</sup>

While Isaac employed his skills in Notre Dame he also contributed to the construction of the town of Quebec three and one-half miles (nine kilometers) away. In 1669 he constructed a broad roof barn forty feet by twenty-four feet for Claude Charon in the seigneurie and the following year he and his son Jacques built the wall and roof frame for Jean Soulard in the upper town. While Isaac was sometimes employed in Québec, his descendants, some of whom remained on the land, produced at least one master timber-framer in each generation. The Bédard family had been carpenters in France and developed a reputation for skilled workmanship in New France.<sup>5</sup>

The marriage of Isaac Bédard and Marie Girard produced eight children, three of whom survived to adulthood.<sup>6</sup> Isaac and his descendants prospered until, by the end of the French regime, the Bédard family was one of the largest property owners in Notre Dame des Anges, possessing 732.66 arpents (610.55 acres) of land.<sup>7</sup>

Pierre Godin, an engagé or indentured servant from LaFleche, France, arrived in Quebec on September 22, 1653,



eight years after Isaac, at age 20. Shortly after his arrival he left for Montréal and the next year, married Jeanne Rousselier.<sup>8</sup> Pierre and his wife lived in Montréal between 1654 and 1664. By 1665 they had moved to Notre Dame des Anges and remained there for only a few years before moving back to Montréal. After several years at Montréal, he moved with his family to Port Royal, Acadia, where he died at the age of 53. While it appears he was a sailor at Port Royal he may have also been a master carpenter, but little is known about his work. Pierre produced nine children, four of whom apparently died before reaching adulthood.<sup>9</sup>

Pierre and Isaac illustrate the historical issues of mobility and persistence in seventeenth century New France. "Persistence", as defined here, was the ability of families to continue in Notre Dame des Anges from 1666-1667 to the end of the French regime in 1759. Persisters were usually older emigrants and artisans who came in family units and who settled on the seigneurie shortly after their arrival in New France. Persisting families often migrated within the seigneurie but not outside. Migrants, by contrast, were more likely to be young, single males who came as indentured servants or artisans. For most of them, Notre Dame was merely one of several temporary homes through which they would pass.

The literature dealing with persistence in New France

is as elusive as it is for the English colonies in northeastern British America. Most studies dealing with New France have used historical demography as introduced by the Annales School rather than community studies. These demographic studies have tended to focus on the demography of the overall population or on various segments of the population rather than the character of a particular population within a community over time. There are no community studies in the mode of the Cambridge Group, and those studies that do exist such as Louise Dechene's Habitants et Marchands de Montréal au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle do not specifically address the question of persistence.

One way to do this is first to compare the immigrant families who stayed on the land with the Migrant population of Notre Dame des Anges, and then to follow those families that persisted through the records during the entire French regime. While the application of the term "Migrant" to anyone who left Notre Dame perhaps fifty years beyond initial settlement may be questioned, it is used in this work as a means of discerning and studying the character of persistence as it applies to land distribution and tenancy.

When Notre Dame des Anges failed as a mission and the Jesuits left for the civilized environs of Québec the Jesuits attempted to salvage some value from the land by

developing it. They made the first grant of land or concession on the seigneurie to Michael Huppé, a hatter and soldier from Alençon, France, in April of 1647.<sup>10</sup> The settlement, however, remained small and undeveloped for several years. Emigration from France was slow throughout the seventeenth century and by 1663 the entire population of New France consisted of only 3,035 men, women, and children. Of this number, 140 were recorded in Notre Dame, along the banks of the St. Lawrence.<sup>11</sup>

The year 1663, however, was a turning point for Notre Dame des Anges. In that year, Colbert, persuaded Louis XIV to incorporate New France into the empire. Colbert adopted a policy of encouraging immigration to New France. Thus, while Notre Dame des Anges was still small in 1663, Colbert's new policy, as administered by Jean Talon, Intendant of New France, helped to increase the population of the colony by actively encouraging emigration from France.

The total estimated population of Notre Dame des Anges in 1666-1667 was 314.<sup>12</sup> Fewer than a quarter of the original habitants families seen in 1666-1667 still had descendants on the family land in Notre Dame des Anges at the end of the French regime. Persisters tended to share characteristics that presumably are linked to this continuance. These data also shed light on two other issues: (1) the effect of persistence and mobility on each

segment of the population, and (2) strategies that allowed Persistent families to continue.

Of the 314 habitants of Notre Dame des Anges in 1666-1667, 223 of them fall into the category of "Migrant". They consisted of sixty-eight male household heads, forty-four adult females, forty female children, thirty-eight male children and thirty-three male indentured servants living with the Jesuits or within households. Ninety-one of the habitants were Persisters whose families continued on the land through the French regime. These consisted of twenty-six male household heads, twenty-one adult females, twenty-six male children, sixteen female children and two indentured servants living in the community.

The majority of both groups was from the Center-West and North-West regions of France.<sup>13</sup> Only among the Migrants, however, do we find individuals from the warmer South-West of France, which represented 4% of this population. The Migrants came from the towns (under 10,000) (23%), bourgs (18%), and villages (35%) of France; only 23% came from the large urban centers (over 10,000) of France. Thus, only 46% of the Migrants were of "urban" origins--coming, that is, from either a large or a small town of France. Among the Persisters, by contrast, 70 percent of the population was urban, thus defined, and fully one-half came from the large urban centers, that is, from cities with populations over 10,000.<sup>14</sup> This is

significant since during the seventeenth century only 15% of the population of France was urban and only 8% was concentrated in the largest cities. The largest cities, outside of Paris were the ports of France, such as La Rochelle. The port cities would have been places where people would have heard about Québec. La Rochelle, the major trading center between Québec and France was also one of the largest sources of immigrants to the colony.

Almost half of the Persisters were artisans while only 4% were peasants. The occupations of many of the Migrants are not clear, since many came as indentured servants, but among those for whom information is available, only 34% were artisans either employed full time or part time, while 39% were peasants or habitants. The remainder of this population were domestic servants or others labeled as volontaires who were employed by the Jesuits.

Sixty-two percent of Migrants but 85% of the Persisters, came in family units. The proportion of single persons was higher in the Migrant population, and nearly a quarter of the Migrants were engagés or indentured servants, compared to only 2.2% of the Persisters. It seems likely that many men among the Migrants though they may have wished to marry, could not find wives. Sixty-four percent of all adult Migrants were males. The entire population of Notre Dame in 1665-1666

had only five available females fifteen years of age or older; of these three were fifteen, one sixteen, and one, the widow Ardouin 52. While the proportion of single adult males among the Migrant population of Notre Dame des Anges appears to be significant, it is lower than the overall adult male proportion in New France during this period. Initially, both the Church and the state encouraged intermarriage between the Indians and the French to foster an alliance and to stabilize and give sanction to the number of liaisons with Indian women. Indians, however, proved reluctant to intermarry.

Both Persisters and Migrants were, for the most part, Roman Catholics. There was, however, a Protestant presence, in seventeenth century New France, including a substantial one in Notre Dame des Anges. While Protestants were not allowed into the colony, Protestants who abjured their faith were. Protestants made up 4% of the adult Migrant population of Notre Dame des Anges, but 22% of the adult Persisters. Most of the former Protestants were artisans from the commercial center of LaRochele. This is significant since French Huguenots constituted only 1.9% (300) of the population. This is based on a sample of 16,000 from an estimated 27,000 Huguenots who emigrated to New France.<sup>15</sup> The relatively high proportion of former Protestants to the overall population of Notre Dame des Anges was exceptional.

Perhaps these former Protestants saw Québec as a refuge rather than an adventure and were more committed to continuing on the land than adventurers. Or perhaps officials required that some Protestants spend time under the watchful eyes of the Jesuits.

The character of those settlers (habitants) who persisted on the land, moreover, differed demographically from the overall population. Persisters who were household heads or indentured servants were older than Migrants at the time of emigration from France: 26.5 years of age for male Persisters, 22.4 years for male Migrants. Trudel also found the general male population to be young at 22.2. On their arrival at Notre Dame des Anges Persisters averaged 30 years of age compared to 27.3 for Migrants, while Persisting men married at an average age of 28.8 compared to 27.5 for Migrant men. Thus, age and experience appear to have contributed to the ability of men to form the core of a successful community.

Several factors may have contributed to the inability of Migrants to continue on the land. The most obvious is the lack of a succeeding generation. Many among the Migrants were never married, others married widows whose childbearing years were over, and some Migrant married couples were infertile. The result is that 20% of the Migrant men failed to produce offspring, compared to 12% of the Persistent men. In these cases family lands of

Persisters, which otherwise would have passed on through direct lineage, were transferred instead to other relatives within New France. Thus Paul Dubois<sup>16</sup>, who never married, transferred his property to his nephew, Simon, while Robert Lefevbre,<sup>17</sup> who was childless, appears to have transferred his property to his brother, Pierre. The lands of Migrants, more often than not fell outside the direct lineage.

Migrant families of Notre Dame des Anges who did produce children had larger families on average (8.8 children) than the Persistent families (8.2 children). Migrant families, however, also experienced a 36% mortality rate for their children between infancy and eighteen as opposed to 25% for Persisters. Persistence on the land required not only the ability to produce offspring, but also the ability to raise those offspring to adulthood.

Beyond propagation, commitment to the land also appears to have been a deciding factor in persistence. The community established in Notre Dame des Anges in 1666-1667 was a mobile one. Of those owning property in Notre Dame, about 81% failed, for several reasons, in their efforts to continue on the land. And, for many of the first generation settlers Notre Dame des Anges was just one of several temporary settling places.

One may speculate that a consequence of this early



stability in the lives of the first generation may have been a longer life. Those males who succeeded on the land died on average at 62.2 years of age. The stress of moving and starting over may have contributed to reducing the mean life span of male Migrants to 56. See Table 3.

Thus the failure of the Migrants may have been due in part to youth, restlessness, and inexperience. The number of unmarried men, moreover, and those married couples unable to have children made it impossible for some to continue on the land beyond a single generation, while a higher mortality rate made it less likely that their children would survive to adulthood. Moreover, demographic evidence suggests that Persisting families were better able to perpetuate a lineage. Settlers who persisted on the land did so through a variety of means.

TABLE 3  
LIFE COURSE DIFFERENCES IN THE POPULATION OF  
NOTRE DAME DES ANGES

	Migrants	Persisters
Date of Arrival to New France	22.4	26.5
Date of Arrival to Notre Dame	27.3	30.0
Arrived in Family Units (%)	62%	85%
Protestants (%)	5%	20%
Age of Marriage	27.5	28.8
Number of Children Per Family	8.8	8.2
Infant/Childhood Mortality (%)	36%	25%
Age of Death	56	62.2

While all Persisters owned land in Notre Dame in 1666-1667, not all lived there from the earliest years. These absentee owners, did however, move to Notre Dame sometime after the seigneurie was established. Considering both groups together, owner-occupants and absentees, there were in 1666-1667 twenty-six families whose descendants still owned the same land in 1759. These twenty-six families, consisting of twenty-six independent households, owned land in Notre Dame in 1666-1667.

Persistence in New France appears to have been the exception rather than the norm. Those who persisted on the land differed from the general population. The profile of a Persistent habitant in New France was that of an older immigrant, an artisan, and possibly a former Protestant who arrived within a family unit from the cities of France, who relatively soon after arriving in New France settled in Notre Dame des Anges. Here his family produced succeeding generations that continued in Notre Dame des Anges until the end of the French regime in 1759. The first generation decision to remain in Notre Dame des Anges may have been a contributing factor to the relative longevity of these families on the land. Moreover, these Persisters, or founding fathers, once upon the land, maintained their original concession of land and enhanced it through a variety of means. See Table 4. The

families who persisted on the land appear to have continued as farmer-artisans, perhaps connected to the commercial economy of Québec.

TABLE 4  
LAND ACQUISITION BY PERSISTERS DURING THE FRENCH REGIME

	MIGRANTS 1666-1667	PERSISTERS 1666-1667	PERSISTERS 1754
NUMBER OF FAMILIES	99	26	26
% OF LAND UNDER CULTIVATION	67%	33%	16%
% OF LOTS UNDER CULTIVATION	67%	33%	51%
TOTAL NUMBER OF LOTS	67	33	108
TOTAL NUMBER OF ARPENTS	3696+	1120+	3006+

Studies on New England, on the other hand, have not attempted a demographic profile of the entire population of the seventeenth century. There are, however, community studies which consider the character of a population within a community. Only one of these studies deals with persistence and then only indirectly. This is Greven's work on Andover. The following is an overview of some of the findings dealing with several New England communities including Andover.

One study on New England involved a group of 193 emigrants from Great Yarmouth in Norfolk and another eighty from Sandwich in Kent who came to New England in 1637 and established the towns of Yarmouth and Sandwich. The character and composition of these first settlers were extracted from the relatively complete data from 1637.<sup>18</sup>

Many of the first English settlers were older and from urban centers.<sup>19</sup> These first settlers came as nuclear families consisting of two parents, a few children and one or two servants. A similar pattern of migration is repeated in Andover and Plymouth. The number of men and women were approximately equal and only a few families included grandparents or in-laws.

The extended family was more the exception than the rule. In Sandwich there were twelve male heads of families and their wives, twenty-nine children, twenty-two servants, and three single men. The comparable figures for Yarmouth are twenty-nine male heads of households and their wives, eighty-six children, thirty-four servants, five single men and eight single women or female heads of families. Emigration was by nuclear families and not by individuals or extended families. Moreover, migration to Massachusetts was not an affair of the young. Heads of households for Yarmouth consisted of 12 men in their thirties; eight who were forty or over and only five men who were in their twenties. A majority of the wives were older than their husbands.<sup>20</sup>

In Andover, first generation men married at 26.8<sup>21</sup> and women at the age of 19. In other Massachusetts communities, namely Plymouth and Dedham, the average age of marriage for males was between 25-27 and 25 respectively; for women 20-22 and 23.<sup>22</sup> The relatively

healthy lives among the first generation resulted in stable family units. In Andover, 67.6% had only one wife and none was married more than three times.<sup>23</sup> The death of a spouse was more the exception than the rule. The first generation had large families with approximately 8.3 children per family and with some 7.2 children surviving to age twenty-one.<sup>24</sup> The first generation had no more than thirteen in each family with the interval between births being about twenty-eight months.<sup>25</sup> The families of Plymouth had an average of seven to ten children while the infant mortality was one out of ten. In Plymouth the number of children within a family consisted of approximately three at any given time. In Plymouth, one out of five women died from causes associated with childbirth.<sup>26</sup>

In New England, the first generation experienced a rapid expansion in population because of a low death rate. In Andover, the average age of death for males being 71.8 and for females, 70.8. In Plymouth, males lived to age 70, and, while the lifespan for women was seven years less than women in Andover, this but indicates a slightly lower average age of death with 69.2 for men and 62.4 for women respectively.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, while two cultures came to the Northeast to settle the composition of each was quite similiar especially for those who persisted. In both colonies

settlers came from the urban centers of France and England. In both colonies, Persisters were older than the general population but English immigrants tended to be older than those from France as were the immigrants to Sandwich and Yarmouth.

Persisting males in both colonies married at about the same age. The age of marriage for Persisting males in Andover, 26.8, was similar to the 26.5 for Persisting males. Women married earlier in Notre Dame, at age 19 as oppose to 23 for Andover women. Persisting couples in Andover and Notre Dame des Anges had families that consisted of 8.3 and 8.2 children respectively. The lives of Andover men, however, were healthier; they lived an average of 71.8 years compared to the 62.2 years the men of Notre Dame des Anges lived.

## CHAPTER VI

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> All the above figures are based on two works, Marcel Trudel's La Population du Canada en 1663 (Montréal: les Editions Fides, 1973), pp. 149-151 and Hubert Charbonneau's Vie et Mort de Nos Ancêtres. (Montréal: 1975). The 69.9% for the percentage of individuals returning to France was taken from another work by Trudel titled, Histoire De La Nouvelle France, vol. III: La seigneurie des Cent Associés 1627-1663 (Montréal: les Editions Fides, 1983) p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> "Persisters" as defined here includes two groups: The first group is comprised of who actually resided in Notre Dame des Anges adult male household heads, widowed household heads who were landowners, tenants or indentured servants. The second group consists of those Persisters who owned land in Notre Dame from 1666-1667, but did not necessarily reside in the seigneurie. This group was constructed to study land distribution, tenacy and transference.

<sup>3</sup> Rene Jetté, Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles du Québec des Origines a 1730, (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983), p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Isaac appears to have lived briefly in the seigneurie of St. Ignace. ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Francois Genaple, October 12, 1681.

<sup>5</sup> A. J. H. Richardson et al., Québec City: Architects, Artisans, and Builders, (Ottawa: History Division, National Museum of Man, 1984), p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> Jetté, p. 72.

<sup>7</sup> ANQ, Papier Terrier, 1754.

<sup>8</sup> Jetté, p. 511.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Henri Bancheron.

<sup>11</sup> Trudel, La Population du Canada, p. 11.

12 This figure was derived from the Recensements of 1666 and 1667 in conjunction with acts of concession and notary records. The Recensement of 1666 placed the population of Notre Dame des Anges at 101; the Recensement of 1667 at 212. These figures, however, are open to speculation since political areas were vaguely delimited and varied between the two years. The Jesuits, moreover, declared in 1663 that there were 140 persons living in Notre Dame. The population used for this study was verified through the recensements but also by the acts of concession and the notary records. Several articles have been written criticizing the accuracy of the recensements such as, "Jumelage des Donnees Nominative des les Recensements: Problemes et Methodes" by Raymond Roy, Christian Pouyez and Francois Martin in Histoire Sociale-Social History, vol. 13, no. 25, May 1980.

13 Of the Persisters of Notre Dame des Anges, 53.6 were from Center-West and 25% were from the North-West of France. Marcel Trudel, Histoire De La Nouvelle France vol. III: La seigneurie des Cent Associés 1627-1663 VII. p. 27. Trudel's distribution by geographic region is somewhat different but consistent. Of 2,033 immigrants who left France in 1653, 37.6 were from regions which from the North-Atlantic (Picardie, Normandie, Bretagne, Perche) and another 30.3% were from the Central-Atlantic regions (Poitou, Aunis, Saintonge, La Marche, Angoumois, and Limousin). Only 1.3% came from the southern province or those on he characterized as from the Mediterranean (Lyonnais, Languedoc, Avignon, Provence, and Comte de Foix). See also Trudel, La Population du Canada, pp. 41-43.

14 The urban character of both Persisters and Migrants appears to be consistent with a dissertation in progress by Leslie Choquette at Harvard University which deals with the migration from France to New France.

15 This sample of 300 is based on a dissertation in progress by Leslie Choquette titled, "French Emigration to Canada in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." Her sample comes from a work by Marc-Andre Bédard, Les Protestants en Nouvelle France, (Quebec: La Societe Historique de Quebec, 1978).

16 Jetté, p. 366.

17 Ibid., p. 686.

18 T. H. Breen; Puritans and Adventurers, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) p. 48.



19 Ibid., p. 46, 50.

20 Ibid., pp. 49-50.

21 Philip Greven, Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts, (Ithaca: Cornell, 1970), pp. 33-35.

22 John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 151. Kenneth Lockridge, A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970), p. 66.

23 Greven, p. 29.

24 Ibid., p. 30.

25 Ibid.

26 Demos, p. 66, 68, 192.

27 Ibid., p. 66, and Greven, pp. 26-27.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE SECOND GENERATION

The first generation in Notre Dame des Anges lived healthy, relatively long lives as attested by the number of children they produced. The first settlers produced 141<sup>1</sup> offspring: seventy-one males and seventy females. Of the second generation only 39% remained on the seigneurie<sup>2</sup>; 43% of the males and 37% of the females. Sons of the first generation were slightly more successful than daughters at maintaining their presence in the seigneurie. Some 40% of the second generation left permanently, while another 21% migrated in and out of Notre Dame des Anges.

The figures for migration, however, are misleading. What actually occurred was a micro-migration, or a micro-displacement of a portion of the population within a radius of 32 miles (20km). French demographers refer to this type of movement as "brassage de population."<sup>4</sup> This micro-displacement was the result of a decline in the amount of land available to the second generation. While Notre Dame des Anges began as a seigneurie of significant size, one league by four leagues, (three miles by twelve miles or thirty-six square miles) a portion of its land

had been confiscated by Jean Talon. The extent of the confiscated land is unknown, but it appears to have been about one-third of the seigneurie's original size. The scarcity of land was of particular concern to those settlers in Canardière, which was the oldest and best developed section of Notre Dame des Anges. With the St. Lawrence at her door, and Bourg Royal and Petite Auvergne at her back, there was no room for growth. For some, the closest available land was northeast and southwest, outside the borders of Notre Dame des Anges.

Of those who left, 70% remained within the same parishes, that is, Beauport and Québec.<sup>5</sup> The parish of Beauport was located in the seigneurie of Beauport, which bordered Notre Dame des Anges in the east. Both the parish and the city of Québec, were located a short boat trip away. While a portion of the second generation left, they did not migrate far and they did not go alone.

Migration, for some of the second generation, was the result of a successful effort to secure the closest available land. Many of the second generation Migrants had large families to provide for. As such, the demands on families to provide for day-to-day necessities must have been enormous. Yet, in spite of these demands some persisting families were able to focus their resources and secure additional nearby lands, which speaks to their strength and determination.

to Québec City. Their property was located in the western section of Canardière, in the parish of Québec. Québec was known to the Normands, since the family went there regularly to attend mass. Not only was Québec itself already familiar, but the location of the parish church in the city insured continued contact with other family members on a regular basis. For the Normand family, parish boundaries appear to have been more of a significant factor in determining movement than political boundaries.

When a migrant family did move some distance, other members of the family sometimes joined at a later date. In 1670, when Jacques Paradise moved to the Ile de Orléans,<sup>6</sup> he was soon joined by his brothers Guillaume and Pierre and their wives.<sup>7</sup> Few of the second generation went as far as Montreal and Detriot like Joseph Parant,<sup>8</sup> or even back to France, as did Jean Paradis.<sup>9</sup>

While a portion of the population left permanently, another portion 21%, returned at least once after leaving Notre Dame des Anges. Of those who came back, some stayed, some left never to return, and some left only to return again to the land. Members of this latter group

generally spent some time living in nearby Bourg Royal. In contrast, of those who migrated permanently from Notre Dame des Anges, only one moved to Bourg Royal. Had this group been reluctant migrants waiting nearby for available land to open up? Perhaps they were part of a group of migrants within New France, who spent most of their lives migrating from place to place.

The experience of the second generation in New England was different. Andover's first generation possessed sixty square miles, Sandwich's seventy-five square miles, and Dedham's some 18,000 acres to distribute to the second generation.<sup>10</sup> In all three towns the first generation had the land to care adequately for the second generation and they did. Therefore, all three towns are marked by immobility. In Andover, Massachusetts, 78% of the second generation men remained in Andover and became firmly rooted.<sup>11</sup> Where the other twenty-eight males migrated is unknown. Perhaps they too moved nearby, as did the habitants in Notre Dame des Anges. The second generation in Sandwich was equally immobile, with 64% of the second generation remaining in the town. Those who did migrate from Sandwich remained only a day's ride away.<sup>12</sup> In Sandwich, moreover, migration was more likely to occur in those families who had an average of 7.3 members.<sup>13</sup> In Dedham fathers gave land freely and generously to the second generation.<sup>14</sup>

By contrast, Plymouth's population was more mobile. Dispersion began early and migrants moved to the north and south of the town.<sup>15</sup> Demos, however, does not indicate the numbers of those who migrated from Plymouth.

The descendants of the first settlers in Notre Dame des Anges married at age 18, on the average, for females and age 25.3 for males. These ages were somewhat younger than those of the Persisters of the first generation, 23 and 28.8 respectively, and for those of the overall population in New France, which were 23 and 27.6 respectively.<sup>16</sup> This low figure in Notre Dame des Anges may have been influenced by the deaths of a number of first generation members in 1711, possibly due to measles. The early deaths of some of the first generation would have made land available to their sons, allowing them to marry earlier. The Jesuits spoke of the illness and subsequent deaths of 1711:

We have had this year in Canada a prevalent disease which has carried off many persons, of all ages, sexes and conditions. It was a malignant Fever accompanied by purpura, of which ... [two] of our fathers died....they caught the disease while visiting, consoling, and attending the sick, which cured many....he [God] sent them the disease-from which they died on the 8th day...<sup>17</sup>

In New England the reverse was true. In healthy Andover second generation men married later than the first generation, 26.7 as compared to 26.0. In Dedham they married at age 25-26,<sup>18</sup> and in Plymouth at age 25.<sup>19</sup>

Andover women also married later, at age 22.3,<sup>20</sup> as did Plymouth women at age 22.<sup>21</sup> Dedham women married at 22.5.<sup>22</sup>

In Notre Dame des Anges, one out of four marriages within the second generation took place between persisting families,<sup>23</sup> and one quarter of these marriages involved siblings, that is, siblings within one family marrying siblings from another family. Individual and independent family units may have been the character of first families, but they strengthened their bonds within the community through intermarriage. In general, sibling marriages accounted for 20% of the marriages within the second generation. A similar pattern was noted in Guilford, Connecticut, in the eighteenth century.<sup>24</sup>

Men of the second generation in the Northeast generally spent their lives with one spouse. In Andover 77.6% of the men had only one wife in their lifetime.<sup>25</sup> This figure was a little higher in New France, where 80% of the men married only once. Three marriages for one man was the most recorded in Notre Dame des Anges; while one man had four wives in Andover. Marriage, in most instances, was not broken by premature death, and if death did occur spouses did not remarry as quickly as had the first generation.

The second generation in Notre Dame des Anges

averaged 8.4 children per couple. In Andover this figure was slightly higher, at 8.7 children per family. The mortality rate for the children of the second generation was between 22.7% and 52.8%.<sup>26</sup> In the first generation only one out of four children had died; in the second generation, one out of three children died. Of the total number of known deaths, 52.8% were children between the ages of one and five, and still another 22% were children under the age of nineteen.<sup>27</sup>

While nearly one-half of the first generation fathers were artisans, few passed their skills on to their sons or apprenticed them to artisans. Within the second generation, only 15% were artisans or held a position other than that of habitant. Another man who was also placed in this group, although not technically an artisan, was a wagonner serving the city of Québec.<sup>28</sup> The number of men associated with construction attest to the growth in the area of Quebec. While this study does not examine the occupation of the husbands of the daughters of the second generation, such a study would clarify the proportion between artisans and habitants. The Bédard family, the most successful of the persisting families in Notre Dame des Anges, in the number of children and the acreage under its control, formed a social-economic relationship within the family. Some kin were artisans, and some were farmers. This created an economic balance



in the family, enabling it to fulfill its main function, that is, providing for the next generation, and thereby continuing the lineage.

A few artisan fathers of Notre Dame des Anges trained their sons to follow in their footsteps, as did Isaac Bédard. Some second generation sons, however, learned skills that were unknown to their fathers. On the whole, however, most of the members of the second generation were habitants.<sup>29</sup>

In Notre Dame des Anges, death came earlier for the second generation than it had for the first. The average age of death for males was 52, and for females it was 43.9. The lower average age of death appears to have been the result of an unknown illness, probably measles, in the late winter and early spring of 1711. The illness took 8% of the second generation and also a number of their parents and children, thereby disrupting a number of second generation households. This reduced the number of children in the third generation, and any future children, by removing their potential parents. The early deaths in the second generation influenced the ability of some members of the third generation to continue on the land. Generally, these second generation fathers died in their prime, in their thirties and forties, at a time when they would otherwise have been securing land for their

children.<sup>30</sup> The decline in nearby available lands due to the crown's confiscation of land, and the deaths in 1711 of members from three generations, created stresses which led to the micro-displacement of the majority of the second generation.

In New England, however, Andover and Sandwich were healthy places. In Andover the community was healthy until 1690, when, within a two year period, ten people died from smallpox. On the whole, however, Andover remained a healthy place for the second generation. Second Generation Andover men, who had survived to age 21, lived to age 64.2, and Sandwich men to age 63.4. The second generation experienced a relatively long life and an unusually high birth rate,<sup>30</sup> which only in the third generation resulted in migration from the town.

The first settlers of Notre Dame des Anges shared no common vision which united them as a community. Many, however, did share their origins; most came from the Center-West and North-West and from large cities, like La Rochelle. It is uncertain if some of these people knew each other before emigrating. Generally, they had come onto the land alone, as individuals, or as unrelated families. And while most of them were from Center-West of France especially La Rochelle, they were essentially a community of strangers; their security and allegiance rested with the family. These strangers, moreover, did

not share a "like mind" with their neighbors, as did the settlers in Dedham. The isolation within the community coupled with the isolation of the environment forged familial bonds. The isolation fostered by the environment was a product of long winters with severe cold, persistent and sometimes impassable snows, the closing of the St. Lawrence River for months on end to the outside world, and the ever present Iroquois.

In the second generation loyalty remained with the family, and little attachment was formed with the greater community of Notre Dame des Anges. The familial bonds were strengthened within the second generation through intermarriage with other persisting families. The strength of the family rested on its ability to secure nearby land for family members, and this responsibility fell to the fathers. A father, during his lifetime, had to direct family resources in direct proportion to the growth of his family. In other words, he had to acquire land as his family expanded to ensure that there would be land available for the next generation. When available land declined by the second generation, the parish became the focal point for expansion, while strong kinship ties facilitated the transition and expansion to other communities beyond Notre Dame des Anges.

**LAND TRANSMISSION BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION**

In New England and New France, the availability of land, the attitude towards land ownership, and the relationship between fathers and sons helped to determine how land would be distributed to the next generation.

In Andover, fathers were reluctant to give up control of either the land or their children. The first generation in Andover had determined the initial division of land. In 1662, when the town completed the last collective division of its land, the method of granting land was altered. Thus, the town proprietor crystalized the economic and social structure of the first generation community. Land was sold thereafter in twenty-five acre lots to anyone wishing to settle in the town.

This method appealed to men outside the town who had no investment in the community to begin with. Andover, however, was an agricultural community in which status and wealth were determined by the amount of land men owned. Those who acquired these smaller lots were placed at the bottom of the social and economic scale. Members of the second generation realized quickly that it was to their advantage to wait for part of the family lands. The effect of their decision was to strengthen the position of the first generation settlers. Andover's land distribution policy, in conjunction with the fact that its

first generation had emigrated as nuclear families and thus had few kinsmen, shaped familial relationships.

Inheritance constituted the principle means of transferring the ownership of land from one generation to the next. Consequently, if children married and lived on the land, fathers still controlled the land and their children. Large families, abundant land, the tendency to remain permanently settled in Andover, and long delays in the actual transmission of land from the first to the second generation, all fostered the development of families that were extended in structure, patriarchal in character, and resident in one community. The fact that the father owned the land upon which the son settled was perhaps the most significant factor in maintaining an extended patriarchal family.

By the time of the third generation in Andover, however, there was a decline in the proportion of available land. These forces, in conjunction with a desire for autonomy led the third generation to migrate to Windam, Connecticut and Concord, New Hampshire.<sup>32</sup> During the fourth generation the continued reduction in the amount of available land and in the size of lots resulted in a lessening of the town's population. The outward expansion of migration increased. After the mid-1720's, however, migration shifted north to New Hampshire and into the Massachusetts towns of Lancaster and Lunenburg.<sup>33</sup>

Not all New England fathers held the same attitude towards land distribution, and thus their sons did not feel the need to move a great distance from their fathers. In Plymouth fathers did not delay in passing ownership of property on to their children. Loyalty, kindness, shared responsibility, and mutuality were the bonds on which these families rested.

In Dedham fathers sometimes gave land to the second generation prior to their own deaths, or sons secured land for themselves, for land was abundant in Dedham.<sup>34</sup> The towns response to an increase in population and the dwindling amount of available community land was the creation of precincts. These precincts were outlying areas within the town, for Dedham's sons were reluctant to leave their families and the community. Only when the surrounding areas became too large, and their interests conflicted with those of Dedham, did they form independent communities, and even then, they sought to recreate Dedham. Thus, although both Andover and Dedham were faced with a similar problem, they solved it in different ways. The differences in their solutions can be traced to the differences in attitudes within the towns.

In summary, the first generation of New England settlers came in homogenous family units, lived in a generally healthy environment, and created communities

that were similar to those they had left in England. They lived long, healthy lives within stable family units. This first generation determined the initial division of the land, but when subsequent divisions made each succeeding generation land-poor, the sons of Andover and Dedham sought different alternatives. The former migrated long distances, while the latter travelled to nearby precincts in which they sought to recreate the community they had involuntarily left.

In Notre Dame des Anges the Jesuits, and not the first habitants, controlled the division of land. While additional concessions were sometimes granted, habitants for the most part, owned only forty arpent farms. The community of Notre Dame des Anges enjoyed a social-economic homogeneity similar to that of Dedham. If fathers could not secure additional concessions, then land had to be purchased either within or outside of the seigneurie or else sons had to find their own land. Some of the older members of the second generation secured concessions on their own.

The decline in nearby available land in the seigneurie was evident by the time the second generation came into its own. The taking of approximately one-third of the seigneurie by Jean Talon and the division of land of the first and second rangs between 1665 and 1672 left little desirable land nearby for the second generation.

Fathers were unable to secure land in Notre Dame des Anges for most members of the second generation. Therefore, the displacement experience of the community of Notre Dame des Anges was felt much earlier than in Andover and Dedham, where it was experienced, not by the second but by the third generation. The displacement of the second generation in Notre Dame des Anges was to nearby locations. Thus, their micro-migration was similar to that of the third generation in Dedham, who formed precincts nearby. The bond between the generations in New France was not based on land, for there was little nearby land to give. Their bond here was forged by loyalty, mutuality, small but strong kinship ties, that is ties strengthened by the marriage of siblings and, perhaps, economic interdependency. The experience of the first and second generation in Notre Dame des Anges paralleled that of Plymouth and Dedham, rather than that of Andover.



## CHAPTER VII

## NOTES

1 This figure is based on those descendants of the first generation who reached age 21, or who married or formed a separate household before age 21. Included in this figure are the children of Pierre Parent. Pierre, however, moved to Beauport leaving one of his sons on the land in Notre Dame des Anges. Several of his children were born in Beauport. In order to obtain of more accurate picture of mobility, not all his children were included in the mobility if they were born in Beauport and are recorded living in Beauport when they reach adulthood.

2 This figure is based on the birth and baptism records of the third generation as found in Cyprien Tanquay, Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes, (Montréal: E. Senecal, 1871-1890), vol. 1, and Rene Jette, Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles du Québec des Origines à 1730, (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983), and ANQ, Notaires des Greffes.

3 Both the 40% and the 21% figures are based on the birth and baptism records of the third generation and the notary records.

4 Jean Pierre Poussou, "Les Mouvements Migratoires en France," Annales de Demographie Historique (1970) pp. 19-20.

5 Those who left Notre Dame des Anges permanently went to the following areas: Québec: 54%; Beauport: 16%; Ile d'Orléans: 10%; L'Ange-Gardien: 4%; Chateau Richer: 4%; Trois Rivieres: 2%; Bourg Royal: 2%; Cap-de-la-Madeleine: 2%; Montréal: 2%; La Durantaye: 2%; St. Jean de la Rochelle: 2%.

6 Jette, pp. 871-872.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., p. 876.

9 Ibid., p. 872.

10 Kenneth Lockridge, A New England Town: The First

Hundred Years, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970) p. 71-72.

11 Philip Greven, Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts, (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell, 1970) p. 39.

12 Thomas C. Cole, "Family Settlement and Migration in Southeastern Massachusetts, 1650-1805: The Case for Regional Analysis in New England," Genealogical Register, 132 (January 1978):176.

13 Ibid., p. 183.

14 Lockridge, pp.71-72.

15 John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life In Plymouth Colony, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 10.

16 Hubert Charbonneau, Vie Et Mort de nos Ancêtres: Etude Démographique, (Montréal: Presses de L'Université de Montréal, 1975), p. 165.

17 Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries In New France, 1610-1791, 66:211-212.

18 Lockridge, p. 66.

19 Demos, p. 151.

20 Greven, pp. 120 and 35.

21 Demos, p. 151.

22 Lockridge's Figures are for all marriages between 1640-1690. "The Population of Dedham, Massachusetts 1636-1736," Economic History Review, pp. 318-344.

23 Marriages between members of the second generation of persisting families: Marie Madeleine Paradise and Robert Choret, 1674; Marie Catherine Roy and Thomas Pageau, 1675; Catherine Huppé and Paul Francois Chalifou, 1685; Suzanne Normand and Jaques Huppé, 1686; Jean Normand and Anne Chalifou, 1686; Jeanne Paquet and Jean Paradise, 1689; Joseph Normand and Marie Madeleine Treffle, 1691; Genevieve Normand and Francois Trefflé, 1691; Marie Villeneuve and Etienne Bécard, 1694; Marie Anne Pageot and Joseph Oliver Guilbault, 1694; Michael Regnault and Marie Reaume, 1698; Pierre Maillou and Anne Lefebvre, 1701; Jean

Baptiste Pageot and Marie Paradise, 1703; Marie Madeleine Roy and Pierre Roy, 1704; Jacques Villeneuve and Anne Chalifou, 1708; Joseph Pageot and Marie Madeleine Boesme, 1716.

24 John J. Waters, "Family, Inheritance and Migration in Colonial New England: The Evidence from Guilford, Connecticut," William and Mary Quarterly 39 (January 1982): 64-86.

25 Greven, p. 29.

26 This range is based on those known to have died and those whose deaths are uncertain, but appear probable.

27 Based on 163 known births and deaths of second generation children.

28 Jacques Bédard--carpenter, Robert Choret--carpenter, Joseph Maillou--mason, Noel Maillou--captain of the militia, Jean Baptiste Maillou--mason, Pierre Maillou--edge-tool maker and black smith, Charles Normand--roofer, Jean Paradis--captain of a ship and merchant, Pierre Pivain--blacksmith, Michel Regnault--mason, and Jean Baptiste Regnaud--wagoneer.

29 Archives Nationales du Quebec, Recensement de 1681.

30 Those members of the second generation who died in 1711 and their ages are as follows: Jacques Bédard (69); Michel Chrétien (41); Claude Philberte Chrétien (36); Simon Courtois (32); Marin Courtois (32); Paul Pageot (21); Marie Marguerite Pageot (18); Jeanne Paquet Paradise (44); Elizabeth Pivain Blondeau (40); Jean Baptist Renaud (43); Marie Joseph Villeneuve (37).

31 Greven, p. 29.

32 Greven, p. 162.

33 Greven, p. 29.

34 Greven, p. 212.

35 Lockridge, p. 71-72.

## CHAPTER VIII

### A STRATEGY FOR SURVIVAL

While fathers were not able to keep all their children in Notre Dame des Anges, some families proved more successful at it than others. Their success entailed the use of several strategies. One strategy, however, was used consistently by all families who persisted on the land: They circumvented the law governing inheritance, the Coûtume de Paris. Thus, while the inheritance system was in place in New France, the actual customs of the habitants were different.<sup>1</sup> In order to understand why and how families did not follow the law, a review of the Custom is necessary.

Under the Coûtume de Paris two rules applied to the transfer of land. One rule applied to the nobility, another to commoners. In the case of the nobility, if a parent died without leaving a will, a form of primogeniture was used. When a seigneur died, half of the estate went to the eldest son and the remainder was divided among the other children.

The land of commoners, on the other hand, was to be divided equally among all heirs, regardless of sex. Thus, women, regardless of their marital status, could own property in their own right. This helps to explain why women maintained their maiden names in the legal

documentation of New France throughout their lives.

In New France equal division of the land was, in principle, the law. In actuality, though, a younger child who remained at home to care for aging parents sometimes received the land. Land was also transferred as gift in marriage contracts or in donations. In the latter case certain conditions for the transference of land were stated. It was also customary for sons to receive their share of the estate in land, and daughters to receive their portion in household goods.

A widow was entitled to one-half of the community property. The children were entitled to the other half, minus the douaire or preciput. The douaire was a specified amount of money that was to be deducted from the lineage property of the husband and reserved for the widow. The preciput was a claim by either spouse against the community property, prior to the property's division. The preciput was generally one-half the douaire.<sup>2</sup> If there were no surviving children, and if a don mutuel clause was included in the marriage contract, then the remaining spouse became the heir to the estate.

In New France, a widowed woman, and a single woman who had reached the age of majority, could dispose of property and make contracts; the same was true for New England women of similar status. Married women in New England, however, could not own either real or personal

property. The married women of both New England<sup>3</sup> and New France negotiated contracts as representatives of their husbands.

In New England, the Code of 1648 governed all aspects of colonial life in Massachusetts. This code was a product of common law, English statutes, and colonial legislation. The Code of 1648 applied only to Massachusetts which, in the seventeenth century, included most of New England. Other colonies evolved their own legal systems.<sup>4</sup> Since the communities examined in this study were located in Massachusetts, a brief discussion of the law as it dealt with inheritance is outlined below.

Initially, under common law, land passed to the eldest son by primogeniture and entail. Beginning in 1648, however, with the passing of the Code, if a parent died without leaving a will, all the children were equally entitled to a share, although the eldest son would receive a double portion of the estate.<sup>5</sup> In Dedham, property was equally divided amongst the heirs since there was plenty of land and the first generation was generous.<sup>6</sup>

While the law called for the equal division of property, what actually occurred was the transmission of land to the sons and moveables to the daughters.<sup>7</sup> Deeds of gift were the most common way of transferring land in Sandwich.<sup>8</sup>

A widow was entitled to one third of the household

goods, and the use or income from one-third of the real estate, until she died or remarried. The claim to one-third of the estate was her legal right. If a woman's husband, in his will, left her less than that amount she could petition the court. In most cases, when a widow had minor children, the estate remained intact until the children reached the age of majority. The property was then divided by court order or the terms of the husband's will. Following this division, the widows of New England held very little of what had been theirs to begin with.<sup>9</sup>

The Coutume de Paris governed the distribution of land after death, but land was often distributed prior to death in order to circumvent the law and retain the land's integrity. The transfer of much of the land in New France actually took place by contractual agreements prior to the death .

Some habitant-parents, in anticipation of their children's marriages or their own deaths, secured land to give to their children, at either of these times. In reality, what occurred at death was a division of the remaining property.

Land was transferred to the next generation in several ways. Often, land and possessions were passed on in marriage contracts or contracts de mariages. Usually parents, but also guardians and relatives of the couple, gave land, animals, and household goods to the pair in

advance of their inheritance. Although land, animals, household items, and money were promised, they were not always given. Some children had to wait years before actually receiving what had been promised to them.

Land and the means to continue on the land could also be given as a gift or donation. This allowed a parent or parents to favor one child over the others. It was not unusual for a stay-at-home child to be given much of the estate in return for helping a parent. When land was given in exchange for care of an aging parent, the provisions of the contract were quite detailed. The contract also contained a clause providing for its nullification if parents felt the conditions had not been met. Such a clause insured aging parents continued control over their own care and over their children.

While the parents could favor one or two children over the others, the rule of legitime protected the right of all legal heirs. The legitime was the right of a child to claim one-half of what he would have received in an equal division of the estate, with endowed siblings making up the difference.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the unfavored child had recourse under this provision.

Land and possessions could be transmitted to the next generation from two sources, that is, from the community property, or communaute des biens, or from lineage property. The communaute des biens consisted of all



properties acquired by either spouse during the course of the marriage. This, however, did not include lineage properties.<sup>11</sup> Lineage property was that which was passed through the family line to a direct heir.

In marriage the community property was under the control and disposition of the husband. The husband, however, could not dispose of the property without the consent of his wife. The wife's signature on a contract was proof of her support. In return for her consent to a sales agreement, the wife was sometimes given a hairpin, or espingle, or a pair of Indian moccassins. In New England, husbands had the same restrictions, but wives did not receive gifts as tokens for their consent. Moreover, a wife's lineage property could not be sold without her consent or the consent of her husband.

At the death of a spouse the communaute de biens could be dissolved and the property divided by an act de partage, following an inventory, or inventaire, of the property. This generally occurred in the case of remarriage so as to protect the interests of the children of the first marriage, or the children from "the first bed" as the habitants referred to them.

If the community was dissolved, the wife was entitled to one-half. The wife, however, could also choose to renounce her right to the community property, particularly if the estate had more debts against it than the portion

of the community property due her. A renunciation of the community property cancelled her responsibility for debts against the estate.

The communaute de biens, however, often stayed intact until the death of the remaining spouse, particularly if there were several minor children. Mothers in New France and New England usually remained the legal guardians of their children in case of the death of a spouse. In New France, however, the interests of minor children were also looked after by assistant guardians, who were usually male relatives of the deceased spouse. These assistant guardians protected lineage interests and were concerned with the overall welfare of the minors. The protection of the lineage was of particular significance to families, since widows and widowers usually remarried and created new family units. Lineage property could be disposed of by the assistant guardians in the name of the minor. Once the minor reached the age of majority, he acknowledged his compliance with his guardian's decisions by means of a notarized statement to that effect.

While the Coutume de Paris governed the division of property, it did not control what happened to the estate. All heirs were present at, and participated in the actual division of the property. Through a flurry of activity, they exchanged, bought, and sold what had been divided in a way that was equitable for the individuals and the

lineage. Usually, the result was that one individual, or a few, generally male, retained control of the estate if subsequent properties had not been obtained for them prior to the parents' deaths. The remaining heirs received money or goods. Female heirs were more likely to receive money or household goods since they lived on lands secured by their husbands. Thus, the binding contractual agreements made during the lifetime of a habitant, and the efforts of the heirs after the deaths of their parents, insured the perpetuation of the lineage. Louise Dechene, in her study of seventeenth century Montreal, noted similar efforts by habitants to secure an equitable share without destroying the integrity of the land.<sup>12</sup>

Collaboration within the family to preserve the lineage was particularly strong within those families who persisted on the land throughout the French Regime. Children, with or without their parents' assistance, either found land within the community or moved on, thus protecting the land's integrity. Of those families who persisted in Notre Dame des Anges throughout the French Regime, the Bedard family was the most successful. They were successful in that they were able to secure more land for more of their descendants than any other family persisting in the seigneurie.

By the end of the French Regime, the Bédard Family had twenty male descendants or their widows living as

single or joint owners on twenty-three lots in Notre Dame des Anges. The average size of their lots was thirty-one arpents, slightly less than the forty arpents of land per farm given out in the late mid-seventeenth century. In total, by the end of the French Regime, the Bedard family owned 732.6 arpents of land, or 3% of the total amount of land under cultivation in the seigneurie.

In addition, Isaac Bédard and his wife Marie Girard, the first of their line in New France, represent a significant number of those characteristics seen in those first habitants who persisted on the land in Notre Dame des Anges. Isaac Bédard was an artisan and Huguenot from an urban center. Many of those persisting in Notre Dame des Anges shared several, or all of these characteristics. Moreover, by following the Bédard family, it is possible to trace three major patterns in the life cycle of events occurring in many families and their subsequent effects on the next generation. Of Isaac's three children, Jacques completed his life cycle when he died at the age of 75. Louis died in mid-life, at the age of forty-six, and Marie was left a young widow with an infant at the age of seventeen. What happened to these three siblings is, in effect, the story of many who lived in seventeenth century New France.

Thus, the Bédard family provides a good vehicle for understanding the strategy that persisting families used

to maintain themselves on the land in varying circumstances. By tracing the Bédard family into the eighteenth century, it is possible to see how these strategies developed and then failed in the face of an increasing population and diminishing lands.

Isaac Bédard was a master carpenter and Huguenot from the port of La Rochelle, France. When La Rochelle was closed to Protestants in November of 1661, he was forced to leave and make another home for himself and his family. Isaac arrived in New France with his seventeen year old son, Jacques, in either late 1661 or early 1662. He left behind his wife, Marie Gerard, and his young son, Louis, then four years old. Shortly after his arrival he was able to secure eighty arpents of land in Canardière from Mathieu Huboust dit des Longschamp on March 5, 1662, for L400.<sup>13</sup> Isaac, together with his son Jacques, built a house on the land in Canardière and prepared for the arrival of the remainder of their family. The family was reunited around 1663, and a daughter, Marie, was born in Canardière a year later; she was their last child.

The Bédard family could have remained in La Rochelle by abjuring their faith. Interestingly enough, the Bedard family made the decision to leave La Rochelle only to give up their faith in order to become permanent residents of the colony of New France. Why the Bédards chose to do so, after coming three thousand miles into the

wilderness to avoid this very action, is open to speculation. Even more curious is their decision to reside in a Jesuit seigneurie. Was this a requirement of officials to have Protestants at least temporarily reside with the Jesuits. Or did religion become secondary for Isaac when faced with the reality of providing a new life for his family? Or perhaps the Jesuits in Notre Dame des Anges had developed a policy of leniency towards the Huguenots. Paul Le Jeune, Superior of the Jesuits in New France, may have been a Huguenot until he reached the age of majority and converted. In any event, Notre Dame des Anges provided subsistence by virtue of its land, and a place for Isaac to practice his trade, by virtue of its proximity to Québec. Isaac entered New France and Notre Dame des Anges as both areas began their greatest period of growth and development.

Shortly after their arrival, Jacques, Isaac's son, was placed with the Urselines. It is unclear why Jacques was so placed, but it is known that the Urselines were a teaching order in New France. Perhaps French authorities "suggested" that Isaac place his son with the sisters, in order to insure that he was properly schooled in his new faith. Jacques was baptised and raised as a Calvinist until his arrival in New France at the age of 17. All three of Isaac's children, Jacques, Louis, and Marie would grow up, marry, and raise their families in

the Church and in the seigneurie of Notre Dame des Anges.

Early in 1665, while Jacques was still living with Isaac, he received a concession of land from the Jesuits in Charlebourg. Charlebourg was just a short distance north from the Bédard home in Canardière. In all probability, Jacques used his father's home as a base while he cleared land in Charlebourg and built his house.

At the end of the year, on December 6, Isaac and his wife sold their property in Canardière to Claude Charon, a merchant from Québec, for L438 tournois.<sup>14</sup> The value of his property had not risen significantly in the three years he had possessed it. Charon was represented by his wife Claudine in the transaction. Isaac then moved in with Jacques in Charlebourg; Jacques was still single at the time.<sup>15</sup>

In the spring of 1666, Isaac purchased from Pierre Murault, thirty-two arpents of land and the rights to the trait quarre in the new village of Petite Auvergne.<sup>16</sup> Murault had received the land from the Jesuits, by concession, eight days before. Bédard purchased the underdeveloped land for L60 tournois, leaving him a significant profit from the sale of his home in Canardière.<sup>17</sup> Just as Jacques had lived with his father while he built his home, Isaac, in all likelihood, now used Jacques's home as a base, while he cleared land and built a home in Petite Auvergne.

Isaac had moved to Petite Auvergne perhaps by the time of his son's marriage. In any event, the Recensement of 1667 records Isaac and Jacques as living in separate households. In Petite Auvergne Isaac built a stone and wood house for his family. He remained there until April 8, 1687, when he sold his land to Andre Auclerc, his son-in-law, and moved to the village of St. Roman in the seigneurie of St. Ignace. Some years earlier, on October 12, 1681, Issac Bédard had received the concession for the land in St. Ignace from the sisters of the RR MM Hospitaliere. The property, however, did not come into his possession until 1685.<sup>18</sup> Isaac's stay in St. Ignace was brief, and he returned to Notre Dame des Anges to settle in the new village of St. Antoine, where he died at the age of seventy-five on January 15, 1689.

The children of Isaac and Marie Girard: Jacques, Louis, and Marie, lived their lives in Notre Dame des Anges. Isaac trained his sons as carpenters, and by so doing, provided them with the means to prosper. Each generation of Bédards would produce master carpenters for over three hundred years.

Issac and his sons worked both independently and with each other. In 1665 and 1666, Isaac secured contracts to make paddles for Jean Talon, Indentent of New France.<sup>19</sup> Isaac and Jacques framed a house for Jean Soularé in the Upper City. Jacques, on his own, constructed a cedar



frame for the mill at St. Jean, for which he received 1500.<sup>20</sup> He also built the church steeple at Charlebourg. Louis trained as a master carpenter, but he may not have practiced his trade. He died in mid-life, at the age of 46. Little is known about Louis' work, or if he worked with his father or brother on various projects.

While Louis's role in the Bédard family remains vague, the close personal and professional relationship shared by Isaac and Jacques is evident. Isaac enabled his children to continue on the land through mutuality, the marriage of siblings into the Huppé families, the selling of developed land to his children, and the forming of independent, but economically interdependent, households.

Sibling intermarriage with the Huppé family gave the Bedards an added edge in the community. The Huppé family was the oldest and one of the wealthiest families in Notre Dame des Anges. Two of Isaac's children, Louis and Marie, married the offspring of Michel Huppé, Marie Madeleine and Nicolas. Subsequent generations would intermarry with the Huppe family and with other persisting families in the seigneurie. By the turn of the century the Bédard family was related to one quarter of the persisting families in Notre Dame des Anges.<sup>21</sup> Jacques, Louis, and Marie also used a strategy similar to Isaac's to help maintain their children on the land.

Jacques was Isaac's oldest child and the first to

marry. In late summer of 1666, Jacques signed a marriage contract with Elizabeth Doucinet.<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth, like Jacques, had been baptized in the Calvinist temple in La Rochelle. In addition to family members, the Conseillor for the King, and Jean Talon, Indendent, were present at the signing of their marriage contract.<sup>23</sup> Their success may attest to the status of artisans in New France. The fact that Jacques or Elizabeth had been Protestants did not hinder their social position in the colony.

Jacques remained in Notre Dame des Anges throughout his entire life and prospered. He continued in his line the mutuality and reciprocity he and his father had shared. In addition, he trained some of his sons as carpenters and continued sibling marriages with the Huppé family and also the Renaud family. Moreover, he attempted to make the lives of his children materially better, by rewarding their loyalty with land. By enhancing the economic status of his individual children, he was building the strength of the economic unit.

Households were multigenerational or independent, as the need arose. Together, however, households formed an economic unity into which they all contributed, and a reserve from which all could draw. Just as Isaac had trained Jacques as a master carpenter, Jacques trained his sons. As Isaac had worked with Jacques, so did Jacques work with his sons. Jacques and his sons, Francois,

Jacques, and Thomas Charles, all worked in framing the two additions on the Hôpital Général. Jacques paid his sons: Francois L46, 10 sol; Jacques L32; and Thomas Charles L22. While Jacques employed his sons, he also lent money to them and his son-in-law. In 1711 Francois owed him L100, Jacques L120, and his son-in-law, Louis Renaud, owed him L1, 2 sol.

Jacques, moreover, appears to have created economic harmony and unity within his family. His son Charles never became a carpenter, but lived on his father's land until his death. Charles appears to have farmed the land for his family, thereby freeing his father to practice his trade as a master carpenter. While Charles provided the food, Jacques provided the money for the family which was used, in part, to purchase more land. Of Jacques's sons, only Jacques, his namesake, would become a master carpenter. Thomas Charles, Charles, and Françoise became habitant-carpenters. Their dual role was indicative of an agrarian-market economy and perhaps also reflective of the still vulnerable state of agriculture in New France.

In his lifetime, Jacques acquired several lands for his children. Within two years of his arrival in the village of Charlebourg he had four arpents under cultivation.<sup>24</sup> On October 7, 1669 Jacques sold his property of forty arpents to Sieur Bolduc.<sup>25</sup> Initially, much of the land acquired by Jacques and the Bédaric family

was as close to the patriarch as possible. Relatives were also a source of land. Purchases were frequent among relatives, and, more often than not, land bordered that of other relatives. As land became scarce, however, Bédard sons were forced to new areas of settlement on smaller pieces of land.

By 1678, Jacques had acquired two additional lands in Charlebourg.<sup>26</sup> Both areas were about forty arpents each. On one of these lots he resided with his wife and his then family of six.<sup>27</sup> By the time of his death, in 1711, Jacques owned four lands in Charlebourg.

Jacques also owned land outside of Charlebourg. He purchased a land in St. Bernard in 1709 which was owned by the Hôpital Général. The Hôpital Général had been given the land in return for caring for Marie Ann La Teille, who was infirm and living at the Hôpital. Marie Ann was heir to the land through the right to succession, traced through her mother to the property of her grandfather, the late Guillaume Renaud. The case was brought up before the Intendent to decide on Bédard's offer. The Intendent ruled that the hospital accept Bédard's offer of L100 for the purchase of the land in St. Bernard.<sup>28</sup> Jacques also owned a lot on St. Ann Street in the upper city of Québec, which he sold in 1697 to Lucien Boulterville a marchand bougoise.<sup>29</sup>

The land that Jacques acquired for his children was

given to them at the time of their marriage or as a donation. His unmarried daughters had to wait until his death for their inheritances to be recognized, and until their own marriages to receive them. The value of what each child received was L400. The amount to be given to Jacques's children was determined by him while he still lived.

Francois was Jacques's oldest living son and eventually became Captain of the militia in Charlebourg. In 1696, according to Francois's marriage contract, Jacques gave Francois forty arpents of land on the road to St. Romain, estimated to be worth L400. No special preference appears to have been given to Francois.<sup>30</sup> Francois, however, indicating the degree of respect in which he was held by the family, was made the assistant guardian for the children of his eldest brother Etienne. His position as guardian was announced for three consecutive Sundays at high mass in the Church at Charlebourg. In his capacity as assistant guardian, Francois rented out a farm belonging to the heirs of Etienne for nine years. The rent of twelve of twelve and one-half minots of wheat went to the minors for their support.<sup>31</sup> When his father died, Francois also became the assistant guardian of his minor sisters.

When Jacques's son Thomas Charles married Jeanne Francois Huppe in 1707, Jacques gave him one of the forty

arpent lots he had acquired earlier in Charlebourg. Jacques had purchased the land from Rene Sasseville, his son-in-law.<sup>32</sup> The land was valued at L1000, and bordered that of Olivier Roy and Mathwin Villeneuve.

Thomas Charles was also given a young horse, two bulls, one ax, and a gun. The land was transferred to him by means of the marriage contract, which was witnessed by the entire immediate Bédard family and numerous relatives and friends. The land was given from father to son in recognition of Thomas Charles's<sup>33</sup> "good and agreeable services" to his parents. In addition to working with his father on construction projects, Thomas Charles may have worked with Charles at cultivating land for the family. Thomas Charles also received L400 in advance of his inheritance.

Thomas Charles's bride Jeanne Francois Huppé, the daughter of Jacques Huppé and Marie Suzanne Normand, brought L300 in money, animals, and a wedding dress, to the marriage. The two beef cattle, the cow, and two sheep were estimated at L120; the wedding dress was valued at L100. All but the sheep were to be given to Jeanne on her wedding day; the sheep would not be given to her until the next spring. The remaining L80 would be paid the following June, in advance of her inheritance. Her father, Jacques Huppé, fulfilled the terms of the marriage contract on March 17, 1708, and was released from his

obligation. Jacques Bédard fulfilled his obligation the same day. Of the ten families witnessing the signing of the marriage contract, six were members of persisting families in Notre Dame des Anges.<sup>34</sup>

As Jacques lay dying in March, 1711, he gave his son, Charles, a donation of his land, house, and barn in return for his "good and agreeable service." Jacques was one of the second generation fathers who died from measles in 1711. The land he gave to Charles consisted of forty arpents in Charlebourg, and was located on the road between Bourg Royal and Charlebourg. In addition, Charles was given a gun, ax, fifteen minots (15.75 bushels) of wheat, and L400 in advance of his inheritance. Charles had never become a carpenter, but had lived in his father's house and provided food for the family. His brothers and sisters were aware of the decision and concurred with it.<sup>35</sup> The land given to Charles remained in his hands until his death, sometime after 1729, and then passed to his widow, Elizabeth Huppé. The land remained in her hands for what appears to be the remainder of the French Regime.<sup>36</sup>

Following the death of Jacques Bédard, an inventory of his property was made.<sup>37</sup> Pierre Auclerc and Thomas Blondeau estimated the value of the estate, and the entire immediate family of Jacques Bédard was present. In addition to several properties, Jacques had, as part of

his estate, four working oxen, six cows, one horse, ten pigs, and eighty minots (eighty-four bushels) of wheat, indicating a working farm. The inventory specified that the lands would be equally divided among the heirs.

After the inventory of the estate, Jacques's three unmarried daughters, Catherine, Marie Jeanne, and Marie Joseph each laid a claim against their fathers estate for L400, to balance off that portion given to their brothers at the time of their marriages. Marie Magdeleine Bédard, the wife of Louis Renaud, however, laid a claim of only L100 against her fathers' estate. When she was married in 1694 she had been given L300 in advance of her inheritance.<sup>38</sup> Marie Magdeleine and Louis Renaud, her husband, lived on land in St. Antoine in the seigneurie of St. Gabriel. The land had been given to them by the Renaud family in their wedding contract. Marie's brother, Jean, lived on the farmstead next door.

A division of the property in the form of an act de partage followed the inventory of the estate. On November 20, 1711, Jacques's estate was divided. Marie Jeanne received the concession of land running along the road between Bourg Royal and Charlebourg. Jacques had acquired it from the widow of the late Pierre Vivier. The second lot was given to Marie Joseph Bédard; the third portion went to Thomas Charles Bédard; and still another portion went to Jacques Bédard and the minors of Etienne.



Catherine, another daughter, was given L120.

Following the division of property, several notary acts transpired in which inherited property changed hands. The end result was that Thomas Charles, Charles, and Marie Joseph received most of the land from the estate by donation, contract de mariage, and the sale and exchange of properties.<sup>39</sup>

Not all of Jacques' heirs, however, were satisfied with the property division. Elizabeth Bédard and her husband, Julien Brousseau brought the matter before the Intendant. In a judgement by the Intendant on July 23, 1711,<sup>40</sup> it was ruled that Francois Bédard and Louis Renaud, the son and son-in-law of Jacques Bédard and Elizabeth Doucinet, should give Elizabeth Bédard about L300 for that portion of property that belonged to her from the succession of her parents. Two days later Pierre Bellanger, cure for the parish of Charlebourg,<sup>41</sup> acted as the carrier and brought the L300 to Elizabeth and her husband Julien Brousseau. Francois Bédard was then released from his debt to his sister and brother-in-law.<sup>42</sup>

After Jacques's death three of his four daughters had yet to be married. Marie Joseph signed her marriage contract to Nicolas Jacques on October 16, 1712.<sup>43</sup> By the terms of the contract, Marie Joseph was given the balance of her inheritance of L400. Her brother Françoise, as her guardian, contributed forty arpents of land in

Charlebourg. Louis Jacques, the brother of the groom, and Ignace Le Roux, his maternal uncle, promised to give the couple food for six months, beginning the day of their marriage, in addition to animals and other items.

A month later, Jacques's son, Charles, married Marie Jeanne Elizabeth Huppé. He brought to the marriage one and one-half lands consisting of sixty arpents of land in the village of Charlebourg. One land was the property his father had given him as a donation prior to his death; the other portion of land was from the purchase of land from his sister Jeanne Elizabeth, following the division of his father's estate.

Marie Jeanne Elizabeth, Charles's wife, was the daughter of Jacques Huppé and Marie Suzanne Normand. Jacques Huppe gave his daughter, in their marriage contract, L300, consisting of a marriage dress, two oxen, two cows, and two sheep in advance of her inheritance.<sup>44</sup> Thus, Jacques Bédard consciously acquired land for his children. He distributed this land at the marriages of his children, or in the form of donations.

Isaac Bédard's second son, Louis, married Marie Madeleine Huppé, then thirteen, in 1678. In the marriage contract dated December 15, 1678, Issac and Marie gave Louis a concession but the location was not mentioned. Another concession, however, was also mentioned that is, the land in Bourg Royal by Madeleine family. While Louis

is recorded as being a master carpenter, little is known about his work, and he is not considered as an artisan in this work. There is some indication that he may not have practiced his trade, but rather farmed.

Louis and Marie Madeleine lived in several different locations in Notre Dame des Anges. They also lived briefly in Charlebourg, and then moved onto a land in Petite Auvergne, that Louis had purchased on April 6, 1677. The property bordered that of his father on one side and that of his sister on the other.<sup>45</sup> In the Census, or Recensement for that year, he is listed as 26, past the age of majority. There is no occupation listed beside his name. Had Louis farmed for his family when he lived with them so that his father Isaac and brother Jacques could practice their trade and thus, perhaps, was an unlisted sometime carpenter, sometime habitant?

Louis did not stay close to his family for long. He and Marie moved to St. Bernard around 1684, then to the village of St. Antoine around 1687. Sometime around the death of his father Louis returned to Petite Auvergne.<sup>46</sup> There he lived in a house thirty feet by twenty feet wide and surrounded by a fence. The interior of the house had a woodern floor and ceiling. The house was typical of many habitant homes. Louis remained on this land until his own death in 1701.<sup>47</sup>

When he died in 1701, at the age of 46, Louis left

ten minor children ranging from nineteen to a two-month old infant. The estate remained intact until 1712. In 1712 there were seven minor children left at home: Bernard 23, Suzanne 21, Jacques 19, Jean Baptiste 16, Marie Magdeleine 14, Louis 12, and Jeanne 10. Thomas Charles Bédard, a cousin and the son of Jacques, was made the assistant guardian to the minor children.<sup>48</sup>

On March 10, 1712, an inventory was made of Louis Bedard's estate, with a division of the property following on October 1, 1712.<sup>49</sup> Brother Charles Le bled, procurer for the Jesuits, was present as a neutral and respected person responsible for overseeing the actual division of the property.

From the inventory it was estimated that the estate consisted of L881, 19 sol in money. Under the terms of Louis's and Magdeleine's marriage contract, L200 in preciput was to be deducted from the estate and given to Magdeleine Huppé directly.<sup>50</sup> The remainder of the estate was to be divided between the heirs and widow, with L340, 10 sol going to the widow Madeleine, and the other L340 being divided in nine equal parts for the other heirs. At the time of his death, Louis, owed the Jesuits L24. He also owed L100 for the remainder of the dowery for his daughter, Marie Ursule, who had joined the convent.<sup>51</sup>

The lands in Louis's possession at the time of his death were to be divided equally amongst his heirs. Louis

had three lots of these lands, and he owned two lots in Petite Auvergne and another piece of land in St. Bernard. The land and his house in Petite Auvergne went to his widow Madeleine. The land in St. Bernard, containing 120 arpents went to his heirs. The property in St. Bernard was bordered on one side by another owned by his niece, Elizabeth, and her husband Jullien Brousseau, and on the other side by one owned by his son, Antoine.<sup>52</sup> The land in St. Bernard was divided in nine equal parts by Brother Charles Le Bled and then distributed.

A series of exchanges followed the division of property.<sup>53</sup> As a result, the land in St. Bernard appears to have gone to Bernard. Jacques, in the exchange, gave land in Petite Auvergne from the future estate of his mother, Marie Madeleine Huppé. The land in Petite Auvergne was bordered on one side by a nephew, Charles, and on the other by Mathwin Villeneuve, the husband of his grand niece, Marie Charlotte.

Louis's widow, Madgeleine, sold the thirty-two arpents in Charlebourg she had received from the division of property on October 1, 1712,<sup>54</sup> to her son Bernard, a master shoemaker, for L43, 15 sol.<sup>55</sup> Bernard was twelve at the time of his father's death. At twenty-three he was already a master shoemaker indicating that he was apprenticed shortly after his father's death. Following his apprenticeship he returned home and contributed to the

support of the family. In 1712 he paid his mother L190 for room and board for himself and his apprentice Auclerc. This appears to be the only year for which he paid for his keep.

None of Louis's other sons became artisans. Did they farm the land while Bernard practiced his trade and brought money into the household?

Following the sale of the property Madeleine appears to have remained nearby on property which bordered her son and Mathwin Villeneuve on one side and the heir of Villeneuve on the other.

While the division of the estate was to be equitable, it actually favored Bernard. In truth, the division of the estate was probably completed at his request. Sixteen days following the division of the property, and ten days after he purchased the land from his mother, Bernard signed a marriage contract to wed Marie Therese Roy. In the contract he gave thirty-two arpents of land in the village of Auvergne which he had acquired from his mother on October 6, 1712,<sup>56</sup> as well as land in St. Bernard, which he had received as part of his right to succession to his father's estate. Magdeleine Huppé promised her son L140 from the household furnishings from his father's estate.<sup>57</sup>

Marie Therese Roy was the daughter of Jean Roy, captain of the militia at Charlebourg. The Roy family was

another family which persisted in the seigneurie. Marie Therese died in 1715, leaving Bernard with a fifteen month child to care for. Four years later, in 1719, he married Marguerite Parent, the widow of Paul Chailfour. By then, Bernard had moved to Bourg Royal. Bernard and Marguerite had five children who lived beyond infancy.

When Bernard's younger brother, Jean Baptiste, married Marie Jeanne Paradise at the age of 22, he was given 1140 in his marriage contract--the same amount his mother had given to Bernard. Marie Jeanne's family provided her with a wedding dress and a bed in advancement of her inheritance. Marie Jeanne was also from one of the families which persisted in Notre Dame des Anges.

Jean Baptiste, following the distribution of his father's estate, was involved in several land transactions with his brothers Jacques and Bernard.<sup>58</sup> In the end, he appears to have sold his property from his father's estate in St. Bernard and acquired land in Charlebourg.<sup>59</sup>

Isaac Bédard's daughter, Marie, first married Nicolas Huppé, the brother of Madeleine, in 1680 at the age of 16. Marie received a cow from her parents in her marriage contract. Nicolas died within a few days of the birth of their first child, a son, named Charles. Marie, within a few days of both events, at the age of 17, signed a marriage contract on February 17, 1681, to wed Andre Auclair.<sup>60</sup> She and Andre settled in Petite Auvergne on

land they had purchased from Isaac. The land bordered her brother Louis's land which also bordered her father's land.

Marie and Andre produced seven children who survived to adulthood. The family of nine lived in a wood and stone house with a straw roof. The house was a small house, a thirty-two feet square built in a piece sur piece fashion, similiar to a log cabin. It consisted of two floors, with two rooms on each floor separated by a center chimney of masonry. At the close of the seventeenth century, the family possessed two beef cattle, eight bulls, three cows, five pigs, and one old horse. Sixteen arpents of land were under cultivation.

When Andre died in 1699, Marie's first husband's brother, Jacques Huppé, was made the assistant guardian to Charles Huppé, then age 20. Charles may have used the L63, 10 sols given to him from the estate of his step-father and mother to secure land for himself in the village of St. Bernard. At age twenty-five, Charles Huppé was living in this village. Charles spent his entire life in Notre Dame des Anges. Shortly after moving onto the land in St. Bernard, he married Marie Therese Reproche.

The Bédard family, in the second and into the third generation, was able to secure land for some of their children. By the time of the fourth generation, however, as the French Regime drew to a close, this task became



increasingly difficult as land became more expensive and harder to attain. Fathers now acquired smaller lots in the back lots, or back rangs, of the seigneurie. They also gave out shared lots, and sometimes asked sons to repay the cost of land acquired.

Bernard, Louis son, began early to accumulate land for his children. In 1716 he owned several lands, including six arpents of land in the trait quarre of Auvergne; three arpents on the road between Québec and Charlebourg; ten arpents in Charlebourg, which was occupied by the heirs of Robert Segouin; and four rods, four feet, eight inches in the village of St. Bernard, which was inhabited by Jacques Duboc. In addition, he owned a house twenty five feet long and fifteen feet wide; a barn thirty feet long by twenty feet wide; and a stable fifteen feet long by eight feet wide.<sup>61</sup>

Bernard gave a lot to two of his sons in the village of St. Claude. The second lot was given to two sons in advancement of their inheritance, and consisted of sixty arpents of land in St. Claude. The latter land was equally divided between them with each possessing thirty arpents and an equal amount of frontage. Bernard purchased the land from Pierre Jacque for the sum of L400.

Bernard also give twenty-four arpents of land in Canardiere to his son, Joseph, in advance of Joseph's inheritance when he married around 1746.<sup>62</sup> Bernard had

purchased the land from Pierre Jean Villeneuve, his son-in-law. Villeneuve had acquired the land through his marriage to Marie Magdeleine Bédard, Bernard's daughter, in advance of her inheritance. While Bernard was generous to his immediate family, he also appears to have lent money to his cousin, Marie Magdeleine, the daughter of his uncle, Jacques and the wife of Louis Renaud.<sup>63</sup>

Jean Baptiste Bédard, another son, signed a marriage contract to marry Marie Joseph Roy on October 10, 1743.<sup>64</sup> His father also gave him twenty arpents of land. The land, however was in the village of St. Pierre. In an attempt to enhance the land given to him by his father, Jean Baptist purchased more property in St. Pierre from Jacques Allard the following year.<sup>65</sup> To further enhance his holdings, he also purchased additional lands in 1758, from his brothers, Antoine and Thomas.

In 1749, Bernard and his wife, Marguerite approached the end of their lives. They were no longer able to work the land and to provide for themselves. Bernard was 60, Marguerite 57. They had in their lifetime succeeded in establishing all, but four, of their children by giving them their portion of the estate at the time of their marriage. On August 7, 1749 Bernard and his wife divided the remainder of their estate among all their children. On August 21, 1749 all that remained in Bernard's and Marguerite's possession was a 2 x 20 arpents lot in St.

Claude which in their own words was not "sufficient" to provide for them. They decided to give one-half of this land to their two youngest sons, Charles and Jean Marie, to share as a donation in recognition of the "great attachment and affection" they had always had for these two sons.<sup>66</sup> In return the two sons promised to heat, lodge and to provide food for their parents in sickness and health until their death and thereupon to bury them. If the parents and children were not able to cohabit, the parents would be given a room in the house in which to live away from their children. The children, however, were still obliged to support their parents.<sup>67</sup> While Bernard and Marguerite were not able to provide the amount of land the first and some of the second generation were able to acquire they were nevertheless able to successfully provide some land for their children.

Jacques Bédard, Isaac's son, represents the upper range of age of the second generation, and was a transition between the first and second generation. Therefore, he had five generations of descendants before the Conquest rather than four and the third generation of Louis's descendants were contemporaries of the fourth generation of Jacques' descendants.

Jacques, the son of Jacques, was the only son to become a master carpenter as had his father and grandfather before him. Jacques married into the Renaud

family, as did his sister, Marie-Madeleine. During his lifetime, he lent wheat to his sister and her husband, Louis.<sup>70</sup> He also purchased several lands from the Renaud family, in particular from his brother-in-law Louis, following the division of his father's estate.<sup>68</sup>

Thomas, Jacques's son, also named his son Thomas. On his son's marriage to Angélique Fise in 1743, Thomas gave him L600 in advance of his inheritance, and thirty arpents of land in the established village of St. Joseph. The land was valued at L1400. In return, Thomas promised to pay his parents the value of the land, by paying a sum of money each year or six years until they were repaid.<sup>69</sup>

Thomas had another son, Jean-Baptist. He also signed a marriage contract in the same month as his brother, and contracted to wed Marie Joseph Roy. Thomas gave Jean Baptist a land consisting of twenty arpents in the relatively new village of St. Pierre, in advance of Jean's inheritance.<sup>70</sup> In an attempt to enhance the size of his property, Jean Baptiste purchased another ten arpents next to him in St. Pierre the following year.<sup>71</sup> Thomas's son, Jean Baptiste, born in 1761, was already a master-timber-framer.

The Bédard family, through a variety of strategies, were able to maintain their descendants on the land as did other Persisters. Intermarriage between other persisting families, the creation of an economic balance between

artisans and habitant within the family and the securing of land during the lifetime of the fathers all enabled the Bedard family to persist in Notre Dame des Anges.

During the seventeenth century the Bedard family and other persisting families were able to increase the number of arpents under their control as well as the number of lots. By the end of the French Regime, however, their strategy had failed in the face of a growing population and land development. In 1754, the total amount of land under development in Notre Dame des Anges minus that land held by the Jesuits was 85% of all the arpents under cultivation in the seigneurie. Persisting families of Notre Dame des Anges in 1754 owned only 16% of the land under cultivation but 51% of the lots under cultivation. See the chart below to follow this trend. Persisting families, by the end of the French Regime, were unable to maintain control of the land they had in their possession, or to continue to provide for their children in Notre Dame des Anges in the face of increased population and development.

#### CHART 5

NUMBER OF ARPEMENTS UNDER CULTIVATION IN NOTRE DAME DES ANGES BY OVERALL POPULATION AND DATA BASE FOR THE YEARS 1663, 1666, 1678 AND 1754.

	1663	1667	1678	1754
All Notre Dame	28,224	28,224	28,224	28,224
Conceded Area	5,028	7,313.5	7,921.5	24,165.3
Lots		79	91	212
Data Base	1,690	2,088	2,423	3,066.6
Lots	10	33	27	108

The fathers of New England developed similar strategies for enabling their children to continue on the land. The first generation, however, was able to provide for the second generation in Andover, Dedham and Plymouth. The principle method of land transference between the first and second generation was partible inheritance.<sup>72</sup> It is only in the third generation, as represented in Greven's Andover, that a varied strategy emerges and that Greven discerns "the actions and decisions of individual men responding to the needs and interest of their own particular families."<sup>73</sup> For Greven:

...It is by seeing precisely how fathers transferred their estates to their sons and how they managed to provide them with livelihoods and inheritances that the essential characteristics of family structure and father-son relationships can be determined.<sup>74</sup>

The second generation was already in possession of their inheritance prior to the death of their fathers, but only one-quarter of those in possession of the land actually owned it.<sup>75</sup> Ownership came with the death of the father. This continued control over the land ensured economic dependency on the fathers.

The second generation, like the first, continued the equal division of their property. The third generation waited for their inheritance since most of the land was in the hands of the second generation and land values began to rise significantly after 1710.<sup>76</sup> The third

generation received possession of the land prior to the death of their fathers more often than did the second generation.<sup>77</sup> These lands were augmented by a three divisions of the undivided common land in the town between 1714 and 1720.<sup>78</sup> Of fifty-eight second generation fathers, forty-seven transferred at least a part of their estates to their children prior to their deaths.<sup>79</sup>

While the second generation was able to provide for two thirds<sup>80</sup> of the third generation it lacked the quantity of land to provide land for all of its sons. The decline in available lands was responsible for the changing relationship between fathers and sons. According to Greven:

This was a significant factor in reshaping the characteristics of the family and modifying the attitudes of fathers towards their land and at least towards some of their sons. The control of the land by the older generation could have little meaning to the majority who were destined to be landless.<sup>81</sup>

Those sons who did not receive a portion of the land received money, a trade, or an education; or some combination of these.<sup>82</sup> Between 21% - 25% of the third generation followed a craft during their lifetime.<sup>83</sup> Those who could not be provided for in Andover migrated elsewhere.

Control of the land was relinquished sooner by the second generation but not too soon. The average age of

third generation sons was thirty-one when they received title to the land.<sup>84</sup>

Some third generation sons in an attempt to gain autonomy purchased land from their fathers. Those who purchased their lands from their fathers were mature men in their twenties. Many (54.5%)<sup>85</sup> purchased their lands either before their marriages or within a year after their marriages.<sup>86</sup> In other words, the third generation, was willing to pay for its inheritance. The purchase of one's inheritance reflects a change in the attitude towards inheritance and towards the father-son relationship, that is, sons should be independent of their fathers during their father's life time.<sup>87</sup> The purchase of the father's land, moreover, ensured a release of a son's obligation to care for his father in his old age in return for land.

Those third generation sons who received the family land lived and cared for their aging parents and formed extended households consisting of three generations. These sons received their land as deeds in gift. Thus, the responsibility for caring for elderly parents fell to the son who would inherit the family farm and resulted in extended households.<sup>88</sup>

The second and third generation as they came into possession of their lands more often became neighbors to other family members. \*Farming land often was bounded on



one or more sides by the lands owned by brothers, cousins, or other kindred.<sup>89</sup> Sometimes relatives owned property together and farmed the land jointly. Moreover, family groups often clustered together in parts of Andover. Those families that were more prolific had more family members living on the land. Often these families were connected by marriage and kinship to other families in the town. By the third generation,

...Andover had come to resemble many Old World communities in which families had lived for several generations and formed complex extended family networks. These networks were based upon the continued residence of a family in the town which they had been born, their marriages among other families within the town, and the extensive kinship ties which they had with many of the people and families living in their community. In large measure, the stability of Andover throughout the eighteenth century rested upon the intricate pattern of family ties and kinship connections.<sup>90</sup>

The estates of the third generation contained at least thirty acres of land. More than one-half of the recorded lands were between thirty and 109 acres while the maximum number of acres recorded was 611. While the estates of the third generation were somewhat smaller they remained above thirty acres in size. This may have reflected a belief that this was the minimum number of acres necessary to provide a living for a family. In Greven's words:

In effect the character of the agrarian economy combined with the interests and the desires of families to limit the parcelling of the land beyond a certain point.<sup>91</sup>

In the fourth generation there was a trend towards impartible inheritance. Only 58% of the estates of the third generation were divided among two or more sons as opposed to 95.7% of the first generation and 75.9% of the second generation. The fourth generation received their land earlier, at age 25.2 years, if they inherited the land by will. Those sons (85.7%) receiving deeds of gifts acquired them before marriage or within five years of their marriage as opposed to 54% of the third generation. Another 57.1% purchased their inheritance within five years of their inheritance. And, in the fourth generation, as in the third, there was a certain number for whom no land or trade was available. These sons migrated.<sup>92</sup>

Fathers when deciding to settle only one of their sons on the land made another decision, that was to help establish their other sons by purchasing land for them or by providing them with money to establish themselves. For Greven:

Such actions took foresight and planning as well conscious choices by parents with the concurrence,...of their sons as to which would be given which portion of the estate and in which form it would be given: land in Andover, land outside Andover, or a trade.<sup>93</sup>

In summary, the fathers of Andover and of Notre Dame des Anges both made conscious decisions with the objective of establishing the next generation. In Notre Dame des Anges such a strategy began to emerge with the second

generation; In Andover a similiar strategy developed with the third generation. In both instances the fathers were motivated by a decline in land and an increase in population. In Notre Dame des Anges the issue was actually the decline of desireable lands on the St. Lawrence or land that was nearby to the fathers.

While in Andover, the third generation was more likely to establish their sons in trades than to purchase land for them the fathers of Notre Dame des Anges did the reverse. It was only in the fourth generation when the fathers of Andover changed to impartible inheritance that they attempted to purchase land for their sons outside of Andover. The Persisting fathers of both Andover and Notre Dame des Anges were successful in maintaining their sons on the land. The extent of that success over time can not be compared since Greven's study does not include landholding figures. If the Persisting fathers of Notre Dame des Anges can be used as a model, however, it is likely that by the American Revolution Andover fathers too were being squeezed out of Andover.

## CHAPTER VIII

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Where partible inheritance existed in one part of France, it was also circumvented. Lutzk Berkner, "Inheritance, Land Tenure and Peasant Family Structure: a German Regional Comparison," in Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk, and E. P. Thompson, Family Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). pp. 72-73.

<sup>2</sup> Alan Greer, Peasant, Lord and Merchant: Rural Society, Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985) p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 39-41. See also contract between Isaac Bedard and Claudine Charon in behalf of her husband, Claude dated December 6, 1665. The notary was Romain Becquet.

<sup>4</sup> George Lee Haskins, Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts: A Study in Tradition and Design, (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1960), pp. 1-8.

<sup>5</sup> Haskins, pp. 170-171.

<sup>6</sup> Kenneth Lockridge, A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970) pp. 71-72.

<sup>7</sup> Ulrich, p. 148.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas C. Cole, "Family Settlement and Migration in Southeastern Massachusetts, 1650-1805: The Case for Regional Analysis in New England," Genealogical Register, 132 (January 1978):179.

<sup>9</sup> Ulrich, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Greer, pp. 71-76.

<sup>11</sup> Barbara B. Diefendorf, "Widowhood and Marriage in Sixteenth Century France," Journal of Family History, (Winter, 1982) 7:382-388.

12 Louise Dechene, Habitants et Marchands de Montréal au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle, (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1974), p. 424-433.

13 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Romain Becquet.

14 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Becquet, December 6, 1665.

15 When Isaac purchased property in Petite Auvergne he was listed as being from the village of Charlesbourg. ANQ, Recensement, 1666.

16 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Becquet, March 15, 1666.

17 Ibid.

18 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Francois Genaple, October 12, 1681. Additional statement is attached.

19 A.J.H. Richardson, Genevieve Bastien, Doris Dube and Marthe Lacombe, Québec City: Architects, Artisans and Builders, (Ottawa, National Museums of Canada, 1984) p. 90.

20 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Charles Rageot, March 1, 1691.

21 Renault, Normand, Chalifou, Parent, Huppe, Roy, and Villeneuve.

22 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Becquet, August 24, 1666.

23 Marriage contract dated August 24, 1666. ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Becquet.

24 ANQ, Recensement, 1667.

25 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Pierre Ducquet.

26 ANQ, Aveu et Denombrement de 1678.

27 ANQ, Recensement, 1681.

28 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Jean Robert Duprac June 9, 1709.

29 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Francois Genaple, May, 22, 1697.

30 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Genaple May, 1692.

31 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, November 20, 1711.

- 32 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Jacques Pinguet March 26, 1744. Also recorded in the Papier Terrier, 1754.
- 33 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, November 20, 1707.
- 34 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, November 25, 1707.
- 35 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, March 3, 1711.
- 36 ANQ, Papier Terrier, 1754.
- 37 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, August 1, 1711.
- 38 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, November 2, 1694.
- 39 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, November 20, 1711, and November 29, 1716.
- 40 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac.
- 41 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, July 25, 1711.
- 42 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, July 25, 1711.
- 43 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac.
- 44 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, November 6, 1712.
- 45 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, March 10, 1712.
- 46 By concession from the Jesuits. ANQ, Notaire de Greffe, Duprac, March 10, 1712.
- 47 Rene Jetté, Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles du Québec des Origines à 1730, (Montreal: les Presses de l'Université de Montreal, 1983), p. 73.
- 48 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, November 23, 1712.
- 49 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac.
- 50 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Paul Vachon December 15, 1678.
- 51 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, March 10, 1712.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, March 31, 1718.
- 54 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, October 1, 1712.

- 55 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, October 6, 1711
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, October 16, 1718.
- 58 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, March 31, 1718.
- 59 This is based on the fact that all his children were born and baptized in Charlesbourg.
- 60 Jette, p. 30 and p. 532.
- 61 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, July 16, 1716.
- 62 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Andre Genest.
- 63 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, November 7, 1736.
- 64 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Pinquet.
- 65 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Jacques Pinquet, February 20, 1744.
- 66 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Andre Genest.
- 67 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, November 7, 1736.
- 68 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Duprac, November 6, 1711.
- 69 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Jacques Pinquet, October 30, 1743.
- 70 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Jacques Pinquet, October 10, 1743.
- 71 ANQ, Notaires des Greffes, Jacques Pinquet, February 20, 1744.
- 72 Philip Greven, Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts, (Ithaca: Cornell, 1970) p. 23.
- 73 Ibid., p. 141.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Ibid., p. 84.
- 76 Ibid., p. 129.

- 77 Ibid., p. 130.
- 78 Ibid., p. 127-128.
- 79 Ibid., p. 131.
- 80 Ibid., p. 138.
- 81 Ibid., p. 131-132.
- 82 Ibid., p. 131.
- 83 Ibid., p. 154.
- 84 Ibid., p. 132.
- 85 Ibid., p. 229.
- 86 Ibid., p. 135.
- 87 Ibid., p. 136.
- 88 Ibid., p. 138.
- 89 Ibid., p. 139.
- 90 Ibid., p. 141.
- 91 Ibid., p. 224.
- 92 Ibid., p. 229.
- 93 Ibid., p. 224.



## IX

### CONCLUSION

Europe came to exploit the North American environment. The North American environment, however, shaped and defined Europe's presence in the Northeast. While Europe's economic interests brought her to the continent, the location of first the fisheries and then the fur trade determined where in the Northeast she would focus her efforts. England chose the area roughly between Maine to Cape Cod and called it New England. France chose an area bounded by Acadia and followed the water routes of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. While both shared a rugged geography and extreme climatic conditions these conditions were milder in New England. Settlement followed as part of an effort to secure these areas.

"New England" and "New France" were attempts to reproduce the European experience in North America. Yet, not all elements of European culture came to the continent and perhaps more importantly North America was not Europe.

Those Europeans who migrated to North America were part of a domestic mobility pattern seen in Europe. While French and English culture varied there were some common elements among those who came to the Northeast. Persisters in New France and the first settlers to New England were older, urban dwellers, who came in family units. This was

especially true for those who persisted on the land. Among the first generation males, those who persisted in both colonies married at about the same age. First generation females in both colonies married between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five. They also had approximately the same number of children. The first generation in New England lived longer than the first generation in New France. Persisters in New France, however, lived longer than Migrants.

This first generation attempted to transfer their European culture to a world vastly different than that they had left. The continuous communities of Europe where land was scarce and unemployment was common were replaced by sparse settlements, an abundance of land, an Indian population and a labor shortage. This resulted in a shift in the relationship between people and the land and between people. The response of both cultures was similar.

The abundance of land led to speculation by proprietors and seigneurs, and among settlers in both colonies. The abundance of land and the sparse population also influenced the character of the communities that were created. In New England the proprietors established communities consisting of individuals of "like minds." Disgruntlers were simply "warned out" or as a group went elsewhere to form other communities.

In New France the seigneurial system had been imposed by the crown and implemented by the seigneurs. The habitants, however, still had some control over the development of their

communities. Habitants could simply live elsewhere so seigneurs gave way to their demands.

The first generation once established on the land developed an attachement to the land different from their past as urban dwellers. Fathers in both colonies were concerned about land transmission. Partiable inheritance was practiced in both colonies. While some fathers may have been concerned about when to transfer the land the point is that they were concerned with its transmission.

In New France desirable land in the communities near Quebec appears to have been at a premium by the time most of the second generation reached maturity. In New England, the third and fourth generations experienced land shortages. In both colonies the response was migration. In some New England colonies and in Notre Dame des Anges that movement was only a micro-migration or displacement but for other New England towns it was a migration as far away from the father as possible.

While the second generation in New England and New France did not live as long as the first generation, New England was a healthier place to live for the second generation. As communities grew kinship patterns developed. In Notre Dame des Anges that pattern was strengthened by sibling intermarriages.

As land dwindled fathers in both colonies developed a strategy to maintain their children. This strategy appears

to have been a conscious plan based on cooperation between generations. Those who could not be maintained in the community were given money, trade, or land outside the community. In Notre Dame des Anges there was more of an effort to secure additional lands than to establish sons in trades. In both colonies when sons were maintained in the community there was a reduction in the size of the land given and sometimes the land was worked jointly with other relatives.

While both colonies were influenced by the land they were still very much the product of their origins. In New England where Protestants were allowed to migrate, the Great Migration was responsible for the en masse settlement of the colony and the success of New England. In New France where Protestants were excluded and immigration only briefly supported the colony faulted. The eventual defeat of New France along the St. Lawrence was more an administrative failure to successfully population the colony than a failure of a culture to persist.

## APPENDIX A

## FRENCH/ENGLISH CONVERSION TABLE OF AREA AND QUANTITY

1 Arpent =  $\frac{5}{6}$  English Acre  
84 Arpents = 1 league = 3 miles  
1 Minot = 1.05 bushels

## APPENDIX B

## GLOSSARY

Unless otherwise noted all of the terms listed in this glossary are from R. C. Harris, The Seigneurial System in Early Canada: A Geographical Study, Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1968. A \* designates the author's definition.

Arpent A linear measure equal to 192 feet. Land was measured in square arpents, with 1 arpent being equal to 5/6 of an acre.

Arrière-fief A seigneurie conceded within a larger seigneurie, and held from the seigneur of the larger seigneurie rather than the king.

Aveu et Dénombrement A list of the landholdings within a seigneurie, including the buildings, cleared land, and livestock on them, and the dues with which the landholdings were charged. This list was required of the seigneur after any change in seignuerial control, or on the special request of the intendant.

Banality A charge which a seigneur levied for a service which he provided.

Bourg A compact village or settlement of varying size, which provided commercial and service functions. \*

Cens A token cash payment always levied on roture, and on no other type of landholding.

Censitaire One who paid a cens for a roture.

Charrue A wheeled plow.

Concession A grant of land. \*

Corvée A compulsory work day, sometimes appearing in concession contracts as a charge supplanting the rente.

Côte A short line of settlement along a river or road.

Coûtume de Paris The codification of French customary law based on the laws in the area of Paris.

- Coueurs de bois Small scale French fur traders.
- Demi-bourg A small settlement, the pattern of which appears to be half of a village settlement pattern. \*
- Demi-étoile A "half star" pattern of settlement consisting of a semi-circle of pie shaped lots bordering on a commons. \*
- Denier The smallest unit of currency used in New France.
- Douaire A sum of money given to a wife at the time of her husband's death. The amount was specified in the marriage contract.
- Engagé An indentured servant.
- Entrepôt A warehouse.
- Étoile A pattern of settlement, found only in the seigneurie of Notre Dame des Anges in New France, made up of pie shaped lots bordering on a center trait quarre. \*
- Feu et lieu To keep home and hearth, that is, to live on the land.
- Fief A grant of land made to a dependant in return for his support or services.
- Filles du roi "Daughters of the king." A term used to designate those young women from France who were sent to be the wives of some of the early settlers. \*
- Foi et hommage A statement of vassalage owed by a seigneur to a seigneur of higher order from whom he held his land.
- Froment Wheat.
- Habitant Originally a small farmer who paid cens for a concession which could not be subgranted. Sometimes used as a general term to refer to a commoner. \*
- Habitation A habitant's house or concession of land. \*
- La douceur A policy adopted by the French which stressed cooperation with the Indians, based on their experience with the Indians in Florida. \*
- Livre A unit of currency used in New France, equal to 20

sols.

Lods et ventes A tax of one-twelfth of the sale price which was levied by the seigneur on a sale of a roture out of the line of direct succession.

Métairie In this study it refers to the farm held by the Jesuits in Notre Dame des Anges. \*

Minot A measure of volume equal to 1.05 bushels.

Papier terrier A list of documents pertaining to the ownership of a given piece of land.

Piece sur piece A type of construction in which squared logs are laid horizontally and the corners are flush.

Rang A row of rectangular rotures with the short side fronting on the same river or road.

Rente A charge which a seigneur frequently levied for a roture held from him.

Rhumb de vent A fixed survey line.

Roture A concession of land which could not be subconceded, and which was held by a censitaire from a seigneur.

Seigneur A person or lord, who held a grant to a concession of land which could be subgranted. \*

Seigneurie A concession of land granted to an individual, as by a trading company or by the king, which could in turn be subgranted. \*

Sols A unit of money in New France, equal to 12 deniers.

Testament A will.

Trait Quarré A commons or village green.

Une habitation a/de A house or concession owned by an individual. The sense in which this phrase was used makes it unclear whether or not the house was actually occupied. \*

Volontaire An individual who voluntarily worked for the Jesuits in return for food and housing. \*

Voyager A French explorer, sometimes engaged in the fur trade.\*



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